







A  
CTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

COMPRISING ITS  
ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY,  
AND NATURAL HISTORY.

EDITED  
BY WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D.,  
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# DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

The Map of Jerusalem, Plate I., to be placed between pages 1018 and 1019.

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## P R E F A C E.

THE present Work is designed to render the same service in the study of the Bible as the Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, and Geography have done in the study of the classical writers of antiquity. Within the last few years Biblical studies have received a fresh impulse ; and the researches of modern scholars, as well as the discoveries of modern travellers, have thrown new and unexpected light upon the history and geography of the East. It has, therefore, been thought that a new Dictionary of the Bible, founded on a fresh examination of the original documents, and embodying the results of the most recent researches and discoveries, would prove a valuable addition to the literature of the country. It has been the aim of the Editor and Contributors to present the information in such a form as to meet the wants not only of theological students, but also of that larger class of persons who, without pursuing theology as a profession, are anxious to study the Bible with the aid of the latest investigations of the best scholars. Accordingly, while the requirements of the learned have always been kept in view, quotations from the ancient languages have been sparingly introduced, and generally in parentheses, so as not to interrupt the continuous perusal of the Work. It is confidently believed that the articles will be found both intelligible and interesting even to those who have no knowledge of the learned languages ; and that such persons will experience no difficulty in reading the book through from beginning to end.

The scope and object of the Work may be briefly defined. It is a Dictionary of the *Bible* and not of *Theology*. It is intended to elucidate the antiquities, biography, geography, and natural history of the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha ; but not to explain systems of theology, or discuss points of controversial divinity. It

has seemed, however, necessary in a "Dictionary of the Bible" to give a full account of the Book, both as a whole and in its separate parts. Accordingly, articles are inserted not only upon the general subject, such as "Bible," "Apocrypha," and "Canon," and upon the chief ancient versions, as "Septuagint" and "Vulgate;" but also upon each of the separate books. These articles are naturally some of the most important in the Work, and occupy considerable space, as will be seen by referring to "Genesis," "Isaiah," and "Job."

The Editor believes that the Work will be found, upon examination, to be far more complete in the subjects which it professes to treat than any of its predecessors. No other Dictionary has yet attempted to give a complete list of the proper names occurring in the Old and New Testaments, to say nothing of those in the Apocrypha. The present Work is intended to contain *every name*, and, in the case of minor names, references to every passage in the Bible in which each occurs. It is true that many of the names are those of comparatively obscure persons and places; but this is no reason for their omission. On the contrary, it is precisely for such articles that a Dictionary is most needed. An account of the more important persons and places occupies a prominent position in historical and geographical works; but of the less conspicuous names no information can be obtained in ordinary books of reference. Accordingly many names, which have been either entirely omitted or cursorily treated in other Dictionaries, have had considerable space devoted to them, the result being that much curious and sometimes important knowledge has been elicited respecting subjects, of which little or nothing was previously known. Instances may be seen by referring to the articles "Ishmael, son of Nethaniah," "Jareb," "Jedidiah," "Jehosheba."

In the alphabetical arrangement the orthography of the Authorized Version has been invariably followed. Indeed the Work might be described as a Dictionary of the Bible, *according to the Authorized Version*. But at the commencement of each article devoted to a proper name, the corresponding forms in the Hebrew, Greek, and Vulgate are given, together with the variations in the two great manuscripts of the Septuagint, which are often curious and well worthy of notice. All inaccuracies in the Authorized Version are likewise carefully noted.

In the composition and distribution of the articles three points

have been especially kept in view—the insertion of copious references to the ancient writers and to the best modern authorities, as much brevity as was consistent with the proper elucidation of the subjects, and facility of reference. To attain the latter object an explanation is given, even at the risk of some repetition, under every word to which a reader is likely to refer, since it is one of the great drawbacks in the use of a Dictionary to be referred constantly from one heading to another, and frequently not to find at last the information that is wanted.

Many names in the Bible occur also in the classical writers, and are therefore included in the Classical Dictionaries already published. But they have in all cases been written anew for this work, and from a Biblical point of view. No one would expect in a Dictionary of the Bible a complete history of Alexandria or a detailed life of Alexander the Great, simply because they are mentioned in a few passages of the Sacred Writers. Such subjects properly belong to Dictionaries of Classical Geography and Biography, and are only introduced here so far as they throw light upon Jewish history, and the Jewish character and faith. The same remark applies to all similar articles, which, far from being a repetition of those contained in the preceding Dictionaries, are supplementary to them, affording the Biblical information which they did not profess to give. In like manner it would obviously be out of place to present such an account of the plants and animals mentioned in the Scriptures, as would be appropriate in systematic treatises on Botany or Zoology. All that can be reasonably required, or indeed is of any real service, is to identify the plants and animals with known species or varieties, to discuss the difficulties which occur in each subject, and to explain all allusions to it by the aid of modern science.

In a Work written by various persons, each responsible for his own contributions, differences of opinion must naturally occur. Such differences, however, are both fewer and of less importance than might have been expected from the nature of the subject; and in some difficult questions—such, for instance, as that of the “Brethren of our Lord”—the Editor, instead of endeavouring to obtain uniformity, has considered it an advantage to the reader to have the arguments stated from different points of view.

An attempt has been made to ensure, as far as practicable, uniformity of reference to the most important books. In the case

of two works of constant occurrence in the geographical articles, it may be convenient to mention that all references to Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches" and to Professor Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine," have been uniformly made to the second edition of the former work (London, 1856, 3 vols.), and to the fourth edition of the latter (London, 1857).

The Editor cannot conclude this brief explanation without expressing his obligations to the Writers of the various articles. Their names are a sufficient guarantee for the value of their contributions; but the warm interest they have taken in the book, and the unwearied pains they have bestowed upon their separate departments, demand from the Editor his grateful thanks. There is, however, one Writer to whom he owes a more special acknowledgment. Mr. George Grove of Sydenham, besides contributing the articles to which his initial is attached, has rendered the Editor important assistance in writing the majority of the articles on the more obscure names, in preparing the lists of these names, in the correction of the proofs, and in the revision of the whole book. The Editor has also to express his obligations to Mr. E. Stanley Poole for the correction of the Arabic words.

An Atlas of Biblical Geography will follow the second volume of the Work, which will be published by the end of next year.

WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, *March 15th*, 1860.

# DICTIONARY

OF

## BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

### A

A'AJAR. [ADDAN.]

AA'RON (אַהֲרֹן; *'Aarōn*; *Aaron*), the son of Amram (עֲמֶרָם, *hundred of the Highest*) and Jochebed (יֹכֶבֶד, *whose glory is Jehovah*), and the elder brother of Moses and Miriam (Num. xvi. 59, xxxiii. 39). He was a Levite, and, as the first-born, would naturally be the priest of the household, even before any special appointment by God. Of his early history we know nothing, although, by the way in which he is first mentioned in Ex. iv. 14, as "Aaron the Levite," it would seem, as if he had been already to some extent a leader in his tribe. All that is definitely recorded of him at this time is, that, in the same passage, he is described as one "who could speak well." Judging from the acts of his life, we should suppose him to have been, like many eloquent men, a man of impulsive and comparatively unstable character, leaning almost wholly on his brother; incapable of that endurance of loneliness and temptation, which is an element of real greatness; but at the same time earnest in his devotion to God and man, and therefore capable of sacrifice and of discipline by trial.

His first office was to be the "Prophet," i. e. (according to the proper meaning of the word), the Interpreter and "Mouth" (Ex. iv. 16) of his brother, who was "slow of speech;" and accordingly he was not only the organ of communication with the Israelites and with Pharaoh (Ex. iv. 30, vii. 2), but also the actual instrument of working most of the miracles of the Exodus. (See Ex. vii. 19, &c.) Thus also on the way to Mount Sinai, during the battle with Amalek, Aaron is mentioned with Hur, as staying up the weary hands of Moses, when they were lifted up for the victory of Israel (not in prayer, as is sometimes explained, but) to bear the rod of God (see Ex. xvii. 9). Through all this period, he is only mentioned as dependent upon his brother, and deriving all his authority from him. The contrast between them is even more strongly marked on the arrival at Sinai. Moses at once acts as the mediator (Gal. iii. 19) for the people, to come near to God for them, and to speak His words to them. Aaron only approaches with Nadab, and Abihu, and the seventy elders of Israel, by special command, near enough to see God's glory, but not so as to enter His immediate presence. Left then, on Moses' departure, to guide the people, he is tried

### AARON

for a moment on his own responsibility and he fails, not from any direct unbelief on his own part, but from a weak inability to withstand the demand of the people for visible "gods to go before them." Possibly it seemed to him prudent to make an image of Jehovah, in the well-known form of Egyptian idolatry (Apis or Mnevis), rather than to risk the total alienation of the people to false gods; and his weakness was rewarded by seeing a "feast of the Lord" (Ex. xxxii. 5) degraded to the lowest form of heathenish sensuality, and knowing, from Moses' words and deeds, that the covenant with the Lord was utterly broken. There can hardly be a stronger contrast with this weakness, and the self-convicted shame of his excuse, than the burning indignation of Moses, and his stern decisive measures of vengeance; although beneath these there lay an ardent affection, which went almost to the verge of presumption in prayer for the people (Ex. xxxii. 19-34), and gained forgiveness for Aaron himself (Deut. ix. 20).

It is not a little remarkable, that immediately after this great sin, and almost as though it had not occurred, God's fore-ordained purposes were carried out in Aaron's consecration to the new office of the high-priesthood. Probably the fall and the repentance from it may have made him one "who could have compassion on the ignorant, and them who are out of the way, as being himself also compassed with infirmity." The order of God for the consecration is found in Ex. xxix., and the record of its execution in Lev. viii.; and the delegated character of the Aaronic priesthood is clearly seen by the fact, that, in this its inauguration, the priestly office is borne by Moses, as God's truer representative (see Heb. vii.).

The form of consecration resembled other sacrificial ceremonies in containing, first, a sin-offering, the form of cleansing from sin and reconciliation [SIN-OFFERING]; a burnt-offering, the symbol of entire devotion to God of the nature so purified [BURNT-OFFERING]; and a meat-offering, the thankful acknowledgment and sanctifying of God's natural blessings [MEAT-OFFERING]. It had, however, besides these, the solemn assumption of the sacred robes (the garb of righteousness), the anointing (the symbol of God's grace), and the offering of the ram of consecration, the blood of which was sprinkled on Aaron and his sons, as upon the altar and vessels of the ministry, in order to sanctify them for the service of God. The former ceremonies

represented the blessings and duties of the man, the latter the special consecration of the priest.<sup>a</sup>

The solemnity of the office, and its entire dependence for sanctity on the ordinance of God, were vindicated by the death of Nadab and Abihu, for "offering strange fire" on the altar, and apparently (see Lev. x. 9, 10) for doing so in drunken recklessness. Aaron's checking his sorrow, so as at least to refrain from all outward signs of it, would be a severe trial to an impulsive and weak character, and a proof of his being lifted above himself by the office which he held.

From this time the history of Aaron is almost entirely that of the priesthood, and its chief feature is the great rebellion of Korah and the Levites against his sacerdotal dignity, united with that of Dathan and Abiram and the Reubenites against the temporal authority of Moses [KORAH]. The true vindication of the reality of Aaron's priesthood was, not so much the death of Korah by the fire of the Lord, as the efficacy of his offering of incense to stay the plague, by which he was seen to be accepted as an Intercessor for the people. The blooming of his rod which followed, was a miraculous sign, visible to all, and capable of preservation, of God's choice of him and his house.

The only occasion, on which his individual character is seen, is one of presumption, prompted as before chiefly by another, and, as before, speedily repented of. The murmuring of Aaron and Miriam against Moses clearly proceeded from their trust, the one in his priesthood, the other in her prophetic inspiration, as equal commissions from God (Num. xii. 2). It seems to have vanished at once before the declaration of Moses' exaltation above all prophecy and priesthood, except that of One who was to come; and, if we may judge from the direction of the punishment, to have originated mainly with Miriam. On all other occasions he is spoken of as acting with Moses in the guidance of the people. Leaving as he seems to have done wholly on him, it is not strange that he should have shared his sin at Meribah, and its punishment [MOSSES] (Num. xx. 10-12). As that punishment seems to have purged out from Moses the tendency to self-confidence, which tainted his character, so in Aaron it may have destroyed that idolatry of a stronger mind, into which a weaker one, once conquered, is apt to fall. Aaron's death seems to have followed very speedily. It took place on Mount Hor, after the transference of his robes and office to Eleazar, who alone with Moses was present at his death, and performed his burial (Num. xx. 28). This mount is still called the "Mount of Aaron." [LXX.]

The wife of Aaron was Elisheba (Ex. vi. 23); and the two sons who survived him, Eleazar and Ithamar. The high priesthood descended to the former, and to his descendants until the time of Eli, who, although of the house of Ithamar, received the high priesthood (see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 11, § 5, viii. 1, § 3), and transmitted it to his children; with them it continued till the accession of Solomon, who took it from Abiathar, and restored it to Zadok (of the house of Eleazar), so fulfilling the prophecy of 1 Sam. ii. 30. [A. B.]

N.B. In 1 Chr. xxvii. 17, "Aaron" (אֶהֱרֹן) is counted as one of the "tribes of Israel."

<sup>a</sup> It is noticeable that the ceremonies of the restoration of the leper to his place, as one of God's people, bear a strong resemblance to those of consecration. See Lev. xiv. 10-32.

AB (אב, *father*), an element in the composition of many proper names, of which Abia is a Chaldeic form, the syllable affixed giving the emphatic force of the definite article. Applied to God by Jesus Christ (Mat. xiv. 36), and by St. Paul (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6). [R. W. B.]

AB. [MOSSES.]

AB'ACUC, 2 Esdr. i. 40. [HABAKKUK.]

ABAD'DON. [ASMODELUS.]

ABAG'THA (אֲבָגְתָּה; *Abgathu*), one of the seven emichs in the Persian court of Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10). In the LXX. the names of these emichs are different. The word contains the same root which we find in the Persian names *Beglus* (Esth. i. 10), *Begthos* (Esth. ii. 21), *Begthana* (Esth. vi. 2), and *Bagusa*. Bohlen explains it from the Sanscrit *bagadāta*, "given by fortune," from *bagi*, fortune, the sun.

AB'ANA (אֲבָנָה; *Abana*), one of the "rivers (נהרות) of Damascus" (2 K. v. 12). The *Barada* (Χρυσόπλοας of the Greeks) and the *Araf* are now the chief streams of Damascus, and there can be little doubt that the former of these represents the Abana and the latter the Phazar of the text. As far back as the days of Ptolemy and Strabo the *Barada* was, as it now is, the chief river of the city (Job. iii. 446), flowing through it, and supplying most of its dwellings with water. The *Araf* is further from Damascus, and a native of the place, if speaking of the two together, would certainly, with Nannan, name the *Barada* first (Porter, i. 276). To this may be added the fact that in the Arabic version of the passage—the date of which has been fixed by Rodiger as the 11th cent.—Abana is rendered by

*Barada*, بردی. Further, it seems to have escaped notice that one branch of the *Araf*—if Kiepert's map (in Job. 1856) is to be trusted—now bears the name of *Wady Barbar*. There is however no reference to this in Robinson or Porter.

The *Barada* rises in the Anti-Libanus near *Zabdin*, at about 2½ miles from the city, and 1119 feet above it. In its course it passes the site of the ancient Abia, and receives the waters of *Ain-Fayh*, one of the largest springs in Syria. This was long believed to be the real source of the *Barada*, according to the popular usage of the country, which regards the most copious fountain, not the most distant head, as the origin of a river. We meet with other instances of the same mistake in the case of the Jordan and the Orontes [AIX]; it is to Dr. Robinson that we are indebted for its discovery in the present case (Job. iii. 477). After flowing through Damascus the *Barada* runs across the plain, leaving the remarkable Assyrian ruin *Tell es-Sakhieh* on its left bank, till it loses itself in the lake or marsh *Bahret el-Khilyeh*. Mr. Porter calculates that 14 villages and 150,000 souls are dependent on this important river. For the course of the *Barada* see Porter, vol. i. chap. v. Journ. of S. Lit. N.S. viii., Job. iii. 446, 7. Lightfoot (*Cent. Chor.* iv.) and Gesenius (*Thes.* 116) quote the name קְרַמְיִין as applied in the Lexicon *Arabic* to the Amanus. [G.]

ABA'RIM (Milton accents Ab'arim), the "mount," or "mountains of" (always with

<sup>b</sup> The *Keri*, with the Targum Jonathan and the Syriac version, has *Amamah*. See margin of A. V.

the def. article, הַר הָעֲבָרִים, or הָרִי, τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀβαρίμ, or ἐν τῇ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, = the mountains of the further parts, or possibly, of the fords), a mountain or range of highlands on the east of the Jordan, in the land of Moab (Deut. xxvii. 49), facing Jericho, and forming the eastern wall of the Jordan valley at that part. Its most elevated spot was "the Mount Nebo," head of "the" Pisgah," from which Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death. There is nothing to prove that the Abaim were a range or tract of any length, unless the Ἱε-Abarin ("heaps of A.") named in Num. xxviii. 44, and which were on the south frontier of Moab, are to be taken as belonging to them. But it must be remembered that a word derived from the same root as Abaim, viz. עֲבַר, is the term commonly applied to the whole of the country on the east of the Jordan.

These mountains are mentioned in Num. xxviii. 12, xxviii. 17, 48, and Deut. xxxiii. 49; also probably in Jer. xiv. 20, where the word is rendered in the A. V. "passages."

In the absence of research on the E. of the Jordan and of the Dead Sea, the topography of those regions must remain to a great degree obscure. [G.]

**ABDA** (עֲבָדָא; Ἀβδῶν; Ἀβδ). 1. Father of Adoniram (1 K. iv. 6). 2. Son of Shammua (Neh. xi. 17), called Obadiah in 1 Chr. ix. 16.

**AB'DEEL** (עֲבְדֵאל; Ἀβδελ), father of Shechemah (Jer. xxxvi. 26).

**AB'DI** (עֲבָדִי; Ἀβαί; Ἀβδ), name of three men. 1. (1 Chr. vi. 14). 2. (2 Chr. xiv. 12). 3. (Ezr. x. 26).

**ABDIAS**, 2 Es. fr. i. 39. [OBADIAH.]

**AB'DIEL** (עֲבְדִיאל; Ἀβδιήλ; Ἀβδιήλ), son of Guni (1 Chr. v. 15).

**AB'DON** (עֲבְדֹן; Ἀβδὸν; Ἀβδῶν). 1. A judge of Israel (Judg. xii. 13, 15), perhaps the same person as Bedan in 1 Sam. xii. 11. 2. Son of Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 23). 3. First-born son of Jehiel, son of Gibeon (1 Chr. viii. 30, ix. 35, 36). 4. Son of Meiah, a contemporary of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 20), called Achibor in 2 K. xxii. 12.

**AB'DON** (עֲבְדֹן; Ἀβδὸν, Ἀββῶν, Παβῶθ), a city in the tribe of Asher, given to the Gershonites (Josh. xxi. 30; 1 Chr. vi. 74). No place of this name appears in the list of the towns of Asher (Josh. xix. 24-31); but instead we find (28) עֲבֹן, "Hebron," which is the same word, with the change frequent in Hebrew of 7 for 7. Indeed many MSS. have Ablon in Josh. xix. 28 (Ges. 380; Winer, s. v.); but, on the other hand, all the ancient versions retain the R, except the Vatican LXX, which has Ἐαβῶν (Alex. Ἀχράν). [G.]

**ABED'NEGO** (עֲבֶר-נֶגוֹ; Ἀβδευαγῶ; Ἀβδευαγῶ), i. e. *servant of Nego*, perhaps the same as Nebo, which was the Chaldaean name of the planet Mercury, worshipped as the scribe and interpreter of the gods (Gesens). Abednego was the Chaldaean name

given to Azariah, one of the three friends of Daniel, miraculously saved from the burning fiery furnace (Dan. iii.). [AZARIAH, No. 10.] [R. W. B.]

**ABEL** (אֶבֶל = <sup>b</sup> meadow, according to Gesenius, who derives it from a root signifying moisture like that of grass: see, however, the arguments in favour of a different meaning of Lengerke, *Kenan*, i. 358, and Hengstenberg, *Pent.* ii. 319); the name of several places in Palestine:—

1. **A'BEL-BETH-MA'ACHA** (בֵּית מַעֲכָה, א), a town of some importance (πόλις καὶ μητροπολις, "a city and a mother in Israel" 2 Sam. xv. 19), in the extreme N. of Palestine; named with Dan, Cinneroth, Kedesh; and as such falling an early prey to the invading kings of Syria (1 K. xv. 20) and Assyria (2 K. xv. 29). In the parallel passage, 2 Chr. xvi. 4, the name is changed to Abel Main, מַיִם אֶ = "Abel on the waters." Here Sheba was overtaken and besieged by Joab (2 Sam. xv. 14, 15); and the city was saved by the exercise on the part of one of its inhabitants of that sagacity for which it was proverbial (18). In verses 14 and 18 it is simply Abel, and in 14 is apparently distinguished from Beth-maacha. If the derivation of Gesenius be the correct one, the situation of Abel was probably in the *Ard el-Huleh*, the marshy meadow country which drains into the Sea of Meom, whether at *Abil* (Holmson, iii. 372), or more to the south (Stanley, *S. and P.* 390 *note*). Eusebius and Jerome place it between Paneas and Danuscaus; but this has not been identified.

2. **A'BEL-MIZRAIM** (Μιζραΐμ, מִצְרַיִם א), according to the etymology of the text, the mourning of Egypt, πένθος Αἰγύπτου (this meaning, however, requires a different pointing, אֶבֶל for אֶבֶל); the name given by the Canaanites to the floor of Atad, at which Joseph, his brothers, and the Egyptians made their mourning for Jacob (Gen. l. 11). It was beyond (עֲבֵר) — on the east of the Jordan, though placed by Jerome at Beth-Hogla (now *Ab-Hajla*), near the river, on its west bank. [ATAH.]

3. **A'BEL-SHITTIM** (with the article הַשִּׁטִּים א), "the meadow of the acacias," in the "plains" (עֲרֵבָת = the deserts) of Moab; on the low level of the Jordan valley, as contradistinguished from the cultivated "fields" on the upper level of the table-land. Here—their last resting-place before crossing the Jordan—Israel "pitched from Beth-jeshimoth unto A. Shittim," Num. xxiii. 49. The place is most frequently mentioned by its shorter name of Shittim. [SHITTIM.] In the days of Josephus it was still known as Abila,—the town encompassed in palms, (σπουρὸν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβίλη, φοινικόφυτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, *Ant.* iv. 8, § 1), 60 stadia from the river (v. 1, § 1). The town and the palms have disappeared; but the acacia-groves, denoted by the name Shittim, still remain, "marking with a line of verdure the upper terraces of the Jordan valley" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 298).

4. **A'BEL-MEHO'LAH** (Μεωλάη, מְחֹלָה א),

<sup>a</sup> The *Am* is here rendered by *il*. The *il* in the well-known Hebron represents *Ch*. Elsewhere (as Gaza, Gomorrah) *Am* is rendered by *G* in the Auth. Version.

<sup>b</sup> It is in favour of Gesenius' interpretation that the Chaldee Targum always renders Abel by *Mishai*, which

in later Hebrew lost its special significance, and was used for a level spot or plain generally.

<sup>c</sup> It was amongst these palms, according to Josephus, that Deuteronomy was delivered by Moses. See the passage above cited.

"meadow of the dance"), named with Beth-shean (Scythopolis) and Joknean (1 K. iv. 12), and therefore in the N. part of the Jordan valley (Eus. *ἐν τῇ ἀβλῶνι*). To "the border (the 'lip' or 'brink') of Abel-meholah," and to Beth-shittah (the 'house of the acacia'), both places being evidently down in the Jordan valley, the routed Belouin host fled from Gilead (Judg. vii. 22). Here Elisha was found at his plough by Elijah returning up the valley from Horeb (1 K. xix. 16-19). In Jerome's time the name had dwindled to 'Abelmea.

5. A'BEL-GERA-MIM (אֲבֵל גֵּרָמִים), in the A. V. rendered "the plain of the vineyards," a place eastward of Jordan, beyond Arcoi; named as the point to which Jephthah's pursuit of the Beue-Ammon extended (Judg. xi. 33). A *κῶμη ἀμπελοφόρος* "Abel" is mentioned by Eusebius at 6 (Jerome, 7) miles beyond Philadelphia (Rabbah); and another, *οἰνοφόρος καλουμένη*, more to the N. 12 miles E. from Gadara, below the Hieromax. Rufus bearing the name of Abila are still found in the same position (Nitter, *Syria*, 1058). There were at least three places with the name of Arcoi on the further side of the Jordan. [ARCOI.]

6. "THE GREAT 'ABEL,' in the field of Joshua the Bethshemite" (1 Sam. vi. 18). By comparison with 14 and 15, it would seem that אֲבֵל has been here exchanged for אֶבֶן, and that for אֶבֶן should be read אֲבֵן = stone. So the LXX. and the Chaldee Targum. Our translators, by the insertion of "stone of," take a middle course. See, however, Leunger (358) and Herchermer (1 Sam. vi. 18), who hold by Abel as being the name subsequently given to the spot in reference to the "mourning" (אֲבֵלָה) there, ver. 19. In this case compare Gen. 1. 11. [G.]

A'BEL, in Hebr. HEBEL (הֶבֶל; אֲבֵל; Abel; i. e. *breath, vapour, transitoriness*, probably so called from the shortness of his life), the second son of Adam, murdered by his brother Cain (Gen. iv. 1-16). Jehovah showed respect for Abel's offering, but not for that of Cain, because, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 4), Abel "by faith offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain." The expression "sin," i. e. a sin-offering "lieth at the door" (Gen. iv. 7), seems to imply that the need of sacrifices of blood to obtain forgiveness was already revealed. On account of Abel's faith, St. Augustine makes Abel the type of the new regenerate man; Cain that of the natural man (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 1). St. Chrysostom observes that Abel offered the *best* of his flock—Cain that which was most readily procured (*Hom. in Gen.* xviii. 5). Jesus Christ spoke of him as the first martyr (Matt. xxiii. 35); so did the early church subsequently. For Christian traditions see Iren. v. 67; Chrysost. *Hom. in Gen.* xix.; Cedren. *Hist.* 8. For those of the Rabbins and Mahommedans, Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt. Jud.* i. 462, 832; Hottinger, *Hist. Or.* 24; Ersch & Gruber, *Encyklop.* s. v.; and the *Kur-ân* V. The place of his murder and his grave are pointed out near Damascus (Pococke, b. ii. 168); and the neighbouring peasants tell a curious tradition respecting his burial (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 413).

The Oriental Gnosticism of the Sabæans made Abel an innuante Aeon, and the Gnostic or Manichean sect of the Abellæ in North Africa in the time of Augustine (*de Haeres.* 86, 87), so called

themselves from a tradition that Abel, though married, lived in continence. In order to avoid perpetuating original sin, they followed his example, but in order to keep up their sect, each married pair adopted a male and female child, who in their turn vowed to marry under the same conditions. [R. W. B.]

A'BEZ (אֲבֵז, in pause אֲבֵז; 'Pebez; Abes), a town in the possession of Issachar, named between Kishion and Remeth, in Josh. xiv. 20, only. Gesenius mentions as a possible derivation of the name, that the Chaldee for tin is אֲבֵזָה. Possibly, however, the word is a corruption of אֲבֵזָה, Thebez, now *Tibbis*, a town situated not far from Engannum and Shunem (both towns of Issachar), and which otherwise has entirely escaped mention in the list in Joshua. [G.]

A'BI (אֲבִי; 'Abou; Abi), mother of king Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 2). The name is written Abijah (אֲבִיָּה) in 2 Chr. xxix. 1. Her father's name was Zechariah. He was perhaps the Zechariah mentioned by Isaiah (viii. 2). [R. W. B.]

ABI'A, ABI'AH, or ABI'JAH (אֲבִיָּה — אֲבִיָּה; 'Abid; Abi). 1. Son of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 8). 2. Wife of Hezion (1 Chr. ii. 24). 3. Second son of Samuel, whom together with his eldest son Joel he made judges in Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chr. vi. 28). The corruptness of their administration was the reason alleged by the Israelites for their demanding a king. 4. Mother of king Hezekiah. [ABI.]

For other persons of this name see ABIAJI.

[R. W. B.]

ABI-AL'BON. [ABIEL.]

ABI'ASAPH, otherwise written EBI'ASAPH (אֲבִיָּאֶסָף; Ex. vi. 24, and אֲבִיָּאֶסָף, 1 Chr. vi. 8, 22, iv. 19; 'Abidasp, 'Abidasp, 'Abidasp; Abiasaph; according to Simonis, "*caput patrem absolutè Denis*," with reference to the death of Korah, as related in Num. xvi.; but according to Furst and Gesenius, *father of gathering*, i. e. *the gatherer*; compare אֲבִיָּאֶסָף, Asaph, 1 Chr. vi. 39).

He was the head of one of the families of the Korhites (a house of the Kohathites), but his precise genealogy is somewhat uncertain. In Ex. vi. 24, he appears at first sight to be represented as one of the sons of Korah, and as the brother of Assir and Elkanaah. But in 1 Chr. vi. he appears as the son of Elkanaah, the son of Assir, the son of Korah. The natural inference from this would be that in Ex. vi. 24 the expression "the sons of Korah" merely means the families into which the house of the Korhites was subdivided. But if so, the verse in Exodus must be a later insertion than the time of Moses, as in Moses' lifetime the great-grandson of Korah could not have been the head of a family. And it is remarkable that the verse is quite out of its place, and appears improperly to separate ver. 25 and ver. 23, which both relate to the house of Aaron. If, however, this inference is not correct, then the Abiasaph of 1 Chr. vi. is a different person from the Abiasaph of Ex. vi., viz. his great-nephew. But this does not seem probable. It appears from 1 Chr. ix. 19, that that branch of the descendants of Abiasaph of which Shallum was chief were potters, "keepers of the gates of the tabernacle;" and from ver. 31 that

Mattithiah, "the first-born of Shallum the Korahite had the set office over the things that were made in the pans," apparently in the time of David. From Neh. xii. 25 we learn that Abisaph's family was not extinct in the days of Nehemiah; for the family of Meshullam (which is the same as Shallum), with Tahmon and Akkub, still filled the office of porters, "keeping the ward at the threshold of the gate." Other remarkable descendants of Abisaph, according to the text of 1 Chr. vi. 33-37, were Samuel the prophet and Elkanah his father (1 Sam. i. 1), and Heman the singer; but Ebisaph seems to be improperly inserted in ver. 37.\* The possessions of those Kohathites who were not descended from Aaron, consisting of ten cities, lay in the tribe of Ephraim, the half-tribe of Manasseh, and the tribe of Dan (Josh. xxi. 20-26; 1 Chr. vi. 61). The family of Elkanah the Kohathite resided in Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. i. 1). [A. C. H.]

**ABIATHAR** (אַבִּיָּאֲתָר; *Abiathar*; but the version of Sanctes Pagninus has *Ebiathar*, according to the Hebrew points. In Mark ii. 26, it is *'Abiathar*. According to Symonds, the name means "(eius) pater superstes naturalis, montis sil. matris," but according to Fürst and Gesenius, *father of excellence, or abundance*). Abiathar was that one of all the sons of Ahimelech the high priest who escaped the slaughter inflicted upon his father's house by Saul, at the instigation of Doeg the Edomite (see title to Ps. lii. and the psalm itself), in revenge for his having inquired of the Lord for David, and given him the shew-bread to eat, and the sword of Goliath the Philistine, as is related in 1 Sam. xxi. We are there told that when Doeg slew in Nob on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod, "one of the sons of Ahimelech the son of Ahitab, named Abiathar, escaped and fled after David;" and it is added in xviii. 6, that when he did so "he came down with an ephod in his hand," and was thus enabled to inquire of the Lord for David (1 Sam. xxi. 9, xxv. 7; 2 Sam. ii. 1, v. 19, &c.). The fact of David having been the unwilling cause of the death of all Abiathar's kindred, coupled with his gratitude to his father Ahimelech for his kindness to him, made him a firm and steadfast friend to Abiathar all his life. Abiathar on his part was firmly attached to David. He adhered to him in his wanderings while pursued by Saul; he was with him while he reigned in Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 1-3), the city of the house of Aaron (Josh. xvi. 10-13); he carried the ark before him when David brought it up to Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 11; 1 K. ii. 26)† he continued faithful to him in Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xv. 24, 29, 35, 36, xvii. 15-17, xiv. 11); and "was afflicted in all wherein David was afflicted." He was also one of David's chief counsellors (1 Chr. xxvii. 34). When, however, Adonijah set himself up for David's successor on the throne in opposition to Solomon, Abiathar, either persuaded by Joab, or in rivalry to Zadok, or under some influence which cannot now be discovered, sided with him, and was one of his chief partisans, while Zadok was on Solomon's side. For this Abiathar was banished to his native village, Anathoth, in the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xxi. 18), and narrowly escaped with his life, which was

spared by Solomon only on the strength of his long and faithful service to David his father. He was no longer permitted to perform the functions or enjoy the prerogatives of the high-priesthood. For we are distinctly told that "Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest to the Lord;" and that "Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar" (1 K. ii. 27, 35). So that it is difficult to understand the assertion in 1 K. iv. 4, that in Solomon's reign "Zadok and Abiathar were the priests;" and still more difficult in connexion with ver. 2, which tells us that "Azariah the son of Zadok" was "the priest;" a declaration confirmed by 1 Chr. vi. 10. It is probable that Abiathar did not long survive David. He is not mentioned again, and he must have been far advanced in years at Solomon's accession to the throne.

There are one or two other difficulties connected with Abiathar, to which a brief reference must be made before we conclude this article. (1.) In 2 Sam. vii. 17, and in the duplicate passage 1 Chr. xviii. 16, and in 1 Chr. xxix. 3, 6, 31, we have *Ahimelech* substituted for *Abiathar*, and *Ahimelech* the son of *Abiathar*, instead of *Abiathar* the son of *Ahimelech*. Whereas in 2 Sam. xx. 25, and in every other passage in the O. T., we are uniformly told that it was Abiathar who was priest with Zadok in David's reign, and that he was the son of Ahimelech, and that Ahimelech was the son of Ahitab. The difficulty is increased by finding Abiathar spoken of as the high-priest in whose time David ate the shew-bread, in Mark ii. 26. (See Alford, *ad loc.*) However, the evidence in favour of David's friend being *Abiathar* the son of *Ahimelech* preponderates so strongly, and the impossibility of any rational reconciliation is so clear, that one can only suppose, with Procopius of Gaza, that the error was a clerical one originally, and was propagated from one passage to another. The mention of *Abiathar* by our Lord, in Mark ii. 26, might perhaps be accounted for, if Abiathar was the person who persuaded his father to allow David to have the bread, and if, as is probable, the leaves were Abiathar's (Lev. xxiv. 9), and given by him with his own hand to David. It may also be remarked that our Lord doubtless spoke of Abiathar as אֲבִיָּאֲתָר, "the priest," the designation applied to Ahimelech throughout 1 Sam. xx., and equally applicable to Abiathar. The expression ἀρχιερεὺς is the Greek translation of our Lord's words.

(2.) Another difficulty concerning Abiathar is to determine his position relatively to Zadok, and to account for the double high-priesthood, and for the advancement of the line of Ithamar over that of Eleazar. A theory has been invented that Abiathar was David's, and Zadok Saul's high-priest, but it seems to rest on no solid ground. The facts of the case are these:—Ahimelech, the son of Ahitab, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, was high-priest in the reign of Saul. On his death his son Abiathar became high-priest. The first mention of Zadok is in 1 Chr. xii. 28, where he is described as "a young man mighty of valour," and is said to have joined David while he reigned in Hebron, in company with Jehoiada, "the leader of the Aarontes." From this time we read, both in the books of Samuel and Chronicles, of "Zadok and Abiathar the priests," Zadok being always named first. And yet we are told that Solomon on his accession put Zadok in the room of Abiathar. Perhaps the true state of the case was, that Abiathar was the first,

\* See *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, by Lord Arthur Hervey, p. 210, and p. 214, note.

and Zadok the second priest; but that from the superior strength of the house of Eleazar (of which Zadok was head), which enabled it to furnish 16 out of the 24 courses (1 Chr. xxiv.), Zadok acquired considerable influence with David; and that thus, added to his being the heir of the elder line, and perhaps also to some of the passages being written after the line of Zadok were established in the high-priesthood, led to the precedence given him over Abiathar. We have already suggested the possibility of jealousy of Zadok being one of the motives which inclined Abiathar to join Adonijah's faction. It is most remarkable how, first, Saul's cruel slaughter of the priests at Nob, and then the political error of the wise Abiathar, led to the fulfilment of God's denunciation against the house of Eli, as the writer of 1 K. ii. 27 leads us to observe when he says that "Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord, that he might fulfil the word of the Lord which He spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh." See also Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, §§3, 4.

ABIB. [MONTHS.]

ABUDAH and ABUDA (אַבִּידָה; 'Abēidā; *Abida*), a son of Midian (Gen. xxv. 4; 1 Chr. i. 33). [E. S. P.]

ABIDAN (אַבִּידָן; 'Abēdān; *Abidan*), chief of the tribe of Benjamin at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 11, n. 22, vii. 60, 65, x. 24).

ABIEL (אַבְיֵל; 'Abēlā; *Abiel*). 1. The father of Kish, and consequently grandfather of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1), as well as of Abner, Saul's commander-in-chief (1 Sam. xiv. 51). In the genealogy in 1 Chr. vii. 33, ix. 39, Ner is made the father of Kish, and the name of Abiel is omitted, but the correct genealogy according to Samuel is:—

Ann L

Kish	Ner
Saul	Abner

2. One of David's 30 "mighty men" (1 Chr. xi. 32); called in 2 Sam. xviii. 31, Ali-Abdon, a name which has the same meaning. [R. W. B.]

ABIEZER (אַבִּיעֶזֶר; 'Abē'ezēr; *Abiezer*), *father of help*; 'Abē'ezēr, יֵעֶזֶר; *familia Ezer, domus Abie* (i).

1. Eldest son of Gilead, and descendant of Machi and Manasseh, and apparently at one time the leading family of the tribe (Josh. xvii. 2; Num. xvi. 30, where the name is given in the contracted form of אֶיעֶזֶר, *Jezzer*). In the genealogies of

Chronicles, Abiezer is, in the present state of the text, said to have sprung from the sister of Gilead (1 Chr. vi. 18). Originally, therefore, the family was with the rest of the house of Gilead on the east of Jordan; but when first met with in the history, some part at least of it had crossed the Jordan and established itself at Ophrah, a place which, though not yet identified, must have been on the hills which overlook from the south the wide plain of Eschraelon, the field of so many of the battles of Palestine (Stanley, 246-7; Judg. vi. 31). Here, when the fortunes of his family were at the lowest—"my 'thousand' is 'the poor one' in Manasseh" (vi. 15)—was born the great Judge Gideon, destined to raise his own house to almost royal dignity (Stanley, 229), and to achieve for his country one of the most signal deliverances recorded in their whole

history. [GIDFON; OPHRAH.] The name occurs, in addition to the passages above quoted, in Judg. vi. 34, viii. 2; and in an adjectival form (אַבְיָהָרִי, "the Abiezrite") in Judg. vi. 11, 24, viii. 32.

2. One of David's "mighty men" (2 Sam. xxiii. 27; 1 Chr. xi. 28, xxvii. 12). [G.]

ABIGAIL (אַבִּיגַיִל, or אַבְיגַיִל; 'Abigāyā; *Abigail*).

1. The beautiful wife of Nabal, a wealthy owner of goats and sheep in Carmel. When David's messengers were slighted by Nabal, Abigail took the blame upon herself, supplied David and his followers with provisions, and succeeded in appeasing his anger. Ten days after this Nabal died, and David sent for Abigail and made her his wife (1 Sam. xxi. 14, seq.). By her he had a son, called Chileab in 2 Sam. iii. 3; but Daniel, in 1 Chr. iii. 1. For Daniel Thénius proposes to read בְּרִיָּה, suggested to him by the LXX. *Δαλιούτα* (Thén. *Euc. Handb.* *ad loc.*).

2. A sister of David, married to Jether the Ishmaelite, and mother, by him, of Anasa (1 Chr. ii. 17). In 2 Sam. xvi. 2, she is described as the daughter of Nabal, sister to Zeruiah, Joab's mother, and as marrying Ishun (another form of Jether) an *Ismaelite*.

The statement in Samuel that the mother of Anasa was an *Ismaelite* is doubtless a transcription error. There could be no reason for recording this circumstance; but the circumstance of David's sister marrying a heathen Ishmaelite deserved mention (Thénus, *Euc. Handb.* *Sam.* i. c.). [R. W. B.]

ABIHAI'IL (אַבִּיהַיִּיל; 'Abigāyālā; *Abihail*).

1. Father of Zaniel, chief of the Levitical family of Merari, a contemporary of Moses (Num. iii. 35).

2. Wife of Abishur (1 Chr. ii. 29).

3. Son of Huri, of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 14).

4. Wife of Rehobeam. She is called the daughter, i. e. a descendant of Ehab, the elder brother of David. In 2 Chr. xi. 18, her name is written with ה instead of ח, and in the LXX. 'Αββαία. 5. Father of Esther and uncle of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 15, iv. 29).

The names of No. 2 and 4 are written in some MSS. אַבְיַהַיִּיל ('Abigāyālā, 1 Chr. ii. 29; 'Abigāyālā, 2 Chr. xi. 18), which Gesenius conjectures to be a corruption of אֲבִי חַיִּל, but which Simons

derives from a root אָחַל, and interprets "father of light, or splendour." [R. W. B.]

ABIHU (אַבִּיהוּ; 'Abēhū; *Abih*), the second son (Num. iii. 2) of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex. vi. 23),

who with his father and his elder brother, Nadab and 70 elders of Israel accompanied Moses to the summit of Sinai (Ex. xxv. 1). Being together with Nadab guilty of offering strange fire (Lev. x. 1) to the Lord, i. e. not the holy fire which burnt continually upon the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. vi. 9, 12); they were both consumed by fire from heaven, and Aaron and his surviving sons were forbidden to mourn for them. [R. W. B.]

ABIHUD (אַבִּיהוּד; 'Abēhūd; *Abihud*), son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 3).

ABIJAH or ABIJAM. 1. אֲבִיָּהָה, אֲבִיָּהָה, *will of Jehorah*; 'Abāhā, 'Abōhā, LXX; 'Abias, Joseph; *Abiann*, *Abir*), the son and successor of Rehobeam on the throne of Judah (1 K.

xiv. 31; 2 Chr. xii. 16). He is called *Abijah* in Chronicles, *Abiyah* in Kings; the latter name being probably an error in the MSS., since the LXX. have nothing corresponding to it, and their form, *Ἀβιάβ*, seems taken from *Abijahu*, which occurs 2 Chr. xiii. 20, 21. Indeed Gesenius says that some MSS. read *Abijah* in 1 K. xiv. 31. The supposition, therefore, of Lightfoot (*Harv. O. T.*, p. 209, Putnam's edition), that the writer in Kings, who takes a much worse view of Abijah's character than we find in Chronicles, altered the last syllable to avoid introducing the holy JAH into the name of a bad man, is unnecessary. But it is not fanciful or absurd, for changes of the kind were not unusual; for example, after the Samaritan schism, the Jews altered the name of Shechem into Sychar (*Drumke*), as we have it in John iv. 5; and Hosea (ix. 15) changes Bethel, *house of God*, into Bethaven, *house of vanity*. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 222.)

From the first book of Kings we learn that Abijah endeavoured to recover the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and made war on Jeroboam. No details are given, but we are also informed that he walked in all the sins of Jeroboam (idolatry and its attendant immoralties, 1 K. xiv. 23, 24), and that his heart "was not perfect before God, as the heart of David his father." In the second book of Chronicles his war against Jeroboam is more minutely described, and he makes a speech to the men of Israel, reproaching them for breaking their allegiance to the house of David, for worshipping the golden calves, and substituting unauthorized priests for the sons of Aaron and the Levites. He was successful in battle against Jeroboam, and took the cities of Bethel, Jerimoth, and Ephraim, with their dependent villages. It is also said that his army consisted of 100,000 men, and Jeroboam's of 800,000, of whom 500,000 fell in the action; but Kennicott (*The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered*, p. 532) shows that our MSS. are frequently incorrect as to numbers, and gives reasons for reducing these to 40,000, 80,000, and 50,000, as we actually find in the Vulgate printed at Venice in 1486 and in the old Latin version of Josephus; while there is perhaps some reason to think that the smaller numbers were in his original Greek text also. Nothing is said by the writer in Chronicles of the sins of Abijah, but we are told that after his victory he "waxed mighty, and married fourteen wives," whence we may well infer that he was elated with prosperity, and like his grandfather Solomon fell during the last two years of his life into wickedness, as described in Kings. Both records inform us that he reigned three years. His mother was called either Maachah or Michaiah, which are mere variations of the same name, and in some places (1 K. xv. 2; 2 Chr. xi. 20) she is said to be the daughter of Absalom or Abshalom (again the same name); in one (2 Chr. xiii. 2) of Uriel of Gilead. But it is so common for the word **בַּת**, *daughter*, to be used in the sense of *granddaughter* or *descendant*, that we need not hesitate to assume that Uriel married Absalom's daughter, and that thus Maachah was daughter of Uriel and granddaughter of Absalom. Abijah therefore was descended from David, both on his father's and mother's side. According to Ewald's chronology the date of Abijah's accession was B.C. 968; Clinton places it in B.C. 959. The 18th year of Jeroboam coincides with the 1st and 2nd of Abijah.

2. The second son of Samuel, called ABIAH in our version (*Ἀβιάδ*, LXX.). [ABIA, ABIAH, No. 3.]

3. The son of Jeroboam I. king of Israel, in whom alone, of all the house of Jeroboam, was found "some good thing toward the Lord God of Israel," and who was therefore the only one of his family who was suffered to go down to the grave in peace. He died in his childhood, just after Jeroboam's wife had been sent in disguise to seek help for him in his sickness from the prophet Ahijah, who gave her the above answer. (1 K. xiv.)

4. A descendant of Eleazar, who gave his name to the eighth of the twenty-four *courses* into which the priests were divided by David (1 Chr. xxv. 10; 2 Chr. viii. 14). To the course of Abijah or Abia belonged Zacharias the father of John the Baptist (Luke i. 5).

5. A contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh. v. 7). [G. E. L. C.]

ABTJAM. [ABIAH, No. 1.]

A'BIŁA. [ABILENE.]

ABILENE (*Ἀβιληνή*, Luke iii. 1), a tetrarchy of which Abila was the capital. This Abila must not be confounded with Abila in Pemma, and other Syrian cities of the same name, but was situated on the eastern slope of Antilibanus, in a district fertilised by the river Euphrates. It is distinctly associated with Lebanon by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, §10, xix. 5, §1, xx. 7, §1; *B. J.* ii. 11, §5). Its name probably arose from the green luxuriance of its situation, "Abel" perhaps denoting "a grassy meadow." [See p. 3, b.] The name, thus derived, is quite sufficient to account for the traditions of the death of Abel, which are associated with the spot, and which are localised by the tomb called *Abel Hadit*, on a height above the ruins of the city. The position of the city is very clearly designated by the itineraries as 18 miles from Damascus, and 38 (or 32) miles from Belpolis or Baulbee (*Hon. Ant. and Tab. Pent.*).

It is impossible to fix the limits of the Abilene, which is mentioned by St. Luke as the tetrarchy of Lysanias. [LYSANIAS.] Like other districts of the East, it doubtless underwent many changes both of masters and of extent, before it was finally absorbed in the province of Syria. Josephus associates this neighbourhood with the name of Ly-anias both before and after the time referred to by the evangelist. For the later notices see the passages just cited. We there find "Abila of Lysanias," and "the tetrarchy of Lysanias," distinctly mentioned in the reigns of Claudius and Caligula. We find also the phrase *Ἀβίλα Λυσανίου* in Ptolemy (v. 15, §22). The natural conclusion appears to be that this was the Lysanias of St. Luke. It is true that a chieftain bearing the same name is mentioned by Josephus in the time of Antony and Cleopatra, as ruling in the same neighbourhood (*Ant.* xiv. 3, §3, xv. 4, §1; *B. J.* i. 13, §1; also Dion Cass. xlv. 32); and from the close connexion of this man's father with Lebanon and Damascus (*Ant.* xiii. 16, §3, xv. 7, §1; *B. J.* i. 9, §2) it is probable that Abilene was part of his territory, and that the Lysanias of St. Luke was the son or grandson of the former. Even if we assume (as many writers too readily assume) that the tetrarch mentioned in the time of Claudius and Caligula is to be identified, not with the Lysanias of St. Luke, but with the earlier Lysanias (never called tetrarch and never positively connected with Abila) in the times of Antony and Cleopatra, there is no difficulty in believing that a prince bearing this name ruled

over a tetrarchy having Abila for its capital, in the 15th year of Tiberius. See Wieseler, *Chronologisch-gesch. Synopse der vier Evangelien*, pp. 171-183.)

The site of the chief city of Abilene has been undoubtedly identified where the Itineraries place it; and its remains have been described of late years by many travellers. It stood in a remarkable gorge called the *Sâk Wady Barabâ*, where the river breaks down through the mountain towards the plain of Damascus. Among the remains the inscriptions are most to our purpose. One containing the words *Αυσαίου Τετράρχου* is cited by Pococke, but has not been seen by any subsequent traveller. Two Latin inscriptions on the face of a rock above a fragment of Roman road (first noticed in the *Quarterly Review* for 1822, No. 52) were first published by Letronne (*Journal des Savans*, 1827), and afterwards by Orelli (*Inscr. Lat.* 4997, 4998). One relates to some repairs of the road at the expense of the *Abilens*; the other associates the 16th Legion with the place. (See Hogg, in the *Trans. of the Royal Geog. Soc.* for 1851; Porter, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July, 1853, and especially his *Damascus*, i. 261-273; and Robinson, *Later Lib. Res.* 478-481.) [J. S. H.]

**ABIMAEI** (אַבִּימַאֵי; Ἀβιμαῖ; *Abimaei*), a descendant of Joktan (Gen. x. 28; 1 Chr. i. 22), and probably the progenitor of an Arab tribe. Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 24) conjectures that his name is preserved in that of *Mâli*, a place in Arabia Aromatica, mentioned by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 4), and thinks that the *Mahlae* are the same as Ptolemy's *Mantae* (vi. 7, §151), and that they were a people of the Minæans (for whom see *ARABIA*). The name in Arabic would probably be written *أبو مائل*. [E. S. P.]

**ABIMELECH** (אַבִּימֶלֶךְ; *father of the king*, or *father-king*; Ἀβιμέλεχ; *Abimelech*), the name of several Philistine kings. It is supposed by many to have been a common title of their kings, like that of Pharaoh among the Egyptians, and that of Caesar and Augustus among the Romans. The name *Father of the king*, or *Father king*, corresponds to *Padaisah* (Father king), the title of the Persian kings, and *Málth* (Father, pater), the title of the Khans of Bucharia (Gesen, *Thes.*). An argument to the same effect is drawn from the title of Ps. xxiv., in which the name of Abimelech is given to the king, who is called Achish in 1 Sam. xvi. 11; but perhaps we ought not to attribute much historical value to the inscription of the Psalm.

1. A Philistine, king of Gerar (Gen. xx. xvi.), who, exercising the right claimed by Eastern princes, of collecting all the beautiful women of their dominions into their harem (Gen. xii. 15; Esth. ii. 3), sent for and took Sarah. A similar account is given of Abraham's conduct on this occasion, to that of his behavior towards Pharaoh [*ABRAHAM*].

2. Another king of Gerar in the time of Isaac, of whom a similar narrative is recorded in relation to Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 1, seq.).

3. Son of the judge Gideon by his Shechemite concubine (Judg. viii. 31). After his father's death he murdered all his brethren, 70 in number, with the exception of Jotham the youngest, who concealed

himself; and he then persuaded the Shechemites, through the influence of his mother's brethren, to elect him king. It is evident from this narrative that Shechem now became an independent state, and threw off the yoke of the conquering Israelites (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 444). When Jotham heard that Abimelech was made king, he addressed to the Shechemites his fable of the trees choosing a king (Judg. ix. 1, seq. cf. Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, §2), which may be compared with the well-known fable of Menenius Agrippa (Liv. ii. 32). After he had reigned three years, the citizens of Shechem rebelled. He was absent at the time, but he returned and quelled the insurrection. Shortly after he stormed and took Thebez, but was struck on the head by a woman with the fragment of a mill-stone (comp. 2 Sam. xi. 21); and lest he should be said to have died by a woman, he had his armour-bearer slay him. Thus God avenged the murder of his brethren, and fulfilled the curse of Jotham.

4. Son of Abiathar, the high-priest in the time of David (1 Chr. xviii. 16), called Abimelech in 2 Sam. viii. 16 [*ABIMELECH*]. [R. W. B.]

**ABIN'ADAB** (אַבִּינָדָב; Ἀβινάδab; *Abinadab*). 1. A Levite, a native of Kirjathjearim, in whose house the ark remained 20 years (1 Sam. vii. 1, 2; 1 Chr. vii. 7). 2. Second son of Jesse, who followed Saul to his war against the Philistines (1 Sam. xvi. 8, xvii. 13). 3. A son of Saul, who was slain with his brothers at the fatal battle on Mount Gilboa (2 Sam. xxi. 2). 4. Father of one of the 12 chief officers of Solomon (1 K. iv. 7). [R. W. B.]

**ABIN'OAM** (אַבִּינוֹעַם; Ἀβινωῆμ; *Abinonim*), the father of Baak (Judg. iv. 6, 12; v. 1, 12). [R. W. B.]

**ABIRAM** (אַבִּירָם; Ἀβερῶν; *Abiron*).

1. A Benjamite, son of Ehah, who with Dathan and On, men of the same tribe, and Korah a Levite, organized a conspiracy against Moses and Aaron (Num. xvi.). [For details, see *KORAH*]. 2. Eldest son of Hiel, the Bethelite, who died when his father laid the foundations of Jericho (1 K. xvi. 34), and thus accomplished the first part of the curse of Joshua (Josh. vi. 26). [R. W. B.]

**ABISHAG** (אַבִּישָׁג; Ἀβισάγ; *Abisai*), a beautiful Shunammite, taken into David's harem to comfort him in his extreme old age (1 K. i. 1-4). After David's death Adonijah induced Bathsheba, the queen-mother, to ask Solomon to give him Abishag in marriage; but this impudent petition cost Adonijah his life (1 K. ii. 13, seq.). [*ADONIJAH*]. [R. W. B.]

**ABISHAI** (אַבִּישַׁי; Ἀβισαί and Ἀβισαί;

*Abisai*), son of David's sister Zeruiah, and brother of Joab. He was one of David's chief officers. The services which he rendered to David were numerous, and his zeal and devotion conspicuous. He accompanied him on his perilous visit to the camp of Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 5). He was eager to punish the insolence of Shimei (2 Sam. xvi. 9). He fled with him from Absalom, and commanded a third part of the royal army (2 Sam. xvii. 2). He rescued him from Ishbi-benob, the giant, in the war with the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi. 16, 17). Lastly, according to 1 Chr. xviii. 12, David's slaughter of 18,000 Edomites (or Syrians, 1 Sam. viii. 13) is due to Abishai. [R. W. B.]

## ABISHALOM (אַבִּישָׁלוֹם; Ἀβессαλῶμ;

*Abessalom*), father of Maachah, who was the wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (1 K. xv. 2, 10). He is called Absalom (אַבְשָׁלוֹם) in 2 Chr. xi. 20, 21.

This person must be David's son (see LXX., 2 Sam. xiv. 27). The daughter of Absalom was doubtless called Maachah after her grandmother (2 Sam. iii. 3).

ABISHUA (אַבִּישׁוּא; Ἀβισού; *Abisue*.

According to Simons, *pater salus*; i. q. *Σωσιπαιρος*, and *Σάπατρος*. According to Finist, *father or lord of happiness*. *Pater salus*, (Gesen.). 1. Son of Bela, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 4). 2. Son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and the father of Bakkî, in the genealogy of the high-priests (1 Chr. vi. 4, 5, 50, 51; Ezr. vii. 4, 5). According to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, §3) he executed the office of high-priest after his father Phinehas, and was succeeded by Eli; his descendants, till Zadok, falling into the rank of private persons (*Ἰδωτεύσαντες*). His name is corrupted into *Ἰωσάπτος*. Nothing is known of him. [A. C. H.]

ABISHUR (אַבִּישׁוּר; Ἀβισούρ; *Abisur*,

son of Shammai (1 Chr. ii. 28).

ABITAL (אַבִּיטָל; Ἀβιτάλ; *Abital*), one of

David's wives (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Chr. iii. 3).

ABITUB (אַבִּיטוּב; Ἀβιτούλ; *Abitub*), son of

Shadrach by Hushai (1 Chr. vii. 11).

## ABLUTION. [PURIFICATION.]

ABNER (אַבְנֵר; Ἀβνέρ, *father of light*;

*Abenrûp*; *Abner*), son of Neri, who was the brother of Nish (1 Chr. ix. 36), the father of Saul. Abner, therefore, was Saul's first cousin, and was made by him commander-in-chief of his army (1 Sam. xiv. 51). He was the person who conducted David into Saul's presence after the death of Goliath (xv. 57); and afterwards accompanied his master when he sought David's life at Hachilah (xxvi. 3-14). From this time we hear no more of him till after the death of Saul, when he rises into importance as the mainstay of his family. It would seem that, immediately after the disastrous battle of Mount Gilboa, David was proclaimed king of Judah in Hebron, the old capital of that tribe, but that the rest of the country was altogether in the hands of the Philistines, and that five years passed before any native prince ventured to oppose his claims to their power. During that time the Israelites were gradually recovering their territory, and at length Abner proclaimed the weak and unfortunate Ishbosheth, Saul's son, as king of Israel in Mahanaim, beyond Jordan—at first no doubt as a place of security against the Philistines, though all serious apprehension of danger from them must have soon passed away—and Ishbosheth was generally recognized except by Judah. This view of the order of events is necessary to reconcile 2 Sam. ii. 10, where Ishbosheth is said to have reigned over Israel for two years, with ver. 11, in which we read that David was king of Judah for seven; and it is confirmed by vers. 5, 6, 7, in which David's message of thanks to the men of Jabesh-gilead for burying Saul and his sons implies that no prince of Saul's house had as yet claimed the throne, but that David hoped that the title would be soon acknowledged by all Israel; while the exhortation "to be valiant" pro-

bly refers to the struggle with the Philistines, who placed the only apparent impediment in the way of his recognition. War soon broke out between the two rival kings, and a "very sore battle" was fought at Gibeon between the men of Israel under Abner, and the men of Judah under Joab, son of Zeruiah, David's sister (1 Chr. ii. 16). When the army of Ishbosheth was defeated, Joab's youngest brother Asahel, who is said to have been "as light of foot as a wild roe," pursued Abner, and in spite of warning refused to leave him, so that Abner in self defence was forced to kill him. After this the war continued, success inclining more and more to the side of David, till at last the impudence of Ishbosheth deprived him of the counsels and generalship of the hero, who was in truth the only support of his tottering throne. Abner had married Rizpah, Saul's concubine, and this, according to the views of Oriental courts, might be so interpreted as to imply a design upon the throne. Thus we read of a certain Armais, who, while left vicar of Egypt in the absence of the king his brother, "used violence to the queen and concubines, and put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother" (Manetho, quoted by Joseph. c. *Agypt.* i. 15). Cf. also 2 Sam. xvi. 21, xv. 3, 1 K. ii. 13-25, and the case of the Pseudo-Smerdis, Herod. iii. 68. [ABISALOM; ADONJAH.] lightly or wrongly, Ishbosheth so understood it, though Abner might seem to have given sufficient proof of his loyalty, and he even ventured to reproach him with it. Abner, incensed at his ingratitude, after an indignant reply, opened negotiations with David, by whom he was most favourably received at Hebron. He then undertook to procure his recognition throughout Israel; but after leaving his court for the purpose was enticed back by Joab, and treacherously murdered by him and his brother Abishai, at the gate of the city, partly no doubt, as Joab showed afterwards in the case of AMASA, from fear lest so distinguished a convert to their cause should gain too high a place in David's favour (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 1, §5), but ostensibly in retaliation for the death of Asahel. For this there was indeed some pretext, inasmuch as it was thought dishonourable even in battle to kill a more striking like Asahel, and Joab and Abishai were in this case the *revengers of blood* (Num. xxxv. 19), but it is also plain that Abner only killed the youth to save his own life. This murder caused the greatest sorrow and indignation to David; but as the assassins were too powerful to be punished, he contented himself with showing every public token of respect to Abner's memory, by following the bier and pointing forth a simple dirge over the slain, which is thus translated by Ewald (*Dichter des alten Bundes*, i. p. 99):—

As a villain dies, ought Abner to die?  
Thy hands, not fettered;  
Thy feet, not bound with chains;  
As one falls before the malicious, fellest thou!

—i. e. "Thou didst not fall as a prisoner taken in battle, with hands and feet fettered, but by secret assassination, such as a villain meets at the hand of villains" (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34). See also Lowth, *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, xxi. [G. E. L. C.]

## ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION (τὸ

ἄβδλυμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, Matt. xxiv. 15), mentioned by our Saviour as a sign of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, with reference to Dan. ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11. The Hebrew words in these passages are respectively, מְשָׁכִים מְשָׁכִים, מְשָׁכִים מְשָׁכִים.

**הרשע**, and **הרשע יארשע**: the LXX. translate the first word uniformly *βδελυγμα*, and the second *ἐρημώσεως* (iv. 27) and *ἐρημώσεως* (xi. 31, xii. 11); many MSS. however have *ἡφανισμένον* in xi. 31. The meaning of the first of these words is clear: **יארשע** expresses any religious impurity, and in the plural number especially *idols*. *Smilas* defines *βδελυγμα* as used by the Jews *πάν εἰδωλον καὶ πάν ἐκτύπωμα ἀνθρώπου*. It is important to observe that the expression is not used of idolatry in the abstract, but of idolatry adopted by the Jews themselves (2 K. xxi. 2-7, xxiii. 13). Hence we must look for the fulfilment of the prophecy in some act of apostasy on *their* part; and so the Jews themselves appear to have understood it, according to the traditional feeling referred to by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 6, §1), that the temple would be destroyed *ἐὰν χεῖρες οἰκείαι προμύνησιν τὸ τέμενος*. With regard to the second word **הרשע**, which has been variously translated of *desolation*, of the *desolator*, that *astonisheth* (Marginal transl. xi. 31, iii. 11), it is a participle used substantively and placed in immediate apposition with the previous noun, qualifying it with an adjective sense *astounding*, *horrible* (Giesen. s. v. **הרשע**), and thus the whole expression signifies a *horrible abomination*. What the object referred to was, is a matter of doubt; it should be observed, however, that in the passages in Daniel the setting up of the abomination was to be consequent upon the cessation of the sacrifice. The Jews considered the prophecy as fulfilled in the profanation of the Temple under Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Israelites themselves erected an idolatrous altar (*βωμός*, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §4) upon the sacred altar, and offered sacrifice thereon: this altar is described as *βδελυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* (1 Macc. i. 54, vi. 7). The prophecy however referred ultimately (as Josephus himself perceived, *Ant.* x. 11, §7) to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and consequently the *βδελυγμα* must describe some occurrence connected with that event. But it is not easy to find one which meets all the requirements of the case: the introduction of the Roman standards into the Temple would not be a *βδελυγμα*, properly speaking, unless it could be shown that the Jews themselves participated in the worship of them; moreover, this event, as well as several others which have been proposed, such as the erection of the statue of Hadrian, fail in regard to the time of their occurrence, being *subsequent* to the destruction of the city. It appears most probable that the profanities of the Zealots constituted the abomination, which was the sign of impending ruin. (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 3, §7.) [W. L. B.]

**A'BRAM** (**אַבְרָם**, *father of a multitude*;

**אַבְרָהָם**; *Abraham*: originally **ABRAM**, **אַבְרָם**, *father of elevation*; "**אַבְרָם**; *Abram*), the son of Terah, and brother of Nahor and Haran; and the progenitor, not only of the Hebrew nation, but of several cognate tribes. His history is recorded to us with much detail in Scripture, as the very type of a true patriarchal life; a life, that is, in which all authority is *paternal*, derived ultimately from God the Father of all, and religion, imperfect as yet in revelation and ritual, is based entirely on that same Fatherly relation of God to man. The natural tendency of such a religion is to the worship of

tutelary gods of the family or of the tribe; traces of such a tendency on the part of the patriarchs are found in the Scriptural History itself; and the declaration of God to Moses (in Ex. vi. 3) plainly teaches that the full sense of the unity and eternity of Jehovah was not yet unfolded to them. But yet the revelation of the Lord, as the "Almighty God" (Gen. xvin. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11), and "the Judge of all the earth" (Gen. xxi. 25), the knowledge of His intercourse with kings of other tribes (Gen. xx. 3-7), and His judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (to say nothing of the promise which extended to "all nations") must have raised the patriarchal religion far above this narrow idea of God, and given it the germs, at least, of future exaltation. The character of Abraham is that which is formed by such a religion, and by the influence of a normal pastoral life; free, simple, and manly; full of hospitality and family affection; truthful to all such as were bound to him by their ties, though not intimated with Eastern craft to those considered as aliens; ready for war, but not a professed warrior or one who lived by plunder; free and childlike in religion, and gradually educated by God's hand to a continually deepening sense of its all-absorbing claims. It stands remarkably contrasted with those of Isaac and Jacob.

The Scriptural history of Abraham is mainly limited, as usual, to the evolution of the Great Covenant in his life; it is the history of the man himself rather than of the external events of his life; and, except in one or two instances (Gen. xii. 10-20, xiv. 1, xxi. 22-31) it does not refer to his relation with the rest of the world. To them he may only have appeared as a chief of the harder Chaldean race, disdaining the settled life of the more luxurious Canaanites, and fit to be led by plunder as a protector against the marauders of the North (see Gen. xiv. 21-23). Nor is it unlikely, though we have no historical evidence of it, that his passage into Canaan may have been a sign or a cause of a greater migration from Haran, and that he may have been looked upon (e. g. by Abimelech, Gen. xvi. 22-32) as one, who from his position as well as his high character, would be able to guide such a migration for evil or for good (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. pp. 409-415).

The traditions, which Josephus adds to the Scriptural narrative, are merely such as, after his manner and in accordance with the aim of his writings, exalt the knowledge and wisdom of Abraham, making him the teacher of monotheism to the Chaldeans, and of astronomy and mathematics to the Egyptians. He quotes however Nicolaus of Damascus,\* as ascribing to him the conquest and government of Damascus on his way to Canaan, and stating that the tradition of his habitation was still preserved there (Joseph. *Ant.* i. c. 7, §2; see Gen. xv. 2).

The Arab traditions are partly ante-Mohammedan, relating mainly to the Kaaba (or sacred house) of Mecca, which Abraham and his son "Ismael" are said to have rebuilt for the fourth time over the sacred black stone. But, in great measure, they are taken from the Koran, which has itself borrowed from the O. T. and from the Rabbinical traditions. Of the latter the most remarkable is the

Nicolaus was a contemporary and favourite of Herod the Great and Augustus. The quotation is probably from an Universal History, said to have contained 114 books.

story of his having destroyed the idols (see Jud. v. 6-8), which Terah not only worshipped (as declared in Josh. xxiv. 2), but also manufactured, and having been cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace, which turned into a pleasant meadow. The legend is generally traced to the word *Ur* (𐎢𐎺𐎠), Abraham's birth-place, which has also the sense of "light" or "fire."<sup>b</sup> But the name of Abraham appears to be commonly remembered in tradition through a very large portion of Asia, and the title "el-Khalil," "the Friend" (of God) (see 2 Chr. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; Jam. ii. 23) is that by which he is usually spoken of by the Arabs.

The Scriptural history of Abraham is divided into various periods, by the various and progressive revelations of God, which he received—

(I.) With his father Terah, his wife Sarai, and nephew Lot, Abram left Ur, for Haran (Charran), in obedience to a call of God (alluded to in Acts vii. 2-4). Haran, apparently the eldest brother—since Nahor, and probably also Abram, married his daughter—was dead already; and Nahor remained behind (Gen. xi. 31). In Haran Terah died; and Abram, now the head of the family, received a second call, and with it the promise. His promise was two-fold, containing both a temporal and spiritual blessing, the one of which was the type and earnest of the other. The temporal promise was, that he should become a great and prosperous nation, the spiritual, that in him "should all families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 2).

Abram appears to have entered Canaan, as Jacob afterwards did, along the valley of the Jabbok; for he crossed at once into the rich plain of Moreh, near Shechem, and under Ebal and Gerizim. There, in one of the most fertile spots of the land, he received the first distinct promise of his future inheritance (Gen. xii. 7), and built his first altar to God. "The Canaanite" (it is noticed) "was then in the land," and probably would view the strangers of the warlike north with no friendly eyes. Accordingly Abram made his second resting-place in the strong mountain country, the key of the various passes, between Bethel and Ai. There he would dwell securely, till famine drove him into the richer and more cultivated land of Egypt.

That his history is no ideal or heroic legend, is very clearly shown, not merely by the record of his deceit as to Sarai, practised in Egypt and repeated afterwards, but much more by the clear description of its utter failure, and the humiliating position in which it placed him in comparison with Pharaoh, and still more with Abimelech. That he should have felt afraid of such a civilized and imposing power, as Egypt even at that time evidently was, is consistent enough with the Arab nature as it is now: that he should have sought to guard himself by deceit, especially of that kind, which is true in word and false in effect, is unfortunately not at all incompatible with a generally religious character;

but that such a story should have been framed in an ideal description of a saint or hero is inconceivable.

The period of his stay in Egypt is not recorded, but it is from this time that his wealth and power appear to have begun (Gen. xiii. 2). If the dominion of the Hyksos in Memphis is to be referred to this epoch, as seems not improbable [Evers], then, since they were akin to the Hebrews, it is not impossible that Abram may have taken part in their war of conquest, and so have had another recommendation to the favour of Pharaoh.

On his return, the very fact of this growing wealth and importance caused the separation of Lot and his portion of the tribe from Abram. Lot's departure to the rich country of Sodom implied a wish to quit the nomadic life, and settle at once; Abram, on the contrary, was content still to "dwell in tents" and wait for the promised time (Heb. xi. 9). Probably till now he had looked on Lot as his heir, and his separation from him was a Providential preparation for the future. From this time he took up his third resting-place at Mamre, or Hebron, the future capital of Judah, situated in the direct line of communication with Egypt, and opening down to the wilderness and pasture land of Beersheba. This very position, so different from the mountain-fastness of Ai, marks the change in the numbers and powers of his tribe.

The history of his attack on Chedorlaomer which follows, gives us a specimen of the view which would be taken of him by the external world. By the way in which it speaks of him as "Abram the Hebrew,"<sup>c</sup> it would seem to be an older document, a fragment of Canaanitish history (as Ewald calls it), preserved and sanctioned by Moses. The invasion was clearly another northern immigration or foray, for the chiefs or kings were of Shinar (Babylonia), Elam (Assyria?), Elam (Persia), &c.; that it was not the first, is evident from the vassalage of the kings of the cities of the plain; and it extended (see Gen. xiv. 5-7) far to the south over a wide tract of country. Abram appears here as the head of a small confederacy of chiefs, powerful enough to venture on a long pursuit to the head of the valley of the Jordan, to attack with success a huge force, and not only to rescue Lot, but to roll back for a time the stream of northern immigration. His high position is seen in the gratitude of the people, and the dignity with which he refuses the character of a hireling; that it did not elate him above measure, is evident from his reverence to Melchizedek, in whom he recognized one whose call was equal and consecrated rank superior to his own [MELCHIZEDEK].

(II.) The second period of Abram's life is marked by the fresh revelation, which, without further unfolding the spiritual promise, completes the temporal one, already in course of fulfilment. It first announced to him, that a child of his own should inherit the promise, and that his seed should be as the

<sup>b</sup> "Israh" (in Gen. xi. 29) is generally supposed to be the same person as Sarai. That Abram calls her his "sister" is not conclusive against it; for see xiv. 11, where Lot is called his "brother."

<sup>c</sup> It is expressly stated in the Acts (vii. 4) that Abram quitted Haran after his father's death. This is supposed to be inconsistent with the statements that Terah was 70 years old at the birth of Abram (Gen. xi. 26); that he died at the age of 205 (Gen. xi. 32); and that Abram was 75 years old when he left Haran: hence it would seem to follow that Abram migrated from Haran in his father's lifetime. Various expla-

nations have been given of this difficulty; the most probable is, that the statement in Gen. xi. 26, that Terah was 70 years old when he begot his three children, applies only to the oldest, Haran, and that the births of his two younger children belonged to a subsequent period [CUNEOLOGICAL].

<sup>d</sup> Ὁ ἡραρὴς, LXX. If this sense of the word be taken, it strengthens the supposition noticed. In any case the name is that applied to the Isaacites by foreigners, or used by them of themselves only in speaking to foreigners. see HIRAN w.

"stars of heaven." This promise, unlike the other, appeared at his age contrary to nature, and therefore it is on this occasion that his faith is specially noted, as accepted and "counted for righteousness." Accordingly, he now passed into a new position, for not only is a fuller revelation given as to the captivity of his seed in Egypt, the time of their deliverance, and their conquest of the land, "when the iniquity of the Amorites was full," but after his solemn burnt-offering the visible appearance of God in fire is vouchsafed to him as a sign, and he enters into covenant with the Lord (Gen. xv. 18). This covenant, like the earlier one with Noah (Gen. ix. 9-17) is one of free promise from God, faith only in that promise being required from man.

The immediate consequence was the taking of Hagar, Sarai's maid, to be a concubine of Abram (as a means for the fulfilment of the promise of seed), and the conception of Ishmael.

(III.) For fourteen years after, no more is recorded of Abram, who seems during all that period to have dwelt at Mamre. After that time, in Abram's 99th year, the last step in the revelation of the promise is made, by the declaration that it should be given to a son of Sarai; and at the same time the temporal and spiritual elements are distinguished; Ishmael can share only the one, Isaac is to enjoy the other. The covenant, which before was only for temporal inheritance (Gen. xv. 18), is now made "everlasting," and sealed by circumcision. This new state is marked by the change of Abram's name to "Abraham," and Sarai's to "Sarah," and it was one of far greater acquaintance and intercourse with God. For, immediately after, we read of the Lord's appearance to Abraham in human form, attended by two angels, the ministers of His wrath against Sodom, of His announcement of the coming judgment to Abraham, and acceptance of his intercession for the condemned cities.<sup>1</sup> The whole record stands alone in Scripture for the simple and familiar intercourse of God with him, contrasting strongly with the vaguer and more awful descriptions of previous appearances (see e. g. xv. 12), and of those of later times (Gen. xxviii. 17, xxiii. 30; Ex. iii. 6, &c.). And, corresponding with this, there is a perfect absence of all fear on Abraham's part, and a cordial and reverent joy, which, more than anything else, reveals the time past when "the voice of the Lord God was heard, walking in the garden in the cool of the day."

Strangely unworthy of this exalted position as the "Friend" and intercessor with God, is the reputation of the falsehood as to Sarah in the land of

the Philistines (Gen. xx.). It was the first time he had come in contact with that tribe or collection of tribes, which stretched along the coast almost to the borders of Egypt; a race apparently of lords ruling over a conquered population, and another example of that series of immigrations which appear to have taken place at this time. It seems, from Abraham's excuse for his deceit on this occasion, as if there had been the idea in his mind, that all arms may be used against unbelievers, who, it is assumed, have no "fear of God," or sense of right. If so, the rebuke of Abimelech, by its dignity and its clear recognition of a God of justice, must have put him to manifest shame, and taught him that others also were servants of the Lord.

This period again, like that of the sojourn in Egypt, was one of growth in power and wealth, as the respect of Abimelech and his alarm for the future, so natural in the chief of a race of conquering invaders, very clearly shows. Abram's settlement at Hevseba, on the borders of the desert, near the Amalekite plunderers, shows both that he needed room, and was able to protect himself and his flocks.

The birth of Isaac crowns his happiness, and fulfils the first great promise of God: and the expulsion of Ishmael, painful as it was to him, and vindictive as it seems to have been on Sarah's part, was yet a step in the education which was to teach him to give up all for the one great object. The symbolical meaning of the act (drawn out in Gal. iv. 21-31) could not have been wholly unfelt by the patriarch himself, so far as it involved the sense of the spiritual nature of the promise, and carried out the fore-ordained will of God.

(IV.) Again for a long period (25 years, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, §2) the history is silent: then comes the final trial and perfection of his faith in the command to offer up the child of his affections and of God's promise. The trial lay, first in the preciousness of the sacrifice, and the perplexity in which the command involved the fulfilment of the promise; secondly, in the strangeness of the command to violate the human life, of which the sacredness had been enforced by God's special command (Gen. ix. 5, 6), as well as by the feelings of a father. To these trials he rose superior by faith, that "God was able to raise Isaac even from the dead" (Heb. xi. 19), probably through the same faith, to which our Lord refers, that God had promised to be the "God of Isaac" (Gen. xvii. 19), and that He was not "a God of the dead, but of the living."<sup>2</sup>

It is remarkable, that, in the blessing given to him now, the original spiritual promise is repeated for the first time since his earliest call, and in the

<sup>1</sup> The original name שָׂרָה is uncertain in derivation and meaning. Gesenius renders it "nobility," from the same root as "Sarah"; Ewald by "quarrelsome" (from the root שָׂרָה, in sense of "to fight"). The name Sarah, שָׂרָה, is certainly "princess."

<sup>2</sup> Tradition still points out the supposed site of this appearance of the Lord to Abraham. About a mile from Hebron is a beautiful and massive oak, which still bears Abraham's name. The residence of the patriarch was called "the oaks of Mamre," erroneously translated in A. V. "the plain" of Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18, xviii. 1); but it is doubtful whether this is the exact spot, since the tradition in the time of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9, §7) was attached to a terebinth. This tree no longer remains, but there is no doubt that it stood within the ancient enclosure, which is

still called "Abraham's House." A fair was held beneath it in the time of Constantine; and it remained to the time of Theodosius. (Robinson, ii. 81, ed. 1856; Stanley, *S.* & *P.* 143.)

<sup>3</sup> The scene of the sacrifice is, according to our present text, and to Josephus, the land of "Moriah," or מֹרְיָה, chosen by Jechorah, Ges. (comp. the name "Jehovah-Jireh"). The Samaritan Pentateuch has "Moreh," מֹרְהָ; the LXX. render the word here by ἡν ἐψηλῶν, the phrase used for what is undoubtedly "Moreh" in xii. 6, whereas in 2 Chr. iii. they render "Moriah" by Ἱερουσόλα; they therefore probably read "Moreh" also. The fact of the three days' journey from Beersheba suits Moriah better (see Stanley's *S.* & *P.* p. 251), other considerations seem in favour of Moriah.

same words then used. But the promise that "in his seed all nations should be blessed" would be now understood very differently, and felt to be far above the temporal promise, in which, perhaps, at first it seemed to be absorbed. It can hardly be wrong to refer pre-eminently to this epoch the declaration, that Abraham "saw the day of Christ and was glad" (John viii. 56).

The history of Abraham is now all but over, though his life was prolonged for nearly 50 years. The only other incidents are the death and burial of Sarah, the marriage of Isaac with Rebekah, and that of Abraham with Keturah.

The death of Sarah took place at Kirjath Arba, i.e., Hebron, so that Abraham must have returned from Beersheba to his old and more peaceful home. In the history of her burial, the most notable points are the respect paid to the power and character of Abraham, as a mighty prince, and the exceeding modesty and courtesy of his demeanour. It is sufficiently striking that the only inheritance of his family in the land of promise should be a tomb. The sepulchral cave of Machpelah is now said to be concealed under the Mosque of Hebron (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 101).

... of Isaac, so far as Abraham is concerned, marks his utter refusal to ally his son with the polluted and condemned blood of the Canaanites.

The marriage with Keturah is the strangest and most unexpected event recorded in his life, Abraham having long ago been spoken of as an old man; but his youth having been restored before the birth of Isaac must have remained to him, and Isaac's marriage having taken his son comparatively away, may have induced him to seek a wife to be the support of his old age. Keturah held a lower rank than Sarah, and her children were sent away, lest they should dispute the inheritance of Isaac, Abraham having learnt to do voluntarily in their case what had been forced upon him in the case of Ishmael.

Abraham died at the age of 175 years, and his ... Isaac, and the outcast Ishmael, united to lay him in the cave of Machpelah by the side of Sarah.

His descendants were (1) the Israelites; (2) a branch of the Arab tribes through Ishmael; (3) the "children of the East," of whom the Midianites were the chief; (4) perhaps (as cognate tribes), the nations of Ammon and Moab (see these names); and through their various branches his name is known all over Asia. [A. B.]

#### A'BRAM. [ABRAHAM.]

ABRO'NAIL (עברנה, from עבר, to cross over), one of the halting-places of the Israelites in the desert, immediately preceding Ezion-geber, and therefore, looking to the root, the name may possibly retain the trace of a ford across the head of the Elanitic Gulf. In the A. V. it is given as Ebronah (Εβρωνά; Hebronah) (Num. xxviii. 34, 35). [EBRONAH.] [G.]

ABRO'NAS (Αβρωνάς), a torrent (χελμαῖος), apparently near Cilicia: if so, it may possibly be the *Nahr Abram*, or *Abrahim*, the ancient Adonis, which rises in the Lebanon at *Afska*, and falls into the sea at *Jebel* (Byblos). It has however been conjectured (Movers, *Bonner Zeits.* xiii. 38) that the word is a corruption of עבר הַיַּרְדֵּן = beyond the river (Euphrates), which has just before been mentioned; a corruption not more inconceivable

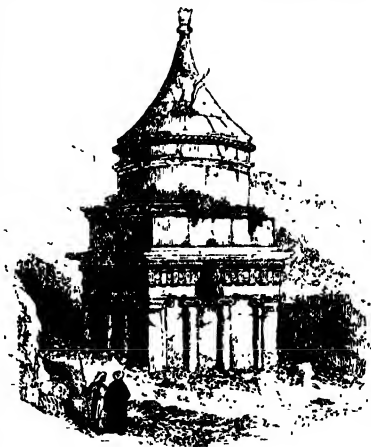
than many which actually exist in the LXX. The A. V. has ARRONAI (Jud. ii. 24). [G.]

#### ABSALOM (אַבְשָׁלוֹם, father of peace; Αβσα-

σαλῶμ; *Abshalom*), third son of David by Maachah, daughter of Talmi king of Geshur, a Syrian district adjoining the N.E. frontier of the Holy Land near the Lake of Merom. He is scarcely mentioned till after David had committed the great crime which by its consequences embittered his old age, and then appears as the instrument by whom was fulfilled God's threat against the sinful king, that "evil should be raised up against him out of his own house, and that his neighbour should lie with his wives in the sight of the sun." In the latter part of David's reign, polygamy bore its ordinary fruits. Not only is his sin in the case of Bathsheba traceable to it, since it naturally suggests the unlimited indulgence of the passions, but it also brought about the punishment of that sin, by raising up jealousies and conflicting claims between the sons of different mothers, each apparently living with a separate house and establishment (2 Sam. xii. 8, xiv. 24; cf. 1 K. vii. 8, &c.). Absalom had a sister Tamar, who was violated by her half-brother Amnon, David's eldest son by Ahinoam, the Jezreelitess. The king, though indignant at so great a crime, would not punish Amnon because he was his first-born, as we learn from the words καὶ οὐκ ἐλύτῃς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἀμνὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἡγάπα αὐτόν, ὅτι πρωτοτόκος αὐτοῦ ἦν, which are found in the LXX. (1 Sam. xvi. 21), though wanting in the Hebrew. The natural avenger of such an outrage would be Tamar's full brother Absalom, just as the sons of Jacob took bloody vengeance for their sister Dinah (Gen. xxxiv.). He brooded over the wrong for two years, and then invited all the princes to a sheep-shearing feast at his estate in Baal-hazor, possibly an old Canaanitish sanctuary (as we infer from the prefix Baal), on the borders of Ephraim and Benjamin. Here he ordered his servants to murder Amnon, and then fled for safety to his father-in-law's court at Geshur, where he remained for three years. David was overwhelmed by this accumulation of family sorrows, thus completed by separation from his favourite son, whom he thought it impossible to pardon or recall. But he was brought back by an intiter of Joab, who sent a woman of Tekoah (afterwards known as the birthplace of the prophet Amos) to entreat the king's interference in a supposititious case similar to Absalom's. Having persuaded David to prevent the avenger of blood from pursuing a young man who, she said, had slain his brother, she adroitly applied his assent to the recall of Absalom, and urged him, as he had thus yielded the general principle, to "fetch home his banished." David did so, but would not see Absalom for two more years, though he allowed him to live in Jerusalem. At last wearied with delay, perceiving that his triumph was only half complete, and that his exclusion from court interfered with the ambitious schemes which he was forming, fancying too that sufficient exactions were not made in his favour, the impetuous young man sent his servants to burn a field of corn near his own, belonging to Joab, thus doing as Samson had done (Judg. xv. 4). Thereupon Joab, probably dreading some further outrage from his violence, brought him to his father, from whom he received the kiss of reconciliation. Absalom now began at once to prepare for rebellion, urged to it partly by his own restless wickedness, partly by per-

lays by the fear lest Bathsheba's child should supplant him in the succession, to which he would feel himself entitled as of royal birth on his mother's side as well as his father's, and as being now David's eldest surviving son, since we may infer that the second son Chieleah was dead, from no mention being made of him after 2 Sam. iii. 3. It is harder to account for his temporary success, and the imminent danger which held so powerful a government as his father's. The son with Bathsheba had probably weakened David's moral and religious hold upon the people; and as he grew older he may have become less attentive to individual complaints, and that personal administration of justice which was one of an eastern king's chief duties. For Absalom tried to supplant his father by courting popularity, standing in the gate, conversing with every sinner, lamenting the difficulty which he would find in getting a hearing, "putting forth his hand and kissing any man who came nigh to do him obeisance." He also maintained a splendid retinue (xv. 1), and was admired for his personal beauty and the luxuriant growth of his hair, on grounds similar to those which had made Saul acceptable (1 Sam. x. 23). It is probable too that the great tribe of Judah had taken some offence at David's government, perhaps from finding themselves completely merged in one united Israel; and that they hoped secretly for pre-eminence under the less wise and liberal rule of his son. Thus Absalom selects Hebron, the old capital of Judah (now supplanted by Jerusalem), as the scene of the outbreak; Amasai his chief captain, and Ahitophel of Gilead his principal counsellor, are both of Judah, and after the rebellion was crushed, we see signs of ill-feeling between Judah and the other tribes (xiv. 41). But whatever the causes may have been, Absalom raised the standard of revolt at Hebron after forty years, as we now read in 2 Sam. xv. 7, which it seems better to consider a false reading for *four* (the number actually given by Josephus), than to interpret of the fortieth year of David's reign (see Gerlach, *in loco*, and Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. p. 217). The revolt was at first completely successful; David fled from his capital over the Jordan to Mahanaim in Gilead, where Jacob had seen the "Two Hosts," of the angelic vision, and where Abner had rallied the Israelites round Saul's dynasty in the person of the unfortunate Ishbosheth. Absalom occupied Jerusalem, and by the advice of Ahitophel, who saw that for such an unnatural rebellion war to the knife was the best security, took possession of David's harem, in which he had left ten concubines. This was considered to imply a formal assumption of all his father's royal rights (cf. the conduct of Adonijah, 1 K. ii. 13 ff., and of Smerdis the Magian, Herod. iii. 68), and was also a fulfilment of Nathan's prophecy (2 Sam. xii. 11). But David had left friends who watched over his interests. The vicious counsels of Ahitophel were afterwards rejected through the crafty advice of Hushai, who persuaded himself into Absalom's confidence to work his ruin, and Ahitophel himself, seeing his ambitious hopes frustrated, and another preferred by the man for whose sake he had turned traitor, went home to Gilead and committed suicide. At last, after being solemnly anointed king at Jerusalem (xix. 10), and lingering there far longer than was expedient, Absalom crossed the Jordan to attack his father, who by this time had rallied round him a considerable force, whereas had Ahitophel's advice been followed, he would probably have been crushed

at once. A decisive battle was fought in Gilead, in the wood of Ephraim, so called, according to Gerlach (*Comm. in loco*), from the great defeat of the Ephraimites (Judg. xii. 4), or perhaps from the connexion of Ephraim with the trans-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 323). Here Absalom's forces were totally defeated, and as he himself was escaping, his long hair was entangled in the branches of a terebinth, where he was left hanging while the mule on which he was riding ran away from under him. Here he was despatched by Joab in spite of the prohibition of David, who, loving him to the last, had desired that his life might be spared, and when he heard of his death lamented over him in the pathetic words, *O my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee! O Absalom, my son, my son!* He was buried in a great pit in the forest, and the conquerors threw stones over his grave, an old proof of bitter hostility (Josh. vii. 26). The sacred historian contrasts this dishonoured burial with the tomb which Absalom had raised in the *Kno's dale* (comp. Gen. xiv. 17) for the three sons whom he had lost (comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 18, with xiv. 27), and where he probably had intended that his own remains should be laid. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 3) mentions the pillar of Absalom as situate 2 stadia from Jerusalem. An existing monument in the valley of Jehoshaphat just outside Jerusalem bears the name of the Tomb of Absalom; but the Ionic pillars which surround its base show that it belongs to a much later period, even if it be a tomb at all. [G. E. L. C.]



The so-called Tomb of Absalom

ABSALOM (Ἀβσαλώμος; *Absohm, Absolum*), the father of Mattathias (1 Mac. xi. 70) and Jonathan (1 Mac. xiii. 11). [B. F. W.]

AC'CAD (אֲכַד; *Archad; Achad*), one of the cities in the land of Shinar—the others being Babel, Erech, and Calneh—which were the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom (Gen. x. 10). A great many conjectures have been formed as to its identification:—1. Following the reading of the oldest version (the LXX.), the river Argades, mentioned by Aelian as in the Persian part of Sittacene beyond the Tigris, has been put forward (Rochut,

*Plat.* iv. 17). But this is too far east. 2. Saecda, a town stated by Ptolemy to have stood at the junction of the Lycus (Great Zab) with the Tigris, below Nimech (Lecele, in Winer). 3. A district "north of Babylon" called 'Ακκήτη (Kubel, *Genesis*, 108). 4. And perhaps in the absence of any remains of the name this has the greatest show of evidence in its favour, Nisibis, a city on the *Khabor* river, still retaining its name (*Nisibis*), and situated at the N.E. part of Mesopotamia, about 150 miles east of *Orfi*, and midway between it and Nimech. We have the testimony of Jerome (*Onomasticon*, *Archeol.*), that it was the belief of the Jews of his day (*Hebraei dicunt*) that Nisibis was Accad; a belief continued by the renderers of the Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-jonathan (נִי־בִי־בִי), and of Ephraem Syrus; and also by the fact that the ancient name of Nisibis was Accr (Rossmüller, ii. 29), which is the word given in the early Peshito version (ܐܥܪ), and also occurring in three MSS. of the *Onomasticon* of Jerome. (See the note to "Achad" in the edition of Jerome, Ven. 1767, vol. iii. 127.)

The theory deduced by Rawlinson from the latest Assyrian researches, is, that "Akkad" was the name of the "great primitive Hamite race who inhabited Babylonia from the earliest time," who originated the arts and sciences, and whose language was "the great parent stock from which the trunk stream of the Semitic tongues sprang." "In the inscriptions of Sargon the name of Akkad is applied to the Armenian mountains instead of the vernacular title of Ararat." (Rawlinson, in Herodotus, i. 319, note.) The name of the city is believed to have been discovered in the inscriptions under the form *Kinzi Akkad* (*ibid.* 447). [G.]

### ACCARON. [EKRON.]

ACCHO (ἄχχω, *hot sand* (?); Ἀκχω, Ἀκχ, Strabo; the PROTEGENTS of the Maccabees and N. T.), now called *Accho*, or more usually by Europeans, *Saint Jean d'Acree*, the most important sea-port town on the Syrian coast, about 30 miles S. of Tyre. It was situated on a slightly projecting headland, at the northern extremity of that spacious bay—the only inlet of any importance along the whole sea-board of Palestine—which is formed by the bold promontory of Carmel on the opposite side. This bay, though spacious (the distance from Accho to Carmel being about 8 miles), is shallow and exposed, and hence Accho itself does not at all times offer safe harbourage; on the opposite side of the bay, however, the roadstead of *Haifa*, immediately under Carmel, supplies this deficiency. Inland the hills, which from Tyre southwards press close upon the sea-shore, gradually recede, leaving in the immediate neighbourhood of Accho a plain of remarkable fertility about 6 miles broad, and watered by the small river *Belus* (*Nahr Nemán*), which discharges itself into the sea close under the walls of the town: to the S.E. the still receding heights afford access to the interior in the direction of Sephoris. Accho, thus favourably placed in command of the approaches from the north, both by sea and land, has been justly termed the "key of Palestine."

In the division of Canaan among the tribes, Accho fell to the lot of Asher, but was never wrested from its original inhabitants (*Judg.* i. 31); and hence it is reckoned among the cities of

Phœnicia (Strab. ii. 1:44; *Plin.* v. 17; *Ptol.* v. 15). No further mention is made of it in the O. T. history, nor does it appear to have risen to much importance until after the dismemberment of the Macedonian empire, when its proximity to the frontier of Syria made it an object of frequent contention. Along with the rest of Phœnicia it fell to the lot of Egypt, and was named Ptolemais, after one of the Ptolemies, probably Soter, who could not have failed to see its importance to his dominions in a military point of view. In the wars that ensued between Syria and Egypt, it was taken by Antiochus the Great (*Ptol.* v. 62), and attached to his kingdom. When the Maccabees established themselves in Judaea, it became the base of operations against them. Simon drove his enemies back within its walls, but did not take it (1 Mac. v. 22). Subsequently, when Alexander Balas set up his claim to the Syrian throne, he could offer no more tempting bait to secure the co-operation of Jonathan than the possession of Ptolemais and its district (1 Mac. x. 39). On the decay of the Syrian power it was one of the few cities of Judaea which established its independence. Alexander Jannæus attacked it without success. Cleopatra, whom he had summoned to his assistance, took it, and transferred it, with her daughter Selene, to the Syrian monarchy: under her rule it was besieged and taken by Tigranes (*Joseph. Ant.* xiii. 12. §2, 13. §2, 16. §1). Ultimately it passed into the hands of the Romans, who constructed a military road along the coast, from Berytus to Sephoris, passing through it, and elevated it to the rank of a colony, with the title *Colonia Claudia Caesariensis* (*Plin.* v. 17). The only notice of it in the N. T. is in connexion with St. Paul's passage from Tyre to Caesarea (*Acts* xxi. 7). Few remains of antiquity are to be found in the modern town: the original name has alone survived all the changes to which the place has been exposed. [W. L. B.]

ACCOS (Ἀκκῶς; *Jacob*), father of John and grandfather of Eupolemus the ambassador from Judas Maccabæus to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17).

### ACCOZ. [KOZ.]

ACEI/DAMA (Ἀκελδამά; *Lachm.* (B) Ἀκελδამάχ; *Pacekkanu*); *χωρίον αἱματος*, "the field of blood;" (*Chald.* ܐܚܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ), the name given by the Jews of Jerusalem to a "held" (*χωρίον*) near Jerusalem purchased by Judas with the money which he received for the betrayal of Christ, and so called from his violent death therein (*Acts* i. 19). This is at variance with the account of St. Matthew (xxvii. 8), according to which the "field of blood" (*ἀγρὸς αἱματος*) was purchased by the Priests with the 30 pieces of silver after they had been cast down by Judas, as a burial-place for strangers, the locality being well known at the time as "the field of the Potter,"<sup>a</sup> (τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως). See *Allord's* notes to *Acts* i. 19. And accordingly ecclesiastical tradition appears from the earliest times to have pointed out two distinct (though not unvarying) spots as referred to in the two accounts. In Jerome's time (*Onom. Acheldama*) the "agr sanguinis" was shown "ad australem plagam montis Sion." *Acuil-*

<sup>a</sup> The prophecy referred to by St. Matthew, Zechariah (not Jeremiah) xi. 12, 13, does not in the press of state of the Heb. text agree with the quotation of the Evangelist. The Syrian Vers. omits the name altogether.

<sup>b</sup> Eusebius, from whom Jerome translated, has here

lus (p. 4) saw the "huge fig-tree where Judas hanged himself," certainly in a different place from that of the "small field (Aceldama) where the bodies of pilgrims were buried" (p. 5). Sæwulf (p. 12) was shown Aceldama "next" to Gethsemane, "at the foot of Olivet, near the sepulchres of Simeon and Joseph" (Jacob and Zacharias). In the "Citez de Jherusalem" (Rob. ii. 560) the place of the suicide of Judas was shown as a stone arch, apparently inside the city, and giving its name to a street. Sir John Maundeville (175) found the "elder-tree" of Judas "fast by" the "image of Absalom;" but the Aceldama "on the other side of Mount Sion towards the south." Maundrell's account (p. 468-9) agrees with this, and so does the large map of Schultz, on which both sites are marked. The Aceldama still retains its ancient position, but the tree of Judas has been transferred to the "Hill of Evil Counsel" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 105, 186; and Barclay's *Map*, 1857, and "*City*," &c., 75, 208).

The "field of blood" is now shown on the steep southern face of the valley or ravine of Hinnom, near its eastern end, on a narrow plateau (Salzmunn, *Ethel*, p. 22), more than half way up the hillside. Its modern name is *Hak el-edmum*. It is separated by no enclosure; a few venerable olive-trees (see Salzmunn's photograph, "*Champ du sang*") occupy part of it, and the rest is covered by a ruined square edifice—half built, half excavated—which, perhaps originally a church (Pauli, in Ritter, *Pal.* p. 464), was in Maundrell's time (p. 468) in use as a channel-house, and which the latest conjectures (Schultz, Williams, and Barclay, 207) propose to identify with the tomb of Ananias (Joseph. *H. J.* v. 12, § 2). It was believed in the middle ages that the soil of this place had the power of very rapidly consuming bodies buried in it (Sandys, 187), and in consequence either of this or of the sanctity of the spot, great quantities of the earth were taken away; amongst others by the Pisan Crusaders in 1218 for their *Campo Santo* at Pisa, and by the Empress Helena for that at Rome (Rob. i. 355; Raumer, 270). Besides the channel-house above mentioned, there are several large hollows in the ground in this immediate neighbourhood which may have been caused by such excavations. The formation of the hill is cretaceous, and it is well known that chalk is always favourable to the rapid decay of animal matter. The assertion (Krafft, 193; Ritter, *Pal.* 463) that a pottery still exists near this spot does not seem to be borne out by other testimony. [G.]

**ACHAIA** (**Ἀχαΐα**) signifies in the N. T. a Roman province, which included the whole of the Peloponnesus and the greater part of Hellas proper with the adjacent islands. This province with that of Macedonia comprehended the whole of Greece: hence Achaia and Macedonia are frequently mentioned together in the N. T. to indicate all Greece (Acts xviii. 12, xiv. 21; Rom. xv. 26, xvi. 25; 1 Cor. xvi. 15; 2 Cor. ii. 1, ix. 2; xi. 10; 1 Thess. i. 7, 8). A narrow slip of country upon the northern coast of Peloponnesus was originally called Achaia, the cities of which were confederated in an ancient League, which was renewed in B.C. 280 for the purpose of resisting the Macedonians. This League subsequently included several of the other Grecian states, and became the most powerful political body in Greece; and hence it was natural for

the Romans to apply the name of Achaia to the Peloponnesus and the south of Greece, when they took Corinth and destroyed the League in B.C. 146. (**Καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ' Ἀχαΐας ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἑλληνας δι' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προσηγήκων**, Paus. vii. 16, § 10.) Whether the Roman province of Achaia was established immediately after the conquest of the League, or not till a later period, need not be discussed here (see *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 17). In the division of the provinces by Augustus between the emperor and the senate in B.C. 27, Achaia was one of the provinces assigned to the senate, and was governed by a proconsul (Strab. xvii. p. 810; Dion. Cass. liii. 12). Tiberius in the second year of his reign (A.D. 16) took it away from the senate, and made it an imperial province governed by a procurator (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76); but Claudius restored it to the senate (Suet. *Clau.* 25). This was its condition when Paul was brought before Gallio, who is therefore (Acts xvii. 12) correctly called the "proconsul" (**ἀνθύπατος**) of Achaia, which is translated in the A. V. "deputy" of Achaia.

**ACHAÏCUS** (**Ἀχαιεύς**), name of a Christian (1 Cor. xvi. 17, subscription No. 25).

**A'CHAN** (**אֶחָאן**, *troubler*; written **עֶכֶר** in 1 Ch. ii. 7; **Ἀχαν** or **Ἀχαρ**; *Achan* or *Achar*), an Israelite of the tribe of Judah, who, when Jericho and all that it contained were accused and devoted to destruction, secreted a portion of the spoil in his tent. For this sin Jehovah punished Israel by their defeat in their attack upon Ai. When Achan confessed his guilt, and the body was discovered, he was stoned to death with his whole family by the people in a valley situated between Ai and Jericho, and their remains, together with his property, were burnt. From this event the valley received the name of Achar (*i. e.* *trouble*) [**ΑΧΙΟΝ**]. From the similarity of the name Achan to Achar, Joshua said to Achan, "Why hast thou troubled us? The Lord shall trouble thee this day" (Josh. vii.). In order to account for the terrible vengeance executed upon the family of Achan, it is quite unnecessary to resort to the hypothesis that they were accomplices in his act of military insubordination. The sanguinary severity of Oriental nations, from which the Jewish people were by no means free, has in all ages involved the children in the punishment of the father. [R. W. B.]

**ACHIBOR** (**עֶכְבֹר**; **Ἀχοβόρ**; *Achobor*). 1. Father of Baal-hanan, king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 38; 1 Chr. i. 49). 2. Son of Micaiel, a contemporary of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 12, 14; Jer. xxi. 22, xxxvi. 12), called Abdon in 2 K. xxii. 12.

**ACHICHACHUS** (**Ἀχιχάχος** (**Ἀχίχαρος**), *i. e.* **אֲחִיחָחִי** — Postumus; *Achicharus*), Tob. i. 21, &c.

**A'CHIM** (**Ἀχὲμ**, Matt. i. 14), son of Sadoc, and father of Eliud, in our Lord's genealogy; the fifth in succession before Joseph the husband of Mary. The Hebrew form of the name would be **יָכִין**, Jachia (Gen. xvi. 10; 1 Chr. xxiv. 17), which in the latter place the LXX. render **Ἀχμ** or **Ἀχελμ**. It is a short form of Jehochin, the Lord will establish. The name, perhaps, indicates him as successor to Jehochin's throne, and expresses his parents' faith that God would, in due time, estab-

**ἐν Βαπεύσει**. This may be a clerical error, or it may add another to the many instances existing of the change of a traditional site to meet circumstances.

*lish* the kingdom of David, according to the promise in Is. ix. 7 (6 in the Heb. Bih.) and elsewhere. [A. C. H.]

**A'CHIOR** (Ἀχιάωρ, *i. e.* Ἀχιάωρ, *the brother of light*; comp. Num. xxiv. 27; *Achior*: confounded with Ἀχιζαρος, Tob. xi. 17), a general of the Ammonites in the army of Holofernes, who is afterwards represented as becoming a proselyte to Judaism (Jud. v. vii. xiii. xiv.). [B. F. W.]

**A'OHISH** (Ἀχίσις; Ἀγχις, Ἀγχιούς; *Achis*), a Philistine king at Gath, son of Maach, who in the title to the 34th Psalm is called Abimelech (possibly corrupted from אכיש מלך). David twice found a refuge with him when he fled from Saul. On the first occasion, being recognised by the servants of Achish as one celebrated for his victories over the Philistines, he was alarmed for his safety, and feigned madness (1 Sam. xxi. 10-13). [DAVID.] From Achish he fled to the cave of Adullam. 2ndly. David fled to Achish with 600 men (1 Sam. xxvi. 23), and remained at Gath a year and four months.

Whether the Achish, to whom Shimei went in disobedience to the commands of Solomon (1 K. ii. 40), be the same person is uncertain. [R. W. B.]

**ACH'METHA.** [ECBATANA.]

**A'CHOR, VALLEY OF** (נַחַל עֲחֹר; Ἐμακοχώρ; *Achor*) = "valley of trouble," according to the etymology of the text; the spot at which Achan, the "troubler of Israel," was stoned (Josh. vii. 24, 26). On the N. boundary of Judah (av. 7; also Isa. lvi. 10; Hos. ii. 15). It was known in the time of Jerome (*Onom. s. v.*), who describes it as north of Jericho; but this is at variance with the course of the boundary in Joshua (heir's Joshua, 131). [G.]

**ACH'SAH** (עַכְסָה; Ἀσχα; *Acha*), daughter of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite. Her father promised her in marriage to whoever should take Debir, the ancient name of which (according to the analogy of Kirjath-Aiba, the ancient name of Hebron) was Kirjath-Sepher (or as in Josh. xv. 49, Kirjath-Saim), the city of the book. Othniel, her father's younger brother, took the city, and accordingly received the hand of Achsah as his reward. Caleb, at his daughter's request, added to her dowry the upper and lower springs, which she had pleaded for as peculiarly suitable to her inheritance in a south country (Josh. xv. 15-19. See Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 161). [GULLOTH.] The story is repeated in Judges. i. 11-15. Achsah is mentioned again, as being the daughter of Caleb, in 1 Chr. ii. 49. But there is much confusion in the genealogy of Caleb there given. [CALEB.] [A. C. H.]

**ACH'SHAPH** (Ἀχίσαφ; Ἀσίφ, *Kaisaf* and *Kedaf*; *Achaph*, *Auf*), a city within the territory of Asher, named between Betan and Alam-mobach (Josh. xix. 25); originally the seat of a Canaanite king (xi. 1, xii. 20). It is possibly the modern *Kesaf*, thus bearing which name were found by Robinson (iii. 55) on the N.W. edge of the *Hilch*. But more probably the name has survived in *Chaufa*, a town which, from its situation, must always have been too important to have escaped mention in the history, as it otherwise would have done. If this suggestion is correct, the LXX. rendering, *Kedaf*, exhibits the name in the process of change from the ancient to the modern form. [G.]

**ACH'ZIB** (Ἀχίζιβ; Κεζιβ, Ἀχίζιβ; *Achzib*).

1. A city of Judah, in the Shefelah, named with Keilah and Marcsah (Josh. xv. 44, Micah i. 14). The latter passage contains a play on the name: "the houses of Achzib (Ἀχίζιβ) shall be a lie (Ἀχίζιβ)." It is probably the same with CHIZIB and CHIOZEBAB, which see.

2. A town belonging to Asher (Josh. xiv. 29), from which the Canaanites were not expelled (Judge. i. 31); afterwards Ecclipta (Jos. B. J. i. 13; §1, Ἐκδιππων). Josephus also (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) gives the name as Ἀρχή . . . ἡ καὶ Ἀκτιπύων. Here was the *Casale Hubert* of the Crusaders (Schulz; Ritter, *Pal.* 782); and it is now es-Zib, on the sea-shore at the mouth of the *Nahr Heradul*, 2 h. 20 m. N. of Akka (Robinson, in. 628; and comp. Mammoth. 427). After the return from Babylon Achzib was considered by the Jews as the northernmost limit of the Holy Land. See the quotations from the Gemara in Ireland (541). [G.]

**ACTIOH** (Ἀκτιόν, probably an error for Ἀχίτῶβ; *Achitob*, *i. e.* Ἀχίτῶβ, *kind brother*). Jud. viii. 1; comp. 2 Esdr. i. 1. [B. F. W.]

**ACRABAT'FINE.** [ARABAT'FINE.]

**ACTS OF THE APOSTLES** (πράξεις ἀποστόλων, *Acta Apostolorum*), a second treatise (δεύτερος λόγος) by the author of the third Gospel, traditionally known as *Lucas* or *Luke* (which see). The identity of the writer of both books is strongly shown by their great similarity in style and idiom, and the usage of particular words and compound forms. The theories which assign the book to other authors, or divide it among several, will not stand the test of searching inquiry. They will be found enumerated in Davidson's *Introd.* to the N. T. vol. ii., and Alford's *prolegomena* to vol. ii. of his edition of the Greek Testament. It must be confessed to be, at first sight, somewhat surprising that notices of the author are so entirely wanting, not only in the book itself, but also, generally, in the Epistles of St. Paul, whom he must have accompanied for some years on his travels. But our surprise is removed when we notice the habit of the Apostle with regard to mentioning his companions to have been very various and uncertain, and remember that no Epistles were, strictly speaking, written by him while our writer was in his company, before his Roman imprisonment; for he does not seem to have joined him at Corinth (Acts xviii.), where the two Epp. to the Thess. were written, nor to have been with him at Ephesus, ch. xix. whence, perhaps, the Ep. to the Gal. was written; nor again to have wintered with him at Corinth, ch. xx. 3, at the time of his writing the Ep. to the Rom. and, perhaps, that to the Gal.

The book commences with an inscription to one Theophilus, who, from bearing the appellation *κράτιστος*, was probably a man of birth and station. But its design must not be supposed to be limited to the edification of Theophilus, whose name is perceived only, as was customary then as now, by way of dedication. The readers were evidently intended to be the members of the Christian Church, whether Jews or Gentiles; for its contents are such as are of the utmost consequence to the whole church. They are *The fulfilment of the promise of the Father by the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the results of that outpouring, by the dispersion of the Gospel among Jews and Gen-*

titles. Under these leading heads all the personal and subordinate details may be ranged. Immediately after the Ascension, St. Peter, the first of the Twelve, designated by our Lord as the Rock on whom the Church was to be built, the holder of the keys of the kingdom, becomes the prime actor under God in the founding of the Church. He is the centre of the first great group of sayings and doings. The opening of the door to Jews (ch. ii.) and Gentiles (ch. x.) is his office, and by him, in good time, is accomplished. But none of the existing twelve Apostles were, humanly speaking, fitted to preach the Gospel to the cultivated Gentile world. To be by divine grace the spiritual conqueror of Asia and Europe, God raised up another instrument, from among the mis-educate and zealous Pharisees. The preparation of Saul of Tarsus for the work to be done, the progress, in his hand, of that work, his journeyings, preachings, and perils, his stripes and imprisonments, his testifying in Jerusalem and being brought to testify in Rome,—these are the subjects of the latter half of the book, of which the great central figure is the Apostle Paul.

Any view which attributes to the writer as his chief design some collateral purpose which is served by the book as it stands, or, indeed, any purpose beyond that of writing a faithful history of such facts as seemed important in the spread of the Gospel, is now generally, and very properly, treated as erroneous. Such a view has become celebrated in modern times, as held by Baur;—that the purpose of the writer was to compare the two great Apostles, to show that St. Paul did not depart from the principles which regulated St. Peter, and to exalt him at every opportunity by comparison with St. Peter. The reader need hardly be reminded how little any such purpose is borne out by the contents of the book itself; nay, how naturally they would follow their present sequence, without any such thought having been in the writer's mind. Doubtless many ends are answered and many results brought out by the book as its narrative proceeds: as e. g. the rejection of the Gospel by the Jewish people everywhere, and its gradual transference to the Gentiles; and others which might be easily gathered up, and made by ingenious hypothesizers, such as Baur, to appear as if the writer were bent on each one in its turn, as the chief object of his work.

As to the time when, and place at which the book was written, we are left to gather them entirely from indirect notices. It seems most probable that the place of writing was Rome, and the time about two years from the date of St. Paul's arrival there, as related in ch. xviii., *sub fin.* Had any considerable alteration in the Apostle's circumstances taken place before the publication, there can be no reason why it should not have been noticed. And on other accounts also this time was by far the most likely for the publication of the book. The arrival in Rome was an important period in the Apostle's life: the quiet which succeeded it seemed to promise no immediate determination of his cause. A large amount of historic material had been collected in Judæa, and during the various missionary journeys; or, taking another and not less probable view, Nero was beginning to undergo that change for the worse which disgraced the latter portion of his reign: none could tell how soon the whole outward repose of Roman society might be shaken, and the tacit toleration which

the Christians enjoyed be exchanged for bitter persecution. If such terrors were imminent, there would surely be in the Roman Church prophets and teachers who might tell them of the storm which was gathering, and warn them, that the records lying ready for publication must be given to the faithful before its outbreak or event.

Such *à priori* considerations would, it is true, weigh but little against presumptive evidence furnished by the book itself; but arrayed, as they are, in aid of such evidence, they carry some weight, when we find that the time naturally and fairly indicated in the book itself for its publication is that one of all others when we should conceive that publication most likely.

This would give us for the publication the year 63 A.D., according to the most probable assignment of the date of the arrival of St. Paul at Rome.

The genuineness of the Acts of the Apostles has ever been recognised in the Church. It is mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 25) among the *βυολογούμεναι θείαι γραφαί*. It is first directly quoted in the epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne to those of Asia and Phrygia (A.D. 177); then repeatedly and expressly by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and so onwards. It was rejected by the Marcionites (cent. ii.) and Manichæans (cent. iv.) as contradicting some of their notions. In modern Germany, Baur and some others have attempted to throw discredit on it, and fix its publication in the 2nd century, mainly by assuming the hypothesis impugned above, that it is an apology for St. Paul. But the view has found no favour, and would, ere this, have been forgotten, had it not been for the ability and subtlety of its chief supporter.

The text of the Acts of the Apostles is very full of various readings; more so than any other book of the N. T. To this several reasons may have contributed. In the many backward references to Gospel history, and the many anticipations of statements and expressions occurring in the Epistles, temptations abounded for a collector to try his hand at assimilating, and, as he thought, reconciling, the various accounts. In places where ecclesiastical order or usage was in question, insertions or omissions were made to suit the habits and views of the Church in aftertimes. Where the narrative simply related facts, any act or word apparently unworthy of the apostolic agent was modified for the sake of decorum. Where St. Paul repeats to different audiences, or the writer himself narrates, the details of his miraculous conversion, the one passage was pieced from the other, so as to produce verbal avoidance. There are in this book an unusual number of those remarkable interpolations of considerable length, which are found in the Codex Bezae (D) and its cognates. A critic of some eminence, Bornemann, believes that the text of the Acts originally contained them all, and has been abbreviated by correctors; and he has published an edition in which they are inserted in full. But, while some of them bear an appearance of genuineness (as e. g. that in ch. xii. 10, where, after *ἐξελθόντες*, is added *κατέβησαν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ θάμους, καὶ*) the greater part are unmeaning and absurd (e. g. that in ch. xvi. 39, where we read after *ἐξελεῖν, — εἰπόντες*, *ἠγορήσαμεν τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἐστὲ ἄνδρες δικαιοί: καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλεισαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες* *Ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξέλθατε μήποτε πάλιν συνιρράψαι: ἥμιν ἐπικράζοντες καθ' ὑμῶν*).

The most remarkable exegetical works and monographs on the Acts, besides commentaries on the whole N. T. are Baumgarten, *Apostelgeschichte, oder der Entwicklungsgang der Kirche von Jerusalem bis Rom*, Halle, 1852; Lekebusch, *Die Composition und Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte von Neuem untersucht*, Gotha, 1854.

The former of these works is a very complete treatise on the Christian-historical development of the Church as related in the book: the latter is of more value as a critical examination of the various theories as to its composition and authorship.

Valuable running historical comments on the Acts are also found in Neander's *Pflanzung u. Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*, ed. 4. Hamburg, 1847; Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 2nd ed. Lond. 1856. Professed commentaries have been published by Mr. Humphry, Lond. 1847, and Professor Hackett, Boston, U. S. 1852. [H. A.]

AD'ADAH (עֲדָה; Ἀδὰδ; *Adada*), one of the cities in the extreme south of Judah named with Dimonah and Kelesh (Josh. xv. 22). It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, nor has any trace of it been yet discovered.

AD'AH (עֲדָה, *ornament, beauty*; Ἀδὰ; *Adā*).

1. The first of the two wives of Lamech, fifth in descent from Cain, by whom were born to him Jabal and Jubal (Gen. iv. 19).

2. A Hittite, daughter of Elon, one (probably the first) of the three wives of Esau, mother of his first-born son Eliphaz, and so the ancestress of six (or seven) of the tribes of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 10 ff. 15 ff.). In Gen. xxxi. 31 she is called ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΡΗ. [F. W. G.]

ADAPAH (עֲדָה; Ἀδαΐ, Ἐδεΐδ; *Hadaia*), name of six men. 1. Maternal grandfather of king Josiah (2 K. xvi. 1). 2. (1 Chr. vi. 41). 3. (1 Chr. viii. 21). 4. (1 Chr. ix. 12; Neh. xi. 12). 5. (Ezr. x. 29). 6. (Ezr. x. 39; Neh. xi. 5). Written עֲדָה in 2 Chr. xxiii. 1.

ADA'LIA (אֲדָלְיָה; *Baped*; *Adalia*), a son of Haman (Esth. iv. 8).

AD'AM (אָדָם; Ἀδάμ; *Adam*), the name which is given in Scripture to the first man. The term apparently has reference to the ground from which he was formed, which is called *Adamah* (אֲדָמָה, Gen. ii. 7). The idea of *redness of colour* seems to be inherent in either word. (Cf. אָדָם, Lam. iv. 7; אָדָם *red*, אֲדָם *Edom*,

Gen. xxv. 30; אָדָם, *a ruby*; אֲדָם, *colore*

*fusus praelatus fuit, rubrum tinxit*, &c.) The generic term *Adam, man*, becomes, in the case of the first man, a denominative. Supposing the Hebrew language to represent accurately the primary ideas connected with the formation of man, it would seem that the appellation bestowed by God was given to keep alive in Adam the memory of his earthly and mortal nature; whereas the name by which he preferred to designate himself was *Ish* (יִשׁ, *a man of substance or worth*, Gen. ii. 23). The creation of man was the work of the sixth day. His formation was the ultimate object of the Creator. It was with reference to him that

all things were designed. He was to be the "roof and crown" of the whole fabric of the world. In the first nine chapters of Genesis there appear to be three distinct histories relating more or less to the life of Adam. The first extends from Gen. i. 1 to ii. 3, the second from ii. 4 to iv. 26, the third from v. 1 to the end of ix. The word at the commencement of the two latter narratives, which is rendered there and elsewhere *generations*, may also be rendered *history*. The style of the second of these records differs very considerably from that of the first. In the first the Deity is designated by the word *Elohim*; in the second He is generally spoken of as *Jehovah Elohim*. The object of the first of these narratives is to record the creation; that of the second to give an account of paradise, the original sin of man and the immediate posterity of Adam; the third contains mainly the history of Noah, referring it would seem to Adam and his descendants, principally in relation to that patriarch.

The Mosiac accounts furnish us with very few materials from which to form any adequate conception of the first man. He is said to have been created in the image and likeness of God, and this is commonly interpreted to mean some super-excellent and divine condition which was lost at the Fall: apparently however without sufficient reason, as the continuance of this condition is implied in the time of Noah, subsequent to the flood (Gen. ix. 6), and is asserted as a fact by St. James (iii. 9), and by St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 7). It more probably points to the Divine pattern and archetype after which man's intelligent nature was fashioned; reason, understanding, imagination, volition, &c. being attributes of God; and man alone of the animals of the earth being possessed of a spiritual nature which resembled God's nature. Man in short was a spirit, created to reflect God's righteousness and truth and love, and capable of holding direct intercourse and communion with Him. As long as his will moved in harmony with God's will, he fulfilled the purpose of his Creator. When he refused submission to God, he broke the law of his existence and fell, introducing confusion and disorder into the economy of his nature. As much as this we may learn from what St. Paul says of "the new man being renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him" (Col. iii. 10), the restoration to such a condition being the very work of the Holy Spirit of God. The name *Adam* was not confined to the father of the human race, but like *homo* was applicable to *woman* as well as *man*, so that we find it said in Gen. v. 1, 2, "This is the book of the 'history' of Adam in the day that God created 'Adam,' in the likeness of God made He him, male and female created He them, and called *their* name Adam in the day when they were created."

The man Adam was placed in a garden which the Lord God had planted "eastward in Eden," for the purpose of dressing it and keeping it. It is of course hopeless to attempt to identify the situation of Eden with that of any district familiar to modern geography. There seems good ground for supposing it to have been an actual locality. It was probably near the source of a river which subsequently divided into four streams; these are mentioned by name: Pison is supposed by some to be the Indus, Gihon is taken for the Nile, Hiddekel is called by the LXX. here, and at Dan. x. 4, Tigris, and the fourth is Euphrates; but how they should have been originally united is unintelligible. Adam was permitted to eat of the fruit of every tree in the garden but one, which was

called the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil." What this was, it is also impossible to say. Its name would seem to indicate that it had the power of bestowing the consciousness of the difference between good and evil; in the ignorance of which man's innocence and happiness consisted. The prohibition to taste the fruit of this tree was enforced by the menace of death. There was also another tree which was called "the tree of life." Some suppose it to have acted as a kind of medicine, and that by the continual use of it our first parents, not created immortal, were preserved from death. (Abp. Whately.) While Adam was in the garden of Eden the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were brought to him to be named, and whatsoever he called every living creature that was the name thereof. Thus the power of fitly designating objects of sense was possessed by the first man, a faculty which is generally considered as indicating mature and extensive intellectual resources. Upon the failure of a companion suitable for Adam among the creatures thus brought to him to be named, the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and took one of his ribs from him, which He fashioned into a woman and brought her to the man. Prof. S. Lee supposed the narrative of the creation of Eve to have been revealed to Adam in his deep sleep (Lee's *Job*, *Introd.*, p. 16). This is agreeable with the analogy of similar passages, as Acts x. 10, xi. 5, xii. 17. At this time they are both described as being naked without the consciousness of shame.

Such is the Scripture account of Adam prior to the Fall: there is no narrative of any condition superhuman, or contrary to the ordinary laws of humanity. The first man is a true man, with the powers of a man and the innocence of a child. He is moreover spoken of by St. Paul as being "the figure, *τύπος*, of Him that was to come," the second Adam, (Christ Jesus (Rom. v. 14). His human excellence therefore cannot have been superior to that of the Son of Mary, who was Himself the Pattern and Perfect Man. By the subtlety of the serpent, the woman who was given to be with Adam, was beguiled into a violation of the one command which had been imposed upon them. She took of the fruit of the forbidden tree and gave it to her husband. The propriety of its name was immediately shown in the results which followed; self-consciousness was the first fruits of sin; their eyes were opened and they knew that they were naked. The subsequent conduct of Adam would seem to militate against the notion that he was in himself the perfection of moral excellence. His cowardly attempt to "den himself" by the inculpation of his helpless wife bears no marks of a high moral nature even though fallen; it was conduct unworthy of his sons, and such as many of them would have scorned to adopt. Though the cause of Adam's rebellion of necessity fell upon him, yet the very prohibition to eat of the tree of life after his transgression, was probably a manifestation of Divine mercy, because the greatest malediction of all would have been to have the gift of indestructible life superadded to a state of wretchedness and sin. When moreover we find in Prov. iii. 18, that wisdom is declared to be a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and in Rev. ii. 7, xii. 2, 14, that the same expression is applied to the grace of Christ, we are led to conclude that this was merely a temporary prohibition imposed till the Gospel dispensation should be brought in. Upon this supposition the condition of Christians now is as favourable as that of Adam before the Fall, and

their spiritual state the same, with the single exception of the consciousness of sin and the knowledge of good and evil.

Till a recent period it has been generally believed that the Scriptural narrative supposes the whole human race to have sprung from one pair. It is maintained that the O. T. assumes it in the reason assigned for the name which Adam gave his wife after the Fall, viz. Eve, or Chavvah, *i. e.* a *living* woman, "because she was the mother of all living;" and that St. Paul assumes it in his sermon at Athens when he declares that God hath made of *one* blood *all* nations of men; and in the Epistle to the Romans and first Epistle to the Corinthians, when he opposes Christ as the representative of redeemed humanity to Adam as the representative of natural, fallen and sinful humanity. But the full consideration of this important subject will come more appropriately under the article MAN.

In the middle ages discussions were raised as to the period which Adam remained in Paradise in a sinless state. To these Dante refers in the *Paradiso*, xvi. 139-142—

"Nel monte, che si leva più dall' onda,  
Fu' io, con vita pur d'è discesa,  
Dalla prima ora a quella ch'è seconda,  
Come il Sol muta quadra, all' ora seconda."

Dante therefore did not suppose Adam to have been *more* than seven hours in the earthly paradise. Adam is stated to have lived 930 years: so it would seem that the death which resulted from his sin was the spiritual death of alienation from God. "In the *day* that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die:" and accordingly we find that this spiritual death began to work immediately. The sons of Adam mentioned in Scripture are Cain, Abel and Seth: it is implied however that he had others. [S. L.]

AD'AM (אָדָם — *earth*; *Admah*), a city on the Jordan "beside (בְּצֵדָה) Zathnan," in the time of Joshua (Josh. iii. 16). It is not elsewhere mentioned, nor is there any reference to it in Josephus. The LXX. (both MSS.) has *ἔως μέρους Καριαβί-απλη*, a curious variation, in which it has been suggested (Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §80, note) that a trace of Adam appears in *απλη*, D being changed to R according to the frequent custom of the LXX.

Note.—The A. V. here follows the *Aeri*, which, for אָדָם = "by Adam," the reading in the Hebrew text or Chetib, has אָדָם = "from Adam," an alteration which is a questionable improvement (Keil, 51). The accurate rendering of the text is "rose up upon a heap, very far off, by Adam, the city that is beside Zathnan" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 304 note). [G.]

AD'AMAH (אָדָמָה; *Admah*), one of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali, named between Chinnereth and ha-Banah (Josh. xix. 36). It was probably situated to the N.W. of the Sea of Galilee, but no trace of it has yet been discovered.

ADAMANT, a name given to stones of excessive hardness, as, for instance, to the diamond. It is used twice in the A. V. to render the Hebr. *Shāmīr* (שָׁמִיר, root שָׁמַר, *rigid, horrid*), viz. in Ez. iii. 9, and Zech. vii. 12. In the former

Can the place have derived its name from the "fat ground" (הָאֲדָמָה) which was in this very neighbourhood—"between Succoth and Zarthan" (1 K. vii. 46)?

passage it is used metaphorically of the firmness with which God's servant should be endowed to resist his enemies; in the latter, of the hardness of man's heart in resisting the truth. *Shāmīr* occurs a third time in Jer. xvii. 1, where it is rendered "diamond" in A. V. The Vulgate in all these passages has *Adamus*. The LXX. in Ez. iii. 9, and Zech. vii. 12, have omitted to render the Hebrew word at all, and the whole passage in Jer. xvii. 1 is omitted in the Vatican MS. of the LXX.; but the Complut. Ed. has *ἐν θυγὶ ἀδαμαντίνῳ*. The word *adamant* occurs once in the Apocrypha in Ecclesi. vii. 16, "He has separated his light from the darkness with an adamant," i. e. by an adamantine wall—impassable, irresistible, unmovable.

Gesenius is disposed to connect *Shāmīr* with the Greek *σμίρις*, *σμίρις*, emery powder for polishing—the debris of *σμιρῆτης λίθος* (LXX., Job xii. 7); but Dioscorides (v. 166) says, *σμίρις λίθος ἐστίν, ὃ τὰς ψήφους αἱ δακτυλιογυλῶφαι σμῆχουσι*. Bochart also supposes *σμίρις* to have been a hard stone used in cutting and polishing other stones, and not a powder (*Hieroz.* p. ii. lib. vi. c. 11, p. 842).

**ADAMI** (אָדָמִי; *Appé; Adami*), a place on the border of Naphtali, named after Allon bez-zaimanum (Josh. xix. 33). By same it is taken in connexion with the next name, *hau-Nekeb*, but see Reland, 545. In the post-biblical times Adami bore the name of Damun.

**ADAR** (אָדָר; *Appé; Adarā; Adar*), a place on the south boundary of Palestine and of Judah (Josh. xv. 34) which in the parallel list is called HAZAR-ADAR.

**ADAR.** [MONRUS.]

**ADASA** (Ἀδασά, LXX.; τὰ Ἀδασά, Jos.; *Adasa; Adasa*), a place in Judaea, a day's journey from Gaza, and 30 stadia from Bethhoron (Jos. Ant. xii. 10, §5). Here Judas Maccabaeus encamped before the battle in which Nicanor was killed, Nicanor having pitched at Bethhoron (1 Macc. vii. 40, 45). In the Onomasticon it is mentioned as near Gophna.

**ADBEEL** (אָדבֶּעֶל; *Nabdehēl; Adbeel; Ἀδβέηλος*, Joseph., "perhaps a *miracle* of God," from

أَدَب, *miracle*," Gesen. s. v.), a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. ii. 29), and probably the progenitor of an Arab tribe. No satisfactory identification of this name with that of any people or place mentioned by the Greek geographers, or by the Arabs themselves, has yet been discovered. The latter have lost most of the names of Ishmael's descendants between that patriarch and 'Adnan (who is said to be of the 21st generation before Mohammad), and this could scarcely have been the case if tribes, or places named after them, existed in the times of Arabian historians or relations of traditions: it is therefore unlikely that these names are to be recovered from the works of native authors. But some they have taken, and apparently corrupted, from the Bible; and among these is Adbeel, written (in the *Mir'at ez-Zeidan*) اذبل.

[E. S. P.]

**ADIDAN** (אָדִידָן; *Hēdan*, LXX.; *Aadap*, Apoc. Esch.; *Adon*, Vulg.), one of the places from which some of the captivity returned with Zerubbabel to Judaea who could not show their pedigree as Israelites (Ezr. ii. 59). In the parallel lists of

Nehemiah (vii. 61) and Esdras the name is ADDON and AALAR. [G.]

**ADDAR** (אָדָר; *Adar; Addar*), son of Bela (1 Chr. viii. 3), called ARD in Num. xxvi. 40.

**ADDER**, a venomous serpent. The word occurs five times in the text of the A. V. (see *infra*) of the O. T. and three in the margin as synonymous with *cockatrice*, viz. Is. xi. 8, xiv. 29, lxx. 5. It represents four different Hebrew words, *'Acsháb*, *Pethan*, *Tiphoni*, and *Shephiphon*.

*'Acsháb* (עֲכָשָׁב), occurs only in Ps. cxi. 3, and seems to be a compound of עָכַב, *retrosum se flexit*, and עָקַב, *insidiatu est*, words which express the action of a serpent lurking in ambush and coiling himself up to strike. The LXX. render the word by *ἀσπίς*, and are followed by St. Paul in quoting the passage at Rom. iii. 13, and by the Vulgate.

*Pethan* (תִּפְתָּן) is expressed by *adder* in Ps. lvi. 4, v. 13, but elsewhere by *asp*. It is derived from an unused root תִּפַּח, *calidus fui*, and perhaps is related to תִּפַּח, *contorsit*. From Dent. xxxii. 33 and Job xx. 14, 16, it would seem to have been a poisonous snake. It was also deaf (שָׁמֵן), not hearing the voice of the charmer, from which we infer that the art of charming serpents by music was known in David's days. Gesenius connects the word with the Chaldee תִּפַּח, תִּפְתָּן, and with the Syr. ܦܬܢ, but not with ܦܬܢܐ, *draco*.

*Tiphoni* (תִּפְתָּן) is translated *adder* only in Prov. xxii. 32, where the LXX. have *κερστῆς*. In the three passages of Isaiah quoted above, and in Jer. vii. 17, it is rendered *cockatrice*. The root is ܦܬܢ, of which Gesenius gives two meanings, *protesti* and *subulat*, which are equally applicable to a serpent; the former to the way in which it strikes its prey, the latter to the sound it utters. *Tiphoni* is probably the serpent called by the Greeks *βασιλίσκος*, and by the Latins *regulus*. The passage of Jeremiah above quoted implies its fierce nature, and the translation of it by the LXX. (*ὄφεις θανατοῦντας*) its deadly poison. From Is. lxx. 5, we gather that the animal was oviparous; from xiv. 29, that it was not identical with *שָׁמֵן*; and from xi. 8 that it was subterranean in habit.

*Shephiphon* (שִׁפְפִּיפּוֹן, derived from שִׁפַּץ, *serpsit*) occurs only in Gen. xlix. 17, where it is used by Jacob to characterize the tribe of Dan. Its habit of lurking in the road, and biting at the horses' heels, identifies it with the Coluber Cerastes of Linnaeus, a small and very venomous snake found in Egypt, and fully described and figured by Bruce in his Abyssinian travels (vol. v. pp. 200-212, Ed. Germ.). The LXX. render it *ὄφης ἐφ' ὁδοῦ ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τριβῶν*, probably connecting the word with ܦܬܢ. See Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1381. [W. D.]

**ADDI** (אָדִידָן, Luke iii. 28), son of Cosam, and father of Melchī, in our Lord's genealogy; the third above Salathiel. The etymology and Hebrew form of the name are doubtful, as it does not occur in the LXX., but it probably represents the Hebrew עָדִי, *an ornament*, and is a short form of Adiel, or

Adaiab. The latter name in 1 Chr. vi. 41 (26 in Heb. Bib.) is rendered in the Septuagint Ἀδαί, which is very close to Adli. [A. C. II.]

AD'DON. [ADDAN.]

A'DER, accurately EDER (עֲדֵר; \*Eder; Heder, name of a man (1 Chr. viii. 15).

AD'IDA (Ἀδιδα; \*Joseph. Ἀδιδά; Adhis, Adliak), a town on an eminence (Ant. xiii. 6, §4) overlooking the low country of Judah (A. 49 τῇ Σεφίλας), fortified by Simon Maccabaens in his wars with Tryphon (1 Macc. xii. 38, xiii. 13). Alexander was here defeated by Aretas (Ant. xiii. 15, §2); and Vespasian used it as one of his outposts in the siege of Jerusalem (B. J. iv. 9, § 1). Probably identical with HADID and ADITHAIM (which see). [G.]

A'DIEL (עֲדִיֵּאל; \*Ιεδιήλ, Ἀδιήλ, Ὀδιήλ; Adiel), name of three men. 1. (1 Chr. iv. 36). 2. (1 Chr. ix. 12). 3. (1 Chr. xxvii. 25).

A'DIN (עֲדִין; \*Ἀδιν, Ἀδιν, Ἡδιν, Ἡδιν; Adin, Adin), name of a man (Ezr. ii. 15, viii. 6; Neh. vii. 20, x. 16).

AD'INA (עֲדִינָא; \*Ἀδινά; Adina), name of a man (1 Chr. xi. 42).

AD'INO, THE EZNITE, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. See JASHOBEAM.

ADITHA'IM (with the article, הָעֲדִיתַיִם, a town belonging to Judah, lying in the low country (Shefelah), and named, between Shalum and Hag-Gedemh, in Josh. xv. 36 only. It is entirely omitted by the LXX. At a later time the name appears to have been changed to Hadid" (Chadid) and Adila. For the dual termination, comp. the two names occurring in the same verse; also Eglaim, Horonaim, etc. [G.]

ADJURATION. [ENORCISM.]

AD'LAI (עֲדַלַי; Ἀδλ; Adli), name of a man (1 Chr. xxvii. 29).

AD'MAH (אֲדָמָה; Ἀδμά; Aduma), one of the "cities of the plain," always coupled with Zebaim (Gen. x. 19; xiv. 2, 8; Dent. xxi. 23; Hos. xi. 8). It had a king of its own.

AD'MATHA (אֲדָמָתָה; Admatha), one of the seven princes of Persia (Esth. i. 14).

AD'NA (עֲדָנָה; Ἐδνέ; Edna), name of a man (Ezr. x. 30).

AD'NAH (עֲדָנָה; Ἐδνα, Ἐδνας; Ednas), name of two men. 1. (1 Chr. xii. 20). 2. (2 Chr. xvii. 14).

ADONI-BE'ZEK (אֲדֹנִי־בֶזֶק, lord of Bezek; Ἀδωνιβεζεκ; Adonibezec), king of Bezek, a city of the Canaanites. [BEZEK.] This chieftain was vanquished by the tribe of Judah (Judg. i. 3-7), who cut off his thumbs and great toes, and brought him prisoner to Jerusalem, where he died. He confessed that he had inflicted the same cruelty upon 70 petty kings whom he had conquered. [R. W. B.]

ADONI'KAM. [ADONIJAH, No. 3.]

ADONI'JAH (אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ, my Lord is Jehovah; Ἀδωνίας; Adonius). 1. The fourth son of David by Hagith, born at Hebron, while his father was king of Judah (2 Sam. iii. 4). After the death of his three brothers, Amnon, Chileab, and Absalom, he became eldest son; and when his father's strength was visibly declining, put forward his pretensions to the crown, by equipping himself in royal state, with chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him, in imitation of Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 1), whom he also resembled in personal beauty, and apparently also in character, as indeed Josephus says (Ant. vii. 14, §4). For this reason he was plainly unfit to be king, and David promised Bathsheba that her son Solomon should inherit the crown (1 K. i. 30), for there was no absolute claim of primogeniture in these Eastern monarchies. Solomon's cause was espoused by the best of David's counsellors, the illustrious prophet Nathan; Zadok, the descendant of Eleazar, and representative of the elder line of priesthood; Benaiah, the captain of the king's bodyguard; together with Shimei and Rei, whom Ewald (Geschichte, iii. 246) conjectures to be David's two surviving brothers, comparing 1 Chr. ii. 13, and identifying שְׁמַעִי with שְׁמֹעָה (Shammai in our version), and רֵעִי with רֵרִי (our Rehobai). From 1 K. ii. 8, it is unlikely that the Shimei of 2 Sam. xvi. 5 could have actively espoused Solomon's cause. On the side of Adonijah, who when he made his attempt on the kingdom was about 35 years old (2 Sam. v. 5), were Abiathur, the representative of Eli's, i. e. the junior line of the priesthood (descended from Ithamar, Aaron's fourth son), and Joab, the famous commander of David's army; the latter of whom, always audacious and self-willed, probably expected to find more congenial elements in Adonijah's court than in Solomon's. His name and influence secured a large number of followers, among the captains of the royal army belonging to the tribe of Judah (comp. 1 K. i. 9 and 25); and these, together with all the princes except Solomon, were entertained by Adonijah at a great sacrificial feast held "by the stone Zohaleth, which is by En-rogel." The meaning of the stone Zohaleth is very doubtful, being translated *rock of the watch tower* in the Chaldee; *great rock*, Syr. and Arab.; and explained "*rock of the stream of water*" by R. Kimchi. En-rogel is mentioned in Josh. xv. 7, as a spring on the border of Judah and Benjamin, S. of Jerusalem, and may be the same as that afterwards called the Well of Job or Jeab (Ain Ayub). It is explained *spring of the fuller* by the Chaldee Paraphrast, perhaps because he treads his clothes with his feet (רָגַל, see Gesen. s. v.); but comp. Dent. xi. 10, where "watering with the feet" refers to machines trodden with the foot, and such possibly the spring of Rogel supplied. [ENROGEL.] A meeting for a religious purpose would be held near a spring, just as in later times sites for προσευχαί were chosen by the waterside (Acts xvi. 13).

Nathan and Bathsheba, now thoroughly alarmed, apprised David of these proceedings, who immediately gave orders that Solomon should be conducted on the royal mule in solemn procession to Gihon, a spring on the W. of Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxxii. 30). [GIHON.] Here he was anointed and proclaimed king by Zadok, and joyfully recognized by the people. This decisive measure struck terror into the opposite party, and Adonijah fled to sanctuary, but was

\* If so, it is an instance of Ain changing to Cheth (see Ges. 436).

pardoned by Solomon on condition that he should "show himself a worthy man," with the threat that "if wickedness were found in him he should die" (1. 52).

The death of David quickly followed on these events; and Adonijah begged Bathsheba, who as "king's mother" would now have special dignity and influence [ASA], to procure Solomon's consent to his marriage with Abishag, who had been the wife of David in his old age (1 K. i. 3). This was regarded as equivalent to a flesh attempt on the throne [ABSAIOM; ABNEH]; and therefore Solomon ordered him to be put to death by Benaiah, in accordance with the terms of his previous pardon. Far from looking upon this as "the most flagrant act of despotism since Boaz massacred the priests at Saul's command" (Newman, *Hebrew Monarchy*, ch. iv.), we must consider that the clemency of Solomon in sparing Adonijah, till he thus again revealed a treasonable purpose, stands in remarkable contrast with the almost universal practice of Eastern sovereigns. Any one of these, situated like Solomon, would probably have secured his throne by putting all his brothers to death, whereas we have no reason to think that any of David's sons suffered except the open pretender Adonijah, though all seem to have opposed Solomon's claims; and if his execution be thought an act of severity, we must remember that we cannot expect to find the principles of the Gospel acted upon a thousand years before Christ came, and that it is hard for us, in this nineteenth century, altogether to realize the position of an Oriental king in that remote age.

2. A Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvi. 8).

3. One of the Jewish chiefs in the time of Nehemiah (i. 16). He is called Adonikam (אֲדוֹנִיקָם; *Adonikam*) in Ezr. ii. 13. Comp. Ezr. viii. 13; Neh. vii. 18. [G. E. L. C.]

ADONIRAM (אֲדוֹנִירָם, 1 K. iv. 6; by an unusual contraction ADORAM, אֲדוֹרָם, 2 Sam. xx. 24, and 1 K. 12, 18; also HADORAM, הָדוֹרָם, 2 Chr. x. 18; *Adoniram*; *Adoram*). Chief receiver of the tribute during the reigns of David (2 Sam. xv. 24), Solomon (1 K. iv. 6) and Rehoboam (1 K. xii. 18). This last monarch sent him to collect the tribute from the rebellious Israelites, by whom he was stoned to death. [R. W. B.]

ADONI-ZE'DEK (אֲדוֹנִיזֶדֶק, *lord of justice*; *Adonizede*), the Amorite king of Jerusalem who organized a league with four other Amorite princes against Joshua. The confederate kings having laid siege to Gibeon, Joshua marched to the relief of his new allies and put the besiegers to flight. The five kings took refuge in a cave at Makkedah, whence they were taken and slain, their bodies hung on trees and then buried in the place of their concealment (Josh. x. 1-27). [Joshua.] [R. W. B.]

ADOPTION (*υιοθεσία*), an expression metaphorically used by St. Paul in reference to the present and prospective privileges of Christians (Rom. viii. 15, 23; Gal. iv. 5; Eph. i. 5). He probably alludes to the Roman custom of adoption, by which a person, not having children of his own, might adopt as his son one born of other parents. It was a formal act, effected either by the process named *adrogatio*, when the person to be adopted was in-

dependent of his parent, or by *adptio*, specifically so called, when in the power of his parent. (See *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* at ADOPATIO.) The effect of it was that the adopted child was entitled to the name and *sacra privata* of his new father, and ranked as his heir-at-law: while the father on his part was entitled to the property of the son, and exercised towards him all the rights and privileges of a father. In short the relationship was to all intents and purposes the same as existed between a natural father and son. The selection of a person to be adopted implied a decided preference and love on the part of the adopter: and St. Paul aptly transfers the well known feelings and customs connected with the act to illustrate the position of the Christianized Jew or Gentile. The Jews themselves were unacquainted with the process of adoption: indeed it would have been inconsistent with the regulations of the Mosaic law affecting the inheritance of property: the instances occasionally adduced as referring to the custom (Gen. xv. 3, xvi. 2, xxv. 5-9) are evidently not cases of adoption proper. [W. L. B.]

ADORA or ADOR. [ADORATM.]

ADORATM (אֲדוֹרָתִים; *Adorai*; *Aduram*),

a fortified city built by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 9), in Judah (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 10, § 1), apparently in or near the *Shefelah*, since, although omitted from the lists in Josh. xv. it is by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 9, § 1, 15, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 6, i. 8, § 4) almost uniformly coupled with Marashah, which was certainly situated there. For the dual termination compare Adithaim, Gederothaim, etc. By Josephus it is given as *Adorapa*, *Adōpeos*; and in *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 5, he calls it a "city of Idumaea," under which name were included, in the later times of Jewish history, the southern parts of Judaea itself (Rehob, 48; Robinson, ii. 69). Adoraim is probably the same place with *Adorapa* (1 Mac. xiii. 20), unless that be Dor, on the sea-coast below Carmel. Robinson identifies it with *Dura*, a "large village" on a rising ground west of Hebron (ii. 215). [G.]

ADOTAM. [ADONIRAM.]

ADORATION. The acts and postures by which the Hebrews expressed adoration, bear a great similarity to those still in use among Oriental nations. To rise up and suddenly prostrate the body, was the most simple method; but generally speaking, the prostration was conducted in a more formal manner, the person falling upon the knee and then gradually inclining the body, until the forehead touched the ground. The various expressions in Hebrew referring to this custom appear to have their specific meaning: thus נָפַל (נָפַל, LXX.) describes the sudden fall; כָּרַע (כָּרַע, LXX.) bending the knee; קָרַד (קָרַד, LXX.) the inclination of the head and body; and lastly שָׁחוּ (שָׁחוּ, LXX.) complete prostration: the term סָכַד (Is. xlv. 15, 17, 19, xlv. 6) was introduced at a late period as appropriate to the worship paid to idols by the Babylonians and other eastern nations (Dan. iii. 5, 6). Such prostration was usual in the worship

\* Even without this statement of Josephus, it is plain that "Judah and Benjamin," in 2 Chr. xi. 10, is a form of expression for the new kingdom, and that none of the towns named are necessarily in the limits of Benjamin proper.

of Jehovah (Gen. xvii. 3; Ps. xcv. 6); but it was by no means exclusively used for that purpose; it was the formal mode of receiving visitors (Gen. xviii. 2), of doing obeisance to one of superior station (2 Sam. xiv. 1), and of showing respect to equals (1 K. ii. 19). Occasionally it was repeated three times (1 Sam. xx. 41), and even seven times (Gen. xxxiii. 3). It was accompanied by such acts as a kiss (Ex. xviii. 7), laying hold of the knees or feet of the person to whom the adoration was paid (Matt. xxviii. 9), and kissing the ground on which he stood (Ps. lxxii. 9; Mic. vii. 17). Similar adoration was paid to idols (1 K. xix. 18); sometimes however prostration was omitted, and the act consisted simply in kissing the hand to the object of reverence (Job xxi. 27) in the manner practised by the Romans (Plin. xxviii. 5: see *Dict. of Ant. art.* ADORATIO), in kissing the statue itself (Hos. xiii. 2). The same customs prevailed at the time of our Saviour's ministry, as appears not only from the numerous occasions on which they were put in practice towards Himself, but also from the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. xviii. 26), and from Cornelius's reverence to St. Peter (Acts x. 25), in which case it was objected to by the Apostle, as implying a higher degree of superiority than he was entitled to, especially as coming from a Roman to whom prostration was not usual. [W. L. B.]

**ADRAMMELECH** (אֲדַרְמֶלֶךְ; Ἀδραμμελεχ; *Adrammelech*). 1. The name of an idol worshipped by the colonists introduced into Samaria from Sennacherib (2 K. xvii. 31). He was worshipped with rites resembling those of Molech, children being burnt in his honour. In Gesenius (*sub voce*) the word is explained to mean *splendour of the king*, being a contraction of אֲדָרְמֶלֶךְ. But Winer, quoting Rehd. *De vet. lingua Pers.* ix. interprets the first part of the word to mean *fire*, and so regards this deity as the Sun-god, in accordance with the astronomical character of the Chaldean and Persian worship. Sir H. Rawlinson also regards Adrammelech as the male power of the sun, and ΑΔΡΑΜΜΕΛΕΧ, who is mentioned with Adrammelech, as a companion-god, as the female power of the sun. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. p. 611.)

2. Son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, whom he murdered in conjunction with his brother Sharras in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh, after the failure of the Assyrian attack on Jerusalem. The paricides escaped into Armenia (2 K. xix. 36; 2 Chr. xxxii. 21; Is. xxxvii. 37). The date of this event was B.C. 700. [G. E. L. C.]

**ADRAMYTITIUM** (occasionally ΑΤΡΑΜΥΤΙΤΙΟΝ; and some cursive MSS. have Ἀτραμυτήνη, instead of Ἀδραμυτήνη in Acts xvii. 2), a seaport in the province of Asia [ASIA], situated in the district anciently called Aeolis, and also Mysia (see Acts xvi. 7). Adramyttium gave, and still gives its name to a deep gulf on this coast, opposite to the opening of which is the island of Lesbos [MYTILENE]. St. Paul was never at Adramyttium, except perhaps during his second missionary journey, on his way from Galatia to Troas (Acts xvi.), and it has no Biblical interest, except as illustrating his voyage from Caesarea in a ship belonging to this place (Acts xxvii. 2). The reason is given in what follows, viz. that the centurion and his prisoners would thus be brought to the coasts of Asia, and therefore some distance on their way towards Rome, to places where some other

ship bound for the west would probably be found. Ships of Adramyttium must have been frequent on this coast, for it was a place of considerable traffic. It lay on the great Roman road between Assos, Troas, and the Hellespont on one side, and Pergamus, Ephesus, and Miletus on the other, and was connected by similar roads with the interior of the country. According to tradition Adramyttium was a settlement of the Lydians in the time of Croesus: it was afterwards an Athenian colony: under the kingdom of Pergamus it became a seaport of some consequence; and in the time of St. Paul Pliny mentions it as a Roman assize-town. The modern *Adramyti* is a poor village, but it is still a place of some trade and shipbuilding. It is described in the travels of Pococke, Turner, and Fellows. It is hardly worth while to notice the mistaken opinion of Grotius, Hammond, and others, that Hadrumetum on the coast of Africa is meant in this passage of the Acts. [J. S. H.]

**A'DRIA**, more properly A'DRIAS (δ' Ἀδρίας). It is important to fix the meaning of this word as used in Acts xvii. 27. The word seems to have been derived from the town of Adria, near the Po; and at first it denoted that part of the gulf of Venice which is in that neighbourhood. Afterwards the signification of the name was extended, so as to embrace the whole of that gulf. Subsequently it obtained a much wider extension, and in the apostolic age denoted that natural division of the Mediterranean, which Humboldt names the Sytic basin (see Acts xxvii. 17), and which had the coasts of Sicily, Italy, Greece, and Africa for its boundaries. This definition is explicitly given by almost a contemporary of St. Paul, the geographer Ptolemy, who also says that Crete is bounded on the west by Adrias. Later writers state that Malta divides the Adriatic sea from the Tyrrhenian sea, and the isthmus of Corinth, the Aegean from the Adriatic. Thus the ship in which Josephus started for Italy about the time of St. Paul's voyage, founded in Adrias (*Life*, 3), and there he was picked up by a ship from Cyrene and taken to Puteoli (see Acts xxvii. 13). It is through ignorance of these facts, or through the want of attending to them, that writers have drawn an argument from this geographical term in favour of the false view which places the Apostle's shipwreck in the Gulf of Venice. [MELITA.] (*Smith's Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul. Diss. on the Island Melita.*) [J. S. H.]

**A'DRIEL** (אֲדַרְיֶל; Ἀδριάλ; *Hadriel*), a son of Bazillai the Moholathite, to whom Saul gave his daughter Merab, although he had previously promised her to David (1 Sam. xvii. 19). His five sons were amongst the seven descendants of Saul whom David surrendered to the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xvi. 9) in satisfaction for the endeavours of Saul to extirpate them, although the Israelites had originally made a league with them (Josh. ix. 15). In 2 Sam. xvi. they are called the sons of Michal; but as Michal had no children (2 Sam. vi. 23), the A. V. in order to surmount the difficulty, erroneously translates אֲדַרְיֶל, "brought up" instead of "bare." This accords with the opinion of the Targum and Jewish authorities. The magik also gives "the sister of Michal" for "Michal." Probably the error is due to some early transcriber. [R. W. B.]

**A'DUEL** (Ἀδουήλ, i. e. אֲדַוְיֶל, 1 Chr. iv. 36

(Ἰεδὶθάλ); ix. 12 (Ἀδὲθαλ), the ornament of God), Tob. i. 1. [B. F. W.]

**ADULLAM**, Αποερ. ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ, (Ὠδύτη, Ὀδολλὰμ), a city of Judah in the low land of the Shefelah, Josh. xv. 35 (comp. Gen. xxxviii. 1, "Judah uenit dōren," and Micah i. 15, where it is named with Mareshah and Achab); the seat of a Canaanite king (Josh. xii. 15), and evidently a place of great antiquity (Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12, 20). Fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7), one of the towns re-occupied by the Jews after their return from Babylon (Neh. vi. 30), and still a city ('Ο. πόλις) in the times of the Maccabees (2 Mac. xii. 38).

The site of Adullam has not yet been identified, but from the mention of it in the passages quoted above in proximity with other known towns of the Shefelah, it is likely that it was near *Deir Dubbân*, 5 or 6 miles N. of Eleutheropolis. (By Eusebius and Jerome) and apparently by the LXX. it is confounded with ΕΙΛΩΝ; see that name.) The limestone cliffs of the whole of that locality are pierced with extensive excavations (Robinson, ii. 23, 51-53), some one of which is doubtless the "cave of Adullam," the refuge of David (1 Sam. xxi. 1; 2 Sam. xvi. 13; 1 Chr. xi. 15; Stanley, *S. and P.* 259). Monastic tradition places the cave at *Khûrêitân*, at the south end of the *Wady Urtâ*, between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea (Robinson, i. 481). [G.]

**ADULTERY.** The parties to this crime were a married woman and a man who was not her husband. The toleration of polygamy, needless to say, rendered it nearly impossible to make criminal a similar offence committed by a married man with a woman not his wife. In the patriarchal period the sanctity of marriage is noticeable from the history of Abraham, who fears, not that his wife will be seduced from him, but that he may be killed for her sake, and especially from the scruples ascribed to Pharaoh and Abimelech (Gen. vi. xx.). The woman's punishment was, as commonly among eastern nations, no doubt capital, and probably, as in the case of Tamar's incestuousity, death by fire (xxxviii. 24). The Mosaic penalty was that both the guilty parties should be stoned, and it applied as well to the betrothed as to the married woman, provided she were free (Deut. xxi. 22-24). A bondswoman so offending was to be scourged, and the man was to make a trespass offering (Lev. xix. 20-22).

The system of inheritances, on which the polity of Moses was based, was threatened with confusion by the doubtful offspring caused by this crime, and thus secured popular sympathy on the side of morality until a far advanced stage of corruption was reached. Yet from stoning being made the penalty we may suppose that the exclusion of private revenge was intended. It is probable that, when that territorial basis of polity passed away—as it did after the captivity—and when, owing to Gentile example, the marriage tie became a looser bond of union, public feeling in regard to adultery changed, and the penalty of death was seldom or never inflicted. Thus in the case of the woman brought under our Lord's notice (John viii.), it is likely that no one then thought of stoning her in fact, but there remained the written law ready for the purpose of the enervator. It is likely also that a divorce in which the adulteress lost her dower and rights of maintenance, &c. (Gemaia Chethuboth, esp. vii. 6), was the usual remedy suggested by a wish to avoid scandal and the excitement of commiseration

for crime. The word *παράδερματίζαι* (Matt. i. 19), probably means to bring the case before the local Sanhedrim, which was the usual course, but which Joseph did not propose to take, preferring reputation (Buxtorf, *de Spons. et Divort.* iii. 1-4), because that could be managed privately (*λῆθρα*).

Concerning the famous trial by the waters of jealousy (Num. v. 11-29), it has been questioned whether a husband was in case of certain facts bound to adopt it. The more likely view is, that it was meant as a relief to the vehemence of implacable jealousy to which Orientals appear prone, but which was not consistent with the laxity of the nuptial tie prevalent in the period of the New Testament. The ancient strictness of that tie gave room for a more intense feeling, and in that intensity probably arose this strange custom, which no doubt Moses found prevailing and deeply seated; and which is said to be paralleled by a form of ordeal called the "red water" in Western Africa (Kittó, *Cyclop.* s. r.). The forms of Hebrew justice all tended to limit the application of this test. 1. By prescribing certain facts presumptive of guilt, to be established on oath by two witnesses, or a preponderating but not conclusive testimony to the fact of the woman's adultery. 2. By technical rules of evidence which made proof of those presumptive facts difficult (Sotah, vi. 2-5). 3. By exempting certain large classes of women (all indeed, except a pure Israelite married to a pure Israelite, and some even of them) from the liability. 4. By providing that the trial could only be before the great Sanhedrim (Sotah, i. 4). 5. By investing it with a ceremonial at once humiliating and intimidating, yet which still harmonised with the spirit of the whole ordeal as recorded in Num. v.; but 6. Above all, by the conventional and even mercenary light in which the nuptial contract was latterly regarded.

When adultery ceased to be capital, as no doubt it did, and divorce became a matter of mere convenience, it would be absurd to suppose that this trial was continued. And when adultery became common, as the Jews themselves confess, it would have been impious to expect the miracle which it supposed. If ever the Sanhedrim were driven by force of circumstances to adopt this trial, no doubt every effort was used, nay, was prescribed (Sotah, i. 5, 6) to overawe the culprit and induce confession. Nay, even if she submitted to the trial and was really guilty, some rabbis held that the effect on her might be suspended for years through the merit of some good deed (Sotah, iii. 4-6). Besides, however, the intimidation of the woman, the man was likely to feel the public exposure of his suspicious odious and repulsive. Divorce was a ready and quiet remedy; and the only question was, whether the divorce should carry the dowry, and the property which she had brought; which was decided by the slight or grave character of the suspicions against her (Sotah, vi. 1, Gemaia Chethuboth, vii. 6; Ugel. *Uzor Heb.* c. vii.). If the husband were incapable through derangement, imprisonment, &c., of acting on his own behalf in the matter, the Sanhedrim proceeded in his name as concerned the dowry, but not as concerned the trial by the water of jealousy (Sotah, iv. 6). [H. H.]

**ADUM'MIM**, "THU GOING UP TO" or "OF" (מַעְלָה אֲדֻמִּים; πρόσβασις Ἀδαμμὶν; *ascensus* or *asensus Adummin*) = the "pass of the red;" one of the landmarks of the boundary of Benjamin, a

rising ground or pass "over against Gilgal," and "on the south side of the 'torrent'" (Jos. xv. 7, xviii. 17), which is the position still occupied by the road leading up from Jericho and the Jordan valley to Jerusalem (Rob. i. 558"), on the south face of the gorge of the *Wady Kelt*. Jerome (*Onom. Abomunim*) ascribes the name to the blood shed there by the robbers who infested the pass in his day, as they still (Stanley, 314, 424; Martineau, 481; Stewart) continue to infest it, as they did in the middle ages, when the order of Knights Templars arose out of an association for the guarding of this road, and as they did in the days of our Lord, of whose parable of the Good Samaritan this is the scene. But the name is doubtless of a date and significance far more remote, and is probably derived from some tribe of "red men" of the earliest inhabitants of the country (Stanley, 424, note). The suggestion of Keil that it refers to the "jüdischen Fäule des Felsen" is the conjecture of a man who has never been on the spot, the whole pass being of the whitest limestone. [G.]

**AEDIAS** (*Ἀιδίās; Helias*), 1 Esdr. ix. 27. Probably a corruption of ELIAH.

**ÆGYPT**. [ÆGYPT.]

**ÆNEAS** (*Ἀλνέας; Arneus*), a paralytic at Lydda, healed by St. Peter (Acts ix. 33, 34).

**ÆNON** (*Αἰνών; Ainon*), a place "near to Salim," at which John baptized (John iii. 23). It was evidently west of the Jordan (comp. iii. 22, with 26, and with i. 28), and abounded in water. This is indicated by the name, which is merely a Greek version of the Chaldee ܐܝܢܐ = "springs." Aenon is given in the *Onomasticon* as 8 miles south of Scythopolis, "juxta Salem et Jordanem." Dr. Robinson's most careful search, on his second visit, however, failed to discover any trace of either name or remains in that locality (ii. 533). But a *Salim* has been found by him to the east of and close to *Nābulus*, where there are two very copious springs (ii. 279; iii. 298). This position agrees with the requirements of Gen. xxiii. 18. [SALEM.] In favour of its distance from the Jordan is the consideration that, if close by the river, the Evangelist would hardly have drawn attention to the "much water" there.

The latest writer on Jerusalem, Dr. Barclay (1858), reports the discovery of Aenon at *Wady Farah*, a secluded valley about 5 miles to the N.E. of Jerusalem, running into the great *Wady Fawar* immediately above Jericho. The grounds of this novel identification are the very copious springs and pools in which *W. Farah* abounds, and also the presence of the name *Selam* or *Seleim*, the appellation of another *Wady* close by. But it requires more examination than it has yet received. (Barclay, *City of the Great King*, 558-570.) See the curious speculations of Lightfoot (*Cent. Choring.* 1, 2, 3, 4). [G.]

**ÆRA**. [CHRONOLOGY.]

**ÆTHIOPIA**. [ETHIOPIA.]

**AFFINITY**. [MARRIAGE.]

**ἈΓΓΑΒΑ** (*Ἀγκαβά; Aggab*), 1 Esdr. v. 20. [HAGAB.]

**ἈΓΑΒΟΣ** (*Ἀγαβος*), a Christian prophet in the apostolic age, mentioned in Acts xi. 28 and

\* Robinson's words, "On the south side . . . . above," are the more remarkable, because the identity of the place with the Masleli-Adumim does not seem to have occurred to him.

xxi. 10. The same person must be meant in both places; for not only the name, but the office (*προφήτης*) and residence (*ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*), are the same in both instances. He predicted (Acts xi. 28) that a famine would take place in the reign of Claudius "throughout all the world" (*ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην*). This expression may take a narrower or a wider sense, either of which confirms the prediction. As Greek and Roman writers used *ἡ οἰκουμένη* of the Greek and the Roman world, so a Jewish writer could use it naturally of the Jewish world or Palestine. Ancient writers give no account of any universal famine in the reign of Claudius, but they speak of several local famines which were severe in particular countries. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2, §6; ib. 5, §2) mentions one which prevailed at that time in Judaea, and swept away many of the inhabitants. Helena, queen of Adiabene, a Jewish proselyte who was then at Jerusalem, imported provisions from Egypt and Cyprus, which she distributed among the people to save them from starvation. This, in all probability, is the famine to which Agabus refers in Acts xi. 28. The chronology admits of this supposition. According to Josephus, the famine which he describes took place when Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander were procurators; i. e. as Lardner suggests, it may have begun about the close of A.D. 44, and lasted three or four years. Fadus was sent into Judaea on the death of Agrippa, which occurred in August of the year A.D. 44. If we attach the wider sense to *οἰκουμένην*, the prediction may import that a famine should take place throughout the Roman empire during the reign of Claudius (the year is not specified), and not that it should prevail in all parts at the same time. We find mention of three other famines during the reign of Claudius: one in Greece (Euseb. *Chron.* i. 79), and two in Rome (Dion. Cass. ix. 11; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43).

The name Agabus is variously derived: by Drusius, from אָגַב, a *loot*; by Grotius, from אָגַב, *he looted*: which latter Witius and Wolf also adopt. See the *Curæ Philologicæ* of the latter, vol. ii. p. 1167. Wiener refers to a dissertation by M. Walch, *De Agabo voce*, in his *Dissert. ad Act. Ap.* ii. 131 ff. There is an extended notice of the incidents in which he appears in Baumgarten, *Apostel-geschichte*, i. pp. 270 ff. and ii. pp. 113 f.

**ἈΓΑΓ** (אָגָג, from an Arabic root "to burn," *Go-en*; \**Agady* and *Gagy*; *Agay*), possibly the title of the kings of Amalek, like Pharaoh of Egypt. One king of this name is mentioned in Num. xix. 7, and another in 1 Sam. xv. 8, 9, 20, 32. The latter was the king of the Amalekites, whom Saul spared together with the best of the spoil, although it was the well-known will of Jehovah that the Amalekites should be extirpated (Ex. xvii. 14; Deut. xvi. 17). For this act of disobedience Samuel was commissioned to declare to Saul his rejection, and he himself sent for Agag and cut him in pieces. [SAMUEL.]

Haman is called the AGAGITE in Esther (*בוגגאים*, iii. 1, 10, viii. 3, 5). The Jews consider Haman a descendant of Agag, the Amalekite, and hence account for the hatred with which he pursued their race (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 6, §5; Targ. Esth.). [R. W. B.]

**AGAGITE**. [AGAG.]

**ἈΓΑΡ**. [HAGAR.]

**AGARENES** (*ὁ τοῦ Ἀγαρ; filii Agar*), Bar. iii. 23. [HAGAR.]

**AGATE**, a precious stone. The word occurs in the A. V. twice as the representative of the Heb. *Kaddak*, and twice as that of *Shebâ*. The derivation of *Kaddak* (כֶּדֶק) from כָּדַר, *ignem excessit, scintillavit*, implies the bright and sparkling character of the stone. From Is. lv. 12 we might infer that it was partially transparent, and from Ez. xxvii. 16, that it was imported from Syria to Tyre. In the former passage the LXX. render it *iaspis*, and the Vulgate *inspis*; but in the latter both versions keep the Hebrew word. Gesenius supposes it to be the ruby or carbuncle. *Shebâ* (שֶׁבַע) occurs in Ex. xxvii. 19 and xxxiv. 12. It is rendered by the LXX. ἀχάτης, and in the Vulg. *achates*, and may perhaps be the agate, though there is nothing in the meaning of the word to indicate the origin. It is usually derived from שָׁבַה, *captivum fecit*, but may possibly be connected with the proper name, שֶׁבַע, from whence the merchants brought all precious stones to the markets of Tyre (Comp. Braun, *de Vest. Sac. Inst. Heb.* ii. 15). The agate was the second stone on the third row of the breastplate of the High-priest. It is a semiprecious uncrystallised variety of quartz, found in parallel or concentric layers of various colours, and presenting different tints in the same specimen. [W. D.]

**AGE, OLD.** In early stages of civilization, when experience is the only source of practical knowledge, old age has its special value, and consequently its special honours. The Spartans, the Athenians, and the Romans were particular in showing respect to the aged, and the Egyptians had a regulation which has its exact parallel in the Bible (Lev. ii. 80; Lev. xix. 32). Under a patriarchal form of government such a feeling was still more deeply implanted. A further motive was superadded in the case of the Jew, who was taught to consider old age as a reward for piety, and a signal token of God's favour. For these reasons the aged occupied a prominent place in the social and political system of the Jews. In *private* life they were looked up to as the depositaries of knowledge (Job xv. 10): the young were ordered to rise up in their presence (Lev. xix. 32): they allowed them to give their opinion first (Job xxiii. 4): they were taught to regard grey hairs as a "crown of glory" and as the "beauty of old men" (Prov. xvi. 31, xv. 29). The attainment of old age was regarded as a special blessing (Job v. 26), not only on account of the prolonged enjoyment of life to the individual, but also because it indicated peaceful and prosperous times (Zech. viii. 4; 1 Mac. xiv. 9; Is. lxx. 20). In *public* affairs age carried weight with it, especially in the infancy of the state: it formed under Moses the main qualification of those who acted as the representatives of the people in all matters of difficulty and deliberation. The old men or Elders thus became a class, and the title gradually ceased to convey the notion of age, and was used in an official sense, like *Patres*, *Senatores*, and other similar terms. [Elders.] Still it would be but natural that such an office was generally held by men of advanced age (1 K. xii. 8). [W. L. B.]

**AG'EE** (אָגֵי; \**Asa*, \**Agod*; *Aje*), name of a man (2 Sam. xxiii. 11).

**AGGE'US** (Ἀγχαῖος; *Aggeus*). [HAGGAI.]

**AGRI'OLTURE.** This, though prominent in the Scriptural narrative concerning Adam, Cain,

and Noah, was little cared for by the patriarchs; more so, however, by Isaac and Jacob than by Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 12, xxvii. 7), in whose time, probably, if we except the lower Jordan valley (xiii. 10), there was little regular culture in Canaan. Thus Gedar and Shechem seem to have been cities where pastoral wealth predominated. The herdsmen strove with Isaac about his wells; about his crop there was no contention (xx. 14, xxiv. 28). In Joshua's time, as shown by the story of the 'Eshcol' (Numb. xiii. 23-4), Canaan was found in a much more advanced agricultural state than Jacob had left it in (Dent. viii. 8), resulting probably from the severe experience of famines, and the example of Egypt, to which its people were thus led. The pastoral life was the means of keeping the sacred race, whilst yet a family, distinct from mixture and locally unattached, especially whilst in Egypt. When, grown into a nation, they conquered their future seats, agriculture supplied a similar check on the foreign intercourse and speedily demoralisation, especially as regards idolatry, which commerce would have caused. Thus agriculture became the basis of the Mosaic commonwealth (Michaels, xxvii.-xli.). It tended to check also the freebooting and nomad life, and made a numerous offspring profitable, as it was already honourable by natural sentiment and by law. Thus, too, it indirectly discouraged slavery, or, where it existed, made the slave somewhat like a son, though it made the son also somewhat of a slave. Taken in connexion with the inalienable character of inheritances, it gave each man and each family a stake in the soil and nurtured a hardy patriotism. "The Rud is Mine" (Lev. xxv. 23) was a dictum which made agriculture likewise the basis of the theocratic relation. Thus every family fit its own life with intense keenness, and had its divine tenure which it was to guard from alienation. The prohibition of culture in the sabbatical year formed, under this aspect, a kind of rent reserved by the Divine Owner. Landmarks were deemed sacred (Dent. xix. 14), and the inalienability of the heritage was ensured by its reversion to the owner in the year of jubilee; so that only so many years of occupancy could be sold (Lev. xxv. 8-16, 23-35). The prophet Isaiah (v. 8) denounces the contempt of such restrictions by wealthy grandees who sought to "add field to field," erasing families and depopulating districts.

A change in the climate of Palestine, caused by increase of population and the clearance of trees, must have taken place before the period of the N. T. A further change caused by the decrease of skilled agricultural labour, e.g. in irrigation and terrace-making, has since ensued. Not only this, but the great variety of elevation and local character in so small a compass of country necessitates a partial and guarded application of general remarks (Robinson, i. 507, 553, 554, iii. 595; Stanley, *S. & P.* 119, 124-6). Yet wherever industry is secure, the soil still asserts its old fertility. The *Haurân* (Peraen) is as fertile as Damascus, and its bread enjoys the highest reputation. The black and fat, but light, soil about Gaza is said to hold so much moisture as to be very fertile with little rain. Here, as in the neighbourhood of *Bejrût*, is a vast olive-ground, and the very sand of the shore is said to be fertile if watered. The Israelites probably found in Canaan a fair proportion of woodland, which their necessities, owing to the discouragement of commerce,

must have led them to reduce (Josh. xvii. 18). But even in early times timber seems to have been far less used for building material than among western nations; the Israelites were not skilful hewers, and imported both the timber and the workmen (1 K. v. 6, 8). No store of wood-fuel seems to have been kept; ovens were heated with such things as dung and hay (Ez. iv. 12, 15; Mal. iv. 13); and, in any case of scarcity on an emergency, some, as we should think, unusual source of supply is constantly mentioned for the wood (1 Sam. vi. 14; 2 Sam. xiv. 23; 1 K. xix. 21; comp. Gen. xii. 3, 6, 7). All this indicates a non-abundance of timber.

Its plenty of water from natural sources made Canaan a contrast to rainless Egypt (Deut. viii. 7, 10-12). Nor was the peculiar Egyptian method alluded to in Deut. xi. 10 unknown, though less prevalent in Palestine. That peculiarity seems to have consisted in making in the fields square shallow beds, like our salt-pans, surrounded by a raised border of earth to keep in the water, which was then turned from one square to another by pushing aside the mud to open one and close the next with the foot. A very similar method is apparently described by Robinson as used, especially for garden vegetables, in Palestine. There irrigation (including under the term all appliances for making the water available) was as essential as drainage in our region; and for this the large extent of rocky surface, easily excavated for cisterns and ditches, was most useful. Even the plain of Jericho is watered not by canals from the Jordan, since the river lies below the land, but by hills converging from the mountains. In these features of the country lay its expansive resources to meet the wants of a multiplying population. The lightness of agricultural labour in the plains set free an abundance of hands for the task of tanning and watering; and the result gave the highest stimulus to industry.

The cereal crops of constant mention are wheat and barley, and more rarely rye and millet (?). Of the two former, together with the vine, olive, and fig, the use of irrigation, the plough and the harrow, mention is found in the book of Job (xxi. 40; xv. 33; xxiv. 6; xxix. 9; xxxiv. 10). Two kinds of vetchin (the black variety called "hitches," Is. xxxiii. 27), and such potted plants as beans and lentiles, may be named among the staple produce. To these, later writers add a great variety of garden plants, *e.g.*, kidney-beans, peas, lettuce, endive, leek, garlic, onion, melon, cucumber, cabbage, &c. (*Mishna, Celam.* l. 1, 2). The produce which formed Jacob's present was of such kinds as would keep, and had kept during the famine (Gen. xliii. 11).

The Jewish calendar, as fixed by the three great festivals, turned on the seasons of green, ripe, and fully-gathered produce. Hence, if the season was backward, or, owing to the imperfections of a non-astronomical reckoning, seemed to be so, a month was intercalated. This rule system was fondly retained long after mental progress and foreign intercourse placed a correct calendar within their power; so that notice of a *Ve'adar*, *i.e.*, second or intercalated Adar, on account of the lamb being not yet of paschal size, and the barley not forward enough for the *Abib* (green sheaf), was sent to the Jews of Babylon and Egypt (*Ugol. de Re Rust.* v. 22) early in the season.

The year ordinarily consisting of 12 months was divided into 6 agricultural periods as follows (*Tosaphota Tannith*, ch. 1):—

## AGRICULTURE

## I. SOWING TIME.

Tisri, latter half	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{beginning about} \\ \text{autumnal} \\ \text{equinox} \end{array} \right\}$	Early rain due.
Marchesvan .. .. .		
Kisleu, former half .. .. .		

## II. HARVEST TIME.

Kisleu, latter half.  
Tebeth.  
Shebeth, former half.

## III. COLD SEASON.

Shebeth, latter half .. .. .	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{beginning about} \\ \text{vernal equinox.} \\ \text{Barley green,} \\ \text{Passover.} \end{array} \right\}$	Latter rain due.
Adar .. .. .		
[Ve'adar] .. .. .		
Nisan, former half .. .. .		

## IV. HARVEST TIME.

Nisan, latter half .. .. .	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{beginning about} \\ \text{autumnal equinox.} \end{array} \right\}$	Early rain due.
Iyar.		
Sivan, former half .. .. .	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Wheat ripe.} \\ \text{Pentecost.} \end{array} \right\}$	
Sivan, latter half		

## V. SUMMER.

Tammuz.  
Ab, former half.

## VI. SULTRY SEASON.

Ab, latter half.  
Ebul.  
Tishri, former half .. .. . Ingathering of fruits.

Thus the 6 months from mid Tisri to mid Nisan were mainly occupied with the process of cultivation, and the rest with the gathering of the fruits. Rain was commonly expected soon after the autumnal equinox or mid Tisri; and if by the first of Kisleu none had fallen, a fast was proclaimed (*Mishna, Tannith*, ch. 1). The common scriptural expressions of the "early" and the "latter rain" (Deut. xi. 14; Jer. v. 24; Hos. vi. 3; Zech. x. 1; Jam. v. 7) are scarcely confirmed by modern experience, the season of rains being unbroken (Robinson, i. 41, 429; in. 96), though perhaps the fall is more strongly marked at the beginning and the end of it. The consternation caused by the failure of the former rain is depicted in Joel ii. 1; and that prophet seems to promise that and the latter rain together "in the first month," *i.e.* Nisan (ii. 23). The ancient Hebrews had little notion of green or root-crops grown for fodder, nor was the long summer drought suitable for them. Barley supplied food both to man and beast, and the plant, called in Ez. iv. 9, "Millet," *דָּחַן*, *holcus dochin*, Linn. (Gesenius), was grazed while green, and its ripe grain made into bread. In the later period of more advanced irrigation the *תלתן*, "Fennigreek," occurs, also the *שֶׁמֶח*, a clover, apparently, given cut (*Peah*, v. 5). Mowing (*קָצַר*, Am. vi. 1; Ps. lxxii. 6) and hay-making were familiar processes, but the latter had no express word, *הַצִּיר* standing both for grass and hay, a token of a hot climate, where the grass may become hay as it stands.

The produce of the land, besides fruit from trees, was technically distinguished as *תְּבוּאָה*, including apparently all cereal plants, *קְשִׁיּוֹת* (*quicquid in silicis nascitur*, Buxt. *Lex.*), nearly equivalent to the Latin *legumen*, and *זְרַעוֹנִים* or *זְרַעוֹנֵי נִיחָה*, *semina hortensis* (since the former word alone was used also generically for all seed, including all else which was liable to tithe, for which purpose the

distinction seems to have existed. The plough probably was like the Egyptian, and the process of ploughing mostly very light, like that called *scarification* by the Romans ("Syria tenui sulco arat," Plin. xviii. 47), one yoke of oxen mostly sufficing to draw it. Such is still used in Asia Minor, and its parts are shown in the accompanying drawing: *a* is the pole to which the cross beam with yokes, *b*, is attached; *c*, the share; *d*, the handle; *e* represents three modes of aiming the share, and *f* is a goad with a scraper at the other

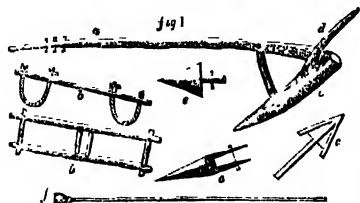


Fig. 1.—Plough, &c. as still used in Asia Minor.—(From Fellows's *Asia Minor*.)

end, probably for cleansing the share. Mountains and steep places were hoed (Is. vii. 5; Maimon. *ad*

*Mishn.* vi. 2; Robinson, iii. 595, 602-3). The breaking up of new land was performed as with the Romans *cerv. novo*. Such new ground and fallows, the use of which latter was familiar to the Jews (Jer. iv. 3; Hos. x. 12), were cleared of stones and of thorns (Is. v. 2; *Gemara Hierosol. ad loc.*) early in the year, sowing or gathering from "among thorns" being a proverb for slovenly husbandry (Job v. 5; Prov. xxiv. 30, 31; Robinson, ii. 127). Virgin land was ploughed a second time. The proper words are פָּתַח, *pre-*

*scindere*, and קָצַר, *offringere*, i. e., *iterate ut frumentum glacie chy cross ploughing*, Vail. *de R. R.* i. 32; both are distinctively used Is. xxviii. 24. Land already tilled was ploughed before the rains, that the moisture might the better penetrate (Maimon. ap. Ugol, *de Re Rust.* v. 11). Rain, however, or irrigation (Is. xxvii. 20) prepared the soil for the sowing, as may be inferred from the prohibition to irrigate till the gleaming was over, lest the poor should suffer (Peah, v. 3); and such sowing often took place *without* previous ploughing, the seed, as in the parable of the sower, being scattered broadcast, and ploughed in *afterwards*, the roots of the late crop being so far decayed as to

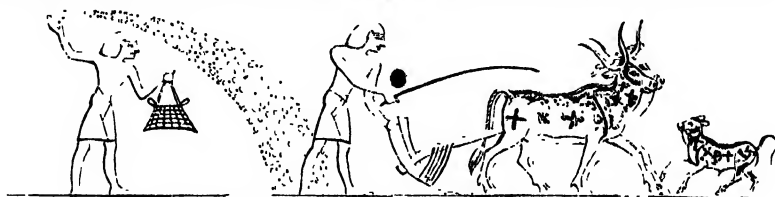


Fig. 2.—Egyptian ploughing and sowing.—(Will. Ross, *Tomb of the Kings*—*Picheu*.)

sow for manure (Fellows, *Asia Minor*, p. 72). The soil was then brushed over with a light harrow, often of thorn bushes. In highly irrigated spots

the seed was trampled in by cattle (Is. xxxii. 20) as in Egypt by goats (Wilkinson, i. p. 39, 2nd Ser.). Sometimes, however, the sowing was by patches only

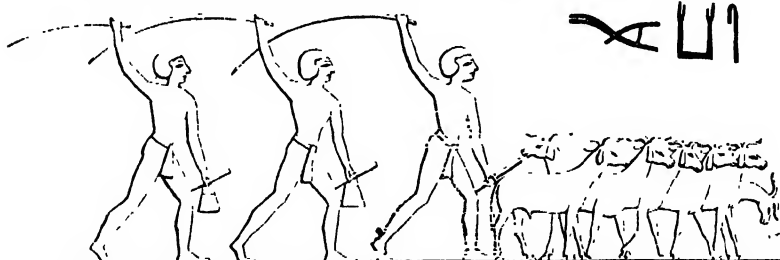


Fig. 3.—Goats treading in the grain, when sown in the field, after the water has subsided.—(Wilkinson, *Tombs*, near the Pyramids.)

in well manured spots, a process called מַנְכֹר, der. מָכַר, *manchus*, from its spotted appearance, as represented in the accompanying drawing by Surenhusius to illustrate the Mishna. Where the soil was



Fig. 4.—Corn growing in patches.—(Surenhusius.)

heavier, the ploughing was best done *chy* ("dum sicut tellure licet," Vng. *Georg.* i. 214; and there, though not generally, the *sarratio* (עָרַר, der. עָרַר, to cleanse), and even the *litatio* of Roman husbandry, performed with *tabulae* affixed to the sides of the share, might be useful. But the more formal routine of heavy western soils must not be made the standard of such a naturally fine tilth as that of Palestine generally. "Sunt enim regionum propria munera, sicut Aegypti et Africae, in quibus agricola post sementem aute messem segetem non attingit . . . in his autem locis ubi desideratur *sarratio*," &c. Columella, ii. 12. During the rains, if not too

heavy, or between their two periods, would be the best time for these operations; thus 70 days before the passover was the time prescribed for sowing for the "wave-sheaf," and, probably, therefore, for that of barley generally. The oxen were urged on by a goad like a spear (Judg. iii. 31). The custom of watching ripening crops and threshing floors against theft, or damage (Robinson, i. 490; ii. 18, 83, 99) is probably ancient. Thus Bona slept on the floor (Ruth iii. 4, 7). Barley ripened a week or two before wheat, and as fine harvest weather was certain (Prov. xvi. 1; 1 Sam. xii. 17; Am. iv. 7), the crop chiefly varied with the quantity of timely rain. The period of harvest must always have differed according to elevation, aspect, &c. (Robinson, i. 430, 551.) The proportion of harvest gathered to seed sown was often vast, a hundred-fold is mentioned, but in such a way as to signify that it was a limit rarely attained (Gen. xvi. 12; Matt. xiii. 8).

The rotation of crops, familiar to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. p. 4), can hardly have been unknown to the Hebrews. Sowing a field with diverse seeds was forbidden (Deut. xxi. 9), and minute directions are given by the rabbis for arranging a seeded surface with great variety, yet avoiding

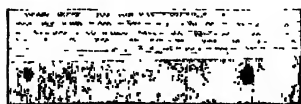


Fig. 5.—Sowing.—(Surenhusius.)



Fig. 6.—Sowing.—(Surenhusius.)

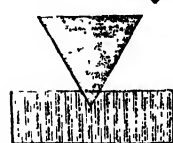


Fig. 7.—Sowing.—(Surenhusius.)

juxtaposition of *heterogenea*. Such arrangements are shown in the annexed drawings. Three fur-

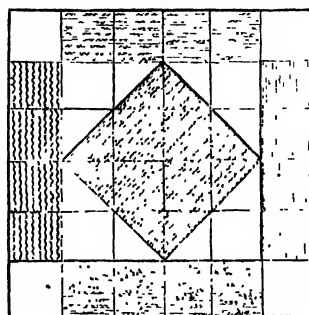


Fig. 8.—Sowing.—(Surenhusius.)

rows' interval was the prescribed margin (Celaum, ii. 6). The blank spaces in fig. 5, *a* and *b*, represent such margins, tapering to save ground. In a vineyard wide spaces were often left between the vines, for whose roots a radius of 4 cubits was allowed, and the rest of the space cropped: so herb-gardens stood in the midst of vineyards (Pesh. v. 5). Fig. 9 shows a corn-field with olives about and amidst it.

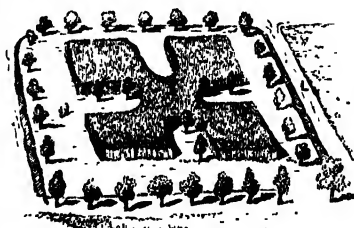
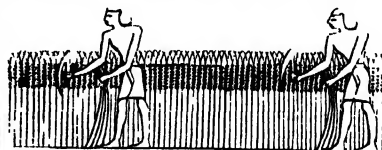
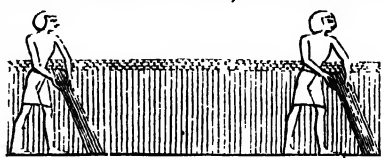


Fig. 9.—(corn-field with Olives.—Surenhusius.)

The wheat, &c., was reaped by the sickle (the word for which is *קַרְקַשׁ* in Deut., and *קַנָּה* in Jer. and Joel), either the ears merely, in the "Piconian" method (Varr. *de Re Rust.* i. 50), or stalk and all, or it was pulled by the roots (Pesh. v. 10). It

Fig. 10.—Reaping wheat.—(Wilkinson, *Tombes of the Ku-gi—Thebes.*)

was bound in sheaves—a process prominent in Scripture, and described by a peculiar word, *עָמַד*—or

Fig. 11.—Pulling up the corn by the roots.—(Wilkinson, *ad supra.*)

heaped, לקובעות, in the form of a helmet, לכומסאות of a turban (of which, however, see another explanation, Buxt. *Lex.* s. v. פנימסות), or לחררה of a cake. The sheaves or heaps were



Fig. 12 - Reaping (Sargonian.)

cast (Am. ii. 13) to the floor—a circular spot of hard ground, probably, as now, from 50 to 80 or 100 feet in diameter. Such floors were probably permanent, and became well known spots (Gen. i. 10, 11; 2 Sam. xiv. 16, 18). On these the oxen, &c., fo. bidden to be muzzled (Deut. xiv. 4), tramped out

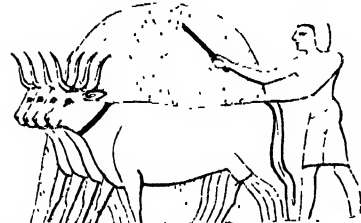


Fig. 13 - Threshing-floor. The oxen driven round the heap; contriv. to the threshing-stone. (Wilkinson, *Thales*.)

the grain, as we find represented in the Egyptian monuments. At a later time the Jews used a threshing sledge called *Monef* (Is. xl. 15; 2 Sam. xiv. 22; 1 Chr. xxi. 27), probably resembling the *novef*, still employed in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. p. 190) a sledge with three rollers ridged with iron, which, aided by the driver's weight, crushed out, often injuring the grain, as well as cut out the straw, which thus became fit for fodder. It appears to have been similar to the Roman *tribulum* and the *plouffellus* *Poenicum* (Nour. de R. i. 52). Lighter grains were beaten out with a stick (Is. xxviii. 27).

Bailey was sometimes soaked and then parched before treading out, which got rid of the pellicle of the grain. See further the *Antiquitates Triticæ*, Ughelli, vol. 29.



Fig. 14 - Threshing Instrument. (From Fellows's *Isis Mosaic*.)

The use of animal manure is proved frequent by such recurring expressions as "dung on the face of the earth, field," &c. (Is. lxxviii. 10; 2 K. ix. 37; Jer. vii. 2, &c.). A tabinu limits the quantity to three heaps of ten half-eas, or about 380 gallons, to each סאה ( $\frac{1}{3}$  of ephah of grain, Gesen.), and wishes the quantity in each heap, rather than their number, to be increased if the field be large (Schevith, cap. iii. 2). Nor was the great usefulness of sheep to the soil unrecognized (ibid. 4), though, owing to the general distinctness of the pastoral life, there was less scope for it. Vegetable ashes, burnt stubble, &c. were also used.

The "shovel" and "fan" (מזר and מורה), Is. xxx. 24, but their precise difference is very doubtful indicate the process of winnowing—a conspicuous part of ancient husbandry (Is. xxxv. 5; Job xxi. 18; Is. xlvii. 13), and important owing to the slovenly threshing. Evening was the favourite time (Ruth iii. 2) when there was mostly a breeze. The מורה (מורה, to scatter) = πρῶτον? (Matt. iii. 12; Hom. *Iliad*. xviii. 588), was perhaps a broad shovel which threw the grain up against the wind; while the מזר (akin to מר?) may have been a fork (still used in Palestine for the same purpose), or a broad basket in which it was tossed. The heap of produce rendered in rent was sometimes customarily so huge as to cover the כרת (Bava Metzia, iv. 2). This favours the latter view. So the πρῶτον was a corn-measure in Cyprus, and the δίσκρον =  $\frac{1}{2}$  a μέδωρες (Lubell and Scott, *Lex.* s. v. πρῶτον). The last process was the shaking in a sieve, כבקה, cribrium, to separate dirt and refuse (Am. ix. 9).

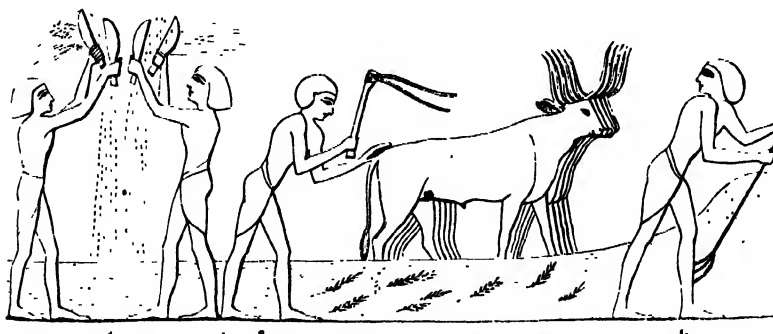


Fig. 15 - Treating out the grain by oxen, and winnowing. 1. Raking up the ears to the centre. 2. The driver 3. Winnowing with wooden shovels. (Wilkinson, *Thales*.)

Fields and floors were not commonly enclosed; vineyards mostly were, with a tower and other buildings (Num. xvii. 24; Ps. lxxx. 13; Is. v. 5; Matt. xvi. 33; comp. Jud. vi. 11). Ranks of mud from ditches were also used.

With regard to occupancy, a tenant might pay a fixed moneyed rent ('Ant. viii. 11)—in which case he was called **שוכר** (*shuker*)—which was compellable to keep the ground in good order; or a stipulated share of the fruits (2 Sam. ix. 10; Matt. xxi. 34), often a half or a third; but local custom was the only rule; in this case he was called **מקבל**, and was more protected, the owner sharing the loss of a short or spoil crop; so, in case of locusts, blight, &c., the year's rent was to be abated; or he might receive such share as a salary—an inferior position—when the term which described him was **חוכר**. It was forbidden to sow flax during a short occupancy (hence leases for terms of years would seem to have been common), lest the soil should be unduly exhausted (comp. *Georg.* i. 77). A prisoner might eat any quantity of corn or grapes, but not reap or carry off fruit (Deut. xxiii. 21-25; Matt. xii. 1).

The rights of the owner to be left, and of glean-  
ing (**COUENER**; **GLEANING**), formed the poor man's claim on the soil for support. For his benefit, too, a sheaf forgotten in carrying to the floor was to be left; so also with regard to the vineyard and the olive-grove (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19). Besides there seems a probability that every third year a second tithe, besides the priests', was paid for the poor (Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12; Am. iv. 4; Tob. i. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8). On this doubtful point of the poor man's tithe (**מעשר עני**) see a learned note by Surenhousius, ad Peah. viii. 2. These rights, in case two poor men were partners in occupancy, might be conveyed by each to the other for half the field, and thus retained between them (Maimon. ad Peah. v. 5). Sometimes a charitable owner declared his ground common, when its fruits, as those of the sabbatical year, went to the poor. For three years the fruit of newly-planted trees was deemed unencumbered and forbidden; in the 4th it was holy, as first-fruits; in the 5th it might be ordinarily eaten (*Mishna Ailah, passim*). For the various classical analogies, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* s. v. [H. H.]

### AGRIPPA. [HERON.]

A'GUR (**אָגוּר**, from **אָנַר**, to collect), an unknown Israelite sage, the author of the sayings contained in Prov. xxx. He is called the son of Jakoh, and addressed his advice to Daniel and Ucal. Jerome and Raschi consider this a symbolical name of Solomon himself. But this is inconsistent with the designation **בְּנֵי יַקֹּחַ**, son of Jakoh, since Solomon is described in the same book as **בְּנֵי דָוִד**, son of David. [R. W. B.]

A'HAB (**אֲחָאָב**; *Axāab*; *Achab*), son of Omri, seventh king of the separate kingdom of Israel, and second of his dynasty. The great lesson which we learn from his life is the depth of wickedness into which a weak man may fall, even though not devoid of good feelings and amiable impulses, when he abandons himself to the guidance of another person, resolute, unscrupulous, and depraved. The cause of his ruin was his marriage with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, or Eithobal, king

of Tyre, who had been priest of Astarte, but had usurped the throne of his brother Phœlax (compare Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, 2, with *c. Apion.* i. 18). If she resembles the Lady Macbeth of our great dramatist, Ahab has hardly Macbeth's energy and determination, though he was probably by nature a better man. We have a comparatively full account of Ahab's reign, because it was distinguished by the ministry of the great prophet Elijah, who was brought into direct collision with Jezebel, when she ventured to introduce into Israel the impure worship of Baal and her father's goddess Astarte. In obedience to her wishes, Ahab caused a temple to be built to Baal in Samaria itself, and an oak-wood grove to be consecrated to Astarte. With a fixed determination to extirpate the true religion, Jezebel hunted down and put to death God's prophets, some of whom were concealed in caves by Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's house; while the Phœnician rites were carried on with such splendour, that we read of 450 prophets of Baal, and 400 of Asherah. (See 1 K. xviii. 19, where our version follows the LXX. in erroneously substituting "the groves" for the proper name Asherah, as again in 2 K. xxi. 7, xxi. 6.) [ASHURHUI.] How the worship of God was restored, and the idolatrous priests slain, in consequence of "a sore famine in Samaria," will be more properly related under the article ELIJAH. But heathenism and persecution were not the only crimes into which Jezebel led her yielding husband. One of his chief tastes was for splendid architecture, which he showed by building an ivory house and several cities, and also by ordering the restoration and fortification of Jericho, which seems to have belonged to Israel, and not to Judah, as it is said to have been rebuilt in the days of Ahab, rather than in those of the contemporary king of Judah, Jehoshaphat (1 K. xvi. 34). But the place in which he chiefly indulged this passion was the beautiful city of Jezreel (now *Zerin*), in the plain of Esdraelon, which he adorned with a palace and park for his own residence, though Samaria remained the capital of his kingdom, Jezreel standing in the same relation to it as the Versailles of the old French monarchy to Paris (Stanley, *S. & P.* 244). Desiring to add to his pleasure-grounds there the vineyard of his neighbour Naboth, he proposed to buy it or give land in exchange for it; and when this was refused by Naboth, in accordance with the Mosaic law, on the ground that the vineyard was "the inheritance of his fathers" (Lev. xxv. 23), a false accusation of blasphemy was brought against him, and not only was he himself stoned to death, but his sons also, as we learn from 2 K. ix. 26. Elijah, already the great vindicator of religion, now appeared as the asserter of morality, and declared that the entire extirpation of Ahab's house was the penalty appointed for his long course of wickedness, now crowned by this atrocious crime. The execution, however, of this sentence was delayed in consequence of Ahab's deep repentance. The remaining part of the first book of Kings is occupied by an account of the Syrian wars, which originally seems to have been contained in the last two chapters. It is much more natural to place the 20th chapter after the 21st, and so bring the whole history of these wars together, than to interrupt the narrative by interposing the story of Naboth between the 20th and 22nd, especially as the beginning of the 22nd seems to follow naturally from the end of the 20th. And this arrangement is actually found in the LXX. and confirmed by the narrative of Josephus.

We read of three campaigns which Ahab undertook against Benhadad II. king of Damascus, two defensive and one offensive. In the first, Benhadad laid siege to Samaria, and Ahab, encouraged by the patriotic counsels of God's prophets, who, next to the true religion, valued most deeply the independence of His chosen people, made a sudden attack on him whilst in the plenitude of arrogant confidence he was languishing in his tent with his 32 vassal kings. The Syrians were totally routed, and fled to Damascus.

Next year Benhadad, believing that his failure was owing to some peculiar power which the God of Israel exercised over the hills, invaded Israel by way of Aphek, on the E. of Jordan (Stauley, *S. & P. App.* §6). Yet Ahab's victory was so complete that Benhadad himself fell into his hands; but was released (contrary to the will of God as announced by a prophet) on condition of restoring all the cities of Israel which he held, and making "streets" for Ahab in Damascus; that is, admitting into his capital permanent Hebrew commissioners, in an independent position, with special dwellings for them and their retinues, to watch over the commercial and political interests of Ahab and his subjects. This was apparently in retaliation for a similar privilege exacted by Benhadad's predecessor from Omri in respect to Samaria. After this great success Ahab enjoyed peace for three years, and it is difficult to account exactly for the third outbreak of hostilities, which in Kings is laudably attributed to an attack made by Ahab on Ramoth in Gilead on the east of Jordan, in conjunction with Jeho-shaphat king of Judah, which town he claimed as belonging to Israel. But if Ramoth was one of the cities which Benhadad agreed to restore, why did Ahab wait for three years to enforce the fulfilment of the treaty? From this difficulty, and the extreme lateness shown by Benhadad against Ahab personally (1 K. xvii. 31), it seems probable that this was not the case (or at all events that the Syrians did not so understand the treaty), but that Ahab, now strengthened by Jeho-shaphat, who must have felt keenly the paramount importance of crippling the power of Syria, originated the war by assaulting Ramoth without any immediate provocation. In any case, God's blessing did not rest on the expedition, and Ahab was told by the prophet Mennah that it would fail, and that the prophets who advised it were hurrying him to his ruin. For giving this warning Micajah was imprisoned; but Ahab was so far roused by it as to take the precaution of disguising himself, so as not to offer a conspicuous mark to the archers of Benhadad. But he was slain by a "certain man who drew a bow at a venture," and though staid up in his chariot for a time, yet he died towards evening, and his army dispersed. When he was brought to be buried in Samaria, the dogs licked up his blood as a servant was washing his chariot; a partial fulfilment of Elijah's prediction (1 K. xvi. 19), which was more literally accomplished in the case of his son (2 K. ix. 26). Josephus, however, substitutes Jezreel for Samaria in the former passage (*Ant.* viii. 15, 6). The date of Ahab's accession is 919 B.C.; of his death, B.C. 897.

2. A lying prophet, who deceived the captive Israelites in Babylon, and was burnt to death by Nebuchadnezzar, Jer. xix. 21. [G. E. L. C.]

**AHAR'HEL** (אַהֲרֵל; ἀρελφός Ἠραχάβ; *Aharhel*), name of a man (1 Chr. iv. 8).

**AHILAS'AI** (אִילָאָסַי; *Ahuzi*), a man called JAH-ZERAH (יהֲזֵרָח) in 1 Chr. iv. 12. Gesenius conjectures that we should read Ahaziah (אֲחַזְיָה) in both passages.

**AIIASBAI** (אַיִסְבַּאי; Ἀισβαί; *Aisbai*), name of a man (2 Sam. xiii. 34).

**AHASUERUS** (אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ; Ἀσασούρος, LXX., but Ἀσούρος, Tob. xiv. 15, A. V.; *Assuerus*, Vulg.), the name of one Median and two Persian kings mentioned in the Old Testament. It may be desirable to prefix to this article a chronological table of the Medo-Persian kings from Cyaxares to Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to their ordinary classical names. The Scriptural names conjectured to correspond to them in this article and ARFAXLERUS are added in italics.

1. Cyaxares, king of Media, son of Phriartēs, grandson of Deioceus and conqueror of Nineveh, began to reign B.C. 634. *Ahasuerus*.
2. Astyages his son, last king of Media, B.C. 594. *Darius the Mede*.
3. Cyrus, son of his daughter Mandane and Cambyses, a Persian noble, first king of Persia, 559. *Cyrus*.
4. Cambyses his son, 529. *Ahasuerus*.
5. A Magian usurper, who personates Smerdis, the younger son of Cyrus, 521. *Artaxerxes*.
6. Darius Hystaspis, raised to the throne on the overthrow of the Magi, 521. *Darius*.
7. Xerxes, his son, 485. *Ahasuerus*.
8. Artaxerxes Longimanus (Macrocheir), his son, 465-495. *Artaxerxes*.

The name Ahasuerus or Achashverosh is the same as the Sanscrit *Ashatru*, a king, which appears as *Ashershé* in the arrow-headed inscriptions of Persepolis, and to this in its Hebrew form **שֵׁר** prosthetic is prefixed (see Gibbs' Gesenius **שֵׁר**). This name in one of its Greek forms is *Xerxes*, explained by Herod. (vi. 98) to mean *ἀφής*, a signification sufficiently near that of *king*.

1. In Dan. iv. 1, Ahasuerus is said to be the father of Darius the Mede. Now it is almost certain that Cyaxares is a form of Ahasuerus, given into Axares with the prefix Cy- or Kai-, common to the Median dynasty of kings (Malcolm's *Persia*, ch. iii.), with which may be compared Kai Khosroo, the Persian name of Cyrus. The son of this Cyaxares was Astyages, and it is no improbable conjecture that Darius the Mede was Astyages, set over Babylon as viceroy by his grandson Cyrus, and allowed to live there in royal state. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. Essay iii. §11.) [DARIUS.] This first Ahasuerus, then, is Cyaxares, the conqueror of Nineveh. And in accordance with this view, we read in Tobit, xiv. 15, that Nineveh was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus, i. e. Cyaxares.

2. In Ezra iv. 6, the enemies of the Jews, after the death of Cyrus, desirous to frustrate the building of Jerusalem, send accusations against them to Ahasuerus king of Persia. This must be Cambyses. For we read (v. 5) that their opposition continued from the time of Cyrus to that of Darius, and Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, i. e. Cambyses and the Pseudo-smerdis, are mentioned as reigning between them. [ARTAXERXES.] Xenophon (Cyr. viii.) calls the brother of Cambyses Tanyoxares, i. e. the younger Oxares, whence we infer that the elder Oxares or Axares, or Ahasuerus, was Cambyses. His constant wars probably prevented him from interfering in the

concerns of the Jews. He was plainly called after his grandfather, who was not of royal race, and therefore it is very likely that he also assumed the kingly name or title of Ahares or Cyaxares which had been borne by his most illustrious ancestor.

3. The third is the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther. It is needless to give more than the heads of the well-known story. Having divorced his queen Vashti for refusing to appear in public at a banquet, he married four years afterwards the Jewish Esther, cousin and ward of Mordecai. Five years after this, Haman, one of his counsellors, having been slighted by Mordecai, prevailed upon him to order the destruction of all the Jews in the empire. But before the day appointed for the massacre, Esther and Mordecai overthrew the influence which Haman had exercised, and so completely changed his feelings in the matter, that they induced him to put Haman to death, and to give the Jews the right of self-defence. This they used so vigorously, that they killed several thousands of their opponents. Now from the extent assigned to the Persian empire (Esth. i. 1), "from India even unto Ethiopia," it is proved that Darius Hystaspis is the earliest possible king to whom this history can apply, and it is hardly worth while to consider the claims of any after Artaxerxes Longimanus. But Ahasuerus cannot be identical with Darius, whose wives were the daughters of Cyrus and Dames, and who in name and character equally differs from that foolish tyrant. Neither can he be Artaxerxes Longimanus, although as Artaxerxes is a compound of Xerxes, there is less difficulty here as to the name. But in the first place the character of Artaxerxes, as given by Plutarch and by Diodorus (vi. 71), is also very unlike that of Ahasuerus. Besides this, in Ezra vii. 1-7, 11-26, Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, issues a decree very favourable to the Jews, and it is unlikely therefore that in the twelfth (Esth. iii. 7) Haman could speak to him of them as if he knew nothing about them, and persuade him to sentence them to an indiscriminate massacre. We are therefore reduced to the belief that Ahasuerus is Xerxes (the names being, as we have seen, identical); and this conclusion is fortified by the resemblance of character, and by certain chronological indications. Xerxes scourged the sea, and put to death the engineers of his bridge, because their work was injured by a storm, so Ahasuerus repudiated his queen Vashti because she would not violate the decorum of her sex, and ordered the massacre of the whole Jewish people to gratify the malice of Haman. In the third year of the reign of Xerxes was held an assembly to arrange the Grecian war (Herod. vii. 7 ff.). In the third year of Ahasuerus was held a great feast and assembly in Shushan the palace (Esth. i. 3). In the seventh year of his reign Xerxes returned defeated from Greece, and consoled himself by the pleasures of the harem (Herod. ix. 108). In the seventh year of his reign "fair young virgins were sought" for Ahasuerus, and he replaced Vashti by marrying Esther. The tribute he "laid upon the land and upon the isles of the sea" (Esth. x. 1) may well have been the result of the expenditure and ruin of the Grecian expedition. Throughout the book of Esther in the LXX, Ἀραξέρξης is written for Ahasuerus, but on this no argument of any weight can be founded. [G. E. L. G.]

AHA'VA (אֲחָוָה; ὁ Ἐὐλ, ὁ Ἀουέ; *Ahura*), a place (Ezr. viii. 15), or a river (יְהוֹנָדָה) (iii. 25), on the banks of which Ezra collected the second

expedition which returned with him from Babylon to Jerusalem. Various have been the conjectures as to its locality: e. g. Adaha (Leclerc and Mallet); Abeli or Aveh (Havermick, see Winer); the Great Zab (Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geogr.*). But the latest researches are in favour of its being the modern *Idi*, on the Euphrates, due east of Damascus, the name of which is known to have been in the post-biblical times *Ihi*, or *Ihi da-kin* (Talm. יְהִיא דְקִין), "the spring of bitumen." See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 316, note.

In the apocryphal *Esther* the name is given Θερδᾶς. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5, § 2) merely says εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου. [G.]

AHIAZ (אֲחִיָּז, *possessor*: Ἀχάδς, Joseph.; Ἀχάδης; *Achaz*), eleventh king of Judah, son of Jotham, ascended the throne in the 20th year of his age, according to 2 K. xvi. 2. But this must be a transcriber's error for the 24th, which number is found in one Hebrew MS., the LXX., the Peshito, and Arabic version of 2 Chr. xxviii. 1; for otherwise, his son Hezekiah was born when he was eleven years old (so Clinton, *Fasts Hall*, vol. i. p. 318). At the time of his accession, Rezin king of Damascus and Pekah king of Israel had recently formed a league against Judah, and they proceeded to lay siege to Jerusalem, intending to place on the throne Ben Tabeal, who was not a prince of the royal family of Judah, but probably a Syrian noble. Upon this the great Prophet Isaiah, full of zeal for God and patriotic loyalty to the house of David, listened to give advice and encouragement to Ahaz, and it was probably owing to the spirit of energy and religious devotion which he poured into his counsels, that the allies failed in their attack on Jerusalem. Thus much, together with anticipations of danger from the Assyrians, and a general picture of weakness and unfaithfulness both in the king and the people, we find in the famous prophecies of the 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters of Isaiah, in which he seeks to animate and support them by the promise of the Messiah. From 2 K. xvi. and 2 Chr. xxviii. we learn that the allies took a vast number of captives, who, however, were restored in virtue of the remonstrances of the prophet Obed; and that they also inflicted a most severe injury on Judah by the capture of Elath, a flourishing port on the Red Sea, in which, after expelling the Jews, they re-established the Edomites (according to the true reading of 2 K. xvi. 6, אֲדוֹמִים for אֲרָמִים), who

attacked and wasted the E. part of Judah, while the Philistines invaded the W. and S. The weak-minded and helpless Ahaz sought deliverance from these numerous troubles by appealing to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, who freed him from his most formidable enemies by invading Syria, taking Damascus, killing Rezin, and depriving Israel of its Northern and Transjordanic districts. But Ahaz had to purchase this help at a costly price: he became tributary to Tiglath-pileser, sent him all the treasures of the Temple and his own palace, and even appeared before him in Damascus as a vassal. He also ventured to seek for safety in heathen ceremonies; making his son pass through the fire to Moloch, consulting wizards and necromancers (Is. viii. 19), sacrificing to the Syrian gods, introducing a foreign altar from Damascus, and probably the worship of the heavenly bodies from Assyria and Babylon, as he would seem to have set up the horns of the sun mentioned in 2 K. xxi. 11 (cf. Tac. Ann.

xii, 13); and "the altars on the top (or roof) of the upper chamber of Ahaz" (2 K. xvi, 12) were connected with the adoration of the stars. We see another and blundersome result of this course with an astronomical people in the "Judicial of Ahaz," Is. xxxviii, 8. He died after a reign of 16 years, lasting B.C. 740-724. [G. E. L. C.]

**AHAZIAH** (אֲחִזְיָהוּ, *Ahaziah*, *sustains*; Ὀχοΐας; *Ochōzias*). 1. Son of Ahab and Jezebel, and eighth king of Israel. After the battle of Ramoth in Gilead [AHAB] the Syrians had the command of the country along the east of Jordan, and they cut off all communication between the Ismaelites and Moabites, so that the vassal king of Moab refused his yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams with their wool (comp. Is. xvi, 1). Before Ahaziah could take measures for enforcing his claim, he was seriously injured by a fall through a lattice in his palace at Samaria. In his health he had worshipped his mother's gods, and now he sent to inquire of the uncle of Baalzebub in the Phoenician city of Ekron whether he should recover his health. But Elijah, who now for the last time exercised the prophetic office, rebuked him for this impiety, and announced to him his approaching death. He reigned two years (B.C. 895, 895). The only other recorded transaction of his reign, his endeavour to join the king of Judah in trading to Ophir, is more fully related under JEKOSIAHAH (1 K. xvi, 50 ff.; 2 K. i; 2 Chr. xv, 35 ff.).

2. Fifth king of Judah, son of Jehoram and Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, and therefore nephew of the preceding Ahaziah. He is called Azariah, 2 Chr. xxii, 6, probably by a copyist's error, and Jehoahaz, 2 Chr. xxi, 17. Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii, p. 525) thinks that his name was changed to Ahaziah on his accession, but the LXX. read Ὀχοΐας for Jehoahaz, and with this agree the Peschito, Chaldei, and Arab. So too while in 2 K. viii, 26 we read that he was 22 years old at his accession, we find in 2 Chr. xxii, 2 that his age at that time was 42. The former number is certainly right, as in 2 Chr. xvi, 5, 20, we see that his father Jehoram was 40 when he died, which would make him younger than his own son, so that a transcriber must have confounded ככ (22) and כס (42). Ahaziah was an idolater, "walking in all the ways of the house of Ahab," and he allied himself with his uncle Jehoram king of Israel, brother and successor of the preceding Ahaziah, against Hazael, the new king of Syria. The two kings were, however, defeated at Ramoth, where Jehoram was so severely wounded that he retired to his mother's palace at Jezreel to be healed. The union between the uncle and nephew was so close that there was great danger lest heathenism should entirely overshadow both the Hebrew kingdoms, but this was prevented by the great revolution carried out in Israel by Jehu under the guidance of Elisha, which involved the house of David in calamities only less severe than those which exterminated the house of Omri. It broke out while Ahaziah was visiting his uncle at Jezreel. As Jehu approached the town, Jehoram and Ahaziah went out to meet him, either from not suspecting his designs, or to prevent them. The former was shot through the heart by Jehu, Ahaziah was pursued as far as the pass of Gur, near the city of Belem, and there mortally wounded. He died when he reached Megiddo. But in 2 Chr. xxii, 9, it is

said that he was found hidden in Samaria after the death of Jehoram, brought to Jehu, and killed by his orders. Attempts to reconcile these accounts may be found in Pole's *Synopsis*, in Lightfoot's *Harmon. of Old Test.* (in loc.), and in Davidson's *Text of the Old Testament*, part ii, book ii, ch. xiv. Ahaziah reigned one year, B.C. 884, called the 12th of Jehoram king of Israel, 2 K. viii, 25, the 11th, 2 K. ix, 29. His father therefore must have died before the 11th of Jehoram was concluded (Clinton, *Festi Hall.*, i, p. 324). [G. E. L. C.]

**AH'BAN** (אֲחָבָן; Ἀχαβάς; *Ahobban*), name of a man (1 Chr. ii, 29).

**AH'ER** (אֲחֵר; Ἀδρ; *Aher*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii, 12).

**A'HI** (אֲחִי, connected by LXX. and Vulg. with אֲחִי, *brother*, and hence translated in LXX. by ἀδελφός, and in Vulg. by fratres, in 1 Chr. v, 15; but in 1 Chr. vi, 34, we find Ἀχίρ, and *Ahi*; Gesen. thinks it a contraction of Ahijah, אֲחִיָּהוּ), name of two men (1 Chr. v, 15; vii, 34).

**AHI'AH.** [AHIAH.]

**AHI'AM** (אֲחִיָּאָם, for אֲחִיָּאָם; Gesen.; Ἀμυράν; *Aham*), son of Shinar the Hauranite (or of Sagar, 1 Chr. xi, 35), one of David's 30 mighty men (2 Sam. xxi, 33).

**AHI'AN** (אֲחִיָּאָן; Ἀτμ; *Ahin*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii, 19).

**AHI'ZER** (אֲחִיזֶר; Ἀχιζερ; *Ahizer*).

1. Son of Ammishaddai, hereditary chieftain of the tribe of Dan under the administration of Moses (Num. i, 12, ii, 25, vii, 66).

2. The Benjamite chief of a body of archers at the time of David (1 Chr. xii, 3). [R. W. B.]

**AHI'THUD** (אֲחִיטוּד; Ἀχίτω; *Ahitul*). 1. The son of Shelomi, and prince of the tribe of Asher, selected to assist Joshua and Eleazar in the division of the Promised Land (Num. xxiv, 27).

2. (אֲחִיטוּד; Ἰαχίχό; *Ahitul*), chieftain of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii, 7). [R. W. B.]

**AHI'JAH**, or **AHI'AH** (אֲחִיָּהוּ and אֲחִיָּה; Ἀχιά; *Achias*). 1. Son of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli (1 Sam. xiv, 3, 18). He is described as being the Lord's priest in Shiloh, wearing an ephod. And it appears that the ark of God was under his care, and that he inquired of the Lord by means of it and the ephod (comp. 1 Chr. xiii, 3). There is, however, great difficulty in reconciling the statement in 1 Sam. xiv, 18, concerning the ark being used for inquiring by Ahijah at Saul's bidding, and the statement that they inquired not at the ark in the days of Saul, if we understand the latter expression in the strictest sense. This difficulty seems to have led to the reading in the Vatican copy of the LXX., of τὸ ἐφωδῶν, in 1 Sam. xiv, 18, instead of τὸν ἐφωδόν, or rather perhaps of אֲחִיָּה, instead of אֲחִיָּה, in the Hebrew codex from which that version was made. Others avoid the difficulty by interpreting אֲחִיָּה to mean a chest for carrying about

the ephod in. But all difficulty will disappear if we apply the expression only to all the latter years of the reign of Saul, when we know that the priestly establishment was at Nob, and not at Kirjath-jearim, or Beke of Judah, where the ark was. But the narrative in 1 Sam. xiv. is entirely favourable to the mention of the ark. For it appears that Saul was at the time in Gibeath of Benjamin, and Gibeath of Benjamin seems to have been the place where the house of Ahinadab was situated (2 Sam. vi. 3), being probably the Benjamite quarter of Kirjath-jearim, which lay on the very borders of Judah and Benjamin. (See Josh. xviii. 14, 28.) Whether it was the encroachments of the Philistines, or an incipient schism between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, or any other cause, which led to the disuse of the ark during the latter years of Saul's reign, is difficult to say. But probably the last time that Ahijah inquired of the Lord before the ark was on the occasion related 1 Sam. xiv. 36, when Saul married his victory over the Philistines by his rash oath, which nearly cost Jonathan his life. For we then read that when Saul proposed a night-pursuit of the Philistines, the priest, Ahijah, said, Let us draw near hither unto God, for the purpose, namely, of asking counsel of God. But God returned no answer, in consequence, as it seems, of Saul's rash curse. If, as is commonly thought, and as seems most likely, Ahijah is the same person as Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, this failure to obtain an answer from the priest, followed as it was by a rising of the people to save Jonathan out of Saul's hands, may have led to an estrangement between the king and the high-priest, and predisposed him to suspect Ahimelech's loyalty, and to take that terrible revenge upon him for his favour to David. Such changes of name as Ahimelech and Ahijah are not uncommon. (See *Genealogies*, p. 115-118.) However it is not impossible that, as Gesenius supposes, Ahimelech may have been brother to Ahijah.

2. Son of Bela (1 Chr. vii. 7).

3. Son of Jehuaneel (1 Chr. ii. 25).

4. One of David's mighty men, a Pelouite (1 Chr. xi. 36).

5. A Levite in David's reign who was over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the dedicated things (1 Chr. xxvi. 20).

6. One of Solomon's princes, brother of Elihoreph, and son of Shisha (1 K. iv. 3).

7. A prophet of Shiloh (1 K. xiv. 2), hence called the Shilonite (xi. 29) in the days of Solomon and of Jeroboam king of Israel, of whom we have two remarkable prophecies extant: the one in 1 K. vi. 31-39, addressed to Jeroboam, announcing the rending of the ten tribes from Solomon, in punishment of his idolatries, and the transfer of the kingdom to Jeroboam: a prophecy which, though delivered privately, became known to Solomon, and excited his wrath against Jeroboam, who fled for his life into Egypt, to Shishak, and remained there till Solomon's death. The other prophecy, in 1 K. xiv. 6-16, was delivered in the prophet's extreme old age to Jeroboam's wife, in which he foretold the death of Ahijah, the king's son, who was sick, and to inquire concerning whom the queen was come in disguise, and then went on to denounce the destruction of Jeroboam's house on account of the images which

he had set up, and to foretell the captivity of Israel "beyond the river" Euphrates. These prophecies give us a high idea of the faithfulness and boldness of Ahimaa, and of the eminent rank which he attained as a prophet. Jeroboam's speech concerning him (1 K. xiv. 2, 3) shows the estimation in which he held his truth and prophetic powers. In 2 Chr. ix. 29 reference is made to a record of the events of Solomon's reign contained in the "prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite." If there were a larger work of Ahijah's, the passage in 1 K. xi. is doubtless an extract from it.

8. Father of Baasha, king of Israel, the contemporary of Aza, king of Judah. He was of the tribe of Issachar (1 K. xv. 27, 33). [A. C. H.]

ΑΗΪΚΑΜ (Ἀχικὰμ; 'Achikam; *Ahican*), a son of Shaphan the scribe, an influential officer at the court of Josiah (2 K. xxi. 12), and of Jehoiakim his son (Jer. xvi. 21). When Shaphan brought the book of the law to Josiah, which Hilkiah the high priest had found in the temple, Ahikam was sent by the king, together with four other delegates, to consult Huldah the prophetess on the subject. In the reign of Jehoiakim, when the priests and prophets arranged Jeremiah before the princes of Judah on account of his bold denunciations of the national sins, Ahikam successfully used his influence to protect the prophet. His son Gedaliah was made governor of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean king, and to his charge Jeremiah was entrusted when released from prison (Jer. xxxix. 14, xl. 5). [R. W. B.]

ΑΗΪΛΟΥΔ (Ἀχίλουδ; 'Achiloud; *Achimelech*; *Ahilud*), father of Jehoshaphat (2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24; 1 K. iv. 3; 1 Chr. xviii. 15).

ΑΗΪΜΑΑΖ (Ἀχίμας; 'Achimas; *Ahimas*).

1. Father of Saul's wife, Ahinoam (1 Sam. xiv. 50).

2. Son of Zadok, the priest in David's reign. When David fled from Jerusalem on account of Absalom's rebellion, Zadok and Abiathar, accompanied by their sons, Ahimaz and Jonathan, and the Levites, carried the ark of God forth, intending to accompany the king. But at his bidding they returned to the city, as did likewise Hushai the Archite. It was then arranged that Hushai should feign himself to be a friend of Absalom, and should tell Zadok and Abiathar whatever intelligence he could obtain in the palace. They, on their parts, were to forward the intelligence through Ahimaz and Jonathan. Accordingly Jonathan and Ahimaz stayed outside the walls of the city at En-Rogel, on the road towards the plain. A message soon came to them from Zadok and Abiathar through the maid-servant, to say that Ahithophel had counselled an immediate attack against David and his followers, and that, consequently, the king must cross the Jordan without the least delay. They started at once on their errand, but not without being suspected, for a lad seeing the wench speak to them, and seeing them immediately run off quickly—and Ahimaz, we know, was a practised runner—went and told Absalom, who ordered a hot pursuit. In the mean time, however, they had got as far as Bahurim, the very place where Shimei cursed David (2 Sam. xvi. 5), to the house of a steadfast partizan of David's. Here the woman of the house effectually hid them in a well in the court-yard, and covered the well's mouth with ground or bruised corn. Absalom's servants coming up

\* Where we have the further error of *Ahimelech* for *Ahimelech*.

searched for them in vain; and as soon as they were gone, and returned on the road to Jerusalem, Ahimaa and Jonathan hastened to David, and told him Abithophel's counsel, and David with his whole company crossed the Jordan that very night. Abithophel was so mortified at seeing the failure of his scheme, through the unwise delay in executing it, that he went home and hanged himself. This signal service rendered to David, at the hazard of his life, by Ahimaa, must have tended to ingratiate him with the king. We have a proof how highly he was esteemed by him, as well as an honourable testimony to his character, in the saying of David recorded 2 Sam. xviii. 27. For when the watchman announced the approach of a messenger, and added, that his running was like the running of Ahimaa, the son of Zadok, the king said, "He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings."

same transaction gives specimen of the manners of the times, and a singular instance of oriental or Jewish craft in Ahimaa. For we learn, first, that Ahimaa was a possessed runner—and a very swift one too—which one would hardly have expected in the son of the high-priest. It belongs, however, to a simple state of society that bodily powers of any kind should be highly valued, and exercised by the possessor of them in the most natural way. Ahimaa was probably naturally swift, and so became famous for his running (2 Sam. xviii. 27). So we are told of Asahel, Joab's brother, that "he was as light of foot as a wild doe" (2 Sam. ii. 18). And that quick running was not deemed inconsistent with the utmost dignity and gravity of character appears from what we read of Elijah the Tishbite, that "he girded up his loins and ran before Ahab (who was in his chariot) to the entrance of Jezreel" (1 K. xix. 26). The kings of Israel had running footmen to precede them when they went in their chariots (2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 K. i. 5), and then guards were called רָצִיץ, runners. It appears by 2 Chr. xxx. 6, 10, that in Hezekiah's reign there was an establishment of running messengers, who were also called רָצִיץ. The same name is given to the Persian posts in Esth. iii. 13, viii. 14; though it appears from the latter passage that in the time of Xerxes the service was performed with mules and camels. The Greek name, borrowed from the Persian, was ἄγγελος. As regards Ahimaa's craftiness we read that, when Absalom was killed by Joab and his armour-bearers, Ahimaa was very ingenuitous with Joab to be employed as the messenger to run and carry the tidings to David. The politic Joab, well knowing the king's fond partiality for Absalom, and that the news of his death would be anything but good news to him, and, apparently, having a friendly feeling towards Ahimaa, would not allow him to be the bearer of such tidings, but employed Cush instead. But after Cush had started, Ahimaa was so urgent with Joab to be allowed to run too that at length he extorted his consent. Taking a shorter or an easier way by the plain he managed to outstrip Cush before he got in sight of the watch-tower, and, arriving first, he reported to the king the good news of the victory, suppressing his knowledge of Absalom's death, and leaving to Cush the task of announcing it. He had thus the merit of bringing good tidings without the alloy of the disaster of the death of the king's son. This is

he last we hear of Ahimaa, for the Ahimaa of 1 K. iv. 15, who was Solomon's captain in Naphtali, was certainly a different person. There is no evidence, beyond the assertion of Josephus, that he ever filled the office of high-priest; and Josephus may have concluded that he did, merely because, in the genealogy of the high-priests (1 Chr. vi. 8, 9), he intervenes between Zadok and Azariah. Judging only from 1 K. iv. 2, compared with 1 Chr. vi. 10, we should conclude that Ahimaa died before his father Zadok, and that Zadok was succeeded by his grandson Azariah. Josephus's statement that Zadok was the first high-priest of Solomon's temple, seeing the temple was not finished till the eleventh year of his reign, is a highly improbable one in itself. The statement of the Seder Olam, which makes Ahimaa high-priest in Rehoboam's reign, is still more so. It is safer, therefore, to follow the indications of the Scripture narrative, though somewhat obscured by the apparently

el passages, 1 K. iv. 4, and 1 Chr. vi. 9, 10, and conclude that Ahimaa died before he attained the high-priesthood, leaving as his heir his son Azariah.

3. Solomon's officer in Naphtali, charged with providing victuals for the king and his household for one month in the year. He was probably of the tribe of Naphtali, and was the king's son-in-law, having married his daughter Basmath (1 K. iv. 7, 15). [A. C. H.]

AHUMAN (אֲחִימָן; Ἀχιμάν; Achiman).

1. One of the three giant Anakim who inhabited Mount Hebron (Num. xiii. 22, 33), slain by Caleb and the spies. The whole race were cut off by Joshua (Josh. xi. 21), and the three brothers were slain by the tribe of Judah (Judg. i. 10).

2. 1 Chr. ix. 17.

[R. W. B.]

AHIMELECH (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ; Ἀχιμέλεχ and Ἀβιμέλεχ; Achimelech). 1. Son of Ahitub (1 Sam. xvi. 12), and high-priest at Nob in the days of Saul. He gave David the show-bread to eat, and the sword of Goliath; and for so doing was, upon the accusation of Doeg the Edomite, put to death with his whole house by Saul's order. Eighty-five priests wearing an ephod were thus cruelly slaughtered; Abiathar alone escaped. [ABATHAR.] The LXX. read *three hundred and five men*, thus affording another instance of the frequent clerical errors in transcribing numbers, of which Ezer. ii. compared with Neh. vii. is a remarkable example. The interchange of אֲחִימֶלֶךְ, or אֲחִימָן, with אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, is very common. For the question of Ahimelech's identity with Ahijah, see AHIAH. \*For the singular confusion between Ahimelech and Abiathar in the 1st book of Chronicles, see ABATHAR.

2. One of David's companions while he was persecuted by Saul, a Hittite; called in the LXX. *Abimelech*; which is perhaps the right reading, after the analogy of Ahimelech, king of Ge' in (1 Sam. xxi. 6).

6). In the title of Ps. xxxiv. אֲחִימָן seems to be a corrupt reading for אֲבִימָן, אֲבִימֶלֶךְ. See 1 Sam. xxi. 13 (12, in A. V.). [A. C. H.]

AHIMOTH (אֲחִימוֹת; Ἀχιμόθ; Achimoth),

a Levite of the house of the Kohites, of the family of the Kohathites, apparently in the time of David (1 Chr. vi. 25). In ver. 35, for *Ahimoth* we find

*Makath* (מַכַּתְּ), *Madd*, as in Luke iii. 26. For a correction of these genealogies, see *Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, p. 214, note. [A. C. H.]

**AHIN'ADAB** (אֲחִינָדָב; 'Αχιναδάβ; *Ahinadab*), son of Iddo, one of Solomon's twelve commissaries who supplied provisions for the royal household. The district entrusted to Ahinadab was that of Mahanaim, situated on the east of the Jordan (1 K. i. 14). [R. W. B.]

**AHIN'OAM** (אֲחִינוֹאִם; *brother of grace*; 'Αχινάμ; *Achinam*), a woman of Jezreel, whose masculine name may be compared with that of Abigail, *father of joy*. It was not uncommon to give women names compounded with בֵּן (*father*) and אָח (brother). Ahinoam was married to David during his wandering life (1 Sam. xxv. 43), lived with him and his other wife Abigail at the court of Achish (xxvii. 3), was taken prisoner with her by the Amalekites when they plundered Ziklag (xxx. 5), but was rescued by David (18). She is again mentioned as living with him when he was king of Judah in Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 2); and was the mother of his eldest son Amnon (iii. 2). [G. E. L. C.]

**AHIO** (אִיּוֹ; *oi adelphoi autou*; *Ahio*; 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; *frater ejus*, 1 Chr. xiii. 7). 1. Son of Abinadab, who accompanied the ark when it was brought out of his father's house (2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; 1 Chr. xiii. 7). 2. (1 Chr. viii. 14). 3. (1 Chr. viii. 31, ix. 37).

**AHIRA** (אֲחִירָא; 'Αχίρ; *Ahiru*), chief of the tribe of Naphtali when Moses took the census in the year after the Exodus (Num. i. 15, ii. 29, vii. 78, 83, x. 27). [R. W. B.]

**AHIRAM** (אֲחִירָאִם; 'Αχίραμ; *Ahiram*), son of Benjamin (Num. xxvi. 38), called Eli in Gen. xlii. 21.

**AHIS'AMACH** (אֲחִישָׁמַח; 'Αχισαμάχ; *Achisamach*), name of a man (Ex. xxxi. 6, xxxv. 34, xxxviii. 23).

**AHISAPHAR** (אֲחִישָׁפָר; 'Αχισαφ; *Ahisaphar*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii. 10).

**AHISAPHAR** (אֲחִישָׁפָר; 'Αχισαφ; *Ahisaph*), the controller of Solomon's household (1 K. iv. 6).

**AHITHOPHEL** (אֲחִיטוֹפֶל; 'Αχίτοφελ; *Joseph*, 'Αχίτοφελος; *Achitophel*), a native of Giloh, in the hill country of Judah (Josh. xv. 51), and privy councillor of David, whose wisdom was so highly esteemed, that his advice had the authority of a divine oracle, though his name had an exactly opposite signification (2 Sam. xvi. 24). He was the grandfather of Bathsheba (comp. 2 Sam. x. 3 with xxiii. 34). She is called daughter of Ammiel in 1 Chr. iii. 5; but אֲחִיטוֹפֶל is only the anagram of אֲחִינָדָב. Absalom immediately he had revolted sent for him, and when David heard that Ahithophel had joined the conspiracy, he prayed Jehovah to turn his counsel to foolishness (sv. 31), alluding possibly to the signification of his name. David's grief at the treachery of his confidential friend found ex-

pression in the Messianic prophecies (Ps. xli. 9; lv. 12-14).

In order to show to the people that the breach between Absalom and his father was irreparable, Ahithophel persuaded him to take possession of the royal harem (2 Sam. xvi. 21). David, in order to counteract his counsel, sent Hushai to Absalom. Ahithophel had recommended an immediate pursuit of David; but Hushai advised delay, his object being to send intelligence to David, and to give him time to collect his forces for a decisive engagement. When Ahithophel saw that Hushai's advice prevailed, he despaired of success, and returning to his own home "put his household in order and hung himself" (xvii. 1-23). (See *Joseph. Ant.* vii. 9, § 8; Niemeyer, *Charakt.* iv. 454; Ewald, *Geschicht.* ii. 652.) [R. W. B.]

**AHITUB** (אֲחִיטוּב; 'Αχίτωβ; *Achitub*).

1. Father of Ahimelech, or Ahijah, the son of Phineas, and the elder brother of Ichabod (1 Sam. xiv. 3, xvii. 9, 11), and therefore of the house of Eli and the family of Ithamar. There is no record of his high-priesthood, which, if he ever was high-priest, must have coincided with the early days of Samuel's judgeship.

2. Son of Amariah, and father of Zadok the high-priest (1 Chr. vi. 7, 8; 2 Sam. xiii. 17), of the house of Eleazar. From 1 Chr. ix. 11, where the genealogy of Azariah, the head of one of the priestly families that returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, is traced, through Zadok, to "Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God," it appears tolerably certain that Ahitub was high-priest. And so the LXX. version unequivocally renders it υἱοῦ 'Αχίτωβ ἡγουμένου οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ. The expression ἡγούμενου is applied to Azariah the high-priest in Hezekiah's reign in 2 Chr. xxxi. 13. The passage is repeated in Neh. xi. 11, but the LXX. have spoilt the sense by rendering ἡγούμενου as ἡγούμενος, as if it were ἡγῶν. If the line is correctly given in these two passages Ahitub was not the father, but the grandfather of Zadok, his father being Measath. But in 1 Chr. vi. 8, and in *Ezr.* vii. 2, Ahitub is represented as Zadok's father. This uncertainty makes it difficult to determine the exact time of Ahitub's high-priesthood. If he was father to Zadok he must have been high-priest with Ahimelech. But if he was grandfather, his age would have coincided exactly with the other Ahitub, the son of Phineas. Certainly a singular coincidence.

3. The genealogy of the high-priests in 1 Chr. vi. 11, 12, introduces another AHITUB, son of another Amariah, and father of another Zadok. At p. 287 of the *Genealogies* will be found reasons for believing that the second Ahitub and Zadok are spurious. [A. C. H.]

**AHITAB** (אֲחִיטָב; Δαλάβ; *Achalab*), a city of Asher from which the Canaanites were not driven out (*Judg.* i. 31). Its omission from the list of the towns of Asher, in Josh. xix., has led to the suggestion (Bertheau on *Judg.*) that the name is but a corruption of Achishaph; but this appears extravagant. It is more probable that Achab reappears in later history as Gush Chaleb, גּוּשׁ חֲלֵב, or Giscala (Richard, 813, 817), a place lately identified by Robinson under the abbreviated name of *el-Jush*, near *Safet*, in the hilly country to the N.W. of the Sea of Galilee (*Rob.* ii. 446, iii. 73).

Gush Chaleb was in Rabbinical times famous for its oil (see the citations in Beland, 817), and the old olive-trees still remain in the neighbourhood (Rob. ii. 72). From it came the famous John, son of Levi, the leader in the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. 1*st*. §10; B. J. ii. 21, §1), and it had a legendary celebrity as the birthplace of the parents of no less a person than the Apostle Paul (Jerome, quoted by Beland, 813). [G.]

ΑΗΛΑΪ (Ἀήλαι; *Δαδαι*, *Αχαϊδ*; *Oholai*, *Oholi*). 1. Name of a woman (1 Chr. ii. 31). 2. Name of a man (1 Chr. xi. 41).

ΑΗΟΛΗ (Ἀήλη, probably another form of Ἀήλαι; *Αχιδ*; *Alor*), son of Bela, the son of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 41). The patronymic Aholite (Ἀήλη) is found in 2 Sam. xxiii. 9, 28; 1 Chr. vi. 12, 29; xxviii. 1.

ΑΗΟΗΨΤΕ. [Ἀοηψ.]

ΑΗΟΛΑΗ (Ἀήλαι; *Οοαδ*; *Oolia*), a hailot, used by Ezekiel as the symbol of Samaria (Ez. xiii. 4, 5, 36, 44).

ΑΗΟΛΛΑΒ (Ἀήλλαι; *Ἑλιδ*; *Ooliah*), a Druite of great skill as a weaver and embroiderer, whom Moses appointed with Bezaleel to erect the tabernacle (Ex. xxxv. 30-35).

ΑΗΟΛΙΒΑΗ (Ἀήλιβ; *Οολιβδ*; *Oolibat*), a hailot, used by Ezekiel as the symbol of Judah (Ez. xiii. 4, 11, 22, 36, 44).

ΑΗΟΛΙΒΑΪΜΑΗ (Ἀήλιβ; *Οολιβεμδ*; *Oolibama*), one (probably the second) of the three wives of Esau. She was the daughter of ΑΑΑΗ, a descendant of Saur the Horite (Gen. xxvi. 2, 25). It is doubtful through this connexion of Esau with the original inhabitants of Mount Seir that we are to trace the subsequent occupation of that territory by him and his descendants, and it is remarkable that each of his three sons by this wife is himself the head of a tribe, whilst all the tribes of the Edomites sprung from his other two wives are founded by his grandsons (Gen. xxxvi. 15-19). In the earlier narrative (Gen. xxvi. 34) Aholibamah is called Judith, daughter of Beeri, the Hittite. The explanation of the change in the name of the woman seems to be that her proper personal name was Judith, and that Aholibamah was the name which she received as the wife of Esau and foundress of three tribes of his descendants; she is therefore in the narrative called by the first name, whilst in the genealogical table of the Edomites she appears under the second. This explanation is confirmed by the recurrence of the name Aholibamah in the concluding list of the genealogical table (Gen. xxxvi. 40-43) which, with Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie d. Pent.* ii. 279; Eng. transl. ii. 228), Tuch (*Kommt. ab d. Gen.* 49.3), Knobel (*Genes.* p. 258), and others, we must regard as a list of names of places and not of persons, as indeed is expressly said at the close of it: "These are the chiefs (heads of tribes) of Esau, according to their settlements in the land of their possession." The district which received the name of Esau's wife, or perhaps rather from which she received her married name, was no doubt (as the name itself indicates) situated in the heights of the mountains of Edom, probably therefore in the neighbourhood of

Mount Hor and Petra, though Knobel places it south of Petra, having been misled by Buechhardt's name *Hesma*, which however, according to Robinson (ii. 155), is "a sandy tract with mountains around it . . . but not itself a mountain, as reported by Buechhardt." It seems not unlikely that the three tribes descended from Aholibamah, or at least two of them, possessed this district, since there are enumerated only eleven districts, whereas the number of tribes is thirteen, exclusive of that of Korah, whose name occurs twice, and which we may further conjecture emigrated (in part at least) from the district of Aholibamah, and became associated with the tribes descended from Eliphaz, Esau's first-born son.

It is to be observed that each of the wives of Esau is mentioned by a different name in the genealogical table from that which occurs in the history. This is noticed under BASHMAH. With respect to the name and race of the father of Aholibamah, see ΑΑΑΗ and ΒΕΕΡΙ. [F. W. G.]

ΑΗΥΜΑΙ (Ἀήμαι; *Αχμαϊ*; *Ahamai*), name of a man (1 Chr. iv. 2).

ΑΗΥΖΖΑΤΗ (Ἀήζαθ; *Οχοζαθ*; *Ochozath*), one of the friends of the Philistine king Abimelech who accompanied him at his interview with Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 26). In LXX. he is called *δ πυμδαγωγος αὐτοῦ* = *pronubus*, or bride-man, and his name is inserted in xvi. 23. St. Jerome renders the word "a company of friends," as does also the Targum.

For the termination "-ath" to Philistine names comp. Gath, Goliath, Timnath. [R. W. B.]

ΑΪ (Ψ = heap of ruins, Ges.). 1. (always with the def. article, Ὠΐ (see Gen. xii. 8, in A. V.), *Gal*, ἡ *Gal*, *Αΐα*, *Αΐ*; Jos. *Αΐα*; *Ha*), a royal city (comp. Josh. vii. 23, 29; x. 1; xii. 9) of Canaan, already existing in the time of Abraham (Gen. xii. 8) [HA], and lying east of Bethel (comp. Josh. xii. 9), and "beside Bethaven" (Josh. vi. 2; viii. 9). It was the second city taken by Israel after their passage of the Jordan, and was "utterly destroyed" (Josh. vii. 3, 4, 5; viii. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29; ix. 3; x. 1, 2; xii. 9). (See Stanley, *S. and P.* 202.) However, if Aith be ΑΪ—and from its mention with Migron and Michmas, it is at least probable that it was so—the name was still attached to the locality at the time of Sennacherib's march on Jerusalem (Is. x. 28). [ΑΙΤΗ.] At any rate, the "men of Bethel and ΑΪ," to the number of two hundred and twenty-three, returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ez. ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32, "one hundred and twenty-three" only); and when the Benjamites again took possession of their towns, "Michmas, ΑΪ, and Bethel, with their 'daughters,'" are among the places named (Neh. xi. 31). [ΑΪΑ.]

Eusebius remarks (*Onom.* *Αγγαί*) that though Bethel remained, ΑΪ was a *τόπος ἐρημος. αὐτὸς λόγος δεικνύσκει*: but even that cannot now be said, and no attempt has yet succeeded in fixing the site of the city which Joshua doomed to be a "heap and a desolation for ever." Stanley (*S. and P.* 202) places it at the head of the *Wady Harith*; Williams and Van de Velde (*S. and P.* 204, note) apparently at the same spot as Robinson (i. 44, 575; and Kiepert's map, 1856), north of *Mikhmas*, and between it and *Deir Duwan*. For Kraft's identifi-

fiction with *Kirbat el-Haiyeh*, see Rob. iii. 288. It is the opinion of some that the words Avim (אֵיִם) in Josh. xviii. 23, and Gaza (גִּזָּא) in 1 Chr. vii. 28, are corruptions of Ai. [AVIM; AZZAH.]

2. (אֵי; *Fat* and *Kaf*; *Ilai*), a city of the Ammonites, apparently attached to Heshbon (Jer. xlix. 3). [i.]

AI'ATH (אֵיֶּת; *eis tēn pōlun 'Agyal*; *Aiath*), a place named by Isaiah (x. 28) in connexion with Migron and Michmash. Probably the same as Ai. [Ai; AIJA.]

AI'JA (אֵיֶּי; *Ihai*), like Ainth, probably a variation of the name Ai. The name is mentioned with Michmash and Bethel (Neh. xi. 31). [Ai.]

AIJALON (אֵיֶּלֶן; "place of deer" or gazelles," Gesen. p. 46; Stanley, 208, *note*; *Αἰάλων* and *Αἰάδα*; *Ajalon*). 1. A city of the Kohathites (Josh. xvi. 24; 1 Chr. vi. 69), originally allotted to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xiv. 42; A. V. "Ajalon"), which tribe, however, was unable to dispossess the Amorites of the place (Judg. i. 35). Ajalon was one of the towns fortified by Rehobam (2 Chr. xi. 10) during his conflicts with the new kingdom of Ephraim (1 K. xiv. 30), and the last we hear of it is as being in the hands of the Philistines (2 Chr. xxviii. 18; A. V. "Ajalon").

Being on the very frontier of the two kingdoms, we can understand how Ajalon should be spoken of sometimes (1 Chr. vi. 69, comp. with 66) as in Ephraim,<sup>b</sup> and sometimes (2 Chr. xi. 10; 1 Sam. xiv. 31) as in Judah and Benjamin.

The name is most familiar to us from its mention in the celebrated speech of Joshua during his pursuit of the Canaanites (Josh. x. 12, "valley (עֶמֶק) of 'Ajalon"; see Stanley, 210). There is no doubt that the town has been discovered by Dr. Robinson in the modern *Talô*, a little to the N. of the Juda road, about 14 miles out of Jerusalem. It stands on the side of a long hill which forms the southern boundary of a fine valley of corn-fields, which valley now bears the name of the *Merj Ibn Omair*, but which there seems no reason for doubting was the valley of Ajalon which witnessed the defeat of the Canaanites (Rob. ii. 253, iii. 145).

2. A place in Zebulun, mentioned as the burial-place of Elon (אֵילֹן),<sup>d</sup> one of the Judges (Judg. xii. 12). [i.]

AIJELETH SHAIAR, more correctly AYELETH HAS-SHACHAR (אֵילֶת הַשָּׁחַר, *the hind of the morning dawn*), found once only in the Bible, in connexion with Ps. xxii., of which it forms part of the introductory verse or title. This term has been variously interpreted. Rashi, Kirachi and Aben-Ezra attest that it was taken for the name of a musical instrument. Many of the modern versions have adopted this interpretation; and it also seems to have been that of the translators from

whom we have the *Authorized Version*, although they have left the term itself untranslated. Some critics speak of this instrument as a "flute;" and J. D. Michaels, Mendelssohn, Knapp, and others, render the Hebrew words by "morning flute." Michaels admits the difficulty of describing the instrument thus named, but he conjectures that it might mean a "shute" to be played on at the tune of the "morning" sacrifice. No account is rendered, however, by Michaels, or by those critics who adopt his view, of the etymological voucher for this translation. Mendelssohn quotes from the *Shilte Haggeborin* a very fanciful description of the "Ayeleth Has-shachar" (see Prolegomena to Mendelssohn's Psalms); but he does not approve it: he rather seeks to justify his own translation by connecting the name of the "flute" with אֵילֶת הַבָּיִם, *Ayeleth Ababin* (Prov. v. 19), and by endeavouring to make it appear that the instrument derived its appellation from the sweetness of its tones.

The Chaldee Paraphrast, a very ancient authority, renders אֵילֶת הַשָּׁחַר, "the power of the continual morning sacrifice,"<sup>b</sup> implying that this term conveyed to the chief musician a direction respecting the time when the 22nd psalm was to be chanted. In adopting such a translation, אֵילֶת must be received as synonymous with אֵילֶת (*strength, force*) in the 20th ver. (A. V. 19th ver.) of the same psalm.

According to a third opinion, the "hind of the morning" expresses allegorically the argument of the 22nd psalm. That this was by no means an uncommon view is evident from the commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi; for the latter regards the "Hind of the Morning" as an allegorical appellation of the house of Judah, whose captivity in Babylon is, agreeably to his exegesis, the general burden of the psalm. Tholuck, who imagines the 22nd Psalm to treat primarily of David, and of the Messiah secondarily, makes David allude to himself under the figure of "the hind of the morning." He speaks of himself as of a hind pursued even from the first dawn of the morning (Tholuck on the Ps. *in loco*).

The weight of authority predominates, however, in favour of the interpretation which assigns to אֵילֶת הַשָּׁחַר the sole purpose of describing to the musician the melody to which the psalm was to be played, and which does not in any way connect "Ayeleth Has-shachar" with the arguments of the psalm itself. To Aben Ezra this interpretation evidently owes its origin, and his view has been received by the majority of grammarians and lexicographers, as well as by those commentators whose object has been to arrive at a grammatical exposition of the text. Amongst the number, Buxtorf, Bochart, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and M. Sachs (in Zunz's Bible), deserve especial mention. According to the opinion then of this trustworthy band of scholars, אֵילֶת הַשָּׁחַר described a lyrical composition no longer extant; but in the age of David, and during the existence of the Temple of

<sup>a</sup> The part of the country in which Ajalon was situated—the western slopes of the main central tableland leading down to the plain of Sharon—must, if the derivation of the names of its towns is to be trusted, have abounded in animals. Besides Ajalon (deer), here lay Shaulbin (foxes or jackals), and not far off the valley of Zeboun (hyaenas). See Stanley, 162, *note*.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps this may suggest an explanation of the allusion to the "house of Joseph" in the difficult passage, Judg. i. 34, 35.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἰάδα*, in Epiphanius; see Reland, 553.

<sup>d</sup> It will be observed that the two words differ only in their vowel-points.

Solomon, when the Psalms were chaunted for public and private service, it was so well known as to convey readily to the director of the sacred music what it was useful for him to know. That this was not an unusual method of describing a melody may be satisfactorily proved from a variety of analogous instances. Ample evidence is found in the Talmud (Jerusch. Berach.) that the expression "hind of the morning" was used figuratively for "the rising sun;" and a similar use of the Arabic "*Gizalath*" may be adduced. (See Rosenmüller's *Scholar*, *in loco*, and Fürst's *Concordance*.) Aben Ezra is censured by Bochart (*Hierozicon*, book iii. ch. 17) for describing the poem

הוא אֵילַת הַשָּׁחַר  
פִּיט נִעְשָׂה עַל דֶּרֶךְ דָּבָר, חֶשֶׁק כְּמוֹ אֵילַת  
(אֲהָבִים), a term considered too profane to be employed in reference to a composition used for public worship. But if for the obnoxious epithet "amorous" the word "elegant" be substituted (and the expression used by the rabbi will readily admit of this change in the translation), the objection is removed.

Calmet understands אֵילַת הַשָּׁחַר to mean a "band of music;" and he accordingly translates the introductory verse, "A Psalm of David, addressed to the music-master who presides over the Band called the Morning Hind." [D. W. M.]

AIN (עַיִן), an eye, and also, in the simple but vivid imagery of the East, a spring or natural burst of living water, always contrasted with the well or tank of artificial formation, and which latter is designated by the words Be'er (בְּאֵר), Bor (בּוֹר and בֹּרֶר). Ain still retains its ancient and

double meaning in Arabic, عَيْن. Such living springs abound in Palestine even more than in other mountainous districts, and, apart from their natural value in a hot climate, form one of the most remarkable features of the country. Professor Stanley (*S. and P.* 147, 509) has called attention to the accurate and persistent use of the word in the original text of the Bible, and has well expressed the inconvenience arising from the confusion in the A. V. of words and things so radically distinct as *lun* and *be'er*. "The importance of distinguishing between the two is illustrated by Ex. xv. 27, in which the word *Ainath* (translated 'wells') is used for the springs of fresh water at Elhm, although the rocky soil of that place excludes the supposition of dug wells."

*Ain* oftenest occurs in combination with other words, forming the names of definite localities: these will be found under En, as En-gedi, En-gannim, &c. It occurs alone in two cases:—

1. (with the def. article, הָעַיִן.) One of the landmarks on the eastern boundary of Palestine as

described by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 11), and apparently mentioned, if the rendering of the A. V. is accurate, to define the position of Riblah, viz. "on the east side of 'the spring'" (LXX., ἐπὶ πηγῆς). By Jerome, in the Vulgate, it is rendered *contra fontem Daphnem*, meaning the spring which rose in the celebrated grove of Daphne dedicated to Apollo and Diana at Antioch.\* But Riblah having been lately, with much probability, identified (Rob. iii. 542-6; Porter, ii. 335) with a place of the same name on the N.E. slopes of the Hermon range, "the spring" of the text must in the present state of our knowledge be taken to be 'Ain el-'Azy, the main source of the Orontes, a spring remarkable, even among the springs of Palestine, for its force and magnitude. The objections to this identification are the distance from Riblah—about 9 miles; and the direction—nearer N.E. than E. (See Rob. iii. 531; Porter, ii. 335-6, 358). [RIBLAH; HAMATH.]

2. One of the southernmost cities of Judah (Josh. xv. 32), afterwards allotted to Simeon (Josh. xix. 7; 1 Chr. iv. 32 b) and given to the priests (Josh. xxi. 16). In the list of priests' cities in 1 Chr. vi. Ashan (עֲשָׁן) takes the place of Ain.

In Neh. xi. 29, Ain is joined to the name which in the other passages usually follows it, and appears as Enrimmon. So the LXX., in the two earliest of the passages in Joshua, give the name as Ἐρεμμόθ and Ἐρεμμών. (See Rob. ii. 204.) [i.]

A'JAH (אֵיָה; 'Aîé; Aja). 1. Son of Zibeen (Gen. xxvii. 21; 1 Chr. i. 40). [AJAH.] 2. Father of Izabab, a concubine of Saul (2 Sam. ix. 7, xxi. 8, 10, 11).

A'JALON (Josh. x. 12, xiv. 42; 2 Chr. xxviii. 18). The same place as AJALON (1) which see. The Hebrew being the same in both, there is no reason for the inconsistency in the spelling of the name in the A. V. [G.]

A'KAN (עֲקָן; 'Ioukám; Acan), a descendant of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 27), called JAKAN in 1 Chr. i. 42. [BENI-JAAKAN.]

AK'KUB (עֲקֻב; 'Akóub and 'Akóúm; Akoub), name of four men. 1. (1 Chr. iii. 24). 2. (1 Chr. ix. 17; Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45, xi. 19, xii. 25). 3. (Ezr. ii. 45). 4. (Neh. viii. 7).

AKRAB'IM, "THE ASCENT OF," and "THE GOING UP TO;" also "ΜΑΛΛΗ-ΑΚΡΑΒΙΜ" (מַעְלֵה עֲקָרִיבִים = "the scorpion-pass;" ἀνάβασις 'Ακράβειν; *Ascensus scorpionum*). A pass between the south end of the Dead Sea and Zin, forming one of the landmarks on the south boundary at once of Judah (Josh. xv. 3) and of the Holy Land (Num. xxxiv. 4). Also the north (?) boundary of the Amorites (Judg. i. 36).

Judas Maccabaeus had here a great victory over

the Daphne near Pannias had also the name of Riblah.

b There is a curious expression in this verse which has not yet been explained. After enumerating the "cities" (עָרֵי) of Simeon, the text proceeds, "and their villages" (חָצְרֵי) were Etam, Ain . . . five cities" (עָרֵי). Considering the strict distinction so generally observed in the use of these two words, the above is at least worthy of note. [HAZON.]

\* That this, and not the spring lately identified at Daphn, near the source of the Jordan at Tel el-Kady (Rob. iii. 393; Ritter, *Jordan*, 215), is the Daphne referred to in the Vulgate, is clear from the quotations from Jerome given in Reiland (*Pal.*, cap. xxv. p. 120). In the Targums of Jonathan and Jerusalem, Riblah is rendered by Daphne, and Ain by 'Invatha (עִינוּוָתָה). Schwarz (29) would place Ain at 'En-al-Malcha" (doubtless 'Ain-Mellahah): to be consistent with which, he is driven to assume that

the Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3), "Arabattine," which see; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 8, § 1).

De Sauley (i. 77) would identify it with the long and steep pass of the *Wady es-Zureirah*. Scorpions he certainly found there in plenty, but this wady is too much to the north to have been Akrahim, as the boundary went from thence to Zin and Kadesh-barnea, which wherever situated were certainly many miles further south. Robinson's conjecture is, that it is the line of cliffs which cross the Ghor at right angles, 11 miles south of the Dead Sea, and form the ascent of separation between the Ghor and the Arabah (ii. 120). But this would be a descent and not an ascent to those who were entering the Holy Land from the south. Perhaps the most tenable supposition is that Akrahim is the steep pass *es-Sufah*, by which the final step is made from the desert to the level of the actual land of Palestine. As to the name, scorpions abound in the whole of this district.

This place must not be confounded with Acrabattene, north of Jerusalem; which see. [G.]

**ALABASTER** (ἀλάβαστρος; *alabastrum*), a word occurring in Matt. xxvi. 7, Mark xiv. 3, and Luke vii. 37, and signifying an alabaster box to contain precious ointment or spikenard. It is



Alabaster Vessels.—From the British Museum.—The inscription on the centre vessel denotes the quantity it holds.

however properly the name of the substance of which the box was formed, and hence in 2 K. xxi. 13, the LXX. use δ ἀλάβαστρος for the Heb. נִחְיָץ, *patina*, *lecythus*, *ampulla*. Horaei (*ib.* iv. 12) uses *onyx* in the same way, "Nardi parvus onyx elinet cadum." Alabaster is a calcareous spar, resembling marble, but softer and more easily worked, and therefore very suitable for being wrought into boxes. Pliny (*lib.* iii. 20) represents it as peculiarly proper for this purpose (xiii. 2), "Vas unguentarium, quod ex alabastrite lapide ad unguenta corruptione exanaria excavare solent." The expression *broke the box*, in Mark xiv. 3, implies only the removal of the seal upon the mouth of the box, by which seal the perfume was prevented from evaporating. [W. D.]

<sup>a</sup> The Alex. MS. in this place reads *Ioudaia* for *Ioudaia*, and Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 91, 358) endeavours to show therefrom that the Arabattine there mentioned was that between Samaria and Judaea, in support of his opinion that a large part of Southern Palestine was then in possession of the Edomites. But this reading does not agree with the context, and

**AL'AMETH** (אַלְמֶת; 'Ελημεθ; *Almath*).

1. Son of Becher (1 Chr. vii. 8). 2. Son of Jehoadah (1 Chr. viii. 36), called Jnah in 1 Chr. ix. 42.

**ALAM'MELECH** (אַלְמֶלֶךְ = "king's oak;"

Ελμελέχ; *Almelch*), a place within the limits of Asher, named between Achsaph and Anah (Josh. xiv. 26, only). It has not yet been identified; but Schwarz (191) suggests a connexion with the *Nahr el-Melch*, which falls into the Kishon near Haifa. [G.]

**AL'AMOTH** (אַלְמוֹת; Ps. xvi., title; 1 Chr.

xv. 20), a word of exceedingly doubtful meaning, and with respect to which various conjectures prevail. Some critics are of opinion that it is a kind of lute brought originally from Elam (Persia); others regard it as an instrument on which young girls (אַלְמוֹת) used to play (comp. the old English instrument "the Virginal"): whilst some again consider the word to denote a species of lyre, with a *soudine* (mute) attached to it for the purpose of softening or deadening the sound, and that on this account it was called אַלְמוֹת, from אָלַם, *to conceal*.

Lafage speaks of אַלְמוֹת as "chant supérieur ou chant à l'octave." Some German commentators, having discovered that the lays of the mediæval minstrels were charmed to a melody called "die Jungfrauenweise," have transferred that notion to the Psalms; and Tholuck, for instance, translates אַלְמוֹת by the above German term. According to this notion אַלְמוֹת would not be a musical instrument, but a melody. (See Mendelssohn's *Introduction to his Version of the Psalms*; Forkel, *Geschichte der Musik*; Lafage, *His. Gén. de la Musique*; and Gesenius on אָלַם). [D. W. M.]

**AL'CIMUS** (Ἀλκιμος, *alchom*, a Greek name, assumed, according to the prevailing fashion, as representing ἄλκιμος, 'Ελκείμ, *God hath set up*). called also JACIMI (ὁ καὶ Ἰάκιμος all. Ἰωάκιμος, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, 5, i. e. אֶקִי, cf. *Jud.* iv. 6 *cor. lott.*), a Jewish priest (1 Macc. vii. 14), who was attached to the Hellenizing party (2 Macc. xiv. 3) b. On the death of Menelaus he was appointed to the High-Priesthood by the influence of Lysias, though not of the pontifical family (Joseph. l. c.; i. 9; 1 Macc. vii. 14), to the exclusion of Onias, the nephew of Menelaus. When Demetrius Soter obtained the kingdom of Syria he paid court to that monarch, who confirmed him in his office, and through his general Bacchides [ΒΑΚΧΙΔΗΣ] established him at Jerusalem. His cruelty, however, was so great that, in spite of the force left in his command, he was unable to withstand the opposition which he provoked, and he again fled to Demetrius, who immediately took measures for his restoration. The first expedition under Nicanor proved unsuccessful; but upon this Bacchides marched a second time against Jerusalem with a large army,

it is at least certain that Josephus had the text as it now stands.

<sup>b</sup> According to a Jewish tradition (Bereshith R. 65), he was "sister's son of Jose ben Jozer," chief of the Sanhedrim, whom he afterwards put to death.—Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 215, 308.

rouled Judas, who fell in the battle (161 B.C.) and reinstated Alcimus. After his restoration, Alcimus seems to have attempted to modify the ancient worship, and as he was engaged in pulling down "the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary" (i. e., which separated the court of the Gentiles from it; yet see Gihann, 1 Macc. iv. 54) he was "plagued" (by paralysis), and "died at that time," 160 B.C. (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, 5, xii. 10; 1 Macc. vii. 17, cf. 2 Macc. xiv. xv. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* iv. 365 ff.) [B. F. W.]

**ALEMA** (ἐν Ἀλέμας; in Alimis), a large and strong city in Gilead in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 26). Its name does not occur again, nor have we yet any means of identifying it. [G.]

**ALEMETH** (accurately, Allemeth; Ἀλλέμεθ; Γαλεμέθ; *Almeth*), the form under which Almeth, the name of a city of the priests in Benjamin, appears in 1 Chr. vi. 60 [45]. Under the very similar form of *Almit* or *Almuth*, it has been apparently identified in the present day at about a mile N.E. of *Awata*, the site of Anathoth; first by Schwarz (128) and then by Mr. Finn (Rob. iii. 287). Among the genealogies of Benjamin the name occurs in connexion with Azanaveth, also the name of a town of that tribe (1 Chr. vii. 36, iv. 42; compared with Ezr. ii. 24) [ΛΕΜΟΝ.] In the Targum of Jonathan on 2 Sam. vii. 5, Bahumim is rendered Alennath. [G.]

**ALEXANDER III.**, king of Macedon, surnamed the GREAT (Ἀλέξανδρος, *the helper of men*; *Alexandros*; Arab. *the two-horned*, Goli, *Lex. Arab.* 1896), "the son of Philip" (1 Macc. vi. 2) and Olympias was born at Pella B.C. 356. On his mother's side he claimed descent from Achilles; and the Homeric legends were not without influence upon his life. At an early age he was placed under the care of Aristotle; and while still a youth he turned the fortune of the day at Chaeroneia (338 B.C.). On the murder of Philip (B.C. 336) Alexander put down with resolute energy the disaffection and hostility by which his throne was menaced; and in two years he crossed the Hellespont (B.C. 334) to carry out the plans of his father, and execute the mission of Greece to the civilized world. The battle of the Granicus was followed by the subjugation of western Asia; and in the following year the fate of the East was decided at Issus (B.C. 333). Tyre and Gaza were the only cities in Western Syria which offered Alexander any resistance, and these were reduced and treated with unusual severity (B.C. 332). Egypt next submitted to him; and in B.C. 331 he founded Alexandria, which remains to the present day the most characteristic monument of his life and work. In the same year he finally defeated Darius at Gaugamela; and in B.C. 330 his unhappy rival was murdered by Bessus, satrap of Bactria. The next two years were occupied by Alexander in the consolidation of his Persian conquests, and the reduction of Bactria. In B.C. 327 he crossed the Indus, penetrated to the Hydraspes, and was there forced by the discontent of his army to turn westward. He reached Susa B.C. 325, and proceeded to Babylon B.C. 324, which he chose as the capital of his empire. In the next year he died there (B.C. 323) in the midst of his gigantic plans; and those who inherited his conquests left his designs unachieved and unattempted (cf. Dan. vii. 6, viii. 5, xi. 3).

The famous tradition of the visit of Alexander to Jerusalem during his Phœnician campaign (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, 1 ff.) has been a fruitful source of controversy. The Jews, it is said, had provoked his anger by refusing to transfer their allegiance to him when summoned to do so during the siege of Tyre, and after the reduction of Tyre and Gaza (Joseph. l. c.) he turned towards Jerusalem. Jaddua (Jaddus) the High-Priest (Neh. xii. 11, 22), who had been warned in a dream, how to avert the king's anger, calmly awaited his approach; and when he drew near went out to Sapha (ספא, *he watched*), within sight of the city and temple, clad in his robes of hyacinth and gold, and accompanied by a train of priests and citizens arrayed in white. Alexander was so moved by the solemn spectacle that he did reverence to the holy name inscribed upon the turban of the High-Priest; and when Parmenio expressed surprise, he replied that "he had seen the god whom Jaddua represented in a dream at Dium, encouraging him to cross over into Asia, and promising him success." After this, it is said, that he visited Jerusalem, offered sacrifice there, heard the prophecies of Daniel which foretold his victory, and conferred important privileges upon the Jews, not only in Judæa but in Babylonia and Media, which they enjoyed during the supremacy of his successors. The narrative is repeated in the Talmud (Jonah f. 69; ap. Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Alexander*); the High-Priest is there said to have been Simon the Just, in later Jewish writers (Vajikta R. 13; Joseph ben Gorion, ap. Ste. Croix, p. 553), and in the chronicles of Abulfeda (Ste. Croix, p. 555). The event was adapted by the Samaritans to suit their own history, with a corresponding change of places and persons and various embellishments (Abund'iftah, quoted by Ste. Croix, pp. 209-12); and in due time Alexander was enrolled among the proselytes of Judaism. On the other hand no mention of the event occurs in Ariam, Plutarch, Diodorus, or Curtius; and the connexion in which it is placed by Josephus is alike inconsistent with Jewish history (Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv. 124, ff.) and with the narrative of Arrian (iii. 1 ἐβδόμη ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Γάλης ἐλαύνων ἦκεν ἐς Πηλοῦσιον).

But admitting the incorrectness of the details of the tradition as given by Josephus, there are several points which confirm the truth of the main fact. Justin says that "many kings of the East came to meet Alexander wearing fillets" (lib. xi. 10); and after the capture of Tyre "Alexander himself visited some of the cities which still refused to submit to him" (Curt. iv. 5, 13). Even at a later time, according to Curtius, he executed vengeance personally on the Samaritans for the murder of his governor Andromachus (Curt. iv. 8, 10). Besides this, Jewish soldiers were enlisted in his army (Heath, *ap. Joseph. c. Apion.* i. 22); and Jews formed an important element in the population of the city, which he founded shortly after the supposed visit. Above all, the privileges which he is said to have conferred upon the Jews, including the remission of tribute every sabbatical year, existed in later times, and imply some such relation between the Jews and the great conqueror as Josephus describes. Internal evidence is decidedly in favour of the story even in its picturesque fulness. From policy or conviction Alexander delighted to represent himself as chosen by destiny for the great act which he achieved. The siege of Tyre arose peacefully from

a religious motive. The battle of Issus was preceded by the visit to Gordium; the invasion of Persia by the pilgrimage to the temple of Ammon. And if it be impossible to determine the exact circumstances of the meeting of Alexander and the Jewish envoys, the silence of the classical historians, who notoriously disrespected (*e.g.* the Maccabees) and misrepresented (*Tac. Hist. v. 8*) the fortunes of the Jews, cannot be held to be conclusive against the occurrence of an event which must have appeared to them trivial or unintelligible (*Jahn, Archæol. iii. 300 ff.*; *Ste. Croix, Études critiques, &c., Paris, 1810*; *Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, vi. 206 f.*; and on the other side *Ant. van Dale, Dissert. super Aristæ, Amstel. 1703, pp. 99 ff.*).

The tradition, whether true or false, presents an aspect of Alexander's character which has been frequently lost sight of by his recent biographers. He was not simply a Greek, nor must he be judged by a Greek standard. The Orientalism, which was a scandal to his followers, was a necessary deduction from his principles, and not the result of caprice or vanity (*comp. Arr. vi. 29*). He approached the idea of a universal monarchy from the side of Greece, but his final object was to establish something higher than the paramount supremacy of one people. His purpose was to combine and equalize, not to annihilate: to weld the East and West in a just union—not to enslave Asia to Greece (*Plut. de Alex. Or. 1, §6*). The time, indeed, was not yet come when this was possible, but if he could not accomplish the great issue, he prepared the way for its accomplishment.

The first and most direct consequence of the policy of Alexander was the weakening of nationalities, the first condition necessary for the dissolution of the old religions. The swift course of his victories, the constant incorporation of foreign elements in his armies, the fierce wars and changing fortunes of his successors, broke down the barriers by which kingdoms had been separated from kingdoms, and opened the road for larger conceptions of life and faith than had hitherto been possible (*cf. Polyb. iii. 59*). The contact of the East and West brought out into practical forms, thoughts and feelings which had been confined to the schools. Paganism was deprived of life as soon as it was transplanted beyond the narrow limits in which it took its shape. The spread of commerce followed the progress of arms; and the Greek language and literature vindicated their claim to be considered the most perfect expression of human thought by becoming practically universal.

The Jews were at once most exposed to the powerful influences thus brought to bear upon the East, and most able to support them. In the arrangement of the Greek conquests, which followed the battle of Ipsus B.C. 301, Judea was made the frontier land of the rival empires of Syria and Egypt, and though it was necessarily subjected to the constant vicissitudes of war, it was able to make advantageous terms with the state to which it owed allegiance from the important advantages which it offered for attack or defence [*ANTIOCH S. ii.-vii.*]. Internally also the people were prepared to withstand the effects of the revolution which the Greek dominion effected. The constitution of Ezra had obtained its full development. A powerful hierarchy had succeeded in substituting the idea of a church for that of a state; and the Jew was

now able to wander over the world and yet remain faithful to the goal of his fathers [THE DISPERSION]. The same constitutional change had strengthened the intellectual and religious position of the people. A rigid "fence" of ritualism protected the course of common life from the license of Greek manners; and the great doctrine of the unity of God, which was now seen to be the divine centre of their system, counteracted the attractions of a philosophic pantheism [*SIMON THE JUST*]. Through a long course of discipline, in which they had been left unguided by prophetic teaching, the Jews had realised the nature of their mission to the world, and were waiting for the means of fulfilling it. The conquest of Alexander furnished them with the occasion and the power. But at the same time the example of Greece fostered personal as well as popular independence. Judaism was speedily divided into sects, analogous to the typical forms of Greek philosophy. But even the rude analysis of the old faith was productive of good. The freedom of Greece was no less instrumental in forming the Jews for their final work than the contemplative spirit of Persia, or the civil organization of Rome; for if the career of Alexander was rapid, its effects were lasting. The city which he chose to bear his name perpetuated in after ages the office which he providentially discharged for Judaism and mankind; and the historian of Christianity must confirm the judgment of Arius, that Alexander, "who was like no other man, could not have been given to the world without the special design of Providence" (*ἐξω τοῦ θελου, Arr. vii. 30*). And Alexander himself appreciated this design better even than his great teacher; for it is said (*Plut. de Alex. Or. 1, §6*) that when Aristotle urged him to treat the Greeks as freemen and the Orientals as slaves, he found the true answer to this counsel in the recognition of his "divine mission to unite and reconcile the world (*καὶ οὗτος ἦεν θεῶν ἀρμοστής καὶ διαλλακτὴς τῶν ὅλων νομίζων*)."



Two tetradrachm. Attic, (about) of 1 young man, king of Thrace.

Obv. Head of Alexander the Great, as a young Jupiter Ammon, to right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ. In field, monogram and Σ. Pallas seated to left, holding a Victory.

In the prophetic visions of Daniel the influence of Alexander is necessarily combined with that of his successors.<sup>a</sup> They represented with partial exaggeration the several phases of his character; and to the Jews nationally the policy of the Syrian kings was of greater importance than the original conquest of Asia. But some traits of "the first mighty king" (*Dan. viii. 21, xi. 3*) are given with vigorous distinctness. The emblem by which he is typified (*רֶפֶא, a he-goat, fr. רֶפֶא he leoprd, Ges. Thes. s. v.*) suggests the notions of strength and

<sup>a</sup> The attempt of Bertholdt to apply the description of the third monarchy to that of Alexander has little to recommend it [*DANIEL*].

speed;<sup>b</sup> and the universal extent (Dan. viii. 5, . . . *from the west on the face of the whole earth*), and marvellous rapidity of his conquests (Dan. i. c. *he touched not the ground*) are brought forward as the characteristics of his power, which was directed by the strongest personal impetuosity (Dan. viii. 6, *in the fury of his power*). He ruled with great dominion, and did according to his will (Mt. ii. 3); "and there was none that could deliver . . . out of his hand (viii. 7)." [B. F. W.]

**ALEXANDER BALAS** (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, §8, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας λεγόμενος; Strab. xiv. p. 751, τὸν Βάλαν Ἀλέξανδρον; Just. xxv. 1, Substanti pro eo Balam quendam . . . et . . . nomen ei Alexandri inditur. Balas possibly represents the Aram. ܠܒܠܐ, *lord*, he likewise assumed the titles ἐπιφανὴς and ἐνερgeticός, 1 Macc. x. 1). He was, according to some, a (natural) son of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (Strab. xiv. Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, 1), but he was more generally regarded as an impostor who falsely assumed the connexion (App. Syr. 67; Justin l. c. cf. Polyb. xxxiii. 16). He claimed the throne of Syria in 152 B.C. in opposition to Demetrius Soter, who had provoked the hostility of the neighbouring kings and alienated the affections of his subjects (Joseph. l. c.). His pretensions were put forward by Hecaleides, formerly treasurer of Antiochus Epiphanes, who obtained the recognition of his title at Rome by scandalous intrigues (Polyb. xxxiii. 14, 16). After landing at Ptolemais (1 Macc. x. 1) Alexander gained the warm support of Jonathan, who was now the leader of the Jews (1 Macc. ix. 73); and though his first efforts were unsuccessful (Just. xxv. 1, 10), in 150 B.C. he completely routed the forces of Demetrius, who himself fell in the retreat (1 Macc. x. 18-50; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, 4; Str. xvi. p. 751). After this Alexander married Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemaeus VI. Philometor; and in the arrangement of his kingdom appointed Jonathan governor (μεριδάρχης; 1 Macc. x. 65) of a province (Judea; cf. 1 Macc. xi. 57). But his triumph was of short duration. After obtaining power he gave himself up to a life of indulgence (Liv. *Eph.* 50; cf. Athen. v. 211); and when Demetrius Nicator, the son of Demetrius Soter, landed in Syria in 147 B.C., the new pretender found powerful support (1 Macc. x. 67 ff.). At first Jonathan defeated and slew Apollonius the governor of Coele-Syria, who had joined the party of Demetrius, for which exploit he received fresh favours from Alexander (1 Macc. x. 69-89); but shortly afterwards (B.C. 146) Ptolemy entered Syria with a large force, and after he had placed garrisons in the chief cities on the coast, which received him according to the commands of Alexander, suddenly pronounced himself in favour of Demetrius (1 Macc. xi. 1-11; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, 5 ff.), alleging, probably with truth, the existence of a conspiracy against his life (Joseph. l. c. cf. Dio. ap. Muller. *Fragment.* ii. 16). Alexander, who had been forced to leave Antioch (Joseph. l. c.), was in Cilicia when he heard of Ptolemy's defection (1 Macc. xi. 14). He hastened to meet him, but was defeated (1 Macc. xi. 15; Just. xxv. 2), and fled to Abre in Arabia (Diod. l. c.), where he was murdered B.C. 146 (Diod. l. c.; 1 Macc. xi.

17 differ as to the manner; and Euseb. *Chron.* viii. i. 349 represents him to have been slain in the battle). The narrative in 1 Macc. and Josephus shows clearly the partiality which the Jews entertained for Alexander "as the first that entreated of true peace with them" (1 Macc. x. 47); and the same feeling was exhibited afterwards in the zeal with which they supported the claims of his son Antiochus. [ANTIOCHUS VI.] [B. F. W.]



T. trinitatis (T. trinitatis talent) of Alexander Balas.

Obv. Bust of King to right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Eagle, upon palm-branch. In field the monogram and symbol of Tyre, date 127P (168 A.D. S. 100, etc.).

**ALEXANDER** (Ἀλέξανδρος), in N. T. 1. Son of Simon the Cyrenian, who was compelled to bear the cross for our Lord (Mark xv. 21). From the manner in which he is there mentioned, together with his brother Rufus, they were probably persons well known in the early Christian church.

2. One of the kindred of Annas the high priest (Acts iv. 6), apparently in some high office, as he is among three who are mentioned by name. Some suppose him identical with Alexander the Alabarch at Alexandria, the brother of Philo Judaeus, mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 8, §1, xiv. 5, §1) in the latter passage as a φίλος ἀρχαῖος of the Emperor Claudius: so that the time is not inconsistent with such an idea.

3. A Jew at Ephesus, whom his countrymen put forward during the tumult raised by Demetrius the silversmith (Acts xix. 33), to plead their cause with the mob, as being unconnected with the attempt to overthrow the worship of Artemis. Or he may have been, as imagined by Calvin and others, a Jewish convert to Christianity, whom the Jews were willing to expose as a victim to the frenzy of the mob.

4. An Ephesian Christian, reproached by St. Paul in 1 Tim. i. 20, as having, together with one Hymeneus, put from him faith and a good conscience, and so made shipwreck concerning the faith. This may be the same with

5. ALEXANDER the coppersmith (ἌΑ. δ χαλκεύς), mentioned by the same apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 14, as having done him many mischiefs. It is quite uncertain where this person resided; but from the caution to Timotheus to beware of him, probably at Ephesus. [H. A.]

**ALEXANDRIA** (ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια, 3 Macc. ii. 1; Mod., *El-Fouad*; Ethn., Ἀλεξάνδρεια, 3 Macc. ii. 30, iii. 21; Acts xiii. 24, v. 9), the Hellenic Roman and Christian capital of Egypt, was founded by Alexander the Great B.C. 332, who traced himself the ground-plan of the city which he designed to make the metropolis of his western empire (Plut. *Alex.* 26). The work thus begun was continued after the death of Alexander by the Pto-

<sup>b</sup> There may be also some allusion in the word to the legend of Caranus, the founder of the Argive dynasty in Macedonia, who was guided to victory by "a flock of goats" (Justin, l. 7).

lemies; and the beauty (Athen. i. p. 3) of Alexandria became proverbial. Every natural advantage contributed to its prosperity. The climate and site were singularly healthy (Strab. p. 793). The harbours, formed by the island of Pharos and the headland Lochias, were safe and commodious, alike for commerce and for war; and the Lake Mareotis was an inland haven for the merchandise of Egypt and India (Strab. p. 798). Under the despotism of the later Ptolemies, the trade of Alexandria declined, but its population (300,000 freemen, Diod. xvii. 52; the free population of Attica was about 130,000) and wealth (Strab. p. 798) were enormous. After the victory of Augustus it suffered for its attachment to the cause of Antony (Strab. p. 792); but its importance as one of the chief ports of Rome seemed for it the general favour of the first emperors. In later times the seditious tumults for which the Alexandrians had always been notorious, desolated the city (A.C. 260 B. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. x.), and religious feuds aggravated the popular distaste (Dionys. Alex. *Ep.* iii. xii.; Euseb. *H. E.*, vi. 41 ff.; vii. 22). Yet even thus, though Alexandria suffered greatly from constant dissensions and the weakness of the Byzantine court, the splendour of "the great city of the West" amazed Amron, its Arab conqueror (A.C. 640; Gibbon, c. li.); and after centuries of Mahometan misrule it promises once again to justify the wisdom of its founder (Strab. xvii. 791-9; *Trag.* ap. Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2; *Plut. Alex.* 26; *Ant.* iii. 1; Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 5. Comp. ALEXANDRIA the Great.)

The population of Alexandria was mixed from the first (comp. *Cut.* iv. 8, 5); and this fact formed the groundwork of the Alexandrine character. The three regions into which the city was divided (*Regio Judæorum, Brachionum, Khoutis*) corresponded to the three chief classes of its inhabitants, Jews, Greeks, Egyptians;<sup>a</sup> but in addition to these principal races, representatives of almost every nation were found there (Dion Chrys. *Orat.* xxxi.). According to Josephus, Alexander himself assigned to the Jews a place in his new city; "and they obtained," he adds, "equal privileges with the Macedonians" (*c. Ap.* ii. 4) in consideration "of their services against the Egyptians" (*B. J.* ii. 18, 7). Ptolemy I. imitated the policy of Alexander, and, after the capture of Jerusalem, he removed a considerable number of its citizens to Alexandria. Many others followed of their own accord; and all received the full Macedonian franchise (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 1. Cf. *c. Ap.* i. 22), as men of known and true fidelity (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4). Already on a former occasion the Jews had sought a home in the land of their bondage. More than two centuries and a half before the foundation of Alexandria a large body of them had taken refuge in Egypt, after the murder of Gedaliah; but these, after a general apostasy, were carried captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxi. 26; Jer. xlv.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, 7).

<sup>a</sup> The Alexandrine corn-vessels (Acts xxvii. 6, xxviii. 11) were large (Acts xxviii. 37) and handsome (Luc. *Navig.* p. 668, ed. Renel.); and even Vespasian made a voyage in one (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 2). They generally sailed direct to Puteoli (*Dicaearchia*, Strab. p. 793); Senec. *Ep.* 77, 1; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 98, Acts xxviii. 13); but, from stress of weather, often sailed under the Asiatic coast (Acts xxvii.; cf. Luc. i. c. p. 670 f.; Smith, *Voyage of St. Paul*, pp. 70 ff.).

The fate of the later colony was far different. The numbers and importance of the Egyptian Jews were rapidly increased under the Ptolemies by fresh immigrations and thriving industry. Philo estimates them in his time at little less than 1,000,000 (*In Flacc.* §6, p. 971); and adds, that two of the five districts of Alexandria were called "Jewish districts;" and that many Jews lived scattered in the remaining three (*id.* §8, p. 973). Julius Caesar (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §1) and Augustus confirmed to them the privileges which they had enjoyed before, and they retained them with various interruptions, of which the most important, A.D. 39, is described by Philo (*l. c.*), during the tumults and persecutions of later reigns (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4; *B. J.* xii. 3, 2). They were represented, at least for some time (from the time of Cleopatra to the reign of Claudius; Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 353) by their own officer (*ἐθνάρχης*, Strab. ap. Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2; *ἀναβάρχης*, Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7, 3; 9, 1; xiv. 5, 1; cf. *Rup. ad Juv.* sat. i. 130; *γενάρχης*, Philo, *In Flacc.* §10, p. 975), and Augustus appointed a council (*γενοῦσα* i. e. *Synhedria* Philo *l. c.*) "to superintend the affairs of the Jews," according to their own laws. The establishment of Christianity altered the civil position of the Jews, but they maintained their relative prosperity; and when Alexandria was taken by Amron 40,000 tributary Jews were reckoned among the marvels of the city (Gibbon, *ch.*).

For some time the Jewish Church in Alexandria was in close dependence on that of Jerusalem. Both were subject to the civil power of the first Ptolemies, and both acknowledged the high-priest as their religious head. The persecution of Ptolemy Philopator (217 B.C.) occasioned the first political separation between the two bodies. From that time the Jews of Palestine attached themselves to the fortunes of Syria [ANTIOCHUS the Great]; and the same policy which alienated the Palestinian party gave unity and decision to the Jews of Alexandria. The Septuagint translation which strengthened the barrier of language between Palestine and Egypt, and the temple at Leontopolis (161 B.C.) which subjected the Egyptian Jews to the charge of schism, widened the breach which was thus opened. But the division though marked was not complete. At the beginning of the Christian era the Egyptian Jews still paid the contributions to the temple-service (Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 72). Jerusalem, though its name was fashioned to a Greek shape, was still the Holy City, the metropolis not of a country but of a people (*ἱερόπολις*, Philo, *In Flacc.* §7; *Egy. ad Cui.* §36), and the Alexandrians had a synagogue there (Acts vi. 9). The internal administration of the Alexandrine Church was independent of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem; but respect survived submission.

There were, however, other causes which tended to produce at Alexandria a distinct form of the Jewish character and faith. The religion and philosophy of that restless city produced an effect upon

<sup>b</sup> Polybius (xxxiv. 14; ap. Strab. p. 797) speaks of the population as consisting of "three races (*τρία γένη*), the native Egyptian . . . the *mercenary*, . . . and the Alexandrine . . . of Greek descent." The Jews might receive the title of "mercenaries," from the service which they originally rendered to Alexander (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 18, 7) and the first Ptolemies (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4).

the people more powerful than the influence of politics or commerce. Alexander himself symbolised the spirit with which he wished to animate his new capital by founding a temple of Isis side by side with the temples of the Grecoan gods (A.R. iii. 1). The creeds of the East and West were to coexist in friendly union; and in after-times the mixed worship of Serapis (comp. Gibbon, *l. c.* xxviii.; *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 98) was characteristic of the Greek kingdom of Egypt (August. *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 5; *S. maximus Aegyptiorum Deus*). This catholicity of worship was further combined with the spread of universal learning. The same monarchs who favoured the worship of Serapis (Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. §48) founded and embellished the Museum and Library; and part of the Library was deposited in the Serapeum. The new faith and the new literature led to a common issue; and the Egyptian Jews necessarily imbibed the spirit which prevailed around them.

The Jews were, indeed, peculiarly susceptible of the influences to which they were exposed. They presented from the first a capacity for Eastern or Western development. To the faith and conservatism of the Oriental they united the activity and energy of the Greek. The mere presence of Hellenic culture could not fail to call into play their powers of speculation which were hardly repressed by the traditional legalism of Palestine (comp. Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden th.* pp. 293 ff.); and the unchanging element of divine revelation which they always retained, enabled them to harmonize new thought with old belief. But while the intercourse of the Jew and Greek would have produced the same general consequences in any case, Alexandria was peculiarly adapted to ensure their full effect. The result of the contact of Judaism with the many creeds which were current there must have been speedy and powerful. The earliest Greek fragment of Jewish writing which has been preserved (about 160 B.C.) [ARISTOTELIS] contains large Orphic quotations, which had been already moulded into a Jewish form (comp. Jost, *l. c.* *Gesch. d. Juden th.* 370); and the attempt thus made to connect the most ancient Hellenic traditions with the Law was often repeated afterwards. Nor was this done in the spirit of bold forgery. Orpheus, Musæus, and the Sibyls appeared to stand in some remote period anterior to the corruptions of polytheism, as the witnesses of a primeval revelation and of the teaching of nature, and thus it seemed excusable to attribute to them a knowledge of the Mosiac doctrines. The third book of the Sibyllines (v. B.C. 150) is the most valuable relic of this pseudo-Hellenic literature, and shows how far the conception of Judaism was enlarged to meet the wide views of the religious condition of heathendom which was opened by a more intimate knowledge of Greek thought; though the later Apocalypse of Ezra (Ezra IV.) exhibits a marked reaction towards the extreme exclusiveness of former times.

But the indirect influence of Greek literature and philosophy produced still greater effects upon the Alexandrine Jews than the open conflict and combination of religious dogmas. The literary school of Alexandria was essentially critical and not creative. For the first time men laboured to collect, revise, and classify all the records of the past. Poets trusted to their learning rather than to their imagination. Language became a study; and the legends of early mythology are transformed into philosophic mysteries. The Jews took a vigorous

share in these new studies. The caution against writing, which became a settled law in Palestine, found no favour in Egypt. Numerous authors adapted the history of the Patriarchs, of Moses, and of the Kings to classical models (Euseb. *Præp. l. c.* ix. 17-39. Eupolemus, Artapanus (?), Demetrius, Aristæus, Cleodemus or Malchus, "a prophet.") A poem which bears the name of Phocylides gives in verse various precepts of Leviticus (*Daniel*, sec. *l. c.* *Apocryph.* p. 512 f. Romæ, 1772); and several large fragments of a "tragedy" in which Ezekiel (v. B.C. 110) dramatized the Exodus, have been preserved by Eusebius (*l. c.*), who also quotes numerous passages in heroic verse from the elder Philo and Theodotus. This classicism of style was a symptom and a cause of classicism of thought. The same Aristobulus who gave currency to the Judæo-Orphic verses endeavoured to show that the Pentateuch was the real source of Greek philosophy (Euseb. *Præp. l. c.* viii. 12; Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 98).

The proposition thus enunciated was thoroughly congenial to the Alexandrine character; and henceforth it was the chief object of Jewish speculation to trace out the subtle analogies which were supposed to exist between the writings of Moses and the teaching of the schools. The circumstances under which philosophical studies first gained a footing at Alexandria favoured the attempt. For some time the practical sciences reigned supreme; and the issue of the era was scepticism (Maffei, *Hist. de l'École d'Alex.* ii. 162 ff.). Then at length the clean analysis and practical morality of the Peripatetics found ready followers; and in the strength of the reaction men eagerly trusted to those splendid ventures with which Plato taught them to be content till they could gain a surer knowledge (*Phæd.* p. 85). To the Jew this surer knowledge seemed to be already given; and the belief in the existence of a spiritual meaning underlying the letter of Scripture was the great principle on which all his investigations rested. The facts were supposed to be essentially symbolic: the language the veil (or sometimes the mask) which partly disguised from common sight the truths which it enveloped. In this way a twofold object was gained. It became possible to withdraw the Supreme Being (τὸ ὅν, δὲ ὅν) from immediate contact with the material world; and to apply the narratives of the Bible to the phenomena of the soul. It is impossible to determine the process by which these results were embodied; but, as in parallel cases, they seem to have been shaped gradually in the minds of the mass, and not fashioned at once by one great teacher. Even in the LXX. there are traces of an endeavour to interpret the anthropomorphic imagery of the Hebrew text [SEPTUAGINT]; and there can be no doubt that the Commentaries of Aristobulus gave some form and consistency to the allegoric system. In the time of Philo (v. C. 20—A.C. 50) the theological and interpretative systems were evidently fixed even in many of their details, and he appears in both cases only to have collected and expressed the popular opinions of his countrymen.

In each of these great forms of speculation—the theological and the exegetical—Alexandrianism has an important bearing upon the Apostolic writings. But the doctrines which are characteristic of the Alexandrine school were by no means peculiar to it. The same causes which led to the formation of wider views of Judaism in Egypt, acting under

greater restraint, produced corresponding results in Palestine. A doctrine of the Word (*Memra*), and a system of mystical interpretation grew up within the Rabbinic schools, which bear a closer analogy to the language of St. John and to the "allegories" of St. Paul than the speculations of Philo.

But while the importance of this Rabbinic element in connexion with the expression of Apostolic faith, is often overlooked, there can be no doubt that the Alexandrine teaching was more powerful in furthering its reception. Yet even when the function of Alexandrianism with regard to Christianity is thus limited, it is needful to avoid exaggeration. The preparation which it made was indirect and not immediate. Philo's doctrine of the Word (*Logos*) led men to accept the teaching of St. John, but not to anticipate it; just as his method of allegorizing fitted them to enter into the arguments of the Epistle to the Hebrews, though they could not have foreseen their application.

The first thing, indeed, which must strike the reader of Philo in relation to St. John is the similarity of phrase without a similarity of idea. His treatment of the *Logos* is vague and inconsistent. He argues about the term and not about the reality, and seems to delight in the ambiguity which it involves. At one time he represents the *Logos* as the reason of God in which the archetypal ideas of things exist (*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*), at another time as the Word of God by which he makes himself known to the outward world (*λόγος προφορικός*); but he nowhere realizes the notion of One who is at once Revealer and the Revelation, which is the essence of St. John's teaching. The idea of the active *Logos* is suggested to him by the necessity of withdrawing the Infinite from the finite, God from man, and not by the desire to bring God to man. Not only is it impossible to conceive that Philo could have written as St. John writes, but even to suppose that he could have admitted the possibility of the Incarnation of the *Logos*, or of the personal unity of the *Logos* and the Messiah. But while it is right to state in its full breadth the opposition between the teaching of Philo and St. John, it is impossible not to feel the important office which the mystic theosophy, of which Philo is the representative, fulfilled in preparing for the apprehension of the highest Christian truth. Without any distinct conception of the personality of the *Logos*, the tendency of Philo's writings was to lead men to regard the *Logos*, at least in some of the senses of the term, as a person; and while he maintained with devout earnestness the indivisibility of the divine nature, he described the *Logos* as divine. In this manner, however unconsciously, he prepared the way for the recognition of a two-fold personality in the Godhead, and performed a work without which it may well appear that the language of Christianity would have been unintelligible (comp. Dörner, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. pp. 23 ff.).

The allegoric method stands in the same relation to the spiritual interpretation of Scripture as the mystic doctrine of the Word to the teaching of St. John. It was a preparation and not an anticipation of it. Unless men had been familiarized in some such way with the existence of an inner meaning in

the Law and the Prophets, it is difficult to understand how an Apollos "mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts xviii. 24-28) could have convinced many, or how the infant Church could have seen almost unremoved the ritual of the Old Covenant swept away, strong in the conscious possession of its spiritual antitypes. But that which is found in Philo in isolated fragments combines in the New Testament to form one great whole. In the former the truth is alluded in casual details, in the latter it is laid down in its broad principles which admit of infinite application; and a comparison of patristic interpretations with those of Philo will show how powerful an influence the Apostolic example exercised in embuing the imagination of later writers. Nor is this all. While Philo regarded that which was positive in Judaism as the mere symbol of abstract truths, in the Epistle to the Hebrews it appears as the shadow of blessings realized (Hebr. x. 11, *γενομένων*) in the presence of a personal Saviour. History in the one case is the enumeration of a riddle; in the other it is the record of a life.

The speculative doctrines which thus worked for

embodied in a form of society which was afterwards transferred to the Christian Church. Numerous bodies of ascetics (*Therapeutae*), especially on the borders of Lake Mareotis, devoted themselves to a life of ceaseless discipline and study. Unlike the Essenes, who present the corresponding phase in Palestinian life, they abjured society and labour, and often forgot, as it is said, the simplest wants of nature in the contemplation of the hidden wisdom of the Scriptures (Philo, *De Vit. Contempl.* throughout). The description which Philo gives of their occupation and character seemed to Eusebius to present so clear an image of Christian virtues that he claimed them as Christians; and there can be no doubt that some of the forms of monasticism were shaped upon the model of the Therapeutae (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16).

According to the common legend (Euseb. *I. c.*) St. Mark first "preached the Gospel in Egypt, and founded the first Church in Alexandria." At the beginning of the second century the number of Christians at Alexandria must have been very large, and the great leaders of Gnosticism who arose there (Basilides, Valentinius) exhibit an exaggeration of the tendency of the Church. But the later forms of Alexandrine speculation, the strange varieties of Gnosticism, the progress of the catechetical school, the development of Neo-Platonism, the various phases of the Arian controversy, belong to the history of the Church and to the history of philosophy. To the last Alexandrian fulfilled its mission; and we still owe much to the spirit of its great teachers, which in later ages struggled, not without success, against the sterner systems of the West.

The following works embody what is valuable in the earlier literature on the subject, with copious references to it: Matter, *Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie*, 2nd edit., Paris, 1840. Dähne, A. F., *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*, Halle, 1834. Gfrörer, A. F., *Philo, und die Jüdisch-Alexandrinische Theosophie*, Stuttgart, 1835. To these may be added, Ewald, H., *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1852, iv. 250 ff., 393 ff. Jost, J. M., *Gesch. des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1857, i. 344 ff., 388 ff. Neander, A., *History of Christian Church*, vol. i. 66 ff., Eng. Tr. 1847. Prof. Jowett, *Philo and St. Paul*;

\* The closest analogy to the teaching of Philo on the *Logos* occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is throughout Hellenistic rather than Rabbinic. Compare Heb. iv. 12, with Philo, *Quis rec. dic. haeres*, §26.

*St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, &c.*, London, 1855, i. 363 ff. And for the later Christian history: Guerike, H. F., *De Scholâ Alcoranica Catechetica*, Halis, 1825.<sup>a</sup> [B. F. W.]

ALL'AH. [ALVAH.]

ALTAN. [ALVAN.]

**ALLIANCES.** On the first establishment of Jews in Palestine, no connexions were formed between them and the surrounding nations. The geographical position of their country—the peculiarity of their institutions—and the prohibitions against intercourse with the Canaanites and other heathen nations, alike tended to promote an exclusive and isolated state. But with the extension of their power under the kings, the Jews were brought more into contact with foreigners, and alliances became essential to the security of their commerce. Solomon concluded two important treaties exclusively for commercial purposes; the first with Hiram, king of Tyre, originally with the view of obtaining materials and workmen for the erection of the Temple, and afterwards for the supply of ship-builders and sailors (1 K. v. 2-12, ix. 27); the second with a Pharaoh, king of Egypt, which was cemented by his marriage with a princess of the royal family; by this he secured a monopoly of the trade in houses and other products of that country (1 K. x. 28, 29). After the division of the kingdom, the alliances were of an offensive and defensive nature; they had their origin partly in the internal disputes of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and partly in the position which these countries held relatively to Egypt on the one side, and the great eastern monarchies of Assyria and Babylonia on the other. The sentiment of the historical records at our command makes it probable that the key to many of the events that occurred is to be found in the alliances and counter-alliances formed between these peoples, of which no mention is made. Thus the invasion of Shishak in Rehoboam's reign was not improbably the result of an alliance made with Jeroboam, who had previously found an asylum in Egypt (1 K. xii. 2, xiv. 25). Each of these monarchs sought a connexion with the neighbouring kingdom of Syria, on which side Israel was particularly assailable (1 K. xv. 19); but Aza ultimately succeeded in securing the active co-operation of Benhadad against Baasha (1 K. xv. 16-20). Another policy, induced probably by the encroaching spirit of Syria, led to the formation of an alliance between the two kingdoms under Ahab and Jehoshaphat, which was maintained until the end of Ahab's dynasty: it occasionally extended to commercial operations (2 Chr. xx. 36). The alliance ceased in Jehu's reign: war broke out shortly after between Amaziah and Jeroboam II.: each nation looked for foreign aid, and a coalition was formed between Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah on the one side, and Ahaz and Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, on the other (2 K. xvi. 5-9). By this means an opening was afforded to the advances of the Assyrian power; and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, as they were successively attacked, sought the alliance of the Egyptians, who were strongly interested in maintaining the independence of the Jews as a barrier against the encroachments of the Assyrian power. Thus Hoshea made a treaty with So (Sabaco, or Sevechus), and rebelled against

Shalmaneser (2 K. xvii. 4): Hezekiah adopted the same policy in opposition to Sennacherib (Is. xxx. 2); in neither case was the alliance productive of much good: the Israelites were abandoned by So: it appears probable that his successor Sethos, who had offended the military caste, was unable to render Hezekiah any assistance: and it was only when the independence of Egypt itself was threatened, that the Assyrians were defeated by the joint forces of Sethos and Tirhakah, and a temporary relief afforded thereby to Judah (2 K. xix. 9, 36; Herod. ii. 141). The weak condition of Egypt at the beginning of the 26th dynasty left Judah entirely at the mercy of the Assyrians, who under Esarhaddon subdued the country, and by a conciliatory policy secured the adhesion of Manasseh and his successors to his side against Egypt (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11-13). It was apparently as an ally of the Assyrians that Josiah resisted the advance of Necho (2 Chr. xxxv. 20). His defeat, however, and the downfall of the Assyrian empire again changed the policy of the Jews, and made them the subjects of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar's first expedition against Jerusalem was contemporaneous with and probably in consequence of the expedition of Necho against the Babylonians (2 K. xxiv. 1; Jer. xli. 2); and lastly Zedekiah's rebellion was accompanied with a renewal of the alliance with Egypt (Ez. xvii. 15): a temporary relief appears to have been afforded by the advance of Hophiah (Jer. xxxvii. 11), but it was of no avail to prevent the extinction of Jewish independence.

On the restoration of independence, Judas Maccabæus sought an alliance with the Romans, who were then gaining an ascendancy in the East, as a counterpoise to the neighbouring state of Syria (1 Mac. viii.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, §6): this alliance was renewed by Jonathan (1 Mac. xii. 1; *Ant.* xii. 5, §8), and by Simon (1 Mac. xv. 17; *Ant.* xii. 7, §3): on the last occasion the independence of the Jews was recognized and formally notified to the neighbouring nations B.C. 140 (1 Mac. xv. 22, 23). Treaties of a friendly nature were at the same period concluded with the Lacedæmonians under an impression that they came of a common stock (1 Mac. xii. 2, xiv. 20; *Ant.* xii. 4, §10, xiii. 5, §8). The Roman alliance was again renewed by Hyrcanus, B.C. 128 (*Ant.* xiii. 9, §2), after his defeat by Antiochus Sidetes, and the losses he had sustained were repaired. This alliance, however, ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the Jews: the rival claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobolus having been referred to Pompey, B.C. 63, he availed himself of the opportunity of placing the country under tribute (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §4). Finally, Herod was raised to the sovereignty by the Roman Senate, acting under the advice of M. Antony (*Ant.* xiv. 14, §5).

The formation of an alliance was attended with various religious rites: a victim was slain and divided into two parts, between which the contracting parties passed involving imprecations of a similar destruction upon him, who should break the terms of the alliance (Gen. xv. 10; cf. Liv. i. 24); hence the expression בְּרִית פָּתַח (= *παράειρεν, foedus iecere*) to make (lit. to cut) a treaty; hence also the use of the term מִלָּה (lit. imprecation) for a covenant. That this custom was maintained to a late period appears from Jer. xxiv. 18-20. Generally speaking, the oath alone is mentioned in the contracting of alliances, either

<sup>a</sup> Alexandria occurs in the Vulgate by an error for No-Ammon [No-Αμμων], Jer. xli. 25; Ez. xxx. 14, 15, 16; Nah. iii. 8.

between nations (Josh. ix. 15) or individuals (Gen. xvi. 28, xxi. 53; 1 Sam. xv. 17; 2 K. xi. 4). The event was celebrated by a feast (Gen. i. c.; Ex. xxiv. 11; 2 Sam. iii. 12, 20). Salt, as symbolical of fidelity, was used on these occasions; it was applied to the sacrifices (Lev. ii. 13), and probably used, as among the Arabs, at hospitable entertainments; hence the expression "covenant of salt" (Numb. xviii. 19; 2 Chr. xiii. 5). Occasionally a pillar or a heap of stones was set up as a memorial of the alliance (Gen. xxii. 52). Presents were also sent by the party soliciting the alliance (1 K. xv. 18; Is. xxx. 5; 1 Macc. xv. 18). The fidelity of the Jews to their engagements was conspicuous at all periods of their history (Josh. ix. 18), and any breach of covenant was visited with very severe punishment (2 Sam. xxi. 1; Ez. xvii. 16). [W. L. B.]

**AL/LON** (אֵלֹן or אֵלֹנָה), a large strong tree of some description, probably an oak (see Ges. Thes. 51, 103; Stanley, App. §76). The word is found in two names in the topography of Palestine.

1. **ALLON**, more accurately **EILON** (אֵילֹן) (אֵילֹן עֵינִים); מואלד: *Eilon*, a place named among the cities of Naphtali (Josh. xiv. 33). Probably the more correct construction is to take it with the following word, i. e. "the oak by Zaananim," or "the oak of the loading of tents," as if deriving its name from some noun like frequenting the spot. Such a tribe were the Kenites, and in connexion with them the place is again named in Judg. iv. 11,<sup>b</sup> with the additional definition of "by Kedesh (Naphthali)." Here, however, the A. V. following the Vulgate, renders the words "the plain of Zaananim." [EILON.] (See Stanley, 340, *note*.)

2. **ALLON-BAC'UTHI** (בְּכוֹת אֵילֹן) = "oak of weeping;" and so *βάλανος πένθους*; *querous fleatus*, the tree under which Rebekah's nurse, Deborah, was buried (Gen. xxxv. 8). Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 29) believes the "oak of Tabor" (1 Sam. x. 3, A. V. "plain of T.") to be the same as, or the successor of, this tree, "Tabor" being possibly a merely dialectical change from "Deborah," and he would further identify it with the "palm-tree of Deborah" (Judg. iv. 5). See also Stanley, 143, 220. [G.]

**AJMO'DAD** (אֶימוֹדָד; 'Ελωδδδ; *Elnodad*), the first, in order, of the descendants of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Ch. i. 20), and the progenitor of an Arab tribe. His settlements must be looked for, in common with those of the other descendants of Joktan, in the Arabian peninsula; and his name appears to be preserved in that of Mudād (or El-Mudād, the word being one of those proper names that admit of the article's being prefixed), a famous personage in Arabian history, the reputed father of Ishmael's Arab wife (*Mūdāt ez-Zemdn*, &c.), and the chief of the Joktanite tribe Jurhum (not to be confused with the older, or first, Jurhum), that, coming from the Yemen, settled in the neighbourhood of Mekkeh, and intermarried with the Ishmaelites. The name of Mudād was

peculiar to Jurhum, and borne by several of its chiefs (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, &c., i. 33, *seq.*, 168, and 194, *seq.*). Gesenius (*Lex.* ed. Tregelles, in *loc.*) says, "If there were an ancient error in reading (for אֶלְמוֹדָד), we might compare *Morad*, مراد

or مراد, the name of a tribe living in a mountainous region of Arabia Felix, near Zahid." (For this tribe see Abulfedh *Hist. Aulcistanica*, ed.

Fleischer, p. 190.) Others have suggested مقدر, but the well-known tribes of this stock are of Ishmaelite descent. Bochart (*Phaleg*, li. 16) thinks that Almondal may be traced in the name of the Ἀλλουμαῖοι of Ptolemy (vi. 7, §24), a people of the interior of Arabia Felix, near the sources of the river Lar [ARABIA]. [E. S. P.]

**ALMON** (אֶלְמוֹן; Γάμαλα; *Almon*), a city within the tribe of Benjamin, with "suburbs" given to the priests (Josh. xxi. 18). Its name does not occur in the list of the towns of Benjamin in Josh. xviii. In the parallel list in 1 Chr. vi. it is found as Almemeth—probably a later form, and that by which it would appear to have descended to us. [ALMEMETH.] [G.]

**ALMON-DIBLATHA'IM** (אֶלְמוֹן דִּבְלָתַיִם; Γελαμών Δεβλαθαίμ; *Helmon-diblathaim*), one of the latest stations of the Ismaelites, between Dibon-gad and the mountains of Alavim (Num. xxviii. 46, 47). Dibon-gad is doubtless the present *Dhānā*, just to the north of the Arnon; and there is thus every probability that Almon-diblathaim was identical with Beth-diblathaim, a Moabite city mentioned by Jeremiah (xlviii. 22) in company with both Dibon and Nebo, and that its traces will be discovered on further exploration. [G.]

**ALMOND-TREE; ALMOND** (אֶלְמוֹדָד). In Jer. i. 11, *Shāqāl* signifies the tree, which was so called because it is the first of all trees which buds, and as it were awakes out of sleep, after the winter season (root שָׁקַל, *shāqāl*; Comp. Plin. xvi. 23, s. 42: "floret prima omnium amygdalarum nunc Januario, Martio veld pomum maturat"). The LXX. renders אֶלְמוֹדָד by βακκίαν καρύνην. In Gen. xlii. 11, Num. xvii. 8, אֶלְמוֹדָד signifies the fruit, and the LXX. have *κάρυα* in both places, the Vulg. *amygdala*. In Eccl. xii. 5, אֶלְמוֹדָד is rendered by the LXX. *καὶ ἀνοθήσει τὸ ἀμυγδαλον*, a rendering followed by the Vulg. and A. V., but rejected by Gesenius on the ground that the flower of the almond-tree is pink, not white; and therefore has no reference to the hoariness of old age. Gesenius suggests "spemnit sen fistilit (senex dentibus cenus) amygdalam," vel "fastidium erat amygdala seni."

In Ex. xxv. 33, 34, xxxvii. 19, 20, the Pual participle of the root שָׁקַל occurs, signifying "made

<sup>a</sup> אֵילֹן, *Allon*, is the reading of V. d. Hooght, and of Walton's Polyglott; but most MSS. have as above (Davidson's *Hebr. Text*, 46).

<sup>b</sup> It must be remarked that the Targum Jonathan renders this passage by words meaning "the plain of the swamp" (see Schwarz, 181). This is Ewald's

explanation also (*Gesch.* ii. 492, *note*). For other interpretations see Fürst (*H. W. R.* 91).

<sup>c</sup> The Sam. Version, according to its customary rendering of *Allon*, has here בכיתו בכיתו, "the plain of Bakhth." See this subject more fully examined under *Elac*.

in the form of the almond-flower." "In the candlestick shall be four bowls made like unto almonds, with their knops and flowers." [W. D.]

**ALMS** (Chald. ܐܠܡܝܢ, *almīn*), beneficence towards the poor, from Anglo-Sax. *almesse*, probably, as well as Germ. *almosen*, from *ἀλεμωσώνη*; *almosen*, Vulg. (but see Bosworth, *A. S. Diet.*). The word "almus" is not found in our version of the canonical books of O. T., but it occurs repeatedly in N. T., and in the Apocryphal books of Tobit and Ecclesiasticus. The Heb. ܐܪܬܐ, *righteousness*, the usual equivalent for *almus* in O. T., is rendered by LXX. in Deut. xiv. 13, Dan. iv. 24, and elsewhere, *ἀλεμωσώνη*, whilst some MSS., with Vulg. and Ethiop. Text., read in Matt. vi. 1, *δικαιοσύνη*.

The duty of almsgiving, especially in kind, consisting chiefly in portions to be left designedly from produce of the field, the vineyard, and the oliveyard (Lev. xix. 9, 10, xxv. 22; Deut. xv. 11, xxiv. 19, xxvi. 2-13; Ruth ii. 2), is strictly enjoined by the Law. After his entrance into the land of promise, the Israelite was ordered to present yearly the first-fruits of the land before the Lord, in a manner significant of his own previously destitute condition. Every third year also (Deut. xiv. 28) each proprietor was directed to share the tithes of his produce with "the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow." The theological estimate of almsgiving among the Jews is indicated by the following passages: Job xxvi. 17; Prov. x. 2, xi. 4; Eccl. ix. 22; Ps. ex. 9; Acts ix. 36, the case of Dorcas; x. 2, of Cornelius: to which may be added, Tob. iv. 10, 11, xiv. 10, 11; and Eccles. iii. 30, xl. 24. And the Talmudists went so far as to attribute *righteousness* by almsgiving in such passages as Gen. xxiv. 19; Is. lvi. 14; Ps. xvii. 15.

In the women's court of the Temple there were receptacles for voluntary offerings (Mark vii. 41), one of which was devoted to alms for education of poor children of good family. Before the Captivity there is no trace of permission of mendicancy, but it was evidently allowed in later times (Matt. xx. 30; Mark x. 46; Acts iii. 2).

After the Captivity, but at what time it cannot be known certainly, a definite system of almsgiving was introduced, and even enforced under penalties. In every city there were three collectors. The collections were of two kinds; 1. of money for the poor of the city only, made by two collectors, received in a chest or box (קופה) in the synagogue on the Sabbath, and distributed by the three in the evening; 2. for the poor in general, of food and money, collected every day from house to house, received in a dish (מחבתה), and distributed by the three collectors. The two collections obtained the names respectively of "alms of the chest," and "alms of the dish." Special collections and distributions were also made on fast-days.

The Pharisees were zealous in almsgiving, but too ostentatious in their mode of performance, for which our Lord finds fault with them (Matt. vi. 2). But there is no ground for supposing that the expression *μη σαλπίζετε* is more than a mode of denouncing their display, by a figure drawn from the frequent and well-known use of trumpets in religious and other celebrations, Jewish as well as heathen. Winer, *s. v.* Καρπὸν. *Eleem. Jud.* 32. Vittinga, *De Syn.* vol. iii. 1, 13. Elshley, *On Gospels*. Maimonides, *De Jure Pauperis*, vii. 10; ix. 1, 6; x.

(Pridenaux). Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* iv. 371. (Upham.) Lightfoot, *Horae Hebr.*, on Matt. vi. 2, and *Deacr. Templi*, 19. *Diet. of Antiqs.* s. v. 'Tuba.' [See OFFERINGS; POOR; TITHES; TRUMPETS.]

The duty of relieving the poor was not neglected by the Christians (Matt. vi. 1-4; Luke xiv. 13; Acts xv. 35; Gal. ii. 10). Every Christian was exhorted to lay by on the Sunday in each week some portion of his profits, to be applied to the wants of the needy (Acts xi. 30; Rom. xv. 25-27; 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4). It was also considered a duty specially incumbent on widows to devote themselves to such ministrations (1 Tim. v. 10). [H. W. P.]

**ALMUG** or **ALGUM TREE** (אֶלְמוֹג וְאֶלְמוֹגָן; the former occurring in 1 K. x. 11, 12, and the latter in 2 Chr. ii. 8, ix. 10, 11). From these passages we learn that these trees were brought from Ophir and from Lebanon, and that the timber was used for pillars for the house of the Lord and for the king's house, for terraces or stairs (מַסְמָס), and for harps and psalteries for singers. Most of the Rabbins take the words to signify corals, and in this sense אֶלְמוֹג is used in the Talmud; but there can be little doubt that some kind of wood is meant, and that this Rabbinical meaning is due to similarity of colour between the two substances. Most later writers follow Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. p. 171, *seq.*), who take it to mean the red sandal-wood of China and the Indian Archipelago (*Pterocarpus santalinus* of Linnaeus), of which to this day in India costly utensils are made. The statement in 2 Chr. ii. 8, ascribing the growth of almug-trees to Mount Lebanon, is adverse to this identification; but Gesenius suggests with great probability that this statement is due to the fact of this timber being exported from Tyre, after having been brought thither from the East. The ancient versions afford no certain clue as to what tree is meant. The LXX. in 1 K. i. c. have πελεκητά αὐτὰ ἀπελέκτα, in 2 Chr. i. c. πεύκινα. The Vulgate has *theopha*, from *θύον*, *thula*—an African tree with sweet-smelling wood used for making costly furniture, and variously identified with the cedar, the savin, and the African *arbor vitae*. (See Hom. *Od.* v. 60; Voss, *ad Virg. Georg.* ii. 126.) Some authors take the almug-tree to be a kind of cedar, relying on the passage in 2 Chr.; and Dr. Shaw supposes it to have been the cypress, because the wood of that tree is still used in Italy and elsewhere for violins, harpsichords, and other stringed instruments. Miller (*Hierophyt.* xiii. § 7) supposes a gummy or resinous wood to be meant, but this would be unfit for the uses to which the almug-tree is said to have been applied. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 7) describes the wood as that of a kind of pine, which he distinguishes from the pine of his own days. [W. D.]

**ALOE** or **LIGN ALOE** (אֶלְיָן or מִלְחָן). a species of odoriferous tree, called by the Greeks ἀγδάλλοχον, and by later writers *ξύλαδον*. The word occurs four times in A. V., viz. Num. xiv. 6; Prov. vi. 17; Ps. xlv. 9; Cant. iv. 14. In the first two passages the LXX. have no direct rendering of the word, as they have confused it with the plur. of *לָחֶן*, *tentorium*; in the third passage they represent it by *στακτή*; and in the fourth by *ἀλάθ*, which is merely the Hebrew word in Greek characters. The *agallochus* is the aloes-wood of later

authors, called also paradise-wood and eagle-wood. It is agreed that there are two sorts of *agallochus*, the one true and very excellent, the other spurious, or at any rate inferior. The former grows in Cochin China, in the kingdom of Siam and in China, is never exported, and is so rare in India as to be worth its weight in gold. Pieces of the wood, resinous, blackish, heavy, and perforated as by worms, are called *'Akumbac*. The people of Siam call the tree itself *Kissina*; the Japanese *Kincoriki*, or scented-tree; and the Chinese *Sûk-hian*. The aroma of the tree is said to arise when it becomes old from the thickening of the oily particles into resin within the trunk. See description and figure of the tree in *Kumphii Herb. Amboinensi*, v. ii. p. 29-40. The inferior sort is called *Garo* in Eastern India, and is the wood of a tree growing in the Moluccas, *Excoecaria Agallocha* of Linnaeus. The native name of this tree is *aghil*, *karyuhil*, or *karyurur*, from which both the Greek and Heb. names would seem to be derived. The Portuguese, the first Europeans who visited India, on account of the similarity of sound, called the *aghil*, eagle-wood, whence we have the French *bois d'aigle*, and the Germ. *Adlerholz*. De Saey suggests a connexion between *אללוח* and the Arabic *هبل هال* or *قائلة*

("quod more Aegyptiorum pronuntiatur *hahula*" = *cardamomum*, Avicenn. *Op. Arab.* v. i. p. 163, 243, 275; but Gesenius demurs to this as too bold.

The aloce-wood is used in the East for perfuming garments and rooms, and is also administered as a cordial in fainting and epileptic fits. The flower of the *Excoecaria* is highly fragrant. See Cels. *Herobot.* v. i. p. 134-170; Dioscorid. i. v. 21; and De Lamarck, *Encycl. Method.* i. 422-429. [W. D.]

**ALLOTH** (אללוח; *Βααλὺθ*; *Baloth*), a place or district, forming with Asher the jurisdiction of the ninth of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 16). It is read by the LXX. and later scholars as Bealoth, though the A. V. treats the *ל* as a prefix. In the former case see *ΒΑΛΙΟΤΗ*. Josephus has *τὴν περὶ Ἀρκὴν παραλίαν*, *Ἀρκή* being the name which he elsewhere gives to Esclippa (Achezb) on the sea-coast in Asher. [G.]

**ALPHAËUS** (Ἀλφαῖος; *Ἰϛ*), the father of the lesser St. James the Apostle (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), and husband of that Mary (called in Mark xv. 40, mother of James the less and of Josias) who, with the mother of Jesus and others, was standing by the cross during the crucifixion (John xix. 25). [MARY.] In this latter place he is called Clopas (not, as in the A. V., Cleophas); a variation arising from the double pronunciation of the letter *π*; and found also in the LXX. rendering of Hebrew names. Winer compares *Ἀργαῖος* from *יִנְי*, *Ἐσθ* from *מִתְנִי*, *פασέκ* from *פִּסְפִּי* (2 Chr. xxx. 1), *Ταβέκ* from *תַּבְכִּי* (Gen. xxii. 24), and says that although no reliable example appears in the LXX. of the harleuing of *π* at the beginning of a word, yet such are found, as in *Κιλικία* from *קִלְקִי*. Whether the fact of this variety existing gives us a further right to identify Alphaeus with the Cleopas of Luke xxiv. 18, can never be satisfactorily determined. If, as commonly, the ellipsis in *Τοῦτος Ἰακώβου* in Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13, is to be filled up by inserting *Ἀδελφός*, then the apostle St. Jude was another son of Alphaeus. And in Mark ii. 14, Levi (or Matthew)

is also said to have been the son of Alphaeus. Nor can any satisfactory reason be given why we should suppose this to have been a different person, as is usually done. For further particulars, see JAMES THE LESS, and BRETHREN OF JESUS. [H. A.]

**ALTAR** (חֶבֶד; *θυιαστήριον*, *Βωμὸς*; *altare*). (A.) The first altar of which we have any account is that built by Noah when he left the ark (Gen. vii. 20). The Targumists indeed assert that Adam built an altar after he was driven out of the garden of Eden, and that on this Cain and Abel, and afterwards Noah and Abraham, offered sacrifice (Pseudo Jonath. Gen. viii. 20, xxii. 9). According to the tradition the First Man was made upon an altar which God himself had prepared for the purpose, and on the site of this altar were reared both those of the Patriarchs and that in the Temple of Solomon. This tradition, if no other way valuable, at least shows the great importance which the Jews attached to the altar as the central point of their religious worship (Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. 350).

In the early times altars were usually built in certain spots hallowed by religious associations, *e. g.* where God appeared (Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 18, xxvi. 25, xxxv. 1). Generally of course they were erected for the offering of sacrifice; but in some instances they appear to have been only memorial. Such was the altar built by Moses and called Jehovah Nissi, as a sign that the Lord would have war with Amalek from generation to generation (Ex. xvii. 15, 16). Such too was the altar which was built by the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh, "in the borders of Jordan," and which was erected "not for burnt offering nor for sacrifice," but that it might be "a witness" between them and the rest of the tribes (Josh. xxii. 10-29). Altars were most probably originally made of earth. The Law of Moses allowed them to be made either of earth or unhewn stones (Ex. xx. 26); any iron tool would have profaned the altar—but this could only refer to the body of the altar and that part on which the victim was laid, as directions were given to make a casing of shittim-wood overlaid with brass for the altar of burnt offering. (See below.)

In later times they were frequently built on high places, especially in idolatrous worship (Deut. xii. 2; for the pagan notions on this subject, see Tac. Ann. xiii. 57). The altars so erected were themselves sometimes called "high places" (*בָּמוֹת*, 2 K. xxiii. 8; 2 Chr. xiv. 3, &c.). By the Law of Moses all altars were forbidden except those first in the Tabernacle and afterwards in the Temple (Lev. xvii. 8, 9; Deut. xii. 13, &c.). This prohibition, however, was not strictly observed, at least till after the building of the Temple, even by pious Israelites. Thus Gideon built an altar (Judg. vi. 24). So likewise did Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 9, 10), David (2 Sam. xxiv. 25), and Solomon (1 K. iii. 4).

The sanctity attaching to the altar led to its being regarded as a place of refuge or asylum (Ex. xxi. 14; 1 K. i. 50).

(B.) The Law of Moses directed that two altars should be made, the one the Altar of Burnt-offering (called also the Altar *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, see Hävernick in Ez. xliii. 13 ft.) and the other the Altar of Incense.

I. The Altar of Burnt offering (מִזְבֵּחַ הַעֹלָה), called in Malach. i. 7, 12, "the table of the Lord," perhaps also in Ez. xlv. 16. This differed in construction at different times. (1.) In the Tabernacle

(Ex. xxvii. 1 ff. xxxviii. 1 ff.) it was comparatively small and portable. In shape it was square. It was five cubits in length, the same in breadth, and three cubits high. It was made of planks of shittim (or acacia)-wood overlaid with brass. (Josephus says *gold* instead of *brass*, *Ant.* iii. 6, §8).

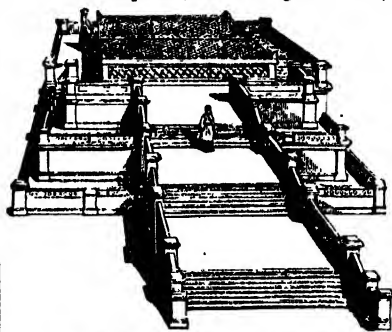
The interior was hollow (לְחֹת, קִבּוּב, Ex. xxvii. 8). But as nothing is said about a covering to the altar on which the victims might be placed, Jarchi is probably correct in supposing that whenever the tabernacle for a time became stationary, the hollow case of the altar was filled up with earth. In support of this view he refers to Ex. xv. 24, where the command is given, "make me an altar of earth," &c., and observes: "Altare terreum est hoc ipsum aeneum altare ejus concavum terra implebatur, cum castra metaentur."

At the four corners were four projections called horns, made, like the altar itself, of shittim-wood overlaid with brass. It is not quite certain how the words in Ex. xxvii. 2, מַמְנוֹ תַּחֲתֵי קַרְנָיו, should be explained. According to Mendelsohn they mean that these horns were of one piece with the altar. So also Knobel (*Comm.* in loc.). And this is probably right. By others they are understood to describe only the projection of the horns from the altar. These probably projected upwards; and to them the victim was bound when about to be sacrificed (Ps. cxviii. 27). On the occasion of the consecration of the priests (Ex. xxix. 12) and the offering of the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 7 ff.) the blood of the victim was sprinkled on the horns of the altar. (See the symbolism explained by Baumgarten, *Commentar zum Pentateuch*, ii. 63.) Round the altar midway between the top and bottom (or, as others suppose, at the top) ran a projecting ledge (פֶּרֶכֶב, A. V. "Compass") on which perhaps the priests stood when they officiated. To the outer edge of this, again, a grating or net-work of brass (מִקְבֵּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת נְחֹשֶׁת) was affixed, and reached to the bottom of the altar, which thus presented the appearance of being larger below than above.\* Others have supposed this grating to adhere closely to the boards of which the altar was composed, or even to have been substituted for them half-way up from the bottom.

At any rate there can be little doubt that the grating was perpendicular, not horizontal as Jonathan supposes (Tagum on Ex. xxvii. 5). According to him it was intended to catch portions of the sacrifice or coals which fell from the altar, and which might thus be easily replaced. But it seems improbable that a net-work or grating should have been constructed for such a purpose (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 6, §8). At the four corners of the network were four brassen rings into which were inserted the staves by which the altar was carried. These staves were of the same materials as the altar itself. As the priests were forbidden to ascend the altar by steps (Ex. xx. 26), it has been conjectured that a slope of earth led gradually up to the פֶּרֶכֶב, or ledge from which they officiated. This must have

been either on the north or south side; for on the east was "the place of the ashes" (Lev. i. 16), and on the west at no great distance stood the laver of brass. According to the Jewish tradition it was on the south side. The place of the altar was at "the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation" (Ex. xl. 28). The various utensils for the service of the altar (Ex. xxvii. 3) were: (1.) כִּירֹת, pans to clear away the fat (לִישְׁנוֹ) and ashes with; elsewhere the word is used of the pots in which the flesh of the sacrifices was put to seethe (cf. Zech. xiv. 20, 21, and 2 Chr. xxxv. 13, with 1 Sam. ii. 14). (2.) יָעִים, shovels, Vulg. *forcipes*, Gesen. *palae cineri removendo*. (3.) מִזְרָקוֹת, basins. LXX. *φιαλαί*, vessels in which the blood of the victims was received, and from which it was sprinkled (ר. וִרְקָה). (4.) מַלְלָחֹת, flesh-hooks, LXX. *κρεμάγγει*, by means of which the flesh was removed from the cauldron or pot. (See 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14, where they are described as having three prongs.) (5.) מִחֻחֹת, fire-pans, or perhaps censers. These might either be used for taking coals from the fire on the altar (Lev. xvi. 12); or for burning incense (Num. xvi. 6, 7). There is no reason to give the word a different meaning in Ex. xxv. 38, where our version, following the Vulgate, translates it "snuff-dishes." All these utensils were of brass.

(2.) In Solomon's Temple the altar was considerably larger in its dimensions, as might have been expected from the much greater size of the building in which it was placed. Like the former it was square: but the length and breadth were now twenty cubits, and the height ten (2 Chr. iv. 1). It differed, too, in the material of which it was made, being entirely of brass (1 K. viii. 64; 2 Chr. vii. 7). It had no grating; and instead of a single gradual slope, the ascent to it was probably made by three successive platforms, to each of which it has been supposed that steps led (Surenhus. *Mishn.*, vol. ii. p. 261, as in the figure annexed).



Altar of Burnt Offerings, from Surenhus' *Mishna*.

Against this may be urged the fact that the Law of Moses positively forbade the use of steps (Ex. xx. 26) and the assertion of Josephus that in Herod's temple the ascent was by an inclined plane. On the other hand steps are introduced in the ideal, or symbolical, temple of Ezekiel (xliii. 17), and the prohibition in Ex. xx. has been interpreted as applying to a continuous flight of stairs and not to a broken ascent. But the Biblical account is so brief that we are necessarily unable to determine the

\* Knobel (*in loc.*) is of opinion that the object of the net-work was to protect the altar from being injured by the feet and knees of the officiating priests. פֶּרֶכֶב, he thinks, was merely an ornament by way of finish, at the top of this.

question. Asa, we read, renewed (שִׁחַן) this altar (2 Chr. xv. 8). This may either mean that he repaired it, or more probably perhaps that he reconsecrated it after it had been polluted by idol-worship (*εὐκαιρίαι*, LXX.). Subsequently Abaz had it removed from its place to the north side of the new altar which Urijah the priest had made in accordance with his direction (2 K. xvi. 14). It was "cleansed" by command of Hezekiah (חֶזְקִיָּהוּ, 2 Chr. xxix. 18), and Manasseh, after renouncing his idolatry, either repaired (חֶזֶק, חֶזֶק) or rebuilt it (Keri, וִיבֵן). It may finally have been broken up and the brass carried to Babylon, but this is not mentioned (Jer. lii. 17 ff.). According to the Rabbinical tradition, this altar stood on the very spot on which man was originally created.

(3.) The Altar of Burnt-offering in the second (Zerubbabel's) temple. Of this no description is given in the Bible. We are only told (Ezr. iii. 2) that it was built before the foundations of the Temple were laid. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 4, § 1) it was placed on the same spot on which that of Solomon had originally stood. It was constructed, as we may infer from 1 Macc. iv. 47, of unhewn stones (*ἀγλῶς δλοκλήρους*). Antiochus Epiphanes de-voted it (*ἐξοδόμνησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ το θυσιαστήριον*, 1 Macc. i. 54); and according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4) removed it altogether. In the restoration by Judas Maccabæus a new altar was built of unhewn stone in conformity with the Mosaic Law (1 Macc. iv. 47).

(4.) The altar erected by Herod, which is thus described by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, § 6):—"In front of the Temple stood the altar, 15 cubits in height, and in breadth and length of equal dimensions, viz. 50 cubits: it was built foursquare, with horn-like corners projecting from it; and on the south side a gentle acclivity led up to it. Moreover it was made without any iron tool, neither did iron ever touch it at any time." Rufin. has 40 cubits square instead of 50. The dimensions given in the Mishna are different. It is there said (Middoth, 3, 1) that the altar was at the base 32 cubits square; at the height of a cubit from the ground 30 cubits square; at 5 cubits higher (where was the circuit, סוֹבֵבָה) it was reduced to 28 cubits square, and at the horns still further to 26. A space of a cubit each way was here allowed for the officiating priests to walk, so that 24 cubits square were left for the fire on the altar (הַמִּשְׁכָּח). This description is not very clear. But the Rabbinical and other interpreters consider the altar from the סוֹבֵבָה upwards to have been 28 cubits square, allowing at the top, however, a cubit each way for the horns, and another cubit for the passage of the priests. Others, however (as L'Empereur *in loco*), suppose the ledge on which the priests walked to have been 2 cubits lower than the surface of the altar on which the fire was placed.

The Mishna further states, in accordance with Josephus (see above), and with reference to the law already mentioned (Ex. xx. 25), that the stones of which the altar was made were unhewn; and that twice in the year, viz. at the Feast of the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles they were white-washed afresh. The way up (בִּבְשָׁ) was on the south side, 32 cubits long and 16 broad, constructed

also of unhewn stones. In connexion with the horn on the south-west was a pipe intended to receive the blood of the victims which was sprinkled on the left side of the altar: the blood was afterwards carried by means of a subterranean passage into the brook Kidron. Under the altar was a cavity into which the drink-offerings passed. It was covered over with a slab of marble, and emptied from time to time. On the north side of the altar were a number of brazen rings, to secure the animals which were brought for sacrifice. Lastly, round the middle of the altar ran a scarlet thread (חוט של כִּיכָרָה) to mark where the blood was to be sprinkled, whether above or below it.

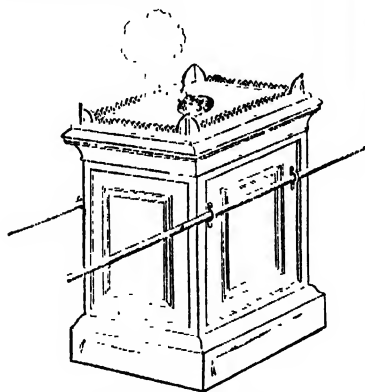
According to Lev. vi. 12, 13, a perpetual fire was to be kept burning on the altar. This, as Bähr (*Symbol.* ii. 350) remarks, was the symbol and token of the perpetual worship of Jehovah. For inasmuch as the whole religion of Israel was concentrated in the sacrifices which were offered, the extinguishing of the fire would have looked like the extinguishing of the religion itself. It was therefore, as he observes, essentially different from the perpetual fire of the Persians (*Curt.* iii. 3; *Amm.* Marc. xxiii. 6; *Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers.* viii. p. 148), or the fire of Vesta to which it has been compared. These were not sacrificial fires at all, but were symbols of the Deity, or were connected with the belief which regarded fire as one of the primal elements of the world. This fire, according to the Jews, was the same as that which came down from heaven (*πῦρ οὐρανόπερες*) "and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat" (Lev. ix. 24). It coughed upon the altar, they say, like a lion; it was bright as the sun; the flame thereof was solid and pure; it consumed things wet and dry alike; and, finally, it emitted no smoke. This was one of the five things existing in the first temple which tradition declares to have been wanting in the second (*Tinct. Joma*, c. i. sub fin. fol. 21, col. b.). The fire which consumed the sacrifices was kindled from this; and besides these there was the fire from which the coals were taken to burn incense with. (See Carpzov. *Apparat. Hist. Crit. Annot.* p. 286.)

II. The Altar of Incense (מִזְבֵּחַ הַקֶּטֶר) and מִקְטֹרֶת, Ex. xxx. 1; *θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος*, LXX.), called also the golden altar (מִזְבֵּחַ הָהָרֶבֶב, Ex. xxxix. 38; *Num.* iv. 11) to distinguish it from the Altar of Burnt-offering, which was called the brazen altar (Ex. xxxviii. 30). Probably this is meant by the "altar of wood" spoken of Ezek. xli. 22, which is further described as the "table that is before the Lord," precisely the expression used of the altar of incense. (See Delitzsch, *Brief an die Hebr.* p. 678.) The name מִזְבֵּחַ, "altar," was not strictly appropriate, as no sacrifices were offered upon it; but once in the year, on the great day of atonement, the high-priest sprinkled upon the horns of it the blood of the sin-offering (Ex. xxx. 10).

(a.) That in the Tabernacle was made of acacia-wood, overlaid with pure gold. In shape it was square, being a cubit in length and breadth, and 2 cubits in height. Like the Altar of Burnt-offering it had horns at the four corners, which were of one piece with the rest of the altar. (So Rabb. Levi ben Gerson:—"Disimus inde quod non conveniat facere cornua separatim, et altari deinde ap-

ponere, sed quod cornua debeant esse ex corpore altaris" (*Comment. in Leg.* fol. 109, col. 4).

It had also a top or roof (33; *ἑσχαρά*, LXX.), on which the incense was laid and lighted. Many, following the interpretation of the Vulgate *craticulum ejus*, have supposed a kind of grating to be meant; but for this there is no authority. Round the altar was a border or wreath (71; *στεφανὸν χρυσὸν*, LXX.). Josephus says: *ἑστὴν ἑσχαράν χρυσία ὑπὲρ ἀνεστῶσα, ἔχουσα κατὰ γωνίας ἐκαστὴν στέφανον* (*Ant.* iii. 7). "Erat itaque cinctum, ex solido conflatum auro, quod tecto ita adhaerebat, ut in extremitate illud cingeret, et prohiberet, ne quid facile ab altari in terram devolveretur." (*Caipaz. Appu. Hist. Crit. Annot.* p. 273.) Below this were two golden rings which were to be "for places for the staves to bear it withal." The staves were of acacia-wood overlaid with gold. Its appearance may be illustrated by the following figure:—



Supposed form of the Altar of Incense.

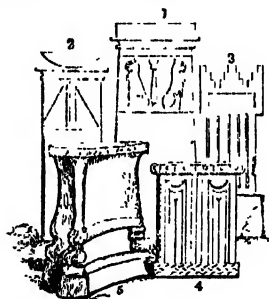
This altar stood in the Holy Place, "before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony" (*Ex.* xxx. 6, xl. 5). Philo too speaks of it as *ἔσω τοῦ προτέρου καταπέτασματος*, and as standing between the candlestick and the table of shew-bread. In apparent contradiction to this, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews enumerates it among the objects which were within the second veil (*μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα*), i. e. in the Holy of Holies. It is true that by *θυμιατήριον* in this passage may be meant "a censer," in accordance with the usage of the LXX., but it is better understood of the Altar of Incense which by Philo and other Hellenists is called *θυμιατήριον*. It is remarkable also that in 1 K. vi. 22, this same altar is said to belong to "the oracle" (*הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר לַדְּבִיר*) or most Holy Place. This may perhaps be accounted for by the great typical and symbolical importance attached to this altar, so that it might be considered to belong to the *δευτέρα σκηνή*. (See Bleek on *Heb.* ix. 4, and Deitzsch *in loc.*)

(b.) The Altar in Solomon's Temple was similar (1 K. vii. 48; 1 Chr. xxviii. 18), but was made of cedar overlaid with gold. The altar mentioned in *Is.* vi. 6 is clearly the Altar of Incense, not the Altar of Burnt-offering. From this passage it would seem that heated stones (*רִצְפָה*) were laid

upon the altar, by means of which the incense was kindled. Although it is the heavenly altar which is there described, we may presume that the earthly corresponded to it.

(c.) The Altar of Incense is mentioned as having been removed from the Temple of Zerubbabel by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 21). Judas Maccabaens restored it, together with the holy vessels, &c. (1 Macc. iv. 49). On the arch of Titus no Altar of Incense appears. But that it existed in the last Temple, and was richly overlaid, we learn from the Mishna (*Hagiga* 3, 8). From the circumstance that the sweet incense was burnt upon it every day, morning and evening (*Ex.* xxx. 7, 8), as well as that the blood of atonement was sprinkled upon it (v. 10), this altar had a special importance attached to it. It is the only altar which appears in the Heavenly Temple (*Is.* vi. 6; *Rev.* viii. 3, 4).

C. Other Altars. (1.) Altars of brick. There seems to be an allusion to such in *Is.* lxx. 3. The words are: *מִקְטָרִים עַל הַלֶּבֶנִים*, "offering incense on the bricks," generally explained as referring to altars made of this material, and probably situated in the "gardens" mentioned just before. Rosenmüller suggests, however, that the allusion is to some Babylonish custom of burning incense on bricks covered over with magic formulæ or cuneiform inscriptions. This is also the view of Gesenius and Maurer.



Various Altars.

- 1, c. Egyptian, from bas relief. (Boswellg.)
- 2 American, found at Nineveh. (Layard.)
- 3 Babylonian, from the Ishtar Gate. (Layard.)
- 4 Assyrian, from Khorsabad. (Layard.)

(2.) An Altar to an Unknown God (*Ἀγνώστου Θεοῦ*, Acts xvii. 22). What altar this was has been the subject of much discussion. St. Paul merely mentions in his speech on the Areopagus that he had himself seen such an altar in Athens. His assertion, as it happens, is confirmed by other writers. Pausanias says (i. §4), *ἐν ταῖς καὶ βασιλεὺς θεῶν τε ἀνομιζομένους ἀγνώστους καὶ ἁρώων καὶ παίδων τῶν Θήσους καὶ Φαλῆρον*. And Philostratus (*Vil. Apollon.* vi. 3), *σωφρονέστερον τὸ περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐ λέγειν, καὶ τὰτα Ἀθηναίων, οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστους δαυμόνων βασιλῶν ἴδονται*. This, as Winer observes, need not be interpreted as if the several altars were dedicated to a number of *ἀγνώστου θεοῖ*, but rather that *each* altar had the inscription *Ἀγνώστου Θεοῦ*. It is not at all probable that such inscription referred to the God of the Jews, as One whose Name it was unlawful to utter (as Wolf and others have supposed). As to the origin of these altars, Eichhorn suggests that they may

have been built before the art of writing was known (*Βαμολ ἀνώνυμοι*), and subsequently inscribed ἀγν. θεῶ. Neander's view, however, is probably more correct. He quotes Diog. Laertius, who, in his Life of Epimenides, says that in the time of a plague, when they knew not what God to propitiate in order to avert it, he caused black and white sheep to be let loose from the Areopagus, and wherever they lay down, to be offered to the respective divinities (τῶ προσήκοντι θεῷ). ὁθεν, adds Diogenes, ἐτι καὶ πῶν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δῆμους τῶν Ἀθ. βαμολὺς ἀνώνυμους. On which Neander remarks that on this or similar occasions altars might be dedicated to an Unknown God, since they knew not what God was offended and required to be propitiated. [J. J. S. P.]

**AL-TASCHITH** (תַּשְׁחִית, *Al Tashcheth*), found in the introductory verse to the four following Psalms: lvi., lviii., lix., lxxv. Literally rendered, the import of the words is "destroy not;" and hence some Jewish commentators, including Rashi (רש"י) and Kimchi (קמחי), have regarded תַּשְׁחִית as a compendium of the argument treated in the above-mentioned Psalms. Modern expositors, however, have generally adopted the view of Aben-Ezra (Comment. on Psalm lvii.), agreeably to which "Al Tashcheth" is the beginning of some song or poem to the tune of which those psalms were to be chaunted. [D. W. M.]

**ALUSH** (אֲלוּשׁ, Sam. אֲלוּשׁ; *Alous*; *Alus*), one of the stations of the Israelites on their journey to Sinai, the last before Rephlim (Num. xxxiii. 13, 14). No trace of it has yet been found. In the Seder Olam (Kitto, *Cyc. s. v.*) it is stated to have been 8 miles from Rephlim. [i.]

**AL'VAH** (אֶלְוָה; *Γωλδ*; *Aleu*), a duke of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 40), written Aliah (אֶלְיָה) in 1 Chr. i. 51.

**AL'VAN** (אֶלְוָן; *Γωλδμ*; *Atrun*), a Horite, son of Shobal (Gen. xxvi. 23), written Alian (אֶלְיָן) in 1 Chr. i. 40.

**A'MAD** (אֶמָד; *Ἀμαία*; *Amasad*), an unknown place in Asher between Alammelech and Mishael (Josh. xix. 26 only).

**AMAD'ATHA** (Esth. xvi. 10, 17); and **AMAD'ATHUS** (Esth. xii. 6). [ΗΑΜΜΕΔΑΘΙΑ.]

**A'MAL** (אֶמָל; *Ἀμάλ*; *Amal*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii. 35).

**AM'ALEK** (אֶמָלֶק; *Ἀμαλήκ*; *Amalech*), son of Eliphaz by his concubine Timnah, grandson of Esau, and one of the chieftains ("dukes" A. V.) of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16). His mother came of the Horite race, whose territory the descendants of Esau had seized; and, although Amalek himself is represented as of equal rank with the other sons of Eliphaz, yet his posterity appear to have shared the fate of the Horite population, a "remnant" only being mentioned as existing in Edom in the time of Hezekiah, when they were dispersed by a band of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 43). [W. L. B.]

**AMAL'EKITES** (אֶמָלֶקִּי; *Ἀμαληκίται*; *Amalecites*), a nomadic tribe, which occupied the peninsula of Sinai and the wilderness intervening

between the southern hill-ranges of Palestine and the border of Egypt (Num. xiii. 29; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8). Arabian historians represent them as originally dwelling on the shores of the Persian Gulf, whence they were pressed westwards by the growth of the Assyrian empire, and spread over a portion of Arabia at a period antecedent to its occupation by the descendants of Joktan. This account of their origin harmonizes with Gen. xiv. 7, where the "country" ("princes" according to the reading adopted by the LXX.) of the Amalekites is mentioned several generations before the birth of the Edomite Amalek: it throws light on the traces of a permanent occupation of central Palestine in their passage westward, as indicated by the names Amalek and Mount of the Amalekites (Judg. v. 14, xii. 15); and it accounts for the silence of Scripture as to any relationship between the Amalekites on the one hand, and the Edomites or the Israelites on the other. That a mixture of the two former races occurred at a later period, would in this case be the only inference from Gen. xxxvi. 16, though many writers have considered that passage to refer to the origin of the whole nation, explaining Gen. xiv. 7, as a case of *prolepsis*. The physical character of the district, which the Amalekites occupied [ARABIA], necessitated a nomadic life, which they adopted to its fullest extent, taking their families with them even on their military expeditions (Judg. vi. 5). Their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Mention is made of a "town" (1 Sam. xv. 5), and Josephus gives an exaggerated account of the capture of several towns by Saul (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2); but the towns could have been little more than stations, or nomadic enclosures. The kings or chieftains were perhaps distinguished by the hereditary title Agag (Num. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xv. 8). Two important routes led through the Amalekite district, viz., from Palestine to Egypt by the *Isthmus of Suez*, and to southern Asia and Africa by the *Adenitic arm of the Red Sea*. It has been conjectured that the expedition of the four kings (Gen. xiv.) had for its object the opening of the latter route; and it is in connexion with the former that the Amalekites first came in contact with the Israelites, whose progress they attempted to stop, adopting a *guerrilla* style of warfare (Deut. xxv. 18), but were signally defeated at REPHIDIM (Ex. xvii.). In union with the Canaanites they again attacked the Israelites on the borders of Palestine, and defeated them near HORMAH (Num. xiv. 45). Thenceforward we hear of them only as a secondary power, at one time in league with the Moabites (Judg. iii. 13), when they were defeated by Ehud near Jericho; at another time in league with the Midianites (Judg. vi. 3) when they penetrated into the plain of Esdraelon, and were defeated by Gideon. Saul undertook an expedition against them, overrunning their whole district "from Havilah to Shur," and inflicting an immense loss upon them (1 Sam. xv.). Their power was thenceforth broken, and they degenerated into a horde of banditti, whose style of warfare is well expressed in the Hebrew term מְרִידִים (*Gesen. Lex.*) frequently applied to them in the description of their contests with David in the neighbourhood of Ziklag, when their destruction was completed (1 Sam. xxvii., xxx.; comp. Numb. xxiv. 20). [W. L. B.]

**A'MAM** (אֶמָם; *Ἄμμ*; *Amam*), a city in the south of Judah, named with Shema and Moladah (*el-Milāh*) in Josh. xv. 26, only. In the Alex. LXX.

the name is joined to the preceding—*ἀσραμδμ*. Nothing is known of it. [G.]

A'MAN. [HAMAN.]

AMA'NA (אֲמָנָה), apparently a mountain in or near Lebanon,—“from the head of Amara” (Cant. iv. 8). It is commonly assumed that this is the mountain in which the river Abana (2 K. v. 12; Keri, Targum Jonathan, and margin of A. V. “Amara”) has its source, but in the absence of further research in the Lebanon this is mere assumption. The LXX. translate *ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς πηγῶν*. [G.]

AMAR'IAH (אֲמַרְיָה and אֲמַרְיָהוּ; 'Αμαρία and 'Αμαρίας; *Amirius*; whom God promised, Sim., Gesen., i. g. Θεόπραστος). Father of Ahitub, according to 1 Chr. vi. 7, 52, and son of Meraioth, in the line of the high-priests. In Josephus's Hist. (*Ant.* viii. 1, §3) he is transformed into Ἀροφαῖος.

2. The high-priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xiv. 11). He was the son of Azariah, and the fifth high-priest who succeeded Zadok (1 Chr. vi. 11). Nothing is known of him beyond his name, but from the way in which Jehoshaphat mentions him he seems to have seconded that pious king in his endeavours to work a reformation in Israel and Judah (see 2 Chr. xvii. xix.). Josephus, who calls him 'Αμαρίαν τὸν ἱερέα, “Amaziah the priest,” unaccountably says of him that he was of the tribe of Judah, as well as Zebadiah, as the text now stands. But if *ἐκατέριος* is struck out this absurd statement will disappear (*Ant.* ix. 1, §1). It is not easy to recognise him in the wonderfully corrupt list of high-priests given in the *Ant.* x. 8, §6. But he seems to be concealed under the strange form ΑΞΙΟΡΑΜΟΣ, Axioramus. The syllable ΑΞ is corrupted from ΑΣ, the termination of the preceding name, Azarias, which has accidentally adhered to the beginning of Amariah, as the final Σ has to the very same name in the text of Nicphorus (ap. *Sold. de Success.* p. 103), producing the form Σαμαρίας. The remaining *ἱεράματος* is not far removed from 'Αμαρίας. The successor of Amariah in the high-priesthood must have been Johoiada. In Josephus *Φιδέας*, which is a corruption of 'Ιωβέας, follows Axioramus. There is not the slightest support in the sacred history for the names *Ahitub* and *Zadok*, who are made to follow *Amariah* in the genealogy, 1 Chr. vi. 11, 12.

3. The head of a Levitical house of the Kohathites in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23).

4. The head of one of the twenty-four courses of priests, which was named after him, in the time of David, of Hezekiah, and of Nehemiah (1 Chr. xiv. 14; 2 Chr. xxxi. 15; Neh. x. 3, xii. 2, 13). In the first passage the name is written אֲמַרְיָה, *Immer*, but it seems to be the same name. Another form of the name is אֲמַרְיָה, *Imri* (1 Chr. ix. 4, 5), a man of Judah, of the sons of Bani. Of the same family we find,

5. Amariah in the time of Ezra (*Ezr.* x. 42; Neh. xi. 4).

6. An ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (*Zeph.* i. 1). [A. C. II.]

AM'ASA (אֲמָסָא, a burden; 'Αμεσσα; *Amasa*). 1. Son of Ithia or Jether, by Abigail, David's sister (2 Sam. xvii. 25). He joined Absalom

in his rebellion, and was by him appointed commander-in-chief in the place of Joab, by whom he was totally defeated in the forest of Ephraim (2 Sam. xviii. 6). When Joab incurred the displeasure of David for killing Absalom, David forgave the treason of Amasa, recognized him as his nephew, and appointed him Joab's successor (xix. 13). Joab afterwards, when they were both in pursuit of the rebel Sheba, pretended to salute Amasa, and stabbed him with his sword (xx. 10), which he held concealed in his left hand. Whether Amasa be identical with אֲמַשִּׁי who is mentioned among David's commanders (1 Chr. xii. 18), is uncertain (Ewald, *Gesch. Israel*, ii. 544).

2. A prince of Ephraim, son of Hadlai, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 12). [R. W. B.]

AMAS'AI. [AMASA.]

AMAS'HAI (אֲמַשַׁי; 'Αμασία; *Amassai*), name of a man (Neh. xi. 13).

AMAS'TAH (אֲמַסְתָּא; 'Αμαστας; *Amastius*), name of a man (2 Chr. xvii. 16).

A'MATH. [HAMATH.]

AM'ATHIEIS ('Αμαθίας; *Emers*), 1 Esd. ix. 29. [ATHALAI.]

AM'ATHIS (in some copies AMATHAS), “THE LAND OF” (ἡ 'Αμαθίτις χώρα); a district to the north of Palestine, in which Jonathan Maccabaeus met the forces of Demetrius (1 Macc. xii. 25). From the context it is evidently HAMATH. [G.]

AMAZIAH (אֲמַזְיָה, or אֲמַזְיָהוּ, strength of Jehosh; 'Αμεσσας, 'Αμασας; *Amasias*, son of Jonsh, and eighth king of Judah, succeeded to the throne at the age of 25 on the murder of his father, and punished the murderers; sparing, however, their children, in accordance with Deut. xxiv. 16, as the 2nd book of Kings (xiv. 6) expressly informs us, thereby implying that the precept had not been generally observed. In order to restore his kingdom to the greatness of Jehoshaphat's days, he made war on the Edomites, defeated them in the valley of Salt, south of the Dead Sea (the scene of a great victory in David's time, 2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Chr. xviii. 12; Ps. lx. title), and took their capital, Selah or Petra, to which he gave the name of Jokteel, i. e. *præmium Dei* (Gaenius in voce), which was also borne by one of his own Jewish cities (*Josh.* xv. 38). We read in 2 Chr. xv. 12-14, that the victorious Jews threw 10,000 Edomites from the cliffs, and that Amaziah performed religious ceremonies in honour of the gods of the country; an exception to the general character of his reign (cf. 2 K. xiv. 3, with 2 Chr. xxv. 2). In consequence of this he was overtaken by misfortune. Having already offended the Hebrews of the northern kingdom by sending back, in obedience to a prophet's direction, some mercenary troops whom he had hired from it, he had the foolish arrogance to challenge Joash king of Israel to battle, despising probably a sovereign whose strength had been exhausted by Syrian wars, and who had not yet made himself respected by the great successes recorded in 2 K. xiii. 25. But Judah was completely defeated, and Amaziah himself was taken prisoner, and conveyed by Joash to Jerusalem, which, according to Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 9, 3), opened its gates to the conqueror under a threat that otherwise he would put Amaziah to

death. We do not know the historian's authority for this statement, but it explains the fact that the city was taken apparently without resistance (2 K. xiv. 13). A portion of the wall of Jerusalem on the side towards the Israelitish frontier was broken down, and treasures and hostages were carried off to Samaria. Amaziah lived 15 years after the death of Joash; and in the 29th year of his reign was murdered by conspirators at Lachish, whither he had retired for safety from Jerusalem. The chronicler seems to regard this as a punishment for his idolatry in Elom, though his language is not very clear on the point (2 Chr. xxv. 27); and doubtless it is very probable that the conspiracy was a consequence of the low state to which Judah must have been reduced in the latter part of his reign, after the Edomitish war and humiliation inflicted by Joash king of Israel. His reign lasted from B.C. 837 to 809. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, i. p. 325.)

2. Priest of the golden calf at Bethel, who endeavored to drive the prophet Amos from Israel into Judah, and complained of him to king Jeroboam II. (Am. vii. 10).

3. A descendant of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 34).

4. A Levite (1 Chr. vi. 45). [G. E. L. C.]

**AMBASSADOR.** Sometimes מַלְאָךְ and sometimes מַלְאָךְ is thus rendered; and the occurrence of both terms in the parallel clauses of Prov. xiii. 17 seems to show that they approximate to synonyms. The office, like its designation, was not definite nor permanent, but *pro re nata* merely. The precept given Deut. xx. 10, seems to imply some such agency; rather, however, that of a mere nuncio, often bearing a letter (2 K. v. 5, xix. 14) than of a legate empowered to treat. The inviolability of such an officer's person may perhaps be inferred from the only recorded infraction of it being followed with unusual severities towards the vanquished, probably designed as a condign chastisement of that offence (2 Sam. x. 2-5; cf. xii. 26-31). The earliest examples of ambassadors employed occur in the cases of Edom, Moab, and the Amorites (Num. ix. 14, xxi. 21; Judg. xi. 17-19), afterwards in that of the fraudulent Gileonites (Josh. ix. 4, &c.), and in the instances of civil strife mentioned Judg. vi. 12 and xx. 12. (See Cuneus *de Rep. Hebr.* ii. 20, with notes by J. Nicholas. Ugol. iii. 771-4.) They are mentioned more frequently during and after the contact of the great adjacent monarchies of Syria, Babylon, &c. with those of Judah and Israel, e.g. in the invasion of Sennacherib. They were usually men of high rank; as in that case the chief captain, the chief cupbearer, and chief of the eunuchs were deputed, and were met by delegates of similar dignity from Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 17, 18; see also Is. xxx. 4). Ambassadors are found to have been employed, not only on occasions of hostile challenge or insolent menace (2 K. xiv. 8; 1 K. xx. 2, 6), but of friendly compliment, of request for alliance or other aid, of submissive deprecation, and of curious inquiry (2 K. xiv. 8, xvi. 7, xviii. 14; 2 Chr. xxxii. 31). The dispatch of ambassadors with urgent haste is introduced as a token of national grandeur in the obscure prophecy Is. xviii. 2.

**AMBER,** the A. V. rendering of חֲשִׁמְלִי (Chashmal) which occurs three times in Ezekiel, i. 4, 27, viii. 2, and is rendered by the LXX. by

ἤλεκτρον; *electrum*, Vulg: It is certain from the context of these passages that the bituminous substance which we call amber is not meant. According to Pliny (xxiii. 4. s. 23), the ἤλεκτρον was a metallic substance compounded of four parts gold and one silver. Passow claims this meaning for the word in those passages of Hom. and Hesiod where it occurs, and also in Soph. *Antig.* 1038, where he speaks of τὸν πρὸς Σαρδόνει ἤλεκτρον.

The Heb. חֲשִׁמְלִי is certainly a metal. Its derivation is not so certain. Rochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 876-893, Lips.) thinks that it is compounded of חֶשֶׁת = נְחֹשֶׁת, *brass*, and the Talmudic word מִלָּא = מִלְּלָא, *gold*, so that חֲשִׁמְלִי = חֶשֶׁת + מִלְּלָא, *brass mixed with gold*, χαλκοχρυσόν, or at any rate brass having the splendour and colour of gold, χαλκὸς χρυσοειδής = נְחֹשֶׁת מְצֻחָה, Ezr. viii. 27. Gesenius dissents from this derivation, and prefers to consider חֲשִׁמְלִי = מֶלֶךְ + חֶשֶׁת, the syllabic מֶלֶךְ implying smoothness, as in the words מֶלֶךְ, מִלְּךְ, מַלְדָּסָא, *mulco*, &c. He therefore takes it to mean smooth polished brass, comparing Ez. i. 7, חֶשֶׁת מֶלֶךְ. The Rabbins have a fanciful derivation of the word from מַלְלִית אֵשׁ מַלְלִית, *animulim ignea loquentia*, and assert it to be the name of an angel. [W. D.]

**AMETHYST** (אֶמֶתִּישֵׁט), the name of a precious stone mentioned in Ex. xxviii. 19, xxxix. 12, which the LXX. have translated ἀμέθυστος, and the Vulg. *amethystus*. The Heb. word is a verbal from the root אֶמֶת, *to dream*, and hence it was believed that it caused those who wore it to dream, whilst the Greek name of this stone arose from its supposed ability to protect the wearer of it from drunkenness (Der. A. and μεθύω). Pliny (xxxvii. 9) mentions the opinion that it was so designated because it imitates the colour of wine without reaching it. The amethyst was the third jewel in the third row of the breast-plate of judgment. It is mentioned also in Rev. xxi. 20, as the twelfth of the precious stones with which the foundations of the city wall were garnished. The amethyst is a sub-species of quartz, generally of a violet colour, but those from the East are sometimes deep red. The best amethysts are found in India, Armenia, and Arabia. Pliny calls them *sculpturæ faciles*; and they were very extensively used for rings and seals. See Kalisch on Ex. xxviii. 19. [W. D.]

**A'MI** (אָמִי; 'Hmei; *Ami*), name of one of "Solomon's servants" (Ezr. ii. 57); called Amon (אָמֹן) in Neh. vii. 59. *Ami* is probably a corrupted form of *Amon*.

**AMIT TAI** (אָמִיתַי; 'Amaθi; *Amathi*), father of the prophet Jonah (2 K. xiv. 25; Jon. i. 1).

**AM'MAH**, the hill of (אֶמְמָה; δ βουνός *Amudn*; *collis aque ductus*), a hill 'facing' Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon, named as the point to which Joab's pursuit of Abner after the death of Asahel extended (2 Sam. ii. 24). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. i. §3) τόπος τις, ὃν Ἀμμάταν καλοῦσι (comp. Targ. Jon. אֶמְמָתָא). Both Symmachus (ἀπέναντι), and Theodotion (ὁδραγωγός), agree with the Vulgate in

an allusion to some watercourse here. Can this point to the "excavated fountain," "under the high rock," described as near Gibeon (*El-Jib*) by Robinson (i. 455)? [G.]

**AM'MIDOI**, in some copies **AMMIDOI** (*Ἀμμίδοι* or *Ἀμμιδοί*), named in 1 Esdr. v. 20 among those who came up from Babylon with Zorobabel. The three names P'arra, Chadius, and A. are inserted between Beeroth and Ramah with out any corresponding words in the parallel lists of Ezra or Nehemiah.

**AM'MIEL** (*עַמְיֵאֵל*; *Ἀμμιᾶλ*; *Ammiel*), name of four men. 1. (Num. xiii. 12). 2. (2 Sam. ix. 4, 5, xvii. 27). 3. Father of Bathsheba (1 Chr. iii. 5), called Eliam (*עֲלִיָּאִם*) in 2 Sam. xi. 3. 4. (1 Chr. xxvi. 5).

**AMMI'HUD** (*עַמְיָהוּד*; *Ἐμμιάδης*; *Ammihud*), name of five men. 1. (Num. i. 10, ii. 18, vii. 48, 53, x. 22; 1 Chr. vii. 26). 2. (Num. xxxiv. 20). 3. (Num. xxiv. 28). 4. (2 Sam. xiii. 37). 5. (1 Chr. ix. 4).

**AMMIN'ADAB** (*עַמְיִנְאָדָב*; *Ἀμμιναδάβ*; *Amminadab*; one of the people, i. e. family, of the prince (*familia principis*), Gen. x. 26; *mun* of generosity, First, who ascribes to *עַם* the sense of "homo" as its primitive meaning: the passages, Ps. ex. 3, Cant. vi. 12, margin, seem however rather to suggest the sense *my people is willing*. 1. Son of Ram or Aram, and father of Nahshon, or Naasson (as it is written, Matt. i. 4; Luke iii. 32), who was the prince of the tribe of Judah, at the first numbering of Israel in the second year of the Exodus (Num. i. 7, ii. 3; Ruth iv. 19, 20; 1 Chr. ii. 10). We gather hence that Amminadab died in Egypt before the Exodus, which accords with the mention of him in Ex. vi. 23, where we read that "Aaron took him Elisheba daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon, to wife, and she bare him Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar." This also indicates that Amminadab must have lived in the time of the most grievous oppression of the Israelites in Egypt. He is the fourth generation after Judah the patriarch of his tribe, and one of the ancestors of JESUS CHRIST. Nothing more is recorded of him; but the marriage of his daughter to Aaron may be marked as the earliest instance of alliance between the royal line of Judah and the priestly line of Aaron. And the name of his grandson Nadab may be noted as probably given in honour of Ammi-nadab his grandfather.

2. The chief of the 112 sons of Uzziel, a junior Levitical house of the family of the Kohathites (Ex. vi. 18), in the days of David, whom that king sent for, together with Uriel, Asaiah, Joel, She-maiah, and Eliel, other chief fathers of Levitical houses, and Zadok and Abiathar the priests, to bring the ark of God to Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 10-12), to the tent which he had pitched for it. The passage last quoted is instructive as to the mode of naming the houses; for besides the sons of Kohath, 120, at v. 5, we have the sons of Elizaphan, 200, at v. 8, of Hebron, 80, at v. 9, and of Uzziel, 112, at v. 10, all of them Kohathites (Num. iii. 27, 30).

<sup>a</sup> The expression most commonly employed for this nation is "Bene-Ammon;" next in frequency comes "Ammoni" or "Ammonim;" and least often "Ammon." The translators of the Auth. Version have, as usual, neglected these minute differences, and have

3. At 1 Chr. vi. 22 (7, Heb. B.) Izhar, the son of Kohath, and father of Korah, is called Amminadab, and the Vatican LXX. has the same reading. (The Alexandrine has Izhar.) But it is probably only a clerical error. In Cant. vi. 12, it is uncertain whether we ought to read *עַמְיִנְדָב*, *Amminadib*, with the A. V., or *עַמְיִנְדָב*, *my willing people*, as in the margin. If Amminadib is a proper name, it is thought to be either the name of some one famous for his swift chariots, *מְרַבְּבוֹת*, or that there is an allusion to Abinadab, and to the new cart on which they *made to ride* (*יִרְכִּיבוּ*) the ark of God (2 Sam. vi. 3). But this last, though perhaps intended by the LXX. version of Cant., which has *Ἀμμιναδάβ*, is scarcely probable. In vii. 2 (1 A. V.) the LXX. also render *בְּתִינְדָב*, "oh I prince's daughter," by *θυγατὲρ ναδάβ*, and in the Cod. Alex. *θυγατὲρ Ἀμμιναδάβ*. [A. C. H.]

**AMMISHAD'PAI** (*עַמְיִשָּׁדַי*; *Ἀμμισαδὰι*; *Ammisadai*), name of a man (Num. i. 12, ii. 25, vii. 68, 71, x. 25).

**AMMIZ'ABAD** (*עַמְיִזְבָּד*; *Ζαβδάδ*; *Amizabad*), name of a man (1 Chr. xxvii. 6).

**AMMON, AM'MONTITES, CHILDREN OF AMMON** (*עַמּוֹן* (only twice), *עַמּוֹנִי*, *עַמּוֹנִים*; *עַמּוֹן* *בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן*; *Ἀμμὼν*, *Ἀμμωνῖται*, LXX. in Pent.; elsewhere *Ἀμμων*, *ἰσὺ Ἀμμων*; Joseph. *Ἀμμωνῖται*; *Ammon*, Vulg.), a people descended from Ben-Ammi, the son of Lot by his younger daughter (Gen. xix. 38; comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7, 8), as Moab was by the elder; and dating from the destruction of Sodom.

The near relation between the two peoples indicated in the story of their origin continued throughout their existence: from their earliest mention (Deut. ii.) to their disappearance from the biblical history (Jud. v. 2) the brother-tribes are named together (comp. Judg. x. 10; 2 Chr. xx. 1; Zeph. ii. 8, &c.). Indeed, so close was their union, and so near their identity, that each would appear to be occasionally spoken of under the name of the other. Thus the "land of the children of Ammon" is said to have been given to the "children of Lot," i. e. to both Ammon and Moab (Deut. ii. 19). They are both said to have hired Balaam to curse Israel (Deut. xxiii. 4), whereas the detailed narrative of that event omits all mention of Ammon (Num. xxi. xxi.). In the answer of Jephthah to the king of Ammon the allusions are continually to Moab (Judg. xi. 15, 18, 25), while Chemosh, the peculiar deity of Moab (Num. xxi. 29), is called "thy god" (24). The land from Arnon to Jabbok, which the king of Ammon calls "my land" (13), is elsewhere distinctly stated to have once belonged to a "king of Moab" (Num. xxi. 26).

Unlike Moab the precise position of the territory of the Ammonites is not ascertainable. In the earliest mention of them (Deut. ii. 20) they are said to have destroyed those Kephaim, whom they called the Zamzummin, and to have dwelt in their place, Jabbok being their border<sup>b</sup> (Num. xxi. 24; Deut.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus says in two places (*Ant.* i. 11, §5, and xi. 5, §8), that Moab and Ammon were in Cock-

Nyria.

iii. 16, ii. 37). "Land" or "country" is, however, but rarely ascribed to them, nor is there any reference to those habits and circumstances of civilisation—the "pleautiful fields," the "hay," the "summer-fruits," the "vineyards," the "presses," and the "songs of the grape-treaders"—which so constantly recur in the allusions to Moab (Is. xv. xvi.; Jer. xlvii.); but, on the contrary, we find everywhere traces of the fierce habits of marauders in their incursions—thrusting out the night eyes of whole cities (1 Sam. xi. 2), ripping up the women with child (Am. i. 13), and displaying a very high degree of crafty cruelty (Jer. xli. 6, 7; Jud. vii. 11, 12) to their enemies, as well as a suspicious discountenance to their allies, which on one occasion (2 Sam. x. 1-5) brought all but extermination on the tribe (xii. 31). Nor is the contrast less observable between the one city of Ammon, the fortified hold of Rabbah (2 Sam. xi. 1; Ez. xxv. 5; Am. i. 13), and the "streets," the "house-tops," and the "high-places," of the numerous and busy towns of the rich plains of Moab (Jer. xlviii.; Is. xv. xvi.). Taking the above into account it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, while Moab was the settled and civilised half of the nation of Lot, the Bene-Ammon formed its predatory and Belouin section. A remarkable confirmation of this opinion occurs in the fact that the special deity of the tribe was worshipped, not in a house or on a high place, but in a booth or tent designated by the very word which most keenly expressed to the Israelites the contrast between a nomadic and a settled life (Am. v. 26; Acts vii. 43) [SUCCOOTH]. (See Stanley, App. §89.)

On the west of Jordan they never obtained a footing. Among the confusions of the times of the Judges we find them twice passing over; once with Moab and Amalek seizing Jericho, the "city of palm-trees" (Judg. iii. 13), and a second time "to fight against Judah and Benjamin, and the house of Ephraim;" but they quickly returned to the fiercer pastures of Gilead, leaving but one trace of their presence in the name of Chephar ha-Ammoni, "the hamlet of the Ammonites" (Josh. xviii. 24), situated in the portion of Benjamin somewhere at the head of the passes which lead up from the Jordan-valley, and form the natural access to the table-land of the west country.

The hatred in which the Ammonites were held by Israel, and which possibly was connected with the story of their incestuous origin, is stated to have arisen partly from their opposition, or, rather, their want of assistance (Dent. xxiii. 4), to the Israelites on their approach to Canaan. But it evidently sprang mainly from their share in the affair of Balaam (Dent. xxiii. 4; Neh. xiii. 1). At the period of Israel's first approach to the south of Palestine the feeling towards Ammon is one of regard. The command is then "distress not the Moabites . . . distress not the children of Ammon, nor meddle with them" (Dent. ii. 9, 19; and comp. 37), and it is only from the subsequent transaction that we can account for the fact that Edom, who had also refused passage through his land but had taken no part with Balaam, is punished with the ban of exclusion from the congregation for three generations, while Moab and Ammon is to be kept out for ten generations (Dent. xxiii. 2), a sentence which acquires peculiar significance from its being the same pronounced on "bastards" in the preceding verse, from its collocation amongst those

pronounced in reference to the most loathsome physical deformities, and also from the emphatic recapitulation (ver. 6), "thou shalt not seek their peace or their prosperity all thy days for ever."

But whatever its origin it is certain that the animosity continued in force to the latest date. Subdued by Jephthah (Judg. xi. 33), and scattered with great slaughter by Saul (1 Sam. xi. 11)—and that not once only, for he "vexed" them "whithersoever he turned" (xiv. 47)—they enjoyed under his successor a short respite, probably the result of the connexion of Moab with David (1 Sam. xxii. 3) and David's town, Bethlehem—where the memory of Ruth must have been still fresh. But this was soon brought to a close by the shameful treatment to which their king subjected the friendly messengers of David (2 Sam. x. 1; 1 Chr. xix. 1), and for which he destroyed their city and inflicted on them the severest blows (2 Sam. xii.; 1 Chr. xx.). [RABBAH.]

In the days of Jehoshaphat they made an incursion into Judah with the Moabites and the Maonites,<sup>c</sup> but were signally repulsed, and so many killed that three days were occupied in spoiling the bodies (2 Chr. xx. 1-25). In Uzziah's reign they made incursions and committed atrocities in Gilead (Am. i. 13); Jotham had wars with them, and exacted from them a heavy tribute of "silver (comp. "jewels," 2 Chr. xx. 25), wheat, and barley" (2 Chr. xxvii. 5). In the time of Jeremiah we find them in possession of the cities of Gad from which the Jews had been removed by Tiglath-Pileser (Jer. xlix. 1-6); and other incursions are elsewhere alluded to (Zeph. ii. 8, 9). At the time of the captivity many Jews took refuge among the Ammonites from the Assyrians (Jer. xl. 11), but no better feeling appears to have arisen, and on the return from Babylon, Tobiah the Ammonite and Sanballat a Moabite (of Chorozaim, Jer. xlix.), were foremost among the opponents of Nehemiah's restoration.

Amongst the wives of Solomon's harem are included Ammonite women (1 K. xi. 1), one of whom, Naamah, was the mother of Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 31; 2 Chr. xii. 13), and henceforward times of the presence of Ammonite women in Judah are not wanting (2 Chr. xxiv. 26; Neh. xiii. 23; Ezr. ix. 1; see Geiger, *Urschrift*, &c. 47, 49, 299).

The last appearances of the Ammonites in the biblical narrative are in the books of Judith (v. vi. vii.) and of the Maccabees (1 Mac. v. 6, 30-43), and it has been already remarked that their chief characteristics—close alliance with Moab, hatred of Israel, and cunning cruelty—are maintained to the end. By Justin Martyr (Dial. Tryph.) they are spoken of as still numerous (*ἔτι πολλοὶ παῖδες*); but notwithstanding this they do not appear again.

The tribe was governed by a king (Judg. xi. 12, &c.; 1 Sam. xii. 12; 2 Sam. x. 1; Jer. xl. 14) and by "princes," *שָׂרִים* (2 Sam. x. 3; 1 Chr. xix. 3). It has been conjectured that Nahab (1 Sam. xi. 1; 2 Sam. x. 2) was the official title of the king as Pharaoh was of the Egyptian monarchs; but this is without any clear foundation.

The divinity of the tribe was Molech, generally named in the O. T. under the altered form of Milcom—"the abomination of the children of Ammon;" and occasionally as Malcham. In more

<sup>c</sup> There can be no doubt that instead of "Ammonites" in 1 Chr. xx. 1, and xxvi. 8, we should read, with the LXX. "Maonites" or "Mehunim." The reasons for this will be given under MAONIM.

than one passage under the word rendered "their king" in the A. V. an allusion is intended to this idol. [MOLECH.]

The Ammonite names preserved in the sacred text are as follow. It is open to inquiry whether these words have reached us in their original form (certainly those in Greek have not), or whether they have been altered in transference to the Hebrew records.

Achior, Ἀχιὼρ, quasi אַחִי אֵוֶר, *brother of light*, Jud. v. 5, &c.

Baal-, בַּעַלִים, *joif d*, Jer. xl. 14.

Hanun, חֲנָנִי, *patiable*, 2 Sam. x. 1, &c.

Molech, מוֹלֵךְ, *king*.

Namuh, נַמְוָה, *pleasant*, 1 K. xiv. 21, &c.

Nachash, נָחָשׁ, *serpent*, 1 Sam. xi. 1, &c.

Shobi, שׁוֹבִי, *return*, 2 Sam. xvii. 27.

Timotheus, Τιμόθεος, 1 Mac. v. 6, &c.

Tobijah, טובִּיָּה, *good*, Neh. ii. 10, &c.

Zelek, זֶלֶק, *scarf*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 37.

The name Zamzumim, applied by the Ammonites to the Ephraim whom they dispossessed, should not be omitted. [G.]

AM'NON (אַמְנוֹן; Ἀμύων; *Ammon*). 1. Eldest son of David by Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, born in Hebron while his father's royalty was only acknowledged in Judah. He dishonoured his half-sister Tamar, and was in consequence murdered by her brother (2 Sam. xiii. 1-29). [ABSALOM.]

2. Son of Shimon (1 Chr. iv. 20). [G. E. L. C.]

AMOK (אִמּוֹק; Ἀμέκ; *Amoc*), name of a man (Neh. xii. 7, 20).

AMON (אֲמוֹן; Ἀμύων), an Egyptian divinity, whose name occurs in that of אֲמוֹן נֹחַ (Nah. iii. 8), or Thebes, also called נֹחַ [No]. It has been supposed that Amon is mentioned in Jer. xvi. 25, but the A. V. is most probably correct in rendering אֲמוֹן כִּנָּה "the multitude of No," as in the parallel passage, Ez. xxx. 15, where the equivalent הִמְוִן is employed. Comp. also Ez. xxx. 4, 10, for the use of the latter word with reference to Egypt. These cases, or at least the two former, seen therefore to be instances of paronymasia (comp. Is. xxx. 7, lxx. 11, 12). The Greeks called this divinity Ἀμμων, whence the Latin Ammon and Hammon; but their writers give the Egyptian pronunciation as Ἀμύων (Herod. ii. 42), Ἀμύον (Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* 9), or Ἀμύον (Jambl. *de Myst.* viii. 3). The ancient Egyptian name is Amen, which must signify "the hidden," from the verb *amen*, "to enwrap, conceal" (Champollion, *Dictionnaire Egyptien*, p. 197), Copt. ⲙⲏⲟⲩⲛⲓ. This interpretation agrees with that given by Plutarch, on the authority of a supposition of Manetho. (Μαρεθῶς μὲν δὲ Σεβερνύτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὀλεται καὶ τὴν κρύβειν οὐκ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς, *de Isid. et Osir.* l. c.) Amen was one of the eight gods of the first order, and chief of the triad of Thebes. He was worshipped at that city as Amen-Ra, or "Amen the sun," represented as a man wearing a cap with two

high plumes, and Amen-Ra ka mut-ef, "Amen-Ra, who is both male and female," represented as the generative principle. In the latter form he is accompanied by the figures of trees or other vegetable products, like the "groves" mentioned in the Bible [EUYPT], and is thus connected with Baal. In the Great Oasis, and the famous one named after him, he was worshipped in the form of the ram-headed god Num, and called either Amen, Amen-Ra, or Amen-Num, and thus the Greeks came to suppose him to be always ram-headed, whereas this was the proper characteristic of Num. (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. ii. pp. 367, 375). The worship of Amen spread from the Oases along the north coast of Africa, and even penetrated into Greece. The Greeks identified Amen with Zeus, and he was therefore called Zeus Ammon and Jupiter Ammon. [R. S. P.]

A'MON (אֲמוֹן; Ἀμός, Kings; Ἀμύον, Chr.; Joseph. Ἀμύσος; *Amun*). 1. King of Judah, son and successor of Manasseh. The name may mean *skilful in his art, or child* (verbal from אֲמוֹן, *to nurse*). Yet it sounds Egyptian, as if connected with the Theban god, and possibly may have been given by Manasseh to his son in an idolatrous spirit. Following his father's example, Amon devoted himself wholly to the service of false gods, but was killed in a conspiracy after a reign of two years. Probably by insolence or tyranny he had alienated his own servants, and fell a victim to their hostility, for the people avenged him by putting all the conspirators to death, and secured the succession to his son Josiah. To Amon's reign we must refer the terrible picture which the prophet Zephaniah gives of the moral and religious state of Jerusalem: idolatry supported by priests and prophets (i. 4, iii. 4), the poor ruthlessly oppressed (iii. 3), and shameless inderence to evil (iii. 11). According to Clinton (*F. H.* i. p. 328), the date of his accession is B.C. 642; of his death, B.C. 640 (2 K. xxi. 19; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20).

2. A contemporary of Ahab (1 K. xvii. 26; 2 Chr. xix. 25).

3. See AMI.

[G. E. L. C.]

AM'ORITE, THE AM'ORITES (אֲמֹרִי, אֲמֹרִיָּה (always in the singular), accurately "the Amorite"—the dwellers on the summits—mountaineers; Ἀμορραῖος; *Amorrhæci*, one of the chief nations who possessed the land of Canaan before its conquest by the Israelites.

In the genealogical table of Gen. x. "the Amorite" is given as the fourth son of Canaan, with "Zidon, Heth [Hittite], the Jebusite," &c. The interpretation of the name as "mountaineers" or "highlanders"—due to Simons (see his *Onomasticon*), though commonly ascribed to Ewald—is quite in accordance with the notices of the text, which, except in a few instances, speak of the Amorites as dwelling on the elevated portions of the country. In this respect they are contrasted with the Canaanites, who were the dwellers in the lowlands; and the two thus formed the main broad divisions of the Holy Land. "The Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, dwell in the mountain [of Judah and Ephraim], and the Canaanite dwells by the sea [the lowlands of Philistia and Shaon] and by the 'side' of Jordan" [in the valley of the Arabah],—was the report of the first Israelites who entered the country (Num. xiii. 29; and see Josh.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the soubriquet of "Le Balafre."

v. 1, x. 6, xi. 3; Deut. i. 6, 21; "Mountain of the A." 44). This we shall find borne out by other notices. In the very earliest times (Gen. xiv. 7) they are occupying the barren heights west of the Dead Sea, at the place which afterwards bore the name of En-gedi; hills in whose fastnesses, the "rocks of the wild goats," David afterwards took refuge from the pursuit of Saul (1 Sam. xxiii. 29; xxiv. 2). [HAEZEON-TAMAR]. From this point they stretched west to Hebron, where Abram was then dwelling under the "oak-grave" of the three brothers, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre (Gen. xiv. 13; comp. xiii. 18). From this, their ancient seat, they may have crossed the valley of the Jordan, tempted by the high table-lands on the east, for there we next meet them at the date of the invasion of the country. Sihon, their then king, had taken the rich pasture-land south of the Jabbok, and had driven the Moabites, its former possessors, across the wide chasm of the Arnon (Num. xxi. 26; 13), which thenceforward formed the boundary between the two hostile peoples (Num. xxi. 13). The Israelites apparently approached from the south-east, keeping "on the other side" (that is on the east) of the upper part of the Arnon, which there bends southwards, so as to form the eastern boundary of the country of Moab. Their request to pass through his land to the fords of Jordan was refused by Sihon (Num. xxi. 21; Deut. ii. 26); he "went out" against them (xxi. 23; ii. 32), was killed with his sons and his people (ii. 33), and his land, cattle, and cities taken possession of by Israel (xxi. 24, 25, 31, ii. 34-56). This rich tract, bounded by the Jabbok on the north, the Arnon on the south, Jordan on the west, and "the wilderness" on the east (Judg. xi. 21, 22)—in the words of Josephus "a land lying between three rivers after the manner of an island" (*Ant.* iv. 5, §2)—was, perhaps, in the most special sense the "land of the Amorites" (Num. xxi. 31; Josh. xii. 2, 3, xiii. 9; Judg. xi. 21, 22); but their possessions are distinctly stated to have extended to the very feet of Hebron (Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48), embracing "all Gilead and all Bashan" (iii. 10), with the Jordan valley on the east of the river (iv. 49), and forming together the land of the "two kings of the Amorites," Sihon and Og (Deut. xxxi. 4; Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10, xxiv. 12).

After the passage of the Jordan we again meet with Amorites disputing with Joshua the conquest of the west country. But although the name generally denotes the mountain-tribes of the centre of the country, yet this definition is not always strictly maintained, varying probably with the author of the particular part of the history, and the time at which it was written. Nor ought we to expect that the Israelites could have possessed very accurate knowledge of a set of small tribes whom they were called upon to exterminate—with whom they were forbidden to hold any intercourse—and, moreover, of whose general similarity to each other we have convincing proof in the confusion in question.

Some of these differences are as follows:—Hebron is "Amorite" in Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, though "Hittite" in xliii. and "Canaanite" in Judg. i. 10. The "Hivites" of Gen. xxiv. 2, are "Amorites" in xlviii. 22; and so also in Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19, as compared with 2 Sam. xxi. 12. Jerusalem is "Amorite" in Josh. x. 5, 6, but in xvii.

63, xviii. 28; Judg. i. 21, xix. 11; 2 Sam. v. 6, &c., it is "Jebusite." The "Canaanites" of Num. xiv. 45 (comp. Judg. i. 17), are "Amorites" in Deut. i. 44. Jarmuth, Lachish and Egion were in the low country of the *Shefelah* (Josh. xv. 35, 39), but in Josh. x. 5, 6, they are "Amorites that dwell in the mountains;" and it would appear as if the "Amorites" who forced the Danites into the mountain (Judg. i. 34, 35) must have themselves remained on the plain.

Notwithstanding these few differences, however, from a comparison of the passages previously quoted it appears plain that "Amorite" was a local term, and not the name of a distinct tribe. This is confirmed by the following facts. (1) The wide area over which the name was spread. (2) The want of connexion between those on the east and those on the west of Jordan—which is only once hinted at (Josh. ii. 10). (3) The existence of kings like Sihon and Og, whose territories were separate and independent, but who are yet called "the two kings of the Amorites," a state of things quite at variance with the habits of Semitic tribes. (4) Beyond the three confederates of Abiam, and these two kings, no individual Amorites appear in the history (unless Arannah or Onan the Jebusite be one). (5) There are no traces of any peculiar government, worship, or customs, different from those of the other "nations of Canaan."

One word of the "Amorite" language has survived—the name Senir (not "Shenir" for Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9); but may not this be the Canaanite name as opposed to the Phœnician (Sion) on the one side and the Hebrew on the other?

All mountaineers are warlike; and, from the three confederate brothers who at a moment's notice accompanied "Abram the Hebrew" in his pursuit of the five kings, down to those who, not depressed by the slaughter inflicted by Joshua and the terror of the name of Israel, persisted in driving the children of Dan into the mountain, the Amorites fully maintained this character.

After the conquest of Canaan nothing is heard in the Bible of the Amorites, except the occasional mention of their name in the usual formula for designating the early inhabitants of the country. [i.]

**AMOS** (אַמּוֹס, a *burden*; Ἀμός; Ἀμωός), a native of Tekoah in Judah, about six miles S. of Bethlehem, originally a shepherd and dresser of sycomore-trees, was called by God's Spirit to be a prophet, although not trained in any of the regular prophetic schools (i. 1, vii. 14, 15). He travelled from Judah into the northern kingdom of Israel or Ephraim, and there exercised his ministry, apparently not for any long time. His date cannot be later than the 15th year of Uzziah's reign (B.C. 808, according to Clinton, *F. H.*, i. p. 325): for he tells us that he prophesied "in the reigns of Uzziah king of Judah, and Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the earthquake." This earthquake (also mentioned Zech. xiv. 5) cannot have occurred after the 17th year of Uzziah, since Jeroboam II. died in the 15th of that king's reign, which therefore is the latest year fulfilling the three chronological indications furnished by the prophet himself. But his ministry probably took place at an earlier period of Jeroboam's reign, perhaps about the middle of it, for on the one hand Amos speaks of the conquests of this warlike king as completed (vi. 13, cf. 2 K. xiv. 25), on the other the Assyrians, who towards the end of his

\* The LXX. has here τῶν ἱερὺν υἱῶν

reign were approaching Palestine (Hos. x. 6, xi. 5), do not seem as yet to have caused any alarm in the country. Amos predicts indeed that Israel and other neighbouring nations will be punished by certain wild conquerors from the North (i. 5, v. 27, vi. 14), but does not name them, as if they were still unknown or unheeded. In this prophet's time Israel was at the height of power, wealth, and security, but infected by the crimes to which such a state is liable. The poor were oppressed (viii. 4), the ordinances of religion thought burdensome (viii. 5), and idleness, luxury, and extravagance were general (iii. 15). The source of these evils was idolatry, of course that of the golden calves, not of Baal, since Jehu's dynasty occupied the throne, though it seems probable from 2 K. xiii. 6, which passage must refer to Jeroboam's reign [BRNHADAD III.], that the rites even of Asarte were tolerated in Samaria, though not encouraged. Calf-worship was specially practised at Bethel, where was a principal temple and summer palace for the king (vii. 13; cf. iii. 15), also at Gilgal, Dan, and Beersheba in Judah (iv. 4, v. 5, viii. 14), and was offensively united with the true worship of the Lord (v. 14, 21-23; cf. 2 K. xvii. 33). Amos went to rebuke this at Bethel itself, but was compelled to return to Judah by the high-priest Amaziah, who procured from Jeroboam an order for his expulsion from the northern kingdom. The book of the prophecies of Amos seems divided into four principal portions closely connected together. (1) From i. 1 to ii. 3 he denounces the sins of the nations bordering on Israel and Judah, as a preparation for (2) in which, from ii. 4 to vi. 14, he describes the state of those two kingdoms, especially the former. This is followed by (3) vii. 1-ix. 10, in which, after reflecting on the previous prophecy, he relates his visit to Bethel, and sketches the impending punishment of Israel which he predicted to Amaziah. After this in (4) he rises to a loftier and more evangelical strain, looking forward to the time when the hope of the Messiah's kingdom will be fulfilled, and His people forgiven and established in the enjoyment of God's blessings to all eternity. The chief peculiarity of the style consists in the number of allusions to natural objects and agricultural occupations, as might be expected from the early life of the author. See i. 3, ii. 13, iii. 4, 5, iv. 2, 7, 9, v. 8, 10, vi. 12, vii. 1, ix. 3, 9, 13, 14. The book presupposes a popular acquaintance with the Pentateuch (see Hengstenberg, *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, i. p. 83-125), and implies that the ceremonies of religion, except where corrupted by Jeroboam I., were in accordance with the law of Moses. The references to it in the New Testament are two: v. 25, 26, 27 is quoted by St. Stephen in Acts vii. 42, and ix. 11 by St. James in Acts xv. 16. As the book is evidently not a series of detached prophecies, but logically and artistically connected in its several parts, it was probably written by Amos as we now have it after his return to Tekoa from his mission to Bethel. (See Ewald, *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, i. p. 84 ff.) [G. E. L. C.]

**AM'OS** (אָמֹס; 'Amós; Amos), father of the prophet Isaiah (2 K. xix. 2, 20, xx. 1; 2 Chr. xxvi. 22, xxvii. 20, 32; Is. i. 1, ii. 1, xiii. 1, xx. 2.

**AMPHIPOLIS** (Ἀμφίπολις), a city of Macedonia, through which Paul and Silas passed in their way from Philippi to Thessalonica (Acts xvii.

1). It was distant 33 Roman miles from Philippi (*Itin. Anton.* p. 320). It was called Amphipolis, because the river Strymon flowed almost round the town (Thuc. iv. 102). It stood upon an eminence on the left or eastern bank of this river, just below its egress from the lake Cercinitis, and at the distance of about three miles from the sea. It was a colony of the Athenians, and was memorable in the Peloponnesian war for the battle fought under its walls, in which both Brasidas and Cleon were killed (Thuc. v. 6-11). Its site is now occupied by a village called *Noohório*, in Turkish *Jeni-Kent*, or "New-Town."

**AM'PLIAS** (Ἀμπλίας), a Christian at Rome (Rom. xvi. 8).

**AM'RAM** (עֲמֶרָם, 'Ambrám; Amram). 1. A Levite, father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Ex. vi. 18, 20; Num. iii. 19). Hence the patronymic *Amramites* (Num. iii. 27; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23). 2. A contemporary of Ezra (Ezr. x. 34). [H. W. B.]

**AM'RAPHIEL** (אַמְרָפִּיֶּל; 'Amraphál; Amraphel), perhaps a Hamite king of Shinar or Babylonia, who joined the victorious incursion of the Elamite Chedorlamer against the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain (Gen. xiv.). The meaning of the name is uncertain; some have connected it with the Sanskrit *anurágha*, "the guardian of the immortals." (Comp. Rawlinson's *Heraklus*, i. 446.) [S. L.]

**AMULETS** were ornaments, gems, scrolls, &c., worn as preservatives against the power of enchantments, and generally inscribed with mystic forms or characters. The "earrings" in Gen. xxxv. 4 (קְנִיָּוִת; *knivót*; *knives*) were obviously connected with idolatrous worship, and were probably amulets taken from the bodies of the slain Shechemites. They are subsequently mentioned among the spoils of Midian (Judg. viii. 24), and perhaps their objectionable character was the reason why Gideon asked for them. Again, in Hos. ii. 13, "decking herself with earrings" is mentioned as one of the signs of the "days of Babel." Hence in Chaldee an earring is called קְרִישָׁא.

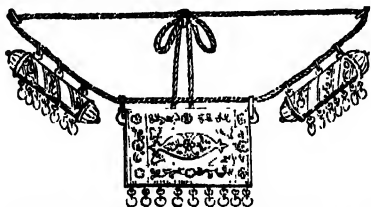
But amulets were more often worn round the neck, like the golden bulls or leather lorum of the Roman boys. Sometimes they were precious stones, supposed to be endowed with peculiar virtues. In the "Mirror of stones" the strangest properties are attributed to the amethyst, Kinocetus, Alectorin, Ceraunium, &c.; and Pliny, talking of succinea, says "Infantibus alligari amuleti ratione protest." (xxxvii. 12, s. 37). They were generally suspended as the centre-piece of a necklace, and among the Egyptians often consisted of the emblems of various deities, or the symbol of truth and justice ("Thmei"). A gem of this kind, formed of sapphires, was worn by the chief judge of Egypt (Diod. i. 48, 75), and a similar one is represented as worn by the youthful deity Harpocrates (Wilkinson, *An. Egypt.* iii. 364). The Arabs hang round their children's necks the figure of an open hand; a custom which, according to Shaw, arises from the *unluckiness* of the number 5. This principle is often found in the use of amulets. Thus the basileisk is constantly engraved on the talismanic scarabaei of Egypt, and according to Jahn (*Arch. Bbl.* §131, Engl. tr.), the שֵׁם הַחַיִּים of Is. iii. 23, were "figures of serpents carried in the

hand" (no one probably worn in the ears) "by Hebrew women." The word is derived from עִנְיָן, sibilavit, and means both "enchancements" (cf. Is. iii. 3), and the magical genus and formulas used to avert them (Gesen. s. v.). It is doubtful whether the LXX. intends *περιθέξια* as a translation of this word; "pro voce *περιθ.* nihil est in textu Hebraico" (Schleusner's *Thesaurus*). For a like reason the phallus was among the sacred emblems of the Vestals (*Dict. of Ant.*, Art. 'Fascinum').

The commonest amulets were sacred words (the tetragrammaton, &c.) or sentences, written in a peculiar manner, or inscribed in some cabalistic figure like the shield of David, called also, Solomon's Seal. Another form of this figure is the pentangle (or pentacle, v. Scott's *Antiquary*), which "consists of three triangles intersected, and made of five lines, which may be so set forth with the body of man as to touch and point out the places where our Saviour was wounded" (Sir Thos. Brown's *Vulgy. Errors*, i. 10). Under this head fall the *ἑφένια γράμματα* (Acts xix. 19), and in later times the Abraxic gems of the Basilidians; and the use of the word "Abacadabba," recommended by the physician Serenus Samonicus as a cure of the hemitritaeus. The same physician prescribes for quartan ague

"Maeoniae Iliados quartum suppone timent."

Charms "consisting of words written on folds of papyrus tightly rolled up and sewed in linen," have been found at Thebes (Wilkinson, *l. c.*), and our English translators possibly intended something of the kind when they rendered the curious phrase (in Is. iii.) בְּתֵי הַנֶּפֶשׁ by "tablets." It was the danger of idolatrous practices arising from a knowledge of this custom that probably induced the sanction of the use of phylacteries (Deut. vi. 8; ix. 18, טוֹמְפוֹת). The modern Arabs use scraps of the Koran (which they call "telesmes" or "alakakirs") in the same way.



Amulet. Modern Egyptian. (From Lane's *Modern Egyptus*.)

A very large class of amulets depended for their value on their being constructed under certain astronomical conditions. Their most general use was to avert ill-luck, &c., especially to nullify the effect of the *ὄφθαλμοὶ βάκκανος*, a belief in which is found among all nations. The Jews were particularly addicted to them, and the only restriction placed by the Rabbis on their use was, that none but *approved* amulets (i. e. such as were *known* to have cured three persons) were to be worn on the Sabbath (Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr.* in Mat. xxiv. 24). It was thought that they kept off the evil spirits who caused disease. Some animal substances were considered to possess such properties, as we see from Tobit. Pliny (xxviii. 47) mentions a fox's tongue worn on an amulet as a charm against blear eyes, and says (xxx. 15) "Scorbaeorum cornua alligata amuleti naturam obtinent;" perhaps an Egyptian

fancy. In the same way one of the Roman emperors wore a seal-skin as a charm against thunder. Among plants, the white bryony and the Hypericon, or *Fuga Daemonum*, are mentioned as useful (Sir T. Brown, *Vulgy. Errors*, i. 10). He attributes the whole doctrine of amulets to the devil, but still shows out a hint that they may work by "imponderous and invisible emissions").

Amulets are still common. On the Mod. Egyptian "Hegab" see Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, c. 11, and on the African "pieces of medicine," a belief in which constitutes half the religion of the Africans, see Livingstone's *Travels*, p. 285 et *passim*. [TERAPHIM; TALISMAN.] [F. W. F.]

AM'ZI (אֲמָזִי; Ἀμεσία, Ἀμασί; *Anasai, Anasi*), name of two men, both Levites. 1. (1 Chr. vi. 46). 2. (Neh. xi. 12).

A'NAB (אֲנָב; Ἀναβώβ, Ἀνάβ; *Alex. Ἀνάβ*), a town in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 50), named, with Delir and Hebron, as once belonging to the Anakim (Josh. xi. 21). It has retained its ancient name, and lies among the hills about 10 miles S.S.W. of Hebron, close to Shoco and Eshtemoa (Rob. i. 494). The conjecture of Kus, and Jerome (*Onom. Anab, Anab*) is evidently inadmissible. [U.]

AN'AEI, ANAN'AEI (Ἀναήλ, Ἀνανήλ, i. e. אֲנָהֵל, *God hath given*), Tob. i. 1; 21. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10; Neh. iii. 1, xii. 39. [B. F. W.]

A'NAH (אֲנָה; Ἀνά; *Ana*), the son of Zibeon, the son of Seir, the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 24), and father of Aholibamah, one of the wives of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 14). We are no doubt thus to understand the text, with Winer, Hengstenberg, Tuch, Knobel, and many others, though the Hebrew reads "Aholibamah, daughter of Anah, daughter of Zibeon (בְּתִיעֶנָּה בְּתִיצְבֶּעֶן);" nor is there any necessity to correct the reading in accordance with the Sam., which has בָּ instead of the second בֶּ; it is better to refer the second בֶּ to Aholibamah instead of to its immediate antecedent Anah: the word is thus used in the wider sense of descendant (here granddaughter), as it is apparently again in this chapter, v. 39. We may further conclude with Hengstenberg (*Pent.* ii. 280; Eng. transl. ii. 229) that the Anah mentioned amongst the sons of Seir in v. 20 in connexion with Zibeon, is the same person as is here referred to, and is therefore the grandson of Seir. The intention of the genealogy plainly is not so much to give the lineal descent of the Seirites as to enumerate those descendants, who, being heads of tribes, came into connexion with the Edomites. It would thus appear that Anah, from whom Esau's wife sprang, was the head of a tribe independent of his father, and ranking on an equality with that tribe. Several difficulties occur in regard to the race and name of Anah. By his descent from Seir he is a Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 20), whilst in v. 2 he is called a Hivite, and again in the narrative (Gen. xvi. 34) he is called Beeri the Hittite. Hengstenberg's explanation of the first of these difficulties is far-fetched; and it is more probable that the word Hivite (הִיטִי) is a mistake of transcribers for Horite (הֹרִי). With regard to the identification

[Anah the Hivite with Beeri the Hittite, see BEERI.] [F. W. G.]

**ANAHARATH** (אַנְחָרָת; 'Avaxapθ), a place within the border of Naphtali, named with Nachon and Rabbith (Jos. xiv. 13). Nothing is yet known of it. [G.]

**ANAN'AH** (עֲנַיָה; 'Anavias, 'Anata; Anur, Anaki), name of a man (Neh. viii. 4, x. 22), called ANANIAS ('Anavias) in 1 Esd. ix. 43.

**ANAK.** [ANAKIM.]

**ANAKIM** (עֲנָקִים; 'Evakim; Enukim), a race of giants (so called either from their stature (*konigcollis*, Gesen.), or their strength (Fürst), (the root עֲנַק being identical with our word neck), descendants of Arba (Josh. xv. 13, xxi. 11), dwelling in the southern part of Canaan, and particularly at Hebron, which from their progenitor received the name of קִרְיַת אֲרָבָה, city of Arba. Besides the general designation Anakim, they are variously called עֲנָקִים, sons of Anak (Num. xiii. 33), אֲנָכִים, descendants of Anak (Num. xiii. 22), and עֲנָקִים, sons of Anakim (Deut. i. 28). These designations serve to show that we must regard Anak as the name of the race rather than that of an individual, and this is confirmed by what is said of Arba, their progenitor, that he "was a great man among the Anakim" (Josh. xv. 15). The race appears to have been divided into three tribes or families, bearing the names Sheshai, Ahiman, and Tahmai. Though the warlike appearance of the Anakim had struck the Israelites with terror in the time of Moses (Num. xiii. 28; Deut. ix. 2), they were nevertheless dispossessed by Joshua, and utterly driven from the land, except a small remnant that found refuge in the Philistine cities, Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (Josh. xi. 21). Their chief city Hebron became the possession of Caleb, who is said to have driven out from it the three sons of Anak mentioned above, that is the three families or tribes of the Anakim (Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 20). After this time they vanish from history. [F. W. G.]

**ANAMIM** (עֲנַמִּים; 'Eveperielim; Anamin), a Mizraite people or tribe, respecting the settlements of which nothing certain is known (Gen. x. 13; 1 Ch. i. 11). Judging from the position of the other Mizraite peoples, as far as it has been determined, this one probably occupied some part of Egypt, or of the adjoining region, of Africa, or possibly of the south-west of Palestine. No name bearing any strong resemblance to Anamin has been pointed out in the geographical lists of the Egyptian monuments, or in classical or modern geography. [R. S. P.]

**ANAMMELECH** (עֲנַמְלֵךְ; 'Anmeleχ; 'Anamelech), one of the idols worshipped by the colonists introduced into Samaria from Sennacherib (2 K. xvii. 31). He was worshipped with rites resembling those of Molech, children being burnt in his honour, and is the companion-god to ADRA-MMELECH. As Adramelech is the male power of the sun, so Anammelech is the female power of the sun (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. p. 611). The etymology of the word is uncertain. Rawlinson connects it with the name *Ananit*. Gesenius derives the name from words meaning *idol* and

*king*, but Keland (*de vet. ling. Pers.* ix.) deduces the first part of it from the Persian word for *grief*. Winer advocates a derivation connecting the idol with the constellation Cepheus, some of the stars in which are called by the Arabs "the shepherd and the sheep." [G. E. L. C.]

**ANAN** (עֲנָן; 'Hndm; Anan), name of a man (Neh. v. 26).

**ANANI** (עֲנָנִי; 'Anan; 'Anani), name of a man, one of the royal line of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 24).

**ANAN'AH** (עֲנַיָה; 'Anavias; Ananah), name of a priest (Neh. iii. 23).

**ANAN'THAI** (עֲנַנְתָּי; 'Ananthai), a place, named between Nob and Hazor, in which the Benjaminites lived after their return from captivity (Neh. xi. 32). The LXX. omits all mention of this and the accompanying names. [G.]

**ANANIAS** (עֲנַנְיָה, or הֲנַנְיָה; 'Anavias).

1. A high-priest in Acts xxiii. 2 ff. xxiv. 1. He was the son of Zebedaeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 5, §2), succeeded Joseph son of Camylus (*Ant.* xx. 1, §3, 5, §2), and preceded Ismael son of Phabi (*Ant.* xv. 8, §§8, 11). He was nominated to the office by Herod king of Chalcis, in A.D. 48 (*Ant.* xx. 5, §2); and in A.D. 52 sent to Rome by the prefect Ummidius Quadratus to answer before the Emperor Claudius a charge of oppression brought by the Samaritans (*Ant.* xx. 6, §2). He appears, however, not to have lost his office, but to have resumed it on his return. This has been doubted: but Wieseler (*Chronol. d. Apostol. Zeitalters*, p. 76, note) has shown that it was so in all probability, seeing that the procurator Cumanus, who went to Rome with him as his adversary, was unsuccessful, and was condemned to banishment. He was deposed from his office shortly before Felix left the province (*Ant.* xx. 8, §8); but still had great power, which he used violently and lawlessly (*Ant.* xx. 9, §2). He was at last assassinated by the Sicarii (*B. J.* ii. 17, §9) at the beginning of the last Jewish war.

2. A disciple at Jerusalem, husband of Sapphira (Acts v. 1 ff.). Having sold his goods for the benefit of the church, he kept back a part of the price, bringing to the apostles the remainder, as if it were the whole, his wife also being privy to the scheme. St. Peter, being enabled by the power of the Spirit to see through the fraud, denounced him as having lied to the Holy Ghost, i. e. having attempted to pass upon the Spirit resident in the apostles an act of deliberate deceit. On hearing this, Ananias fell down and expired. That this incident was no mere physical consequence of St. Peter's severity of tone, as some of the German writers have maintained, distinctly appears by the direct sentence of a similar death pronounced by the same apostle upon his wife Sapphira a few hours after. [SAPPHIRA.] It is of course possible that Ananias's death may have been an act of divine justice overlooked for by the apostle, as there is no mention of such an intended result in his speech: but in the case of the wife, such an idea is out of the question. Niemeyer (*Charakteristik der Bibel*, i. p. 574) has well stated the case as regards the blame which some have endeavoured to cast on St. Peter in this matter, when he says that not man, but God, is thus inadvertently on the apostle's side but the organ and announcer of the divine justice, which was pleased by

this act of deserved severity to protect the morality of the infant church, and strengthen its power for good.

3. A Jewish disciple at Damascus (Acts ix. 10 ff.), of high repute, "a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there" (Acts xxii. 12). Being ordered by the Lord in a vision, he sought out Saul during the period of blindness and dejection which followed his conversion, and announced to him his future commission as a preacher of the Gospel, conveying to him at the same time, by the laying on of his hands, the restoration of sight, and commanding him to arise, and be baptized, and wash away his sins, calling on the name of the Lord. Tradition makes him to have been afterwards bishop of Damascus, and to have died by martyrdom (*Menolog. Græcorum*, i. p. 79 f.). [H. A.]

ANANIAS ('Ανανίας, name of eight men. 1. (1 Esd. v. 16) (*Αννίς*). 2. (1 Esd. ix. 21). 3. (1 Esd. ix. 29). 4. (1 Esd. ix. 43). [ANANIAH.] 5. (1 Esd. ix. 48). [HAMAN.] 6. "An, the great" (Tob. v. 12, 13). 7. Ancestor of Judith (Jud. viii. 1, Vulg. only). 8. Song of 3 Ch. 59; 1 Macc. ii. 59. [HANANIAH; SHADRACH.]

ANANIEL ('Ανανιήλ; *Ananiel*), forefather of Tobias (Tob. i. 1).

ANATH (אַנַּת; *Δανάχ*, *Anath*), father of Shamgar (Judg. iii. 31, v. 6).

ANATHIEMA (*ἀνάθεμα*, in I.XX., the equivalent for אָנָה, a thing or person devoted: in N. T. generally translated *accursed*. The more usual form is *ἀνάθεμα* (*ἀνατίθημι*), with the sense of an offering suspended in a temple (Luke xxi. 5; 2 Mac. ix. 16): the Alexandrine writers preferred the short penultimate in this and other kindred words (e.g. *ἐπίθεμα*, *σύμβημα*): but occasionally both forms occur in the MSS., as in Jud. xvi. 19; 2 Mac. xiii. 15; Luke xxi. 5; no distinction therefore existed originally in the meanings of the words, as has been supposed by many early writers. The Hebrew אָנָה is derived from a verb signifying primarily to shut up, and hence to (1) consecrate or devote, and (2) exterminate. Any object so devoted to the Lord was irreclaimable: if an inanimate object, it was to be given to the priests (Num. xviii. 14); if a living creature or even a man, it was to be slain (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29); hence the idea of extermination as connected with devoting. Generally speaking a vow of this description was taken only with respect to the idolatrous nations who were marked out for destruction by the special decree of Jehovah, as in Num. xxi. 2; Josh. vi. 17: but occasionally the vow was made indefinitely, and involved the death of the innocent, as is illustrated in the cases of Jephthah's daughter (Judg. xi. 31), and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 24) who was only saved by the interposition of the people. The breach of such a vow on the part of any one directly or indirectly participating in it was punished with death (Josh. vii. 25). In addition to these cases of spontaneous devotion on the part of individuals, the word אָנָה is frequently applied to the extermination of idolatrous nations: in such cases

the idea of a vow appears to be dropped, and the word assumes a purely secondary sense (*ἐξολοθρεῖν*, I.XX.): or, if the original meaning is still to be retained, it may be in the sense of Jehovah (Is. xxxiv. 2) *shutting up*, i. e. *placing under a ban*, and so necessitating the destruction of them, in order to prevent all contact. The extermination being the result of a positive command (Ex. xxii. 20), the idea of a vow is excluded, although doubtless the instances already referred to (Num. xxi. 2; Josh. vi. 17) show how a vow was occasionally superadded to the command. It may be further noticed that the degree to which the work of destruction was carried out, varied. Thus it applied to the destruction of (1) men alone (Deut. xx. 20); (2) men, women, and children (Deut. ii. 34); (3) virgins excepted (Num. xxxi. 17; Judg. xxi. 11); (4) all living creatures (Deut. xx. 16; 1 Sam. x. 3); the spoil in the former cases were reserved for the use of the army (Deut. ii. 35, xx. 14; Josh. xxii. 8), instead of being given over to the priesthood, as was the case in the recorded vow of Joshua (Josh. vi. 19). Occasionally the town itself was utterly destroyed, the site rendered desolate (Josh. vi. 26), and the name Hormah (*Ἀνθήμα*, I.XX.) applied to it (Num. xxi. 3).

We pass on to the Rabbinical sense of אָנָה as referring to *excommunication*, premising that an approximation to that sense is found in Ex. x. 8, where forfeiture of goods is coupled with separation from the congregation. Three degrees of excommunication are enumerated (1) נִדָּי, involving various restrictions in civil and ecclesiastical matters for the space of 30 days: to this it is supposed that the terms ἀφορίζειν (Luke vi. 22) and ἀποσυνάγωγος (John ix. 22) refer. (2) אָנָה, a more public and formal sentence, accompanied with curses, and involving severer restrictions for an indefinite period. (3) חֲכָלָה, rarely, if ever, used—complete and irrevocable excommunication. אָנָה was occasionally used in a generic sense for any of the three (Carpzov. *Appar.* p. 557). Some expositors refer the terms δεικνύειν καὶ ἐκβάλλειν (Luke vi. 22) to the second species, but a comparison of John ix. 22 with 34 shows that ἐκβάλλειν is synonymous with ἀποσυνάγωγον ποιεῖν, and there appears no reason for supposing the latter to be of a severe character.

The word ἀνάθεμα frequently occurs in St. Paul's writing, and many expositors have regarded his use of it as a technical term for judicial excommunication. That the word was so used in the early Church, there can be no doubt (Bingham, *Antiq.* xvi. 2, §16): but an examination of the passages in which it occurs shows that, like the cognate word ἀναθεματίζω (Matt. xxvi. 74; Mark xiv. 71; Acts xxiii. 12, 21), it had acquired a more general sense as expressive either of strong feeling (Rom. ix. 3; cf. Ex. xxxii. 32), or of dislike and condemnation (1 Cor. xii. 3, xvi. 32; Gal. i. 9). [W. L. B.]

AN'ATHOTH (אַנַּתוֹת; *Ἀναθήθ*, *Anathoth*), name of two men. 1. A Benjamite (Chr. vii. 8). 2. (Neh. x. 19).

AN'ATHOTH (אַנַּתוֹת), possibly = "echoes;"

\* There are some variations in the orthography of this name, both in Hebrew and the A. V., which must be noticed. 1. Hebrew: In 1 K. ii. 26, and Jer. xxxix. 9, it is אַנַּתוֹת, and similarly in 2 Sam. xxiii. 27,

הַעֲנָתוֹת. 2. English: Anethothite, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27; Anethothite, 1 Chr. xxvii. 12; Antothite, 1 Chr. xi. 28, xii. 3. "Jeremiah of A." Jer. xxix. 27, should be, "J. the Anathothite."

plur. of **אַנְחֹת**, by which name the place is called in the Talmud *Joma*, 10; '**אַנְחֹת**;<sup>1</sup> *Anathoth*, a city of Benjamin, omitted from the list in Josh. xviii., but a priests' city; with "suburbs" (Josh. xxi. 18; 1 Chr. vi. 60 (45)). Hitherto, to his "fields," Abiathar was banished by Solomon after the failure of his attempt to put Adonijah on the throne (1 K. ii. 26). This was the native place of Abiezer, one of David's 30 captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 27; 1 Chr. xi. 28, xxvii. 12), and of Jehu, another of the mighty men (1 Chr. xii. 3); and here, "of the priests that were in Anathoth," Jeremiah was born (Jer. i. 1; xi. 21, 23; xxiv. 27; xxviii. 7, 8, 9).

The "men" (**אֲנָשִׁים**, not **אֲנָשִׁים**, as in most of the other cases; comp. however, Netophah, Michmash, &c.) of A. returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 23; Neh. vii. 27; 1 Esdr. v. 18a).

Anathoth lay on or near the great road from the north to Jerusalem (Is. x. 30); by Eusebius it is placed at 3 miles from the city (*Onom.*), and by Jerome (*turris Anathoth*) at the same distance *contra septentrionem Jerusalem* (ad Jerem. cap. i.). The traditional site at *Kiriet el-Khazb* does not fulfil these conditions, being 10 miles distant from the city, and nearer W. than N. But the real position has no doubt been discovered by Robinson at *Anāta*, on a broad ridge  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour N.N.E. from Jerusalem. The cultivation of the priests survives in tilled fields of grain, with figs and olives. There are the remains of walls and strong foundations, and the quarries still supply Jerusalem with building stone (Rob. i. 437, 438).

[G.]

## ANCHOR. [SUM.]

ANDREW, ST. (**Ἀνδρέας**; *Andreas*; the name *Andreas* occurs in Greek writers; e.g. *Athen.* vii. p. 312, and xv. p. 673; it is found in Dion Cass. lxxviii. 32, as the name of a Cyrenian Jew, in the reign of Trajan), one among the first called of the Apostles of our Lord (John i. 41; Matt. iv. 18); brother (whether elder or younger is uncertain) of Simon Peter (*ibid.*). He was of Bethsaida, and had been a disciple of John the Baptist. On hearing Jesus a second time designated by him as the Lamb of God, he left his former master, and, in company with another of John's disciples, attached himself to our Lord. By his means his brother Simon was brought to Jesus (John i. 41). The apparent discrepancy in Matt. iv. 18 ff. Mark 16 ff., where the two appear to have been called together, is no real one, St. John relating the first introduction of the brothers to Jesus, the other Evangelists their formal call to follow Him in his ministry. In the catalogue of the Apostles, Andrew appears, in Matt. x. 2, Luke vi. 14, second, next after his brother Peter; but in Mark iii. 16, Acts i. 14, fourth, next after the three, Peter, James, and John, and in company with Philip. And this appears to have been his real place of dignity among the apostles; for in Mark xiii. 3, we find Peter, James, John, and Andrew, inquiring privately of our Lord about His coming; and in John xii. 22, when certain Greeks wished for an interview with Jesus, they applied through Andrew, who consulted Philip, and in company with him made the request known to our Lord. This last circumstance, combined with the Greek character of both their names, may perhaps point to some slight shade of Hellenistic connexion on the part of the two apostles; though it is extremely improbable that any of the Twelve were Hellenists in the proper sense. On

the occasion of the five thousand in the wilderness wanting nourishment, it is Andrew who points out the little lad with the five barley loaves and the two fishes. Scripture relates nothing of him beyond these scattered notices. Except in the catalogue (i. 14), his name does not occur once in the Acts. The traditions about him are various. Eusebius (iii. 1) makes him preach in Scythia; Jerome (Ep. 148, ad Marcellin.) and Theodoret (ad Ps. lxxviii. cxi.), in Achaia (Greece); Nicephorus (ii. 39), in Asia Minor and Thrace. He is said to have been crucified, at Patrae in Achaia, on a *crux decussata* (X); but this is doubted by Lipsius (*de Cruce*, i. 7), and Sagittarius (*de Cruciatibus Martyrum*, viii. 12). Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) speaks of an apocryphal Acts of Andrew; and Epiphanius (*Haer.* xlv. 1) states that the Eucratites accounted it among their principal Scriptures; and (lxiii. 2) he says the same of the Origenians. (See Fabric. *Cod. Apocr.* i. 456 ff., *Menolog. Graecor.* i. 221 f.; P'ision. *Vit. Apostol.* i. p. 82 ff.) [H. A.]

ANDRONICUS (**Ἀνδρόνικος**). 1. An officer left as viceroy (*διαδεχόμενος*, 2 Macc. iv. 31) in Antioch by Antiochus Epiphanes during his absence (B.C. 171). Menelaus availed himself of the opportunity to secure his good offices by offering him some golden vessels which he had taken from the temple. When Onias (ONIAS III.) was certainly assured that the sacrilege had been committed, he sharply reprimanded Menelaus for the crime, having previously taken refuge in the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne. At the instigation of Menelaus, Andronicus induced Onias to leave the sanctuary and immediately put him to death in prison (*παρέκλεισεν*, 2 Macc. iv. 34 ff.). This murder excited general indignation; and on the return of Antiochus, Andronicus was publicly degraded and executed (2 Macc. iv. 30-38). Josephus places the death of Onias before the High-Priesthood of Jason (*Ant.* xii. 5, 1), and omits mention of Andronicus; but there is not sufficient reason to doubt the truthfulness of the narrative, as Wernsdorff has done (*De fide lib. Macc.* pp. 90, f.).

2. Another officer of Antiochus Epiphanes who was left by him on Garizim (*ἐν Γαριζμ*, 2 Macc. v. 23), probably in occupation of the temple there. As the name was common, it seems unreasonable to identify this general with the former one, and so to introduce a contradiction into the history (Wernsdorff, *l. c.*; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv. 335 n.; comp. Grimm, 2 Macc. iv. 38). [B. F. W.]

ANDRONICUS (**Ἀνδρόνικος**; *Andronicus*), a Christian at Rome, saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 7), together with Junias. The two are called by him his relations (*συνγενεῖς*) and fellow-captives, and of note among the apostles, using that term probably in the wider sense; and he describes them as having been converted to Christ before himself. According to Hippolytus he was bishop of Pannonia; according to Dorotheus, of Spain. [H. A.]

A'NEM (**אָנֶם**; *אָנֶם*, Alex. *Ανάμ*), a city of Issachar, with "suburbs," belonging to the Gershonites, 1 Chr. vi. 73 (Heb. 58). It is omitted in the lists in Josh. xix. and xxi., and instead of it we find En-gannim. Possibly the one is a contraction of the other, as Kartan of Kirjathaim. [G.]

A'NER (**אָנֶר**; *אָנֶר*, Alex. *Ανέρ*), a city of Manasseh west of Jordan, with "suburbs" given

to the Kohathites (1 Chr. vi. 70 (55)). By comparison with the parallel list in Josh. xvi. 25, it would appear to be a corruption of Tannach (עַנַּח for עַנְנָח).

A'NER (עֲנֵר; *Anan*; *Aner*), one of the three Hebronite chiefs who aided Abraham in the pursuit after the four invading kings (Gen. xiv. 13, 24). [R. W. B.]

ΑΓΓΑΡΙΕΥΟ (Ἀγγαρεύω; *Angario*, Vulg., Matt. v. 41, Mark xv. 21), simply translated "compel" in the A. V., is a word of Persian, or rather of Tatar, origin, signifying to compel to serve as an ἄγγαρος or mounted courier. The words *anharid* or *ampharid*, in Tatar, mean compulsory work without pay. Herodotus (viii. 98) describes the system of the ἄγγαροί. He says that the Persians, in order to make all haste in carrying messages, have relays of men and horses stationed at intervals, who hand the despatch from one to another without interruption either from weather or darkness, in the same way as the Greeks in their λαμπαδοφορία. This horse-post the Persians called ἄγγαρίον. In order to effect the object, license was given to the couriers by the government to press into the service men, horses, and even vessels. Hence the word came to signify "press," and ἄγγαρεία is explained by Σuidas δημοσία καὶ ἀναγκαία δουλεία, and ἄγγαρεύεσθαι, εἰς φορτίαν ἀγεσθαι. Persian supremacy introduced the practice and the name into Palestine; and Lightfoot says the Talmudists used to call any oppressive service אַנגאַרען. Among the proposals made by Demetrius Soter to Jonathan the high-priest, one was μὴ ἄγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀποῦντα. The system was also adopted by the Romans, and thus the word "angario" came into use in later Latin. Pliny alludes to the practice, "festinationem tabellarii diplomate adjuvi." Sir J. Chardin and other travellers make mention of it. The ἄγγαροι were also called ἀσάνδοι. (Liddell and Scott, and Stephens; and Scheller, *Lex. s. r.*; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, §§17, 18; Athen. iii. 94, 122; Aesch. *Ag.* 282, *Pers.* 217 (Dind.); Esch. viii. 14; Joseph. *A. J.* xiii. 2, §3; Pliny, *Ep.* x. 14, 121, 122; Lightfoot *On Matt.* v. 41; Chardin, *Travels*, p. 257; *Plut. De Alex. Mag.* p. 326.) [H. W. P.]

ANGELS (מַלְאָכִים; *oi ἄγγελοι*; *an* with the addition of מַלְאָכִים; *oi ἄγγελοι*). In later books the word מַלְאָכִים, *oi ἄγγελοι*, is used as an equivalent term.) By the word "angels" (i. e. "messengers" of God) we ordinarily understand a race of spiritual beings, of a nature exalted far above that of man, although infinitely removed from that of God, whose office is "to do Him service in heaven, and by His appointment to succour and defend men on earth." The object of the present article is threefold: 1st, to refer to any other Scriptural uses of this and similar words; 2ndly, to notice the revelations of the *nature* of these spiritual beings given in Scripture; and 3rdly, to derive from the same source, a brief description of their *office* towards man. It is to be noticed that its scope is purely Biblical, and that, in consequence, it does not enter into any extra-Scriptural speculations on this mysterious subject.

(I.) In the first place, there are many passages in which the expression the "angel of God," "the angel of Jehovah," is certainly used for a manifest

lation of God himself. This is especially the case in the earlier books of the Old Testament, and may be seen at once, by a comparison of Gen. xxii. 11 with 12, and of Ex. iii. 2 with 6, and 14; where He, who is called the "angel of God" in one verse, is called "God," and even "Jehovah" in those which follow, and accepts the worship due to God alone. (Contrast Rev. xix. 10 xxi. 9.) See also Gen. xvi. 7, 13, xxxi. 11, 13, xlviii. 15, 16; Num. xxii. 22, 32, 35, and comp. Is. lvi. 9 with Ex. xxxiii. 14, &c. &c. The same expression (it seems) is used by St. Paul, in speaking to heathens. See Acts xxvii. 23 comp. with xxiii. 11.

It is to be observed also, that, side by side with these expressions, we read of God's being manifested in the form of *man*; as to Abraham at Mamre (Gen. xviii. 2, 22 comp. xix. 1), to Jacob at Peniel (Gen. xxxii. 24, 30), to Joshua at Gilgal (Josh. v. 13, 15), &c. It is hardly to be doubted, that both sets of passages refer to the same kind of manifestation of the Divine Presence.

This being the case, since we know that "no man hath seen God" (the Father) "at any time," and that "the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father He hath revealed Him" (John i. 18), the inevitable inference is that by the "Angel of the Lord" in such passages is meant He, who is from the beginning the "Word," i. e. the Manifestor or Revealer of God. These appearances are evidently "foreshadowings of the Incarnation." By these (that is) God the Son manifested Himself from time to time in that human nature, which He united to the Godhead for ever in the Virgin's womb.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact, that the phrases used are equivalent to the word "Angels," in Scripture, viz. the "sons of God," or even in poetry, the "gods" (Elohim), the "holy ones," &c., are names, which in their full and proper sense are applicable only to the Lord Jesus Christ. As He is "the Son of God," so also is He the "Angel," or "messenger" of the Lord. Accordingly it is to His Incarnation, that all angelic ministration is distinctly referred, as to a central truth, by which alone its nature and meaning can be understood. (See John i. 51, comparing it with Gen. xxviii. 11-17, and especially with v. 13.)

Besides this, which is the highest application of the word "angel," we find the phrase used of any messengers of God, such as the prophets (Is. xlii. 19; Hag. i. 13; Mal. iii. 1), the priests (Mal. ii. 7), and the rulers of the Christian churches (Rev. i. 20); much as, even more remarkably, the word "Elohim" is applied, in Ps. lxxiii. 6, to those who judge in God's name.

These usages of the word are not only interesting in themselves, but will serve to throw light on the nature and the method of the ministration of those, whom we more especially term "the angels."

(II.) In passing on to consider what is revealed in Scripture as to the angelic *nature*, we are led at once to notice, that the Bible deals with this and with kindred subjects exclusively in their practical bearings, only so far (that is) as they conduce to our knowledge of God and of ourselves, and more particularly as they are connected with the one great subject of all Scripture, the Incarnation of the Son of God. Little therefore is said of the nature of angels as distinct from their office.

They are termed "spirits" (as *c. g.* in Heb. i. 14), although this word is applied more commonly, not so much to themselves, as to their power

dwelling in man (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xviii. 10; Matt. viii. 16, &c. &c.). The word is the same as that used of the soul of man, when separate from the body (*e.g.* Matt. xiv. 26; Luke xxiv. 37, 39; 1 Pet. iii. 19); but, since it properly expresses only that super-sensuous and rational element of man's nature, which is in him the image of God (see John iv. 24), and by which he has communion with God (Rom. viii. 16); and since also we are told, that there is a "spiritual body," as well as a "natural (*ψυχικόν*) body" (1 Cor. xv. 44), it does not assert that the angelic nature is incorporeal. The contrary seems expressly implied by the words, in which our Lord declares, that, *after the Resurrection*, men shall be "like the angels" (*ὡς ἄγγελοι*) (Luke xx. 36); because (as is elsewhere said, Phil. iii. 21) their bodies, as well as their spirits, shall have been made entirely like His. It may also be noticed that the glorious appearance, ascribed to the angels in Scripture (as in Dan. x. 6) is the same as that which shone out in our Lord's Transfiguration, and in which St. John saw Him clothed in heaven (Rev. i. 14-16); and moreover, that, whenever angels have been made manifest to man, it has always been in human form (as *e.g.* in Gen. xviii. 19; Luke xxiv. 4; Acts i. 10, &c. &c.). The very fact that the titles "sons of God" (Job i. 6, xxxviii. 7; Dan. iii. 25 comp. with 28\*), and "gods" (Ps. viii. 5; xevii. 7), applied to them, are also given to men (see Luke iii. 38; Ps. lxxxi. 6, and comp. our Lord's application of this last passage in John x. 34-37), points in the same way to a difference only of degree, and an identity of kind, between the human and the angelic nature.

The angels are therefore revealed to us as beings, such as man might be and will be when the power of sin and death is removed, partaking in their measure of the attributes of God, Truth, Purity, and Love, because always beholding His face (Matt. xviii. 10), and therefore being "made like Him" (1 John iii. 2). This, of course, implies finiteness, and therefore (in the strict sense) "imperfection" of nature, and constant progress, both moral and intellectual, through all eternity. Such imperfection, contrasted with the infinity of God, is expressly ascribed to them in Job iv. 18; Matt. xxiv. 36; 1 Pet. i. 12: and it is this, which emphatically points them out to us as creatures, fellow-servants of man, and therefore incapable of usurping the place of gods.

Thus finiteness of nature implies capacity of temptation (see Butler's *Anal.* Part i. c. 5); and accordingly we hear of "fallen angels." Of the nature of their temptation and the circumstances of their fall, we know absolutely nothing. All that is certain is, that they "left their first estate" (*τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν*): and that they are now "angels of the devil" (Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 7, 9), partaking therefore of the falsehood, uncleanness, and hatred, which are his peculiar characteristics (John viii. 44). All that can be conjectured must be based on the analogy of man's own temptation and fall.

On the other hand, the title especially assigned to the angels of God, that of the "holy ones" (see *e.g.* Dan. iv. 13, 23, viii. 13; Matt. xxv. 31), is

precisely the one which is given to those men who are renewed in Christ's image, but which belongs to them in actuality and in perfection only hereafter. (Comp. Heb. ii. 10, v. 9, xii. 23.) Its use evidently implies that the angelic probation is over, and their crown of glory won.

Thus much then is revealed of the angelic nature, as may make it to us an ideal of human goodness (Matt. vi. 10), or beacon of warning as to the tendency of sin. It is obvious to remark, that in such revelation is found a partial satisfaction of that craving for the knowledge of creatures, higher than ourselves, and yet fellow-servants with us of God, which in its diseased form becomes Polytheism.<sup>b</sup> Its full satisfaction is to be sought in the Incarnation alone, and it is to be noticed, that after the Revelation of God in the flesh, the angelic ministrations recorded are indeed fewer, but the reference to the angels are far more frequent—as though the danger of Polytheistic idolatry had, comparatively speaking, passed away.

(III.) The most important subject, and that on which we have the fullest revelation, is the office of the angels.

Of their office in heaven, we have, of course, only vague prophetic glimpses (as in 1 K. xxii. 19; Is. vi. 1-3; Dan. vii. 9, 10; Rev. vi. 11, &c.), which show us nothing but a never-ceasing adoration, proceeding from the vision of God, through the "perfect love, which casteth out fear."

Their office towards man is far more fully described to us. They are represented as being, in the widest sense, agents of God's Providence, natural and supernatural, to the body and to the soul. Thus the operations of nature are spoken of, as under angelic guidance fulfilling the Will of God. Not only is this the case in poetical passages, such as Ps. civ. 4 (commented upon in Heb. i. 7), where the powers of air and fire are referred to them, but in the simplest prose history, as where the pestilences which slew the firstborn (Ex. xii. 23; Heb. xi. 28), the disobedient people in the wilderness (1 Cor. x. 10), the Israelites in the days of David (2 Sam. xiv. 16; 1 Chr. xxi. 16), and the army of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 35), as also the plague which cut off Herod (Acts xii. 23) are plainly spoken of as the work of the "Angel of the Lord." Nor can the mysterious declarations of the Apocalypse, by far the most numerous of all, be resolved by honest interpretation into mere poetical imagery. (See especially Rev. viii. and ix.) It is evident that angelic agency, like that of man, does not exclude the action of secondary, or (what are called) "natural" causes, or interfere with the directness and universality of the Providence of God. The personifications of poetry, and legends of mythology are obscure witnesses of its truth, which, however, can rest only on the revelations of Scripture itself.

More particularly, however, angels are spoken of as ministers of what is commonly called the "supernatural," or perhaps more correctly, the "spiritual" Providence of God; as agents in the great scheme of the spiritual redemption and sanctification of man, of which the Bible is the record. The representations of them are different in different books of Scripture, in the Old Testament and in the

<sup>a</sup> Gen. vi. 2, is omitted here and below, as being a controverted passage; although many MSS. of the LXX. have of ἄγγελοι instead of οἱ υἱοὶ here.

<sup>b</sup> The moderate subjectivity of German philosophy on this subject (see, *e.g.*, Winer's *Realte.*), of course,

hastens to the conclusion that the belief in angels is a mere consequence of this craving, never (it would seem) so entering into the analogy of God's providence as to suppose it possible that this inward craving should correspond to some outward reality.

New; but the reasons of the differences are to be found in the differences of scope attributable to the books themselves. As different parts of God's Providence are brought out, so also arise different views of His angelic ministers.

In the Book of Job, which deals with "Natural Religion," they are spoken of but vaguely, as surrounding God's throne above, and rejoicing in the completion of His creative work (Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7). No direct and visible appearance to man is even hinted at.

In the Book of Genesis, there is no notice of angelic appearance till after the call of Abraham. Then, as the book is the history of the *chosen family*, so the angels mingle with and watch over its family life, entertained by Abraham and by Lot (Gen. xviii., xix.), guiding Abraham's servant to Pagan-Aram (xxiv. 7, 40), seen by the fugitive Jacob at Bethel (xxviii. 12), and welcoming his return at Mahanaim (xxxii. 1). Their ministry hallows domestic life, in its trials and its blessings alike, and is closer, more familiar, and less awful than in aftertimes. (Contrast Gen. xviii. with Judg. vi. 21, 22, xiii. 16, 22.)

In the subsequent history, that of a *chosen nation*, the angels are represented more as ministers of wrath and mercy, messengers of a King, rather than common children of the One Father. It is, moreover, to be observed, that the records of their appearance belong especially to two periods, that of the Judges, and that of the captivity, which were transition periods in Israelitish history, the former one destitute of direct revelation or prophetic guidance, the latter one of special trial and unusual contact with heathenism. During the lives of Moses and Joshua there is no record of the appearance of created angels, and only obscure reference to angels at all. In the Book of Judges angels appear at once to rebuke idolatry (ii. 1-4), to call Gideon (vi. 11, &c.) and consecrate Samson (xiii. 3, &c.) to the work of deliverance.

The prophetic office begins with Samuel, and immediately angelic guidance is withheld, except when needed by the prophets themselves (1 K. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 17). During the prophetic and kingly period, angels are spoken of only (as noticed above) as ministers of God in the operations of nature. But in the captivity, when the Jews were in the presence of foreign nations, each claiming its tutelary deity, then to the prophets Daniel and Zechariah, angels are revealed in a fresh light, as watching, not only over Jerusalem, but also over heathen kingdoms, under the Providence, and to work out the designs, of the Lord. (See Zech. viii., and Dan. iv. 13, 23, x. 10, 13, 20, 21, &c.) In the whole period, they, as truly as the prophets and kings themselves, are seen as God's ministers, watching over the *national life* of the subjects of the Great King.

The Incarnation marks a new epoch of angelic ministrations. "The Angel of Jehovah," the Lord of all created angels, having now descended from heaven to earth, it was natural that His servants should continue to do Him service there. Whether to predict and glorify His birth itself (Matt. i. 20; Luke i. ii.) to minister to Him after his temptation and agony (Matt. iv. 11; Luke xxii. 43), or to

declare His resurrection and triumphant ascension (Matt. xxviii. 2; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10, 11)—they seem now to be indeed "ascending and descending on the Son of Man," almost as though transferring to earth the ministrations of heaven. It is clearly seen, that whatever was done by them for men in earlier days, was but typical of and flowing from their service to Him. (See Ps. xci. 11, comp. Matt. iv. 6.)

The New Testament is the history of the *Church of Christ*, every member of which is united to Him. Accordingly, the angels are revealed now, as "ministering spirits" to each *individual* member of Christ for his spiritual guidance and aid (Heb. i. 14). The records of their visible appearance are but unfrequent (Acts v. 19, viii. 26, x. 3, xii. 7, xxvii. 23); but their presence and their aid are referred to familiarly, almost as things of course, ever after the Incarnation. They are spoken of as watching over Christ's little ones<sup>a</sup> (Matt. xviii. 10), as rejoicing over a penitent sinner (Luke xv. 10), as present in the worship of Christians (1 Cor. xi. 10),<sup>d</sup> and (perhaps) bringing their prayers before God (Rev. viii. 3, 4), and as bearing the souls of the redeemed into Paradise (Luke xvi. 22). In one word they are Christ's ministers of grace now, as they shall be of judgment hereafter (Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49, xvi. 27, xxiv. 31, &c.). By what method they act we cannot know of ourselves, nor are we told, perhaps lest we should worship them, instead of Him, whose servants they are (see Col. ii. 18; Rev. xxii. 9); but of course their agency, like that of human ministers, depends for its efficiency on the aid of the Holy Spirit.

Such is the action of God's angels on earth, as disclosed to us in the various stages of Revelation; that of the evil angels may be better spoken of elsewhere [SATAN]: here it is enough to say that it is the direct opposite of their true original office, but permitted under God's overruling providence to go until the judgment day.

That there are degrees of the angelic nature, fallen and unfallen, and special titles and agencies belonging to each, is clearly declared by St. Paul (Eph. i. 21; Rom. viii. 38), but what their general nature is, it is needless for us to know, and therefore useless to speculate. For what little is known of this special nature see CHERUBIM, SERAPHIM, MICHAEL, GABRIEL. [A. B.]

#### ANGLING. [FISHING.]

AN'AM (אָנָם; *Anán*; *Aniun*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii. 19).

AN'IM (אָנִים; *Aním*), a city in the mountains of Judah, named with Eshtemoah (*Es-Senuach*) and Goshen (Josh. xv. 50). Eusebius and Jerome (Onom. *Anan*, *Anim*) mention a place of this name in Daroma, 9 miles south of Hebron (comp. also *Anai*, s. v. *Anab*). [G.]

ANISE (ἀνιθον, Matt. xxiii. 23; *Anethan*), properly the common dill (*Anethum graveolens*, Linn.), described by the Talmudists as אַנְתּוֹן. The *anise* has its specific name, *ανισον*, and though similar to the dill in properties, is an entirely distinct plant. The dill is an umbelliferous plant,

<sup>a</sup> The notion of special guardian angels, watching over individuals, is consistent with this passage, but not necessarily deduced from it. The belief of it among the early Christians is shown by Acts xii. 15.

<sup>d</sup> The difficulty of the passage has led to its being questioned, but the wording of the original and the usage of the N. T. seem almost decisive on the point.

producing a small flower of a bright brown colour, and a flattened elliptical fruit or seed. Both the plant and the seed were used by the ancients (Plin. ix. 61, xx. 74; Apic. vi. 5) as a condiment, the latter having a warm aromatic flavour resembling that of caraway seed. Its use with us is medicinal, as a cuminate. It is still extensively cultivated in the East. [W. L. B.]

**ANKLET** (*περισκελίδες*, *πέδα περισφόριοι*, Clem. Alex.). This word only occurs in Is. iii. 18, *דִּמְכָּשׁ* (and as a proper name, Josh. xiii. 16); unless such ornaments are included in *תְּכָנִיטִּים*, Num. xxxi. 50, which word etymologically would mean rather an anklet than a bracelet. Indeed, the same word is used in Is. iii. 20 (without the Aleph prosthetic) for the "stepping-chairs worn by Oriental women, fastened to the ankle-band of each leg, so that they were forced to walk elegantly with short steps" (Gesen. s. r.). They were as common as bracelets and anklets, and made of much the same materials; the pleasant jingling and tinkling which they made as they knocked against each other, was no doubt one of the reasons why they were admired (Is. iii. 16, 18, "the bravery of their tinkling ornaments.") To increase this pleasant sound pebbles were sometimes enclosed in them (Calmct. s. v. *Periscelis* and *Bells*). The Arabic name "khalkhal" seems to be ornamentation, and Lane (*Mod. Egypt*. App. A.) quotes from a song, in allusion to the pleasure caused by their sound, "the ringing of thine anklets has deprived me of reason." Hence Mohammed forbade them in public; "let them not make a noise with their feet, that their ornaments which they hide may [thereby] be discovered" (*Koran*, xiv. 31, quoted by Lane); no doubt Tertullian discommends them for similar reasons: "Nescio an eris de periscello in nervum se patitur arctui. . . . Pedes domi figite et plus quam in auro placebunt" (*De cult. femini*, ii. 13).

They were sometimes of great value. Lane speaks of them (although they are getting uncommon) as "made of solid gold or silver" (*Mod. Egypt*. l. c.); but he says that the poorer village children wear them of iron. For their use among the ancient Egyptians see Wilkinson, iii. 374, and among the ancient Greeks and Romans, *Dict. of Ant. Art*. "Periscelis." They do not, we believe, occur in the Nineveh sculptures.

Livingstone writes of the favourite wife of an African chief, "she wore a profusion of iron rings on her ankles, to which were attached little pieces of sheet iron to enable her to make a tinkling as she walked in her mincing African style" (p. 273). On the weight and inconvenience of the copper rings worn by the chiefs themselves, and the odd walk it causes them to adopt, see *id.* p. 276. [F. W. F.]

**AN'NA** (*הַנָּחַל*; *Anna*; *Anna*): the name occurs in Punic as the sister of Dido. 1. The mother of Samuel (1 K. i. 2 ff.). [HANNAH.] 2. The wife of Tobit (Tob. i. 9 ff.). 3. The wife of Haguel (Tob. vii. 2 ff.). 4. A "prophetess" in Jerusalem at the time of our Lord's birth (Luke ii. 36). [B. F. W.]

**AN'NAAS** (*Zardas*; *Anaas*), 1 Ed. v. 23. [SĒNAAH.]

**AN'NAS** (*Annas*, in Josephus *Ἀνανίας*), a Jewish high-priest. He was son of one Seth, and was appointed high-priest in his 37th year (A.D. 7), after the battle of Actium, by Quirinius, the imperial governor of Syria (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, §1); but was obliged

to give way to Ismael, son of Phabi, by Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judæa, at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 14 (*ib.* xviii. 2, §2). But soon Ismael was succeeded by Eleazar, son of Annas; then followed, after one year, Simon, son of Camithus, and then, after another year (about A.D. 25), Joseph Caiaphas, son-in-law of Annas (John xviii. 13; Joseph. l. c.). He remained till the passover, A.D. 37, and is mentioned in Luke iii. 2, as officiating high-priest, but after Annas, who seems to have retained the title, and somewhat also of the power of that office. Our Lord's first hearing (John xviii. 13) was before Annas, who then sent him bound to Caiaphas. In Acts iv. 6, he is plainly called the high-priest, and Caiaphas merely named with others of his family. It is no easy matter to give an account of the seemingly capricious applications of this title. Winer supposes that Annas retained it from his former enjoyment of the office; but to this idea St. Luke's expressions seem opposed, in which he clearly appears as bearing the high-priest's dignity at the time then present in each case. Wieseler, in his *Chronology*, and more recently in an article in Herzog's *Realencyclopædie*, maintains that the two, Annas and Caiaphas, were together at the head of the Jewish people, the latter as actual high-priest, the former as president of the Sanhedrim (*סנהדרין*); and so also Selden, *De Synedrion et prefecturis juridicis veterum Hebræorum*, ii. 655: except that this latter supposes Caiaphas to have been the second prefect of the Sanhedrim. Some again suppose that Annas held the office of *נָּזִיר*, or substitute of the high-priest, mentioned by the later Talmudists. He lived to old age, having had five sons high-priests (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9, §1). [H. A.]

**AN'NAS** (*Ἀνάδ*; *Nuas*), name of a man (1 Esd. ix. 32).

**ANNU'US** (*Ἀννῶος*; *Amin*), 1 Esd. viii. 48; comp. Exr. viii. 19.

**ANOINT** (*מָשַׁח*; *χρίω*; *ungo*). Anointing in Holy Scripture is either I. Material, with oil [OIL], or II. Spiritual, with the Holy Ghost.

I. MATERIAL.—1. *Ordinary*. Anointing the body or head with oil was a common practice with the Jews, as with other Oriental nations (Deut. xxviii. 40; Ruth iii. 3; Mic. vi. 15). Abstinence from it was a sign of mourning (2 Sam. xiv. 2; Dan. x. 3; Matt. vi. 17). Anointing the head with oil or ointment seems also to have been a mark of respect sometimes paid by a host to his guests (Luke vii. 46 and Ps. xxiii. 5), and was the ancient Egyptian custom at feasts. Observe, however, that in Ps. xxiii. the Hebrew is *תָּשַׁח* "thou hast made fat"; LXX., *ἐλάτυνας*; Vulg., *impinguasti*; and in Luke vii. *ἀλείφω* is used as it is in the similar passages (John xi. 2; xii. 3). The word anoint (*ἀλείφω*) also occurs in the sense of preparing a body with spices and unguents for burial (Mark xvi. 1. Also xiv. 8, *μυρίτω*). From the custom of discontinuing the use of oil in times of sorrow or disaster, to be anointed with oil comes to signify metaphorically, to be in the enjoyment of success or prosperity (Ps. xcii. 10; comp. Eccl. ix. 8).

2. *Official*. Anointing with oil was a rite of inauguration into each of the three typical offices of the Jewish commonwealth, whose tenants, as anointed, were types of the Anointed One (*מָשִׁיחַ*,

**χριστὸς.** (a) *Prophets* were occasionally anointed to their office (1 K. ix. 16), and are called messiahs, or anointed, (1 Chr. xvi. 22; Ps. cv. 15). (b) *Priests*, at the first institution of the Levitical priesthood, were all anointed to their offices, the sons of Aaron as well as Aaron himself (Ex. xl. 15; Num. iii. 3); but afterwards, anointing seems not to have been repeated at the consecration of ordinary priests, but to have been especially reserved for the high-priest (Ex. xxix. 29; Lev. xvi. 32); so that "the priest that is anointed" (Lev. iv. 3) is generally thought to mean the high-priest, and is rendered by the LXX.  $\delta \alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\delta$   $\kappa\epsilon\chi\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (הַכֹּהֵן הַמְשִׁיחַ). See also vv. 5, 16, and c. vi. 22 (vi. 15, Heb.). (c) *Kings*. The Jews were familiar with the idea of making a king by anointing, before the establishment of their own monarchy (Judg. ix. 8, 15). Anointing was the principal and divinely-appointed ceremony in the inauguration of their own kings (1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1; 1 K. i. 34, 39); indeed, so pre-eminently did it belong to the kingly office, that "the Lord's anointed" was a common designation of the theocratic king (1 Sam. xii. 3, 5; 2 Sam. i. 14, 16). The rite was sometimes performed more than once. David was thrice anointed to be king: first, privately by Samuel, before the death of Saul, by way of conferring on him a right to the throne (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13); again over Judah at Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 4), and finally over the whole nation (2 Sam. v. 3). After the separation into two kingdoms, the kings both of Judah and of Israel seem still to have been anointed (2 K. ix. 3, xi. 12). So late as the time of the captivity the king is called "the anointed of the Lord" (Ps. lxxix. 38, 51; Lam. iv. 20). Some persons, however, think, that after David, subsequent kings were not anointed except when, as in the cases of Solomon, Josiah and Jehu, the right of succession was disputed or transferred (Jahn, *Archaeol. Bibl.* §223). Beside Jewish kings, we read that Hazael was to be anointed king of Syria (1 K. xix. 15). Cyrus also is called the Lord's anointed, as having been raised by God to the throne for the special purpose of delivering the Jews out of captivity (Is. xlv. 1). (d) *Inanimate objects* also were anointed with oil in token of their being set apart for religious service. Thus Jacob anointed a pillar at Bethel (Gen. xxxi. 13); and at the introduction of the Mosaic economy, the tabernacle and all its furniture were consecrated by anointing (Ex. xxx. 26-28). The expression "anoint the shield" (Is. xxi. 5) ( $\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\theta\upsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ , LXX.; *urripite clipeum*, Vulg.) refers to the custom of rubbing oil into the hide, which, stretched upon a frame, formed the shield, in order to make it supple and fit for use.

3. *Ecclesiastical*. Anointing with oil in the name of the Lord is prescribed by St. James to be used together with prayer, by the elders of the church, for the recovery of the sick  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  (James v. 14). Analogous to this is the anointing with oil practised by the twelve (Mark ix. 13), and our Lord's anointing the eyes of a blind man with clay made from saliva, in restoring him miraculously to sight ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\chi\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon$ , John ix. 6, 11).

II. **SPIRITUAL**.—1. In the O. T. a Deliverer is promised under the title of Messiah, or Anointed (Ps. ii. 2; Dan. ix. 25, 26); and the nature of his anointing is described to be spiritual, with the Holy Ghost (Is. lxi. 1; see Luke iv. 18). As anointing with oil betokened prosperity, and produced a cheer-

ful aspect (Ps. civ. 15), so this spiritual unction is figuratively described as anointing "with the oil of gladness" (Ps. xlv. 7; Heb. i. 9). In the N. T. Jesus of Nazareth is shown to be the Messiah, or Christ, or Anointed of the Old Testament (John i. 41; Acts ix. 22, xvii. 2, 3, xviii. 5, 28); and the historical fact of his being anointed with the Holy Ghost is recorded and asserted (John i. 32, 33; Acts iv. 27, x. 38). 2. *Spiritual anointing* with the Holy Ghost is conferred also upon Christians by God (2 Cor. i. 21), and they are described as having an unction ( $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ ) from the Holy One, by which they know all things (1 John ii. 20, 27). To anoint the eyes with eyesalve is used figuratively to denote the process of obtaining spiritual perception (Rev. iii. 18). [T. T. P.]

**ANOS** ( $\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ; *Junus*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [YANIAH.]

**ANT** ( $\alpha\mu\eta$ ); an insect twice mentioned in the book of Proverbs (vi. 6, xxx. 25). In both passages its provident habits are referred to, especially its providing its meat in the summer. This has generally been supposed to imply that the store was laid up against winter, and among the ancients this belief was universal. It may suffice to refer to *Sat.* 1, 1, v. 33-38. But observation of the habits of ants does not confirm this belief, and as certainly it does not necessarily follow from the statements of Scripture. (See Kirby and Spence's *Entomology*, p. 313, Ed. 7, London, 1856, where the question is fully discussed.) The particular species of ant referred to by Solomon has not been identified; and we find no mention of ants in modern accounts of Palestine. The LXX. render the word  $\alpha\mu\eta$  by  $\mu\upsilon\pi\alpha\mu\eta$ , in Prov. vi. 6. The derivation of  $\alpha\mu\eta$  is supposed to be from the root  $\mu\alpha\lambda$ , which again is connected with  $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda$  and  $\mu\alpha\lambda$ , *abscedit vel abscessus est*, and hence perhaps the idea that the ants bite off the end of the grain they gather to prevent its germinating. It seems more reasonable to connect  $\alpha\mu\eta$  with the Arabic root  $\نزل$ , *conscendit praeputans arborem*: so that  $\alpha\mu\eta$  is properly a climber by creeping. See Bochart *Hieroz.* iii. 478. seq. Lips. [W. D.]

**ANTIOCH** ( $\alpha\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\chi\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ ). 1. In SYRIA. The capital of the Greek kings of Syria, and afterwards the residence of the Roman governors of the province which bore the same name. This metropolis was situated where the chain of Lebanon, running northwards, and the chain of Taurus, running eastwards, are brought to an abrupt meeting. Here the Orontes breaks through the mountains; and Antioch was placed at a bend of the river, partly on an island, partly on the level which forms the left bank, and partly on the steep and craggy ascent of Mount Silpius, which rose abruptly on the south. In the immediate neighbourhood was Daphne, the celebrated sanctuary of Apollo (2 Macc. iv. 33); whence the city was sometimes called ANTIOCH BY DAPHNE, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name.

No city, after Jerusalem, is so intimately connected with the history of the apostolic church. Certain points of close association between these two cities, as regards the progress of Christianity, may be noticed in the first place. One of the

seven deacons, or almoners appointed at Jerusalem, was Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch (Acts vi. 5). The Christians, who were dispersed from Jerusalem at the death of Stephen, preached the gospel at Antioch (ibid. xi. 19). It was from Jerusalem that Agabus and the other prophets, who foretold the famine, came to Antioch (ibid. xi. 27, 28); and Barnabas and Saul were consequently sent on a mission of charity from the latter city to the former (ibid. xi. 30, xii. 25). It was from Jerusalem again that the Judaizers came, who disturbed the church at Antioch (ibid. xv. 1); and it was at Antioch that St. Paul rebuked St. Peter for conduct into which he had been betrayed through the influence of emissaries from Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 11, 12).

The chief interest of Antioch, however, is connected with the progress of Christianity among the heathen. Here the first Gentile church was founded (Acts xi. 20, 21); here the disciples of Jesus Christ were first called Christians (xi. 26); here St. Paul exercised (so far as is distinctly recorded) his first systematic ministerial work (vi. 22-26; see *Ant.* 26-28; also xv. 35 and xviii. 23); hence he started at the beginning of his first missionary journey (xii. 1-3), and thither he returned (xiv. 26). So again after the apostolic council (the decrees of which were specially addressed to the Gentile converts at Antioch, xv. 23), he began and ended his second missionary journey at this place (xv. 36, xviii. 22). This too was the starting point of the third missionary journey (xviii. 23), which was brought to a termination by the imprisonment at Jerusalem and Caesarea. Though St. Paul was never again, so far as we know, at Antioch, it did not cease to be an important centre for Christian progress; but it does not belong to this place to trace its history as a patriarchate, and its connexion with Ignatius, Chrysostom, and other eminent names.

Antioch was founded in the year 300 B.C., by Seleucus Nicator, with circumstances of considerable display, which were afterwards embellished by fable. The situation was well chosen, both for military and commercial purposes. Jews were settled there from the first in large numbers, were governed by their own ethnarch, and allowed to have the same political privileges with the Greeks (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §1; *c. Ap.* ii. 4). Antioch grew under the successive Seleucid kings, till it became a city of great extent and of remarkable beauty. Some of the most magnificent buildings were on the island. One feature, which seems to have been characteristic of the great Syrian cities, — a vast street with colonnades, intersecting the whole from end to end, — was added by Antiochus Epiphanes. Some lively notices of the Antioch of this period, and of its relation to Jewish history, are supplied by the books of Maccabees. (See especially 1 Macc. iii. 37, xi. 13; 2 Macc. iv. 7-9, v. 21, xi. 36.)

It is the Antioch of the Roman period with which we are concerned in the N. T. By Pompey it had been made a free city, and such it continued till the time of Antoninus Pius. The early Emperors raised there some large and important structures, such as aqueducts, amphitheatres and baths. Herod the Great contributed a road and a colonnade (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, §3; *B. J.*, i. 21, §11). Here should be mentioned that the citizens of Antioch under the Empire were noted for scurrilous wit and the invention of nicknames. This perhaps was the origin of the name by which the disciples of Jesus Christ are designated, and which

was probably given by Romans to the despised sect, and not by Christians to themselves.

The great authority for all that is known of ancient Antioch is C. O. Muller's *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Gött. 1839). Modern Antakia is a shrunken and miserable place. Some of the walls, shattered by earthquakes, have a striking appearance on the crags of Mount Silpius. They are described in Chesney's account of the *Euphrates Expedition*, where also is given a view of a gateway which still bears the name of St. Paul. One error, however, should be pointed out, which has found its way into these volumes from Calmet, namely, Jerome's erroneous identification of Antioch with the Riblah of the Old Testament.



Gate of St. Paul, Antakia.

2. ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA (Acts xiii. 14, xiv. 19, 21; 2 Tim. iii. 11). The position of this town is clearly pointed out by Strabo in the following words (xii. p. 577):—"In the district of Phrygia called Paroreia, there is a certain mountain-ridge, stretching from E. to W. On each side there is a large plain below this ridge; and it has two cities in its neighbourhood: Philomelium on the north, and on the other side Antioch, called Antioch near Pisidia. The former lies entirely in the plain; the latter (which has a Roman colony) is on a height." The relations of distance also between Antioch and other towns are known by the Peutingerian table. Its site, however, has only recently been ascertained. It was formerly supposed to be *Ak-sheer*, which is now known to be Philomelium on the north side of the ridge. Even Winer (1847) gives this view, the difficulties of which were seen by Leake, and previously by Mannert. Mr. Arundell, the British chaplain at Smyrna, undertook a journey in 1833 for the express purpose of identifying the Pisidian Antioch, and he was perfectly successful (Arundell's *Asia Minor*, ch. xii., xiii., xiv.). The ruins are very considerable. This discovery was fully confirmed by Mr. Hamilton (*Res. in Asia Minor*, vol. i. ch. 27). Antioch corresponds to *Yalobatch*, which is distant from *Ak-sheer* six hours over the mountains.

This city, like the Syrian Antioch, was founded by Seleucus Nicator. Under the Romans it became a colony, and was also called Caesarea, as we learn from Pliny (v. 24). The former fact is confirmed

by the Latin inscriptions and other features of the coins of the place; the latter by inscriptions discovered on the spot by Mr. Hamilton.

The occasion on which St. Paul visited the city for the first time (Acts xiii. 14) was very interesting and important. His preaching in the synagogue led to the reception of the gospel by a great number of the Gentiles: and this resulted in a violent persecution on the part of the Jews, who first, using the influence of some of the wealthy female residents, drove him from Antioch to Iconium (ib. 50, 51), and subsequently followed him even to Lystra (Acts xiv. 19). St. Paul, on his return from Lystra, revisited Antioch for the purpose of strengthening the minds of the disciples (ib. 21). These events happened when he was on his first missionary journey, in company with Barnabas. He probably visited Antioch again at the beginning of his second journey, when Silas was his associate, and Timotheus, who was a native of this neighbourhood, had just been added to the party. The allusion in 2 Tim. iii. 11 shows that Timotheus was well acquainted with the sufferings which the apostle had undergone during his first visit to the Pisidian Antioch. [PHRYGIA; PISIDIA.] [J. S. H.]

**ANTIOCHUS II.** (*Ἀντίοχος, the withstander*), king of Syria, surnamed the God (*Θεός*), "in the first instance by the Milesians, because he overthrew their tyrant Timarchus" (App. Syr. 65), succeeded his father Antiochus (*Σωτήρ, the Saviour*) in B.C. 261. During the earlier part of his reign he was engaged in a fierce war with Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, king of Egypt (*totis viribus dimicavit*, Hieron. *ad Dan.* xi. 6), in the course of which Parthia and Bactria revolted and became independent kingdoms. At length (B.C. 250) peace was made, and the two monarchs "joined themselves together" (Dan. xi. 6), and Ptolemy ("the king of the south") gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus ("the king of the north") who set aside his former wife, Laodice, to receive her. After some time, on the death of Ptolemy (B.C. 247), Antiochus recalled Laodice and her children Seleucus and Antiochus to court. Thus Berenice was "not able to retain her power;" and Laodice, in jealous fear lest she might a second time lose her ascendancy, poisoned Antiochus (him "that supported her," i.e. Berenice), and caused Berenice and her infant son to be put to death, B.C. 246 (Dan. xi. 6; Hieron. *ad Dan.* l. c. App. Syr. 65).

After the death of Antiochus, Ptolemaeus Evergetes, the brother of Berenice ("out of a branch of her root"), who succeeded his father Ptol. Philadelphus, exacted vengeance for his sister's death by an invasion of Syria, in which Laodice was killed, her son Seleucus Callinicus driven for a time from the throne, and the whole country plundered (Dan. xi. 7-9; Hieron. l. c.; hence his surname "*the benefactor*"). The hostilities thus renewed continued for many years; and on the death of Seleucus B.C. 226, after his "return into his own land" (Dan. xi. 9), his sons Alexander (Seleucus) Keraunos, and Antiochus "assembled a great multitude of forces" against Ptol. Philopator the son of Evergetes, and "one of them" (Antiochus) threatened to overthrow the power of Egypt (Dan. xi. 9, 10; Hieron. l. c.). [B. F. W.]

**ANTIOCHUS III.**, surnamed the Great (*μέγας*), succeeded his brother Seleucus Keraunos, who was assassinated after a short reign in B.C. 223. He prosecuted the war against Ptol. Philo-

pator with vigour, and at first with success. In B.C. 218 he drove the Egyptian forces to Sidon, conquered Samaria and Gilead, and wintered at Ptolemais, but was defeated next year at Raphia, near Gaza (B.C. 217), with immense loss, and in consequence made a peace with Ptolemy, in which he ceded to him the disputed provinces of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine (Dan. xi. 11, 12; Polyb. v. 40 ff.; 53 ff.). During the next thirteen years Antiochus was engaged in strengthening his position in Asia Minor, and on the frontiers of Parthia, and by his successes gained his surname of the Great. At the end of this time, B.C. 205, Ptolemaeus Philopator died, and left his kingdom to his son Ptol. Epiphanes, who was only five years old. Antiochus availed himself of the opportunity which was offered by the weakness of a minority and the unpopularity of the regent, to unite with Philip III. of Macedon for the purpose of conquering and dividing the Egyptian dominions. The Jews, who had been exasperated by the conduct of Ptol. Philopator both in Palestine and Egypt, openly espoused his cause, under the influence of a short-sighted policy ("the fictions among thy people shall rise," i.e. against Ptolemy: Dan. xi. 14). Antiochus succeeded in occupying the three disputed provinces, but was repulsed to Asia by a war which broke out with Attalus, king of Pergamum; and his ally Philip was himself embroiled with the Romans. In consequence of this diversion Ptolemy, by the aid of Scopas, again made himself master of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3) and recovered the territory which he had lost (Hieron. *ad Dan.* xi. 14). In B.C. 198 Antiochus reappeared in the field and gained a decisive victory "near the sources of the Jordan" (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3; Hieron. l. c. ubi *Pancon nunc coulita est*); and afterwards captured Scopas and the remnant of his forces who had taken refuge in Sidon (Dan. xi. 15). The Jews, who had suffered severely during the struggle (Joseph. l. c.), welcomed Antiochus as their deliverer, and "he stood in the glorious land which by his hand was to be consumed" (Dan. xi. 16). His further designs against Egypt were frustrated by the intervention of the Romans; and his daughter Cleopatra (Polyb. xxviii. 17), whom he gave in marriage to Ptol. Epiphanes, with the Phoenician provinces for her dower (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, 1), favoured the interests of her husband rather than those of her father (Dan. xi. 17; Hieron. l. c.). From Egypt Antiochus turned again to Asia Minor, and after various successes in the Aegean crossed over to Greece, and by the advice of Hannibal entered on a war with Rome. His victorious course was checked at Thermopylae (B.C. 191), and after subsequent reverses he was finally defeated at Magnesia in Lydia, B.C. 190.<sup>a</sup> By the peace which was concluded shortly afterwards (B.C. 188) he was forced to cede all his possessions "on the Roman side of M. Taurus," and to pay in successive instalments an enormous sum of money to defray the expenses of the war (15,000 Euboic talents: App. Syr. 38). This last condition led to his ignominious death. In B.C. 187 he attacked a rich temple of Belus in Elymais, and was slain by the people who rose in its defence (Strab. xvi. 744; Just. xxxii. 2). Thus "he stumbled and fell, and was not found" (Dan. xi. 19).

<sup>a</sup> The statement in 1 Mac. viii. 6, that Antiochus was taken prisoner by the Romans, is not supported by any other testimony.

The policy of Antiochus toward the Jews was liberal and conciliatory. He not only assured to them perfect freedom and protection in the exercise of their worship, but according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3, 3), in consideration of their great sufferings and services in his behalf, he made splendid contributions toward the support of the temple ritual, and gave various immunities to the priests and other inhabitants of Jerusalem. At the same time imitating the example of Alexander and Seleucus, and appreciating the influence of their fidelity and unity, he transported two thousand families of Jews from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia, to repress the tendency to revolt which was manifested in these provinces (*Joseph. Ant.* l. c.).

Two sons of Antiochus occupied the throne after him, Seleucus Philopator, his immediate successor, and Antiochus IV., who gained the kingdom upon the assassination of his brother. [B. F. W.]



Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Antiochus III.

Obv. Head of king to right. Rev. Α. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. In field, mv. Apollo, seated on cithara, to left.

**ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES** (Ἐπιφάνης, the *Illustratus*, also called Θεός, and in mockery Ἐπιφάνης, the *Frontis*: *Athen.* x. 438; *Polyb.* xxvi. 10) was the youngest son of Antiochus the Great. He was given as a hostage to the Romans (B.C. 188) after his father's defeat at Magnesia. In B.C. 175 he was released by the intervention of his brother Seleucus, who substituted his own son Demetrius in his place. Antiochus was at Athens when Seleucus was assassinated by Heliodorus. He took advantage of his position, and, by the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, easily expelled Heliodorus who had usurped the crown, and himself "obtained the kingdom by flatteries" (*Dan.* xi. 21; cf. *Liv.* xli. 20), to the exclusion of his nephew Demetrius (*Dan.* viii. 7).

The accession of Antiochus was immediately followed by desperate efforts of the Hellenizing party at Jerusalem to assert their supremacy. Jason (*Jesus*: *Jos. Ant.* xii. 5, 1, see *JASON*), the brother of Onias III., the high priest, persuaded the king to transfer the high priesthood to him, and at the same time bought permission (2 Macc. iv. 9) to carry out his design of habituating the Jews to Greek customs (2 Macc. iv. 7, 20). Three years afterwards Menelaus, of the tribe of Benjamin [*SIMON*], who was commissioned by Jason to carry to Antiochus the price of his office, supplanted Jason by offering the king a larger bribe, and was himself appointed high priest, while Jason was obliged to take refuge among the Ammonites (2 Macc. iv. 23-26). From these circumstances and from the marked honour with which Antiochus was received at Jerusalem very early in his reign (c. B.C. 173; 2 Macc. iv. 22), it appears that he found no difficulty in regaining the border provinces which had been given as the dower of his sister

Cleopatra to Ptol. Epiphanes. But his ambition led him still further, and he undertook four campaigns against Egypt, B.C. 171, 170, 169, 168, with greater success than had attended his predecessor, and the complete conquest of the country was prevented only by the interference of the Romans (*Dan.* xi. 24; 1 Macc. i. 16 ff.; 2 Macc. v. 11 ff.). The course of Antiochus was everywhere marked by the same wild prodigality as had signalised his occupation of the throne (*Dan.* l. c.). The consequent exhaustion of his treasury, and the armed conflicts of the rival high priests whom he had appointed, furnished the occasion for an assault upon Jerusalem on his return from his second Egyptian campaign (B.C. 170), which he had probably planned in conjunction with Ptol. Philometor, who was at that time in his power (*Dan.* xi. 26). The Temple was plundered, a terrible massacre took place, and a Phrygian governor was left with Menelaus in charge of the city (2 Macc. v. 1-22; 1 Macc. i. 20-28). Two years afterwards, at the close of the fourth Egyptian expedition (*Polyb.* xxix. 1, 11; *App. Syr.* 66; cf. *Dan.* xi. 29, 30), Antiochus detached a force under Apollonius to occupy Jerusalem and fortify it, and at this time he availed himself of the assistance of the ancestral enemies of the Jews (1 Macc. iv. 61; v. 3 ff.; *Dan.* xi. 41). The decrees then followed which have rendered his name infamous. The Temple was desecrated, and the observance of the law was forbidden. "On the fifteenth day of [Sisleu] [the Syrians] set up the abomination of desolation (i. e. an idol altar: v. 59) on the altar" (1 Macc. i. 54). Ten days afterwards an

offering was made upon it to Jupiter Olympius. At Jerusalem all opposition appears to have ceased; but Mattathias and his sons organised a resistance ("holpen with a little help," *Dan.* xi. 31), which preserved inviolate the name and faith of Israel. Meanwhile Antiochus turned his arms to the East, towards Parthia (*Tac. Hist.* v. 8) and Armenia (*App. Syr.* 45; *Diod. ap. Muller, Fragm.* ii. p. 10; *Dan.* xi. 40). Hearing not long afterwards of the riches of a temple of Naumes ("the desire of women," *Dan.* xi. 37) in Elymais, hung with the gifts of Alexander, he resolved to plunder it. The attempt was defeated; and though he did not fall like his father in the act of sacrilege, the event hastened his death. He retired to Babylon, and thence to Tabae in Persia, where he died B.C. 164, the victim of superstition, terror, and remorse (*Polyb.* xxxi. 2; *Jo.eph. Ant.* xii. 8, 1 ff.), having first heard of the successes of the Maccabees in restoring the temple-worship at Jerusalem (1 Macc. vi. 1-16; cf. 2 Macc. i. 7-17?). "He came to his end and there was none to help him" (*Dan.* xi. 45). Cf. *App. Syr.* 45; *Liv.* xli. 24-5, xlii. 6, xliii. 19, xliv. 11-13; *Joseph. Ant.* xii. 5, 8.

The reign of Antiochus, thus shortly traced, was the last great crisis in the history of the Jews before the coming of our Lord. The prominence which is given to it in the book of Daniel fitly accords with its typical and representative character (*Dan.* vii. 8, 25, viii. 11 ff.). The conquest of Alexander had introduced the forces of Greek thought and life into the Jewish nation, which was already prepared for their operation [*ALEXANDER*]. For more than a century and a half these forces had acted powerfully both upon the faith and upon the habits of the people; and the time was come when an onward struggle alone could decide whether Judaism was

to be merged in a rationalised Paganism, or to rise not only victorious from the conflict, but more vigorous and more pure. There were many symptoms which betokened the approaching struggle. The position which Judaea occupied on the borders of the conflicting empires of Syria and Egypt, exposed equally to the open miseries of war and the treacherous favours of rival sovereigns, rendered its national condition precarious from the first, though these very circumstances were favourable to the growth of freedom. The terrible crimes by which the wars of "the North and South" were stained, must have alienated the mind of every faithful Jew from his Grecian lords, even if persecution had not been superadded from Egypt first and then from Syria. Politically nothing was left for the people in the reign of Antiochus but independence, or the abandonment of every prophetic hope. Nor was their social position less perilous. The influence of Greek literature, of foreign travel, of extended commerce, had made itself felt in daily life. At Jerusalem the mass of the inhabitants seem to have desired to imitate the exercises of the Greeks; and a Jewish embassy attended the games of Hercules at Tyre (2 Macc. iv. 9-20). Even their religious feelings were yielding; and before the rising of the Maccabees no opposition was offered to the execution of the king's decrees. Upon the first attempt of Jason the "priests had no courage to serve at the altar" (2 Macc. iv. 14; cf. 1 Macc. i. 43); and this not so much from wilful apostasy, as from a disregard to the vital principles involved in the conflict. Thus it was necessary that the final issues of a false Hellenism should be openly seen that it might be discarded for ever by those who cherished the ancient faith of Israel.



Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes  
 Obs.: Head of King, to right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ  
 ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. Jupiter seated to left, holding a Victory. In field monogram.

The conduct of Antiochus was in every way suited to accomplish this end; and yet it seems to have been the result of passionate impulse rather than of any well-laid scheme to extirpate a strange creed. At first he imitated the liberal policy of his predecessors; and the occasion for his attacks was furnished by the Jews themselves. Even the motives by which he was finally actuated were personal, or at most only political. Able, energetic (Polyb. xxvii. 17) and liberal to profusion, Antiochus was reckless and unscrupulous in the execution of his plans. He had learnt at Rome to court power and to dread it. Hegained an empire, and he remembered that he had been a hostage. Regardless himself of the gods of his fathers (Dan. xi. 37), he was incapable of appreciating the power of religion in others; and like Nero in later times, he became a type of the enemy of God, not as the Roman emperor by the perpetration of unnatural crimes, but by the disregard of every higher feel-

ing. "He magnified himself above all." The reality whom he recognised was the Roman war-god; and fortresses were his most sacred temples (Dan. xi. 38 ff.; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* iv. 340). Confronted with such a persecutor the Jews realised the spiritual power of his faith. The evils of heathendom were seen concentrated in a personal shape. The outward forms of worship became invested with something of a sacramental dignity. Common life was purified and ennobled by heroic devotion. An independent nation asserted the integrity of its hopes in the face of Egypt, Syria, and Rome.

[B. F. W.]

**ANTIOCHUS V. EUPTATOR** (*Εὐπάτωρ*, of noble descent), succeeded his father Antiochus IV. B.C. 164, while still a child, under the guardianship of Lysias (App. *Syr.* 46; 1 Macc. iii. 32, f., vi. 17), though Antiochus had assigned this office to Philip his own foster-brother on his death-bed (1 Macc. vi. 14, f. 55; 2 Macc. ix. 29). Shortly after his accession he marched against Jerusalem with a large army, accompanied by Lysias, to relieve the Syrian garrison, which was hard pressed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. vi. 19 ff.). He repulsed Judas at Bethzacharia, and took Bethsur (Bethzur) after a vigorous resistance (1 Macc. vi. 31-50). But when the Jewish force in the temple was on the point of yielding, Lysias persuaded the king to conclude a hasty peace that he might advance to meet Philip, who had returned from Persia and made himself master of Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 51 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, 5 f.). Philip was speedily overpowered (Joseph. l. c.); but in the next year (B.C. 162) Antiochus and Lysias fell into the hands of Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, who caused them to be put to death in revenge for the wrongs which he had himself suffered from Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. vii. 2-4; 2 Macc. xiv. 1, 2; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, 1. Polyb. xxxi. 19).

[B. F. W.]

**ANTIOCHUS VI.** (*Ἀλέξανδρος Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ νόθου*, App. *Syr.* 68; sur-named *Θεός*, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 7, 1; and *ἐπιφανὴς Διοσυρος* on coins), was the son of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* l. c.). After his father's death (146 B.C.) he remained in Arabia; but though still a child (*παιδίον*, App. l. c., *παιδίων νεώτερον*, 1 Macc. xi. 54), he was soon afterwards brought forward (c. 145 B.C.) as a claimant to the throne of Syria against Demetrius Nicator by Tryphon or Diodotus (1 Macc. xi. 39; App. *Syr.* 68; Strab. xiv. p. 668; xvi. p. 752), who had been an officer of his father. Tryphon succeeded in gaining Antioch (1 Macc. xi. 56); and afterwards the greater part of Syria submitted to the young Antiochus. Jonathan, who was confirmed by him in the high priesthood (1 Macc. xi. 57) and invested with the government of Judaea, contributed greatly to his success [ALEXANDER BALAS], occupying Ascalon and Gaza, and reducing the country as far as Damascus (1 Macc. xi. 60-2). He afterwards defeated the troops of Demetrius at Hazer (1 Macc. xi. 67) near Cadash (v. 73); and repulsed a second attempt which he made to regain Palestine (1 Macc. xii. 24 ff.). Tryphon having now gained the supreme power in the name of Antiochus, no longer concealed his design of usurping the crown. As a first step he took Jonathan by treachery and put him to death, B.C. 143 (1 Macc. xii. 40 ff.); and afterwards murdered the young king, and ascended

the throne (1 Macc. xiii. 31; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, 6; App. *Syr.* 68. Livy (Epit. 55) says incorrectly *decem annos admodum habens*... [Hod. ap. Müller, *Fragm.* ii. 19. Just. xxxvi. 1.]. [B. F. W.]



Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Antiochus VI.

Obv.: Head of King, radiate, to right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ. In field, ΤΡΥΦ (Tryphon), and date ΘΞΠ (109 A.D. Seleucid)

**ANTIOCHUS VII. SIDE'TES** (Σιδήτης, of Side, in Pamphylia: not from ΣΨ, a hunter:

[Plut. *Apophth.* p. 34; called also Εδωρεβής, the pious, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 2; Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349), king of Syria, was the second son of Demetrius I. When his brother, Demetrius Nicator, was taken prisoner (c. 141 B.C.) by Mithridates I. (Arsaces VI., 1 Macc. xiv. 1) king of Parthia, he married his wife Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* 68; Just. xxxvi. 1), and obtained possession of the throne (137 B.C.), having expelled the usurper Tryphon (1 Macc. xv. 1 ff.; Strab. xiv. p. 668). At first he made a very advantageous treaty with Simon, who was now "high priest and prince of the Jews," but when he grew independent of his help, he withdrew the concessions which he had made and demanded the surrender of the fortresses which the Jews held, or an equivalent in money (1 Macc. xv. 26 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, 3). As Simon was unwilling to yield to his demands, he sent a force under Cendebeaus against him, who occupied a fortified position at Cedron (1 Macc. xv. 41), near Azotus, and harassed the surrounding country. After the defeat of Cendebeaus by the sons of Simon and the destruction of his works (1 Macc. xvi. 1-10), Antiochus, who had returned from the pursuit of Tryphon, undertook an expedition against Judaea in person. He laid siege to Jerusalem, but according to Josephus granted honorable terms to John Hyrcanus (B.C. 133), who had made a vigorous resistance (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8; yet comp. Porphyry, ap. Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349, *muros urbis demolitur atque electissimos eorum trucidat*). Antiochus next turned his arms against the Parthians, and Hyrcanus accompanied him in the campaign. But after some successes, he was entirely defeated by Phraortes II. (Arsaces VII.), and fell in the battle c. B.C. 127-6 (Joseph. l. c.; Just. xxxvi.; xxxviii. 10; App. *Syr.* 68, *ἔκτειλεν ταύτους*). For the year of his death cf. Niebuhr, *RI. Schrift.* i. 251. f.; Clinton, *F. H.* ii. 332, ff.). [B. F. W.]

**ANTIPAS.** [HEROD.]

**ANTIPATER** ('Αντίπατρος; Antipater), son of Jason, ambassador from the Jews to the Lacedaemonians (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22).

**ANTIPATRIS** ('Αντίπατρος). Our means of identifying this town are due, partly to the fortu-

nate circumstance that the old Semitic name of the place has lingered among the present Arabic population, and partly to a journey specially undertaken by Dr. Eli Smith, for the purpose of illustrating the night march of the soldiers who conveyed St. Paul from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Act. xxiii. 31). Dr. Robinson was of opinion, when he published his first edition, that the road which the soldiers took on this occasion led from Jerusalem to Caesarea by the pass of *Beth-Horon*, and by Lydda, or Diospolis. This is the route which was followed by Cestius Gallus, as mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 19, §1); and it appears to be identical with that given in the Jerusalem Itinerary, according to which Antipatris is 42 miles from Jerusalem, and 26 from Caesarea. Even on this supposition it would have been quite possible for troops leaving Jerusalem on the evening of one day, to reach Caesarea on the next, and to start thence, after a rest, to return to (it is not said that

they arrived at) their quarters at Jerusalem before nightfall. But the difficulty is entirely removed by Dr. Smith's discovery of a much shorter road, leading by Gophna direct to Antipatris. On this route he met the Roman pavement again and again, and indeed says "he does not remember observing anywhere before so extensive remains of a Roman road." (See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 478-498; *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 330-334, 2nd ed.)

It may be difficult to fix the precise spot where the ancient city stood, but the Arabic name, *Kefr-Saba*, determines the general situation. Josephus tells us that the old name was Capharsaba (*Καφαρ-σάβα* or *Χαβασάβα*), and that Herod, when he rebuilt the city, changed it to Antipatris, in honour of his father Antipater (*Ant.* xiii. 15, §1, xvi. 5, §2; *B. J.* i. 21, §9). The position of Kefr-Saba is in sufficient harmony with what the Jewish historian says of the position of Antipatris, which he describes as a well-watered and well-wooded plain, near a hilly ridge, and with his notices of a trench dug from thence for military purposes to the sea near Joppa, by one of the Asmonean princes (*Ant.* xiii. 15, §1; *B. J.* i. 4, §7). At a later period he mentions the place again in connexion with a military movement of Vespasian from Caesarea towards Jerusalem (*B. J.* iv. 8, §1). No remains of ancient Antipatris have been found; but the ground has not been fully explored. [J. S. H.]

**ANTONIA**, a fortress, built by Herod on the site of the more ancient Baris, on the N.W. of the Temple, and so named by him after his friend Antonius. [JERUSALEM.] The word nowhere occurs in the Bible.

**ANTOTHJ'IAH** (עֲנֹתִיָּה; 'Αναθόθ' καὶ 'Ιαθί; *Anathothia*), name of a man (1 Chr. viii. 24).

**A'NUB** (עֲנוֹב; 'Ενός; *Anob*), name of a man (1 Chr. iv. 8).

**A'NUS** ('Αννιός; *Banaeus*), a Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48). [BANI.]

**AP'AME** ('Αρδα; *Apeme*), concubine of Harius (1 Esd. iv. 29).

**APE** (ἄπῃ, *K'ph*). An animal of the monkey tribe mentioned in 1 K. x. 22, and in the parallel passage in 2 Chr. ix. 21, among the merchandise

brought by the fleets of Solomon and Hiram once in every three years. The LXX. render the word by *πίθηκος*, which is equivalent to the Latin *Sinia*. The Greeks have the word *κῆβος*, or *κῆπος*, for a long-tailed species of monkey (Arist. *H. A.* ii. 8, 9), and Pliny (viii. 19, s. 28) uses *ceplus*. Both Greeks and Hebrews received the word with the animal from India, for the ape, both in Sansc. and Malabar, is called *Kopi* = swift, active. Hence also the Germ. *Affe*, the Anglosaxon *Ape*, and the Engl. *Ape*, the initial guttural being dropped, just as the Latins got *Amire* from the Sansc. *Kūma*. (See Bopp. *Sansc. Gloss.* p. 65.) The Cephis of Aethiopia are described and figured in I. Ludolfi *Historia Aethiopiae*, i. 10, §52-64. They are represented as tailless animals, climbing rocks, eating worms and ants, and protecting themselves from the attack of lions by casting sand into their eyes. In a mosaic pavement found at Praeneste, and figured in Shaw's *Travels*, p. 423, an ape or monkey is represented, having inscribed near it the word **ΚΗΠΕΝ**. [W. D.]

**APELLES** (Ἀπελλῆς), a Christian saluted by St. Paul in Rom. xvi. 10, and honoured by the designation *δόκιμος ἐν Χριστῷ*. Origen (*in loc.*) suggests that he may have been identical with Apollon; but there seems no ground for supposing it, and we learn from Horace (*Sat.* i. 5, 100) that Apella was a common name among the Jews. Tradition makes him bi-shop of Smyrna, or Hecleia (Fabric. *Lux Evangl.* p. 116). [H. A.]

**APHAR'SATHCHITES, APHARSITES, APHAR'SACITES** (אַפְרַסְאֲחִיטִים, אִפְרַסְיִים, אִפְרַסְיָאִים; Ἀφαρασαθαῖοι, Ἀφαρασαῖοι, Ἀφαρασαῖοι; *Apharsathachitae, Arphasachitae*), the names of certain tribes, colonies from which had settled in Samaria under the Assyrian leader Assnapper (Ezr. iv. 9, v. 6). The first and last are regarded as the same. Where these tribes came is entirely a matter of conjecture: the initial *A* is regarded as *prosthetic*: if this be rejected, the remaining portion of the two first names bears some resemblance (a very distant one, it must be allowed) to *Panaetacae*, or *Panaetiaceni*, significant of *mountain-dwellers*, applied principally to a tribe living on the borders of Media and Persia; while the second has been referred to the Parthasii, and by Gesenius, to the Persae, to which it certainly bears a much greater affinity, especially in the prolonged form of the latter name found in Dan. vi. 29 (פֶּרְסִים). The presence of the proper name of the Persians in Ezr. i. 1, iv. 3, must throw some doubt upon Gesenius' conjecture; but it is very possible that the *local* name of the tribe may have undergone alteration, while the official and general name was correctly given. [W. L. B.]

**A/PHK** (אַפְהַק, from a root signifying tenacity or firmness, Ges.; Ἀφέκ), the name of several places in Palestine.

1. A royal city of the Canaanites, the king of which was killed by Joshua. (Josh. xii. 18). As this is named with Tappuah and other places in the mountains of Judah, it is very probably the same as the *Aphelah* of Josh. xv. 53.

2. A city, apparently in the extreme north of Asher (Josh. xix. 30), from which the Canaanites were not ejected (Judg. i. 31; though here it is *Aphik*, פִּיכִי). This is probably the same place as the *Ai-hek* (Josh. xiii. 4), on the extreme north

"border of the Amorites," and apparently beyond Sidon, and which is identified by Gesenius (*Thez.* 140 a) with the *Aphaca* of classical times, famous for its temple of Venus, and now *Afka* (Kob. iii. 606; Porter, ii. 295-6). *Afka*, however, lies beyond the ridge of Lebanon, on the north-western slopes of the mountain, and consequently much further up than the other towns of Asher which have been identified. On the other hand it is hardly more to the north of the known limits of the tribe, than Kulesh and other places named as in Judah were to the south; and *Aphak* may, like many other sanctuaries, have had a reputation at a very early date, sufficient in the days of Joshua to cause its mention in company with the other northern sanctuary of Baal-gad.

3. (With the article, אֶפְרַיִם), a place at which the Philistines encamped, while the Israelites pitched in Eben-ezer, before the fatal battle in which the sons of Eli were killed and the ark taken (1 Sam. iv. 1). This would be somewhere to the N.W. of, and at no great distance from, Jerusalem.

4. The scene of another encampment of the Philistines, before an encounter not less disastrous than that just named,—the defeat and death of Saul (1 Sam. xxix. 1). By comparison with ver. 11, it seems as if this *Aphak* were not necessarily near Shunem, though on the road thither from the Philistine district. It is possible that it may be the same place as the preceding; and if so, the Philistines were marching to Jezreel by the present road along the "backbone" of the country.

5. A city on the military road from Syria to Israel (1 K. xx. 26). It was walled (30), and was apparently a common spot for engagements with Syria (2 K. xiii. 17; with the article). The use of the word מְשָׁלָה (A. V. "the plain") in 1 K. xx. 25, fixes the situation of A. to have been in the level down-country east of the Jordan [*MISHOR*]; and there, accordingly, it is now found in *Fik*, at the head of the *Wady Fik*, 6 miles east of the Sea of Galilee, the great road between Damascus, *Abulus*, and Jerusalem, still passing (Niepert's map, 1857), with all the permanence of the East, through the village, which is remarkable for the number of inns that it contains (Burckh. 280). By Josephus (viii. 14, §4) the name is given as Ἀφεκά. Eusebius (*Onom.* Ἀφεκά) says that in his time there was, beyond Jordan, a *κώμη μεγάλη* (Jer. castellum grande) called *Aphaca* by (περί) *Ilippas* (Jer. Hippus); but he apparently confounds it with (1). Hippus was one of the towns which formed the Decapolis. *Fik*, or *Feth*, has been visited by Burckhardt, Seetzen, and others (Hütter, *Pal.* 348-353), and is the only one of the places bearing this name that has been identified with certainty. [G.]

**APH'E'KAIH** (אַפְהַקַּי; פֶּאֶקוּדָה; *Aphcau*), a city of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 53), probably the same as *APHK* (1).

**APH'E'REMA** (Ἀφαίρεμα; Ἀφαιρεμά, Jos.), one of the three "governments" (νόμους) added to Judaea from Samaria (and Galilee, x. 30) by Demetrius Soter, and confirmed by Nicanor (1 Macc. xi. 34) (see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4, §9, and Ireland, 178). The word is omitted in the Vulgate. It is probably the same as Ephraim (Ophrah, *Taiyibeh*).

**APHERRA** (Ἀφερρά; *Ewra*), one of the "servants of Solomon" (1 Esd. v. 34).

ΑΡΗΙΑΗ (אַרְיָה; Ἀφέκ; *Aphīā*), name of one of the forefathers of king Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1).

ΑΡΗΙΚ (אַרְיִיק; *Apheo*), a city of Asher from which the Canaanites were not driven out (Judg. i. 31). Probably the same place as ΑΡΗΙΚ (2).

ΑΡΗΙΡΑΗ, the house of (אֶרְיָה, בֵּית), a place mentioned in Mic. i. 10, and supposed by some (Winer, 172) to be identical with Ophrah. But this can hardly be, inasmuch as all the towns named in the context are in the low country to the west of Judah, while Ophrah would appear to lie E. of Bethel [ΟΙΦΡΑΗ]. The LXX. translate the word ἔξ οἴκου κατὰ γέλωτα. [G.]

ΑΡΗΣΕΣ (אַרְשֵׁס; Ἀρσέ; *Aphses*), chief of the 18th of the 24 courses in the service of the temple (1 Chr. xxiv. 15).

# ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕ. [REVELATION.]

ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΑ (Βιβλία Ἀποκρυφα). The collection of Books to which this term is popularly applied includes the following. The order given is that in which they stand in the English version.

- I. 1 Esdras.
- II. 2 Esdras.
- III. Tobit.
- IV. Judith.
- V. The rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee.
- VI. The Wisdom of Solomon.
- VII. The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
- VIII. Baruch.
- IX. The Song of the Three Holy Children.
- X. The History of Susanna.
- XI. The History of the destruction of Bel and the Dragon.
- XII. The Prayer of Manasseh, king of Judah.
- XIII. 1 Maccabees.
- XIV. 2 Maccabees.

The separate books of this collection are treated of in distinct Articles. Their relation to the canonical books of the Old Testament is discussed under CANON. In the present article it is proposed to consider:—I. The meaning and history of the word. II. The history and character of the collection as a whole in its relation to Jewish literature.

I. The primary meaning of ἀποκρυφος, "hidden, secret" (in which sense it is used in Hellenistic as well as classical Greek, cf. Ecclus. xxiii. 19; Luko viii. 17; Col. ii. 13), seems, towards the close of the 2nd century, to have been associated with the signification "spurious," and ultimately to have settled down into the latter. Tertullian (*de Anim.* c. 2) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 19, 69, iii. 4, 29) apply it to the forged or spurious books which the heretics of their time circulated as authoritative. The first passage referred to from the *Stromata* however may be taken as an instance of the transition stage of the words. The followers of Prodicus, a Gnostic teacher, are said there to boast that they have βέλους ἀποκρύφους of Zoroaster. In Athanasius (*Ep. Fest.* vol. ii. p. 38; *Synopsis Sc. Scrip.* vol. ii. p. 154, ed. Colon. 1686), Augustine (*c. Faust.* xi. 2, *de Civ. Dei.* xv. 23), Jerome (*Ep. ad Laetam*, and *Prol. Gal.*) the word is used uniformly with the bad meaning which had become attached to it. The writers of that period

however do not seem to have seen clearly how the word had acquired this secondary sense; and hence we find conjectural explanations of its etymology. The remark of Athanasius (*Synops. Sc. Scrip.* l. c.) that such books are ἀποκρυφῆς μάλλον ἢ ἀναγνώσεως ἕξια is probably meant rather as a plea upon the word than as giving its derivation. Augustine is more explicit: "Apocryphæ nuncupantur eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus" (*de Civ. Dei.* l. c.). "Apocryphi non quod habendi sunt in aliqua auctoritate secretâ sed quia nullâ testimonio luce declarati, de nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum præsumptione prolati sunt" (*c. Faust.* l. c.). Later conjectures are (1), that given by the translation of the English Bible (ed. 1539, Pref. to Apocr.), "because they were wont to be read not openly and in common, but as it were in secret and apart;" (2) one, resting on a misapprehension of the meaning of a passage in Epiphanius (*de Mens. ac Pond.* c. 4) that the books in question were so called because, not being in the Jewish canon, they were excluded ἀπὸ τῆς κρυπτῆς from the ark in which the true Scriptures were preserved; (3) that the word ἀποκρυφα answers to the Heb. סִּפְרֵי נִסְתָּרִים, libri absconliti, by which the

Later Jews designated those books which, as of doubtful authority or not tending to edification, were not read publicly in the synagogues; (4) that it originates in the κρυπτὰ or secret books of the Greek mystics. Of these it may be enough to say, that (1) is, as regards some of the books now bearing the name, at variance with fact; that (2), as has been said, rests on a mistake; that (3) wants the support of direct evidence of the use of ἀποκρυφα as the translation for the Hebrew word, and that (4), though it approximates to what is probably the true history of the word, is so far only a conjecture. The data for explaining the transition from the neutral to the bad meaning, are to be found, it is believed, in the quotations already given, and in the facts connected with the books to which the epithet was in the first instance applied. The language of Clement implies that it was not altogether disclaimed by those of whose books he uses it. That of Athanasius is in the tone of a man who is convicting his opponent out of their own mouth. Augustine implicitly admits that a "secretâ auctoritas" had been claimed for the writings to which he ascribes merely an "occulta origo." All these facts harmonise with the belief that the use of the word as applied to special books originated in the claim common to nearly all the sects that participated in the Gnostic character, to a secret esoteric knowledge deposited in books, which were made known only to the initiated. It seems not unlikely that there is a reference in Col. ii. 13, to the pretensions of such teachers. The books of our own Apocrypha bear witness both to the feeling and the way in which it worked. The inspiration of the Pseudo-Esdras (2 Esdr. xiv. 40-47) leads him to dictate 204 books, of which the 70 last are to be "delivered only to such as are wise among the people." Assuming the var. lect. of 94 in the Arabic and Ethiopian versions to be the true reading, this indicates the way in which the secret books, in which was the "spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge," were set up as of higher value than the twenty-four books acknowledged by the Jewish canon, which were for "the worthy and unworthy alike." It was almost a matter of course that these secret

books should be pseudonymous, ascribed to the great names in Jewish or heathen history that had become associated with the reputation of a mysterious wisdom. So books in the existing Apocrypha bear the names of Solomon, Daniel, Jeremiah, Ezra. Beyond its limits the creation of spurious documents took a yet bolder range, and the list given by Athanasius (*Syn. S. Script.*) shows at once the variety and extent of the mythical literature which was palmed off upon the unwary as at once secret and sacred.

Those whose faith rested on the teaching of the Christian Church, and who looked to the O. T. Scriptures either in the Hebrew, or the LXX. collection, were not slow to perceive that these productions were destitute of all authority. They applied in scorn what had been used as a title of honour. The secret book (*libri secretiores*. *Orig. Comm. in Matt.* ed. Lomm. iv. p. 237) was rejected as *spurious*. The word Apocryphal was degraded to the position from which it has never since risen. So far as books like the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Assumption of Moses were concerned, the task of discrimination was comparatively easy, but it became more difficult when the question affected the books which were found in the LXX. translation of the Old Testament, and recognised by the Hellenistic Jews; but were not in the Hebrew text or in the Canon acknowledged by the Jews of Palestine. The history of this difficulty, and of the manner in which it affected the reception of particular books, belongs rather to the subject of CANON than to that of the present article, but the following facts may be stated as bearing on the application of the word. (1.) The teachers of the Greek and Latin Churches accustomed to the use of the Septuagint or versions resting on the same basis, were naturally led to quote freely and reverently from all the books which were incorporated in it. In Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, e.g. we find citations from the books of the present Apocrypha, as "Scripture," "divine Scripture," "prophecy." They are very far from applying the term *ἀποκρυφός* to these writings. If they are conscious of the difference between them and the other books of the O. T., it is only so far as to lead them (cf. Athan. *Synops. S. Scr. l. c.*) to place the former in the list of *ὁὐ κανονίζόμενα, ἀντιλεγόμενα*, books which were of more use for the ethical instruction of catechumens than for the edification of mature Christians. Augustine in like manner applies the word "Apocrypha" only to the spurious books with false titles which were in circulation among heretics, admitting the others, though with some qualifications, under the title of Canonical (*de doct. Chr.* ii. 8). (2.) Wherever, on the other hand, any teacher came in contact with the feelings that prevailed among the Christians of Palestine, there the influence of the rigorous limitation of the old Hebrew canon is at once conspicuous. This is seen in its bearing on the history of the Canon in the list given by Melito, bishop of Sardis (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26), and obtained by him from Palestine. Of its effects on the application of the word, the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem and Jerome give abundant instances. The former (*Catech.* iv. 33) gives the Canonical list of the

22 books of the O. T. Scriptures, and rejects the introduction of all "apocryphal" writings. The latter in his Epistle to Lucía warns the Christian mother in educating her daughter against "omnia apocrypha." The Prologus Galeatus shows that he did not shrink from including under that title, the books which formed part of the Septuagint, and were held in honour in the Alexandrian and Latin Churches. In dealing with the several books he discusses each on its own merits, admiring some, speaking unhesitatingly of the "dreams," "fables" of others. (3.) The teaching of Jerome influenced, though not decidedly, the language of the Western Church. The old spurious heretical writings, the "Apocrypha" of Tertullian and Clement, fell more and more into the back ground, and were almost utterly forgotten. The doubtful books of the Old Testament were used publicly in the service of the Church, quoted frequently with reverence as Scripture, sometimes however with doubts or limitations as to the authority of individual books according to the knowledge or critical discernment of this or that writer (cf. Bp. Cosins's *Scholastic History of the Canon*). During this period the term by which they were commonly described was not apocryphal but "ecclesiastical." So they had been described by Rufinus (*Expos. in Symb. Apost.* p. 26), who practically recognised the distinction drawn by Jerome, though he would not use the more opprobrious epithet of books which were held in honour: "libri qui non canonici sed Ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt" . . . "quae omnia (the contents of these books) legi quidem in Ecclesiis volebant non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Caeteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominant quas in Ecclesiis legi noluerunt;" and this offered a *mezzo termine* between the language of Jerome and that of Augustine, and as such found favour. (4.) It was reserved for the age of the Reformation to stamp the word Apocrypha with its present signification. The two views which had hitherto existed together, side by side, concerning which the Church had pronounced no authoritative decision, stood out in sharper contrast. The Council of Trent closed the question which had been left open, and deprived its theologians of the liberty they had hitherto enjoyed—extending the Canon of Scripture so as to include all the hitherto doubtful or deuterocanonical books, with the exception of the two books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh, the evidence against which seemed too strong to be resisted (*Sess. IV. de Can. Script.*). In accordance with this decree, the editions of the Vulgate published by authority contained the books which the Council had pronounced canonical, as standing on the same footing as those which had never been questioned, while the three which had been rejected were printed commonly in smaller type and stood after the New Testament. The Reformers of Germany and England on the other hand, influenced in part by the revival of the study of Hebrew and the consequent recognition of the authority of the Hebrew Canon, and subsequently by the reaction against this stretch of authority, maintained the opinion of Jerome and pushed it to its legitimate results. The principle which had been asserted by Carlstadt dogmatically in his "de Canonicis Scrip-

\* The books enumerated by Athanasius, besides writings falsely ascribed to authors of canonical books, as Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel, included others which have the names of Enoch, of the

Patriarchs, of Zerubah the father of the Baptist, the Prayer of Joseph, the testament (*Stabien*) and assumption of Moses, Abraham, Eldad and Modad, and Elijah.

turis libellus" (1520) was acted on by Luther. He spoke of individual books among those in question with a freedom as great as that of Jerome, judging each on its own merits, praising Tobit as a "pleasant comedy," and the Prayer of Manasseh as a "good model for penitents," and rejecting the two books of Esdras as containing worthless fables. The example of collecting the doubtful books in a separate group had been set in the Strasburg edition of the Septuagint, 1526. In Luther's complete edition of the German Bible accordingly (1534) the books (Judith, Wisdom, Tobias, Sirach, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Additions to Esther and Daniel, and the Prayer of Manasseh) were grouped together under the general title of "Apocrypha, i. e. Books which are not of like worth with Holy Scripture, yet are good and useful to be read." In the history of the English Church, Wicliff showed himself in this as in other points the forerunner of the Reformation, and applied the term Apocrypha to all but the "twenty-five" Canonical Books of the Old Testament. The judgement of Jerome was formally asserted in the sixth Article. The disputed books were collected and described in the same way in the printed English Bible of 1539 (Cranmer's), and since then there has been no fluctuation as to the application of the word. The books to which the term is ascribed are in popular speech, not merely apocryphal, but the Apocrypha.

II. Whatever questions may be at issue as to the authority of these books, they have in any case an interest of which no controversy can deprive them as connected with the literature, and therefore with the history, of the Jews. They represent the period of transition and decay which followed on the return from Babylon, when the prophets who were then the teachers of the people had passed away and the age of scribes succeeded. Uncertain as may be the dates of individual books, few, if any, can be thrown further back than the commencement of the 3rd century B.C. The latest, the 2nd Book of Esdras, is probably not later than 30 A.C., 2 Esdr. vii. 28 being a subsequent interpolation. The alterations of the Jewish character, the different phases which Judaism presented in Palestine and Alexandria, the good and the evil which were called forth by contact with idolatry in Egypt, and by the struggle against it in Syria, all these present themselves to the reader of the Apocrypha with greater or less distinctness. In the midst of the diversities which we might naturally expect to find in books written by different authors, in different countries, and at considerable intervals of time, it is possible to discern some characteristics which belong to the collection as a whole, and these may be noticed in the following order.

(1.) The absence of the prophetic element. From first to last the books bear testimony to the assertion of Josephus (c. Ap. i. 8), that the *ἐκπύσεως* διαδόχῳ of Prophets had been broken after the close of the O. T. canon. No one speaks because the word of the Lord had come to him. Sometimes there is a direct confession that the gift of prophecy had departed (1 Macc. ix. 27), or the utterance of a hope that it might one day return (ibid. iv. 46, xiv. 41). Sometimes a teacher asserts in words the perpetuity of the gift (Wisd. vii. 27), and shows in the act of asserting it how different the illumination which he had received was from that bestowed on the Prophets of the Canonical Books. When a writer simulates the prophetic character, he repeats with slight modifications the language of the older

prophets as in Baruch, or makes a mere prediction the text of a dissertation as in the Epistle of Jeremy, or plays arbitrarily with combinations of dreams and symbols, as in 2 Esdras. Strange and perplexing as the last named book is, whatever there is in it of genuine feeling indicates a mind not at ease with itself, distracted with its own sufferings and with the problems of the universe, and it is accordingly very far removed from the utterance of a man who speaks as a messenger from God.

(2.) Connected with this is the almost total disappearance of the power which had shown itself in the poetry of the Old Testament. The Song of the Three Children lays claim to the character of a Psalm, and is probably a translation from some liturgical hymn; but with this exception the form of poetry is altogether absent. So far as the writers have come under the influence of Greek cultivation they catch the taste for rhetorical ornament which characterized the literature of Alexandria. Fictitious speeches become almost indispensable additions to the narrative of an historian, and the story of a martyr is not complete unless (as in the later Acta Martyrum of Christian traditions) the sufferer declaims in set terms against the persecutors. (Song of the Three Child., 3-22; 2 Mac. vi. vii.)

(3.) The appearance, as part of the current literature of the time, of works of fiction, resting or purporting to rest on an historical foundation. It is possible that this development of the national genius may have been in part the result of the Captivity. The Jewish exiles brought with them the reputation of excelling in minstrelsy, and were called on to sing the "songs of Zion" (Ps. cxxxvii). The trial of skill between the three young men in 1 Esdr. iii. iv. implies a traditional belief that those who were promoted to places of honour under the Persian kings were conspicuous for gifts of a somewhat similar character. The transition from this to the practice of story-telling was with the Jews, as afterwards with the Arabs, easy and natural enough. The period of the captivity with its strange adventures, and the remoteness of the scenes connected with it, offered a wide and attractive field to the imagination of such narrators. Sometimes, as in Bel and the Dragon, the motive of such stories would be the love of the marvellous mingling itself with the feeling of scorn with which the Jew looked on the idolater. In other cases, as in Tobit and Susanna, the story would gain popularity from its ethical tendencies. The singular variations in the text of the former book indicate at once the extent of its circulation and the liberties taken by successive editors. In the narrative of Judith, again, there is probably something more than the interest attaching to the history of the past. There is indeed too little evidence of the truth of the narrative for us to look on it as history at all, and it takes its place in the region of historical romance, written with a political motive. Under the guise of the old Assyrian enemies of Israel the writer is covertly attacking the Syrian invaders against whom his countrymen were contending, stirring them up by a story of imagined or traditional heroism to follow the example of Judith as she had followed that of Jael (Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, vol. iv. p. 541). The development of this form of literature is of course compatible with a high degree of excellence, but it is true of it at all times, and was especially true of the literature of the ancient world, that it belongs rather to its later and feebler period. It is a special sign of decay in ho-

nessy and discernment when such writings are passed off and accepted as belonging to actual history.

(4.) The free exercise of the imagination within the domain of history led to the growth of a purely legendary literature. The full development of this was indeed reserved for a yet later period. The books of the Apocrypha occupy a middle place between those of the Old Testament in their simplicity and truthfulness and the wild extravagances of the Talmud. As it is, however, we find in them the germs of some of the fabulous traditions which were influencing the minds of the Jews at the time of Our Lord's ministry, and have since in some instances incorporated themselves more or less with the popular belief of Christendom. So in 2 Mac. i. ii. we meet with the statements that at the time of the Captivity the priests had concealed the sacred fire, and that it was miraculously renewed—that Jeremiah had gone, accompanied by the tabernacle and the ark, "to the mountain where Moses climbed up to see the heritage of God," and had there concealed them in a cave together with the altar of incense. The apparition of the Prophet at the close of the same book (xv. 15), as giving to Judas Maccabaeus the sword with which, as a "gift from God," he was to "wound the adversaries," shows how prominent a place was occupied by Jeremiah in the traditions and hopes of the people, and prepares us to understand the rumours which followed on our Lord's teaching and working that "Jeremias or one of the prophets" had appeared again (Matt. xvi. 14). So again in 2 Esdr. xiii. 40-47 we find the legend of the entire disappearance of the Ten Tribes which, in spite of direct and indirect testimony on the other side, has given occasion even in our own time to so many wild conjectures. In ch. xiv. of the same book we recognise (as has been pointed out already) the tendency to set a higher value on books of an esoteric knowledge than on those in the Hebrew Canon; but it deserves notice that this is also another form of the tradition that Ezra dictated from a supernaturally-inspired memory the Sacred Books which, according to that tradition, had been lost, and that both fables are exaggerations of the part actually taken by him and by "the men of the Great Synagogue" in the work of collecting and arranging them. So also the rhetorical narrative of the Exodus in Wisd. xvi.-xix. indicates the existence of a traditional, half-legendary history side by side with the canonical. It would seem, indeed, as if the life of Moses had appeared with many different embellishments. The form in which that life appears in Josephus; the facts mentioned in St. Stephen's speech and not found in the Pentateuch, the allusions to Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii. 8), to the disputes between Michael and the devil (Jude 9), to the "rock that followed" the Israelites (1 Cor. x. 4), all bear testimony to the wide-spread popularity of this semi-apocryphal history.

(5.) As the most marked characteristic of the collection as a whole and of the period to which it belongs, there is the tendency to pass off supposititious books under the cover of illustrious names. The books of Esdras, the additions to Daniel, the letters of Baruch and Jeremiah, and the Wisdom of Solomon, are obviously of this character. It is difficult perhaps for us to measure in each instance the degree in which the writers of such books were guilty of actual frauds. In a book like the Wisdom of Solomon, for example, the form may have been adopted as a means of gaining attention

by which no one was likely to be deceived, and, as such, it does not go beyond the limits of legitimate personation. The fiction in this case need not diminish our admiration and reverence for the book any more than it would destroy the authority of Ecclesiastes were we to come to the conclusion from internal or other evidence that it belonged to a later age than that of Solomon. The habit, however, of writing books under fictitious names is, as the later Jewish history shows, a very dangerous one. The practice becomes almost a trade. Each such work creates a new demand, to be met in its turn by a fresh supply, and thus the prevalence of an Apocryphal literature becomes a sure sign of want of truthfulness on one side, and want of discernment on the other.

(6.) The absence of honesty and of the power to distinguish truth from falsehood, shows itself in a yet more serious form in the insertion of formal documents purporting to be authentic, but in reality failing altogether to establish any claim to that title. This is obviously the case with the decree of Artaxerxes in Esth. xvi. The letters with which 2 Mac. opens from the Jews at Jerusalem betray their true character by their historical inaccuracy. We can hardly accept as genuine the letter in which the king of the Lacedaemonians (1 Mac. xii. 20, 21) writes to Onias that "the Lacedaemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham." The letters in 2 Mac. ix. and xi., on the other hand, might be authentic so far as their contents go, but the recklessness with which such documents are inserted as embellishments and make-weights throws doubt in a greater or less degree on all of them.

(7.) The loss of the simplicity and accuracy which characterise the history of the O. T. is shown also in the errors and anachronisms in which these books abound. Thus, to take a few of the most striking instances, Haman is made a Macedonian, and the purpose of his plot is to transfer the kingdom from the Persians to the Macedonians (Esth. xvi. 10); two contradictory statements are given in the same book of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac. i. 15-17, ix. 5-29); Nabuchodonosor is made to dwell at Nineve as the king of the Assyrians (Judith i. 1).

(8.) In their relation to the religious and ethical development of Judaism during the period which these books embrace, we find (1.) the influences of the struggle against idolatry under Antiochus, as shown partly in the revival of the old heroic spirit, and in the record of the deeds which it called forth, as in Maccabees, partly again in the tendency of a narrative like Judith, and the protests against idol-worship in Baruch and Wisdom. (2.) The growing hostility of the Jews towards the Samaritans is shown by the Confession of the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. i. 25, 26). (3.) The teaching of Tobit illustrates the prominence then and afterwards assigned to almsgiving among the duties of a holy life (Tob. iv. 7-11, xii. 9). The classification of the three elements of such a life, prayer, fasting, alms, in xii. 8, illustrates the traditional ethical teaching of the Scribes which was at once recognized and purified from the errors that had been connected with it in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 1-18). (4.) The same book indicates also the growing belief in the individual guardianship of angels and the germs of a grotesque demonology, resting in part on the more mysterious phenomena of man's spiritual nature, like the cases of demoniac possession in the Gospels,

but associating itself only too easily with all the frauds and superstitions of vagabond exorcists. (5.) The great Alexandrian book of the collection, the Wisdom of Solomon, breathes, as we might expect, a strain of higher mood; and though there is absolutely no ground for the patristic tradition that it was written by Philo, the conjecture that it might have been was not without a plausibility which might well commend itself to men like Basil and Jerome. The personification of Wisdom as "the unspotted mirror of the power of God and the image of his goodness" (vii. 26) as the universal teacher of all "holy souls" in "all ages" (vii. 27), as guiding and ruling God's people, approaches the teaching of Philo and foreshadows that of St. John as to the manifestation of the Unseen God through the medium of the Logos and the office of that divine Word as the light that lighteth every man. In relation again to the symbolic character of the Temple as "a resemblance of the holy tabernacle" which God "has prepared from the beginning" (ix. 8), the language of this book connects itself at once with that of Philo and with the teaching of St. Paul or Apollos in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But that which is the great characteristic of the book, as of the school from which it emanated, is the writer's apprehension of God's kingdom and the blessings connected with it as eternal, and so, as independent of men's conceptions of time. Thus chs. i. ii. contain the strong protest of a righteous man against the materialism which then in the form of a sensual selfishness, as afterwards in the developed system of the Sadducees, was corrupting the old faith of Israel. Against this he asserts that the "souls of the righteous are in the hands of God" (iii. 1); that the blessings which the popular belief connected with length of days were not to be measured by the duration of years, seeing that "wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age." (6.) In regard to another truth also this book was in advance of the popular belief of the Jews of Palestine. In the midst of its strong protests against idolatry, there is the fullest recognition of God's universal love (xi. 23-26), of the truth that His power is but the instrument of His righteousness (xii. 16), of the difference between those who are the "less to be blamed" as "seeking God and desirous to find Him" (xiii. 6), and the victims of a darker and more debasing idolatry. Here also the unknown writer of the Wisdom of Solomon seems to prepare the way for the higher and wider teaching of the New Testament.

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to speak of the controversies which have arisen within the Church of England, or in Lutheran or Reformed communities abroad, in connexion with the authority and use of these Books. Those disputes raise questions of a very grave interest to the student of Ecclesiastical History. What has been aimed at here is to supply the Biblical student with data which will prepare him to judge fairly and impartially. [E. H. F.]

**APOLLONIA** (*Ἀπολλωνία*), a city of Macedonia, through which Paul and Silas passed in their way from Philippi and Amphipolis to Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 1). It was in the district of Mygdonia (Plin. iv. 10. s. 17), and according to the *Antonine Itinerary* was distant 30 Roman miles from Amphipolis and 37 Roman miles from Thessalonica. This city must not be confounded with the more celebrated Apollonia in Illyria.

**APOLLONIUS** (*Ἀπολλώνιος*) the son of

Thrasaeus governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenice, under **SKLEUCUS IV.** **PHILOPATOR**, B.C. 187 ft., a bitter enemy of the Jews (2 Macc. iv. 4), who urged the king, at the instigation of Simon the commander (*στρατηγός*) of the temple, to plunder the temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. iii. 5 ft.). The writer of the Declaration on the Macabees, printed among the works of Josephus, relates of Apollonius the circumstances which are commonly referred to his emissary Heliodorus (*De Macc.* 4; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 7 ft.).

2. An officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, governor of Samaria (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, 5; 7, 1), who led out a large force against Judas Maccabaeus, but was defeated and slain B.C. 166 (1 Macc. iii. 10-12; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 71). He is probably the same person who was chief commissioner of the revenue of Judaea (*ἄρχων φορολογίας*, 1 Macc. i. 29; cf. 2 Macc. v. 24), who spoiled Jerusalem, taking advantage of the Sabbath (2 Macc. v. 24-26), and occupied a fortified position there (B.C. 168) (1 Macc. i. 30 ft.).

3. The son of Menestheus (possibly identical with the former), an envoy commissioned (B.C. 173) by Antiochus Epiphanes to congratulate Ptolemaeus Philometor on his being enthroned (2 Macc. iv. 21). An ambassador of the same name was at the head of the embassy which Antiochus sent to Rome (Liv. xlii. 6).

4. The son of Gennaens (*δ τοῦ Γενναίου*, it seems impossible that this can be *des ceden Apoll. Soin*, Luth.), a Syrian general under Antiochus V. Eupator c. B.C. 163 (2 Macc. xii. 2).

5. **THE DATAN** (*Ἄδος*, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 3, i. e. one of the Dabae or Dani, a people of Segdiana), a governor of Coele-Syria (*ὄν ὄντα ἐπὶ κ. ζ.* 1 Macc. x. 69) under Alexander Balas, who embraced the cause of his rival Demetrius Nicator, and was appointed by him to a chief command (1 Macc. i. c. *κατέστησε*, Vulg. *constituit ducem*). If he were the same as the Apollonius whom Polybius mentions as foster-brother and confidant of Demetrius I. (probably a son of (3) *δυνὸν ὑπαρχόντων ἀδελφῶν, Μελεάγρον καὶ Μενεσθέως*, Polyb. xxii. 21, § 2), his conduct is easily intelligible. Apollonius raised a large force and attacked Jonathan, the ally of Alexander, but was entirely defeated by him (B.C. 147) near Azotus (1 Macc. x. 70 ft.). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 3 f.) represents Apollonius as the general of Alexander at the time of his defeat; but this statement, though it has found advocates (Weizsäcker, *de fide libr. Macc.* p. 135, yet doubtfully), appears to be untenable on internal grounds. Cf. Grimm, 1 Macc. x. 69. [B. F. W.]

**APOLLOPHANES** (*Ἀπολλοφάνης*; *Apollophanes*), a Syrian, killed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 5).

**APOLLOS** (*Ἀπολλῶς*, i. e. *Ἀπολλώνιος*, as the Codex Bezae actually gives it, or perhaps *Ἀπολλῶδωρος*), a Jew from Alexandria, eloquent (*λόγιος*, which may also mean *learned*), and mighty in the Scriptures: one instructed in the way of the Lord (Christ) according to the imperfect view of the disciples of John the Baptist (Acts xviii. 25), but on his coming to Ephesus during a temporary absence of St. Paul, A.D. 54, more perfectly taught by Aquila and Priscilla. After this he became a preacher of the gospel, first in Achaia, and then in Corinth (Acts xviii. 27, xix. 1), where he waited that which Paul had planted (1 Cor. iii. 9). When the apostle wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians, Apollos was with or near him (1 Cor. xvi. 12),

probably at Ephesus in A.D. 57: we hear of him then that he was unwilling at that time to journey to Corinth, but would do so when he should have convenient time. He is mentioned but once more in the N. T., in Tit. iii. 13, where Titus is desired to "bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way diligently, that nothing may be wanting to them." After this nothing is known of him. Tradition makes him bishop of Caesarea (*Menology. Graec.* ii. b. 17). The exact part which Apollos took in the missionary work of the apostolic age can never be ascertained: and much fruitless conjecture has been spent on the subject. After the entire amity between St. Paul and him which appears in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, it is hardly possible to imagine any important difference in the doctrines which they taught. Certainly we cannot accede to the hypothesis that the *σοφία* against which the apostle so often warns the Corinthians, was a characteristic of the teaching of Apollos. Thus much may safely be granted, that there may have been difference enough in the outward character and expression of the two to attract the lover of eloquence and philosophy rather to Apollos, somewhat perhaps to the disuagement of St. Paul.

Much ingenuity has been spent in Germany in defining the four parties in the church at Corinth, supposed to be indicated 1 Cor. i. 12: and the Apollos party has been variously characterised: see Neander, *Pflanz. u. Leitung*, p. 378 ff. 4th ed.; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i., p. 526; vol. ii. pp. 6-11, 2nd. ed. Winer refers to Pfizer, *Diss. de Apollone doctore apostol.*, Altorf, 1718: Hopf, *Comm. de Apollone pseudo doctore*, Hag. 1782: and especially to Heymann, in the Saxon *Exegetische Studien*, ii. 213 ff.

[H. A.]

### APOLL'YON. [ΑΣΜΟΔΕΥΣ.]

**APOSTLE** (*ἀπόστολος*, one sent forth), the official name, in the N. T., originally of those Twelve of the disciples whom Jesus chose, to send forth first to preach the gospel, and to be with Him during the course of his ministry on earth. Afterwards it was extended to others who, though not of the number of the Twelve, yet were equal with them in office and dignity. The word also appears to have been used in a non-official sense to designate a much wider circle of Christian messengers and teachers (see 2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25). It is only of those who were officially designated apostles that we treat in this article.

The original qualification of an apostle, as stated by St. Peter, on occasion of electing a successor to the traitor Judas, was, that he should have been personally acquainted with the whole ministerial course of our Lord, from the baptism of John till the day when He was taken up into heaven. He himself describes them as "they that had continued with Him in his temptations" (Luke xxii. 28). By this close personal intercourse with Him, they were peculiarly fitted to give testimony to the facts of redemption: and we gather, from his own words in John xiv. 28, xv. 26, 27, xvi. 13, that an especial bestowal of the Spirit's influence was granted them, by which their memories were quickened, and their power of reproducing that which they had heard from Him increased above the ordinary measure of man. The apostles were from the lower ranks of life, simple and uneducated; some of them were related to Jesus according to the flesh: some had previously been disciples of John

### APOSTLE

the Baptist. Our Lord chose them early in his public career, though it is uncertain precisely at what time. Some of them had certainly partly attached themselves to Him before; but after their call as apostles, they appear to have been continuously with Him, or in his service. They seem to have been all on an equality, both during and after the ministry of Christ on earth. We find one indeed, St. Peter, from fervour of personal character, usually prominent among them, and distinguished by having the first place assigned him in founding the Jewish and Gentile churches [PETER]; but we never find the slightest trace in Scripture of any superiority or primacy being in consequence accorded to him. We also find that he and two others, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, are admitted to the inner privacy of our Lord's acts and sufferings on several occasions (Mark v. 37; Matt. xvii. 1 ff., xxvii. 37); but this is no proof of superiority in rank or office. Early in our Lord's ministry, He sent them out two and two to preach repentance, and perform miracles in his name (Matt. x.; Luke ix.). This their mission was of the nature of a solemn call to the children of Israel, to whom it was confined (Matt. x. 5, 6). There is however in his charge to the apostles on this occasion, not a word of their proclaiming his own mission as the Messiah of the Jewish people: their preaching was at this time strictly of a preparatory kind, resembling that of John the Baptist, the Lord's forerunner.

The Apostles were early warned by their Master of the solemn nature and the danger of their calling (Matt. x. 17), but were not entrusted with any esoteric doctrines, of which indeed his teaching, being eminently and entirely practical, did not admit. They accompanied Him in his journeys of teaching and to the Jewish feasts, saw his wonderful works, heard his discourses addressed to the people (Matt. v. 1 ff., xxiii. 1 ff.; Luke iv. 13 ff.) or those which he held with learned Jews (Matt. xix. 13 ff.; Luke x. 25 ff.), made inquiries of Him on religious matters, sometimes concerning his own sayings, sometimes of a general nature (Matt. viii. 10 ff., xv. 15 ff., xviii. 1 ff.; Luke viii. 9 ff., xii. 41, xvii. 5; John ix. 2 ff., xiv. 5, 22 al.): sometimes they worked miracles (Mark vi. 13; Luke ix. 6), sometimes attempted to do so without success (Matt. xvii. 16). They recognised their Master as the Christ of God (Matt. xvi. 16; Luke ix. 20), and ascribed to Him supernatural power (Luke ix. 54), but in the recognition of the spiritual teaching and mission of Christ, they made very slow progress, held back as they were by weakness of apprehension and by natural prejudices (Matt. xv. 16, xvi. 22, xvii. 20 f.; Luke ix. 54, xxiv. 25; John xvi. 12): they were compelled to ask of Him the explanation of even his simplest parables (Mark viii. 14 ff.; Luke xii. 41 ff.), and openly confessed their weakness of faith (Luke xvii. 5). Even at the removal of our Lord from the earth they were yet weak in their knowledge (Luke xxiv. 21; John xvi. 12), though He had for so long been carefully preparing and instructing them. And when that happened of which He had so often forewarned them,—his apprehension by the chief priests and Pharisees,—they all forsook Him and fled (Matt. xxvi. 56, &c.). They left his burial to one who was not of their number and to the women, and were only convinced of his resurrection on the very plainest proofs furnished by Himself. It was first when this fact became undeniable that light seems to have

entered their minds, and not even then without his own special aid, opening their understandings that they might understand the Scriptures. Even after that, many of them returned to their common occupations (John xxi. 3 ff.), and it required a new direction from the Lord to recall them to their mission and re-unite them in Jerusalem (Acts i. 4). Before the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Church, Peter, at least, seems to have been specially inspired by Him to declare the prophetic sense of Scripture respecting the traitor Judas, and direct his place to be filled up. On the Feast of Pentecost, ten days after our Lord's ascension, the Holy Spirit came down on the assembled church (Acts ii. 1 ff.); and from that time the Apostles became altogether different men, giving witness with power of the life and death and resurrection of Jesus as he had declared they should (Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 8. 22, ii. 32, iii. 15, v. 32, xiii. 31). First of all the mother-church at Jerusalem grew up under their hands (Acts iii.-vii.), and their superior dignity and power were universally acknowledged by the rulers and the people (Acts v. 12 ff.). Even the persecution which arose about Stephen, and put the first check on the spread of the Gospel in Judaea, does not seem to have brought peril to the Apostles (Acts viii. 1). Their first mission out of Jerusalem was to Samaria (Acts viii. 5 ff. 14), where the Lord himself had, during his ministry, sown the seed of the Gospel. Here ends, properly speaking (or rather perhaps with the general visitation hinted at in Acts ix. 32), the first period of the Apostles' agency, during which its centre is Jerusalem, and the prominent figure is that of St. Peter. Agreeably to the promise of our Lord to him (Matt. xvi. 18), which we conceive it impossible to understand otherwise than in a personal sense, he among the twelve foundations (Rev. xvi. 14) was the stone on whom the Church was first built; and it was his privilege first to open the doors of the kingdom of heaven to Jews (Acts ii. 14, 42) and to Gentiles (Acts x. 11). The centre of the second period of the apostolic agency is Antioch, where a church soon was built up, consisting of Jews and Gentiles; and the central figure of this and of the subsequent period is St. Paul, a convert not originally belonging to the number of the Twelve, but wonderfully prepared and miraculously won for the high office [PAUL]. This period, whose history (all that we know of it) is related in Acts xi. 19-30, xiii. 1-5, was marked by the united working of Paul and the other apostles, in the co-operation and intercourse of the two churches of Antioch and Jerusalem. From this time the third apostolic period opens, marked by the almost entire disappearance of the Twelve from the sacred narrative, and the exclusive agency of St. Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles. The whole of the remaining narrative of the Acts is occupied with his missionary journeys; and when we leave him at Rome, all the Gentile churches from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum owe to him their foundation, and look to him for supervision. Of the missionary agency of the rest of the Twelve, we know absolutely nothing from the sacred narrative. Some notices we have of their personal history, which will be found under their respective names, together with the principal legends, trustworthy or untrustworthy, which have come down to us respecting them. See PETER, JAMES, JOHN especially. As regards the *apostolic office*, it seems to have been pre-eminently that of founding the churches, and upholding them by

supernatural power specially bestowed for that purpose. It ceased, as a matter of course, with its first holders: all continuation of it, from the very conditions of its existence (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 1), being impossible. The *ἐπισκοπος* of the ancient churches co-existed with, and did not in any sense succeed, the Apostles; and when it is claimed for bishops or any church officers that they are their successors, it can be understood only chronologically, and not officially.

The work which contains the fullest account of the agency of the Apostles within the limits of the N. T. history is Neander's treatise, *Gesch. der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*, 4th edition, Hamburg, 1847. More ample, but far less interesting, notices may be found in Cave's *Antiq. Apost.*, or *History of the Apostles*, Lond. 1677.

[H. A.]

**APPAIM** (Ἀπῆν; Ἀπφαῖν; *Apphain*), name of a man (1 Chr. ii. 30, 31).

**APPEAL**. The principle of appeal was recognized by the Mosaic law in the establishment of a central court under the presidency of the judge or ruler for the time being, before which all cases too difficult for the local courts were to be tried (Deut. xvii. 8-9). Wiener, indeed, infers from Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 14, ἀναμετρώσαν, sc. οἱ δικασταί) that this was not a proper court of appeal, the local judges and not the litigants being, according to the above language, the appellants: but these words, taken in connexion with a former passage in the same chapter (ἐφ' ἧς . . . τινὰ ἀλλίαν προφέρει) may be regarded simply in the light of a general direction. According to the above regulation, the appeal lay in the time of the Judges to the judge (1 Judg. iv. 5), and under the monarchy to the king, who appears to have deputed certain persons to inquire into the facts of the case, and record his decision thereon (2 Sam. xv. 3). Jehoshaphat delegated his judicial authority to a court permanently established for the purpose (2 Chr. xix. 8). These courts were re-established by Ezra (Ezr. vii. 25). After the institution of the Sanhedrim the final appeal lay to them, and the various stages through which a case might pass are thus described by the Talmudists—from the local consistory before which the cause was first tried, to the consistory that sat in the neighbouring town: thence to the courts at Jerusalem, commencing in the court of the 23 that sat in the gate of Shushan, proceeding to the court that sat in the gate of Nicanor, and concluding with the great council of the Sanhedrim that sat in the room Gazith (Carpzov. *Appar.* p. 571).

A Roman citizen under the republic had the right of appealing in criminal cases from the decision of a magistrate to the people; and as the emperor succeeded to the power of the people, there was an appeal to him in the last resort. (See *Dict. of Ant. art.* APPELLATIO.)

St. Paul, as a Roman citizen, exercised a right of appeal from the jurisdiction of the local court at Jerusalem to the Emperor (Acts xxv. 11).<sup>\*</sup> But as no decision had been given, there could be no appeal, properly speaking, in his case: the language used (Acts xxv. 9) implies the right on the part of the accused of electing either to be tried by the provincial magistrate, or by the Emperor. Since the procedure in the Jewish courts at that period was of a mixed and undefined character, the Roman and the Jewish authorities co-existing and carrying on the course of justice between them, Paul availed

himself of his undoubted privilege to be tried by the pure Roman law. [W. L. B.]

**APP'PHIA** (**Ἀπφία**, a Greek form of the Latin *Appia*, written **Ἀππία** Acts xxviii. 15), a Christian woman addressed jointly with Philemon and Archippus in Philem. 1, apparently a member of the former's household, seeing that the letter is on a family matter, and that the church that is in her house is mentioned next to these two, and not improbably his wife (Chrys., Theodoret). Nothing more is said or known of her. [H. A.]

**APP'PHUS** (**Ἀπφῆς**; *Apphus*), surname of Jonathan Maccabæus (1 Macc. ii. 5).

**APP'II FOR'UM** (**Ἀππίου φόρον**, Acts xxviii. 15) was a very well known station (as we learn from Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, and Cic. *ad Alt.* ii. 10) on the Appian Way, the great road which led from Rome to the neighbourhood of the Bay of Naples. St. Paul, having landed at Puteoli (ver. 13) on his arrival from Malta, proceeded under the charge of the centurion along the Appian Way towards Rome, and found at Appii Forum a group of Christians, who had gone to meet him. The position of this place is fixed by the ancient Itineraries at 43 miles from Rome (*Itin. Ant.* p. 107; *Itin. Hier.* p. 611). The Jerusalem Itinerary calls it a *mutatio*. Horace describes it as full of taverns and boatmen. This arose from the circumstance that it was at the northern end of a canal which ran parallel with the road, through a considerable part of the Pomptine Marshes. There is no difficulty in identifying the site with some ruins near *Tre Ponti*; and in fact the 43rd milestone is preserved there. The name is probably due to Appius Claudius, who first constructed this part of the road: and from a passage in Suetonius, it would appear that it was connected in some way with his family, even in the time of St. Paul. [THREE TAVERNS.] [J. S. H.]

**APPLE, APPLE-TREE** (**ἄπφῃ**), *Tappuah*. The passages in which this fruit is mentioned are Cant. vii. 8; Prov. xxv. 11, and the same word is used for the tree in Joel i. 12; Cant. ii. 3, 5, viii. 5. The derivation is from **פפף**, *plavit, spiravit*, and implies a fragrance belonging to the fruit as noticed in Cant. vii. 8. The cultivation of these trees probably gave its name to Beth-Tappuah of the mountains of Judah (see Josh. xv. 34, 53; xii. 17), the modern Teflah (Arab. **تنفوح**), where Robinson noticed olive-yards and vineyards, with marks of industry and thrift on every side. "Many of the former terraces," he says, "along the hill-sides are still in use, and the land looks somewhat as it may have done in ancient times" (Robins. ii. 71). Unfortunately he makes no mention of any fruit which might be identified with the **ἄπφῃ** of Scripture.

Referring to the passages above quoted we may gather that the fruit was golden-coloured, fragrant, and sweet, and that the tree was shady and beautiful. "As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons."

In all the passages the rendering of the LXX. is **μήλον**. Vulg. *malum*.

It is said that the apple is a fruit little known in Palestine, and that this rendering of **ἄπφῃ** is not consistent with the excellence ascribed both to the fruit and tree by Scripture. Bishop Patrick sup-

poses the word to signify all fruits that breathe a fragrant odour, such as oranges, peaches, citrons, pomegranates, &c.; i. e. he holds the name **ἄπφῃ**

to be generic, not specific. Celsius (*Hierobot.* t. i. v. 255) has laboured to identify this fruit with the *malu Cydonia*, or quinces (see also Ray, *Hist. of Plants*, v. ii. c. iii. p. 1453); but the most general opinion is that the citron-tree (*Citrus medica*) is the **ἄπφῃ**. In the character both of its foliage

and its fruit, it satisfies all the above-quoted passages of Scripture, and it flourishes in Western Asia in company with the orange and the lemon. It is a large and beautiful tree, it is always green, it is very fragrant, gives a deep and refreshing shade, and is laden with golden coloured fruit. In Cant. i. 5, the rendering of the A. V., "*Comfort me with apples*" should be rather "*strew me a couch of citron leaves*," in accordance with the Greek of the LXX., **στοιβάζατέ με ἐν μήλοις**. [W. D.]

**AQ'UILA** (**Ἀκύλας**: Wolf, *Curas*, on Acts xviii. 2, believes it to have been Græcised from the Latin *Aquila*, not to have any Hebrew origin, and to have been adopted as a Latin name, as *Paulus* by *Saul*), a Jew whom St. Paul found at Corinth on his arrival from Athens (Acts xviii. 2). He is there described as **Ποντικὸς τῷ γένει**, from the connexion of which description with the fact that we find more than one Pontius Aquila in the Pontian gens at Rome in the days of the Republic (see Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 33; Suet. *Cæs.* 78; *Dict. of Biogr.* art. *AQUILA* and *PONTIUS*), it has been imagined that he may have been a freedman of a Pontius Aquila, and that his being a Pontian by birth may have been merely an inference from his name. But besides that this is a point on which St. Luke could hardly be ignorant, Aquila, the translator of the O. T. into Greek, was also a native of Pontus. At the time when St. Paul met with Aquila at Corinth, he had fled, with his wife Priscilla, from Rome, in consequence of an order of Claudius commanding all Jews to leave Rome (Suet. *Claud.* 25—"Judeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit:" see *CLAUDIUS*). He became acquainted with St. Paul, and they abode together, and wrought at their common trade of making the Cilician tent or hair-cloth [PAUL]. On the departure of the Apostle from Corinth, a year and six months after, Priscilla and Aquila accompanied him to Ephesus on his way to Syria. There they remained; and when Apollos came to Ephesus, knowing only the baptism of John, they took him and taught him the way of the Lord more perfectly. At what time they became Christians is uncertain: had Aquila been converted before his first meeting with St. Paul, the word **μαθητής** would hardly have been omitted (see against this view Neander, *Pf. u. Leit.* p. 333 f., and for it Herzog *Encycl.* s.v.). At the time of writing 1 Cor., Aquila and his wife were still in Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 19); but in Rom. xvi. 3 ff., we find them again at Rome, and their house a place of assembly for the Christians. They are there described as having endangered their lives for that of the Apostle. In 2 Tim. iv. 19, they are saluted as being with Timotheus, probably at Ephesus. In both these latter places the form *Prisca* and not *Priscilla* is used.

Nothing further is known of either of them. The Menolog. Græcorum gives only a vague tradition that they were beheaded; and the Martyrol. Rom. celebrates both on July 8. [H. A.]

## AR (עַר) and AR OF MOAB (עַר מוֹאָב),

Sam. Vers. אֶרֶץ; "Ar; Ar), one of the chief places of Moab (Is. xv. 1; Num. xxi. 28).<sup>b</sup> From the Onomasticon (*Moab*), and from Jerome's Com. on Is. xv. 1, it appears that in that day the place was known as Areopolis<sup>c</sup> and Rabbath-Moab, "*id est, grandis Moab*" (Reland, 577; Rob. ii. 166, note).<sup>d</sup> The site is still called *Rabba*; it lies about half-way between *Kerek* and the *Wady Mojeb*, 10 or 11 miles from each, the Roman road passing through it. The remains are not so important as might be imagined (Irby, 140; Burckh. 377; De Saulcy, ii. 44-46, and Map 8).

In the books of Moses Ar appears to be used as a representative name for the whole nation of Moab; see Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29; and also Num. xxi. 15, where it is coupled with a word rarely if ever used in the same manner, שְׁבַת, "*the dwelling of Ar*." In Num. xxi. 36 the almost identical words עִיר אֶרֶץ are rendered "a city of Moab," following the Sam. Vers., the LXX., and Vulgate. [G.]

A'RA (אַרָא; 'Apá; *Ara*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii. 38).

A'RAH (אַרָה; Αῖρέμ; Alex., 'Epéβ; *Arab*), a city of Judah in the mountainous district, probably in the neighbourhood of Hebron. It is mentioned only in Josh. xv. 52, and has not yet been identified. [ARBITER.]

ARABAH (עֲרָבָה; Ἀραβα; *Campestris, planities*), Josh. xviii. 18. Although this word appears in the Auth. Vers. in its original shape only in the verse above quoted, yet in the Hebrew text it is of frequent occurrence.

1. If the derivation of Gesenius (*Thes.* 1066) is to be accepted, the fundamental meaning of the term is "burnt up" or "waste," and thence "sterile," and in accordance with this idea it is employed in various poetical parts of Scripture to designate gene-

rally a barren, uninhabitable district,—"a desolation, a dry land, and a desert, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby" (Jer. li. 43; see a striking remark in Martineau, 395; and amongst other passages, Job xiv. 5, xxxix. 6; Is. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 1).

2. But within this general signification it is plain, from even a casual examination of the topographical records in the earlier books of the Bible, that the word has also a more special and local force. In these cases it is found with the definite article (הָעֲרָבָה, *ha-Arabah*), "*the Arabah*," and is also so mentioned as clearly to refer to some spot or district familiar to the then inhabitants of Palestine. This district—although nowhere expressly so defined in the Bible, and although the peculiar force of the word "*Arabah*" appears to have been disregarded by even the earliest commentators and interpreters of the Sacred Books—has within our own times been identified with the deep-sunken valley or trench which forms the most striking among the many striking natural features of Palestine, and which extends with great uniformity of formation from the slopes of Hermon to the Euxine Gulf of the Red Sea; the most remarkable depression known to exist on the surface of the globe (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, i. 150, ed. Bohn; see also 301). Through the northern portion of this extraordinary fissure the Jordan rushes through the lakes of Huleh and Genesareth down its tortuous course to the deep chasm of the Dead Sea. This portion, about 150 miles in length, is known amongst the Arabs by the

name of el-Ghor (الغور), an appellation which it has borne certainly since the days of Abulfeda.<sup>f</sup> The southern boundary of the Ghor has been fixed by Robinson to be the wall of cliffs which crosses the valley about 10 miles south of the Dead Sea. Down to the foot of these cliffs the Ghor extends; from their summits, southward to the Gulf of Akabah, the valley changes its name, or, it would

<sup>a</sup> According to Gesenius (*Jesaja*, 515), an old, probably Moubite, form of the word עַר, a "city."

<sup>b</sup> Samaritan Codex and Version, "as far as Moab," reading עַר for עַר; and so also LXX. εως Μ.

<sup>c</sup> We have Jerome's testimony that Arcopolis was believed to be quasi 'Apos πόλις, "the city of Arcs" (Mars). This is a good instance of the tendency which is noticed by Trench (*English Past and Present*, 218, 220) as existing in language to tamper with the derivations of words. He gives another example of it in "Hierosolyma," quasi ἱερός, "holy."

<sup>d</sup> Ritter (*Syrien*, 1212, 13) tries hard to make out that Arcopolis and Ar-Moab were not identical, and that the latter was the "city in the midst of the wady" [ΑΒΟΡ]; but he fails to establish his point.

<sup>e</sup> The early commentators and translators seem to have overlooked or neglected the fact, that the Jordan valley and its continuation south of the Dead Sea had a special name attached to them, and to them only. By Josephus the Jordan valley is always called the περὶ νεβόιν; but he applies the same name to the plain of Kedraclon. Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, states the name by which it was then known was *Aulon*, αὐλὼν (*i. e.* channel); but he preserves no such distinction in the Vulgate, and renders Arabah by *planities, solitudo, campestris, desertum*, by one or all of which he translates indiscriminately Mishor, Bekaa, Midbar, Shefelá, Jeshimon, equally unmindful of the special force attaching to several of these

words. Even the accurate Aquila has failed in this, and uses his favourite ἡ ὁμαλή indiscriminately. The Talmud, if we may trust the single reference given by Reland (365), mentions the Jordan valley under the name Bekaah, a word at that time of no special import. The Samaritan Version and the Targums apparently confound all words for valley, plain, or low country, under the one term Mishor, which was originally confined strictly to the high smooth downs east of Jordan on the upper level [Mishor].

In the LXX. we frequently find the words Ἀραβὰ and Ἀραβῶν; but it is difficult to say whether this has been done intelligently, or whether it is an instance of the favourite habit of these translators of transferring a Hebrew word literally into Greek when they were unable to comprehend its force. (See some curious examples of this—to take one book only—in 2 K. ii. 14, ἀράβας; iii. 4, ἀραβῆ; iv. 39, ἀραβῶν; v. 19 (comp. Gen. xxxv. 16), ἀραβῶν; vi. 8, ἀραβῶν; ix. 13, ἀραβῶν, &c. &c.) In the latter case it is evidence of an equal ignorance to that which has rendered the word by δυσμαί, καὶ δυσμαίαν, and Ἀραβία.

<sup>f</sup> By Abulfeda and Ibn Haukal the word el-Ghor is used to denote the valley from the Lake of Genesareth to the Dead Sea (Ritter, *Sinai*, 1059, 1060). Thus each word was originally applied to the whole extent, and each has been since restricted to a portion only (see Stanley, App. 487). The word *Ghor* is interpreted by Freytag to mean "locus depressior inter montes."

be more accurate to say, retains its old name of Wady el-Arabah (وادي العربية).

Looking to the indications of the Sacred Text there can be no doubt that in the times of the conquest and the monarchy the name "Arabah" was applied to the valley in the entire length of both its southern and northern portions. Thus in Deut. i. 1, probably, and in Deut. ii. 8, certainly (A. V. "plain" in both cases), the allusion is to the southern portion, while the other passages in which the name occurs, point with certainty—now that the identification has been suggested—to the northern portion. In Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49; Josh. iii. 16, xi. 2, xii. 3; and 2 K. xiv. 25, both the Dead Sea and the Sea of Cinneroth (Gennesareth) are named in close connexion with the Arabah. The allusions in Deut. i. 30; Josh. viii. 14, xii. 1, xviii. 18; 2 Sam. ii. 29, iv. 7; 2 K. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7, become at once intelligible when the meaning of the Arabah is known, however puzzling they may have been to former commentators.\* In Josh. xi. 16 and xii. 8 the Arabah takes its place with "the mountain," "the lowland" plains of Philistia and Esdraelon, "the south" and "the plain" of Coele Syria, as one of the great natural divisions of the conquered country.

3. But further the word is found in the plural and without the article (עֲרֹבוֹת, *Arloth*), always in connexion with either Jericho or Moab, and therefore doubtless denoting the portion of the Arabah near Jericho; in the former case on the west, and in the latter on the east side of the Jordan; the Arboth-Moab being always distinguished from the Sele-Moab—the bare and burnt-up soil of the sunken valley, from the cultivated pasture or corn-field of the downs on the upper level—with all the precision which would naturally follow from the essential difference of the two spots. (See Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, 63, xxx. 12, xxxiii. 48, 49, 50, xxxv. 13; Deut. xxxiv. 1, 8; Josh. i. 13, v. 10, xiii. 32; 2 Sam. xv. 28, xvii. 16; 2 K. xv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8).

The word Arabah does not appear in the Bible until the book of Numbers. In the allusions to the valley of the Jordan in Gen. xiii. 10, &c. the curious term *Ciccar* is employed. This word and the other words used in reference to the Jordan valley, as well as the peculiarities and topography of that region—in fact of the whole of the Ghor—will be more appropriately considered under the word JORDAN. At present our attention may be confined to the southern division, to that portion of this singular valley which has from the most remote date borne, as it still continues to bear, the name of "Arabah."

A deep interest will always attach to this remarkable district, from the fact that it must have been the scene of a large portion of the wanderings of the children of Israel after their repulse from the south of the Promised Land. Wherever Kadesh and Hormah may hereafter be found to lie, we know with certainty, even in our present state of ignorance, that they must have been at the north of the Arabah; and therefore "the way of the Red Sea," by which they journeyed "from Mount Hor to compass the land of Edom," after the refusal of

the king of Edom to allow them a passage through his country, must have been southwards, down the Arabah towards the head of the Gulf, till, as is nearly certain, they turned up one of the Wadys on the left, and so made their way by the back of the mountain of Seir to the land of Moab on the east of the Dead Sea.

More accurate information will no doubt be obtained before long of the whole of this interesting country, but in the meantime as short a summary as possible is due of what can be collected from the reports of the principal travellers who have visited it.

The direction of the Ghor is nearly due north and south. The Arabah, however, slightly changes its direction to about N.N.E. by S.S.W. (Rob. i. 162, 3). But it preserves the straightness of its course, and the general character of the region is not dissimilar from that of the Ghor (Ritter, *Sinai*, 1132; Irby, 134) except that the soil is more sandy, and that from the absence of the central river and the absolutely desert character of the highland on its western side (owing to which the wadys bring down no fertilising streams in summer, and nothing but raging torrents in winter), there are very few of those lines and "circles" of verdure which form so great a relief to the torrid climate of the Ghor.

The whole length of the Arabah proper, from the cliffs south of the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akabah, appears to be rather more than 100 miles (Kiepert's Map, Rob. i.). In breadth it varies. North of Petra, that is about 70 miles from the Gulf of Akabah, it is at its widest, being perhaps from 14 to 16 miles across; but it contracts gradually to the south till at the gulf the opening to the sea is but 4, or, according to some travellers, 2 miles wide (Rob. i. 162; Martineau, 392).

The mountains which form the walls of this vast valley or trench are the legitimate successors of those which shut in the Ghor, only in every way grander and more desert-like. On the west are the long horizontal lines of the limestone ranges of the Th, "always faithful to their tabular outline and blanchéd desolation" (Stanley, 7, 84; also MS. Journal; and see Laborde, 262), mounting up from the valley by huge steps with level barren tracts on the top of each (Rob. ii. 125), and crowned by the vast plateau of the "Wilderness of the Wanderings." This western wall ranges in height from 1500 to 1800 feet above the floor of the Arabah (Rob. i. 162), and through it break in the wadys and passes from the desert above—unimportant towards the south, but further north larger and of more permanent character. The chief of these wadys is the W. *el-Jerfeh*, which emerges about 60 miles from Akabah, and leads its waters, when any are flowing, into the W. *el-Jeib* (Rob. ii. 120, 125), and through it to the marshy ground under the cliffs south of the Dead Sea.

Two principal passes occur in this range. First, the very steep and difficult ascent close to the Akabah, by which the road of the Mecca pilgrims between the Akabah and Snez mounts from the valley to the level of the plateau of the Th. It bears apparently no other name than *en-Nakb*, "the Pass" (Rob. i. 175). The second—*es-Sufah*—has a more direct connexion with the Bible history, being probably that at which the Israelites were repulsed by the Canaanites (Deut. i. 44; Num. xiv. 43-45). It is on the road from Petra to Hebron, above *Ain el-Weibeh*, and is not like the former, from the Arabah

\* See the mistakes of Michaelis, Marius, and others, who identified the Arabah with the Bekaa (i.e. the plain of Coele-Syria, the modern *el-Bekaa*), or with the Mishor, the level down country on the east of Jordan (Kell, 205, 226).

to the plateau, but from the plateau itself to a higher level 1000 feet above it. See the descriptions of Robinson (ii. 178), Lindsay (ii. 46), Stanley (85).

The eastern wall is formed by the granite and basaltic (Schubert in Ritter, *Sinai*, 1013) mountains of Edom, which are in every respect a contrast to the range opposite to them. "At the base are low hills of limestone and argillaceous rock like promontories jutting into the sea . . . in some places thickly strewn with blocks of porphyry; then the lofty masses of dark porphyry constituting the body of the mountain; above these sandstone broken into irregular ridges and grotesque groups or cliffs, and further back and higher than all long elevated ridges of limestone without precipices" (Rob. ii. 123, 154; Laborde, 209, 210, 262; Lord Lindsay, ii. 43), rising to a height of 2000 to 2300 feet, and in Mount Hor reaching an elevation of not less than 5000 feet (Ritter, *Sinai*, 1139, 40). Unlike the sterile and desolate ranges of the Tih, these mountains are covered with vegetation, in many parts extensively cultivated and yielding good crops; abounding in "the fatness of the earth" and the "plenty of corn and wine" which were promised to the forefather of the Arab race as a compensation for the loss of his birthright (Rob. ii. 154; Laborde, 203, 263). In these mountains there is a plateau of great elevation, from which again rise the mountains—or rather the downs (Stanley, 87)—of Sherāh. Though this district is now deserted, yet the ruins of towns and villages with which it abounds show that at one time it must have been densely inhabited (Burekh. 435, 436).

The numerous wadis which at once drain and give access to the interior of these mountains are in strong contrast with those on the west, partaking of the fertile character of the mountains from which they descend. In almost all cases they contain streams which, although in the heat of summer small and losing themselves in their own beds, or in the sand of the Arabah, "in a few paces" after they forsake the shadow of their native ravines (Laborde, 141), are yet sufficient to keep alive a certain amount of vegetation, rushes, tamarisks, palms, and even oleanders, lilies, and anemones, while they form the resort of the numerous tribes of the children of Esau, who still "dwell" (Stanley, 87, also MS. Journal; Laborde, 141; Mart. 396) in Mount Seir, which is Edom" (Gen. xxxvi. 8). The most important of these wadis are the *Wady Ulan* (Jetoun of Laborde), and the *Wady Abū Kuseibeh*. The former enters the mountains close above the Akabah and leads by the back of the range to Petra, and thence by Shobek and Tufleih to the country east of the Dead Sea. Traces of a Roman road exist along this route (Laborde, 203; Rob. ii. 161; by it Laborde returned from Petra, and there can be little doubt that it was the route by which the Israelites took their leave of the Arabah when they went to "compass the land of Edom" (Num. xxi. 4). The second, the *W. Abū Kuseibeh*, is the most direct access from the Arabah to Petra, and is that up which Laborde<sup>a</sup> and Stanley appear to have gone to the city. Besides these are *Wady Tubal*, in which the traveller from the south gains

his first glimpse of the red sandstone of Edom, and *W. Ghurundel*, not to be confounded with those of the same name north of Petra and west of Sinai.<sup>1</sup>

To Dr. Robinson is due the credit of having first ascertained the spot which forms at once the southern limit of the Ghor and the northern limit of the Arabah. This boundary is the line of chalk cliffs which sweep across the valley at about 6 miles below the S.W. corner of the Dead Sea. They are from 50 to 150 feet in height; the Ghor ends with the marshy ground at their feet, and level with their tops the Arabah begins (Rob. ii. 116, 118, 120). Thus the cliffs act as a retaining wall or buttress supporting the higher level of the Arabah, and the whole forms what in geological language might be called a "fault" in the floor of the great valley.

Through this wall breaks in the embouchure of the great main drain of the Arabah—the *Wady el-Jeib*—in itself a very large and deep watercourse which collects and transmits to their outlet at this point the torrents which the numerous wadis from both sides of the Arabah pour along it in the winter season (Rob. ii. 118, 120, 125). The furthest point south to which this drainage is known to reach is the *Wady Ghurundel* (Rob. ii. 125), which debouches from the eastern mountains about 40 miles from the Akabah and 60 from the cliffs just spoken of. The *Wady el-Jeib* also forms the most direct road for penetrating into the valley from the north. On its west bank, and crossed by the road from *Wady Musa* (Petra) to Hebron, are the springs of *Ain el-Weibeh*, maintained by Robinson to be Kadesh (Rob. ii. 175; but see Stanley, 93, 95).

Of the substructure of the floor of the Arabah very little is known. In his progress southward along the *Wady el-Jeib*, which is during part of its course over 100 feet in depth, Dr. Robinson (ii. 119) notes that the sides are "of chalky earth or marl," but beyond this there is no information.

The surface is dreary and desolate in the extreme. "A more frightful desert," says Dr. Robinson (ii. 121) "it had hardly been our lot to behold . . . loose gravel and stones everywhere furrowed with the beds of torrents . . . blocks of porphyry brought down\* by the torrents among which the camels picked their way with great difficulty . . . a lone shrub of the ghālah, the almost only trace of vegetation." This was at the ascent from the *Wady el-Jeib* to the floor of the great valley itself. Further south, near Ain el-Weibeh, it is a rolling gravelly desert with round naked hills of considerable elevation (ii. 173). At *Wady Ghurundel* it is "an expanse of shifting sands, broken by innumerable undulations and low hills" (Burekh. 442), and "countersected by a hundred water-courses" (Stanley, 87). The southern portion has a considerable general slope from east to west quite apart from the undulations of the surface (Stanley, 85), a slope which extends as far north as Petra (Schubert, 1097). Nor is the heat less terrible than the desolation, and all travellers, almost without exception, bear testimony to the difficulties of journeying in a region where the sirocco appears to blow almost without intermission (Schub. 1016; Burekh. 444; Mart. 394; Rob. ii. 123).<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Hardly recognizable, though doubtless to be recognized, under the *Pabouchebe* of Laborde (144), or the *Abou Ghahebe* of Lindsay.

<sup>k</sup> The various springs occurring both on the east and west sides of the Arabah are enumerated by Robinson (ii. 184).

\* The wind in the Eilat arm of the Red Sea is very violent, constantly blowing down the Arabah from the north. The navigation of these waters is on that account almost proverbially dangerous and difficult. (See the notice of this in the *Edin. Rev.* vol. ciii. 248.)

However, in spite of this heat and desolation, there is a certain amount of vegetation, even in the open Arabah, in the driest parts of the year. Schubert in March found the *Arta* (*Calligonum* com.), the *Anthia variegata*, and the *Coloquinta* (Ritter, 1014), also tamarisk-bushes (*tawfi*) lying thick in a torrent-bed<sup>a</sup> (1016); and on Stanley's road "the shrubs at times had almost the appearance of a jungle," though it is true that they were so thin as to disappear when the "waste of sand" was overlooked from an elevation (85, and see Rob. i. 163, 175).

It is not surprising that after the discovery by Burckhardt in 1812<sup>b</sup> of the prolongation of the Jordan valley in the Arabah, it should have been assumed that this had in former times formed the outlet for the Jordan to the Red Sea.<sup>c</sup> Lately, however, the levels of the Jordan and the Dead Sea have been taken, imperfectly but still with sufficient accuracy<sup>d</sup> to disprove the possibility of such a theory; and in addition there is the universal testimony of the Arabs that at least half of the district drains northward to the Dead Sea—a testimony fully confirmed by all the recorded observations of the conformation of the ground. A series of accurate levels from the Akabah to the Dead Sea, up the Arabah, are necessary before the question can be set at rest, but in the meantime the following may be taken as an approximation to the real state of the case.

1. The waters of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean are very nearly at one level.<sup>e</sup>

2. The depression of the surface of the Sea of Galilee is 652 feet, and of the Dead Sea 1316 feet, below the level of the Mediterranean, and therefore of the Red Sea. Therefore the waters of the Jordan can never in historical times have flowed into the Gulf of Akabah, even if the formation of the ground between the Dead Sea and the Gulf would admit of it. But,

3. All testimony goes to show that the drainage of the northern portion of the Arabah is towards the Dead Sea, and therefore that the land rises southward from the latter. Also that the south portion drains to the gulf, and therefore that the land rises northward from the gulf to some point between it and the Dead Sea.<sup>f</sup> The watershed is said by the Arabs to be a long ridge of hills running across the valley at 2½ days, or say 40 miles, from the Akabah (Stanley, 85), and it is probable that this is not far wrong. By M. de Berton it is fixed as opposite the entrance to the *Wady Tikh*, apparently the same spot. [G.]

ARABATTINE (ἡ Ἀραβαττίνη, *Acrabattane*), in Idumaea (1 Macc. v. 3). [ACRABBIM; and see the note to that article.] [G.]

ARA'BIA (*ʿArabia*, Gal. i. 17, iv. 25), a country known in the O. T. under two designations:—1. אֶרֶץ אַרָבָא, *the east country* (Gen. xxv. 6); or

perhaps אֶרֶץ אַרָבָא (Gen. x. 30; Num. xxiii. 7; Is. ii. 6); and אֶרֶץ אַרָבָא (Gen. xix. 1); gent. n. אֶרֶץ אַרָבָא, *suns of the East* (Judg. vi. 3, seqq.; 1 K. iv. 30; Job i. 3; Is. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 28; Ez. xxv. 4). (Translated by the LXX. and in Vulg., and sometimes transcribed (Κεδέμ) by the former.) From these passages it appears that אֶרֶץ אַרָבָא and אֶרֶץ אַרָבָא indicate, primarily, the country east of Palestine, and the tribes descended from Ishmael and from Keturah; and that this original signification may have become gradually extended to Arabia and its inhabitants generally, though without any strict limitation. The third and fourth passages above referred to, as Gesenius remarks (*Lex. ed. Tregelles, in voc.*), relate to Mesopotamia and Babylonia (*comp. ἡ ἀνατολή*, Matt. ii. 1, seqq.). Winer considers Kedem, &c., to signify Arabia and the Arabians generally (*Realwörterbuch, in voc.*); but a comparison of the passages on which his opinion is founded has led us to consider it doubtful. [BENEKEDEM.] 2. עֲרַב (2 Chr. ix. 14) and עֲרַב (Is. xxi. 13; Jer. xxv. 24; Ez. xxvii. 21); gent. n. עֲרַבִּי (Is. xlii. 20; Jer. lii. 2); and עֲרַבִּי (Neh. ii. 19); pl. עֲרַבִּים (2 Chr. xxi. 16, xxii. 1), and עֲרַבִּיָּים (2 Chr. xvii. 11, xxvi. 7). (LXX. *ʿArabia*, &c.; Vulg. *Arabia*, &c.) These seem to have the same geographical reference as the former names to the country and tribes east of the Jordan, and chiefly north of the Arabian peninsula. In the N. T. *ʿArabia* cannot be held to have a more extended signification than the Hebrew equivalents in the O. T. עֲרַב (Ex. xii. 38; Neh. xiii. 3) and עֲרַב (1 K. x. 15; Jer. xxv. 20, l. 37; Ez. xxx. 5), rendered in the A. V. "a mixed multitude" (Ex. xii. 38, here followed by רַב), "the mixed multitude," kings of "Arabia" (so in Vulg., and in Heb. in corresponding passage in 2 Chr. ix. 14), and (in the last two instances) "the mingled people," have been thought to signify the Arabs. The people thus named dwelt in the deserts of Pétia.

By the Arabs, the country is called بِلَادُ الْعَرَب (Bilād El-'Arab), "the country of the Arabs," and حَضْرَةُ الْعَرَب (Jezzeret El-'Arab), "the peninsula of the Arabs," and the people عَرَب (Arab); "Bedawee" in modern Arabic, and أَرَاب (أَرَاب) in the old language, being applied to

<sup>a</sup> The bees whose hum so charmed him (1017) must from his description have been in a side wady, not in the Arabah itself.

<sup>b</sup> See Burckhardt, 441, 442. The sagacity of Ritter had led him earlier than this to infer its existence from the remarks of the ancient Mahometan historians (Rob. ii. 187).

<sup>c</sup> This theory appears to have been first announced by Col. Leake in the preface to Burckhardt's *Travels* (see p. vi.). It was afterwards espoused and dilated on, amongst others, by Lord Lindsay (ii. 23), Dean Milman (*Hist. of Jews*, Allen, 241), and Stephens (*Incidents of Trav.* ii. 41).

<sup>d</sup> These observations will be stated in detail in the

account of the Jordan. Those of Lynch seem on the whole the most reliable: they give as the levels of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea below the Mediterranean respectively 652 and 1816·7 feet.

<sup>e</sup> See the Report of Mr. Robert Stephenson, and of M. Bourdaloue, quoted in Allen's *Dead Sea*.

<sup>f</sup> Schubert's barometrical observations are not very intelligible, but they at least show this: at the end of the 2nd day his halting-place was 495 ft. above the water of the Gulf; 3rd day, 1017 ft.; 4th day, 2180 ft. Then, after leaving Petra, his halting-place (1 in the Arabah) was 97 ft. below the water of the Gulf (Schubert; Ritter, *Sinai*, 1097).

people of the desert, as distinguished from towns-people. They give no satisfactory derivation of the name 'Arab, that from Yaarab being puerile. The Hebrew designation, 'Ereb, has been thought to be from 'Arabah, "a desert," &c., which, with the article, is the name of an extensive district in Arabia Petraea.

*Geographical Divisions.*—Arabia was divided, by the Greeks, into *Arabia Felix* (ἡ εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία), *Arabia Deserta* (ἡ ἔρημος Ἀραβία), (Strab. xvi. 767; Plin. vi. 28, §32; Diod. Sic. ii. 48, seqq.), and *Arabia Petraea* (ἡ Περπαλία Ἀραβία, l't. v. 17, §1). The first two divisions were those of the earlier writers; the third being introduced by Ptolemy. According to this geographer's arrangement, they included, within doubtful limits, 1, the whole peninsula; 2, the Arabian desert north of the former; and, 3, the desert of Petra, and the peninsula of Sinai. It will be more convenient in this article to divide the country, agreeably to the natural divisions and the native nomenclature, into *Arabia Proper*, or *Jezeen* El-'Arab, containing the whole peninsula as far as the limits of the northern deserts; *Northern Arabia*, or El-Bádiyeh, bounded by the peninsula, the Euphrates, Syria, and the desert of Petra, constituting properly Arabia Deserta, or the great desert of Arabia; and *Western Arabia*, the desert of Petra and the peninsula of Sinai, or the country that has been called Arabia Petraea, bounded by Egypt, Palestine, Northern Arabia, and the Red Sea.

*Arabia Proper*, or the Arabian peninsula, consists of high table-land, declining towards the north; its most elevated portions being the chain of mountains running nearly parallel to the Red Sea, and the territory east of the southern part of this chain. The high land is encircled from the 'Akabah to the head of the Persian Gulf by a belt of low littoral country; on the west and south-west the mountains fall abruptly to this low region; on the opposite side of the peninsula the fall is generally gradual. So far as the interior has been explored, it consists of mountainous and desert tracts, relieved by large districts under cultivation, well peopled, watered by wells and streams, and enjoying periodical rains. The watershed, as the conformation of the country indicates, stretches from the high land of the Yemen to the Persian Gulf. From this descend the torrents that irrigate the western provinces, while several considerable streams—there are no navigable rivers—reach the sea in the opposite direction: two of these traverse 'Omán; and another, the principal river of the peninsula, enters the Persian Gulf on the coast of El-Bahrein, and is known to traverse the inland province called Yamáneh. The geological formation is in part volcanic; and the mountains are basalt, schist, granite, as well as limestone, &c.; the volcanic action being especially observable about El-Medeeneh on the north-west, and in the districts bordering the Indian Ocean. The most fertile tracts are those on the south-west and south. The modern Yemen is especially productive, and at the same time, from its mountainous character, picturesque. The settled regions of the interior also appear to be more fertile than is generally believed to be the case; and the deserts afford pasturage after the rains. The principal products of the soil are date-palms, tamarind-trees, vines, fig-trees, tamarisks, acacias, the banana, &c., and a great variety of thorny shrubs, which, with others, afford pasture for the camels; the chief kinds of pulse and cereals (except oats), coffee, spices, drugs, gums and resins, cotton

and sugar. Among the metallic and mineral products are lead, iron, silver (in small quantities), sulphur, the emerald, onyx, &c. The products mentioned in the Bible as coming from Arabia will be found described under their respective heads. They seem to refer, in many instances, to merchandise of Ethiopia and India, carried to Palestine by Arab and other traders. Gold, however, was perhaps found in small quantities in the beds of torrents (comp. Diod. Sic. ii. 93, iii. 45, 47); and the spices, incense, and precious stones, brought from Arabia (1 K. x. 2, 10, 15; 2 Chr. ix. 1, 9, 14; Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20; Ez. xxvii. 22), probably were the products of the southern provinces, still celebrated for spices, frankincense, ambergris, &c., as well as for the onyx and other precious stones. Among the more remarkable of the wild animals of Arabia, besides the usual domestic kinds, and of course the camel and the horse, for both of which it is famous, are the wild ass, the musk-deer, wild goat, wild sheep, several varieties of the antelope, the hare, monkeys (in the south, and especially in the Yemen); the bear, leopard, wolf, jackal, hyaena, fox; the eagle, vulture, several kinds of hawk, the pheasant, red-legged partridge (in the peninsula of Sinai), sand-grouse (throughout the country), the ostrich (abundantly in central Arabia, where it is hunted by Arab tribes); the tortoise, serpents, locusts, &c. Lions were formerly numerous, as the names of places testify. The sperm-whale is found off the coasts bordering the Indian ocean. Greek and Roman writers (Herod., Agatharch. ap. Muller, Strab., Diod. Sic., Q. Curt., Dion. Perieg., Heliod. *Aethiop.* and Plin.) mention most of the Biblical and modern products, and the animals, above enumerated, with some others. (See the *Dictionary of Geography.*)

Arabia Proper may be subdivided into five principal provinces: the Yemen; the districts of Hadramáwt, Mahreh, and 'Omán, on the Indian Ocean and the entrance of the Persian Gulf; El-Bahrein, towards the head of the Gulf just named; the great central country of Nejd and Yamáneh; and the Hijáz and Tiháneh on the Red Sea. The Arabs also have five divisions, according to the opinion most worthy of credit (*Marásid*, ed. Juynboll, *in voc.* Hijáz; comp. Strabo), Tiháneh, the Hijáz, Nejd, El-'Aood (the provinces lying towards the head of the Persian Gulf, including Yamáneh), and the Yemen (including 'Omán and the intervening tracts). They have, however, never agreed either as to the limits or the number of the divisions. It will be necessary to state in some detail the positions of these provinces, in order to the right understanding of the identifications of Biblical with Arab names of places and tribes.

The Yemen embraced originally the most fertile districts of Arabia, and the frankincense and spice country. Its name, signifying "the right hand" (and therefore "south," comp. Matt. xii. 42), is supposed to have given rise to the appellation *εὐδαίμων* (Felix), which the Greeks applied to a much more extensive region. At present, it is bounded by the Hijáz on the north, and Hadramáwt on the east, with the sea-board of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; but formerly, as Ptolemy remarks (comp. Sale, *Prelim. Disc.*), it appears to have extended at least so as to include Hadramáwt and Mahreh (Iba-El-Wardee M.S.; Yákoob *Mushtarak*, ed. Wüstenfeld, and *Marásid*, *passim*). In this wider acceptance, it embraced the region of the first settlements of the Joktanites. Its modern limits include, on the north, the district of Khawlán (not, as Niebuhr supposes, two distinct districts), named after Kháw-

lân (*Kâmoos*), the Joktanite (*Marâsid* in voc., and Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i. 113); and that of Nejrân, with the city of that name founded by Nejrân the Joktanite (Caussin, i. 60, and 113, *seqq.*), which is, according to the soundest opinion, the Negra of Aelius Gallus (Strab. xvi. 782; see Jomard, *Études géogr. et hist. sur l'Arabie*, appended to Mengin, *Hist. de l'Égypte*, &c., iii. 385-6).

Hadrâmâwt, on the coast east of the Yemen, is a cultivated tract contiguous to the sandy deserts called El-Ahkâf, which are said to be the original seats of the tribe of 'A'd (Ibn-El-Warlee, and others). It was celebrated for its frankincense, which it still exports (El-Idreesee, ed. Jaubert, i. 54), and formerly it carried on a considerable trade, its principal port being Zafârî, between Mirbât and Râs Sâjir, which is now composed of a series of villages (Fresnel, 4<sup>e</sup> *Lettre, Journ. Asiat.* iii<sup>e</sup> Série, v. 521). To the east of Hadrâmâwt are the districts of Shihir, which exported ambergris (*Marâsid*, in voc.), and Mahreh (so called after a tribe of Kudâ'ah (*Id.* in voc.), and therefore Joktanite), extending from Seyhoot to Karwân (Fresnel, 4<sup>e</sup> *Lettre*, p. 510) 'Omân forms the easternmost corner of the south coast, lying at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. It presents the same natural characteristics as the preceding districts, being partly desert with large fertile tracts. It also contains some considerable lead-mines.

The highest province on the Persian Gulf is El-Bahreyn, between 'Omân and the head of the Gulf, of which the chief town is Hêjer (according to some. the name of the province also) (*Kâmoos, Marâsid*, in voc.). It contains the towns (and districts) of Kuteef and El-Ahsâ (El-Idreesee, i. 371; *Marâsid*, in voc.; *Mushtarak*, in voc. El-Ahsâ), the latter not being a province as has been erroneously supposed. The inhabitants of El-Bahreyn (dwelling on the coast are principally fishermen and pearl-divers. The district of El-Ahsâ abounds in wells, and possesses excellent pastures which are frequented by tribes of other parts.

The great central province of Nejd, and that of Yemâneh, which bounds it on the south, are little known from the accounts of travellers. Nejd signifies "high land," and hence its limits are very doubtfully laid down by the Arabs themselves. It consists of cultivated table-land, with numerous wells, and is celebrated for its pastures; but it is intersected by extensive deserts. Yemâneh appears to be generally very similar to Nejd. On the south lies the great desert called Er-Rûba el-Khâlee, uninhabitable in the summer, but yielding pasturage in the winter after the rains. The camels of the tribes inhabiting Nejd are highly esteemed in Arabia, and the breed of horses is the most famous in the world. In this province are said to be remains of very ancient structures, similar to those east of the Jordan.

The Hijâz, and Tihâneh (or El-Ghôr, the "low land"), are bounded by Nejd, the Yemen, the Red Sea, and the desert of Petra, the northern limit of the Hijâz being Eyleh (El-Makreezee's *Khitat*, in voc. Eyleh). The Hijâz is the holy land of Arabia, its chief cities being Mekkeh and El-Medeeneh; and it was also the first seat of the Ishmaelites in the peninsula. The northern portion is in general sterile and rocky; towards the south it gradually merges into the Yemen, or the district called El-'Aseer, which is but little noticed by either eastern or western geographers (see Jomard, 245, *seqq.*). The province of Tihâneh extends between the mountain-chain of

the Hijâz, and the shore of the Red Sea; and is sometimes divided into Tihâneh of the Hijâz, and Tihâneh of the Yemen. It is a parched, sandy tract, with little rain, and fewer pasturages and cultivated portions than the mountainous country.

Northern Arabia, or the Arabian Desert

(الْبَادِيَة), is divided by the Arabs (who do not consider it as strictly belonging to their country) into Bâdiyet Esh-Shâm, "the Desert of Syria," Bâdiyet El-Jezeerah, "the Desert of Mesopotamia" (not "— of Arabia," as Winer supposes), and Bâdiyet El-'Irâk, "the Desert of El-'Irâk." It is, so far as it is known to us, a high, undulating, parched plain, of which the Euphrates forms the natural boundary from the Persian Gulf to the frontier of Syria, whence it is bounded by the latter country and the desert of Petra on the north-west and west, the peninsula of Arabia forming its southern limit. It has few oases, the water of the wells is generally either blackish or unpotable, and it is visited by the sand-wind called *Samoom*, of which however the terrois have been much exaggerated. The Arabs find pasture for their flocks and herds after the rains, and in the more depressed plains; and the desert generally produces prickly shrubs, &c., on which the camels feed. The inhabitants were known to the ancients as *σκυπταί*, "dwellers in tents," or perhaps so called from their town *αὶ Σκυπταί* (Strab. xvi. 747, 767; Diod. Sic. ii. 24; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; *comp.* xiii. 20; Jer. xlix. 31; Ezek. xxxviii. 11); and they extended from Babylonia on the east (*comp.* Num. xliii. 7; 2 Chr. xxi. 16; Is. ii. 6, xlii. 20), to the borders of Egypt on the west (Strab. xvi. 748; Plin. v. 12; Amm. Marc. xiv. 4, xlii. 15). These tribes, principally descended from Ishmael and from Keturah, have always led a wandering and pastoral life. Their predatory habits are several times mentioned in the O. T. (2 Chr. xxi. 16 and 17, xxvi. 7; Job i. 15; Jer. iii. 2). They also conducted a considerable trade of merchandise of Arabia and India from the shores of the Persian Gulf (Ezek. xxvii. 20-24), whence a chain of oases still forms caravan-stations (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, Appendix vi.); and they likewise traded from the western portions of the peninsula. The latter traffic appears to be frequently mentioned in connexion with Ishmaelites, Keturahites, and other Arabian peoples (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28; 1 K. x. 15, 25; 2 Chr. ix. 14, 24; Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20), and probably consisted of the products of southern Arabia and of the opposite shores of Ethiopia: it seems, however, to have been chiefly in the hands of the inhabitants of Idumaea; but it is difficult to distinguish between the references to the latter people and to the tribes of Northern Arabia in the passages relating to this traffic. That certain of these tribes brought tribute to Jehoshaphat appears from 2 Chr. xvii. 11; and elsewhere there are indications of such tribute (*comp.* passages referred to above).

Western Arabia includes the peninsula of Sinai [SINAI], and the desert of Petra, corresponding generally with the limits of Arabia Petrea. The latter name is probably derived from that of its chief city; not from its stony character. It was in the earliest times inhabited by a people whose genealogy is not mentioned in the Bible, the Horites or Ilorim (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20, 21; Deut. ii. 12, 22, xxxvi. 20-22). [HORITES.] Its later inhabitants were in part the same as those of the preceding

division of Arabia, as indeed the boundary of the two countries is arbitrary and unsettled; but it was mostly peopled by descendants of Esau, and was generally known as the land of Edom, or Idumaen [EDOM]; as well as by its older appellation, the desert of Seir, or Mount Seir [SEIR]. The common origin of the Idumaens from Esau and Ishmael is found in the marriage of the former with a daughter of the latter (Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3). The Nabathæans succeeded to the Idumaens, and Idumæa is mentioned only as a geographical designation after the time of Josephus. The Nabathæans have always been identified with Nebaioth, son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; Is. lx. 7), until Quatremère (*Mémoire sur les Nabathéens*) advanced the theory that they were of another race, and a people of Mesopotamia. [NEBAIOTII.] Petra was in the great route of the western caravan-trade of Arabia, and of the merchandise brought up the Eilatitic Gulf. See preceding section, and EDMO, ELATIT, EZIONGEHR, &c.

*Inhabitants.*—The Arabs, like every other ancient nation of any celebrity, have traditions representing their country as originally inhabited by races which became extinct at a very remote period. These were the tribes of 'A d, Thamood, Umeiyim, 'Abed, Tasim, Jeders, 'Emleek (Amalek), Jurhum (the first of this name), and Webári: some omit the fourth and the last two, but add Jásim. The majority of their historians derive these tribes from Shem; but some, from Ham, though not through Cush.<sup>a</sup> Their earliest traditions that have any obvious relation to the Bible refer the origin of the existing nation in the first instance to Kahtán, whom they and most European scholars identify with Joktan; and secondly to Ishmael, whom they assert to have married a descendant of Kahtán, though they only carry up their genealogies to 'Adnán (said to be of the 21st generation before Mohammad). They are silent respecting Cushite settlements in Arabia; but modern research, we think, proves that Cushites were among its early inhabitants. Although Cush in the Bible usually corresponds to Ethiopia, certain passages seem to indicate Cushite peoples in Arabia; and the series of the sons of Cush should, according to recent discoveries, be sought for in order along the southern coast: exclusive of Seba (Meroë), occupying one extreme of their settlements, and Nimrod the other. The great ruins of Ma-rib or Sebá, and of other places in the Yemen and Hadramáwt, are not those of a Semitic people; and further to the east, the existing language of Mahreh, the remnant of that of the inscriptions found on the ancient remains just mentioned, is in so great a degree apparently African, as to be called by some scholars *Cushite*; while the settlements of Kaunah and those of his sons Sheba and Dedan, are probably to be looked for towards the head of the Persian Gulf, bordered on the north by the descendants of Keturah, bearing the same names as the two latter. In Babylonia also? independent proofs of this immigration of Cushites from Ethiopia have, it is thought, been lately obtained. The ancient cities and buildings

of southern Arabia, in their architecture, the inscriptions they contain, and the native traditions respecting them, are of the utmost value in aiding a student of this portion of primeval history. Indeed they are the only important archaic monuments of the country; and they illustrate both its earliest people and its greatest kingdoms. Ma-rib, or Sebá\* (the Mariaba of the Greek geographers), is one of the most interesting of these sites. (See Michanels' *Questions*, No. 94, &c. in Niebuhr's *Arabia*.) It was founded, according to the general agreement of tradition, by 'Abd-ah-Shems Sebá, grandson of Yaarub the Kahtánite (*Mushtarak*, in loc.; Abu-l-Fidh, *Hist. antieisl.* ed. Fleischer, p. 114); and the Dyke of El-'Arim, which was situate near the city, and the rupture of which (A.D. 150-170 according to De Sacy; 120 according to Caussin de Perceval) formed an era in Arabian history, is generally ascribed to Lukmán the Greater, the 'A'dile, who founded the dynasty of the 2nd 'A'd (Ibn-El-Wardee, MS.; Hamza Isphahensis, *ap. Schultens*, pp. 24-5; El-Mes'oodee, cited by De Sacy, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xlviii. 484 seqq.; and Ibn Khaldoun in Caussin's *Essai*, i. 16). 'A'dites (in conjunction with Cushites) were probably the founders of this and similar structures, and were succeeded by a predominantly Joktanite people, the Biblical Sheba, whose name is preserved in the Arabian Sebá, and in the *Subaei* of the Greeks. It has been argued (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 42 seqq.; Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, i. 300) that the 'A'dites were the Cushite Sebá; but this hypothesis, which involves the question of the settlements of the eldest son of Cush, and that of the descent of the 'A'dites, rests solely on the existence of Cushite settlements in southern Arabia, and of the name of

Sebá (سَبَا) in the Yemen (by these writers inferentially identified with سَبَد; by the Arabs, unanimously, with Sebá the Kahtánite, or سَبَوِي; the Hebrew *shin* being, in by far the greater number of instances, *sin* in Arabic); and it necessitates the existence of the two Biblical kingdoms of Seba and Sheba in a circumscribed province of southern Arabia, a result which, we think is irreconcilable with a careful comparison of the passages in the Bible bearing on this subject. [CUSH, SEBA, SHEBA.] Neither is there evidence to indicate the identity of 'A'd and the other extinct tribes with any Semitic or Hamitic people: they must, in the present state of knowledge, be classed with the Rephaim and other peoples whose genealogies are not known to us. The only one that can possibly be identified with a Scriptural name is Amalek, whose supposed descent from the grandson of Esau seems inconsistent with Gen. xiv. 7, and Num. xxiv. 20. [AMALEK.]

The several nations that have inhabited the country are divided, by the Arabs, into extinct, and existing tribes; and these are again distinguished as 1. El-'Arab el-'A'ribeh (or — el-'Arbá, or — el-'Aribeh), the Pure or Genuine Arabs; 2. El-'Arab el-Muta'aribeh, and 3. El-'Arab el-Mustaa-

<sup>a</sup> In this section is included the history. The Arab materials for the latter are meagre, and almost purely traditional. The chronology is founded on genealogies, and is too intricate and unsettled for discussion in this article; but it is necessary to observe that "son" should often be read "descendant," and that the Arabs ascribe great length of life to the ancient people.

<sup>b</sup> This enumeration is from a comparison of Arab

authors. Caussin de Perceval has entered into some detail on the subject (*Essai*, i. 11-35), but without satisfactorily reconciling contradictory opinions; and his identifications of these with other tribes are purely hypothetical.

\* Sebá was the city of Ma-rib (*Mushtarak*, in loc.), or the country in the Yemen of which the city was Ma-rib (*Mariáid*, in voc.). See also SHEBA.

ribeh, the Institious, or Naturalized, Arabs. Of many conflicting opinions respecting these races, two only are worthy of note. According to the first of these, El-'Arab el-'A'ribeh denotes the extinct tribes, with whom some conjoin Kahtân; while the other two, as synonymous appellations, belong to the descendants of Ishmael.<sup>a</sup> According to the second, El-'Arab el-'A'ribeh denotes the extinct tribes; El-'Arab el-Muta'arribeh, the unmixed descendants of Kahtân; and El-'Arab el-Mustaarribeh the descendants of Ishmael, by the daughter of Muddil the Joktanite. That the descendants of Joktan occupied the principal portions of the south and south-west of the peninsula, with colonies in the interior, is attested by the Arabs and fully confirmed by historical and philological researches. It is also asserted that they have been gradually absorbed into the Ishmaelite immigrants, though not without leaving strong traces of their former existence. Fresnel, however (1<sup>o</sup> *Lettre*, p. 24), says that they were quite distinct, at least in Mohammed's time, and it is not unlikely that the Ishmaelite element has been exaggerated by Mohammedan influence.

Respecting the Joktanite settlers we have some certain evidence. In Genesis (x. 30) it is said, "and their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east [Kedem]." The position of Mesha is very uncertain; it is most reasonably supposed to be the western limit of the first settlers [MESHA]: Sephar is undoubtedly Dhafûr, or Zafûr, or the Arabs (probably pronounced, in ancient times, without the final vowel, as it is at the present day), a name not uncommon in the peninsula, but especially that of two celebrated towns—one being the seaport on the south coast, near Mirbât; the other, now in ruins, near San'a, and said to be the ancient residence of the Himyerite kings (Es-Sâghâne, MS.; *Mushtarah*, in voc.; *Mardasil*, ib.; El-Idreesi, i. 118). Fresnel (4<sup>o</sup> *Lettre*, p. 516, seqq.) prefers the seaport, as the Himyerite capital, and is followed by Jomard (*Etudes*, p. 367). He informs us that the inhabitants call this town "Isûr." Considering the position of the Joktanite races, this is probably Sephar; it is situate near a thuriferous mountain (*Mardasil*, in voc.), and exports the best frankincense (Niebuhr, p. 148): Zafûr, in the Yemen, however, is also among mountains [SEPHAR]. In the district indicated above are distinct and undoubted traces of the names of the sons of Joktan mentioned in Genesis, such as Hadramâwt for Hazarmaveth, Azâl for Uzal, Sebâ for Sheba, &c. Their remains are found in the existing inhabitants of (at least) its eastern portion, and their records in the numerous Himyerite ruins and inscriptions.

The principal Joktanite kingdom, and the chief state of ancient Arabia, was that of the Yemen, founded (according to the Arabs) by Yaarub, the son (or descendant) of Kahtân (Joktan). Its most ancient capital was probably San'a, formerly called Azâl

(أزال) in the *Mardasil*, in voc. San'a), after Azâl, son of Joktan (Yâkoot). [UZAL.] The other capitals were Ma-rib, or Sebâ, and Zafûr. This was the Biblical kingdom of Sheba. Its rulers, and most of its people, were descendants of Sebâ (= Sheba), whence the classical *Sabaci* (Diod. Sic.

iii. 38, 46). Among its rulers was probably the Queen of Sheba who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon (2 K. x. 2). The Arabs call her Bilkees, a queen of the later Himyerites; and their traditions respecting her are otherwise not worthy of credit. [SHEBA.] The dominant family was apparently that of Himyer, son (or descendant) of Sebâ. A member of this family founded the more modern kingdom of the Himyerites. The testimony of the Bible, and of the classical writers, as well as native tradition, seems to prove that the latter appellation superseded the former only shortly before the Christian era: i. e. after the foundation of the later kingdom. "Himyerite," however, is now very vaguely used.—Himyer, it may be observed, is perhaps

"red" (أحمر, from حمرة, or حمر), and

several places in Arabia whose soil is reddish derive

their names from Aafûr (أعفر), "reddish."

This may identify Himyer (the red man?) with Ophir, respecting whose settlements, and the position of the country called Ophir, the opinion of the learned is widely divided [ΟΦΙΡ]. The similarity of signification with φοινίξ and ερυθρός lends weight to the tradition that the Phœnicians came from the Erythraean Sea (Herod. vii. 89). The maritime nations of the Mediterranean who had an affinity with the Egyptians,—such as the Philistines, and probably the primitive Cretans and Carians—appear to have been an offshoot of an early immigration from southern Arabia, which moved northwards, partly through Egypt [CAPIHTOR]. It is noticeable that the Shepherd-invaders of Egypt are said to have been Phœnicians; but Manetho, who seems to have held this opinion, also tells us that some said they were Arabs (Manetho, ap. Cory. *Anc. Fragments*, 2nd ed., p. 171), and the hieroglyphic name has been supposed to correspond to the common appellation of the Arabs, Shasu, the "camel-riding Shasu" (*Select Papyri*, pl. liii.), an identification entirely in accordance with the Egyptian historian's account of their invasion and polity. In the opposite direction, an early Arab domination of Chaldaea is mentioned by Berosus (Cory, p. 60), as preceding the Assyrian dynasty. All these indications, slight as they are, must be borne in mind in attempting a reconstruction of the history of southern Arabia.—The early kings of the Yemen were at continual feud with the descendants of Kahtân (brother of Himyer) until the fifteenth in descent (according to the majority of native historians) from Himyer united the kingdom. This king was the first Tubbaa, a title also distinctive of his successors, whose dynasty represents the proper kingdom of Himyer, whence the *Homertidae* (Ptol. vi. 7; Plin. vi. 28). Their rule probably extended over the modern Yemen, Hadramâwt, and Mahreh. The fifth Tubbaa, Dhu-l-Adhâr, or Zu-l-Azâr, is supposed (Caussin, i. 73) to be the Il-sarus of Aelius Gallus (B.C. 24). The kingdom of Himyer lasted until A.D. 525, when it fell before an Abyssinian invasion. Already, about the middle of the 4th century, the kings of Axum appear to have become masters of part of the Yemen (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 114; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vii. 17 seqq., xi. 338 seqq.), adding to their titles the names of places in Arabia belonging to Himyer. After four reigns they were succeeded by Himyerite princes,

<sup>a</sup> El-'Arab el-'A'ribeh is conventionally applied by the lexicographers to all who spoke pure Arabic before its corruption began.

vassals of Persia, the last of whom submitted to Mohammad. Kings of Hadramāwt (the people of Hadramāwt are the classical *Chatramotitæ*, Plin. vi. 28; *comp. Adramitæ*) are also enumerated by the Arabs (Ibn-Khaldoun, *ap.* Caussin, i. 135, *seqq.*) and distinguished from the descendants of Yaarub, an indication, as is remarked by Caussin (*l. c.*), of their separate descent from Hazarmaveth [HAZARMAVEETH]. The Greek geographers mention a fourth people in conjunction with the Sabæi, Homeritæ, and Chatramotitæ,—the *Minæi* (Strab. xvi. 768; Ptol. v. 7 §23; Plin. vi. 32; Diod. Sic. iii. 42) who have not been identified with any Biblical or modern name. Some place them as high as Mekkeh, and derive their name from Minā (the sacred valley N.W. of that city), or from the goddess Manāh, worshipped in the district between Mekkeh and El-Medeeneh. Fresnel, however, places them in the Wādee Do'ān in Hadramāwt, arguing that the Yemen anciently included this tract, that the Minæi were probably the same as the Khabanitæ or Rhamanitæ (Pt. vi. 7, §24; Strabo, xvi. 782), and that 'Paparitaw' was a copyist's error for 'Teaparitaw'.

The other chief Joktanite kingdom was that of the Hijāz, founded by Jurhum, the brother of Yaarub, who left the Yemen and settled in the neighbourhood of Mekkeh. The Arab lists of its kings are inextricably confused; but the name of their leader and that of two of his successors was Mudād (or El-Mudād), who probably represents Almodad [ALMODAD]. Ishmael, according to the Arabs, married a daughter of the first Mudād, whence sprang 'Adnān the ancestor of Mohammad. This kingdom, situate in a less fertile district than the Yemen, and engaged in conflict with aboriginal tribes, never attained the importance of that of the south. It merged, by intermarriage and conquest, into the tribes of Ishmael. (Kutb-od-Deen, *ed.* Winstenfeld, pp. 35, and 39 *seqq.*; *comp.* authorities quoted by Caussin.) Fresnel cites an Arab author who identifies Jurhum with Hadoram [HADORAM].

Although these were the principal Joktanite kingdoms, others were founded beyond the limits of the peninsula. The most celebrated of these were that of El-Heereh in El-Jrak, and that of Ghassān on the confines of Syria; both originated by emigrants after the Flood of El-'Arim. El-Heereh soon became Ishmaelitic; Ghassān long maintained its original stock. Among its rulers were many named El-Hārith. Respecting the presumed identity of some of these with kings called by the Greeks and Romans Aretas, and with the Aretas mentioned by St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 32), see ARETAS.

The Ishmaelites appear to have entered the peninsula from the north-west. That they have spread over the whole of it (with the exception of one or two districts on the south coast which are said to be still inhabited by unmixt Joktanite peoples), and that the modern nation is predominantly Ishmaelitic, is asserted by the Arabs. They do not, however, carry up their genealogies higher than 'Adnān (as we have already said), and they have lost the names of most of Ishmael's immediate and near descendants. Such as have been identified with existing names will be found under the several articles bearing their names. [See also HAGARENES.] They extended northwards from the Hijāz into the Arabian desert, where they mixed with Keturahites and other Abrahamic peoples; and westwards to Idumæa, where they mixed with Edomites, &c.

The tribes sprung from Ishmael have always been governed by petty chiefs or heads of families (sheykhs and emeers); they have generally followed a patriarchal life, and have not originated kingdoms, though they have in some instances succeeded to those of Joktanites, the principal one of these being that of El-Heereh. With reference to the Ishmaelites generally, we may observe, in continuation of a former remark, that although their first settlements in the Hijāz, and their spreading over a great part of the northern portions of the peninsula, are sufficiently proved, there is doubt as to the wide extension given to them by Arab tradition. Mohammad derived from the Jews whatever tradition he pleased, and silenced any contrary, by the Kur-ān or his own dicta. This religious element, which does not directly affect the tribes of Joktan (whose settlements are otherwise unquestionably identified), has a great influence over those of Ishmael. They therefore cannot be certainly proved to have spread over the peninsula, notwithstanding the almost universal adoption of their language (which is generally acknowledged to have been the Arabic commonly so called), and the concurrent testimony of the Arabs; but from these and other considerations it becomes at the same time highly probable that they now form the predominant element of the Arab nation.

Of the descendants of Keturah the Arabs say little. They appear to have settled chiefly north of the peninsula in Desert Arabia, from Palestine to the Persian Gulf; and the passages in the Bible in which mention is made of Dedan (except those relating to the Cushite Dedan, Gen. x. 7) refer apparently to the tribe sprung from this race (Is. xxi. 13; Jer. xxv. 23; Ez. xxvii. 20), perhaps with an admixture of the Cushite Dedan, who seems to have passed up the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Some traces of Keturahites, indeed, are asserted to exist in the south of the peninsula, where a king of Himyer is said to have been a Midianite (El-Mes'odee, *ap.* Schultens, p. 158-9); and where one dialect is said to be of Midian, and another of Jokshan son of Ketmah (*Moajim*); but these traditions must be ascribed to the Rabbinical influence in Arab history. Native writers are almost wholly silent on this subject; and the dialects mentioned above are not, so far as they are known to us, of the tribes of Keturah. [KETURAH, &c.]

In Northern and Western Arabia are other peoples which, from their geographical position and mode of life, are sometimes classed with the Arabs. Of these are AMALEK, the descendants of ESAU, &c.

*Religion.*—The most ancient idolatry of the Arabs we must conclude to have been fetishism, of which there are striking proofs in the sacred trees and stones of historical times, and in the worship of the heavenly bodies, or Sabæism. With the latter were perhaps connected the temples (or palace-temples) of which there are either remains or traditions in the Himyerite kingdom; such as Beyt Ghumdān in San'ā, and those of Reyḍān, Beynoudh, Ru'eyn, 'Eyeyn, and Rām. To the worship of the heavenly bodies we find allusions in Job (xxi. 26-28) and to the belief in the influence of the stars to give rain (xxxviii. 31), where the Pleiades give rain, and Orion withholds it; and again in Judges (v. 20, 21) where the stars fight against the host of Sisera. The names of the objects of the earlier fetishism, the stone-worship, tree-worship, &c., of various tribes, are too numerous to mention. One, that of Manāh, the goddess worshipped between Mekkeh and El-

Medeenah has been compared with Meni (Is. lxx. 11), which is rendered in the A. V. "number" [MENI]. Magianism, an importation from Chaldaea and Persia, must be reckoned among the religions of the Pagan Arabs; but it never had very numerous followers. Christianity was introduced in southern Arabia towards the close of the 2nd century, and about a century later it had made great progress. It flourished chiefly in the Yemen, where many churches were built (see Philostorg. *Hist. Eccles.* iii.; Sozomen, vi.; Evagr. vi.). It also rapidly advanced in other portions of Arabia, through the kingdom of Heerah and the contiguous countries, Ghassân, and other parts. The persecutions of the Christians, and more particularly of those of Nejran by the Tubbaa Zu-n-Nuwâs, brought about the fall of the Himyerite dynasty by the invasion of the Christian ruler of Abyssinia. Judaism was propagated in Arabia, principally by Karaites, at the captivity, but it was introduced before that time: it became very prevalent in the Yemen, and in the Hijâz, especially at Kheybar and El-Medeenah, where there are said to be still tribes of Jewish extraction. In the period immediately preceding the birth of Mohammad another class had sprung up, who, disbelieving the idolatry of the greater number of their countrymen, and not yet believers in Judaism, or in the corrupt Christianity with which alone they were acquainted, looked to a revival of what they called the "religion of Abraham" (see Sprenger's *Life of Mohammed*, i., Calcutta, 1856). The promulgation of the Mohammadan imposture overthrew paganism, but crushed while it assumed to lead the movement which had been one of the causes of its success, and almost wholly superseded the religions of the Bible in Arabia.

*Language.*—Arabic, the language of Arabia, is the most developed and the richest of the Semitic languages, and the only one of which we have an extensive literature: it is, therefore, of great importance to the study of Hebrew. Of its early phases we know nothing; while we have archaic monuments of the Himyeritic (the ancient language of southern Arabia), though we cannot fix their precise ages. Of the existence of Hebrew and Chaldee (or Aramaic) in the time of Jacob there is evidence in Gen. (xxi. 47); and probably Jacob and Laban understood each other, the one speaking Hebrew and the other Chaldee. It seems also (Judg. vii. 9-15) that Gideon, or Phurah, or both, understood the conversation of the "Midianites, and the Amalekites, and all the children of the east" (עַמְּלֵקִים וְכָל בְּנֵי מִדְיָן).

It is probable, therefore, that in the 14th or 13th cent. B.C. the Semitic languages differed much less than in after times. But it appears from 2 K. xviii. 26, that in the 8th cent. B.C. only the educated classes among the Jews understood Aramaic. With these evidences before us, and making a due distinction between the archaic and the known phases of the Aramaic and the Arabic, we think that the Himyeritic is to be regarded as a sister of the Hebrew, and the Arabic (commonly so called) as a sister of the Hebrew and the Aramaic, or, in its classical phase, as a descendant of a sister of these two, but that

the Himyeritic is mixed with an African language, and that the other dialects of Arabia are in like manner, though in a much less degree, mixed with an African language. The inferred differences between the older and later phases of the Aramaic, and the presumed difference between those of the Arabic, are amply confirmed by comparative philology. The division of the Ishmaelite language into many dialects is to be attributed chiefly to the separation of tribes by uninhabitable tracts of desert, and the subsequent amalgamation of those dialects to the pilgrimage and the annual meetings of 'Okâz, a fair in which literary contests took place, and where it was of the first importance that the contending poets should deliver themselves in a language perfectly intelligible to the mass of the people congregated, in order that it might be *critically* judged by them; for many of the meanest of the Arabs, utterly ignorant of reading and writing, were of the highest of the authorities consulted by the lexicologists when the corruption of the language had commenced, i. e. when the Arabs, as Mohammadans, had begun to spread among foreigners.

Respecting the Himyeritic,\* until lately little was known; but monuments bearing inscriptions in this language have been discovered in the southern parts of the peninsula, principally in Hadramiwt and the Yemen, and some of the inscriptions have been published by Fresnel, Arnaud, Wellsted, and Cruttenden; while Fresnel has found a dialect still spoken in the district of Mahreh and westwards as far as Kishem, that of the neighbourhood of Za'fârî and Mirbât being the purest, and called "Ek-hill;" and this is supposed with reason to be the modern phasis of the old Himyeritic (4<sup>e</sup> *Lettre*). Fresnel's alphabet has been accepted by the learned. The dates found in the inscriptions range from 30 (on the dyke of Ma-rib) to 604 at Hiss Ghorâh, but what era these represent is uncertain.—Ewald (*Ueber die Himyarische Sprache* in Hoefers *Zeitschrift*, i. 295, seqq.) thinks that they are years of the Rapture of the Dyke, while acknowledging their apparent high antiquity; but the difficulty of supposing such inscriptions on a ruined dyke, and the fact that some of them would thus be brought later than the time of Mohammad, make it probable that they belong rather to an earlier era, perhaps that of the Himyerite empire, though what point marks its commencement is not determined. The Himyeritic in its earlier phasis probably represents the first Semitic language spoken in Arabia.

The manners and customs of the Arabs† are of great value in illustrating the Bible; but supposed parallels between the patriarchal life of the Scriptures and the state of the modern Arabs must not be hastily drawn. It should be remembered that this people are in a degraded condition; that they have been influenced by Jewish contact, especially by the adoption by Mohammad, of parts of the ceremonial law, and of rabbinical observances; and that they are not of the race of Israel. They must be regarded, 1st, as Bedawees, or people of the desert, and 2ndly, as settled tribes or townspeople.

The Bedawees acknowledge that their ancient excellence has greatly declined since the time of Mohammad, and there cannot be a doubt that this decline had commenced much earlier. Though

\* By this term is to be understood the ancient language of southern Arabia generally, not that of the Himyerites only.

† The Arabs have impressed their national charac-

teristics on every people whom they have conquered, except the Tatar races. "Arab life" is therefore generally understood in a very wide sense. The modern Egyptians are essentially an Arab people.

each tribe boasts of its unadulterated blood, and pure language, their learned men candidly admit the depreciation of national character. Scriptural customs still found among them must therefore be generally regarded rather as indications of former practices, than as being identical with them. Furthermore, the Bible always draws a strong contrast between the character of the Israelites and that of the descendants of Ishmael, whom the Bedawees mostly represent. Yet they are, by comparison with other nations, an essentially unchangeable people, retaining a primitive, pastoral life, and many customs strikingly illustrating the Bible. They are not as much affected by their religion as might be supposed: many tribes disregard religious observances, and even retain some pagan rites. The Wahluhees, or modern Arab reformers, found great difficulty in suppressing by persuasion, and even by force of arms, such rites; and where they succeeded, the suppression was, in most cases, only temporary. Incest, sacrifices to sacred objects, &c., were among these relics of paganism. (See Burckhardt's *Notes on the Beekun and Wahabys*.) The less changed a tribe, however, the more difficulty is there in obtaining information respecting it: such a one is very jealous of intercourse with strangers even of its own nation. In southern Arabia, for instance, is a tribe which will not allow a guest to stay within its encampments beyond the three days demanded by the laws of hospitality. This exclusion undoubtedly tends to preserve the language from corruption, and the people from foreign influence; but it probably does not improve the national character.

To the settled Arabs, these remarks apply with the difference that the primitive mode of life is in a great degree lost, and the Jewish practices are much more observable; while intermixture with foreigners, especially with Abyssinian and Negro concubines in the Yemen and the Hijaz, has tended to destroy their purity of blood. A Bedawee will scarcely marry out of his tribe, and is not addicted to concubinage; he considers himself, and is, quite distinct from a townsman, in habits, in mode of thought, and in national feeling. Again, a distinction should be made between the people of northern and those of southern Arabia; the former being chiefly of Ishmaelite, the latter of Joktanite, descent, and in other respects than settlement and intermarriage with foreigners, further removed from the patriarchal character.

Regarded in the light we have indicated, Arab manners and customs, whether those of the Bedawees or of the townspeople, afford valuable help to the student of the Bible, and testimony to the truth and vigour of the Scriptural narrative. No one can mix with this people without being constantly and forcibly reminded either of the early patriarchs or of the settled Israelites. We may instance their pastoral life, their hospitality (that most remarkable of desert virtues) [HOSPITALITY], their universal respect for age (comp. Lev. xix. 32), their familiar deference (comp. 2 K. v. 13), their superstitious regard for the beard. On the signet-ring, which is worn on the little finger of the right hand, is usually inscribed a sentence expressive of submission to God, or of his perfection, &c., explaining Ex. xxxix. 30, "the engraving of a signet, Holiness to the Lord," and the saying of our Lord (John iii. 33), "He . . . hath set to his seal that God is true." As a mark of trust, this ring is given to another person (as in Gen. xli. 42). The inkhorn worn in the girdle is also very ancient (Ex. ix. 3, 11), as well as the

veil. (For these and many other illustrations, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, *index*.) A man has a right to claim his cousin in marriage, and he relinquishes this right by taking off his shoe, as the kinsman of Ruth did to Boaz (Ruth iv. 7, 8; see Burckhardt's *Notes on the Ledouins and Wahabys*, i. 113).

References in the Bible to the Arabs themselves are still more clearly illustrated by the manners of the modern people, in their predatory expeditions, their mode of warfare, their caravan journeys, &c. To the interpretation of the book of Job, an intimate knowledge of this people and their language and literature is essential; for many of the most obscure passages can only be explained by that knowledge.

The commerce of Arabia especially connected with the Bible has been referred to in the sections on Western and Northern Arabia, and incidentally in mentioning the products of the peninsula. Direct mention of the commerce of the south does not appear to be made in the Bible, but it seems to have passed to Palestine principally through the northern tribes. Passages relating to the fleets of Solomon and to the maritime trade, however, bear on this subject, which is a curious study for the historical inquirer. The Joktanite people of southern Arabia have always been, in contradistinction to the Ishmaelite tribes, addicted to a seafaring life. The latter were caravan-merchants; the former, the chief traders of the Red Sea, carrying their commerce to the shores of India, as well as to the nearer coasts of Africa. Their own writers describe these voyages; since the Christian era especially, as we might expect from the modern character of their literature. (See the curious *Accounts of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers of the 9th cent.*, trans. by Renaudot, and amply illustrated in Mr. Lane's notes to his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*.) The classical writers also make frequent mention of the commerce of southern Arabia. (See the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*.) It was evidently carried to Palestine by the two great caravan routes from the head of the Red Sea and from that of the Persian Gulf; the former especially taking with it African produce; the latter, Indian. It should be observed that the wandering propensities of the Arabs, of whatever descent, do not date from the promulgation of El-Islâm. All testimony goes to show that from the earliest ages the peoples of Arabia formed colonies in distant lands, and have not been actuated only by either the desire of conquest or by religious impulse in their foreign expeditions; but rather by restlessness and commercial activity.

The principal European authorities for the history of Arabia, are, Schulzens' *Hist. Imp. Vetus. Jactanidarum*, Hard. Gel. 1786, containing extracts from various Arab authors; and his *Monumenta Vetustiora Arabica*, Lug. Bat. 1740; Eichhorn's *Monumenta Antiquiss. Hist. Arabum*, chiefly extracted from Ibn-Kuteybeh, with his notes, Götting. 1775; Fresnel, *Lettres sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1838-53; Quatremère, *Mémoire sur les Nubathéens*; Caussin, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris, 1847-8; for the geography, Niebuhr's *Description de l'Arabie*, Amst. 1774; Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, Lond. 1839; Wellsted, *Narrative of a Journey to the ruins of Nakeb-al-Hajar*, in *Journ. of R. G. S.*, vii. 20; his copy of inscription, in *Journ. of Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, iii. 1834; and his *Journal*, London,

1838; 'Crittenden, *Narrative of a Journey from Mokhá to Siná*; Jomari, *Études géogr. et hist.* appended to Meugin, *Hist. de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. Paris, 1839; and for Arabia Petraea and Sinai, Robinson's *Biblical Researches*; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*; Tuch's *Essay on the Sinaitic Inscriptions*, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Soc.* xiv. 129 seqq. Strabo, Ptolemy, Diolorus Siculus, Pliny, and the minor geographers, should also be consulted:—for the manners and customs of the Arabs, Burekhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahoobys*, 8vo. 1831; and for Arab life in its widest sense, Mr. Lane's *Notes on the Thousand and One Nights*, ed. 1838; and his *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1842.

The most important native works are, with two exceptions, still untranslated, and but few of them are edited. Abu-l-Fidá's *Hist. Antisémite* has been edited and translated by Fleischer, Lips. 1831; and El-Idreesé's *Geography* translated by Jaubert, and published in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, by the Geogr. Soc. of Paris, 1836; of those which have been, or are in course of being, edited, are Yákoob's Homonymous Geographical Dictionary, entitled *El-Mushtarak Wad'an, wa-l-Muf-tarak Sak'an*, ed. Wustenfeld, Got. 1845; the *Marásit el-Ittilá*, probably an abridgment by an unknown hand of his larger geogr. dict. called the *Morjam*, ed. Jinyuboll, Lug. Bat. 1852-4; the *Histoires of Mekkeh*, ed. Wustenfeld, and now publishing by the German Oriental Society; and Ibn-Khaldoun's *Polemonent*, ed. Quatremère, i. Paris, 1858. Of those in MS., besides the indispensable works of the Arab lexicographers, we would especially mention Ibn-Khaldoun's *History of the Arabs*; the *Kharicet el-Ajáb* of Ibn-El-Wardee; the *Mir-át ez-Zemán* of Ibn-El-Józe; the *Murooj eth-Dhahab* of El-Mes'oodée; Yákoob's *Morjam el-Buhán*; the *Kitáb-el-Aqlánc* of El-Isfahánc; and the *Tkd* of El-Kurtubec. [E. S. P.]

**A'RAD** (עָרָד; 'Αρηδ; *Arad*), name of a man (1 Chr. viii. 15).

**A'RAD** (עָרָד; 'Αδέρ, 'Αράδ), a royal city of the Canaanites, named with Hormah and Libnah (Josh. xii. 14). The wilderness of Judah was to "the south of Arad" (Judg. i. 16). It is also undoubtedly named in Num. xxi. 1 (comp. Hormah in ver. 3), and xxxiii. 40, 'the Canaanite king of Arad,' instead of the reading of the A. V., "king Arad the Canaanite." (See the translations of Zunz, De Wette, &c.) It is mentioned in the *Ononisticon* (s. v. 'Αραυα, Aral, 'Αδέρ, Asason Thamar) as a city of the Amorites, near the desert of Kaddes, 4 miles from Malatha (Moladah), and 20 from Hebron. This agrees with the conjecture of Robinson, who identifies it with a hill, *Tell 'Arad*, an hour and a half N.E. by E. from *Milch* (Moladah), and 8 hours from Hebron (Ilob. ii. 101, 201, 202). [G.]

**AR'ADUS** ('Αραδος; *Arados*), included in the list of places to which the decree of Lucius the consul, protecting the Jews under Simon the high priest, was addressed (1 Macc. xv. 23). The same place as ARVAD. [G.]

**A'RAH** (אָרָה; 'Οπέχ, 'Αρες, 'Ηραή, 'Ηρά; *Arce, Area*), name of two men. 1. (1 Chr. vii. 39). 2. (Ezr. ii. 5; Neh. vi. 18; vii. 10), given as *Ares* ('Αρές) in 1 Esd. v. 10.

**A'RAM** (אַרָם, occasionally with the definite article אֶרָם, and once אָרָם; probably from a root

signifying height, and which is also the base of "Ramah" (Gesenius, 151; Stanley, 129), the name by which the Hebrews designated, generally, the country lying to the north-east of Palestine; the great mass of that high table-land which, rising with sudden abruptness from the Jordan and the very margin of the lake of Genesareth, stretches, at an elevation of no less than 2000 feet above the level of the sea, to the banks of the Euphrates itself, contrasting strongly with the low land bordering on the Mediterranean, the "land of Canaan," or the low country (Gen. xxxi. 18, xxxiii. 18, &c.). Throughout the A. V. the word is, with only a very few exceptions, rendered as in the Vulgate and LXX.—**SYRIA**; a name which, it must be remembered, includes far more to our ears than did Aram to the Jews. [SYRIA.]

Its earliest occurrence in the book of Genesis is in the form of *Aram-naharain*, i. e. the "highland of or between the two rivers" (Gen. xxiv. 10, A. V. "Mesopotamia"), but in several succeeding chapters, and in other parts of the Pentateuch, the word is used without any addition, to designate a dweller in *Aram-naharain*—*Laban* or *Bethuel*—"the Aramite" (see Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 2, 5, xxxi. 20, 24; also Judg. xii. 10, compared with 8. Deut. xxvi. 5, compared with xxiii. 4, and Ps. lx. title). *Padan*, or accurately *Paddan*, *Aram* (פָּדָן אֲרָם "cultivated highland," from *paddah*, to plough, Ges. 1092; Stanley, 129, note) was another designation for the same region (Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 2; comp. Hos. xii. 12, where the word *Sadeh*, עֵדֶן, is, perhaps, equivalent to *Paddan*).

[**SADEH; PADAN ARAM.**] A tribe of Hittites (*Khatté*) bearing the name of *Pateui* is reported to have been met with in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, B.C. 900-860. They then occupied the valley of the Orontes, and the country eastward as far as the watershed between that river and the Euphrates. The latest explorers do not hesitate to identify this name with *Padan-aram* and *Batanaca* or *Bashan* (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 463); but if this be correct, the conclusion of the identity of *Palau-aram* and *Mesopotamia* arrived at above from a comparison of the statements of Scripture, must be modified.

Later in the history we meet with a number of small nations or kingdoms forming parts of the general land of Aram:—1. *Aram-Zobah* (2 Sam. x. 6, 8), or simply *Zobah*, צוֹבָה (1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Chr. xviii. xix.) [**ZOBAB**]. 2. *Aram beth-rehob* (2 Sam. x. 6), or *Rehob*, רְחוֹב (x. 8). [**REHOB.**] 3. *Aram-maachah* (1 Chr. xix. 6), or *Maachah only*, מַעֲכָה (2 Sam. x. 6). [**MAACHAH.**] 4. *Geshur*, "in Aram" (2 Sam. xv. 8), usually named in connexion with *Maachah* (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 11, 13, &c.). [**GESHUR.**] 5. *Aram-Dammesek* (*Damascus*) (1 Sam. viii. 5, 6; 1 Chr. xviii. 5, 6). The whole of these petty states are spoken of collectively under the name of "Aram" (2 Sam. x. 13), but as *Damascus* increased in importance it gradually absorbed the smaller powers (1 K. xx. 1), and the name of *Aram* was at last applied to it alone (Is. vii. 8; also 1 K. xi. 25, xv. 18, &c.).

It is difficult to believe, from the narrative, that

\* The name *Aram* probably appears also in the Homeric names 'Αράμους (Il. ii. 783) and 'Ερεμβοί (Od. iv. 84). Comp. Strab. xvi. 785; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. 387.

at the time of David's struggles these "kingdoms" were anything more than petty tribes located round the skirts of the possessions of Gad and Manasseh. Some writers, however (Rosenmüller and Michaelis amongst others), have attempted to show that their territory extended as far as the Euphrates on the one hand and the Mediterranean (at Berytus) on the other, in which case it would have been considerably larger than Palestine itself. This, however, will be best examined under the separate heads, including, in addition to those already noticed, ISH-TOB and HAMATH.

According to the genealogical table in Gen. x., Aram was a son of Shem, and his brethren were Elam, Asshur, and Arphaxad. It will be observed that these names occur in regular order from the east, Aram closing the list on the borders of the "western sea."

In three passages Aram would seem to denote Assyria (2 K. xviii. 26; Is. xxxvi. 11; Jer. xxxv. 11).

In 2 K. xvi. 6, the Syrians are said to have come to Elath (on the Red Sea). The word rendered Syrians is אַרְמִיָּם, *Aromim*, which in the Keri is corrected to *Adomim*, Edomites.

In 2 Chr. xxii. 5, the name is presented in a shortened form as Ram, אֲרָם; comp. Job xxxii. 2.

2. Another Aram is named in Gen. xli. 21, as a son of Kemuel, and descendant of Nahor. From its mention with Uz and Buz it is probably identical with the tribe of Ram, to the "kindred" of which belonged "Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite," who was visiting Job in the land of Uz (Job xxxii. 2). It is also worthy of notice that, among the other descendants of Nahor are named Tebach (comp. Tibhath, 1 Chr. xiv. 18), and Muzah; so that the tribe was possibly one of the smaller divisions of Aram described above. [G.]

ARAMITESS (אַרְמִיָּת); i. e. a female inhabitant of Aram (1 Chr. vii. 14). In other passages of the A. V. the ethnic of Aram is rendered Syrian.

AR'AN (אֲרָן; Sam. אֲרָן; *Apd*; *Aran, Aram*), name of a Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 28; 1 Chr. i. 42).

AR'ARAT (אַרְרָט; *Apapdr*; *Ararat*), a mountainous district of Asia mentioned in the Bible in connexion with the following events:—(1.) As the resting-place of the ark after the Deluge (Gen. viii. 4, "upon the mountains of Ararat," A. V.; *super montes Armeniac*, Vulg.); (2.) as the asylum of the sons of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38; the LXX. have *els Apperlar* in the latter, and the Vulg. *in terram Armeniorum* in the former passage; A. V. has in both "the land of Armenia"); (3.) as the ally, and probably the neighbour, of Minni and Ashchenaz (Jer. ii. 27). [ARMENIA.] In Gen. xi. 2 we have apparently an indication of its position as eastward of Mesopotamia (מִן־קֶדֶם, "from the east," A. V.), whence Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 139) identifies Ararat with *Aryavarta*, the "holy land" in the north of Hindostan: but the Hebrew is more correctly translated in the margin, as also in Gen. xiii. 11, *eastward* (Gesen. *Thezanus*, p. 805), the writer, as it would seem, describing the position of Mesopotamia in reference to his own country, rather than to Ararat.

The name Ararat was unknown to the geographers of Greece and Rome, as it still is to the Armenians of the present day: but that it was an indigenous and an ancient name for a portion of Armenia,

appears from the statement of Moses of Chorene, who gives Araratia as the designation of the central province, and connects the name with an historical event reputed to have occurred B.C. 1750 (*Hist. Armen.* Whiston, p. 361). Jerome identified it with the plain of the Araxes: it would, however, be more correct to consider the name in its Biblical sense as descriptive generally of the Armenian highlands—the lofty plateau which overlooks the plain of the Araxes on the N., and of Mesopotamia on the S. We shall presently notice the characteristics of this remarkable region, which adapted it to become the cradle of the human race and the central spot whence, after the Deluge, the nations were to radiate to different quarters of the world. It is, however, first necessary to notice briefly the opinions put forth as to the spot where the ark rested, as described in Gen. viii. 4, although all such speculations, from the indefiniteness of the account, cannot lead to any certain result. Berosus the Chaldaean, contemporary with Alexander the Great, fixes the spot on the mountains of *Kurdistan* (πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Κορδωανῶν, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, §6), which form the southern frontier of Armenia. His opinion is followed by the Syriac and Chaldaic versions, which give אֲרָרַט as the equivalent for Ararat in Gen. viii. 4, and in a later age by the Koran. Tradition still points to the *Jebel Judi* as the scene of the event, and maintains the belief, as stated by Berosus, that fragments of the ark exist on its summit. The selection of this range was natural to an inhabitant of the Mesopotamian plain; for it presents an apparently insurmountable barrier on that side, hemming in the valley of the Tigris with abrupt declivities so closely that only during the summer months is any passage afforded between the mountain and river (Ainsworth's *Trevels in track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 154). Josephus also quotes Nicolaus Damascenus to the effect that a mountain named Basis, beyond Minyas, was the spot. This has been identified with *Varaz*, a mountain mentioned by St. Matth. (*Mén. sur l'Arménie*, i. 265) as rising to the N. of *Lake Van*: but the only important mountain in the position indicated is described by recent travellers under the name *Serhan Tugh*, and we are therefore inclined to accept the emendation of Schroeder, who proposes to read *Mdavis*, the indigenous name of *Mount Ararat*, for *Bápis*. That the scene of an event so deeply interesting to mankind had even at that early age been transferred, as was natural, to the loftiest and most imposing mountain in the district, appears from the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3, §5) that the spot, where Noah left the ark, had received a name descriptive of that event, which he renders *Αροβαρθηρον*, and which seems identical with *Nachdževan*, on the banks of the Araxes. To this neighbourhood all the associations connected with Noah are now assigned by the native Armenians, and their opinion has been so far indorsed by Europeans that they have given the name Ararat exclusively to the mountain which is called *Masis* by the Armenians, *Agri-Dagh*, i. e. *Steep Mountain*, by the Turks, and *Kuh-i-Nuh*, i. e. *Noah's Mountain*, by the Persians. It rises immediately out of the plain of the Araxes, and terminates in two conical peaks, named the Great and Less Ararat, about seven miles distant from each other, the former of which attains an elevation of 17,260 feet above the level of the sea and about 14,000 above the plain of the Araxes, while the latter is lower by 4000 feet. The summit of the higher is covered

with eternal snow for about 3000 feet of perpendicular height. That it is of volcanic origin, is evidenced by the immense masses of lava, cinders, and porphyry with which the middle region is covered: a deep cleft on its northern side has been regarded as the site of its crater, and this cleft was the scene of a terrible catastrophe which occurred July 2, 1840, when the village of *Arguri* and the *Monastery of St. James* were buried beneath the *débris* brought down from the upper heights by a violent earthquake. Clouds of reddish smoke and a strong smell of sulphur, which pervaded the neighbourhood after the earthquake, seem to indicate that the volcanic powers of the mountain are not altogether dormant. The summit of Ararat was long deemed inaccessible, and the Armenians still cling to this belief. It was first ascended in 1829 by Parrot, who approached it from the N.W.: he describes a secondary summit about 400 yards distant from the highest point, and on the gentle depression which connects the two eminences he surmises that the ark rested (*Journey to Ararat*, p. 179). The region immediately below the limits of perpetual snow is barren and unvisited by beast or bird. Wagner (*Reise*, p. 185) describes the silence and solitude that reign there as quite overpowering. *Arguri*, the only village known to have been built on its slopes, was the spot where, according to tradition, Noah planted his vineyard. Lower down, in the plain of Araxes, is *Nachdjevan*, where the patriarch is reputed to have been buried.

Returning to the broader signification we have assigned to the term "the mountains of Ararat," as co-extensive with the Armenian plateau from the base of *Ararat* in the N. to the range of *Kurdistan* in the S., we notice the following characteristics of that region as illustrating the Bible narrative:—(1.) *Its elevation.* It rises as a rocky island out of a sea of plain to a height of from 6000 to 7000 feet above the level of the sea, presenting a surface of extensive plains, whence, as from a fresh base, spring important and lofty mountain-ranges, having a generally parallel direction from E. to W., and connected with each other by transverse ridges of moderate height. (2.) *Its geographical position.* The Armenian plateau stands equidistant from the Euxine and the Caspian seas on the N., and between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean on the S. With the first it is connected by the *Acapais*, with the second by the *Araxes*, with the third by the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, the latter of which also serves as an outlet towards the countries on the Mediterranean coast. These seas were the high roads of primitive colonization, and the plains watered by these rivers were the seats of the most powerful nations of antiquity, the *Assyrians*, the *Babylonians*, the *Medes*, and the *Colchians*. Viewed with reference to the dispersion of the nations, Armenia is the true *ὀμφαλὸς* of the world: and it is a significant fact that at the present day Ararat is the great boundary-stone between the empires of *Russia*, *Turkey*, and *Persia*. (3.) *Its physical formation.* The Armenian plateau is the result of volcanic agencies: the plains as well as the mountains supply evidence of this. Armenia, however, differs materially from other regions of similar geological formation, as, for instance, the neighbouring range of *Caucasus*, inasmuch as it does not rise to a sharp, well-defined central crest, but expands into plains or steppes, separated by a graduated series of subordinate ranges. Wagner (*Reise*, p. 263) attributes this peculiarity to the longer period

during which the volcanic powers were at work, and the room afforded for the expansion of the molten masses into the surrounding districts. The result of this expansion is that Armenia is far more accessible, both from without, and within its own limits, than other districts of similar elevation: the passes, though high, are comparatively easy, and there is no district which is shut out from communication with its neighbours. The fall of the ground in the centre of the plateau is not decided in any direction, as is demonstrated by the early courses of the rivers—the *Araxes*, which flows into the *Caspian*, rising westward of either branch of the *Euphrates*, and taking at first a northerly direction—the *Euphrates*, which flows to the S., rising northward of the *Araxes*, and taking a westerly direction. (4.) The climate is severe. Winter lasts from October to May, and is succeeded by a brief spring and a summer of intense heat. The contrast between the plateau and the adjacent countries is striking: in April, when the *Mesopotamian* plains are scorched with heat, and on the *Euxine* shore the *azalea* and *rhododendron* are in bloom, the *Armenian* plains are still covered with snow; and in the early part of September it freezes keenly at night. (5.) The vegetation is more varied and productive than the climate would lead us to expect. Trees are not found on the plateau itself, but grass grows luxuriantly, and furnishes abundant pasture during the summer months to the flocks of the nomad Kurds. Wheat and barley ripen at far higher altitudes than on the Alps and the Pyrenees: the volcanic nature of the soil, the abundance of water, and the extreme heat of the short summer bring the harvest to maturity with wonderful speed. At *Erz-rüm*, more than 6000 feet above the sea, the crops appear above ground in the middle of June, and are ready for the sickle before the end of August (Wagner, p. 255). The vine ripens at about 5000 feet, while in Europe its limit, even south of the Alps, is about 2650 feet.

The general result of these observations as bearing upon the Biblical narrative would be to show that, while the elevation of the Armenian plateau constituted it the natural resting-place of the ark after the Deluge, its geographical position and its physical character secured an impartial distribution of the families of mankind to the various quarters of the world. The climate furnished a powerful inducement to seek the more tempting regions on all sides of it. At the same time the character of the vegetation was remarkably adapted to the nomad state in which we may conceive the early generations of Noah's descendants to have lived. [W. L. B.]

**ARAUNAH** (אַרְאֻנָּה; *Opd*; *Arcuna*), a Jebusite who sold his threshing-floor on Mount *Moriah* to David as a site for an altar to Jehovah, together with his oxen, for 50 shekels of silver (2 Sam. xxiv. 18-24), or (according to 1 Chr. xxi. 25) for 600 shekels of gold by weight. From the expression (2 Sam. xxiv. 23) "these things did Araunah, the king, give unto the king," it has been inferred that he was one of the royal race of the Jebusites. His name is variously written in various places: אַרְאֻנָּה (2 Sam. xxiv. 16); אֲרֻנָּה (xiv. 18); אֲרֻנָּה (1 Chr. xxi.; 2 Chr. iii.). [ORNAN.] [R. W. B.]

**AR'BA** (אַרְבַּע, *hero of Baal*, so Fürst, for אֲרִיֵּבֶל, like אֲרִיֵּאֵל; *Apbák*: *Arbe*), the progenitor

of the ANAKIM, or sons of Anak, from whom their chief city HEBION received its name of Kirjath Arba (Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13, xxi. 11). [F. W. G.]

### ARBATHITE, THE (Ἀρβαῖτις; ὁ Γαραβαῖθ);

*Arbathites*, i. e. a native of the Arabah or Ghor. Abilbon the A. was one of David's 30 mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 31; 1 Chr. xi. 32).

ARBAT'TIS (ἐν Ἀρβάττοις, Alex. Ἀρβάκ-τοις; *Arbatis*), a district of Palestine named in 1 Macc. v. 23 only. Ewald's conjecture (*Geschichte*, iv. 359 *note*) grounded on the reading of the Peschito Syriac (ܐܪܒܬܝܬ), *Arb Bot*) is that the district N. of the sea of Galilee, part of which is still called *Arb el-Batûth*, is here intended. But it seems at least equally probable that the word is merely a corruption of Ἀκραβατίνη, the province or toparchy which lay between Neapolis and Jericho (Reiland, 192; Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §§4, 5, &c.). [ACRABATENE.] [G.]

ARBE'LA (ἐν Ἀρβήλαις; in *Arbellis*), mentioned in the Bible only in 1 Macc. ix. 2, and there only as defining the situation of Masuloth, a place besieged and taken by Bacchides and Alcimus at the opening of the campaign in which Judas Maccabæus was killed. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, §1) this was at Arbela of Galilee, ἐν Ἀρβήλαις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας, a place which he elsewhere states to be near Sephoris, on the lake of Gennesareth, and remarkable for certain impregnable caves, the resort of robbers and insurgents, and the scene of more than one desperate encounter (comp. *Ant.* xiv. 15, §§4, 5; *B. J.* i. 16, §§2, 3; ii. 20, §6; *Vita*, §37). These topographical requirements are fully met by the existing *Irbid*,<sup>a</sup> a site with a few ruins, west of Medjeh, on the south-west side of the Wady Hamâm, in a small plain at the foot<sup>b</sup> of the hill of *Kurîn Hattîn*. The caverns are in the opposite face of the ravine, and bear the name of *Kula'at Ibn Mûran* (Rob. ii. 398; Burckh. 331; Irby, 91).

There seems no reason to doubt the soundness of this identification.<sup>c</sup> The army of Bacchides was on its road from Antioch to the land of Judæa (γῆν Ἰουδα), which they were approaching "by the way that leadeth to Galgala" (Gilgal),<sup>d</sup> that is by the valley of the Jordan in the direct line to which *Irbid* lies.<sup>e</sup> Ewald, however (*Geschichte*, iv. 370, *note*), insists, in opposition to Josephus, that the engagements of this campaign were confined to Judæa proper, a theory which drives him to consider "Galgala" as the *Jisjûlia* north of Gophna. [GILGAL.] But he admits that no trace of an Arbela in that direction has yet come to light.

Arbela may be the Beth-arbel of Hos. x. 14, but there is nothing to ensure it. [G.]

### ARBI'TE, THE (Ἀρβίτη; *de Arbi*). Paarmi

<sup>a</sup> The Arbela of Alexander the Great is called *Irbil* by the Arabic historians (Rob. ii. 399). The change of *l* to *d* is not infrequent. Moreover, the present *Irbid* is undoubtedly mentioned in the Talmuds as Arbel (see Schwarz, 189; Reiland, 358; Rob. iii. 343, *note*).

<sup>b</sup> So Irby (91). Robinson, on the contrary, says that the ruins are on the brow overlooking the chasm of the wady.

<sup>c</sup> First suggested in the *Münich Gel. Anzeige*, Nov. 1836, and eagerly laid hold of by Robinson.

<sup>d</sup> Some MSS. and the important version of the Syriac Peschito read "Gilead;" in which case the

the Arbite was one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 35). The word, according to Gesenius (145), signifies a native of ARAB. In the parallel list of Chronicles it is given as Ben-Ezbai, by a change in letters not infrequently occurring. [ΕΖΒΑΙ.] The LXX. version, *Ὀύραισερχί*, is very corrupt. (See Kennicott, *Dissert.* on 2 Sam. xxiii. p. 210.) [G.]

### ARIBONA'I (Jud. ii. 24). [ABRONAS.]

ARCHELA'US (Ἀρχελαός; *Archelaus*: in the Talmud, ארכילא), son of Herod the Great, by a Samaitan woman, Malthaké (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, §3; *B. J.* i. 28, §4), and, with his brother Antipas, brought up at Rome (id. *B. J.* i. 31, §1). At the death of Herod (B.C. 4)† his kingdom was divided between his three sons, Herod Antipas, Archelaus, and Philip. Archelaus received the half, containing Idumæa, Judæa, Samaria, and the cities on the coast, with 600 talents' income (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 11, §4). With one party among the Jews he was popular: another complained against him, but in vain, to Augustus (id. *Ant.* xvii. 11, 1). He never properly had the title of king (Βασιλεύς) assigned to him (Matt. ii. 22), but only that of *ἐθνάρχης* (ibid.); so that the former word must be taken as loosely used. In the 10th year of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §2, *Vit.* 1), or the 9th (*B. J.* ii. 7, §3), according to Dion Cass. (xv. 27) in the consulship of M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Arrius, i. e. A.D. 6, a complaint was preferred by his brothers and his subjects against him on the ground of his tyranny, in consequence of which he was deposed, and banished to Vienna in Gaul (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §2; *B. J.* ii. 7, §3), where he is generally said to have died. But Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. *Bethlehem*) relates that he was shown the sepulchre of Archelaus near that town. If so, he must have returned as a private man to Judæa, and there have died. The parents of our Lord turned aside from fear of him on their way back from Egypt, and went to Nazareth in Galilee, in the domain of his gentler brother Antipas. He seems to have been guilty of great cruelty and oppression. Josephus relates (*Ant.* xvii. 9, §3; *B. J.* ii. 1, 3) that he put to death 3000 Jews in the temple not long after his accession. This cruelty was exercised not only towards Jews, but towards Samaritans also (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 7, §3). Archelaus wedded illegally (τοῦ πατρὸς παραβάσιν ποιησάμενος, *Ant.* xvii. 13, §2) Glaphyra, the former wife of his brother Alexander, who had had children by her. (There is no reason for saying with Wiener that Archelaus had children by her: he has apparently mistaken Josephus's ἐξ οὗ καὶ τέκνα ἦν αὐτῇ, where οὗ refers to Alexander, not to Archelaus.) [H. A.]

### ARCHERY. [ARMS.]

### AR'CHEVITES (Ἀρχεῖται; Ἀρχαῖοι; *Er-*

Arbela beyond Jordan must be thought of. But it is hardly likely that Josephus would be inaccurate in his topography, at a part of the country which he knew so thoroughly.

<sup>†</sup> The importance of the Wady Hamâm in a military point of view, as commanding the great north road, the Sea of Galilee, and the important springs in the plain of Gennesareth, is not lost sight of by Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, in Hitter, *Jordan*, 328).

<sup>‡</sup> The death of Herod took place in the same year with the birth of Christ; but this is to be placed four years before the date in general use as the Christian era.

*chusai*, Vulg.), perhaps the inhabitants of ERECH, some of whom had been placed as colonists in Samaria (Ezr. iv. 9).

[W. L. B.]

AR'CHI (אַרְכִי; *Archi*), Josh. xvi. 2. [ARCHITE.]

ARCHIP'PUS (Ἀρχιππος; a Christian teacher in Colossae, called by St. Paul his *συνσπαραίωτης* (Philem. 2). As the epistle, which concerns a private matter, is addressed to him jointly with Philemon and Apphia, and as "the church in their house" is also addressed, it seems necessary to infer that he was a member of Philemon's family. He had received (Col. iv. 17) a *διακονία* in the Lord, and was admonished to take heed to it, that he fulfil it. Jerome, Theodoret, and Occumenius, suppose him to have been overseer of the church at Colossae. Others believe him to have been a teacher at Laodicea (*Const. Apostol.* vii. 46; Theodoret *ad Col.* iv. 17; and recently Wieseler, *Chronol. des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 452); but there does not seem to be any ground for the view. There is a legend that he was of the number of the Seventy disciples, and suffered martyrdom at Choune, near Laodicea (*Menolog. Græc.* i. 246). There is a monograph written about him by Dietelmair, *De Archippo*, Altorf, 1751. 4to. [H. A.]

ARCHITE. THE (אַרְכִי, as if from a place named Erech, אֶרֶךְ; δ' *Araxi*; *Arachites*), the usual designation of David's friend Hushai (2 Sam. xv. 32; xvii. 5, 14; 1 Chr. xvii. 33).

The word also appears (somewhat disguised, it is true, in the A. V.) in Josh. xvi. 2, where "the borders of Archi" (i. e. 'the Archite')\* are named as on the boundary of the "children of Joseph," somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bethel. No town of the name of אֶרֶךְ appears in Palestine: is it possible that, as in the case of the Gerizi, the Zemarites and the Jebusites, we have here the last faint trace of one of the original tribes of the country? [G.]

ARCHITECTURE. Although there are many notices, both in the Canonical Scriptures and in the Apocryphal writings, bearing reference to the architecture of other nations besides the Israelites, it is nevertheless obvious that the chief business of a work like the present, under the article of Architecture, is to examine the modes of building in use among the Jews, and to discover, if possible, how far they were influenced, directly or indirectly, by the example or the authority of foreigners. The book of Genesis (iv. 17, 20, 22) appears to divide mankind into great characteristic sections, viz. the "dwellers in tents" and the "dwellers in cities," when it tells us that Cain was the founder of a city; and that among his descendants one, Jabal, was "the father of them that dwell in tents," whilst Tubal-cain was "the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." It is probable that the workers in metal were for the most part dwellers in towns: and thus the arts of architecture and metallurgy became from the earliest times leading characteristics of the civilized as distinguished from the nomadic tendencies of the human race.

To the race of Shem is attributed (Gen. x. 11, 12, 22, xi. 2-9) the foundation of those cities in the plain of Shinar, Babylon, Nineveh, and others; to

\* Compare Josh. xviii. 16, where "Jebusi" should be translated "the Jebusite," as it has been in xv. 8. See also GERIZIM; ZEMARAIM.

one of which, Resen, the epithet "great" sufficiently marks its importance in the time of the writer, a period at least as early as the 13th cent. B.C., if not very much earlier. (Rawlinson, *Outline of Ass. Hist.* p. 10; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 221, 235, 238.) From the same book we learn the account of the earliest recorded building, and of the materials employed in its construction (Gen. xi. 3, 9); and though a doubt rests on the precise site of the tower of Belus, so long identified with the Birs Nimroud (Benjamin of Tudela, p. 100, Bohn; Newton, *On Prop.* x. pp. 155, 156; Vaux, *Nin. and Pers.* pp. 173, 178; Keith, *On Prop.* p. 289), yet the nature of the soil, and the bricks found there in such abundance, though bearing mostly the name of Nebuchadnezzar, agree perfectly with the supposition of a city previously existing on the same or a closely neighbouring site. (Layard, ii. 249, 278, and *Nin. and Bab.* 531; Plin. vii. 56; Ez. iv. 1.)

In the book of Esther (i. 2) mention is made of the palace at Susa, for three months in the spring the residence of the kings of Persia (Esth. iii. 13; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 22); and in the books of Tobit and Judith, of Ecbatana, to which they retired for two months during the heat of summer. (Tob. iii. 7, xiv. 14; Jud. i. 12; Herod. i. 98.)

A branch of the same Syro-Arabian race as the Assyrians, but the children of Ham, was the nation, or at least the dominant caste, of the Egyptians, the style of whose architecture agrees so remarkably with the Assyrian (Layard, ii. 206, et seq.). It is in connexion with Egypt that the Israelites appear first as builders of cities, compelled, in common with other Egyptian captives, to labour at the buildings of the Egyptian monarchs. Pithom and Raames are said to have been built by them. (Ex. i. 11; Wilkinson, ii. 195.)

The Israelites were by occupation shepherds, and by habit dwellers in tents (Gen. xlvii. 3). The "house" built by Jacob at Succoth is probably no exception to this statement (יָבַע, Gesen.). They had therefore originally, speaking properly, no architecture. Even Hebron, a city of higher antiquity than the Egyptian Zoan (Tanis), was called originally from its founder, perhaps a Canaanite of the race of Anak, Kirjath-Arba, the house of Arba (Num. xiii. 22; Josh. xiv. 15). From the time of the occupation of Canaan they became dwellers in towns and in houses of stone, for which the native limestone of Palestine supplied a ready material (Lev. xiv. 34, 45; 1 K. vii. 10; Stanley, *S. and P.* 146, 8); but the towns which they occupied were not all, nor indeed in most cases, built from the first by themselves (Deut. vi. 10; Num. xiii. 19).

The peaceful reign and vast wealth of Solomon gave great impulse to architecture; for besides the Temple and his other great works at and near Jerusalem, he built fortresses and cities in various places, among which the names and sites of Baalath and Tadmor are in all probability represented by the more modern superstructures of Baalbec and Palmyra (1 K. ix. 15, 24). Among the succeeding kings of Israel and of Judah, more than one is recorded as a builder: Asa (1 K. xv. 23), Baasha (xvi. 17), Omri (xvi. 24), Ahab (xvi. 34, xxii. 39), Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 27, 30), Jehoshaphat, and Josiah (2 K. xii. 11, 12, xxii. 6); and, lastly, Jehoiaquin, whose winter palace is mentioned (Jer. xxii. 14, xxxvi. 22; see also Am. iii. 15).

On the return from captivity, the chief care of the rulers was to rebuild the Temple and the walls of Jerusalem in a substantial manner, with stone,

and with timber from Lebanon (Ezr. iii. 8, v. 8; Neh. ii. 8, iii. 1, 32). During the government of Simon Maccabees, the fortress called Baris, and afterwards Antonia, was erected for the defence of the Temple and the city. But the reigns of Herod and of his sons and successors were especially remarkable for the great architectural works in which they delighted. Not only was the Temple restored to a large portion if not to the full degree of its former magnificence, but the fortifications and other public buildings of Jerusalem were enlarged and embellished to an extent previously unknown (Luke xxi. 5; Benj. of Tudela, p. 83, Bohn). [More particular descriptions of these works will be found under JERUSALEM.] Besides these great works, the town of Caesarea was built on the site of an insignificant building called Strato's Tower; Samaria was enlarged, and received the name of Sebaste; the town of Agrippium was built; and Herod carried his love for architecture so far as to adorn with buildings cities even not within his own dominions, Berytus, Damascus, Tripolis, and many other places (Joseph. B. J. i. 21, 1, 11). His son Philip the tetrarch enlarged the old Greek colony of Paneas, giving it the name of Caesarea in honour of Tiberius; whilst his brother Antipas founded the city of Tiberias, and adorned the towns of Sepphoris and Betharamphtha, giving to the latter the name Livias, in honour of the mother of Tiberius (Reland, p. 497).

Of the original splendour of these great works no doubt can be entertained; but of their style and appearance we can only conjecture, though with nearly absolute certainty, that they were formed on Greek and Roman models. Of the style of the earlier buildings of Palestine, we can only form an idea from the analogy of the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian monuments now existing, and from the modes of building still adopted in Eastern countries. The connexion of Solomon with Egypt and with Tyre, and the influence of the Captivity, may have in some measure successively affected the style both of the two temples, and of the palatial edifices of Solomon. The enormous stones employed in the Assyrian, Persepolitan, and Egyptian buildings, find a parallel in the substructions of Bealbec, more ancient than the superstructure (Layard, ii. 317, 318), and in the stones of so vast a size which still remain at Jerusalem, relics of the building either of Solomon, or of Herod (Williams, pt. ii. 1). But as it has been observed again and again, scarcely any connected monuments are known to survive in Palestine by which we can form an accurate idea of its buildings, beautiful and renowned as they were throughout the East (Plin. v. 14; Stanley, 183), and even of those which do remain no trustworthy examination has yet been made. It is probable, however, that the reservoirs known under the names of the Pools of Solomon and Hezekiah contain some portions at least of the original fabrics (Stanley, 103, 165).

The domestic architecture of the Jews, so far as it can be understood, is treated under HOUSE. Tools and instruments of building are mentioned by the sacred writers; the plumb-line, Am. vii. 7; the measuring-reel, Ez. xl. 3; the saw, 1 K. vii. 9.

[H. W. P.]

ARD (אַרְדּ; 'Ardā, 'Aḏāp; *Ard, Hered*).

1. Son of Benjamin (Gen. xli. 21). 2. Son of Bela, and grandson of Benjamin (Num. xxvi. 40), written Adlar in 1 Chr. viii. 3. His descendants are called THE ARDITES (אַרְדִּיָּתִי), Num. xxvi. 40.

AR'DATH — "the field called Ardath" — 2 Esdr. ix. 26.

AR'DON (אַרְדּוֹן; 'Ardōn; *Ardon*), name of a man (1 Chr. ii. 18).

ARELI (אַרְעִלִי, Sam. אֲרִיֵּל; *Arēlā; Arelī*), a son of Gad (Gen. xlii. 16; Num. xxvi. 17). His descendants are called THE ARELITES (Num. xxvi. 17).

AREOPAGUS or MARS' HILL (ὁ Ἀρείος πάγος, i. e. the hill of Ares or Mars; *Areopagus*, Vulg.), was a rocky height in Athens, opposite the western end of the Acropolis, from which it is separated only by an elevated valley. It rises gradually from the northern end, and terminates abruptly on the south, over against the Acropolis, at which point it is about fifty or sixty feet above the valley already mentioned. Of the site of the Areopagus, there can be no doubt, both from the description of Pausanias, and from the narrative of Herodotus, who relates that it was a height over against the Acropolis, from which the Persians assailed the latter rock (Paus. i. 28. §5; Herod. viii. 52). According to tradition it was called the hill of Mars (Ares), because this god was brought to trial here before the assembled gods by Neptune (Poseidon), on account of his murdering Halirrhothius, the son of the latter. The spot is memorable, as the place of meeting of the Council of Areopagus (ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή), frequently called the Upper Council (ἡ ἄνω βουλή) to distinguish it from the Council of Five Hundred, which held its sittings in the valley below the hill. It existed as a criminal tribunal before the time of Solon, and was the most ancient and venerable of all the Athenian courts. It consisted of all persons who had held the office of Archon, and who were members of it for life, unless expelled for misconduct. It enjoyed a high reputation, not only in Athens, but throughout Greece. Before the time of Solon the court tried only cases of wilful murder, wounding, poison, and arson; but he gave it extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. The Council is mentioned by Cicero (*ad Fam.* viii. 1; *ad Att.* i. 14, v. 11), and continued to exist even under the Roman emperors. Its meetings were held on the south-eastern summit of the rock. There are still sixteen stone steps cut in the rock, leading up to the hill from the valley of the Agora below; and immediately above the steps is a bench of stones excavated in the rock, forming three sides of a quadrangle, and facing the south. Here the Areopagites sat as judges in the open air (ὁπαλοῖται ἐδιδάκτορο, Pollux, viii. 118). On the eastern and western side is a raised block. These blocks are probably the two rude stones which Pausanias saw there, and which are described by Euripides as assigned, the one to the accuser, the other to the criminal, in the causes which were tried in the court (*Iph. T.* 961). The Areopagus possesses peculiar interest to the Christian, as the spot from which St. Paul delivered his memorable address to the men of Athens (Acts xvii. 22-31). It has been supposed by some commentators that St. Paul was brought before the Council of Areopagus; but there is no trace in the narrative of any judicial proceedings. St. Paul "disputed daily" in the "market" or Agora (xvii. 17), which was situated south of the Areopagus in the valley lying between this hill and those of the Acropolis, the Pnyx and the Museum. Attracting more and

more attention, "certain philosophers of the Epicureans and Stoicks" brought him up from the valley, probably by the stone steps already mentioned, to the Areopagus above, that they might listen to him more conveniently. Here the philosophers probably took their seats on the stone benches usually occupied by the members of the Council, while the multitude stood upon the steps and in the valley below. (For details, see *Dict. of Ant.* p. 126; *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 281.)

**ARETAS** (*Ἀρέτας*, *Ἀπέτης*; Arab. *Chorash*), a common appellation of many of the Arabian kings or chiefs. Two are mentioned in the Bible.

1. A contemporary of Antiochus Epiphanes (n.c. 170) and Jason (2 Macc. v. 8). [B. F. W.]

2. In 2 Cor. xi. 32, St. Paul writes, *ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρουρεῖ τὴν πόλιν Δαμασκηνῶν πιδῶσαί με*. This Aretas was father-in-law of Herod Antipas. [HEROD.] There is a somewhat difficult chronological question respecting the subordination of Damascus to this Aretas. The city under Augustus and Tiberius was attached to the province of Syria; and we have Damascene coins of both these emperors, and again of Nero and his successors. But we have none of Caligula and Claudius, and the following circumstances make it probable that a change in the rulership of Damascus took place after the death of Tiberius. There had been war for some time between Aretas, king of Arabia Nabatea, whose capital was Petra, and Antipas, on account of the divorce by Antipas of Aretas's daughter at the instance of Herodias, and also on account of some frontier disputes. A battle was fought, and the army of Antipas entirely destroyed (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, §1). On this, being a favourite with Tiberius, he sent to Rome for help; and Vitellius, governor of Syria, was commissioned to march against Aretas, and to take him dead or alive. While he was on his march (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §1) he heard at Jerusalem of the death of Tiberius (March 16, A.D. 37), and, *πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκέτ' ὁμοίως δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάϊον μεταπεπρωκέναι τὰ πράγματα*, abandoned his march, and sent his army into winter-quarters, himself remaining at Antioch. By this change of affairs at Rome a complete reversal took place in the situation of Antipas and his enemy. The former was ere long (A.D. 39) banished to Lyons, and his kingdom given to Agrippa, his foe (*Ant.* xviii. 7), who had been living in habits of intimacy with the new emperor (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §5). It would be natural that Aretas, who had been grossly injured by Antipas, should, by this change of affairs, be received into favour; and the more so, as Vitellius had an old grudge against Antipas, of which Josephus says, *Ant.* xviii. 4, §5, *ἐκρυπτεν ὀργήν, μέχρι δὲ καὶ μετῴθε, Γαῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν παρεμβόλος*. Now in the year 38 Caligula made several changes in the East, granting Ituraea to Soemus, Lesser Armenia and parts of Arabia to Cotys, the territory of Cotys to Rhemetaces, and to Polemon, son of Polemon, his father's government. These facts, coupled with that of no Damascene coins of Caligula or Claudius existing, make it probable that about this time Damascus, which belonged to the predecessor of Aretas (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §2), was granted to him by Caligula. Thus the difficulty would vanish. The other hypotheses, that the ethnarch was only visiting the city (as if he could then have guarded the walls to prevent escape),—that Aretas had seized Damascus on Vitellius giving up the expedition against him (as if a

Roman governor of a province would allow one of its chief cities to be taken from him, merely because he was in uncertainty about the policy of a new emperor), are very improbable. Wieseler, *Chron. des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 174, and again in his art. in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, refers to a coin *βασιλέως Ἀρέτα φιλέλληνας*, but it seems to belong to an earlier Aretas. See Conyb. and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, ed. 2, vol. i. p. 132, note. See Wieseler, pp. 142 ff., 167 ff., whose view has been adopted in this article; Anger, *de Temporum in Actis Ap. ratione*, p. 173 ff., and Conyb. and Howson, vol. i. p. 99 ff. end. [H. A.]

**AREUS**, a king of the Lacedaemonians, whose letter to the high priest Onias is given in 1 Macc. xii. 20, seq. He is called *Areus* in the A. V. in ver. 20 and in the margin of ver. 7; but in the Greek text he is named *Ὀνιάδης* in ver. 20, and *Δαρείος* in ver. 7: there can be little doubt however that these are corruptions of *Areus*. In Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, §10, v. §8) the name is written *Ἀρείος*, and in the Vulgate *Arūs*. There were two Spartan kings of the name of Areus, of whom the first reigned B.C. 309-265, and the second, the grandson of the former, died when a child of eight years old in B.C. 257. There were three high priests of the name of Onias, of whom the first held the office B.C. 323-300. This is the one who must have written the letter to Areus I., probably in some interval between 309 and 300. (Grimm, *zu Macc.* p. 185.) [ONIAS.]

**AR'GOB** (אַרְגֹּב, once with the def. article אֶרְצָאֲרֹגֹב = "the stony," from אָרַג, Ges. *Thes.* 1260; *Ἀργόβ*, *Argob*), a tract of country on the east of the Jordan, in Bashan, in the kingdom of Og, containing 60 "great" and fortified "cities" (עָרִים). Argob was in the portion allotted to the half-tribe of Manasseh, and was taken possession of by Jair, a chief man in that tribe. [JAIR; BASIAN; HAVOTH-JAIR.] It afterwards formed one of Solomon's commissariat districts, under the charge of an officer whose residence was at Ramoth-Gilead (Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14; 1 K. iv. 13). In later times Argob was called Trachonitis, apparently a mere translation of the older name. [TRACHONITIS.] In the Samaritan version it is rendered רִיגֹבָנָה (*Rigobanah*); but in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan it is טַרְכוֹנִיָּה (i. e. Trachonitis). Later on we trace it in the Arabic version of Saadiah as مَوْجِب (*Mujeb*, with the same meaning); and it is now apparently identified with the *Lejah*, اللَّجَاة, a very remarkable district

south of Damascus, and east of the Sea of Galilee, which has been visited and described by Burckhardt (111-119), Seetzen, and Porter (vol. ii. specially 240-245). This extraordinary region—about 22 miles from N. to S. by 14 from W. to E. and of a regular, almost oval, shape—has been described as an ocean of basaltic rocks and boulders, tossed about in the wildest confusion, and intermingled with fissures and crevices in every direction. "It is," says Mr. Porter, "wholly composed of black basalt, which appears to have issued from innumerable pores in the earth in a liquid state, and to have flowed out on every side. Before cooling, its surface was violently agitated, and it was afterwards

\* Jonath. טַרְכוֹנָה; Jerus. אַטְרֹכֹנָה.

shattered and rent by internal convulsions. The cup-like cavities from which the liquid mass was extruded are still seen, and likewise the wavy surface a thick liquid assumes which cools while flowing. The rock is filled with little pits and air-bubbles; it is as hard as flint, and emits a sharp metallic sound when struck" (241). "Strange as it may seem, this ungainly and forbidding region is thickly studded with deserted cities and villages, in all of which the dwellings are solidly built and of remote antiquity" (238). The number of these towns visited by one traveller lately returned is 50, and there were many others which he did not go to. A Roman road runs through the district from S. to N. probably between Bosra and Damascus. On the outer boundary of the *Lejah* we situated, amongst others, the towns known in Biblical history as Kenath and Edrei. In the absence of more conclusive evidence on the point, a strong presumption in favour of the identification of the *Lejah* with Argob arises from the peculiar Hebrew word constantly attached to Argob, and in this definite sense apparently to Argob only. This word is **קֶבֶל** (Chebel), literally "a rope" (*σχολινισμα*, *περίμετρον*, *funiculus*), and it designates with charming accuracy the remarkably defined boundary line of the district of the *Lejah*, which is spoken of repeatedly by its latest explorer as "a rocky shore;" "sweeping round in a circle clearly defined as a rocky shore line;" "resembling a Cyclopean wall in ruins" (Porter, ii. 19, 219, 239, &c.). The extraordinary features of this region are rendered still more extraordinary by the contrast which it presents to the surrounding plain of the Haman, a high plateau of waving downs of the richest agricultural soil stretching from the Sea of Galilee to the *Lejah*, and beyond that to the desert, almost literally "without a stone;" and it is not to be wondered at—if the identification proposed above be correct—that this contrast should have struck the Israelites, and that their language, so scrupulous of minute topographical distinctions, should have perpetuated in the words, Mishor, Argob, and Chebel, at once the level downs of Bashan [*MISHOR*], the stony labyrinth which so suddenly intrudes itself on the soil (Argob), and the definite fence or boundary which encloses it [*CHEBEL*]. [G.]

AR'GOB (**אַרְגֹּב**; *τοῦ Ἀργόβ*; *Argob*), a man killed with Pekahiah king of Israel (2 K. xv. 25).

ARIARA'THES (properly Mithridates, Diod. xxi., x., p. 25, ed. Bip.) **ῬΑΡΙΑΡΑΤΗΣ** (*Ἀριαράθης*, *Ἀράθης*, probably signifying "great" or "honourable master," from the roots existing in *aryas* (Sanskrit), "honourable," and *rata* (head), "master;" Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* s. v.), king of Cappadocia B.C. 163–130. He was educated at Rome (Liv. xlii. 19); and his whole policy was directed according to the wishes of the Romans. This subservience cost him his kingdom B.C. 158; but he was shortly afterwards restored by the Romans to a share in the government (App. *Syr.* 47; cf. Polyb. xxii. 20, 23; Polyb. iii. 5); and on the capture of his rival Olophernes by Demetrius Soter, regained the supreme power (Just. xxxv. 1). He fell in B.C. 130, in the war of the Romans against Aristonicus who claimed the kingdom of Pergamum on the death of Attalus III. (Just. xxxvii. 1, 2). Letters were addressed to him from Rome in favour of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 22), who, in aftertimes, seem to have been numerous in his kingdom (Acts ii. 9; comp. 1 Pet. i. 1). [B. F. W.]

ARID'AI (**אַרִידַי**; *Ἀριδαίος*; *Aridai*), ninth son of Haman (Esth. ix. 9).

ARID'ATHA (**אַרִידָתָא**; *Ἀριδάθα*; *Aridatha*), sixth son of Haman (Esth. ix. 8).

A'RIEH (**אַרְיֵה**; *the lion*; *Apla*; *Arie*), name of a man (2 K. xv. 25).

A'RIEL (**אַרְיֵל**; *lion*, i. e. *hero*, of God, or, *hearth of God*; *Ἀριήλ*; *Ariel*).

1. As the proper name of a man (where the meaning no doubt is the first of those given above) the word occurs in Ezr. viii. 16. This Ariel was one of the "chief men" who under Ezra directed the caravan which he led back from Babylon to Jerusalem.

The word occurs also in reference to two Monibites slain by Beniah, one of David's chief captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chr. xi. 22). Gesenius and many others agree with our A. V. in regarding the word as an epithet, "two lion-like men of Moab;" but it seems better to look upon it, with Thellus, Winer, Fürst, and others, as a proper name, and translate "two [sons] of Ariel," the word **בְּנֵי**, which might easily have fallen out.

A similar word occurs in Num. xxvi. 17, *Arel* (**אַרְיֵל**) as the name of a Gadite, and head of one of the families of that tribe. Both the LXX. and the Vulg. give Ariel for this word, and Winer without remark treats it as the same name.

2. A designation given by Isaiah to the city of Jerusalem (Is. xxix. 1 (*bis*), 2 (*bis*), 7). Its meaning is obscure. We must understand by it either "Lion of God"—so Gesenius, Ewald, Hävernicks, Fürst, and many others—or, with Umbreit, Knobel, and most of the ancient Jewish expositors, "Hearth of God," tracing the first com-

ponent of the word to the Arabic **أَرِيح**, a fire-place

or hearth (Gesen. *Thes.*; Fürst, *Heb. u. Chald. Handb.* s. v.). This latter meaning is suggested by the use of the word in Ez. xliii. 15, 16, as a synonyme for the altar of burnt-offering, although Havernick (*Commentar üb. Ezech.* p. 699), relying on the passage in Isaiah, insists that even here we must understand Lion of God. The difficulty is increased by the reading of the text in Ezekiel being itself doubtful. On the whole it seems most probable that the words used by the two prophets, if not different in form, are at least different in derivation and meaning, and that as a name given to Jerusalem Ariel means "Lion of God," whilst the word used by Ezekiel means "Hearth of God." [F. W. G.]

ARIMATHIAE'A (*Ἀριμαθαία*, Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke xxiii. 51; John xix. 38), the birthplace, or at least the residence of Joseph, who obtained leave from Pilate to bury our Lord in his "new tomb" at Jerusalem. St. Luke calls this place "a city of Judaea;" but this presents no objection to its identification with the prophet Samuel's birth-place, the Ramah of 1 Sam. i. 1, 19, which is named in the Septuagint Arimathaim (*Ἀριμαθαίμ*), and by Josephus, Armatha (*Ἀρμαθᾶ*, Joseph. *Ant.* v. 10, §2). The Ramathem of the Apocrypha (*Ῥαμαθὲμ*, 1 Macc. xi. 34) is probably the same place. [RAMAH.] [J. S. H.]

A'RIOCH (**אַרְיֹחַ**, probably from **אַרְיֵה**, a lion,

"lion-like," comp. **לִיֹּן**; **Ἀριωχῆς**, LXX., in Dan. only; **Ἀριώχης**, Theodot.; *Arioch*, Vulg.). 1. "King of Ellasar" (Gen. xiv. 1, 9). 2. "The captain of the guard" of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 14 ff.). [B. F. W.]

**ARISAI** (**Ἀρίσαι**; **Ρουφαῖος**; *Arisai*), eighth son of Haman (Esth. ix. 9).

**ARISTARCHUS** (**Ἀριστάρχος**; *Aristarchus*), a Thessalonian (Acts xx. 4; xxvii. 2), who accompanied St. Paul on his third missionary journey, (Acts xix. 29, where he is mentioned as having been seized in the tumult at Ephesus together with Gaius, both **συνεκδήμους Παύλου**). We hear of him again as accompanying the Apostle on his return to Asia, Acts xx. 4; and again xxvii. 2, as being with him on his voyage to Rome. We trace him afterwards as St. Paul's **συνταχμάλωτος** in Col. iv. 10, and Philem. 24, both these notices belonging to one and the same time of Col. iv. 7; Philem. 12 ff. After this we altogether lose sight of him. Tradition, says Winer, makes him bishop of Aramea. [H. A.]

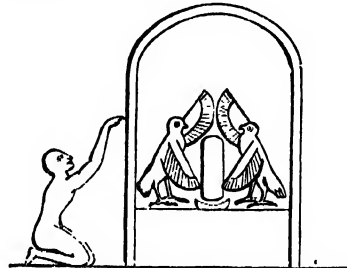
**ARISTOBULUS** (**Ἀριστόβουλος**; *Aristobolus*), Jewish priest (2 Macc. i. 10), who resided in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemaeus VI. Philometor (comp. Grimm, 2 Macc. i. 9). In a letter of Judas Maccabaeus he is addressed (165 B.C.) as the representative of the Egyptian Jews (**Ἀριστοβούλου . . . καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγ. Ἰουδ.** 2 Macc. i. c.), and is further styled "the teacher" (**διδασκαλος**, i. e. counsellor?) of the king. Josephus makes no mention of him; but there can be little doubt that he is identical with the peripatetic philosopher of the name (Clem. Alex. *Str.* v. §98; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 9), who dedicated to Ptol. Philometor his allegorical exposition of the Pentateuch (**Βιβλος ἐξηγητικὰς, τοῦ Μουσείως νόμου**, Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32). Considerable fragments of this work have been preserved by Clement and Eusebius (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vii. 13, 14, viii. (8) 9, 10, xiii. 12; in which the Clementine fragments recur); but the authenticity of the quotations has been vigorously contested. It was denied by R. Simon and especially by Hody (*De bibl. text. orig.*, pp. 50 ff. Oxon. 1705) who was answered by Valckenner (*Diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo*, Lugd. Bat. 1806); and Valckenner's arguments are now generally considered conclusive. (Gfrörer, *Philo u. s. w.* ii. pp. 71 ff.; Dachne, *Jud. Alex. Relig.-Philos.* ii. 73 ff.; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* iv. 294 n.) The object of Aristobulus was to prove that the peripatetic doctrines were based (**ἡρησθαι**) on the Law and the Prophets; and his work has an additional interest as showing that the Jewish doctrines were first brought into contact with the Aristotelian and not with the Platonic philosophy (comp. Matter, *Hist. de l'école d'Alex.* iii. 153 ff.). The fragments which remain are discussed at length in the works quoted above, which contain also a satisfactory explanation of the chronological difficulties of the different accounts of Aristobulus. [B. F. W.]

**ARISTOBULUS** (**Ἀριστόβουλος**), a resident at Rome, some of whose household are greeted in Rom. xvi. 10. It does not appear whether he was a Roman; or whether he believed: from the form of expression, probably not. Or he may have been dead at the time. The *Metology Græcorum*, as usual (iii. p. 17 f.), makes him to have been one of the 70 disciples, and reports that he preached the gospel in Britain. [H. A.]

**ARK, NOAH'S.** [NOAH.]

**ARK OF THE COVENANT** (**אֲרוֹן**).

This, taken generally together with the mercy-seat, was the one piece of the tabernacle's furniture especially invested with sacredness and mystery, and is therefore the first for which precise directions were delivered (Ex. xxx.). The word signifies a mere chest or box, and is (as well as the word **כֶּסֶף**, "ark" of Noah) rendered by the LXX. and New Testament writers by **κιβωτός**. We may remark: I. its material dimensions and fittings; II. its design and object, under which will be included its contents; and III. its history.



Egyptian Ark. (Rosellini, p. 59)

I. It appears to have been an oblong chest of shittim (acacia) wood,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cubits long, by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  broad and deep. Within and without gold was overlaid on the wood, and on the upper side or lid, which was edged round about with gold, the mercy seat, supporting the cherubim one at each end, and regarded as the symbolical throne of the Divine presence (**CHERUBIM and MERCY SEAT**), was placed. The ark was fitted with rings, one at each of the four corners, and therefore two on each side, and through these were passed staves of the same wood similarly overlaid. By these staves, which always remained in the rings, the Levites of the house of Kohath, to whose office this especially appertained, bore it in its progress. Probably, however, when removed from within the veil, in the most holy place, which was its proper position, or when taken out thence, priests were its bearers (Num. vii. 9, x. 21, iv. 5, 19, 20; 1 K. viii. 3, 6). The ends of the staves were visible without the veil in the holy place of the temple of Solomon, the staves being drawn to the ends, apparently, but not out of the rings. The ark, when transported, was enveloped in the "veil" of the dismantled tabernacle, in the curtain of badgers' skins, and in a blue cloth over all, and was therefore not seen.

II. Its purpose or object was to contain inviolate the Divine autograph of the two tables, that "covenant" from which it derived its title, the idea of which was inseparable from it, and which may be regarded as the *depositum* of the Jewish dispensation. The perpetual safe custody of the material tables no doubt suggested the moral observance of the precepts inscribed. It was also probably a reliquary for the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron. We read in 1 K. viii. 9, that "there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb." Yet St. Paul, or the author of Heb. ix. 4, asserts that, beside the two tables of stone, the "pot of manna" and "Aaron's rod that budded" were inside the ark, which were

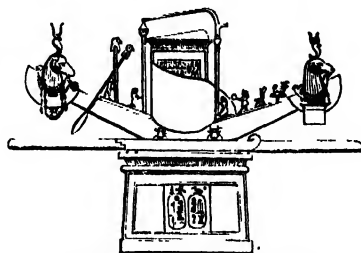
directed to be "laid up" and "kept before the testimony," i.e. before the tables of the law (Ex. xl. 20); and probably, since there is no mention of any other receptacle for them, and some would have been necessary, the statement of 1 K. viii. 9, implies that by Solomon's time these relics had disappeared. The expression *מִצַּד אֲרוֹן*, Deut. xxx. 26, obscurely rendered "in the side of the ark" (A. V.), merely means "beside" it. The words of the A. V. in 1 Chr. xiii. 3, seem to imply an use of the ark for the purpose of an oracle; but this is probably erroneous, and "we sought it not" the meaning; so the LXX. renders it: see Gesenius, *l.c.* s. v. *אֲרוֹן*.

Occupying the most holy spot of the whole sanctuary, it tended to exclude any idol from the centre of worship. And Jeremiah (iii. 16) looks forward to the time when even the ark should be "no more remembered," as the climax of spiritualised religion apparently in Messianic times. It was also the support of the mercy seat, materially symbolising, perhaps, the "covenant" as that on which "mercy" rested. It also furnished a legitimate vent to that longing after a material object for reverential feeling which is common to all religions. It was, however, never seen, save by the high priest, and resembled in this respect the Deity whom it symbolised, whose face none might look upon and live (Winer, *ad loc. note*). That this reverential feeling may have been impaired during its absence among the Philistines, seems probable from the example of Uzzah.

III. The chief facts in the earlier history of the ark (see Josh. iii. and vi.) need not be recited. We may notice, however, a fiction of the Rabbis that there were two arks, one which remained in the shrine, and another which preceded the camp on its march, and that this latter contained the broken tables of the law, as the *omer* the whole ones. In the decline of religion in a later period a superstitious security was attached to its presence in battle. Yet, though this was rebuked by its permitted capture, when captured, its sanctity was vindicated by miracles, as seen in its avenging progress through the Philistine cities. From this period till David's time its abode was frequently shifted. It sojourned among several, probably Levitical, families (1 Sam. vii. 1; 2 Sam. vi. 3, 11; 1 Chr. xiii. 13, xv. 24, 25) in the border villages of Eastern Judah, and did not take its place in the tabernacle, but dwelt in curtains, i.e. in a separate tent pitched for it in Jerusalem by David. Its bringing up by David thither was a national festival, and its presence there seems to have suggested to his piety the erection of a house to receive it. Subsequently that house, when completed, received, in the installation of the ark in its shrine, the signal of its inauguration by the effulgence of Divine glory instantly manifested. Several of the Psalms contain allusions to these events (e.g. xxiv., xlvii., cxxxii.) and Ps. cv. appears to have been composed on the occasion of the first of them.

When idolatry became more shameless in the kingdom of Judah, Manasseh placed a "carved image" in the "house of God," and probably removed the ark to make way for it. This may account for the subsequent statement that it was reinstated by Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiii. 7, xxxv. 3). It was probably taken captive or destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Esdr. x. 22). Prideaux's argu-

ment that there *must* have been an ark in the second temple is of no weight against express testimony, such as that of Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, §5) and Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9, *inanis arcam*), confirmed also by the Rabbins, who state that a sacred stone called by them *שֹׁהֵה אֶבֶן*, "stone of drinking" [STONE], stood in its stead; as well as by the marked silence of those apocryphal books which enumerate the rest of the principal furniture of the sanctuary as present, besides the positive statement of 2 Esdr. as above quoted.



Egyptian Ark. (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*.)

The ritual of the Etruscans, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations, included the use of what Clemens Alexandrinus calls *στολα μυστικά* (Protrept. p. 12); but especially that of the Egyptians, in whose religious processions, as represented on monuments, such an ark, surmounted by a pair of winged figures like the cherubim, constantly appears (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, v. p. 271, 275). The same Clemens (Strom. v. 578) also contains an allusion of a proverbial character to the ark and its rites, which seems to show that they were popularly known, where he says that "only the *māster* (*διδάσκαλος*) may uncover the ark" (*ἀποβρῆς*). In Latin also, the word *arcamum*, connected with *arca* and *arceo*, is the recognised term for a sacred mystery. Illustrations of the same subject occur also Plut. *de Is. et Os.* c. 39; *Ov. Ars Am.* ii. 609, &c.; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ii. 3; Catull. lxiv. 260-1; Apul. *Met.* xi. 262. [H. H.]

ARK'ITE, THE *הַקֵּרְיָי*, Sam. Cod. *עֲרֹקִי*; *Ἀρουκαῖος*; *Arucæns*), one of the families of the Canaanites (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chr. i. 15), and from the context evidently located in the north of Phœnicia. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §2) gives the name as *Ἀρουκαῖος*, and as possessing *Ἀρκακὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Διδῶνι*. He also again mentions the place (*Ἀρκαλα*, *B. J.* vii. 5, §1) in defining the position of the Sabbatical river. The name is found in Pliny (v. 16), and Ptolemy (v. 15), and from Aelius Lampridius (*Alec. Sev.*) we learn that the *Urbs Arceni* contained a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great. It was the birthplace of Alexander Severus, and was thence called *Cæsarea Libani*. Arca was well known to the Crusaders, who under Ramond of Toulouse besieged it for two months in 1099 in vain; it was, however, afterwards taken by William of Sartangea. In 1202 it was totally destroyed by an earthquake. The site which now bears the name of *'Arka* (عرقا) lies on the coast, 2 to 2½ hours from the shore, about 12 miles north of Tripoli, and 5 south of the *Nahr el-Khebir* (Eleutherns). The great coast road passes halfway

between it and the sea. The site is marked by a rocky tell rising to the height of 100 feet close above the *Nahr Arka*. On the top of the tell is an area of about two acres, and on this and on a plateau to the north the ruins of the former town are scattered. Among them are some columns of granite and syenite (Rob. iii. 579-81; Ges. 1073; Winer, s. v.; Reiland, 575; Burckhardt, 162; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, art. ARCA). [G.]

**ARMAGED'DON** (*Ἀρμαγεδών*, Rev. xvi. 16). It would be foreign to the purpose of this work to enter into any of the theological controversies connected with this word. Whatever its full symbolical import may be, the image rests on a geographical basis; and the locality implied in the Hebrew term here employed (*גִּן תֹּפָן גִּן כְּלָד־מֶנּוּן* 'Eḥpaiṣṭi' *Ἀρμαγεδών*) is the great battle-field of the Old Testament, where the chief conflicts took place between the Israelites and the enemies of God's people. The passage is best illustrated by comparing a similar one in the book of Joel (iii. 2, 12), where the scene of the Divine judgments is spoken of in the prophetic imagery as the "valley of Jehoshaphat," the fact underlying the image being Jehoshaphat's great victory (2 Chr. xv. 26; see Zech. xiv. 2, 4). So here the scene of the struggle of good and evil is suggested by that battle-field, the plain of Esdraelon, which was famous for two great victories, of Barak over the Canaanites (Judg. iv., v.), and Gideon over the Midianites (Judg. vii.); and for two great disasters, the death of Saul, in the invasion of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxi. 8), and the death of Josiah in the invasion of the Egyptians (2 K. xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chr. xxxv. 22). With the first and fourth of these events, Megiddo (*Μαγεδδών* in the LXX. and Josephus) is especially connected. Hence *Ἀρμαγεδών*, "the hill of Megiddo." (See Bahr's *Excursus* on Herol. ii. 159.) The same figurative language is used by one of the Jewish prophets (Zech. xii. 11). As regards the Apocalypse, it is remarked by Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 330), that this imagery would be peculiarly natural to a Galilean, to whom the scene of these battles was familiar. [MEGIDDO.] [J. S. II.]

**ARMENIA** (*Ἀρμενία*) is nowhere mentioned under that name in the original Hebrew, though it occurs in the English version (2 K. xiv. 37), where our translators have very unnecessarily substituted it for Ararat (comp. marginal reading). The absence of the name, however, which was not the indigenous name of the people, by no means implies that the Hebrew writers were unacquainted with the country: they undoubtedly describe certain districts of it under the names Ararat, Minni, and Togarmah. Of these three the latter appears to have the widest signification: it is the name of a race (Gen. x. 3), and not of a locality, and is used by Ezekiel as descriptive of the whole country (xxvii. 14, xxxviii. 6), while the two former are mentioned together, and have been identified with separate localities.

Armenia is that lofty plateau whence the rivers Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Arampsis, pour down their waters in different directions, the two first to the Persian Gulf, the last two respectively to the Caspian and Euxine seas. It may be termed the *nucleus* of the mountain system of western Asia: from the centre of the plateau rise two lofty chains of mountains, which run from E. to W., converging towards the Caspian sea, but paral-

lel to each other towards the W., the most northerly named by ancient geographers Abus M\*, and culminating in Mount Ararat; the other named Niphates M\*. Westward these ranges may be traced in Anti-Taurus and Taurus, while in the opposite direction they are continued in Caspius M\*. The climate of Armenia is severe, the degree of severity varying with the altitude of different localities, the valleys being sufficiently warm to ripen the grape, while the high lands are bleak and only adapted for pasture. The latter supported vast numbers of mules and horses, on which the wealth of the country chiefly depended: and hence Strabo (xi. 529) characterizes the country as *σφόδρα ἰππόβοτος*, and tells us that the horses were held in as high estimation as the celebrated Nisean breed. The inhabitants were keen traders in ancient as in modern times.

The slight acquaintance which the Hebrew writers had of this country was probably derived from the Phœnicians. There are signs of their knowledge having been progressive. Isaiah, in his prophecies regarding Babylon, speaks of the hosts as coming from "the mountains" (xiii. 4), while Jeremiah, in connexion with the same subject, uses the specific names Ararat and Minni (li. 27). Ezekiel, who was apparently better acquainted with the country, uses a name which was familiar to its own inhabitants, Togumah. Whether the use of the term Ararat in Is. xxxvii. 38 belongs to the period in which the prophet himself lived, is a question which cannot be here discussed. In the prophetic passages to which we shall refer, it will be noticed that Armenia is spoken of rather in reference to its geographical position as one of the extreme northern nations with which the Jews were acquainted, than for any more definite purpose.

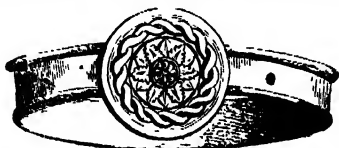
(1.) **ARARAT** is noticed as the place whither the sons of Sennacherib fled (Is. xxxvii. 38): in the prophecies of Jeremiah (li. 27) it is summoned along with Minni and Ashkenaz to the destruction of Babylon, the LXX. however only notice the last. It was the central district surrounding the mountain of that name. (2.) **MINNI** (מִנִּי) is only noticed in the passage just referred to. It is probably identical with the district Minyas, in the upper valley of the *Murad-su* branch of the Euphrates (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, §6). It contains the root of the name Armenia according to the generally received derivation, Har-Minni, "the mountains of Minni." It is worthy of notice that the spot where Xenophon ascertains that the name of the country through which he was passing was Armenia, coincides with the position here assigned to Minni (Xen. *An.* iv. 5; Ainsworth, *Track* of 10,000, p. 177. (3.) **TOGARMAH** (תֹּגַרְמָה; *Θογαρμά*, and *Θοργουμά*) is noticed in two passages of Ezekiel, both of which support the idea of its identity with Armenia. In xxvii. 14 he speaks of its commerce with the Tyrians in "horses, horsemen and mules" (A. V.), or, as the words mean, "carriage-horses, riding-horses, and mules" (Hitzig, *Comment.*), which we have already noticed as the staple productions of Armenia. That the house of Togarmah "traded in the fairs of Tyre," as the A. V. expresses it, is more than the Hebrew text seems to warrant: the words simply signify that the Armenians carried on commerce with the Tyrians in those articles. In this passage Togarmah is mentioned in connexion with Meshech and Tubal; in xxxviii. 6, it is described as "of the north quarters" in con-

nexion with Gomer. Coupling with these particulars the relationship between Togarmah, Ashkenaz, and Kiphat (Gen. x. 3), the three sons of Gomer, and the nations of which these patriarchs were the progenitors, we cannot fail in coming to the conclusion that Togarmah represents Armenia. We will only add that the traditional belief of the Armenians themselves, that they are descended from Thorgomass or Thorgarmah, strongly confirms this view.

[W. L. B.]

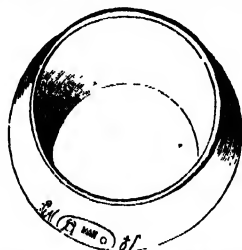
**ARMLET** (ἄρμλετ; ψέλλιον; Num. xxi. 50,

χλιδόνα or χλιδόν; 2 Sam. i. 10, βραχιδλίον; Aquila, *brachiale armilla*;—properly a fetter, from ἄρμ, *a step*; comp. Is. iii. 20, and ANKLET), an ornament universal in the East, especially among women; used by princes as one of the insignia of royalty, and by distinguished persons in general. The word is not used in the A. V., as even in 2 Sam. i. 10, they render it "by the bracelet on his arm." Sometimes only one was worn, on the right arm (Ecclus. xxi. 21). From Cant. viii. 6, it appears that the signet sometimes consisted of a jewel on the armlet.



Assyrian Armlet. From Nineveh Marbles, British Museum.

These ornaments were worn by most ancient princes. They are frequent on the sculptures of Persopolis and Nineveh, and were set in rich and fantastic shapes resembling the heads of animals (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 298). The kings of Persia wore them, and Astyages presented a pair among other ornaments to Cyrus (Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3). The Ethiopians, to whom some were sent by Cambyses, scornfully characterised them as weak fetters (Herod. ii. 23). Nor were they confined to the kings, since Herodotus (viii. 113) calls the Persians generally *ψελλιοφόροι*. In the Egyptian monuments "kings are often represented with armlets and bracelets, and in the Leyden Museum is one bearing the name of the third Thothmes." [A gold bracelet figured below.] (Wilkinson's *Anc.*



Egyptian Armlet. From the Leyden Museum.

*Egypt.* iii. 375, and Plates 1, 2, 14). They were even used by the old British chiefs (Turner, *Angl. Sac.* i. 383). The story of Tarpela shows that they were common among the ancient Sabines, but the Romans considered the use of them effeminate, although they were sometimes given as military rewards (Liv. x. 44). Finally, they

are still worn among the most splendid regalia of modern Oriental sovereigns, and it is even said that those of the king of Persia are worth a million sterling (Kitto, *Pict. Hist. of Pal.* i. 499). They form the chief wealth of modern Hindoo ladies, and are rarely taken off. They are made of every sort of material from the finest gold, jewels, ivory, coral, and pearl, down to the common glass rings and varnished earthenware bangles of the women of the Deccan. Now, as in ancient times, they are sometimes plain, sometimes enchased; sometimes with the ends not joined, and sometimes a complete circle. The arms are sometimes quite covered with them, and if the wearer be poor, it matters not how mean they are, provided only that they glitter. It is thought essential to beauty that they should fit close, and hence Harmer calls them "rather manacles than bracelets," and Buchanan says "that the poor girls rarely get them on without drawing blood, and rubbing part of the skin from the hand; and as they wear great numbers, which often break, they suffer much from their love of admiration." Their enormous weight may be conjectured from Gen. xxiv. 24.

[F. W. F.]

**ARMO'NI** (ἄρμονι; Ἐρμωνί; *Armoni*), son of Saul by Hizpah (2 Sam. xxi. 8).

**ARMS, ARMOUR.** In the records of a people like the Children of Israel, so large a part of whose history was passed in warfare, we naturally look for much information, direct or indirect, on the arms and modes of fighting of the nation itself and of those with whom it came into contact.

Unfortunately, however, the notices that we find in the Bible on these points are extremely few and meagre, while even those few, owing to the uncertainty which rests on the true meaning and force of the terms, do not convey to us nearly all the information which they might. This is the more to be regretted because the notices of the history, scanty as they are, are literally everything we have to depend on, inasmuch as they are not yet supplemented and illustrated either by remains of the arms themselves, or by those commentaries which the sculptures, vases, bronzes, mosaics, and paintings of other nations furnish to the notices of manners and customs contained in their literature.

In remarkable contrast to Greece, Rome, Egypt, and we may now add Assyria, Palestine has not yet yielded one vestige of the implements or utensils of life or warfare of its ancient inhabitants; nor has a single sculpture, piece of pottery, coin, or jewel, been discovered of that people with whose life, as depicted in their literature, we are more familiar than with that of our own ancestors. Even the relations which existed between the customs of Israel, and those of Egypt on the one hand, and Assyria on the other, have still to be investigated, so that we are prevented from applying to the history of the Jews the immense amount of information which we possess on the warlike customs of these two nations, the former especially. Perhaps the time will arrive for investigations in Palestine of the same nature as those which have, within the last ten years, given us so much insight into Assyrian manners; but in the meantime all that can be done here is to examine the various terms by which instruments of war appear to be designated in the Bible, in the light of such help as can be got from the comparison of parallel passages, from the derivation of the words, and from the renderings of the ancient versions.

The subject naturally divides itself into—

I. Offensive weapons: Arms.

II. Defensive weapons: Armour.

I. Offensive weapons: 1. Apparently the earliest known, and most widely used, was the *Chereb* (חֶרֶב), "SWORD," from a root signifying to lay waste.

Its first mention in the history is in the narrative of the massacre at Shechem, when "Simeon and Levi took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly and slew all the males" (Gen. xxxiv. 25). But there is an allusion to it shortly before in a passage undoubtedly of the earliest date (Ewald, i. 446 note): the expostulation of Laban with Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 26). After this, during the account of the conquest and of the monarchy, the mention of the sword is frequent, but very little can be gathered from the casual notices of the text as to its shape, size, material, or mode of use. Perhaps if anything is to be inferred it is that the *Chereb* was not either a heavy or a long weapon. That of Ehud was only a cubit, i.e. 18 inches long, so as to have been concealed under his garment, and nothing is said to lead to the inference that it was shorter than usual, for the "dagger" of the A. V. is without any ground, unless it be a rendering of the *μάχα* of the LXX. But even assuming that Ehud's sword was shorter than usual, yet a consideration of the narratives in 2 Sam. ii. 16, and xx. 8-10, and also of the ease with which David used the sword of a man so much larger than himself as Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 51; xxi. 9, 10), goes to show that the *chereb* was both a lighter and a shorter weapon than the modern sword. What frightful wounds one blow of the sword of the Hebrews could inflict, if given even with the left hand of a practised swordsman, may be gathered from a comparison of 2 Sam. x. 8-12 with 1 K. ii. 5. A ghastly picture is there given us of the murdered man and his murderer. The unfortunate Amasa actually disembowelled by the single stroke, and "wallowing" in his blood in the middle of the road—the treacherous Joab standing over him, bespattered from his "girdle" to his "shoes" with the blood which had spouted from his victim!

The *Chereb* was carried in a sheath (חֶבֶרֶת, 1 Sam. xvii. 51; 2 Sam. xx. 8, only: חֶבֶרֶת, 1 Chr. xxi. 27, only) slung by a girdle (1 Sam. xxv. 13) and resting upon the thigh (Ps. xlv. 3; Judg. iii. 16), or upon the hips (2 Sam. xx. 8). "Girding on the sword" was a symbolical expression for commencing war, the more forcible because in times of peace even the king in state did not wear a sword (1 K. ii. 24); and a similar expression occurs to denote those able to serve (Judg. viii. 10; 1 Chr. xxi. 5). Other phrases, derived from the *chereb*, are, "to smite with the edge (literally 'mouth,' comp. *στόμα*, and comp. 'devour,' Is. i. 20) of the 'sword'—"slain with the sword"—"men that drew sword," &c.

Swords with two edges are occasionally referred to (Judg. iii. 16; Ps. cxlix. 6), and allusions are found to "whetting" the sword (Deut. xxxii. 41; Ps. lxxv. 3; Ezek. xxi. 9). There is no reference to the material of which it was composed (unless it be Is. ii. 4; Joel iii. 10); doubtless it was of metal from the allusions to its brightness and "glittering" (see the two passages quoted above, and others), and the ordinary word for blade, viz. *לָחָב*, "a flame." From the expression (Josh. v. 2, 8)—"swords of rock," A. V. "sharp knives"—we may

perhaps infer that in early times the material was flint.

2. Next to the sword was the *SPEAR*: and of this weapon we meet with at least three distinct kinds.

a. The *Chanith* (חֲנִית), a "Spear," and that of the largest kind, as appears from various circumstances attending its mention. It was the weapon of Goliath—its staff like a weaver's beam, the iron head alone weighing 600 shekels, about 25 lbs. (1 Sam. xvii. 7, 45; 2 Sam. xxi. 19; 1 Chr. xx. 5), and also of other giants (2 Sam. xxiii. 21; 1 Chr. xi. 23) and mighty warriors (2 Sam. ii. 23, xxiii. 18; 1 Chr. xi. 11, 20). The *Chanith* was the habitual companion of King Saul—a fit weapon for one of his gigantic stature—planted at the head of his sleeping-place when on an expedition (1 Sam. xxv. 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 22), or held in his hand when mustering his forces (xxii. 6); and on it the dying king is leaning when we catch our last glimpse of his stately figure on the field of Gilboa (2 Sam. i. 6). His fits of anger or madness become even more terrible to us, when we find that it was this heavy weapon and not the lighter "javelin" (as the A. V. renders it) that he cast at David (1 Sam. xviii. 10, 11, xix. 9, 10) and at Jonathan (xx. 3). A striking idea of the weight and force of this ponderous arm may be gained from the fact that a mere back thrust from the hand of Abner was enough to drive its butt end through the body of Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 23). The *Chanith* is mentioned also in 1 Sam. xiii. 19, 22, xxi. 8; 2 K. xi. 10; 1 Chr. xxiii. 9, and in numerous passages of poetry.

b. Apparently lighter than the preceding, and in more than one passage distinguished from it, was the *Cidôn* (צִדֹן), to which the word "Javelin" perhaps best answers (Ewald, *Wurfspeiss*). It would be the appropriate weapon for such manoeuvring as that described in Josh. vii. 14-27, and could with ease be held outstretched for a considerable time (18, 26; A. V. "spear"). When not in action the *Cidôn* was carried on the back of the warrior—between the shoulders (1 Sam. xvii. 6, "target," and margin "gorget"). Both in this passage and in verse 45 of the same chapter the *Cidôn* is distinguished from the *Chanith*. In Job xxxix. 23 ("spear") the allusion seems to be to the quivering of a javelin when poised before hurling it.

c. Another kind of spear was the *Romach* (רֹמַח). In the historical books it occurs in Num. xxv. 7 ("javelin"), and 1 K. xviii. 28 ("lancets;" 1611, "lancers"). Also frequently in the later books, especially in the often recurring formula for arms, "shield and spear." 1 Chr. xii. 8 ("buckler"), 24 ("spear"), 2 Chr. xi. 12, xiv. 8, xxv. 5, and Neh. iv. 13, 16-21; Ezek. xxxix. 9 &c.

d. A lighter missile or "dart" was probably the *Shelach* (שֶׁלַח). Its root signifies to project or send out, but unfortunately there is nothing beyond the derivation to guide us to any knowledge of its nature. See 2 Chr. xxiii. 10, xxxii. 5 ("darts"); Neh. iv. 17, 23 (see margin); Job xxxiii. 18, xxxvi. 12; Joel ii. 8.

e. The word *Shobet* (שֹׁבֵט), the ordinary meaning of which is a rod or staff, with the derived force of a baton or sceptre, is used once only with a military signification, for the "darts" with which Joab dispatched Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 14).

3. Of missile weapons of offence the chief was undoubtedly the *Bow*, *Kesheth* (קֶשֶׁת); it is met with

in the earliest stages of the history, in use both for the chase (Gen. xvi. 20, xxvii. 3) and war (xlviii. 22). In later times archers accompanied the armies of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 1 Chr. x. 3) and of the Syrians (1 K. xvii. 34). Among the Jews its use was not confined to the common soldiers, but captains high in rank, as Jehu (2 K. ix. 24), and even kings' sons (1 Sam. xviii. 4) carried the bow, and were expert and sure in its use (2 Sam. i. 22). The tribe of Benjamin seems to have been especially addicted to archery (1 Chr. viii. 40, xii. 2; 2 Chr. xiv. 8, xvii. 7); but there were also bowmen among Reuben, Gad, Manasseh (1 Chr. v. 18), and Ephraim (Ps. lxxviii. 9).

Of the form or structure of the bow we can gather almost nothing. It seems to have been bent with the aid of the foot, as now, for the word commonly used for it is *רַגֵּל*, to tread (1 Chr. v. 18, viii. 40; 2 Chr. xiv. 8; Is. v. 18; Ps. vii. 12, &c.). Bows of steel (or perhaps brass, *בְּרֹזֶה*) are mentioned as if specially strong (2 Sam. xxii. 5; Ps. xviii. 34). The string is occasionally named, *יִתֵּר* or *כִּיִּתֵּר*. It was probably at first some bind-weed or natural curl, since the same word is used in Judg. xvi. 7—9 for "green withies."

In the allusion to bows in 1 Chr. xii. 2, it will be observed that the sentence in the original stands "could use both the right hand and the left in stones and arrows out of a bow," the words "hurling" and "shooting" being interpolated by the translators. It is possible that a kind of bow for shooting bullets or stones is here alluded to, like the pellet-bow of India, or the "stone-bow" in use in the middle ages, and to which allusion is made by Shakespeare (Twelfth Night, ii. 5), and which in Wisl. v. 22 is employed as the translation of *πετροβόλος*. This latter word occurs in the LXX. text of 1 Sam. xiv. 14, in a curious variation of a passage which in the Hebrew is hardly intelligible—*ἐν βολίσι, καὶ ἐν πετροβόλοις, καὶ ἐν κόχλαξι τοῦ πεδίου*: "with things thrown, and with stone-bows, and with flints of the field." If this be accepted as the true reading, we have here by comparison with xiv. 27, 43, an interesting confirmation of the statement (xiii. 19-22) of the degree to which the Philistines had deprived the people of arms; leaving to the king himself nothing but his faithful spear, and to his son, no sword, no shield, and nothing but a stone-bow and a staff (A. V. "rod").

The ARROWS, *Chitzim* (*חִצִּים*), were carried in a quiver, *Theli* (*תֵּלִי*, Gen. xxvii. 3, only), or *Ashpich* (*אַשְׁפִּיךְ*), (Ps. xxii. 6, xlix. 2, cxxvii. 5). From an allusion in Job vi. 4, they would seem to have been sometimes poisoned; and the "sharp arrows of the mighty with coals of juniper," in Ps. cx. 4, may point to a practice of using arrows with some burning material attached to them.

4. The SLING, *Kela* (*קֶלַע*), is first mentioned in Judg. xx. 16, where we hear of the 300 Benjaminites who with their left hand could "sling stones at an hairbreadth, and not miss." The simple weapon with which David killed the giant Philistine was the natural attendant of a shepherd, whose duty it was to keep at a distance and drive off anything attempting to molest his flocks. The sling would be familiar to all shepherds and keepers of sheep, and therefore the bold metaphor of Abigail has a natural propriety in the mouth of the wife of a

man whose possessions in flocks were so great as those of Nabal—"as for the souls of thine enemies them shall God sling out, as out of the middle of a sling" (1 Sam. xxv. 29).

Later in the monarchy, slingers formed part of the regular army (2 K. iii. 25), though it would seem that the slingers there mentioned must have been more ponderous than in earlier times, and that those which could break down the fortifications of so strong a place as Kir-haraseth must have been more like the engines which king Uzziah contrived to "shoot great stones" (2 Chr. xxvi. 15). In verse 14 of the same chapter we find an allusion (concealed in the A. V. by two interpolated words) to stones specially adapted for slings—"Uzziah prepared throughout all the host shields and spears . . . bows and sling-stones."

II. Passing from weapons to Armour—from offensive to defensive arms—we find several references to what was apparently armour for the body.

1. The *Shir-yon* (*שִׁירְיוֹן*); or in its contracted form *שִׁיר*, and once *שִׁירָה*; according to the LXX. *θώραξ*, Vulg. *lorica*,—a BREASTPLATE. This occurs in the description of the arms of Goliath—*שִׁירָיו כְּקַשְׁתִּים*, a "coat of mail," literally a "breastplate of scales" (1 Sam. xvii. 5), and further (38), where Shiryon alone is rendered "coat of mail." It may be noticed in passing that this passage contains the most complete inventory of the furniture of a warrior to be found in the whole of the sacred history. Goliath was a Philistine, and the minuteness of the description of his equipment may be due either to the fact that the Philistines were usually better armed than the Hebrews, or to the impression produced by the contrast on this particular occasion between this fully armed champion, and the wretchedly appointed soldiers of the Israelite host, stripped as they had been very shortly before both of arms, and of the means of supplying them, so completely, that no smith could be found in the country, nor any weapons seen among the people, and that even the ordinary implements of husbandry had to be repaired and sharpened at the forges of the conquerors (1 Sam. xiv. 19-22). *Shiryon* also occurs in 1 K. xxii. 34, and 2 Chr. xviii. 33. The last cited passage is very obscure; the A. V. follows the Syriac translation, but the real meaning is probably "between the joints and the breastplate." Ewald reads "between the loins and the chest;" LXX. and Vulgate, "between the lungs and the breastbone." It is further found in 2 Chr. xxvi. 14, and Neh. iv. 16 ("habergeons"), also in Job 26 and Is. lix. 17. This word has furnished one of the names of Mount Hermon (see Deut. iii. 9; Stanley, 403), a parallel to which is found in the name *θώραξ* given to Mount Sipylus in Lydia. It is possible that in Deut. iv. 48, Sion (*שִׁיֹן*) is a corruption of Shir-yon.

2. Another piece of defensive armour was the *Tachara* (*תַּחֲרָה*), which is mentioned but twice—namely, in reference to the *Meil* or gown of the priest, which is said to have had a hole in the middle for the head with a hem or binding round the hole "as it were the 'mouth' of an habergeon" (*הַבֶּרְגֵּעוֹן*), to prevent the stuff from tearing (Ex. xxviii. 32). The English "habergeon" was the diminutive of the "hauberk," and was a quilted shirt or doublet put on over the head.

3. The **HELMET** is but seldom mentioned. The word for it is *Coba* (כֹּבַע, or twice כִּיבַע), from a root signifying to be high and round. Reference is made to it in 1 Sam. xvii. 5; 1 Chr. xxvi. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 10.

4. **GREAVES**, or defences for the feet (not "legs" as in the A.V.)—כִּנְצָחַהּ, *Mitzechah*, made of brass, נְחֹשֶׁת—were named in 1 Sam. xvii. 6, only.

Of the defensive arms borne by the warrior the notices are hardly less scanty than those just examined.

5. Two kinds of **SHIELD** are distinguishable.

a. The *Tzinnah* (צִנָּה); from a root צָנַץ, to protect. This was the large shield, encompassing (Ps. v. 12) and forming a protection for the whole person. When not in actual conflict, the *tzinnah* was carried before the warrior (1 Sam. xvii. 7, 41). The definite article in the former passage ("the" shield, not "a shield" as in the A.V.) denotes the importance of the weapon. The word is used with *Romach* (1 Ch. xii. 8, 14; 2 Ch. xi. 32, &c.) and *Chanith* (1 Ch. xii. 34) as a formula for weapons generally.

b. Of smaller dimensions was the *Magen* (מָגֵן), from מָגַן, to cover), a buckler or target, probably for use in hand to hand fight. The difference in size between this and the *Tzinnah* is evident from 1 K. x. 16, 17; 2 Chr. ix. 15, 16, where a much larger quantity of gold is named as being used for the latter than for the former. The portability of the *magen* may be inferred from the notice in 2 Chr. xii. 9, 10; and perhaps also from 2 Sam. i. 21. The word is a favourite one with the poets of the Bible (see Job xv. 26; Ps. iii. 3, xviii. 2, &c.). Like *Tzinnah*, it occurs in the formula-like expressions for weapons of war, but usually coupled with light weapons—the bow (2 Chr. xiv. 8, xvii. 7), darts, שֵׁטֶל (2 Chr. xxxii. 5).

6. What kind of arm was the *Shelet* (שֵׁלֶט) it is impossible to determine. By some translators it is rendered a "quiver," by some "weapons" generally, by others a "shield." Whether either or none of these are correct, it is clear that the word had a very individual sense at the time: it denoted certain special weapons taken by David from Haddadezer king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 7; 1 Chr. xviii. 7), and dedicated in the temple, where they did service on the memorable occasion of Joash's proclamation (2 K. xi. 10; 2 Chr. xxiii. 9), and where their remembrance long lingered (Cant. iv. 4). From the fact that these arms were of gold it would seem that they cannot have been for offence.

In the two other passages of its occurrence (Jer. li. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 11) the word has the force of a foreign arm. [c.]

**ARMY.** I. **JEWISH ARMY.**—The military organization of the Jews commenced with their departure from the land of Egypt, and was adapted to the nature of the expedition on which they then entered. Every man above 20 years of age was a soldier (Num. i. 3): each tribe formed a regiment, with its own banner and its own leader (Num. ii. 2, x. 14): their positions in the camp or on the march were accurately fixed (Num. ii.): the whole army started and stopped at a given signal (Num. x. 5, 6): thus they came up out of Egypt ready for the fight (Ex. xiii. 18). That

the Israelites preserved the same exact order throughout their march, may be inferred from Balaam's language (Num. xxiv. 6). On the approach of an enemy, a conscription was made from the general body under the direction of a muster-master (originally named שֹׁמֵר, Deut. xx. 5, "officer," afterwards סוֹפֵר, 2 K. xxv. 19, "scribe of the host," both terms occurring, however, together in 2 Chr. xxvi. 11, the meaning of each being primarily a *writer* or *scribe*), by whom also the officers were appointed (Deut. xx. 9). From the number so selected, some might be excused serving on certain specified grounds (Deut. xx. 5-8; 1 Mac. iii. 56). The army was then divided into thousands and hundreds under their respective captains (שָׂרֵי הַהֲלָכִים, שָׂרֵי הַפָּאוֹת, Num. xxi. 14), and still further into families (Num. ii. 34; 2 Chr. xxv. 5, xxvi. 12)—the family being regarded as the unit in the Jewish polity. From the time the Israelites entered the land of Canaan until the establishment of the kingdom, little progress was made in military affairs: their wars resembled *border forays*, and the tactics turned upon stratagem rather than upon the discipline and disposition of the forces. Skillfully availing themselves of the opportunities which the country offered, they gained the victory sometimes by an ambush (Josh. viii. 4); sometimes by surprising the enemy (Josh. x. 8, xi. 7; Judg. vii. 21); and sometimes by a judicious attack at the time of fording a river (Judg. iii. 28, iv. 7, vii. 24, xii. 5). No general muster was made at this period; but the combatants were summoned on the spur of the moment either by trumpet-call (Judg. iii. 27), by messengers (Judg. vi. 35), by some significant token (1 Sam. xi. 7), or, as in later times, by the erection of a standard (סֵט, Is. xviii. 3; Jer. iv. 21, li. 27), or a beacon-fire on an eminence (Jer. vi. 1).

With the kings arose the custom of maintaining a body-guard, which formed the *nucleus* of a standing army. Thus Saul had a band of 3000 select warriors (1 Sam. xiii. 2, xiv. 52, xxiv. 2), and David, before his accession to the throne, 600 (1 Sam. xiii. 13, xxv. 13). This band he retained after he became king, and added the **CHERETHITES** and **PELETHITES** (2 Sam. xv. 18, xx. 7), together with another class, whose name *Shalishim* (שְׁלִישִׁים, τριῶνται, LXX.) has been variously interpreted to mean (1) a corps of veteran guards = Roman *triarii* (Winer, s. v., *Kriegsheer*); (2) chariot-warriors, as being *three* in each chariot (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1429); (3) officers of the guard, *thirty* in number (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 601). The fact that the Egyptian war-chariot, with which the Jews were first acquainted, contained but two warriors, forms an objection to the second of these opinions (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 335), and the frequent use of the term in the singular number (2 K. vii. 2, ix. 25, xv. 25) to the third. Whatever be the meaning of the name, it is evident that it indicated officers of high rank, the chief of whom (הַשְּׁלִישִׁים, "lord," 2 K. vii. 2, or הַשֵּׁטֶל, "chief of the captains," 1 Chr. xii. 18) was immediately about the king's person, as adjutant or secretary-at-war. David further organized a national militia, divided into twelve regiments, each of which was called out for one month in the year under their respective officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 1);

at the head of the army when in active service he appointed a commander-in-chief (שַׂר־צָבָא, "captain of the host," 1 Sam. xiv. 50).

Hitherto the army had consisted entirely of infantry (רִגְלִי, 1 Sam. iv. 10, xv. 4), the use of horses having been restrained by divine command (Deut. xvii. 16). The Jews had, however, experienced the great advantage to be obtained by chariots, both in their encounters with the Canaanites (Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19), and at a later period with the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4, x. 18). The interior of Palestine was indeed generally unsuited to the use of chariots: the Canaanites had employed them only in the plains and valleys, such as Jezreel (Josh. xvii. 16), the plain of Philistia (Judg. i. 19; 1 Sam. xiii. 5), and the upper valley of the Jordan (Josh. xi. 9; Judg. iv. 2). But the border, both on the side of Egypt and Syria, was admirably adapted to their use; and accordingly we find that as the foreign relations of the kingdoms extended, much importance was attached to them. David had reserved a hundred chariot from the spoil of the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4): these probably served as the foundation of the force which Solomon afterwards enlarged through his alliance with Egypt (2 K. x. 28, 29), and applied to the protection of his border, stations or barracks being erected for them in different localities (1 K. ix. 19). The force amounted to 1400 chariots, 4000 horses, at the rate (in round numbers) of three horses for each chariot, the third being kept as a reserve, and 12,000 horsemen (2 K. x. 26; 2 Chr. i. 14). At this period the organization of the army was complete; and we have, in 1 K. ix. 22, apparently a list of the various gradations of rank in the service, as follow:—(1) אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה, "men of war" = *privates*; (2) עֲבָדִים, "servants," the lowest rank of officers = *lieutenants*; (3) שָׂרִים, "princes" = *captains*; (4) שְׁלִישִׁים, "captains," already noticed, perhaps = *staff-officers*; (5) שָׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב and שְׂרֵי הַפָּרָשִׁים, "rulers of his chariots and his horsemen" = *cavalry officers*.

It does not appear that the system established by David was maintained by the kings of Judah; but in Israel the proximity of the hostile kingdom of Syria necessitated the maintenance of a standing army. The militia was occasionally called out in time of peace, as by Asa (2 Chr. xiv. 8), by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 14), by Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 5), and lastly by Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 11): but these notices prove that such cases were exceptional. On the other hand the incidental notices of the body-guard lead to the conclusion that it was regularly kept up (1 K. xv. 28; 2 K. xi. 4, 11). Occasional reference is made to war-chariots (2 K. viii. 21), and it would appear that this branch of the service was maintained, until the wars with the Syrians weakened the resources of the kingdom (2 K. xiii. 7): it was restored by Jotham (Is. ii. 7), but in Hezekiah's reign no force of the kind could be maintained, and the Jews were obliged to seek the aid of Egypt for horses and chariots (2 K. xviii. 23, 24). This was an evident breach of the injunction in Deut. xvii. 16, and met with strong reprobation on the part of the prophet Isaiah (xxx. 1).

With regard to the arrangement and manoeuvring of the army in the field, we know but little. A division into three bodies is frequently mentioned

(Judg. vii. 16, ix. 43; 1 Sam. xi. 11; 2 Sam. xviii. 2): such a division served various purposes: in action there would be a centre and two wings, in camp, relays for the night-watches (Judg. vii. 19); and by the combination of two of the divisions, there would be a main body and a reserve, or a strong advanced guard (1 Sam. xiii. 2, xxv. 13). Jehoshaphat divided his army into five bodies, corresponding, according to Ewald (*Geschichte*, iii. 192), to the geographical divisions of the kingdom at that time: may not, however, the threefold principle of division be noticed here also, the heavy-armed troops of Judah being considered as the proper army, and the two divisions of light-armed of the tribe of Benjamin as an appendage (2 Chr. xvii. 14-18)?

The maintenance and equipment of the soldiers at the public expense dates from the establishment of a standing army: before which, each soldier armed himself, and obtained his food either by voluntary offerings (2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29), by forced exactions (1 Sam. xxv. 13), or by the natural resources of the country (1 Sam. xiv. 27): on one occasion only do we hear of any systematic arrangement for provisioning the host (Judg. xx. 10). It is doubtful whether the soldier ever received pay even under the kings (the only instance of pay being mentioned applies to mercenaries, 2 Chr. xxv. 6): but that he was maintained, while on active service, and provided with arms, appears from 1 K. iv. 27, x. 16, 17; 2 Chr. xxvi. 14: notices occur of an arsenal or armoury, in which the weapons were stored (1 K. xiv. 28; Neh. iii. 19; Cant. iv. 4).

The numerical strength of the Jewish army may be ascertained with any degree of accuracy: the numbers, as given in the text, are manifestly incorrect, and the discrepancies in the various statements irreconcilable. At the Exodus the number of the warriors was 600,000 (Ex. xii. 37), or 603,350 (Ex. xxxviii. 26; Num. i. 46); at the entrance into Canaan, 601,730 (Num. xxvi. 51). In David's time the army amounted, according to one statement (2 Sam. xxiv. 9), to 1,300,000, viz. 800,000 for Israel and 500,000 for Judah; but according to another statement (1 Chr. xxi. 5, 6) to 1,470,000, viz. 1,000,000 for Israel and 470,000 for Judah. The militia at the same period amounted to 24,000 × 12 = 288,000 (1 Chr. xxvii. 1 ff.). At a later period the army of Judah under Abijah is stated at 400,000, and that of Israel under Jeroboam at 300,000 (2 Chr. xiii. 3). Still later, Asa's army, derived from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin alone, is put at 535,000 (2 Chr. xiv. 8), and Jehoshaphat's at 1,160,000 (2 Chr. xvii. 14 ff.).

Little need be said on this subject with regard to the period that succeeded the return from the Babylonish captivity until the organization of military affairs in Judaea under the Romans. The system adopted by Judas Maccabæus was in strict conformity with the Mosaic law (1 Mac. iii. 55): and though he maintained a standing army, varying from 3000 to 6000 men (1 Mac. iv. 6; 2 Mac. vii. 16), yet the custom of paying the soldiers appears to have been still unknown, and to have originated with Simon (1 Mac. xiv. 32). The introduction of mercenaries commenced with John Hyrcanus, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, §4), riddled the tombs of the kings in order to pay them: the intestine commotions that prevailed in the reign of Alexander Jannæus obliged him to increase the number to 6200 men (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, §5, 14, §1): and the same policy was followed by Alexandra

(*Ant.* xiii. 16, §2) and by Herod the Great, who had in his pay Thracian, German, and Gallic troops (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §3). The discipline and arrangement of the army was gradually assimilated to that of the Romans, and the titles of the officers borrowed from it (*Joseph. B. J.* ii. 20, §7).

II. ROMAN ARMY.—The Roman army was divided into legions, the number of which varied considerably, each under six tribuni (χιλαρχος, "chief captain," *Acts* xxi. 31), who commanded by turns. The legion was subdivided into ten cohorts (σπεῖρα, "band," *Acts* x. 1), the cohort into three maniples, and the maniples into two centuries, containing originally 100 men, as the name implies, but subsequently from 50 to 100 men, according to the strength of the legion. There were thus 60 centuries in a legion, each under the command of a centurion (ἐκατοντάρχης, *Acts* x. 1, 22; ἐκατοντάρχος, *Matt.* viii. 5, xxvii. 54). In addition to the legionary cohorts, independent cohorts of volunteers served under the Roman standards; and Biscoe (*History of Acts*, p. 220) supposes that all the Roman forces stationed in Judaea were of this class. Josephus speaks of five cohorts as stationed at Caesarea at the time of Herod Agrippa's death (*Ant.* xix. 9, §2), and frequently mentions that the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste served in the ranks (*Ant.* xx. 8, §7). One of these cohorts was named the Italian (*Acts* x. 1), not as being a portion of the Italica legio (for this was not embodied until Nero's reign), but as consisting of volunteers from Italy ("Cohors militum voluntaria, quae est in Syria," *Gruter, Inscr.* i. 434). This cohort probably acted as the body-guard of the procurator. The cohort named "Augustus" (σπεῖρα Σεβαστῆς, *Acts* xxvii. 1) may have consisted of the volunteers from Sebaste (*B. J.* ii. 12, §5; Biscoe, p. 223). Winer, however, thinks that it was a *cohors Augusti*, similar to the *legio Augusta* (*Reale. s. v. Römer*). The head-quarters of the Roman forces in Judaea were at Caesarea. A single cohort was probably stationed at Jerusalem as the ordinary guard; at the time of the great feasts, however, and on other public occasions, a larger force was sent up, for the sake of preserving order (*B. J.* ii. 12, §1, 15, §3). Frequent disturbances arose in reference to the images and other emblems carried by the Roman troops among their military ensigns, which the Jews regarded as idolatrous: deference was paid to their prejudices by a removal of the objects from Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §1, 5, §3). The ordinary guard consisted of four soldiers (τετραδίων, "quaternion"), of which there were four, corresponding to the four watches of the night, who relieved each other every three hours (*Acts* xii. 4; cf. *Joh. xix.* 23; *Polyb.* vi. 33, §7). When in charge of a prisoner, two watched outside the door of the cell, while the other two were inside (*Acts* xii. 6). The officer mentioned in *Acts* xviii. 16 (σπαρτορεδάρχης, "captain of the guard") was perhaps the *prae-fectus praetorio*, or commander of the Praetorian troops, to whose care prisoners from the provinces were usually consigned (*Plin. Ep.* x. 65). The δεξιόχαιροι (*lancearii*, *Vulg.*; "spearmen," *A. V.*), noticed in *Acts* xxiii. 23, appear to have been light-armed, irregular troops: the origin of the name is, however, quite uncertain (*Alford, Comm. in l. c.*).

[W. L. B.]

ARNA (*Arna*), one of the forefathers of Ezra (2 *Esdr.* i. 2), occupying the place of Zeriahah or Zaraias in his genealogy.

ARNAN (אַרְנַן; 'Oppā; *Arnan*), name of a man (1 *Chr.* iii. 21).

ARNON (אַרְנוֹן; derivable, according to Gesenius, *Thes.* 153, from roots signifying "swift" or "noisy," either suiting the character of the stream; 'Aḥḥān; *Arnon*), the river (אֲרְנוֹן, accurately "torrent") which formed the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, on the north of Moab (*Num.* xxi. 13, 14, 24, 26; *Judg.* xi. 22), and afterwards between Moab and Israel (Reuben) (*Deut.* ii. 24, 30, iii. 8, 12, 16, iv. 48; *Josh.* xii. 1, 2, xiii. 9, 16; *Judg.* xi. 13, 26). From *Judg.* xi. 18, it would seem to have been also the east border of Moab. See also 2 *K.* x. 33; *Jer.* xlvi. 20. In many of the above passages it occurs in the formula for the site of Arer, "which is by the brink of the river Arnon." In Numbers it is simply "Arnon," but in *Deut.* and *Joshua* generally "the river A." (*A. V.* sometimes "river of A."). *Isaiah* (xvi. 2) mentions its forks; and in *Judg.* xi. 26 a word of rare occurrence (אֲרְנוֹן, comp. *Num.* xiii. 29) is used for the *sides* of the stream. The "high places of A." (אֲרְנוֹן, a word which generally refers to worship) are mentioned in *Num.* xxi. 28. By Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 5, §1) it is described as rising in the mountains of Arabia and flowing through all the wilderness (ἐρημος) till it falls into the Dead Sea. In the time of Jerome it was still known as Arnon; but in the Samaritan-Arabic version of the Pentateuch by Abū Sāid (10th to 12th cent.) it is given as el-Mojeb. There can be no doubt that the *Wady el-Mojeb* of the present day is the Arnon. It has been visited and described by Burckhardt (372-375); Irby (142); and Seetzen (*Reise*, 1854, ii. 347; and in *Littér. Syria*, 1195). The ravine through which it flows is still the "locum callis in praerupta demersae satis horribilem et periculosum" which it was in the days of Jerome (*Onom.*). The Roman road from *Rabba* to *Dhibān* crosses it at about two hours' distance from the former. On the south edge of the ravine are some ruins called *Melutet el Irby*, and on the north edge, directly opposite, those still bearing the name of 'Arā'ir [AROR]. The width across between these two spots seemed to Burckhardt to be about two miles: the descent on the south side to the water occupied Irby 1½ hour: "extremely steep" (Jerome, *per abrupta descendens*), and almost impassable "with rocks and stones." On each face of the ravine traces of the paved Roman road are still found, with milestones; and one arch of a bridge, 31 feet 6 inches in span, is standing. The stream runs through a level strip of grass some 40 yards in width, with a few oleanders and willows on the margin. This was in June and July, but the water must often be much more swollen, many water-worn rocks lying far above its then level.

Where it bursts into the Dead Sea this stream is 83 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep, flowing through a chasm with perpendicular sides of red, brown, and yellow sandstone, 97 ft. wide (romantische Felsen-thor: Seetzen). It then runs through the delta in a S.W. course, narrowing as it goes, and is 10 ft. deep where its waters meet those of the Dead Sea. (Lynch, *Report*, May 3, 1847, 20.)

\* This appears to have been the branch called the *Sail es-Saidah*, which flows N.W. from *Kilaat el-Katrane*, joining the *Wady Mojeb*, two or three miles east from 'Arā'ir.

According to the information given by Burekhardt, its principal source is near *Katrama*, on the Haj route. Hence, under the name of *Seil es-Sûdeh*, it flows N.W. to its junction with the *W. Lejûm*, one hour E. of 'Ara'ir, and then, as *W. Mojeb*, more directly W. to the Dead Sea. The *W. Mojeb* receives on the North the streams of the *W. Wile*, and on the South those of *W. Shekik* and *W. Sa-lhch* (S.)

At its junction with the *Lejûm* is a piece of pasture ground, in the midst of which stands a hill with ruins on it (Burek. 374). May not these ruins be the site of the mysterious "city that is in the midst of the river" (Josh. xiii. 9, 16; Deut. ii. 36) so often coupled with Aroer? From the above description of the ravine, it is plain that that city cannot have been situated immediately below Aroer, as has been conjectured. [G.]

**A'ROD** (אֲרוֹד; *Arôd*), a son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 17), called Arodi (אֲרוֹדִי) in Gen. xli. 17. His family are called THE ARÔDITES (Num. xxvi. 17).

**AR'ÖER** (עֲרֹעַר, occasionally עֲרֹעַר = ruins, places of which the foundations are laid bare, Gesenius; \* *'Arohp*; *Aroer*), the name of several towns of Eastern and Western Palestine.

1. A city "by the brink," or "on the bank of" (both the same expression—"on the lip") or "by" the torrent Arnon, the southern point of the territory of Sihon King of the Amorites,<sup>a</sup> and afterwards of the tribe of Reuben (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, iv. 48; Josh. xli. 2, xlii. 9, 16; Judg. xi. 26; 2 K. x. 33; 1 Chr. v. 8), but later again in possession of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 19). It is described in the Onomasticon (*Aroer*) as "*usque hodie in vertice montis*," "*super ripam (χελος) torrentis Arnon*," an account agreeing exactly with that of the only traveller of modern times who has noticed the site, namely, Burekhardt, who found ruins with the name 'Ara'ir on the old Roman road, upon the very edge of the precipitous north bank of the *Wady Mojeb*. [ARNON.] Like all the topography east of the Jordan, this site requires further examination. Aroer is often mentioned in connexion with the city that is "in," or "in the midst of," "the river." The nature of the cleft through which the Arnon flows is such that it is impossible there can have been any town in such a position immediately near Aroer; but a suggestion has been made above [ARNON], which on investigation of the spot may clear up this point.

2. Aroer "that is 'facing' (עַל־פָּנֵי) Rabbah" (Rabbah of Ammon), a town "built" by and belonging to Gad (Num. xxiii. 34; Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5). This is probably the place mentioned in Judg. xi. 33, which was shown in Jerome's time (*Onom. Arvir*) "in monte, vigesimo ab Aelia lapide ad septentrionem." Ritter (*Syria*, 1130) suggests an identification with *Ayra*, found by Burekhardt 2½ hours S.W. of es-Salt. There

is considerable difference however in the radical letters of the two words, the second Ain not being present.

3. Aroer, in Is. xvii. 2, if a place at all,<sup>d</sup> must be still further north than either of the two already named, and dependant on Damascus. Gesenius, however, takes it to be Aroer of Gad, and the "forsaken" state of its cities to be the result of the deportation of Galilee and Gilead by Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xv. 29). See Ges. *Jesaja*, 556.

4. A town in Judah, named only in 1 Sam. xxx. 28. Robinson (ii. 199) believes that he has identified its site in *Wady 'Ar'arah*, on the road from Petra to Gaza, about 11 miles W.S.W. of *Bit-es-Soba*, a position which agrees very fairly with the slight indications of the text. [G.]

**ARO'ERITE**. Hothan the Aroerite was the father of two of David's chief captains (1 Chr. xi. 44).

**A'ROM** (אַרֹם; *Aronus*), name of a man (1 Esd. v. 16).

**AR'PAD** (אַרְפָּד; \* *Arpâd*; *Arphad*), a city or district in Syria, apparently dependent on Damascus (Jer. xlix. 23). It is invariably named with Hamath (now *Hamath*, on the Orontes), but no trace of its existence has yet been discovered, nor has any mention of the place been found out of the Bible (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13; Is. x. 9, xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13: in the two last passages it is rendered in the A. V. Arphad). Arpad has been identified, but without any ground beyond the similarity in the names, with Arvad, the island on the coast of Phœnicia (Winer). [G.]

**AR'PHAD**. [ARPAD.]

**ARPHAX'AD** (אַרְפַּחְשָׁד; \* *Arpaxâd*; Jos. 'Αρφαξάδης; *Arphaxad*), the son of Shem and the ancestor of Kber (Gen. x. 22, 24, xi. 10), and said to be of the Chaldeans (Joseph. i. 6, 4). Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 4) supposed that the name was preserved in that of the province Arrapachitis (*Ἀρραπαχίτις*, Ptol. vi. 1, §2; \* *Arpata*) in Northern Assyria (comp. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.*, i. 378). Different interpretations of the name have been given; but that of Ewald (l. c.) appears to be the best, who supposes it to mean the *stronghold of the Chaldees* (Arab. *awaph*, to bind, and *Kurd*, *Kurd*, pl. *Akrad*, Chald. Comp. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assur*, s. p. 414, n).

2. ARPHAXAD, a king "who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana, and strengthened the city by vast fortifications" (Judith i. 1-4). In a war with "Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria," he was entirely defeated "in the great plain in the borders of Ragau" (? *Rages*, *Raga*, Tobit i. 16, &c.), and afterwards taken prisoner and put to death (Jud. i. 13-15). From the passage in Judith (i. 2, *ἐκβατάνα* *ἐν* 'Εκβατάνας) he has been frequently identified with Deiores (Artaeus, Ctes.), the founder of Ecbatana (Herod. i. 98); but as Deiores died peaceably (Herod. i. 102), it seems better to look

their conquest, to guard the important boundary of the Arnon.

<sup>c</sup> In this place the letters of the name are transposed, עֲרֹעַר.

<sup>d</sup> The LXX. have καταλειμμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, apparently reading עֲרֹעַר עֲרֹעַר עֲרֹעַר; nor do any of the ancient versions agree with the Hebrew text.

<sup>a</sup> May it not with equal probability be derived from עֲרֹעַר, juniper, the modern Arabic 'Ar'ar (see Rob. ii. 124, note)? Comp. Luz, Rimmon, Tappuah, and other places deriving their names from trees.

<sup>b</sup> From the omission of the name in the remarkable fragment, Num. xvi. 27-30, where the principal places taken by the Amorites from Moab are named, Aroer would appear not to be one of the very oldest cities. Possibly it was built by the Amorites after

for the original of Arphaxad in his son Phraortes (Artynes, Ctes.), who greatly extended the Median empire, and at last fell in a battle with the Assyrians, 633 B.C. (Herod. i. 102, *αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη . . . καὶ ὁ σπάρτας αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλὸς*). Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assurs*, 32) endeavours to identify the name with Astyages = Ashdakh, the common title of the Median dynasty, and refers the events to a war in the twelfth year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, B.C. 592 (*Ibid.* pp. 212, 285). [JUDITH; NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] [B. F. W.]

### ARROWS. [ARMS.]

**ARSA'CES VI.**, a king of Parthia, who assumed the royal title *Asaces* (*Ἀσάκης*, Armen. *Arschag*, probably containing the roots both of *Arya* and *Nicor*) in addition to his proper name, **MITHRIDATES I.** (Phaates, App. *Syr.* 67 from confusion with his successor) according to universal custom (Strab. xv. p. 702), in honour of the founder of the Parthian monarchy (Justin. xli. 5, 5). He made great additions to the empire by successful wars; and when Demetrius Nicator entered his dominions to collect forces or otherwise strengthen his position against the usurper Tryphon, he despatched an officer against him who defeated the great army after a campaign of varied success (Justin. xxvi. 1), and took the king prisoner, B.C. 138 (1 Macc. xiv. 1-3; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, §11; Justin. xxxvi. 1; xxxviii. 9). Mithridates treated his prisoner with respect, and gave him his daughter in marriage (App. *Syr.*, 67, 68), but kept him in confinement till his own death, c. B.C. 130. (App. *Syr.* 68; Diod. ap. Müller, *Fragn. Hist.* ii. 19.) [B. F. W.]

**ARSARETII**, a region beyond Euphrates, apparently of great extent (2 Esdr. xiii. 45, only). [G.]

**ARTAXERXES** (אַרְטַחְשַׁשְׁטָרְסָה or אֲרַחְשָׁה, *Artachshashita* or *Artachshasta*; Ἀρταξερξῆς, *Artaxerxes*), the name probably of two different kings of Persia mentioned in the Old Testament. The word, according to Herod. vi. 98, means *ὁ μέγας ἄφιος*, the great warrior, and is compounded of *arta*, great or honoured (cf. Ἀρταίου, Herod. vii. 61, the old national name of the Persians, also *Arii*, and the Sanscrit *Arya*, which is applied to the followers of the Brahmin law), and *kshatra* or *kshérshé*, a king, grecised into Xerxes. [AHASUERUS.]

1. The first Artaxerxes is mentioned in Ezr. iv. 7, as induced by "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" to obstruct the rebuilding of the temple, and appears identical with Smerdis, the Magian impostor, and pretended brother of Cambyses. For there is no doubt that the Ahasuerus of Ezr. iv. 6 is Cambyses, and that the Darius of iv. 24 is Darius Hystaspis, so that the intermediate king must be the Pseudo-smerdis, who usurped the throne B.C. 522, and reigned eight months (Herod. iii. 61, 67 ff.). We need not wonder at this variation in his name. Artaxerxes may have been adopted or conferred on him as a title, and we find the true Smerdis called Tanyoxares (the younger Οὔαρις) by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 7) and Ctesias (*Pers.* fr. 8-13), and Oropastes by Justin (*Hist.* i. 9). Oxaces appears to be the same name as Xerxes, of which Artaxerxes is a compound.

2. In Neh. ii. 1, we have another Artaxerxes, who permits Nehemiah to spend twelve years at Jerusalem, in order to settle the affairs of the colony there, which had fallen into great confusion. We

may safely identify him with Artaxerxes Macrocheir or Longimanus, the son of Xerxes, who reigned B.C. 464-425. And we believe that this is the same king who had previously allowed Ezra to go to Jerusalem for a similar purpose (Ezr. vii. 1). There are indeed some who maintain that as Darius Hystaspis is the king in the sixth chapter of Ezr., the king mentioned next after him, at the beginning of the seventh, must be Xerxes, and thus they distinguish three Persian kings called Artaxerxes in the Old Testament, (1) Smerdis in Ezr. iv. (2) Xerxes in Ezr. vii., and (3) Artaxerxes Macrocheir in Nehemiah. But it is almost demonstrable that Xerxes is the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther [AHASUERUS], and it is hard to suppose that in addition to his ordinary name he would have been called both Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes in the O. T. It seems too very probable that the policy of Neh. ii, was a continuation and renewal of that of Ezr. vii., and that the same king was the author of both. Now it is not possible for Xerxes to be the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah, as Josephus asserts (*Ant.* xi. 5, §4), for Xerxes only reigned 21 years, whereas Nehemiah (xiii. 8) speaks of the 32nd year of Artaxerxes. Nor is it necessary to believe that the Artaxerxes of Ezr. vii. is necessarily the immediate successor of the Darius of Ezr. vi. The book of Ezr. is not a continuous history. It is evident from the first words of ch. vii. that there is a pause at the end of ch. vi. Indeed, as ch. vi. concludes in the 6th year of Darius, and ch. vii. begins with the 7th year of Artaxerxes, we cannot even believe the latter king to be Xerxes, without assuming an interval of 36 years (B.C. 515-479) between the chapters, and it is not more difficult to imagine one of 58, which will carry us to B.C. 457, the 7th year of Artaxerxes Macrocheir. We conclude therefore that this is the king of Persia under whom both Ezra and Nehemiah carried on their work; that in B.C. 457 he sent Ezra to Jerusalem; that after 13 years it became evident that a civil as well as an ecclesiastical head was required for the new settlement, and therefore that in 444 he allowed Nehemiah to go up in the latter capacity. From the testimony of profane historians this king appears remarkable among Persian monarchs for wisdom and right feeling, and with this character his conduct to the Jews coincides (Diod. xi. 71).

It remains to say a word in refutation of the view that the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah was Artaxerxes Mnemon, elder brother of Cyrus the Younger, who reigned B.C. 404-359. As Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries (Neh. viii. 9) this theory transfers the whole history contained in Ezr. vii. ad fin. and Nehemiah to this date, and it is hard to believe that in this critical period of Jewish annals there are no events recorded between the reigns of Darius Hystaspis (Ezr. vi.) and Artaxerxes Mnemon. Besides, Eliashib, who was high-priest when Nehemiah reached Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1), i.e. on this last supposition, B.C. 397, was grandson of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 10), high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel, B.C. 530. We cannot think that the grandfather and grandson were separated by an interval of 139 years. [G. E. L. C.]

**ARTEMAS** (Ἀρτεμάς, i. e. Ἀρτεμιδιώπος), a companion of St. Paul (Tit. iii. 12). According to tradition, he was bishop of Lystra.

**ARUBOTH** (Arubboth, אֲרֻבוֹת; Ἀραβωθ; *Aruboth*), the third of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 10). It included Sochoh,

and was therefore probably a name for the rich corn-growing country of the Shefelah. In any case, the significance of the word is entirely lost at present. Josephus omits all mention of it. [G.]

**ARUMAH** (אַרְמָה; *Ἀρμὰ, Vat. Ἀρμὰ; in Rumi*), a place apparently in the neighbourhood of Shechem, at which Abimelech resided (Judg. ix. 41). It is conjectured that the word in verse 31, אַרְמָה, rendered "privily," and in the margin "at Tormah," should be read "at Arumah" by changing the א to an נ, but for this there is no support beyond the apparent probability of the change. Arumrah is possibly the same place as Ruma, under which name it is given by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*. According to them it was then called Arimathæa (see also ארמא). But this is not consonant with its apparent position in the story. [G.]

**ARVAD** (אַרְוַד), from a root signifying "wandering," Ges. 1268), a place in Phœnicia, the men of which are named in close connexion with those of Zidon as the navigators and defenders of the ship of Tyre in *Ezek.* xxvii. 8, 11. In agreement with this is the mention of "the Arvadite" (אַרְוַדִּי) in *Gen.* x. 18, and *1 Chr.* i. 16, as a son of Canaan, with Zidon, Hamath, and other northern localities. The LXX. have in each of the above passages *Ἀραδῖος*, and in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §2) we find *Ἀρουδαῖος* *Ἀραδὸν τῆν ἡγεσὺν ἔχοντες*. There is thus no doubt that Arvad is the island of *Rūd* (رود), which lies off Tortosa (*Turtus*), 2 or 3 miles from the Phœnician coast, (not at, but) some distance above, the mouth of the river Eleutherus, now the *Nahr el-Kebir* (Maund. 403; Burckh. 161), and at the northern extremity of the great bay which stretches above Tripoli (Kiepert's Map, 1856). The island is high and rocky, but very small, hardly a mile in circumference (see Maund. 399; "800 yards in extreme length," Allen, ii. 178). According to Strabo (*xvi.* 2, §13) Arvad was founded by fugitives from Sidon, and he testifies to its prosperity, its likeness to Tyre, and especially to the well known nautical skill of the inhabitants.\* (See the notices by Strabo, Pliny, and others in Gesenius, 1269, and Winer, *Arvaditen*.) Opposite Arvad, on the mainland, was the city Antandrus, by which name the Targum Jerus. renders the name Arvad in *Gen.* x. 18. [ARADUS.] A plan of the island will be found in Allen's *Dead Sea*, end of vol. ii.; also in the Admiralty Charts, 2050, 'Island of Ruad.'

**AR'ZA** (אַרְצָא; *᾽Ωσᾱ, Ἀρσᾱ; Arsa*), name of a man (*1 K.* xvi. 9).

**A'SA** (אַסָּא, *curing, physician; Ἀσᾱ; Jos. Ἀραῶς; Asa*), son of Abijah, and third king of Judah, was conspicuous for his earnestness in supporting the worship of God, and rooting out idolatry with its attendant immoralities; and for the vigour and wisdom with which he provided for the prosperity of his kingdom. In his zeal against heathenism he did not spare his grandmother Maachah, who occupied the special dignity of "King's Mother," to which great importance was attached in the Jewish court, as afterwards in

Persia, and to which parallels have been found in modern Eastern countries, as in the position of the Sultana Valide in Turkey (see *1 K.* ii. 19; *2 K.* xxiv. 12; *Jer.* xxix. 2; also Calmet, *Fragm.* xvi.; and Bruce's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 537, and iv. 244). She had set up some impure worship in a grove (the word translated *idol*, *1 K.* xv. 13, is in Hebrew *horror*, while in the Vulgate we read, *ne esset (Maachah) princeps in sacris Priapi*); but Asa burnt the symbol of her religion, and threw its ashes into the brook Kidron, as Moses had done to the golden calf (*Ex.* xxxii. 20), and then deposed Maachah from her dignity. He also placed in the temple certain gifts which his father had dedicated, probably in the earlier and better period of his reign [ABIAH], and which the heathen priests must have used for their own worship, and renewed the great altar which they apparently had de-erected (*2 Chr.* xv. 8). Besides this, he fortified cities on his frontiers, and raised an army, amounting, according to *2 Chr.* xiv. 8, to 580,000 men, but the uncertainty attaching to the numbers in our present text of Chronicles has been pointed out by Kennicott [ABIAH], and by Davidson (*Introduction to the O. T.*, p. 686), who considers that the copyists were led into error by the different modes of marking them, and by confounding the different letters which denoted them, bearing as they do a great resemblance to each other. Thus ASA's reign marks the return of Judah to a consciousness of the high destiny to which God had called her, and to the belief that the Divine Power was truly at work within her. The good effects of this were visible in the enthusiastic resistance offered by the people to Zerah, an invader, who is called a Cushite or Ethiopian, and whom several authors, as Ewald (*Gesch. des V. I.* iii. p. 470), identify with Osorkon I., the second king of the 22nd dynasty of Egypt, inheritor therefore of the quarrel of his father Shishak, to whom Asa had probably refused to pay tribute. [ZERAH.] At the head of an enormous host (a million of men, we read in *2 Chr.* xiv. 9) he attacked Mareshah or Maissu in the S.W. of the country, near the later Eleutheropolis (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 67), a town afterwards taken by Judas Maccabeus (*1 Mac.* v. 65), and finally destroyed by the Parthians in their war against Herod (*Joseph. Ant.* xiv. 13, §9). There he was utterly defeated, and driven back with immense loss to Gerar. As Asa returned laden with spoil, he was commended and encouraged by a prophet, and on his arrival at Jerusalem convoked an assembly of his own people and of many who had come to him from Israel, and with solemn sacrifices and ceremonies renewed the covenant by which the nation was dedicated to God. The peace which followed this victory was broken by the attempt of Baasha of Israel to fortify Ramah as a kind of Decapolis, "that he might not suffer any to go out or to come in unto Asa king of Judah." To stop this he purchased the help of Benhadad I. king of Damascus, by a large payment of treasure left in the temple and palace from the Egyptian tribute in Rehoboam's time, and thus he forced Baasha to abandon his purpose, and destroyed the works which he had begun at Ramah, using the materials to fortify two towers in Benjamin, Geba (*the hill*), and Mizpeh (*the watch-tower*), as checks to any future invasion. The wells which he sunk at Mizpeh were famous in Jeremiah's time (xli. 9). The means by which he obtained this success were censured by the prophet Hanani, who seems even to have excited some discontent in Jerusalem, in consequence of which he

\* These nautical propensities remain in full force. (See Allen's *Dead Sea*, ii. 183.)

was imprisoned, and some other punishments inflicted (2 Chr. xvi. 9). The prophet threatened Asa with war, which appears to have been fulfilled by the continuance for some time of that with Baasha, as we infer from an allusion, in 2 Chr. xvii. 2, to the cities of Ephraim which he took, and which can hardly refer to any events prior to the destruction of Ramah.

In his old age Asa suffered from the gout, and it is mentioned that "he sought not to the Lord but to the physicians." If any blame be intended, we must suppose that he acted in an arrogant and independent spirit, and without seeking God's blessing on their remedies. He died greatly loved and honoured in the 41st year of his reign. There are difficulties connected with its chronology, arising perhaps from the reasons already mentioned as to the numbers in Chronicles. For instance, in 2 Chr. xvi. 1, we read that Baasha fortified Ramah in the 36th year of Asa's reign. In 1 K. xv. 33, Baasha is said to have died in the 26th. If the former number be genuine, it is supposed by the note in the margin of the English Bible, by Clinton, and with some little hesitation by Ewald, that the Chronicler is referring to the years not of Asa's reign, but of the separate kingdom of Judah, which would coincide with the 16th of Asa and the 13th of Baasha, and leave 11 years for the statement of 1 K. xv. 16, and for the fulfilment of Hanani's threat. According to Clinton (*P. H.*, i. p. 321) the date of Asa's accession was B.C. 956. In his 15th year (B.C. 942) was the great festival after the defeat of Zerah. In B.C. 941 was the league with Benhadad, and in B.C. 916 Asa died. The statement in 2 Chr. xv. 10, must be explained of the 35th year of the kingdom of Judah, if we adopt that view of the date in xvi. 1. Clinton, with an inconsistency very unusual in him, does adopt it in the later place, but imagines a fresh war with Ethiopia in B.C. 922 to account for the former. [G. E. L. C.]

ASA'DIAS (*Ἀσαδίας*, i. e. *הַסַּדְיָהּ*, the Lord loveth; *Hasadías*), 1 Chr. iii. 20, where in A. V. it is written Hasadiah.

2. Bar. i. 1.

[B. F. W.]

ASA'EL (*Ἀσηήλ*; Vulg. omits), of the tribe of Naphtali, and forefather of Tobit (Tob. i. 1). [JANZEEL?]

ASA'HEL (*Ἀσηήλ*, made by God; *Ἀσαήλ*;

*Asael*), nephew of David, being the youngest son of his sister Zeruiah. He was celebrated for his swiftness of foot, a gift much valued in ancient times, as we see by the instances of Achilles, Antilochus (Hom. *Il.* xiv. 570), Papirius Cursor (Liv. ix. 16), and others. When fighting under the command of his brother Joab against Ishoboth's army at Gibeon, he pursued Abner, who, after vainly warning him to desist, was obliged to kill him in self-defence, though with great reluctance, probably on account of his extreme youth (2 Sam. ii. 18 ff.). [ABNER.]

Asahel was also the name of three other men (2 Chr. xvii. 8; 2 Chr. xxxi. 13; Ezr. x. 15). [G. E. L. C.]

ASAHIAH, or ASATAH (*Ἀσηΐᾱ*; *Ἀσαΐᾱ*; *Asata*), a servant of king Josiah, sent by him, together with others, to seek information of Jehovah respecting the book of the law which Hilkiah found in the temple (2 K. xxii. 12, 14; also called Asahah, 2 Chr. xxxiv. 20). [R. W. B.]

ASATAH (*Ἀσηΐᾱ*; *Asata*; Alex. *Ἀσά*; *Asaia*), name of four men. 1. (1 Chr. ix. 5). [MAASHIAH.] 2. (1 Chr. iv. 36; vi. 30). 3. (1 Chr. xv. 6). 4. (1 Chr. xv. 6, 11). See ASAHIAH.

AS'ANA (*Ἀσανά*; *Asana*), name of a man (1 Esd. v. 31). [ASHIAH.]

A'SAPH (*Ἀσάφ*; *Ἀσάφ*; *Asaph*). 1. A Levite, son of Berechiah, one of the leaders of David's choir (1 Chr. vi. 39). Psalms l. and lxxiii. are attributed to him, but probably all these, except l., lxxiii., and lxxvii., are of later origin (Vaihinger, *Vers. of Psalms*); and he was in aftertimes celebrated as a seer (*נִבִּי*) as well as a musical composer, and was put on a par with David (2 Chr. xxix. 30; Neh. xii. 46). The office appears to have remained hereditary in his family, unless he was the founder of a school of poets and musical composers, who were called after him "the sons of Asaph" (comp. the Homeridae) (1 Chr. xxv. 1; 2 Chr. xx. 14; Ezr. ii. 41).

2. The recorder (*סֹפֵר*) of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 18, 37; Is. xxvii. 3, 22).

3. The controller of the royal forests of Achaemenes (Neh. ii. 8).

4. A Levite (Neh. xi. 17).

[R. W. B.]

ASAR'EL (*Ἀσάρι*; *Ἐσέρηλ*; *Asarel*), name of a man (1 Chr. iv. 16).

ASARELAI (*Ἀσάρι*; *Ἐσέρηλ*; *Asarelai*) name of a man (1 Chr. xxv. 2), called JESHAR-ELAI (*Ἰσηάρι*) in ver. 14.

AS'CAION. [ASHKELON.]

ASE'AS (*Ἀσάας*; *Aseas*), name of a man (1 Esd. ix. 32).

ASEBE'BIA (*Ἀσεβηβία*; *Sebebius*), a Levite (1 Esd. viii. 47). [SHEREBIAH.]

ASE'BIA (*Ἀσεβία*; *Asbiu*), 1 Esd. viii. 48.

ASE'NATH (*Ἀσενά*; *Ἀσενέθ*; Alex. *Ἀσεννέθ*; *Aseneth*), daughter of Potiphar, priest, or possibly prince, of On [ΠΟΤΙΦΕΡΑΪ], wife of Joseph (Gen. xli. 45), and mother of Manasseh and Ephraim (xli. 50, xli. 20). Her name has been considered to be necessarily Egyptian (Lepsius, *Chronologie d. Aegypten*, i. p. 382), and Egyptian etymologies have therefore been proposed. Gesenius (*Thes. s. v.*) suggests *ΔΕ-ΚΕΙΤ*, "she who is of Neith," the Egyptian Minerva; but this word has not been found in the ancient Egyptian or Coptic; and it must be regarded as very doubtful. If we are guided by the custom of the Hebrews, and the only parallel case, that of Bithiah, whose Hebrew name, "daughter," that is, "servant, of Jehovah," implying conversion, must have been given her on her marriage to Merod, at a time probably not long distant from that of Joseph's rule [BITHIAH], we must suppose that his Egyptian wife received a Hebrew name from Joseph, especially if her native name implied devotion to the gods of the country. Such a new name would have been preserved in preference to the other in the O. T. If Hebrew, Asenath may be compared to the male proper name Asuah, *אֲשֻׁא* (Ezr. ii. 50), and derived like it from

סֹמֶךְ or סֹדֶן, in which case both names would signify *storehouse*; unless both may be cognate with סֹמֶךְ, and mean *bramble*, a sense not repugnant to Semitic usage in proper names. The former derivation is perhaps the more probable, in connexion with Joseph's history and the name of Ephraim.

A'SER. [ASHER.] [R. S. P.]

AS'FERER (אֶסְפֶּרֶר; *Stace*), name of a man (1 Esd. v. 32). [SISERA.]

A'SILAN (אֶשֶׁלַן; *A'sol, Alodp; Asan*), a city in the low country of Judah named in Josh. xv. 42, with Libnah and Ether. In Josh. xix. 7, and 1 Chr. iv. 32, it is mentioned again as belonging to Simeon, but in company with Ain and Limmon, which (see Josh. xv. 31) appear to have been much more to the south. In 1 Chr. vi. 59, it is given as a priests' city, occupying the same place as the somewhat similar word Ain (אֵין) does in the list of Josh. xxi. 16.

In 1 Sam. xxv. 30, Chor-ashan is named with Hamah and other cities of "the South."

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) mention a village named Bethasan as 15 miles west of Jerusalem; but this, though agreeing sufficiently with the position of the place in Josh. xv. 42, is not far enough south for the indications of the other passages; and indeed Euseb. and Jer. discriminate Bethasan from "Asan of the tribe of Simeon." It has not yet been identified, unless it be the same as Ain; in which case Robinson found it at *Al Ghazir*. [G.]

●ASH'BEA (אֶשְׁבֵּעַ; *T adjure; 'Esoβά; domo juramenti* is the transl. of the Vulg. "of the house of Ashbea"), name of a man (1 Chr. iv. 21).

ASH'BEI, (אֶשְׁבֵּי; *'Asoβλ, 'Asoβhp; Asbel*), a son of Benjamin (Gen. xli. 21; Num. xxvi. 38; 1 Chr. viii. 1). Respecting the sons of Benjamin, see BECHER.

ASH'DOD, or AZO'TUS (אֶשְׁדּוֹד; *Aζωτος, LXX. and N. T.*), one of the five confederate cities of the Philistines, situated about 30 miles from the southern frontier of Palestine, 3 from the Mediterranean Sea, and nearly midway between Gaza and Joppa. It stood on an elevation overlooking the plain, and the natural advantages of its position were improved by fortifications of great strength. For this reason it was probably selected as one of the seats of the national worship of Dagon (1 Sam. v. 5). It was assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 47), but was never subdued by the Israelites: it appears on the contrary to have been the point for conducting offensive operations against them, so much so, that after Uzziah had succeeded in breaking down the wall of the town, he secured himself against future attacks by establishing forts on the adjacent hills (2 Chr. xxvi. 6); even down to Nehemiah's age it preserved its distinctiveness of race and language (Neh. xiii. 23). But its chief importance arose from its position on the high-road from Palestine to Egypt, commanding the entrance to or from the latter country: it was on this account besieged by Tartan, the general of the Assyrian king, Sargon, about B.C. 716, apparently to frustrate the league formed between Hezekiah and Egypt (Is. xx. 1). Its importance as well as strength is testified by the protracted siege which it afterwards sustained under Ptolemy, about B.C. 630 (Herod. ii. 157), the effects of which

are incidentally referred to by Jer. (xxv. 20). That it recovered from this blow appears from its being mentioned as an independent power in alliance with the Arabians and others against Jerusalem (Neh. iv. 7). It was destroyed by the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 68, x. 84), and lay in ruins until the Roman conquest of Judaea, when it was restored by Gabinius, B.C. 55 (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 5, §3; *B. J.* i. 7, §7), and was one of the towns assigned to Salome after Herod's death (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1). The only notice of Azotus in the N. T. is in connexion with Philip's return from Gaza (Acts viii. 40). It is now an insignificant village, with no memorials of its ancient importance, but is still called *Esbed*. [W. L. B.]

ASH'DOTH PIS'GAH (אֶשְׁדּוֹת פִּישְׁגַּח; *from אֶשֶׁר, "to pour forth;" אֶשְׁדּוֹת פִּישְׁגַּח; radices Pisgae*), a curious and (since it occurs in none of the later books) probably a very ancient term, found only in Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20; and in Deut. iv. 49, A. V. "springs of Pisgah." In the two passages from Deuteronomy the words form part of a formula, by which apparently the mountains which enclose the Dead Sea on the east side are defined. Thus in iii. 17, we read, "the 'Anabah' also (i. e. the Jordan valley) and the 'border,' from 'innereth (Sea of Galilee) unto the sea of the 'Anabah, the Salt Sea, under Ashdath hap-Pisgah eastward;" and so also in iv. 49, though here our translators have chosen to vary the formula for English readers: The same intention is evident in the passages quoted from Joshua; and in x. 40, and xii. 8 of the same book, Ashdath is used alone—"the springs," to denote one of the main natural divisions of the country. The only other instance of the use of the word is in the highly poetical passage, Num. xxi. 15, "the 'pouring forth' of the 'torrents,' which extendeth to Shebeth-Ar." This undoubtedly refers also to the east of the Dead Sea.

What the real significance of the term may be, it is impossible in our present ignorance of the country east of the Dead Sea to determine. Doubtless, like the other topographical words of the Bible, it has a precise meaning strictly observed in its use; but whether it be the springs poured forth at the base of the mountains of Moab, or the roots or spurs of those mountains, or the mountains themselves, it is useless at present to conjecture. [G.]

ASH'ER, Apoc. and N. T. A'SER (אֶשֶׁר; *'Ashp; Aser*), the 8th son of Jacob, by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid (Gen. xxx. 13). The name is interpreted as meaning "happy," in a passage full of the paeonastic turns which distinguish these very ancient records: "And Leah said, 'In my happiness am I (אֶשֶׁרִי), for the daughters will call me happy' (אֶשֶׁרִי), and she called his name Asher" (אֶשֶׁר), i. e. "happy." A similar play occurs in the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 24). Gad was Zilpah's other and elder son, but the fortunes of the brothers were not at all connected. Of the tribe descended from Asher no action is recorded during the whole course of the sacred history. Its name is found in the various lists of the tribes which occur throughout the earlier books, as Gen. xxxv. xli. Ex. i. Num. i. ii. xiii. &c., and like the rest Asher sent his chief as one of the spies from Kadesh-barnea (Num. xiii.). During the march through the desert his

place was between Dan and Naphtali on the north side of the tabernacle (Num. ii. 27); and after the conquest he took up his allotted position without any special mention.

The limits of the territory assigned to Asher are, like those of all the tribes, and especially of the northern tribes, extremely difficult to trace. This is partly owing to our ignorance of the principle on which these ancient boundaries were drawn and recorded, and partly from the absence of identification of the majority of the places named. The general position of the tribe was on the sea-shore from Carmel northwards, with Manasseh on the south, Zebulun and Issachar on the south-east, and Naphtali on the north-east (Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, §22). The boundaries and towns are given in Josh. xix. 24-31, xvii. 10, 11, and Judg. i. 31, 32. From a comparison of these passages it seems plain that Dor (*Tantura*) must have been within the limits of the tribe, in which case the southern boundary was probably one of the streams which enter the Mediterranean south of that place—either *Nahr el-Defneh* or *Nahr Zurka*. Following the beach round the promontory of Carmel, the tribe then possessed the maritime portion of the rich plain of Esdraelon, probably for a distance of eight or ten miles from the shore. The boundary would then appear to have run northwards, possibly bending to the east to embrace Ahlab, and reaching Zidon by Kanaah (a name still attached to a site six miles inland from *Said*), whence it turned and came down by Tyre to Achzib (Esdraia, now *es-Zib*\*)

This territory contained some of the richest soil in all Palestine (Stanley, 265; Kenrick, *Phoen.* 35), and in its productiveness it well fulfilled the promise involved in the name "Asher," and in the blessings which had been pronounced on him by Jacob and by Moses. Here was the oil in which he was to "dip his foot," the "bread" which was to be "fat," and the "royal dainties" in which he was to indulge;<sup>b</sup> and here in the metallic manufactures of the Phoenicians (Kenrick, 38) were the "iron and brass" for his "shoes." The Phoenician settlements were even at that early period in full vigour,<sup>c</sup> and it is not surprising that Asher was soon contented to partake their luxuries, and to "dwell among them" without attempting the conquest and extermination enjoined in regard to all the Canaanites (Judg. i. 31, 32). Accordingly he did not drive out the inhabitants of Acco, nor Dor,<sup>d</sup> nor Zidon, nor Ahlab, nor Achzib, nor Helbah, nor Aphik, nor Rehob (Judg. i. 31), and the natural consequence of this inert acquiescence is immediately visible. While Zebulun and Naphtali "jeopardied their lives unto the death" in the struggle against Sisera, Asher was content to forget the peril of his fellows in the creeks and harbours of his new allies (Judg. v. 17, 18). At the numbering of Israel at Sinai, Asher was more numerous than either Ephraim, Manasseh, or Benjamin (Num. i. 32-41), but in the reign of David, so insignificant

had the tribe become, that its name is altogether omitted from the list of the chief rulers (1 Chr. xxvii. 16-22); and it is with a kind of astonishment that it is related that "divers of Asher and Manasseh and Zebulun" came to Jerusalem to the Passover of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 11). With the exception of Simeon, Asher is the only tribe west of the Jordan which furnished no hero or judge to the nation.<sup>e</sup> "One name alone shines out of the general obscurity—the aged widow 'Anna the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser,' who in the very close of the history departed not from the temple, but 'served God with fastings and prayers night and day'" (Stanley, 265). [G.]

**ASHERAH** (אֲשֶׁרָה), the name of a Phœnician goddess, or rather of the idol itself. Our translators following the rendering of the LXX. (ἄσος), and of the Vulg. (*lucus*) translate the word by "grove." Almost all modern interpreters however since Selden (*De Diis Syriis*, p. 343) agree that an idol or image of some kind must be intended, as seems sufficiently proved from such passages as 2 K. xxi. 7, xxiii. 6, in the latter of which we find that Josiah "brought out the Asherah" (or as our version reads "the grove") "from the house of the Lord." There can, moreover, be no doubt that Asherah is very closely connected with ASHTORETH and her worship, indeed the two are so placed in connexion with each other, and each of them with Baal (e.g. Judg. iii. 7, comp. ii. 3; Judg. vi. 25; 1 K. xviii. 19), that many critics have regarded them as identical. There are other passages however in which these terms seem to be distinguished from each other as 2 K. xxiii. 13, 14, 15. Movers (*Phön.* i. 561) first pointed out and established the difference between the two names, though he probably goes too far in considering them as names of distinct deities. The view maintained by Bertheau (*Handb. d. A. T. Richt.*, p. 67) appears to be the more correct one, that Ashtoreth is the proper name of the goddess, whilst Asherah is the name of the image or symbol of the goddess. This symbol seems in all cases to have been of wood (see e.g. Judg. vi. 25-30; 2 K. xxiii. 14), and the most probable etymology of the term (אֲשֶׁרָה = אֶשֶׁר, to be straight, direct) indicates that it was formed of the straight stem of a tree, whether lying or set up for the purpose, and thus points us to the phallic rites with which no doubt the worship of Ashtar was connected. [ASHTORETH.] See also EGYPT. [F. W. G.]

**ASHES.** The ashes on the altar of burnt-offering were gathered into a cavity in its surface or a heap called the apple (תפוח), from its round shape (Cramer, *de Ara exteriori*), said to have sometimes amounted to 300 Cors; but this Maimon, and others say is spoken *hyperbolice*. On the days of the three solemn festivals the ashes were not removed, and the accumulation taken away afterwards in the morning, the priests casting lots for the office (*Mishna Temid.* i. 2, and ii. 2). The

\* Achshaph (LXX. Κεάφ or Καάφα) must be *Chaiya*: Robinson's identification (iii. 55) is surely too far inland. Alammelech was probably on the *Nahr el-Melech*, a tributary of the Kishon. Jipthah-el may be *Jefit* (Rob. iii. 107). Bethlehem (*Beit Lahm*) is 10 miles inland from the shore of the bay of *Chaiya* (Rob. 113); and as it was in Zebulun, it fixes the distance of Asher's boundary as less than that from the sea.

<sup>b</sup> For the crops, see Rob. iii. 102; for the oil, Kenrick, 31; Reland, 817.

<sup>c</sup> Zidon was then distinguished by the name *Rabbah*—"the Strong," Josh. xix. 28.

<sup>d</sup> This name is added by the LXX. Compare Josh. xvii. 11.

<sup>e</sup> This would be well compensated for if the ancient legend could be proved to have any foundation, that the parents of St. Paul resided at Giscala, or Gush Chaleh, i. e. the Ahlab of Asher (Judg. i. 31). See Reland, 813.

ashes of a red heifer burnt entire, according to regulations prescribed in Num. xix., had the ceremonial efficacy of purifying the unclean (Heb. ix. 13), but of polluting the clean. [SACRIFICE.] Ashes about the person, especially on the head, were used as a sign of sorrow. [MOURNING.] [H. H.]

**ASH'IMA** (אֲשִׁימָה; 'Ασιμα; *Asima*), a god worshipped by the people of Hamath. The worship was introduced into Samaria by the Hamathite colonists whom Shalmanezzer settled in that land (2 K. xvii. 30). The name occurs only in this single instance. The Talmudists say that the word signifies a goat without hair, or rather with short hair (Buxtorf, *Lecc. Talm.*), and from this circumstance Ashima has been regarded as identical with the Mendesian god of the Egyptians (considered by the Greeks to be Pan), to whom the goat was sacred. This god has also by some been identified with the Phœnician god Esmûn (see Winer, *Realw.*), whose name is frequently found in Phœnician inscriptions as a component of the names of persons, and who is regarded as the Phœnician Aesculapius (Gesen. *Mon. Phœn.* pp. 136, 347). The two conjectures are not necessarily discrepant, since to the Phœnician Esmûn belong the characteristics both of Pan and of Aesculapius (Movers, *Phœnizier*, i. 532). There are many other conjectures of Jewish writers respecting this god, but they are of no authority whatever. [F. W. G.]

**ASH'KELOH, AS'KELOH**, Apocr. **AS'CALON** (אֲשִׁקְלוֹן; once "the Eshkalonite,"

אֲשִׁקְלוֹנִי; 'Ασκαλων; Saml. عسقلان (note the

change from Aleph to Ain); *Ascalon*), one of the five cities of the lords of the Philistines (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 17), but less often mentioned, and, apparently, less known to the Jews than the other four. This, doubtless, arose from its remote situation, alone, of all the Philistine towns, on the extreme edge of the shore of the Mediterranean (Jer. xlvii. 7), and, also, well down to the south. Gaza, indeed, was still further south, but then it was on the main road from Egypt to the centre and north of Palestine, while Ashkelon lay considerably to the left. The site, which retains its ancient name, fully bears out the above inference: but some indications of the fact may be traced, even in the scanty notices of Ashkelon which occur in the Bible. Thus, the name is omitted from the list in Josh. xv. of the Philistine towns falling to the lot of Judah (but comp. Jos. Ant. V. 1, §22, where it is specified), although Ekron, Ashdod and Gaza are all named; and considerable uncertainty rests over its mention in Judg. i. 18 (see Bertheau in *Ezeq. Handb.*). Samson went down from Timnath to Ashkelon, when he slew the thirty men and took their spoil, as if to a remote place whence his exploit was not likely to be heard of; and the only other mention of it in the historical books is in the formulaic passages, Josh. xiii. 3, and 1 Sam. vi. 17, and in the casual notices of Jud. ii. 28; 1 Mac. x. 86, xi. 60, xii. 33. The other Philistine cities are each distinguished by some special occurrence or fact connected with it, but except the one exploit of Samson, Ashkelon is to us no more than a name. In

the poetical books it occurs 2 Sam. i. 20; Jer. xxv. 20, xlvii. 5, 7; Am. i. 8; Zeph. ii. 4, 7; Zech. ix. 5.

In the post-biblical times Ashkelon rose to considerable importance. Near the town—though all traces of them have now vanished—were the temple and sacred lake of Derceto, the Syrian Venus; and it shared with Gaza an infamous reputation for the steadfastness of its heathenism and for the cruelties there practised on Christians by Julian (Reland, 588, 590). "The soil around the town was remarkable for its fertility; the wine of Ascalon was celebrated, and the *Al-henna* plant flourished better than in any other place except Canopus" (Kenrick, 28). It was also celebrated for its cypresses, for figs, olives, and pomegranates, and for its bees, which gave their name to a valley in the neighbourhood (Kenrick, 28; Edrisi and Ibn Batuta in Ritter, *Palaestina*, 88). Its name is familiar to us in the "Eschalot" or "Shallot," a kind of onion, first grown there, and for which this place was widely known. "The sacred doves of Venus still fill with their cooings the luxuriant gardens which grow in the sandy hollow within the ruined walls" (Stanley, 257). Ascalon played a memorable part in the struggles of the Crusades. "In it was entrenched the hero of the last gleam of history which has thrown its light over the plains of Philistia, and within the walls and towers now standing Richard held his court" (Stanley, *ibid.*). By the Mahomedan geographers it was called "the bride of Syria" (Schultens, *Index Geogr.*).

"The position of the town is naturally very strong: the walls are built on a ridge of rock which winds in a semicircular curve around the town and terminates at each end in the sea. There is no bay or shelter for ships, but a small harbour towards the east advanced a little way into the town, and anciently bore, like that of Gaza, the name of Majumas" (Kenrick, 28).

In the time of Origen some wells of remarkable shape were shown near the town, which were believed to be those dug by Isaac, or at any rate, to be of the time of the patriarchs. In connexion with this tradition may be mentioned the fact that in the Samaritan version of Gen. xx. 1, 2, and xxvi. 1, Askelon (אֲשִׁקְלוֹן) is put for the "Gerar" of the Hebrew text. [G.]

**ASH'KENAZ** (אֲשִׁכְנַז; 'Ασκαναζ; *Ascanaz*), one of the three sons of Gomer, son of Japhet (Gen. x. 3), that is, one of the peoples or tribes belonging to the great Japhetic division of the human race, and springing immediately from that part of it which bears the name of GOMER. The original seat of the people of Ashkenaz was undoubtedly in the neighbourhood of Armenia, since they are mentioned by Jeremiah (li. 27) in connexion with the kingdoms of Ararat and Minni. We are not, however, on this account to conclude that they, any more than the Gomerites in general, were confined to this locality. Assuming here, what will be more properly discussed under the word JAPHET, that the Japhetic tribes migrated from their original seats westward and northward, thus peopling Asia Minor and Europe, we may probably recognise the tribe of Ashkenaz on the northern shore of Asia Minor, in the name of Lake Ascanian, and in Europe in the name *Scand-in*,

<sup>1</sup> The usual form would be אֲשִׁקְלוֹן, *Ashkal*. Rödiger (in Gesenius, 1476) suggests that the uncommon termination is a Philistine form.

<sup>2</sup> Note here, as in the Arabic, the substitution of *Ain* for *Aleph*.

*Scand-inavia*. Knobel (*Völkertafel*, p. 35) regards the word as a compound (אֲשֵׁנָה), the latter element being equivalent to the Gr. *génos*, Lat. *gens*, *genus*, Eng. *kind*, *kin*; the meaning therefore being the *As*-race. If this be so, it would seem that we here find the origin of the name Asia, which has subsequently been extended to the whole eastern part of the world. Knobel considers that Ashkenaz is to be identified with the German race. It is worthy of notice, though possessing little weight as evidence for this view, that the rabbins, even to the present day, call Germany אֲשֵׁנָה. The opinion of Gores (*Völkertafel*, p. 92) that Ashkenaz is to be identified with the Cynry or Gaelic race seems less probable than that of Knobel. [F. W. G.]

**ASH'NAH** (אֲשֵׁנָה), the name of two cities of Judah, both in the Shefelah or Lowland; (1) named between Zween and Zanoah, and therefore probably N.W. of Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 33; *'Asna*; *Asena*); and (2) between Jiphthah and Neah, and therefore to the S.W. of Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 43; *Esna*). Each, according to Robinson's Map (1857), would be about 16 miles from Jerusalem, and therefore corresponding to the Bethsan of the Onomast. Eusebius names another place, *'Asna*, but with no indication of position. [G.]

**ASH'PENAZ** (אֲשֵׁפֶנָּז), of uncertain origin, yet see Hitzig on Dan. i. 3, and compare the form אֲשֵׁפֶנָּז, Gen. x. 3; LXX., *'Αβσεφρ* = עֲפֹרָה (?) *'Aspawē*, Theodot.; *Asplaz*, *Abizer*, (Syr.), the master of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. i. 3). [B. F. W.]

**ASH'TAROTH**, and (once) **AS'TAROTH** (עֲשְׁתָּרוֹת; *'Ashtarōth*; *Astaroth*), a city on the E. of Jordan, in Bashan, in the kingdom of Og, doubtless so called from being a seat of the worship of the goddess of the same name. [ASHTORETH.] It is generally mentioned as a description or definition of Og,—who “dwelt in Astaroth in Edrei” (Deut. i. 4), “at Ashtuoth and at Edrei” (Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12), or “who was at Ashtuoth” (ix. 10). It fell into possession of the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 31), and was given with its suburbs or surrounding pasture-lands (מִנְיָה) to the Gershonites (1 Chr. vi. 71 [56], the other Levitical city in this tribe being Golan. In the list in Josh. xxi. 27, the name is given as Beeshterah (quasi *'בית* = “house of A.”; Reland, 621 Gesenius, *Thes.* 175 a, 196 w, 1083). Nothing more is heard of Ashtarothe. It is not named in any of the lists, such as those in Chronicles, or of Jeremiah, in which so many of the trans-Jordanic places are enumerated. Jerome (*Onom. Astaroth*) states that in his time it lay six miles from Adin, which again was 25 from Bostra. Eusebius and he further (*Asteroth Carnaim*) speak of two *kasal*, or castella, which lay nine miles apart, “inter Adaram et Abilam civitates.” One of these was possibly that first named above, and the other may have been Ashteroth-karnaim. The only trace of the name yet recovered in these interesting districts is *Tell-Ashterah* or *Asherah* (Ritter, *Syria*, 819; Porter, ii. 212), and of this nothing more than the name is known. Uzziah the Ashterathite is named in 1 Chr. xi. 44. [G.]

**ASHTEROTH - KARNAIM** (עֲשְׁתָּרוֹת קַרְנַיִם) = “Ashtarothe of the two horns or peaks;”

Sam. Vers. עֲשִׁינִיתִק; Saad. الصنمين; *'Ashtarōth kal* (Alex. omits *kal*) *Karnain*; *Astaroth Carnaim*), a place of very great antiquity, the abode of the Rephaim at the time of the incursion of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 5), while the cities of the plain were still standing in their oasis. The name reappears but once, and that in the later history of the Jews, as Carnaim, or Carnion (1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26; Jos. Ant. xii. 8, §4), “a strong and great city,” “hard to besiege,” with a “temple (τὸ τέμενος) of Atargatis” (τὸ *'Atraparaiōn*), but with no indication of its locality, beyond its being in “the land of Galaad.”

It is usually assumed to be the same place as the preceding [ASHTAROTH], but the few facts that can be ascertained are all against such an identification. 1. The affix “Karnaim,” which certainly indicates some distinction, and which in the times of the Maccabees, as quoted above, appears to have superseded the other name. 2. The fact that Eusebius and Jerome in the Onomasticon, though not very clear on the point, yet certainly make a distinction between Ashtarothe and A.-Carnaim, describing the latter as a *καὶ μεγίστην τῆς 'Αραβίας*, vicus grandis in angulo Batanaeae. 3. Some weight is due to the renderings of the Samaritan version, and of the Arabic version of Saadiah, which give Ashtarothe as in the text, but A.-Karnaim by entirely different names (see above). The first of these, *Aphnith*, does not appear to have been yet recognised; but the second, *es-Sumamein*, can hardly be other than the still important place which continues to bear precisely the same name, on the Haj route, about 25 miles south of Damascus, and to the N.W. of the *Lejch* (Burekh. 55; Ritter, *Syria*, 812). Perhaps it is some confirmation of this view that while the name Karnaim refers to some double character in the deity there worshipped, *es-Sumamein* is also dual, meaning “the two idols.” There accordingly we are disposed to fix the site of Ashtarothe-Karnaim in the absence of further evidence. [G.]

**ASHTORETH** (עֲשְׁתָּרֶת; *'Ashtarēth*; *Astarte*), the principal female divinity of the Phoenicians, as Baal was the principal male divinity. It is a peculiarity of both names that they frequently occur in the plural and are associated together in this form (Judg. x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4, xii. 10). Gesenius (*Thes. s. vv.*) maintained that by these plurals were to be understood statues of Baal and Astarte; but the more correct view seems to be that of Movers (*Phön. i.* 175, 602), that the plurals are used to indicate different modifications of the divinities themselves. In the earlier books of the O. T., only the plural, Ashtarothe, occurs, and it is not till the time of Solomon, who introduced the worship of the Sidonian Astarte, and only in reference to that particular goddess, Ashtoreth of the Sidonians, that the singular is found in the O. T. (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xxiii. 13). The worship of Astarte was very ancient and very

\* This was held by the Jews at the date of the Talmud to refer to its situation between two high peaked hills (see Sukkah, fol. 2), though it more probably alludes to the worship of the horned goddess, the “mooned Ashtarothe.”

widely spread. We find the plural Ashtaroth united with the adjunct Karmain as the name of a city as early as the time of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 5), and we read of a temple of this goddess, apparently as the goddess of war, amongst the Philistines in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xxi. 10). From the connexion of this goddess with BAAL or BEL we should moreover naturally conclude that she would be found in the Assyrian pantheon, and in fact the name Ishtar appears to be clearly identified in the list of the great gods of Assyria (Layard, *N. and B.*, 352, 629; Rawlinson, *Early History of Babylon*, Lond. 1854, p. 23; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 634). There is no reason to doubt that this Assyrian goddess is the Ashtoreth of the Old Testament and the Astarte of the Greeks and Romans. The worship of Astarte seems to have extended wherever Phœnician colonies were founded. Thus we find her name in inscriptions still existing in the island of Cyprus on the site of the ancient Citium, and also at Carthage (Ges. *Mon. Phœn.*, pp. 125, 449), and not infrequently as an element in Phœnician proper names, as *Ἀστάρτος*, *Ἀβδαστάρτος*, *Δελειαστάρτος* (Jos. c. Ap. i. 18). The name occurs moreover written in Egyptian hieroglyphics, as *Astart* (Ges. *Thec. s. v.* For evidence of her wide-spread worship see also Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* iii. 369 sqq.). It is worthy of remark that Rödiger in his recently published Addenda to Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (p. 106) notices that in the inscription on the sarcophagus of a king named Esmunazar discovered in January, 1855 (see Robinson, iii. 36, note), the founding, or at least restoration, of the temple of this goddess at Sidon, is attributed to him and to his mother Amashitoreth, who is further styled priestess of Ashtoreth.

If now we seek to ascertain the character and attributes of this goddess we find ourselves involved in considerable perplexity. There can be no doubt that the general notion symbolized is that of productive power, as Baal symbolizes that of generative power, and it would be natural to conclude that as the sun is the great symbol of the latter, and therefore to be identified with Baal, so the moon is the symbol of the former and must be identified with Astarte. That this goddess was so typified can scarcely be doubted. The ancient name of the city, Ashtaroth-Karmain, already referred to, seems to indicate a horned Astarte, that is an image with a crescent moon on her head like the Egyptian Athor. At any rate it is certain that she was by some ancient writers identified with the moon, thus Lucian (*De Syria Dea*, 4) says, *Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι*. And again Herodian, v. 6, 10, *Ὀυρανίαν Φολίβικης Ἀστάρτην* (a greisied form of Astarte) *ὀνομάζουσι, σεληνὴν εἶναι θέλοντες*. On these grounds Movers, Winer, Keil, and others maintain that originally Ashtoreth was the moon-goddess. On the other hand it appears to be now ascertained that the Assyrian Ishtar was not the moon-goddess, but the planet Venus (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. c.), and it is certain that Astarte was by many ancient writers identified with the goddess Venus (or Aphrodite) as well as also with the planet of that name. The name itself seems to be identical with our word *Star*, a word very widely spread (Sanskrit, *tara*;

Zend, *starānm*; Pehlevi, *setaran*; Pers. *استاره*, *istarah*; Gr. *ἀστὴρ*; Lat. *stella*). Though this derivation is regarded as doubtful by Keil, from

the absence of the initial *Y* in all the presumed representatives of the word (*Ἀστὴρ*, i. 168, Eng. tr. i. 189), it is admitted by Gesenius, Fürst, Movers, and most Hebrew critics on apparently good grounds. On the whole it seems most likely that both the moon and the planet were looked upon as symbols, under different aspects and perhaps at different periods, of the goddess, just as each of them may in different aspects of the heavens be regarded as the "queen of heaven."

The inquiry as to the worship paid to the goddess is not less perplexed than that of the heavenly body in which she was symbolized. Movers (*Phœn.* 607) distinguishes two Astartes, one Carthaginian-Sidonian, a virgin goddess symbolized by the moon, the other Syro-Phœnician symbolized by the planet Venus. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that the worship of Astarte became identified with that of Venus: thus Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* iii. 23) speaks of a fourth Venus, "Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur," and that this worship was connected with the most impure and licentious rites is apparent from the close connexion of this goddess with ASHERAH, or, as our translators rendered the word, "groves." It is not necessary that we should here enter further into the very perplexed and revolting subject of the worship of this goddess. The reader who wishes to pursue the inquiry may find ample details in Movers' *Phœnizier*, already referred to, and in Creuzer's *Symbolik*. [F. W. G.]

**ASH-TREE** (אֶשְׁתֵּי, 'Oren, rendered by the LXX. *πίπτος*, and by the Vulg. *pinus*). It is mentioned only in Is. xiv. 14, in connexion with other timber trees. The similarity of sound favours the notion that it is the Latin *ornus*, or ash-tree; and Celsius (*Herobot.* i. 192) takes it to be the Arabic *س-ع*

أرن, which, according to Sprengel (*Hist. rei herb.* i. 14) is the *Capparis spinosa* of Linnaeus, a thorny tree producing bitter berries. Gesenius, however, prefers to render it by *pine*, on the authority of the LXX. and Vulg., and supposes the name to have arisen from the gracefulness of its form, the root being אֶשְׁתֵּי, which in Arabic signifies *agilis, gracilis fuit*. [W. D.]

**ASHUR** (אַשּׁוּר; 'Ashw, 'Assour; *Ashur*, *Assur*), the "Father of Tekoa" (1 Chr. ii. 24, iv. 5).

**ASHURITES**, the (אַשּׁוּרִי; τὸν Ἀσσυρί; Alex. *Assour*; *Cessuri*). This name occurs only in the enumeration of those over whom Ishbosheth was made king (2 Sam. ii. 9). By some of the old interpreters—Arabic, Syriac, and Vulgate versions—and in modern times by Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 145), the name is taken as meaning the Geshurites, the members of a small kingdom to the S. or S.E. of Damascus, one of the petty states which were included under the general title of Aram. [ARAM; GESHUR.] The difficulty in accepting this substitution is that Geshur had a king of its own, Ta'mai, whose daughter moreover was married to David somewhere about this very time (1 Chr. iii. 2, compared with 4), a circumstance not consistent with his being the ally of Ishbosheth, or with the latter being made king over the people of Geshur. Talamai was still king many years after this occurrence (2 Sam. xiii. 37). In

addition, Geshur was surely too remote from Mahanaim and from the rest of Ishbo-heth's territory to be intended here.

It would therefore be perhaps safer to follow the Targum of Jonathan, which has Beth-Asher, בֵּית אֲשֶׁר, "the house of Asher," a reading supported by several MSS. of the original text, which, omitting the Vau, have אֲשֶׁרִי (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*, ad loc.). "The Asherites" will then denote the whole of the country west of the Jordan above Jezreel (the district of the plain of Esdraelon), and the enumeration will proceed regularly from north to south, Asher to Benjamin. The form "Asherite" occurs in Judg. i. 32.

The reading of the LXX. was evidently quite different: but what it was has not been yet recognised.

There is clearly no reference here to the Asshurim of Gen. xxv. 3. [G.]

† ASHVATH (אֲשָׁוֶת; *Asōth*; *Asoth*), name of a man (1 Chr. vii. 33).

ASIA (ἡ Ἀσία). The passages in the N. T., where this word occurs, are the following: Acts ii. 9, vi. 9, xvi. 6, xix. 10, 22, 26, 27, xx. 4, 16, 18, xxi. 27, xxvii. 2; Rom. xvi. 5 (where the true reading is *'Asias*); 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Cor. i. 8; 2 Tim. i. 15; 1 Pet. i. 1; Rev. i. 4, 11. [CHIEF OF ASIA: see ASIARCH.] In all these passages it may be confidently stated that the word is used, not for "the continent of Asia," nor for what we commonly understand by "Asia Minor," but for a Roman province which embraced the western part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, and of which Ephesus was the capital. This province originated in the bequest of Attalus, king of Pergamum, or king of Asia, who left by will to the Roman Republic his hereditary dominions in the west of the peninsula (B.C. 133). Some rectifications of the frontier were made, and "Asia" was constituted a province. Under the early Emperors it was rich and flourishing, though it had been severely plundered under the Republic. In the division made by Augustus of senatorial and imperial provinces, it was placed in

the former class, and was governed by a proconsul. (Hence ἀὐτοκρατοί, Acts xix. 38, and on coins.) It contained many important cities, among which were the seven churches of the Apocalypse, and it was divided into assize districts for judicial business. (Hence ἀγοπαῖς, i. e. ἡμέραι, Acts, *ibid.*). It is not possible absolutely to define the inland boundary of this province during the life of St. Paul: indeed the limits of the provinces were frequently undergoing change; but generally it may be said that it included the territory anciently subdivided into Aeolis, Ionia, and Doris, and afterwards into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria. [MYSIA, LYCIA, BITHYNIA, PHRYGIA, GALATIA.]

Meyer's comment on Acts xvi. 6 is curious, and neither necessary nor satisfactory. He supposes that the divine intimation given to St. Paul had reference to the continent of Asia, as opposed to Europe, and that the apostle supposed it might have reference simply to Asia *cis* Taurum, and therefore attempted to penetrate into Bithynia. The view of Meyer and De Wette on Acts xxvii. 2 (and of the former on Acts xiv. 10), viz., that the peninsula of Asia Minor is intended, involves a bad geographical mistake: for this term "Asia Minor" does not seem to have been so applied till some centuries after the Christian era. Moreover the mistake introduces confusion into both narratives. It is also erroneous to speak of Asia in the N. T. as *A. proconsularis*; for this phrase also was of later date, and denoted one of Constantine's subdivisions of the province of which we are speaking.

In the books of Maccabees, where reference is made to the pre-provincial period of this district (B.C. 200-150), we frequently encounter the word Asia in its earlier sense. The title "King of Asia" was used by the Seleucid monarchs of Antioch, and was claimed by them even after it more properly belonged to the immediate predecessors of Attalus (see 1 Macc. xi. 13; Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. xiv.; Marquardt's *Röm. Alterthümer*, iii. pp. 130-146). [J. S. H.]

ASIARCHAE (Ἀσιάρχαι; *præcipes Asiæ*, Vulg.; *chief of Asia*, A. V.; Acts xix. 31), officers chosen annually by the cities of that part



Greek Imperial Copper Coin ("medallion") of Laodicea of Phrygia; Commodus; with name of Asiarch.

Obv. : ΑΥΤΑΥΤΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCΕ. Bust of Emperor to right. Rev. : ΕΠΙΛΑΛΗΠ'ΙΤΟCΑCΙΑΡ. ΑΑΟΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. Figure in triumphal quadriga of lions, to left.

of the province of Asia, of which Ephesus was, under Roman government, the metropolis. They had charge of the public games and religious theatrical spectacles, the expenses of which they bore, as was done by the holders of *leitourgyai* at Athens, and

the aediles at Rome (Niebuhr, iii. 35; Gibbon, xv. ii. 205, ed. Smith). Their office was thus, in great measure at least, religious, and they are in consequence sometimes called ἀρχιερεῖς, and their office *ιερωσύνη* (Mart. S. Polycarp. in *Patr. Ap. c.* 21).

Probably it represented the religious element of the ancient Panionian league; to the territorial limits of which also the circle of the functions of the Asiarchs nearly corresponded. (See Herod. i. 142.) Officers called *Ἀσισάρχαι* are mentioned by Strabo (xiv. p. 685), who exercised judicial and civil functions, subject to the Roman government; but there is no evidence to show that the Asiarchs exercised any but the religious functions above-mentioned. Modestinus names *Βιθυνιαρχία* and *Καππαδοκάρχια* as religious offices in Bithynia and Cappadocia. The office of Asiarch was annual, and subject to the approval of the proconsul, but might be renewed; and the title appears to have been continued to those who had at any time held the office. From its costliness, it was often (*ἀεὶ*) conferred on a citizen of the wealthy city of Tralles (Strabo, xiv. p. 649). Philip, the Asiarch at the time of S. Polycarp's martyrdom, was a Trallian. Coins or inscriptions bearing the names of persons who had served the office of Asiarch, once or more times, are known as belonging to the following cities: Aphrodisias, Cyzicus, Hypaepa, Laodicea, Pergamus, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna, Thyatira. (Aristid. *Or.* xvi. p. 518, cl. Dind.; Eekhel, ii. 507; iv. 207; Böckh, *Inscr.* vol. ii.; Van Dale, *Dissert.* p. 274, seq.; Krause, *Cultus Neocorae*, p. 71; Wetstein, *On Acts XIX.*; Akerman, *Numismatic Illustr.* p. 51; Herod. v. 38; Hammond, *On N. T.*) [H. W. P.]

**ASPIBIAS** (*Ἀρεβίας*; *Zabdiās*), name of a man (1 Esd. ix. 29).

**AS'IEL** (*אַשְׁיֵל*; *ʾAsiḥā*; *Asiel*), name of a man (1 Chr. iv. 35).

**ASIPHA** (*Ἀσιφά*; *Guspha*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [HASPPIA.]

**AS'KELON.** [ASHIKELON.]

**ASMODE'US** (*Ἀσμοδαῖος*, Tob. iii. 8), the same as *אַשְׁמֹדַי*, which in Job xxxi. 12, &c., means "destruction," and *Ἀπολλών*, Rev. ix. 11, where he is called "a king, the angel of the bottomless pit," and *ὁ Ὀλοθρευτής*, Wisd. xviii. 25, where he is represented as the "Evil angel" (Ps. lxxviii. 49) of the plague. (Schleusner's *Thesaur.* s. v.) From the fact that the Talmud (col. Gittin. Eccles. i. 12) calls him *מלכא דשיטרי* rex daemonum (cf. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* in Luke xi. 15), some assume him to be identical with Beelzebub, and others with Azrael. The name is derived either from *שָׂמַד*, to destroy, or, according to Reland (Winer, s. v.), from a Persian word = *πειράειν*. In the book of Tobit this evil spirit is represented as loving Sura, the daughter of Raguel, and causing the death of seven husbands, who married her in succession, on the bridal night; gaining the power to do so (as is hinted) through their incontinence. Tobias, instructed by Raphael, burns on "the ashes of perfume" the heart and liver of the fish which he caught in the Tigris; "the which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him" (Tob. viii. 3).

It is obviously a vain endeavour to attempt to rationalise this story of

... Asmodeus with the fishy fume  
That drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse  
Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent  
From Media post to Egypt, thence fast bound.

since it is throughout founded on Jewish demonology, and "the loves of the angels," a strange fancy derived from Gen. vi. 2. Those however who attempt this task make Asmodeus the demon of impurity, and suppose merely that the fumes denuded the passions of Tobias and his wife. The rabbis (among other odd fables) make this demon the offspring of the incest of Tubalcain with his sister Noema, and say (in allusion to Solomon's many wives) that Asmodeus once drove him from his kingdom, but being dispossessed was forced to serve in building the temple, which he did noiselessly, by means of a mysterious stone Shamir (Calmet, s. v. and *Fragments*, 271, where there is a great deal of fanciful and groundless speculation.) [F. W. F.]

**AS'NAH** (*אַסְנָה*; *ʾAsenā*; *Asena*), name of a man (Ezr. ii. 50). [See *ASENATH*.]

**ASNAPPER** (*אַסְנַפָּר*; Syr. *Espil*; *Asse-naphar*; *Asenaphar*), mentioned in Ezr. iv. 10, with the epithets "great and noble," as the person who settled the Cuthemics in the cities of Samaria. He has been variously identified with Salmanser, Sennacherib, and Esar-laddon. Of the three the third is the most probable, as Gesenius says, since in ver. 2 of the same chapter the Cuthemics attribute their settlement to that king. But on the whole, as this is but slight evidence, it seems better to accept Patrick's view (*Comm. in loco*), that Asnapper was "some great commander, who was entrusted by one of these kings to conduct them, and bring them over the river Euphrates, and see them settled in Samaria." [G. E. L. C.]

**AS'SOM** (*אַסּוּם*; *Asom*), 1 Esd. ix. 33. [HASIUM.]

**ASP** (*אַפְתָּן*, *Pethen*; *ἄσπις*, LXX.; identical with the adder mentioned in Ps. lviii. 4, xci. 13. It occurs in Deut. xxiii. 33; Job xx. 14, 16; Is. xi. 8; and Rom. iii. 13. It is the Coluber Naja of Egypt, and is very poisonous. See *ADDER*. [W. D.]

**AS'PATHA** (*אַסְפַּתְחָה*; *Ἐσπαθᾶ*; *Esphatha*), third son of Haman (Esth. ix. 7).

**AS'PHAR, THE POOL** (*Ἰακκὸς Ἀσφάρ*) in the "wilderness of Theco." By this "pool" Jonathan and Simon Maccabaeus encamped at the beginning of their struggle with Bacchides (1 Mac. ix. 33; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, §2). Is it possible that the name is a corruption of *Ἰακκὸς Ἀσφαλτῖτης*? [G.]

**ASPHAR'ASUS** (*Ἀσφαράσος*; *Mechsapsator-chor*), 1 Esd. v. 8. [MIZPAR.]

**AS'RIEL** (*אַשְׁרִיֵּל*; *ʾEsriḥā*; *Asriel*, *Esriel*), a son of the patriarch Manasseh (Num. xxi. 31; Josh. xvii. 2; 1 Chr. vii. 14).

**ASS**, a quadruped frequently mentioned in Scripture. The name is assigned by the A. V. to several distinct Heb. words, viz. *אַתֹּן*, *חֲמֹר*, *עִיר*, *עֹרֹד*, and *פָּרָה*, and the Greek words *βους* and *εὑποδύσιον*. It occurs also in two passages of Eccles. xiii. 19, xxxiii. 24, in the first of which it stands for *δυναππος*.

*ʾAthōn* (*אַתֹּן*), a she-ass of the domestic kind, so called from its slowness, being from the root *אָתַן*, unused in Heb., but having in Arab. the meaning, *contracto brevique passu incessit*. It is men-

tioned several times in Genesis, twice as distinguished from חמור. It occurs also in Num. xlii., where Balaam's ass is mentioned, and also in 1 Sam. ix., x., in the account of Saul being sent to seek his father's asses. Also in 2 K. iv. 22, 24, and 1 Chr. xxvii. 30. In the two passages of Genesis (xii. 16, xiv. 23) where אֲתוֹן contrasts with חמור, the LXX. have ὄμιλος, but in the other passages either ὁ ὄνος, or ὄνος θηλεία. In Zech. ix. 9, only do they depart from their usual rendering, and express עֵזֶר בְּרִחְתָּנֹת by πῶλον νέον.

Chamôr (חמור) is the general term for the male ass, whether domesticated or not, and is derived from the root חמר, *rubuit*, because of its reddish colour, as in Spanish they call the ass *burro*, *burrico* = *ruber*, and in Gr. from πυρρός comes πύρριχος, sc. ἵππος. The Hebrews used the ass as a beast of burden, for ploughing, and for riding, and held it in considerable esteem. The comparison of Isachar to a strong ass (Gen. xlix. 14) is not intended as a reproach, though with the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians and other nations, the stupidity of the ass became a proverb. In the law of Moses (Deut. xxii. 10) it was forbidden to plough with the ox and the ass yoked together: it was also unclean because it did not chew the cud (Lev. xi. 26); and hence the force of the statement in 2 K. vi. 25, "And there was a great famine in Samaria: and behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver," &c.; for there could be no stronger proof of the straits the besieged were put to than that they should eat what was unclean. The imputation cast upon the Jews in ancient times of worshipping an ass's head, has been variously explained. The conjectures on this matter are some of them ingenious, but all unsatisfactory. The LXX. usually render חמור by ὁ ὄνος.

ʿAtr. (עֵזֶר, from root עֵזַר, *fervere, aestuare*) signifies a young male ass. The A. V., in Judg. x. 4, xii. 14, renders it *ass colts*; in Gen. xxvii. 15, xlii. 11, *foal*; in Job xi. 12, *colt*; and in Isa. xxx. 6, 24, *young asses*. In the four first passages the LXX. have πῶλος. In Job and Isaiah ὄνος. The ass is a lascivious animal; hence the derivation of this word; and possibly also of חמור, for one meaning of חמר is *aestuavit*.

ʿArôd (עֲרֹד). This animal is mentioned in Job xxxix. 5, in company with the פָּרָא, and both are rendered in A. V. by *wild ass*. The LXX. omit עֲרֹד. Gesenius says עֲרֹד = פָּרָא, the former being the Aramean, the latter the Heb. form; but probably two distinct animals are meant. We have the Chald. plur. emphat. עֲרֹדִיא, from עֲרַד, in Dan. v. 21, which is rendered by Theodot. ὄνδ-γγων. The עֲרֹד is probably the wild mule of Mongolia, which is superior to the onager in strength, beauty, and swiftness. The derivation is from an unused root עֲרַד, which in the Arab signifies *fugit* (cognate of עָרַד, *tremuit, trepidavit*). Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. p. 218, Lips.) suspects the name עֲרֹד to be onomatopœtic, from the neighing of the animal when it sees man; and Gesenius thinks that there may be some truth in this con-

jecture, although we have no confirmation of it in the other Semitic dialects. In Sanscrit *rud* = *flere*, to weep.

Pere (פָּרַע), the wild ass of Asia, formerly found in Syria, but now very rare in Western Asia, but still found in Arabia and Persia. Gesenius refers to Ker Porter's *Travels in Georgia and Persia*, i. p. 459, for a description and figure of this animal, agreeing precisely with a living example which he saw in the Zoological Gardens in London in 1835. The chase of this animal by the soldiers of the army of Cyrus is related by Xenophon. Martial calls it *pulcher onager*; and Opyian has described its beauty, fleetness, and untameableness. The word occurs in Gen. xvi. 12, where it is said that Ishmael shall be פָּרַע אֲדָם, rendered in A. V. a *wild num*, in Ps. civ. 11; in several passages of Job; Isa. xxxii. 14; Jer. ii. 24, xiv. 6; and Hos. viii. 9. The LXX. variously render it by ὄναγρος, ὄνος ἄγριος, ὄνος ἐρημίτης, and ὄνοι ἐν ἄγρῳ. The derivation is from פָּרַע, *cito ferri, cito currere, onagrum agere*. See Hos. xiii. 15, where פָּרַע, *onagrum egit*, = *feraciter egit instar onagri*. [W. D.]

ASSA'BIAS (ʿAsaβlas; *Hasebiats*), 1 Est. i. 9. [HASHABIAH.]

ASSAI/TMOTHI (Σαλιμῶθ; *Salimoth* (39)), 1 Est. vii. 36. [SHELOMITH.]

ASSA'NIAS (Σαυλας; *Assanias*), 1 Est. viii. 54. [HASHABIAH.]

ASSH'UR. [ASSYRIA.]

ASSIDE'FANS (ʿAsidaiot; *Assidai*; i. e. אֲסִידִיִּם, *the pious*, "puritans"; oi εὐσεβεῖς, oi δῖοι), the name assumed by a section of the orthodox Jews (1 Macc. ii. 42, alii 'Ιουδαίων probably by correction; 1 Macc. vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6), as distinguished from "the impious" (oi ἀσεβεῖς, 1 Macc. iii. 8, vi. 21, vii. 5, &c.), "the lawless" (oi ἄνομοι, 1 Macc. iii. 6, ix. 23, &c.), "the transgressors" (oi παράνομοι, 1 Macc. i. 11, &c.), that is, the Hellenizing faction. They appear to have existed as a party before the Maccabean rising, and were probably bound by some peculiar vow to the external observance of the Law (1 Macc. ii. 42, ἐκουσιάζεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ). They were among the first to join Mattathias (1 Macc. i. c.); and seem afterwards to have been merged in the general body of the faithful (2 Macc. vi. 6, oi λεγόμενοι τῶν 'Ιουδαίων Ἀσιδαῖοι, ὡν ἀπήγειντα Ἰουδας ὁ Μακκαβαῖος . . .). When Ptolemy came against Jerusalem they used their influence (1 Macc. vii. 13, πρῶτοι oi Ἀσιδ. ἥσαν ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ) to conclude a peace, because "a priest of the seed of Aaron" (Alcimus) was with him, and sixty of them fell by his treachery [ALCIMUS]. The name *Chasidim* occurs frequently in the Psalms (e. g. Ps. lxxix. 2 = 1 Macc. vii. 17; cxxlii. 9, &c.); and it has been adopted in recent times by a sect of Polish Jews, who take as the basis of their mystical system the doctrines of the Cabbalistic book Zohar (Beer, *Kirsch und Gruber*, s. v. *Chassidder*). [B. F. W.]

AS'SIR (ʿAsir; ʿAsir; *Aser, Asir*).  
1. Son of Korah (Ex. vi. 24; 1 Chr. vi. 22).  
2. Son of Ephiasaph, and a forefather of Samuel (1 Chr. vi. 23, 37).  
3. Son of Jeconiah (1 Chr. iii. 17), unless אֲסִיר יְכִיָּה be translated "Jaconiah the captive" (Berthieu *ad loc.*). [G.]

**AS'SOS** or **AS'SUS** (*Ἀσσός*), a town and seaport of the Roman province of **ASIA**, in the district anciently called Mysia. It was situated on the northern shore of the gulf of **ADRAMYTTIUM**, and was only about seven miles from the opposite coast of Lesbos, near Methymna (Strab. xiii. p. 618). A good Roman road, connecting the towns of the central parts of the province with Alexandria Troas [**TROAS**] passed through Assos, the distance between the two latter places being about 20 miles (*Itin. Anton.*). These geographical points illustrate St. Paul's rapid passage through the town, as mentioned in Acts xx. 13, 14. The ship in which he was to accomplish his voyage from Troas to Caesarea went round Cape Lectum, while he took the much shorter journey by land. Thus he was able to join the ship without difficulty, and in sufficient time for her to anchor off Mitylene at the close of the day on which Troas had been left.

The chief characteristic of Assos was that it was singularly Greek. Fellows found there "no trace of the Romans." Leake says that "the whole gives perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists." The remains are numerous and remarkably well preserved, partly because many of the buildings were of granite. The citadel, above the theatre, commands a glorious view, and must itself have been a noble object from the sea. The Street of Tombs, leading to the Great Gate, is one of the most remarkable features of Assos. Illustrations of the ancient city will be found in Texier, Charné, Fellows, and Choiseul-Gouffier. It is now utterly desolate. Two monographs on the subject are mentioned by Winer: Quandt, *De Asson*. Region. 1710; Amnell, *De Assos*. Ussell, 1758.

It is now a matter of curiosity to refer to the interpretation which used to be given to the words *ἄσος καπελέγγοιτο*, in Acts xvii. 13. In the Vulgate they were rendered "cum sustulissent de Asson," and they were supposed to point to a city of this name in Crete. Such a place is actually inserted by Padre Georgi, in the map which accompanies his *Paulus Naufragus* (Venet. 1730, p. 181). The true sense of the passage was first given by Beza.

[J. S. H.]

**ASSUERUS** (*Ἀσούρος*), Tob. xiv. 15. [**AUSURUS**.]

**ASSUR** (*Ἀσūr*; *Ἀσσοῦρ*). 1. (Ezr. iv. 2; 1s. lxxviii. 8; 2 Esd. ii. 8; Jud. ii. 14; v. 1; vi. 1, 17; vii. 20, 24; xiii. 15; xiv. 3; xv. 6; xvi. 4. [ASSUR; ASSYRIA.]) 2. (*Ἀσούρ*; Alex. *Ἀσούρ*; *Aziu*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [HARRHUR.]

**ASSYRIA**, **ASSI'UR** (*Ἀσσυρία*; *Ἀσσοῦρ*; Jos. *Ἀσσυρία*; *Assur*), was a great and powerful country lying on the Tigris (Gen. ii. 14), the capital of which was Nineveh (Gen. x. 11, &c.). It derived its name apparently from Asshur, the son of Shem (Gen. x. 22), who in later times was worshipped as their chief god by the Assyrians. The boundaries of Assyria differed greatly at different periods. Probably in the earliest times it was confined to a small tract of low country between the *Gebel Maklouh* and the Lesser Zab, or *Zab Asfal*, lying chiefly on the left bank of the Tigris. Gradually its limits were extended, until it came to be regarded as comprising the whole region between the Armenian mountains (lat. 37° 30') upon the north, and upon the south the country about Baghdad (lat. 33° 30'). Eastward its boundary was the high range of Zagros,

or mountains of *Kurdistan*; westward, it was, according to the views of some, bounded by the Mesopotamian desert, while, according to others, it reached the Euphrates. Taking the greatest of these dimensions, Assyria may be said to have extended in a direction from N.E. to S.W. a distance of nearly 500 miles, with a width varying from 350 to 100 miles. Its area would thus a little exceed 100,000 square miles, or about equal that of Italy.

1. *General character of the country.*—The country within these limits is of a varied character. On the north and east the high mountain-chains of Armenia and Kurdistan are succeeded by low ranges of limestone-hills of a somewhat arid aspect, which detach themselves from the principal ridges, running parallel to them, and occasionally inclosing, between their northern or north-eastern flank and the main mountain-line, rich plains and fertile valleys. To these ridges there succeeds at first an undulating zone of country, well watered and fully productive, which finally sinks down with some suddenness upon the great Mesopotamian plain, the modern district of *El-Jezireh*. This vast flat, which extends in length for 250 miles from the latitude of *Mardin* (37° 20') to that of *Tekrit* (34° 33'), and which is in places of nearly equal width, is interrupted only by a single limestone-range—a narrow ridge rising abruptly out of the plain; which, splitting off from Zagros in lat. 33° 30', may be traced under the names of *Sarazir*, *Hamrin*, and *Sinjar*, from *Izan* in Luristan nearly to *Rukhah* on the Euphrates. "From all parts of the plain the Sinjar is a beautiful object. Its limestone rocks, wooded here and there with dwarf oak, are of a rich golden colour; and the numberless ravines which furrow its sides form ribs of deep purple shadow" (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 265). Above and below this barrier, stretching southward and westward further than the eye can reach, and extending northward and eastward 70 or 80 miles to the hill-country before mentioned, is an immense level tract, now for the most part a wilderness, scantily watered on the right bank of the Tigris, but abundantly supplied on the left, which bears marks of having been in early times throughout well cultivated and thickly peopled. This plain is not alluvial, and most parts of it are even considerably raised above the level of the rivers. It is covered in spring time with the richest vegetation, presenting to the eye a carpet of flowers, varying in hue from day to day; but as the summer advances it is parched up, and gradually changes to an arid and yellow waste, except along the courses of the rivers. All over this vast flat, on both sides of the Tigris, rise "grass-covered heaps, marking the site of ancient habitations" (Layard, p. 245). Mr. Layard counted from one spot nearly a hundred (*Nineveh and its Remains*, i. p. 315); from another above 200 of these lofty mounds (*Nineveh and its Remains*, i. p. 245). Those which have been examined have been uniformly found to present appearances distinctly connecting them with the remains of Nineveh. [NINEVEH.] It may therefore be regarded as certain that they belong to the time of Assyrian greatness, and thus they will serve to mark the extent of the real Assyrian dominion. They are numerous on the left bank of the Tigris from *Basra* to the *Diqaleh*, and on the right they thickly stud the entire country both north and south of the *Sinjar* range, extending eastward beyond the *Khabour* (Layard, *cha. xii.-xiv.*)

northward to *Mardin*, and southward to the vicinity of Baghdad.

2. *Provinces of Assyria*.—Assyria in Scripture is commonly spoken of in its entirety, and unless the *Iuzzab* (יִזְזָבָב) of Nahum (ii. 7) is an equivalent for the Adiabene of the geographers, no name of a district can be said to be mentioned. The classical geographers, on the contrary, divided Assyria into a number of regions—Strabo (xvi. §1 and §4) into *Aturia*, *Arbelitis*, *Artacene*, *Apolloniatis*, *Chalonitis*, *Dolomene*, *Calachene*, *Adiabene*, *Mesopotamia*, &c.; Ptolemy (vi. 1) into *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene*, the *Garumaeen* country, *Apolloniatis*, *Arbelitis*, the country of the *Sinbatas*, *Culacine*, and *Sittacene*. These regions appear to be chiefly named from cities, as *Arbelitis* from *Arbela*; *Calacene* (or *Calachine*) from *Calah* or *Halah* (Gen. x. 11; 2 K. xvii. 6); *Apolloniatis* from *Apollonia*; *Sittacene* from *Sittace*, &c. *Adiabene*, however, the richest region of all, derived its appellation from the *Zab* (ܕܝܒ) rivers on which it lay, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us (xxiii. 20). Ptolemy (v. 18) made *Mesopotamia* (which he understood literally as the whole country between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*) distinct from *Assyria*, just as the sacred writers distinguish אֲרָם אֲרָם from אֲשׁוּר. Strabo (xvi. §1) extended *Assyria* to the *Euphrates*, and even across it into *Arabia* and *Syria*!

3. *Chief cities*.—The chief cities of *Assyria* in the time of its greatness appear to have been the following:—*Nineveh*, which is marked by the mounds opposite *Mosul* (*Nebbi-Yunus* and *Koyunjik*); *Calah* or *Halah*, now *Nimrud*; *Ashur*, now *Küch Sheryhat*; *Sargina*, or *Dur-Sargina*, now *Khorsabad*; *Arbela*, still *Arbil*; *Opis* at the junction of the *Diyaleh* with the *Tigris*; and *Sittace*, a little further down the latter river, if this place should not rather be reckoned to *Babylonia*.

4. *Nations bordering on Assyria*.—Towards the north, *Assyria* bordered on the strong and mountainous region of *Armenia*, which may have been at times under *Assyrian* dominion, but was never reckoned an actual part of the country. (See 2 K. xix. 37.) Towards the east her neighbours were originally a multitude of independent tribes, scattered along the *Zagros* chain, who have their fitting representatives in the modern *Kurds* and *Lurs*—the real sovereigns of that mountain-range. Beyond these tribes lay *Media*, which ultimately subjected the mountaineers, and was thereby brought into direct contact with *Assyria* in this quarter. On the south, *Elam* or *Susiana* was the border-state east of the *Tigris*, while *Babylonia* occupied the same position between the rivers. West of the *Euphrates* was *Arabia*, and higher up *Syria*, and the country of the *Hittites*, which last reached from the neighbourhood of *Damascus* to *Anti-Taurus* and *Amanus*.

5. *History of Assyria—original peopling*.—On the subject of the original peopling and early condition of *Assyria* we have more information than is generally possessed with regard to the first beginnings of nations. Scripture informs us that *Assyria* was peopled from *Babylon* (Gen. x. 11), and both classical tradition and the monuments of the country agree in this representation. In *Herodotus* (i. 7), *Ninus*, the mythic founder of *Nineveh*, is the son (descendant) of *Belus*, the mythic founder of *Babylon*—a tradition in which the derivation of

*Assyria* from *Babylon*, and the greater antiquity and superior position of the latter in early times are shadowed forth sufficiently. That *Ctesias* (ap. *Diod. Sic.* ii. 7) inverts the relation, making *Semiramis* (according to him, the wife and successor of *Ninus*), found *Babylon*, is only one out of ten thousand proofs of the untrustworthy character of his history. The researches recently carried on in the two countries clearly show, not merely by the statements which are said to have been deciphered on the historical monuments, but by the whole character of the remains discovered, that *Babylonian* greatness and civilization was earlier than *Assyrian*, and that while the former was of native growth, the latter was derived from the neighbouring country. The cuneiform writing, for instance, which is rapidly punched with a very simple instrument upon moist clay, but is only with much labour and trouble inscribed by the chisel upon rock, must have been invented in a country where men "had brick for stone" (Gen. xi. 3), and have thence passed to one where the material was unsuited for it. It may be observed also, that while writing occurs in a very rude form in the earlier *Babylonian* ruins (*Loftus's Chaldaea*, p. 169), and gradually improves in the later ones, it is in *Assyria* uniformly of an advanced type, having apparently been introduced there after it had attained to perfection.

6. *Date of the foundation of the kingdom*.—With respect to the exact date at which *Assyria* became a separate and independent country, there is an important difference between classical authorities. *Herodotus* and *Ctesias* were widely at variance on this point, the latter placing the commencement of the empire almost a thousand years before the former! Scripture does but little to determine the controversy; that little, however, is in favour of the earlier author. Geographically—as a country—*Assyria* was evidently known to *Moses* (Gen. ii. 14, xxv. 18; Num. xxiv. 22, 24); but it does not appear in Jewish history as a kingdom till the reign of *Menahem* (ab. B.C. 770). In *Abraham's* time (B.C. 1900?) it is almost certain that there can have been no *Assyrian* kingdom, or its monarch would have been found among those who invaded *Palestine* with *Chedorlaomer* (Gen. xiv. 1). In the time of the early Judges (B.C. 1400?) *Assyria*, if it existed, can have been of no great strength; for *Chushan-Rishathaim*, the first of the foreigners who oppressed *Israel* (Judg. iii. 8), is master of the whole country between the rivers (*Aram-Naharaim* = "Syria between the two rivers"). These facts militate strongly against the views of *Ctesias*, whose numbers produce for the founding of the empire the date of B.C. 2182 (*Clinton, F. H.* i. p. 263). The more modest account of *Herodotus* is at once more probable in itself, more agreeable to Scripture, and more in accordance with the native writer *Berosus*. *Herodotus* relates that the *Assyrians* were "lords of Asia" for 520 years, when their empire was partially broken up by a revolt of the subject-nations (i. 95). After a period of anarchy, the length of which he does not estimate, the *Median* kingdom was formed, 179 years before the death of *Cyrus*, or B.C. 708. He would thus, it appears, have assigned to the foundation of the *Assyrian* empire a date not very greatly anterior to B.C. 1228. *Berosus*, who made the empire last 526 years to the reign of *Pul* (ap. *Euseb. Chron. Cum.* i. 4), must have agreed nearly with this view; at least he would certainly have

placed the rise of the kingdom within the 13th century. This is, perhaps, the utmost that can be determined with any approach to certainty. If, for convenience sake, a more exact date be desired, the conjecture of Dr. Brandis has some claim to be adopted, which fixes the year B.C. 1273 as that from which the 526 years of Berosus are to be reckoned (*Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata*, p. 17).

7. *Early kings, from the foundation of the kingdom to Pul.*—The long list of Assyrian kings, which has come down to us in two or three forms, only slightly varied (Clint. *F. II.* i. p. 267), and which is almost certainly derived from Ctesias, must of necessity be discarded together with his date for the kingdom. It covers a space of above 1200 years, and bears marks besides of audacious fraud, being composed of names snatched from all quarters, Arian, Semitic, and Greek—names of gods, names of towns, names of rivers—and in its estimate of time presenting the impossible average of 34 or 35 years to a reign, and the very improbable phenomenon of reigns in half the instances amounting exactly to a decimal number. Unfortunately we have no authentic list to substitute for the forgery of Ctesias. Berosus spoke of 45 kings as reigning during his period of 526 years, and mentioned all their names (Euseb. l. a. c.); but they have unluckily not been preserved to us. The work of Herodotus on Assyrian history (Herod. i. 106 and 184) has likewise entirely perished; and neither Greek nor Oriental sources are available to supply the loss, which has hitherto proved irreparable. Recently the researches in Mesopotamia have done something towards filling up this sad gap in our knowledge; but the reading of names is still so doubtful that it seems best, in the present condition of cuneiform inquiry, to treat the early period of Assyrian history in a very general way, only mentioning kings by name when, through the satisfactory identification of a cuneiform royal designation with some name known to us from sacred or profane sources, firm ground has been reached, and serious error rendered almost impossible.

The Mesopotamian researches have rendered it apparent that the original seat of government was not at Nineveh. The oldest Assyrian remains have been found at *Kileh-Sherghat*, on the right bank of the Tigris, 60 miles south of the later capital; and this place the monuments show to have been the residence of the earliest kings, as well as of the Babylonian governors who previously exercised authority over the country. The ancient name of the town appears to have been identical with that of the country, viz. *Assur*. It was built of brick, and has yielded but a very small number of sculptures. The kings proved to have reigned there are fourteen in number, divisible into three groups; and their reigns are thought to have covered a space of nearly 350 years, from B.C. 1273 to B.C. 930. The most remarkable monarch of the series was called Tiglath-Pileser. He appears to have been king towards the close of the twelfth century, and thus to have been contemporary with Samuel. He overran the whole country between Assyria Proper and the Euphrates; swept the valley of the Euphrates from south to north, from the borders of Babylon to Mount Taurus; crossed the Euphrates, and contended in northern Syria with the Hittites; invaded Armenia and Cappadocia; and claims to have subdued forty-two countries "from the channel of the Lower Zab (*Zab Asfal*) to the Upper Sen of the

Setting Sun." All this he accomplished in the first five years of his reign. At a later date he appears to have suffered defeat at the hands of the king of Babylon, who had invaded his territory and succeeded in carrying off to Babylon various idols from the Assyrian temples.

The other monarchs of the *Kileh-Sherghat* series, both before and after Tiglath-Pileser, are comparatively insignificant. The later kings of the series are only known to us as the ancestors of the two great monarchs, Sardanapalus the first, and his son Shalmaneser or Shalmanubar, who were among the most warlike of the Assyrian princes. Sardanapalus the first, who appears to have been the warlike Sardanapalus of the Greeks (Suidas, s. v.; comp. Hellen. *Fr.* 158), transferred the seat of government from *Kileh-Sherghat* to *Nimrud* (probably the Scriptural Calah), where he built the first of those magnificent palaces which have recently been exhumed by our countrymen. A great portion of the Assyrian sculptures now in the British Museum are derived from this edifice. A description of the building has been given by Mr. Layard (*Nin. and its Remains*, vol. ii. ch. 11). By an inscription repeated more than a hundred times upon its sculptures we learn that Sardanapalus carried his arms far and wide through Western Asia, warring on the one hand in Lower Babylonia and Chaldaea, on the other in Syria and upon the coast of the Mediterranean. His son, Shalmaneser or Shalmanubar, the monarch who set up the Black Obelisk, now in the British Museum, to commemorate his victories, was a still greater conqueror. He appears to have overrun Cappadocia, Armenia, *Azerbyan*, great portions of Media Magna, the Kurdish mountains, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phœnicia; everywhere making the kings of the countries tributary to him. If we may trust the reading of certain names, on which cuneiform scholars appear to be entirely agreed, he came in contact with various Scriptural personages, being opposed in his Syrian wars by Benhadad and Hazael, kings of Damascus, and taking tribute from Jehu, king of Israel. His son and grandson followed in his steps, but scarcely equalled his glory. The latter is thought to be identical with the Biblical Pul, Phul, or Phaloch [PUL], who is the first of the Assyrian kings of whom we have mention in Scripture.

8. *The kings from Pul to Esarhaddon.*—The succession of the Assyrian kings from Pul almost to the close of the empire is rendered tolerably certain, not merely by the inscriptions, but also by the Jewish records. In the 2nd book of Kings we find the names of Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, following one another in rapid succession (2 K. xv. 19 and 29, xvii. 3, xviii. 13, xix. 37); and in Isaiah we have the name of "Sargon, king of Assyria" (xv. 1), who is a contemporary of the prophet, and who must evidently therefore belong to the same series. The inscriptions, by showing us that Sargon was the father of Sennacherib, fix his place in the list, and give us for the monarchs of the last half of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century B.C. the (probably) complete list of Tiglath-Pileser II., Shalmaneser II., Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. It is not intended in this place to enter into any detailed account of the actions of these kings, which will be more properly related in the articles specially devoted to them. [PUL, SHALMANESER, SARGON, &c.] A few remarks, however, will be

made on the general condition of the empire at this period.

9. *Establishment of the Lower Dynasty.*—It seems to be certain that at, or near, the accession of Pul, a great change of some kind or other occurred in Assyria. Berosus is said to have brought his grand dynasty of 45 kings in 526 years to a close at the reign of Pul (Polyhist. ap. Euseb. l. s. c.), and to have made him the first king of a new series. By the synchronism of Menahem (2 K. xv. 19), the date of Pul may be determined to about B.C. 770. It was only 23 years later, as we find by the Canon of Ptolemy, that the Babylonians considered their independence to have commenced (B.C. 747). Herodotus probably intended to assign nearly to this same era the great commotion which (according to him) broke up the Assyrian empire into a number of fragments, out of which were formed the Median and other kingdoms. These traditions may none of them be altogether trustworthy; but their coincidence is at least remarkable, and seems to show that about the middle of the eighth century B.C. there must have been a break in the line of Assyrian kings—a revolution, foreign or domestic—and a consequent weakening or dissolution of the bonds which united the conquered nations with their conquerors.

It was related by Bion and Polyhistor (Agathias, i. 25), that the original dynasty of Assyrian kings ended with a certain Belochus or Beleus, who was succeeded by a usurper (called by them Beletarus or Balatorus), in whose family the crown continued until the destruction of Nineveh. The general character of the circumstances narrated, combined with a certain degree of resemblance in the names—for Belochus is close upon Phaloch, and Beletarus may represent the second element in Tiglath-Pileser (who in the inscriptions is called "Tiglath-Palatsira")—induce a suspicion that probably the Pul or Phaloch of Scripture was really the last king of the old monarchy, and that Tiglath-Pileser II., his successor, was the founder of what has been called the "Lower Empire." It may be suspected that Berosus really gave this account, and that Polyhistor, who repeated it, has been misreported by Eusebius. The synchronism between the revolution in Assyria and the era of Babylonian independence is thus brought almost to exactness, for Tiglath-Pileser is known to have been upon the throne about B.C. 740 (Clinton, *F. H.*, i. p. 278), and may well have ascended it in B.C. 747.

10. *Supposed loss of the empire at this period.*—Many writers of repute—among them Clinton and Niebuhr—have been inclined to accept the statement of Herodotus with respect to the breaking up of the whole empire at this period. It is evident, however, both from Scripture and from the monuments, that the shock sustained through the domestic revolution has been greatly exaggerated. Niebuhr himself observes (*Vorläge über alte Geschichte*, i. p. 38) that after the revolution Assyria soon "recovered herself, and displayed the most extraordinary energy." It is plain, from Scripture, that in the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, Assyria was as great as at any former era. These kings all warred successfully in Palestine and its neighbourhood; some attacked Egypt (Is. xx. 4); one appears as master of Media (2 K. xvii. 6); while another has authority over Babylon, Susiana, and Elymais (2 K. xvii. 24; Ezr. iv. 9). So far from our observing symptoms of weakness and curtailed

dominion, it is clear that at no time were the Assyrian arms pushed further, or their efforts more sustained and vigorous. The Assyrian annals for the period are in the most complete accordance with these representations. They exhibit to us the above-mentioned monarchs as extending their dominions further than any of their predecessors. The empire is continually rising under them, and reaches its culminating point in the reign of Esarhaddon. The statements of the inscriptions on these subjects are fully borne out by the indications of greatness to be traced in the architectural monuments. No palace of the old monarchy equalled, either in size or splendour, that of Sennacherib at Nineveh. No series of kings belonging to it left buildings at all to be compared with those which were erected by Sargon, his son, and his grandson. The magnificent remains at *Konyjik* and *Khorsabad* belong entirely to these later kings, while those at *Nimrud* are about equally divided between them and their predecessors. It is further noticeable that the writers who may be presumed to have drawn from Berosus, as Polyhistor and Abydenus, particularly expatiated upon the glories of these later kings. Polyhistor said (ap. Euseb. i. 5) that Sennacherib conquered Babylon, defeated a Greek army in Cilicia, and built there Tarsus, the capital. Abydenus related the same facts, except that he substituted for the Greek army of Polyhistor a Greek fleet; and added, that Esarhaddon (his Axerdis) conquered lower Syria and Egypt (*ibid.* i. 9). Similarly Menander, the Tyrian historian, assigned to Shalmaneser an expedition to Cyprus (ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14), and Herodotus himself admitted that Sennacherib invaded Egypt (ii. 141). On every ground it seems necessary to conclude that the second Assyrian kingdom was really greater and more glorious than the first; that under it the limits of the empire reached their fullest extent, and the internal prosperity was at the highest.

The statement of Herodotus is not, however, without a basis of truth. It is certain that Babylon, about the time of Tiglath-Pileser's accession, ventured upon a revolt, which she seems afterwards to have reckoned the commencement of her independence [BABYLON]. The knowledge of this fact may have led Herodotus into his error, for he would naturally suppose that when Babylon became free there was a general dissolution of the empire. It has been shown that this is far from the truth; and it may further be observed that, even as regards Babylon, the Assyrian loss was not permanent. Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, all exercised full authority over that country, which appears to have been still an Assyrian fief at the close of the kingdom.

11. *Successors of Esarhaddon.*—By the end of the reign of Esarhaddon the triumph of the Assyrian arms had been so complete that scarcely an enemy was left who could cause her serious anxiety. The kingdoms of Hamath, of Damascus, and of Samaria, had been successively absorbed; Phœnicia had been conquered; Judæa had been made a feudatory; Philistia and Idumæa had been subjected, Egypt chastised, Babylon recovered, cities planted in Media. Unless in Armenia and Susiana there was no foe left to chastise, and the consequence appears to have been that a time of profound peace succeeded to the long and bloody wars of Sargon and his immediate successors. In Scripture it is remarkable that we hear nothing of Assyria after

the reign of Esarhaddon, and profane history is equally silent until the attacks begin which brought about her downfall. The monuments show that the son of Esarhaddon, who was called Sardani-palus by Abydenus (ap. Euseb. i. 9), made scarcely any military expeditions, but occupied almost his whole time in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the chase. Instead of adorning his residence—as his predecessors had been accustomed to do—with a record and representation of his conquests, Sardani-palus II. covered the walls of his palace at Nineveh with sculptures exhibiting his skill and prowess as a hunter. No doubt the military spirit rapidly decayed under such a ruler, and the advent of fresh enemies, synchronising with this decline, produced the ruin of a power which had for six centuries been dominant in Western Asia.

12. *Fall of Assyria.*—The fall of Assyria, long previously prophesied by Isaiah (x. 5-19), was effected (humanly speaking) by the growing strength and boldness of the Medes. If we may trust Herodotus, the first Median attack on Nineveh took place about the year B.C. 633. By what circumstances this people, who had so long been engaged in contests with the Assyrians, and had hitherto shown themselves so utterly unable to resist them, became suddenly strong enough to assume an aggressive attitude, and to force the Ninevites to submit to a siege, can only be conjectured. Whether mere natural increase, or whether fresh immigrations from the east, had raised the Median nation at this time so far above its former condition, it is impossible to determine. We can only say that, soon after the middle of the seventh century they began to press upon the Assyrians, and that, gradually increasing in strength, they proceeded, about the year B.C. 633, to attempt the conquest of the country. For some time their efforts were unsuccessful; but after a while, having won over the Babylonians to their side, they became superior to the Assyrians in the field, and about B.C. 625, or a little earlier, laid final siege to the capital [MEDIA]. Sardanapalus, the last king—probably the grandson of Esarhaddon—made a stout and prolonged defence, but at length, finding resistance vain, he collected his wives and his treasures in his palace, and with his own hand setting fire to the building, perished in the flames. This account is given in brief by Abydenus, who probably follows Berosus; and its outline so far agrees with Ctesias (ap. Diod. ii. 27) as to give an important value to that writer's details of the siege. [NINEVEH.] In the general fact that Assyria was overcome, and Nineveh captured and destroyed, by a combined attack of Medes and Babylonians, Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 5) and the book of Tobit (xiv. 15) are agreed. Polyhistor also implies it (ap. Euseb. i. 5); and these authorities must be regarded as outweighing the silence of Herodotus, who mentions only the Medes in connexion with the capture (i. 106), and says nothing of the Babylonians.

13. *Fulfillment of prophecy.*—The prophecies of Nahum and Zephaniah (ii. 13-5) against Assyria were probably delivered shortly before the catastrophe. The date of Nahum is very doubtful [NAHUM], but it is not unlikely that he wrote about B.C. 645, towards the close of the reign of Manasseh. Zephaniah is even later, since he prophesied under Josiah, who reigned from B.C. 639 to 608. If B.C. 625 be the date of the destruction of Nineveh, we may place Zephaniah's prophecy about B.C. 630. Ezekiel, writing about B.C. 584,

bears witness historically to the complete destruction which had come upon the Assyrians, using the example as a warning to, Pharaoh-Hophra and the Egyptians (ch. xxxi.).

It was declared by Nahum emphatically, at the close of his prophecy, that there should be "no healing of Assyria's bruise" (iii. 19). In accordance with this announcement we find that Assyria never rose again to any importance, nor even succeeded in maintaining a distinct nationality. Once only was revolt attempted, and then in conjunction with Armenia and Media, the latter heading the rebellion. This attempt took place about a century after the Median conquest, during the troubles which followed upon the accession of Darius Hystaspis. It failed signally, and appears never to have been repeated, the Assyrians remaining thenceforth submissive subjects of the Persian empire. They were reckoned in the same satrapy with Babylon (Herod. iii. 92; comp. i. 192), and paid an annual tribute of a thousand talents of silver. In the Persian armies, which were drawn in great part from the subject-nations, they appear never to have been held of much account, though they fought, in common with the other Jevies, at Thermopylae, at Cunaxa, at Issus, and at Arbela.

14. *General character of the empire.*—In considering the general character of the Assyrian empire, it is, in the first place, to be noticed, that like all the early monarchies which attained to any great extent, it was composed of a number of separate kingdoms. In the East, conquest has scarcely ever been followed by amalgamation, and in the primitive empires there was not even any attempt at that governmental centralisation which we find at a later period in the satrapal system of Persia. As Solomon "reigned over all the kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and the border of Egypt," so the Assyrian monarchs bore sway over a number of petty kings—the native rulers of the several countries—through the entire extent of their dominions. These native princes—the sole governors of their own kingdoms—were feudatories of the Great Monarch, of whom they held their crown by the double tenure of homage and tribute. Menahem (2 K. xv. 19), Hoshea (ibid. xvii. 4), Ahaz (ibid. xvi. 8), Hezekiah (ibid. xviii. 14), and Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11-3), were certainly in this position, as were many native kings of Babylon, both prior and subsequent to Nabonassar; and this system (if we may trust the inscriptions) was universal throughout the empire. It naturally involved the frequent recurrence of troubles. Princes circumstanced as were the Assyrian feudatories would be always looking for an occasion when they might revolt and re-establish their independence. The offer of a foreign alliance would be a bait which they could scarcely resist, and hence the continual warnings given to the Jews to beware of trusting in Egypt. Apart from this, on the occurrence of any imperial misfortune or difficulty, such for instance as a disastrous expedition, a formidable attack, or a sudden death, natural or violent, of the reigning monarch, there would be a strong temptation to throw off the yoke, which would lead, almost of necessity, to a rebellion. The history of the kings of Israel and Judah sufficiently illustrates the tendency in question, which required to be met by checks and remedies of the severest character. The deposition of the rebel prince, the wasting of his country, the plunder of his capital, a considerable

increase in the amount of the tribute thenceforth required, were the usual consequences of an unsuccessful revolt; to which were added, upon occasion, still more stringent measures, as the wholesale execution of those chiefly concerned in the attempt, or the transplantation of the rebel nation to a distant locality. The captivity of Israel is only an instance of a practice long previously known to the Assyrians, and by them handed on to the Babylonian and Persian governments.

It is not quite certain how far Assyria required a religious conformity from the subject people. Her religion was a gross and complex polytheism, comprising the worship of thirteen principal and numerous minor divinities, at the head of the whole of whom stood the chief god, Ashur, who seems to be the deified patriarch of the nation (Gen. x. 22). The inscriptions appear to state that in all countries over which the Assyrians established their supremacy, they set up "the laws of Ashur," and "altars to the Great Gods." It was probably in connexion with this Assyrian requirement that Ahaz, on his return from Damascus, where he had made his submission to Tiglath-Pileser, incurred the guilt of idolatry (2 K. xvi. 10-6). The history of Hezekiah would seem, however, to show that the rule, if resisted, was not rigidly enforced; for it cannot be supposed that he would have consented to re-establish the idolatry which he had removed, yet he certainly came to terms with Sennacherib, and resumed his position of tributary (2 K. xviii. 14). In any case it must be understood that the worship which the conquerors introduced was not intended to supersede the religion of the conquered race, but was only required to be superadded as a mark and badge of subjection.

15. *Its extent*.—With regard to the extent of the empire very exaggerated views have been entertained by many writers. Ctesias took Semiramis to India, and made the empire of Assyria at least co-extensive with that of Persia in his own day. This false notion has long been exploded, but even Niebuhr appears to have believed in the extension of Assyrian influence over Asia Minor, in the expedition of Memnon—whom he considered an Assyrian—to Troy, and in the derivation of the Lydian Heracleids from the first dynasty of Ninevite monarchs (*Alt. Geschicht.* i. pp. 28-9). The information derived from the native monuments tends to contract the empire within more reasonable bounds, and to give it only the expansion which is indicated for it in Scripture. On the west, the Mediterranean and the river Halys appear to have been the boundaries; on the north, a fluctuating line, never reaching the Euxine nor extending beyond the northern frontier of Armenia; on the east, the Caspian Sea and the Great Salt Desert; on the south, the Persian Gulf and the Desert of Arabia. The countries included within these limits are the following:—Susiana, Chaldaea, Babylonia, Media, Mantiene, Armenia, Assyria Proper, Mesopotamia, parts of Cappadocia and Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Idumaea. Cyprus was also for a while a dependency of the Assyrian kings, and they may perhaps have held at one time certain portions of Lower Egypt. Lydia, however, Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pontus, Iberia, on the west and north, Bactria, Sacia, Parthia, India—even Carmania and Persia Proper—upon the east, were altogether beyond the limit of the Assyrian sway, and appear at no time even to have been over-run by the Assyrian armies.

16. *Civilisation of the Assyrians*.—The civilisation of the Assyrians, as has been already observed, was derived originally from the Babylonians. They were a Semitic race, originally resident in Babylonia (which at that time was Cushite), and thus acquainted with the Babylonian inventions and discoveries, who ascended the valley of the Tigris and established in the tract immediately below the Armenian mountains a separate and distinct nationality. Their modes of writing and building, the form and size of their bricks, their architectural ornamentation, their religion and worship, in a great measure, were drawn from Babylon, which they always regarded as a sacred land—the original seat of their nation, and the true home of all their gods, with the one exception of Ashur. Still, as their civilisation developed, it became in many respects peculiar. Their art is of home growth. The alabaster quarries in their neighbourhood supplied them with a material unknown to their southern neighbours, on which they could represent, far better than upon enamelled bricks, the scenes which interested them. Their artists, faithful and laborious, acquired a considerable power of rendering the human and animal forms, and made vivid and striking representations of the principal occupations of human life. If they do not greatly affect the ideal, and do not, in this branch, attain to any very exalted rank, yet even here their emblematic figures of the gods have a dignity and grandeur which is worthy of remark, and which implies the possession of some elevated feelings. But their chief glory is in the representation of the actual. Their pictures of war, and of the chase, and even sometimes of the more peaceful incidents of human life, have a fidelity, a spirit, a boldness, and an appearance of life, which place them high among realistic schools. Their art, it should be also noted, is progressive. Unlike that of the Egyptians, which continues comparatively stationary from the earliest to the latest times, it plainly advances, becoming continually more natural and less uncouth, more lifelike and less stiff, more varied and less conventional. The latest sculptures, which are those in the hunting-palace of the son of Esarhaddon, are decidedly the best. Here the animal-forms approach perfection, and in the striking attitudes, the new groupings, and the more careful and exact drawing of the whole, we see the beginnings of a taste and a power which might have expanded under favourable circumstances into the finished excellence of the Greeks.

The advanced condition of the Assyrians in various other respects is abundantly evidenced alike by the representations on the sculptures and by the remains discovered among their buildings. They are found to have understood and applied the arch; to have made tunnels, aqueducts, and drains; to have used the lever and the roller; to have engraved gems; to have understood the arts of inlaying, enamelling, and overlaying with metals; to have manufactured glass, and been acquainted with the lens; to have possessed vases, jars, bronze and ivory ornaments, dishes, bells, earrings, mostly of good workmanship and elegant forms—in a word, to have attained to a very high pitch of material comfort and prosperity. They were still, however, in the most important points barbarians. Their government was rude and artificial; their religion coarse and sensual; their conduct of war cruel; even their art materialistic and so debasing; they had served their purpose when they had prepared the East for

centralised government, and been God's scourge to punish the people of Israel (Is. x. 5-6); they were, therefore, swept away to allow the rise of that Arrian race which, with less appreciation of art, was to introduce into Western Asia a more spiritual form of religion, a better treatment of captives, and a superior governmental organisation.

(See for the geography Capt. Jones' paper in the xivth volume of the *Asiatic Society's Journal* (part 2); Col. Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*; Mr. Layard's works; Rich's *Kurdistan*, &c. For the historical views, Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i.; Brandis's *Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata*; Sir H. Rawlinson's *Contributions to the Asiatic Soc. Journ.* and the *Athenaeum*; Bosanquet's *Sacred and Profane Chronology*; M. Oppert's *Rapport à son Excellence M. le Ministre de l'Instruction*; Dr. Hincks's *Contributions to the Dublin University Magazine*; Mr. Vance Smith's *Exposition of the Prophecies relating to Nineveh and Assyria*; and comp. B. G. Niebuhr's *Vorträge über alter Geschichte*, vol. i.; Clinton's *Fasti Hell.*, vol. i.; and M. Niebuhr's *Geschichte Assur's und Babel's*.) [G. R.]

ASTAROTH (עֲשִׂתָרוֹת; *Ashtarōth*; *Astaroth*), Deut. i. 4. [ASHTAROTH.]

ASTARTE. [ASHTORETH.]

ASTATHI (Ἀσθά; *Asath*), 1 Esd. viii. 38. [AZAD.]

ASTRONOMY. [STAR.]

ASTYAGES (Ἀστυάγης; Herod. Ἀστυάγης, Ctes. Ἀσπδάς), the last king of the Medes, B.C. 595-560, or B.C. 592-558, who was conquered by Cyrus (Bel and Dragon, 1). The name is identified by Rawlinson and Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assur's*, p. 32) with Deioces = Ashdahiak (*Assur*), Ajs Dahiaka (*Pers.*), "the biting snake," the emblem of the Median power. [DARIUS THE MEDE; CYRUS.] [B. F. W.]

ASUPTIM, and "HOUSE OF" (בֵּית הַתְּפִימִים; οἶκος Ἀσάφειμ; *Essephim*; *Domus serorum Concilium*), 1 Chr. xxvi. 15, 17. This word is probably not to be taken as a proper name: in Neh. xii. 25, it is rendered in A. V. "thresholds."

ASYNCRITUS (Ἀσύγκριτος; *Asyncritus*), a Christian at Rome, saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 14).

ATAD, the threshing-floor of (נֶזֶר הָאֵתָד = "the floor (or trodden space) of the thorn;" Sam. Vers. אֶתָד עֹרֶה; Saad. العوسج; *Alwas*

*Arās*; *area Atad*), a spot "beyond Jordan," at which Joseph and his brethren, on their way from Egypt to Hebron, made their seven days "great and very sore mourning" over the body of Jacob; in consequence of which we are told it acquired from the Canaanites the new name of Abel-Mitzraim (Gen. l. 10, 11). According to Jerome (*Onom. s. v. Areacalad*) it was in his day called Bethglia or Bethacla (Beth-Hogla), a name which he connects with the goryatory dances or races of the funeral ceremony: "locus gyri; eo quod ibi more plangentium circumierint." Beth-Hoglah is known to have lain between the Jordan and Jericho, therefore on the west side of Jordan [BETH-HOG-LAH]; and with this agrees the fact of the mention

of the Canaanites, "the inhabitants of the land," who were confined to the west side of the river (see amongst others verse 13 of this chapter), and one of whose special haunts was the sunken district "by the 'side' of Jordan" (Num. xiii. 29). [CANAAN.] The word עֲבֵר, "beyond," although usually signifying the east of Jordan, is yet used for either east or west according to the position of the speaker. [E.B.R.] That Jerome should have defined the situation as "trans Jordanem," at the same time that he explains it as between the river and Jericho, may be accounted for either by the words being a mere quotation from the text, or by some subsequent corruption of copyists. The passage does not survive in Eusebius. [G.]

AT'ARAH (עֲטָרָה; Ἀτάρ; *Atara*), a wife of Jemahmeel, and mother of Onam (1 Chr. ii. 26).

ATAR'GATIS (Ἀταργάτις; Saab. xvi. p. 785, Ἀταργατίου δὲ τὴν Ἀθάραν . . . οἱ Ἕλληγες ἐκδίου), or according to another form of the word DERKETO (Δερκετό, Strab. l. c.; Luc. *de Syria dea*, p. 884 ed. Bened.; Plin. II. N. v. 19 *prodigiosa Atargatis Gracis Derceto*; Ov. *Met.* iv. 45 *Dercetis*), a Syrian goddess, represented generally with the body of a woman and the tail of a fish (Luc. l. c.; Ovid, l. c. comp. DAGON). Her most famous temples were at Hierapolis (Mabug) and Ascalon. Herodotus identified her with *Aphrodite Urania* (i. 105, compared with Diod. Sic. ii. 4). Lucian compared her with Here, though he allowed that she combined traits of other deities (Aphrodite, Rhea, Selene, &c.; see ASHTORETH). Plutarch (*Cress.* 17) says that some regarded her as "Aphrodite, others as Here, others as the cause and natural power which provides the principles and seeds for all things from moisture" (τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρασχούσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν). This last view is probably an accurate description of the attributes of the goddess, and explains her fish-like form and popular identification with Aphrodite. Lucian also mentions a ceremony in her worship at Hierapolis which appears to be connected with the same belief, and with the origin of her name. Twice a year water was brought from distant places and poured into a chasm in the temple; because, he adds, according to tradition, the waters of the Deluge were drained away through that opening (*de Syria dea*, p. 883). Compare Burn. ad Ovid. *Met.* iv. 45, where most of the references are given at length; Movers, *Phoeniz.* i. 584 ff.

There was a temple of Atargatis (Ἀταργατεῖον, Alex. *Atargy*.—2 Macc. xii. 26) at Karnion (Karnaim, 1 Macc. v. 43; i. c. *Ashtaroth-Karnaim*) which was destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 44).

The name is rightly derived by Michaelis (*Lex. Syr.* pp. 975 f.) from Syr. *Targeto*, an opening (*target*, he opened). Comp. Movers, *Phoeniz.* i. 584 f. Others have deduced it, with little probability, from נֶזֶר הָאֵתָד, *greatness of fortune* (?), or גִּבּוֹר אֵתָד, *great fish*. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. גִּבּוֹר) suggests Syr. *dargeto* = *dagto*, a fish. It has been supposed that Atargatis was the tutelary goddess of the first Assyrian dynasty (*Derketudas*, fr. Derketo; Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assur's*, pp. 131, 138), and that the name appears in *Tiglath*- or *Tilgath*-Pileser (id. p. 37).

An interesting coin representing Atargatis is

engraved and described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxi. pp. 346 ff.

**ATAROTH** (עֲטָרוֹת, and once עֲטָרוֹת = crowns; ἡ Ἀταρόθ; *Ataroth*), the name of several places in Palestine both on the E. and W. of Jordan.

1. One of the towns in the "land of Jazer and land of Gilead" (Num. xxxii. 3), taken and "built" by the tribe of Gad (xxxii. 34). From its mention with places which have been identified on the N.E. of the Dead Sea near the mountain of *Jebel Attarús* (عُتْرُوس), a connexion has been assumed between Ataroth and that mountain. But *Jebel Attarús* lies considerably to the S. of Heshbon (*Heshbân*), which was in the tribe of Reuben, and which is named apparently as the southernmost limit of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26), so that some other identification is necessary. Atroth-Shophan was probably in the neighbourhood of Ataroth; the Shophan serving as a distinction; but for this see ATROTII.

2. A place on the (South?) boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. xvi. 2, 7). The whole specification of this boundary is exceedingly obscure, and it is not possible to say whether Ataroth is or is not the same place as,

3. **ATAROTH-ADAR, OR -ADDAR** (עֲטָרוֹת-אֲדָר) on the west border of Benjamin, "near the 'mountain' that is on the south side of the nether Beth-horon" (Josh. xviii. 13). In xvi. 5 it is accurately rendered Ataroth-addr.

In the Onomasticon mention is made of an Atharoth in Ephraim, in the mountains, 4 miles N. of Sebaste; as well as of two places of the name "not far from" Jerusalem. The former cannot be that seen by Robinson (ii. 265), now *Atára*. Robinson discovered another about 6 miles S. of Bethel (i. 575). This is too far to the E. of Beth-horon to be Ataroth-addr, and too far S. to be that on the boundary of Ephraim (2).

4. "**ATAROTH,**" THE HOUSE OF JOAB" (i.e. Ataroth-beth-Joab), a place (?) occurring in the list of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 54; Ἀταρόθ οἴκος Ἰωάβ; *Coronae domus Joab*). [G.]

**ATER** (אֲתָר; Ἀτήρ; *Ather, Ater*), name of two men. 1. (Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45), called in Esdras IATAL. 2. Ater of Hezekiah (Ezr. ii. 16; Neh. vii. 21), called in Esdras ATEREZIAS.

**ATHAI'AH** (עֲתַיָּה; Ἀθαΐα; *Athains*), name of a man (Neh. xi. 4).

**ATHALIAH** (עֲתַלְיָה; Ἀθάλια; *Athalia*), daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, married Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and introduced into the S. kingdom the worship of Baal, which had already defiled and overspread the N. After the great revolution by which Jehu seated himself on the throne of Samaria, she killed all the members of the royal family of Judah who had escaped his sword (2 K. x. 14), availing herself probably of her position as *King's Mother* [ABA], to perpetrate the crime. Most likely she exercised the regal functions during Ahaziah's absence at Jezreel (2 K. ix.), and resolved to retain her power, especially after seeing the danger to which she was

exposed by the overthrow of the house of Omri, and of Baal-worship in Samaria. It was not unusual in those days for women in the East to attain a prominent position, their present degradation being the result of Mahometanism. Miriam, Deborah, Abigail, are instances from the Bible, and Dido was not far removed from Athaliah, either in birthplace or date, if Carthage was founded B.C. 861 (Joseph. c. *Apion*. i. 18). From the slaughter of the royal house, one infant named Josiah, the youngest son of Ahaziah, was rescued by his aunt Jehosheba, daughter of Jehoram (probably by another wife than Athaliah) who had married Jehoinda (2 Chr. xxii. 11) the high-priest (2 Chr. xxiv. 6). The child was brought up under Jehoia's care, and concealed in the temple for six years, during which period Athaliah reigned over Judah. At length Jehoia thought it time to produce the lawful king to the people, trusting to their zeal for the worship of God, and loyalty to the house of David, which had been so strenuously called out by Aza and Jehoshaphat. After communicating his design to five "captains of hundreds," whose names are given in 2 Chr. xxiii. 1, and securing the co-operation of the Levites and chief men in the country-towns in case of necessity, he brought the young Josiah into the temple to receive the allegiance of the soldiers of the guard. It was customary on the Sabbath for a third part of them to do duty at the palace, while two-thirds restrained the crowd of visitors and worshippers who thronged the temple on that day, by occupying the gate of Sur (סֹר, 1 K. xi. 6, called *of the foundation*, סֹדֶר, 2 Chr. xxiii. 5, which Gerlach, *in loco*, considers the right reading in Kings also), and the gate "behind the guard" (*porta quae est post habitaculum sentariorum*, Vulg.), which seem to have been the N. and S. entrances into the temple, according to Ewald's description of it (*Geschichte*, iii. p. 306-7). On the day fixed for the outbreak there was to be no change in the arrangement at the palace, lest Athaliah, who did not worship in the temple, should form any suspicions from missing her usual guard, but the latter two-thirds were to protect the king's person by forming a long and closely-serial line across the temple, and killing any one who should approach within certain limits. They were also furnished with David's spears and shields, that the work of restoring his descendant might be associated with his own sacred weapons. When the guard had taken up their position, the young prince was anointed, crowned, and presented with the Testimony or Law, and Athaliah was first roused to a sense of her danger by the shouts and music which accompanied the inauguration of her grandson. She hurried into the temple, but found Josiah already standing "by a pillar," or more properly on it, i.e. on the tribunal or throne apparently raised on a massive column or cluster of columns, which the king occupied when he attended the service on solemn occasions. The phrase in the original is עֲלֵי עַלְמָי, rendered ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου by the LXX. and *super tribunal* in the Vulgate, while Gesenius gives for the substantive a *stage* or *pulpit*. (Comp. 2 K. xxiii. 3, and Ezek. xli. 2.) She arrived however too late, and was immediately put to death by Jehoia's commands, without the temple. The only other recorded victim of this happy and almost bloodless revolution, was Mattan the priest of Baal. For the view here given of the details of

\* The marginal note to this name in the Bibles of the present day, viz. "Aarites or crowns," &c., is a corruption of Atharites in the edition of 1611.

Jeholada's plan, see Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. p. 574 ff. The latter words of 2 K. xi. 6 in our version 'that it be not broken down' are probably wrong:—Ewald translates, "according to custom;" Gesenius gives in his Lexicon "a keeping off." Clinton's date for Athaliah's usurpation is B.C. 883-877. In modern times the history of Athaliah has been illustrated by the music of Handel and of Mendelssohn, and the stately declamation of Racine. [G. E. L. C.]

**ATHARIAS** (Ἀθαρίας; *et* Astharas), a corrupt rendering of אֶתְרִיָּה, THE TIRSHATHA (1 Esd. v. 40).

**ATHENOBIUS** (Ἀθηνόβιος), an envoy sent by Antiochus VII. Sidetes to Simon, the Jewish high priest (1 Macc. xv. 28-36). He is not mentioned elsewhere. [B. F. W.]

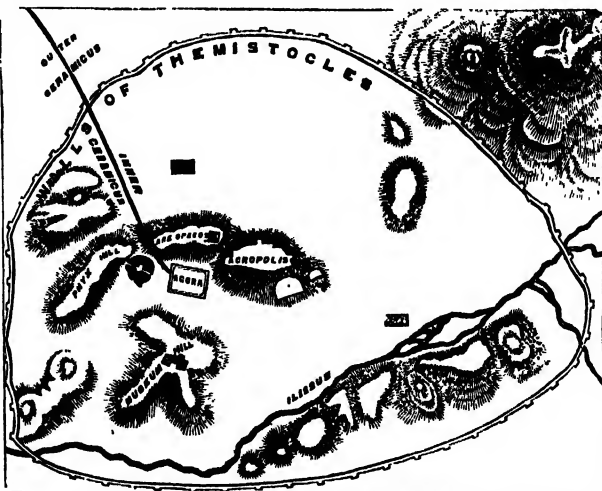
**ATHENS** (Ἀθῆναι; *Athenae*), the capital of Attica, and the chief seat of Grecian learning and civilisation during the golden period of the history of Greece. This city is fully described elsewhere (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* i. p. 255, sq.); and an account of it would be out of place in the present work. St. Paul visited it in his journey from Macedonia, and appears to have remained there some time (Acts xvii. 14, 15, seq.; comp. 1 Thess. iii. 1). During his residence there he delivered his memorable discourse on the Areopagus to the "men of Athens" (Acts xvii. 22-31) [AREOPAGUS]. In order to understand the localities mentioned in the sacred narrative, it may be observed that four hills of moderate height rise within the walls of the city. Of these one to the north-east is the celebrated Acropolis, or citadel, being a square craggy rock about 150 feet high. Immediately to the west of the Acropolis is a second hill of irregular form, but inferior height, called the Areopagus. To the south-west rises a third hill, the Pnyx, on which the assemblies of the citizens were held: and to the south of the latter is a fourth hill, known as the Museum. The Agora or "market," where St. Paul disputed daily, was situated in the valley between the Acropolis, the Areopagus, the Pnyx and the Museum, being

bounded by the Acropolis on the N.E and E., by the Areopagus on the N., by the Pnyx on the N.W. and W., and by the Museum on the S. The annexed plan shows the position of the Agora. Many writers have maintained that there were two markets at Athens; and that a second market, usually called the new Agora, existed to the north of the Acropolis. If this were true, it would be doubtful in which of the two markets St. Paul disputed; but since the publication of Forchhammer's treatise on the Topography of Athens, it is generally admitted that there was only one

Agora at Athens, namely, the one situated in the valley already described. [The subject is discussed at length in the *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 293, seq.] The remark of the sacred historian respecting the inquisitive character of the Athenians (xvii. 21) is attested by the unanimous voice of antiquity. The great Athenian orator rebukes his countrymen for their love of constantly going about in the market, and asking one another, What news? (περιόρτες αὐτῶν πυνθανεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν. λέγεταί τι καινόν; Dem. *Philipp.* i. p. 43, ed. Reiske). Their natural liveliness was partly owing to the purity and clearness of the atmosphere of Attica, which also allowed them to pass much of their time in the open air.

The remark of St. Paul upon the "superstitious" character of the Athenians (xvii. 22) is in like manner confirmed by the ancient writers. Thus Pausanias says that the Athenians surpassed all other states in the attention which they paid to the worship of the gods (Ἀθηναῖοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς, Paus. i. 24, §3); and hence the city was crowded in every direction with temples, altars, and other sacred buildings. The altar "to the Unknown God," which St. Paul mentions in his address, has been spoken of under ALTAR.

Of the Christian church, founded by St. Paul at Athens, we have no particulars in the N. T.; but, according to ecclesiastical tradition (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4), Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by the preaching of the Apostle, was the first bishop of the church. [DIONYSIUS.]



Plan of Athens, showing the position of the Agora.

**ATHLAI** (ἄθλι, for ἄθλη; *Θαλί; Athalai*), name of a man (Ezr. x. 28). [AMATHEIS.]

**ATIPHA** (Ἀρεφά; *Agisti*), 1 Esd. v. 32. [HATIPHA.]

**ATONEMENT, THE DAY OF** (יִם מִצִּיּוֹן; ἡμέρα ἐξιασμού; *dies expiationum*, and *dies propitiations*; in the Talmud, מִצִּיּוֹן, i. e. the day; in Philo, *ἡστέλες ἐσπρή, Lib. de Sept.* vol. v. p. 47, edit. Tauchn.; in Acts xxvii. 9, ἡ

*ἡμερα*; in Heb. vii. 27, ἡ ἡμερα, according to Olshausen and others; but see Ebnard's and Bengel's notes), the great day of national humiliation, and the only one commanded in the Mosaic law. [FASTS.] The mode of its observance is described in Lev. xvi., where it should be noticed that in vv. 3 to 10 an outline of the whole ceremonial is given, while in the rest of the chapter certain points are mentioned with more details. The victims which were offered in addition to those strictly belonging to the special service of the day, and to those of the usual daily sacrifices, are enumerated in Num. xxix. 7-11; and the conduct of the people is emphatically enjoined in Lev. xxiii. 26-32.

II. It was kept on the tenth day of Tisri, that is, from the evening of the ninth to the evening of the tenth of that month, five days before the Feast of Tabernacles. [FESTIVALS.] Some have inferred from Lev. xvi. 1, that the day was instituted on account of the sin and punishment of Nadab and Abihu. Maimonides (*More Nevochim*, xviii.) regards it as a commemoration of the day on which Moses came down from the mount with the second tables of the law, and proclaimed to the people the forgiveness of their great sin in worshipping the golden calf.

III. The observances of the day, as described in the law, were as follows. It was kept by the people as a solemn sabbath (σάββατα σαββάτων, LXX.). They were commanded to set aside all work and "to afflict their souls," under pain of being "cut off from among the people." It was on this occasion only that the high priest was permitted to enter into the Holy of Holies. Having bathed his person and dressed himself entirely in the holy white linen garments, he brought forward a young bullock for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering, purchased at his own cost, on account of himself and his family, and two young goats for a sin-offering with a ram for a burnt-offering, which were paid for out of the public treasury, on account of the people. He then presented the two goats before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle and cast lots upon them. On one lot יהוה (i. e. for Jehovah) was inscribed, and on the other אֲזַזֵּל (i. e. for Azazel). He next sacrificed the young bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his family. Taking with him some of the blood of the bullock, he filled a censer with burning coals from the brazen altar, took a handful of incense, and entered into the most holy place. He then threw the incense upon the coals and enveloped the mercy-seat in a cloud of smoke. Then, dipping his finger

into the blood, he sprinkled it seven times before the mercy-seat, eastward.\*

The goat upon which the lot "for Jehovah" had fallen was then slain, and the high-priest sprinkled its blood before the mercy-seat in the same manner as he had done that of the bullock. Going out from the Holy of Holies he purified the holy place, sprinkling some of the blood of both the victims on the altar of incense.<sup>b</sup> At this time no one besides the high-priest was suffered to be present in the holy place.

The purification of the Holy of Holies, and of the holy place, being thus completed, the high priest laid his hands upon the head of the goat on which the lot "for Azazel" had fallen, and confessed over it all the sins of the people. The goat was then led, by a man chosen for the purpose, into the wilderness, into "a land not inhabited," and was there let loose.

The high priest after this returned into the holy place, bathed himself again, put on his usual garments of office, and offered the two rams as burnt-offerings, one for himself and one for the people. He also burnt upon the altar the fat of the two sin-offerings, while their flesh was carried away and burned outside the camp. They who took away the flesh and the man who had led away the goat had to bathe their persons and wash their clothes as soon as their service was performed.

The accessory burnt-offerings mentioned Num. xxix. 7-11, were a young bullock, a ram, seven lambs, and a young goat. It would seem that (at least in the time of the second temple) these were offered by the high priest along with the evening sacrifice (see below, V. 7.)

It may be seen (as Winer has remarked) that in the special rites of the Day of Atonement there is a natural gradation. In the first place the high priest and his family are cleansed; then atonement is made by the purified priest for the sanctuary and all contained in it; then (if the view to which reference has been made be correct) for the brazen altar in the court, and lastly, reconciliation is made for the people.

IV. In the short account of the ritual of the day which is given by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10, §3) there are a few particulars which are worthy of notice. His words of course apply to the practice in the second temple, when the ark of the covenant had disappeared. He states that the high priest sprinkled the blood with his finger seven times on the ceiling and seven times on the floor of the most holy place, and seven times towards it (as it would appear, outside the veil), and round the golden altar. Then going into the court he either sprinkled or poured

\* See Lev. xvi. 14. The English version, "upon the mercy-seat," appears to be opposed to every Jewish authority. (See Drusus in loc. in the *Critici Sacri*.) It has, however, the support of Ewald's authority. The Vulgate omits the clause; the LXX. follows the ambiguity of the Hebrew. The word *eastward* must mean either the direction in which the drops were thrown by the priest, or else *on the east side* of the ark, i. e. the side towards the veil. The last clause of the verse may be taken as a repetition of the command, for the sake of emphasis on the number of sprinklings: "And he shall take of the blood of the bullock and sprinkle it before the mercy-seat, on the east; and seven times shall he sprinkle the blood with his finger before the mercy-seat."

<sup>b</sup> That the altar of incense was thus purified on

the day of atonement we learn expressly from Ex. xxx. 10. Most critics consider that this is what is spoken of in Lev. xvi. 18 and 20. But some suppose that it is the altar of burnt-offerings which is referred to in those verses, the purification of the altar of incense being implied in that of the holy place mentioned in ver. 16. Abenezra was of this opinion (see Drusus in loc.). That the expression, "before the Lord," does not necessarily mean within the tabernacle, is evident from Ex. xxix. 11. If the golden altar is here referred to, it seems remarkable that no mention is made in the ritual of the cleansing of the brazen altar. But perhaps the practice spoken of by Josephus and in the Mishna of pouring what remained of the mixed blood at the foot of the large altar, was an ancient one, and was regarded as its purification.

the blood round the great altar. He also informs us that along with the fat, the kidneys, the top of the liver, and the extremities (*al efochal*) of the victims were burned.

V. The treatise of the Mishna, entitled *Yoma*, professes to give a full account of the observances of the day according to the usage in the second temple. The following details appear either to be interesting in themselves or to illustrate the language of the Pentateuch.

1. The high priest himself, dressed in his coloured official garments, used, on the Day of Atonement, to perform all the duties of the ordinary daily service, such as lighting the lamps, presenting the daily sacrifices, and offering the incense. After this he bathed himself, put on the white garments, and commenced the special rites of the day. There is nothing in the Old Testament to render it improbable that this was the original practice.

2. The high priest went into the Holy of Holies four times in the course of the day: first, with the censur and incense, while a priest continued to agitate the blood of the bullock lest it should coagulate; secondly, with the blood of the bullock; thirdly, with the blood of the goat; fourthly, after having offered the evening sacrifice, to fetch out the censur and the plate which had contained the incense. These four entrances, forming, as they do, parts of the one great annual rite, are not opposed to a reasonable view of the statement in Heb. ix. 7, and that in Josephus, *Bell. Jud. V. 5. §7*. Three of the entrances seem to be very distinctly implied in Lev. xvi. 12, 14, and 15.

3. It is said that the blood of the bullock and that of the goat were each sprinkled eight times, once towards the ceiling and seven times on the floor. This does not agree with the words of Josephus (see above, IV.).

4. After he had gone into the most holy place the third time, and had returned into the holy place, the high priest sprinkled the blood of the bullock eight times towards the veil, and did the same with the blood of the goat. Having then mingled the blood of the two victims together and sprinkled the altar of incense with the mixture, he came into the court and poured out what remained at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering.

5. Most careful directions are given for the preparation of the high priest for the services of the day. For seven days previously he kept away from his own house and dwelt in a chamber appointed for his use. This was to avoid the accidental uses of pollution which he might meet with in his domestic life. But to provide for the possibility of his incurring some uncleanness in spite of this precaution, a deputy was chosen who might act for him when the day came. In the treatise of the Mishna entitled "*Pirki Avoth*," it is stated that no such mischance ever befel the high priest. But Josephus (*Ant. xvii. 6, §4*) relates an instance of the high priest Matthias, in the time of Herod the Great, when his relation Joseph took his place in the sacred office. During the whole of the seven days the high priest had to perform the ordinary sacerdotal duties of the daily service himself, as well as on the Day of Atonement. On the third day and on the seventh he was sprinkled with the ashes of the red heifer in order to cleanse him in the event of his having touched a dead body without knowing it. On the seventh day he was also required to take a solemn oath before the

elders that he would alter nothing whatever in the accustomed rites of the Day of Atonement.\*

6. Several curious particulars are stated regarding the scapegoat. The two goats of the sin-offering were to be of similar appearance, size, and value. The lots were, originally, of boxwood, but in later times they were of gold. They were put into a little box or urn, into which the High Priest put both his hands and took out a lot in each, while the two goats stood before him, one at the right side and the other on the left. The lot in each hand belonged to the goat in the corresponding position, and when the lot "*for Azazel*" happened to be in the right hand, it was regarded as a good omen. The high priest then tied a piece of scarlet cloth on the scapegoat's head, called "*the scarlet tongue*," from the shape in which it was cut. Maimonides says that this was only to distinguish him, in order that he might be known when the time came for him to be sent away. But in the Gemara it is asserted that the red cloth ought to turn white, as a token of God's acceptance of the atonement of the day, referring to Is. i. 18. A particular instance of such a change, when also the lot "*to Azazel*" was in the priest's right hand, is related as having occurred in the time of Simon the Just. It is further stated that no such change took place for forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The prayer which the high priest uttered over the head of the goat was as follows:—"O Lord, the house of Israel, thy people, have transgressed, rebelled, and sinned before thee. I beseech thee, O Lord, forgive now their trespasses, rebellions and sins which thy people have committed, as it is written in the law of Moses, thy servant, saying that in that day there shall be 'an atonement for you to cleanse you that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord' (Gemara on *Yoma*, quoted by Frischmuth). The goat was then goaded and rudely treated by the people till it was led away by the man appointed. As soon as it reached a certain spot, which seems to have been regarded as the commencement of the wilderness, a signal was made by some sort of telegraphic contrivance, to the high priest, who waited for it. The man who led the goat is said to have taken him to the top of a high precipice and thrown him down backwards, so as to dash him to pieces. If this was not a mistake of the writer of *Yoma*, it must have been, as Spencer argues, a modern innovation. It cannot be doubted that the goat was, originally, set free. Even if there be any uncertainty in the words of the Hebrew, the rendering of the LXX. must be better authority than the Talmud—*καὶ ὁ ἑξαποστέλλον τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ὕψισιν κ. τ. λ. Lev. xvi. 26*.

7. The high priest, as soon as he had received the signal that the goat had reached the wilderness, read some lessons from the law, and offered up some prayers. He then bathed himself, resumed his coloured garments, and offered either the whole, or a great part, of the accessory offering (mentioned Num. xxxix. 7-11) with the regular evening sacrifice. After this, he washed again, put on the white garments, and entered the most holy place for the fourth time, to fetch out the censur and

\* This, according to the Jerusalem Gemara *Yoma* (quoted by Lightfoot), was instituted in consequence of an innovation of the Sadducean party, who had directed the high priest to throw the incense upon the censur outside the veil, and to carry it, smoking, into the Holy of Holies.

the incense-plate. This terminated the special rites of the day.

8. The Mishna gives very strict rules for the fasting of the people. In the law itself no express mention is made of abstinence from food. But it is most likely implied in the command that the people were "to afflict their souls." According to Yoma, every Jew (except invalids and children under 13 years of age) is forbidden to eat anything so large as a date, to drink, or to wash from sun-set to sun-set.

VI. There has been much discussion regarding the meaning of the word Azazel. The opinions which seem most worthy of notice are the following:—

1. It has been regarded as a designation of the goat itself. This view has been most favoured by the old interpreters. They in general supposed it to mean the goat sent away, or let loose. In accordance with this the Vulgate renders it, *Capre Emissarius*; Symmachus, *ὁ τράγος ἀπολελόμενος*; Aquila, *ὁ τράγος ἀπολελόμενος*; Luther, *der ledige Bock*; the English translators, *the scape goat*. The LXX. uses the term *ἀποπομπαῖος*, applied to the goat itself. Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria consider the meaning of the Hebrew to be *the goat sent away*, and regard that as the sense of the word used in the LXX. If they were right, *ἀποπομπαῖος* is, of course, not employed in its ordinary meaning (*Averruncus*). (See Suicer, s.v.) It should also be observed that in the latter clause of Lev. xvi. 10 the LXX. renders the Hebrew term as if it was an abstract noun, translating *ἡνιχὺς* by *τὴν ἀποπομπήν*. Buxtorf (*Heb. Lex.*) and Fagius (*Critici Sacri*, in loc.) in accordance with this view of its meaning, derived the word from *ἵν*, a goat, and *ἵν*, to depart. To this derivation it has been objected by Bochart, Winer, and others, that *ἵν* denotes a *she-goat*, not a *he-goat*. It is, however, alleged that the word appears to be epicure in Gen. xxx. 33; Lev. iii. 12, and other places. But the application of *ἡνιχὺς* to the goat itself involves the Hebrew text in insuperable difficulties. It can hardly be supposed that the prefix which is common to the designation of the two lots should be used in two different meanings. If one expression is to be rendered for *Jehovah*, it would seem that the other must be for *Azazel*, with the preposition in the same sense. If this is admitted, taking *Azazel* for the goat itself, it does not seem possible to make sense out of Lev. xvi. 10 and 26. In these verses the versions are driven to strange shifts. We have already referred to the inconsistency of the LXX. In the Vulgate and our own version the first clause of ver. 10 stands "cujus (sc. hirci sors) autem in caprum emissarium"—"but the goat on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat." In ver. 26 our version reads "And he that let go the goat for the scapegoat," while the Vulgate cuts the knot to escape from the awkward tautology—"ille vero, qui dimiserit caprum emissarium."

2. Some have taken *Azazel* for the name of the place to which the goat was sent. a) Abenezra quotes the words of an anonymous writer referring it to a hill near Mount Sinai. Vatablus adopts this opinion (*Critici Sacri*, in Lev. xvi.) b) Some of the Jewish writers, with Le Clerc, consider that it denotes the cliff to which the goat was taken to be thrown down, according to Yoma. c) Bochart regarded the word as a pluralis fractus signifying

*desert places*, and understood it as a general name for any fit place to which the goat might be sent. But Gesenius remarks that the pluralis fractus, which exists in Arabic, is not found in Hebrew.

3. Many of those who have studied the subject most closely take *Azazel* for a personal being to whom the goat was sent. a) Gesenius gives to *ἡνιχὺς* the same meaning as the LXX. has assigned to it, if *ἀποπομπαῖος* is to be taken in its usual sense; but the being so designated he supposes to be some false deity who was to be appeased by such a sacrifice as that of the goat. He derives the word from a root unused in Hebrew, but found in Arabic, *ḥṣṣ*, to remove or take away (*Heb. Lex. s. v.*). Ewald agrees with Gesenius, and speaks of *Azazel* as a demon belonging to the pre-Mosaic religion. b) But others, in the spirit of a simpler faith, have regarded him as an evil spirit, or the devil himself. In the book of Enoch the name *Azazel* is given to one of the fallen angels; and assuming, with Spencer, that this is a corruption of *Azazel*, if the book were written, as is generally supposed, by a Jew, about B.C. 40, it represents an old Jewish opinion on the subject. Origen, adopting the word of the LXX., identifies him with the devil: *ἔτι τε ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ ἀποπομπαῖος ἐν ᾧ ἑβραϊκῇ γραφῇ ἐνέμασεν Ἀζαζήλ, οὐδέτις ἕτερος ἦν* (sc. ἡ δὲ διάβολος) (*c. Cels. vi. p. 305*, ed. Spenc.). Of modern writers, Spencer and Hengstenberg have most elaborately defended the same opinion. Spencer derives the word from *ἵν*, *fortis*, and *ἵν*, explaining it as *cito recedens*, which he affirms to be a most suitable name for the evil spirit. He supposes that the goat was given up to the devil, and committed to his disposal. Hengstenberg affirms with great confidence that *Azazel* cannot possibly be anything but another name for Satan. He repudiates the conclusion that the goat was in any sense a sacrifice to Satan, and does not doubt that it was sent away laden with the sins of God's people, now forgiven, in order to mock their spiritual enemy in the desert, his proper abode, and to symbolize by its free gambols, their exulting triumph. He considers that the origin of the rite was Egyptian, and that the Jews substituted Satan for Typhon, whose dwelling was the desert. The obvious objection to Spencer's view is that the goat formed part of a sin-offering to the Lord, and that it, with its fellow, had been formally presented before the Lord at the door of the Tabernacle. Few, perhaps, will be satisfied with Hengstenberg's mode of meeting this difficulty.

4. An explanation of the word which seems less objectionable, if it is not wholly satisfactory, would render the designation of the lot *ἡνιχὺς*, "for complete sending away." Thus understood, the word would come from *ḥṣṣ* (the root adopted by Gesenius), being the Pe'pal form, which indicates intensity. This view is held by Tholuck (quoted and approved by Thompson), by Bähr, and by Winer.

VII. As it might be supposed, the Talmudists miserably degraded the meaning of the day of atonement. They regarded it as an opportunity afforded them of wiping off the score of their more heavy offences. Thus Yoma (cap. viii.) says, "The day of atonement and death make atonement through penitence. Penitence itself makes atone-

ment for slight transgressions, and in the case of grosser sins it obtains a respite until the coming of the day of atonement, which completes the reconciliation." More authorities to the same general purpose are quoted by Frischmuth (p. 917), some of which seem also to indicate that the peculiar atoning virtue of the day was supposed to rest in the scapegoat.

Philo (*Lib. de Septenario*) regarded the day in a far nobler light. He speaks of it as an occasion for the discipline of self-restraint in regard to bodily indulgence, and for bringing home to our minds the truth that man does not live by bread alone, but by whatever God is pleased to appoint. The prayers proper for the day, he says, are those for forgiveness of sins past and for amendment of life in future, to be offered in dependence, not on our own merits, but on the goodness of God.

It cannot be doubted that what especially distinguished the symbolical expiation of this day from that of the other services of the law, was its broad and national character, with perhaps a deeper reference to the sin which belongs to the nature of man. Ewald instructively remarks that though the least uncleanliness of an individual might be atoned by the rites of the law which could be observed at other times, there was a consciousness of secret and indefinite sin pervading the congregation, which was aptly met by this great annual fast. Hence, in its national character, he sees an antithesis between it and the passover, the great festival of social life; and, in its atoning significance, he regards it as a fit preparation for the rejoicing at the ingathering of the fruits of the earth in the feast of tabernacles. Philo looked upon its position in the Jewish calendar in the same light.

In considering the meaning of the particular rites of the day, three points appear to be of a very distinctive character. 1. The white garments of the high priest. 2. His entrance into the Holy of Holies. 3. The scapegoat. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 7-25) teaches us to apply the first two particulars. The high priest himself, with his person cleansed and dressed in white garments, was the best outward type which a living man could present in his own person of that pure and holy One who was to purify His people and to cleanse them from their sins.

But respecting the meaning of the scapegoat, we have no such light to guide us, and (as has been already implied in what has been stated regarding the word Azazel) the subject is one of great doubt and difficulty.

Of those who take Azazel for the Evil Spirit, some have supposed that the goat was a sort of bribe, or retaining fee, for the accuser of men. Spencer, in supposing that it was given up with its load of sin, to the enemy to be tormented, made it a symbol of the punishment of the wicked; while, according to the strange notion of Hengstenberg, that it was sent to mock the devil, it was significant of the freedom of those who had become reconciled to God.

Some few of those who have held a different opinion on the word Azazel, have supposed that the goat was taken into the wilderness to suffer there

vicariously for the sins of the people. But it has been generally considered that it was dismissed to signify the carrying away of their sins, as it were, out of the sight of Jehovah.<sup>a</sup>

If we keep in view that the two goats are spoken of as parts of one and the same sin-offering, and that every circumstance connected with them appears to have been carefully arranged to bring them under the same conditions up to the time of the casting of the lots, we shall not have much difficulty in seeing that they form together but one symbolical expression. Why there were two individuals instead of one may be simply this—that a single material object could not, in its nature, symbolically embrace the whole of the truth which was to be expressed. This is implied in the reasoning of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the office and sacrifice of Christ (Heb. ix.). Hence some, regarding each goat as a type of Christ, supposed that the one which was slain represented his death, and that the goat set free signified his resurrection. (Cyril, Bochart, and others, quoted by Spencer.) But we shall take a simpler, and perhaps a truer view, if we look upon the slain goat as setting forth the act of sacrifice, in giving up its own life for others "to Jehovah," in accordance with the requirements of the Divine law; and the goat which carried off its load of sin "for complete removal," as signifying the cleansing influence of faith in that sacrifice. Thus in his degree the devout Israelite might have felt the truth of the Psalmist's words, "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us." But for us the whole spiritual truth has been revealed in historical fact, in the life, death, and resurrection of Him who was made sin for us, who died for us, and who rose again for our justification. This Mediator, it was necessary, should, "in some unspeakable manner, unite death and life" (Maurice on Sacrifice, p. 85).

(Spencer, *de legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus*, lib. iii. Dissertatio viii.; Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, c. xv.; Yoma, with the notes in Surenhusius' ed. of the *Mishna*, vol. ii.; Frischmuth, *Dissertatio de Hirco Emissario*, in the *Thesaurus Theologicus-Philologicus*; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, p. 370 seq.; Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, on Lev. xvi. (*English Translation*) and *Christologie, Protogelium*; Thompson's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. iii. and notes. For the modes in which the Modern Jews have regarded and observed the Day of Atonement, see Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, cap. xx., and Pirat, *Cérémonies Religieuses*, vol. i.) [S. C.]

ATROTH (עֲטָרוֹת, *Etroth*), a city of Gad, named with Aroer and Jazzer (Num. xxiii. 35). No doubt the name should be taken with that following it, Shophan; the addition serving to distinguish this place from the Atroth in the same neighbourhood. The A. V. follows the Vulgate, *Etroth et Sophan*. In the LXX. it is altogether omitted. [G.]

ATTAL (אֶתַל; 'Eṭl, 'Eṭh, 'Eṭel; *Ethel, Ethel, Ethai*), name of three men. 1. (1 Chr. ii. 35, 36). 2. (1 Chr. xii. 11). 3. Second son of king Rehoboam by Maacah (2 Chr. xi. 20).

ATTALIA (Ἀττάλεια), a coast-town of Pamphylia, mentioned only very casually in the New Testament (Acts xiv. 25), as the place from which Paul and Barnabas sailed on their return to Antioch from their missionary journey into the inland parts of Asia Minor. It does not appear that they made

<sup>a</sup> In the similar part of the rite for the purification of the leper (Lev. xiv. 6, 7), in which a live bird was set free, it must be evident that the bird signified the carrying away of the uncleanness of the sufferer in precisely the same manner.

any stay, or attempted to preach the gospel in Attalia. This city, however, though comparatively modern at that time, was a place of considerable importance in the first century, and has continued to exist till now. Its name since the twelfth century has been *Satalia*, a corruption, of which the crusading chronicler, William of Tyre, gives a curious explanation.

Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, ruled over the western part of the peninsula from the N. to the S., and was in want of a port which should be useful for the trade of Egypt and Syria, as Troas was for that of the Aegean. Thus Attalia was built and named after the monarch. All its remains are characteristic of the date of its foundation.

There has been considerable doubt concerning the exact position of Attalia. There is a discrepancy even between Strabo and Ptolemy, the former placing it to the W. of the river Catarrhactes, the latter to the E. This may probably be accounted for by the peculiar character of this river, the calcareous waters of which are continually making changes in the channels. Beaufort thought that the modern *Satalia* is the ancient Olbia, and that *Laura* is the true Attalia. Forbiger, after Munier, is inclined to identify the two places. But Spratt and Forbes found the true Olbia further to the west, and have confirmed Leake's opinion, that Attalia is where the modern name would lead us to expect to find it. (Beaufort's *Kirumania*; Spratt and Forbes' *Lycia*.) [J. S. H.]

**ATTALUS** (*Ἀτταλος*, a Macedonian name of uncertain origin), the name of three kings of Pergamus who reigned respectively B.C. 241-197, 159-138 (Philadelphus), 138-133 (Philometor). They were all faithful allies of the Romans (Liv. lvi. 13); and the last appointed the Romans his heirs. It is uncertain whether the letters sent from Rome in favour of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 22) were addressed to Attalus II. (Polyb. xxv. 6, xxi. 9, xxii. 3, 5, 8, &c., 25 f.; Strab. xiii. 4; Just. xxv. 1, xxxvi. 4, 5; App. *Mith.* 62) or Attalus III., as their date falls in B.C. 139-8 [LUCIUS], about the time when the latter succeeded his uncle. Josephus quotes a decree of the Pergamenes in favour of the Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §22) in the time of Hyrcanus, about B.C. 112; comp. Apoc. ii. 12-17. [B. F. W.]

**ATTHARATES** (*Ἀτθάρτης*; *Atharathes*), 1 Esd. ix. 49; comp. Neh. viii. 9, a corruption of "The Tirshatha;" comp. **ATHARAS**.

**AUGUSTUS CAESAR** (*Αὔγουστος Καίσαρ*), the first Roman emperor. During his reign Christ was born (Luke ii. 1 ff.). He was born A.U.C. 691, B.C. 63. His father was Caius Octavius; his mother Atia, daughter of Julia the sister of C. Julius Cæsar. He bore the same name as his father, Caius Octavius. He was principally educated, having lost his father when young, by his great uncle Julius Cæsar. After his murder, the young Octavius came into Italy as Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, being by his uncle's will adopted into the gens Julia as his heir. He was taken into the Triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, and after the removal of the latter, divided the empire with Antony; taking the West for his share. But there was no real concord between them, and the compact resulted in a struggle for the supreme power, which was terminated in favour of Octavianus by the decisive naval battle of Actium, B.C. 31 (Suet. *Octav.* 87; Dion Cass. l. 15 ff.; Vell. Pater. ii. 85). On this victory, he was saluted Imperator by the senate; and on his offering afterwards to resign the chief power, they conferred on him the title Augustus (B.C. 27). He managed with consummate tact and skill to consolidate the power conferred on him, by leaving the names and rights of the principal state officers intact, while by degrees he united them all in his own person. The first link binding him to N. T. history is his treatment of Herod after the battle of Actium. That prince, who had espoused Antony's side, found himself pardoned, taken into favour and confirmed, nay even increased in his power (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 6, §5 ff.; 7 §3; 10 §3). In gratitude Herod built him a temple of marble near the source of the Jordan (*Ant.* xv. 10, §3), and was through life the fast friend of the imperial family. After Herod's death in A.D. 4, Augustus divided his dominions almost exactly according to his dying directions, among his sons (*Ant.* xvii. 11, §4); but was soon obliged to exile one of them [ARCHELAUS], and attach his portion, Judæa and Samaria, to the province of Syria (*Ant.* xvii. 13, §2). Augustus died at Nola in Campania, Aug. 19 A.U.C. 767, A.D. 14, in his 76th year (Suet. *Octav.* 99 f.; Dion Cass. lvi. 29 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3, §2, *B. J.* 11, 9, §1). Long before his death he had associated Tiberius with him in the empire (Suet. *Tiber.* 21; Tacit. *Ann.* 1, 8). See, for a more complete notice, the article **AUGUSTUS** in the Dictionary of Biography and Mythology. [H. A.]

**AUGUSTUS BAND** (Acts xxvii. 1). [ARMY, p. 114, a.]

**AURANUS** (*ἄρας Αὐράνος*), leader of a riot at Jerusalem (2 Macc. iv. 40). In the Vatican LXX. and Vulgate the name is rendered *ῥας ῥαυράνος*, *quidam tyrannus*.

**AUTEPAS** (*Ἀυτάλας*; Vulg. omits), name of a Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48). [HODIJAH.]

**AVA** (*אָבָא* = *Avva*; *Ἀΐδ*; *Arub*), a place in the empire of Assyria, from which colonies were brought to repopulate the cities of Samaria after the deportation of the Jews (2 K. xvii. 24). From the names in connexion with which it is introduced, it would appear to be the same place with Irvah. [IVAH.] It has been suggested to be identical with Ahava; for other suppositions see Winckler, *sub voce*.

**AVARAN** (*Ἀβάρων*; *Abaron*), surname of Eleazar, brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. ii. 5).

**AVEN** (*אָבֵן*, nothingness). 1. The "plain of Aven" (*אָבֵן בְּיָמֵינוּ*) is mentioned by Amos (i. 5) in his denunciation of Aram (Syria) and the country to the N. of Palestine. It has not been identified with certainty. Michaelis (notes on Amos) heard from a native of Damascus of a valley near that city, called Un, and he quotes a Damascene proverb referring thereto; but the information was at best suspicious, and has not been confirmed, although the neighbourhood of Damascus has been tolerably well explored by Burckhardt (App. iv.) and by Porter. The Prophet, however, would seem to be alluding to some principal district of the country, of equal importance with Damascus itself, and so the LXX. have understood it, taking the letters as pointed *אָבֵן* and expressing it in their version as

πεδῖον<sup>7</sup> Ἄν. By this they doubtless intend the great plain of Lebanon, Coelestria, in which the renowned idol temple of Baalbek or Heliopolis was situated, and which still retains the very same name by which Amos and Joshua designated it, *el Baka'a*. The application of Aven as a term of reproach or contempt to a flourishing idol sanctuary, and the play or punomasia therein contained, is quite in keeping with the manner of Amos and of Hosea. The latter frequently applies the very same word to Bethel. [BETHAVEN.]

2. In Hos. x. 8, "the high places of Aven" (ἱερωτά<sup>8</sup>; βεμολ<sup>9</sup> Ἄν; *excelsa idoli*), the word is clearly a contraction of Beth-aven, that is Beth-el (comp. iv. 15, &c.).

3. In this manner are pointed, in Ez. xxx. 17, the letters of the name which is elsewhere given as On, Ὠν, the sacred city of Heliopolis or On, in Egypt. [ON.] (The LXX. and Vulgate both render it accordingly, Ἡλιουπόλεις, *Heliopolis*.) The intention of the prophet is doubtless to play upon the name in the same manner as Amos and Hosea. See above (1). [G.]

A'VIM, A'VIMS, or A'VITES\* (אֲוִימִי = the Avvim; of Ἐδαῖοι, the word elsewhere used by the LXX. for Hivites; *Havaei*). 1. An early, but perhaps not an aboriginal<sup>b</sup> people among the inhabitants of Palestine, whom we meet with in the S. W. corner of the sea-coast, whither they may have made their way northwards from the Desert (Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* App. §83). The only notice of them which has come down to us is contained in a remarkable fragment of primeval history preserved in Deut. ii. 23. Here we see them "dwelling in 'the' villages" (or nomad encampments—*Chatzerim*) in the S. part of the Shefela, or great western lowland, "as far as Gaza." In these rich possessions they were attacked by the invading Philistines, "the Caphtorim which came forth out of 'Caphtor,'" and who after "destroying" them and "dwelling in their stead," appear to have pushed them further north. This must be inferred from the terms of the passage in Josh. xiii. 2, 3, the enumeration of the rest of the land still remaining to be conquered. Beginning<sup>c</sup> from "Sihor, which is before Egypt," probably the *Wady-el-Arish*, the list proceeds northwards along the lowland plains of the sea-coast, through the five lordships of the Philistines—all apparently taken in their order from S. to N.—till we reach the Avvim,<sup>d</sup> as if they had been driven up out of the more southerly position which they occupied at the date of the earlier record into the plains of Sharon.

Nothing more is told us of this ancient people, whose very name is said<sup>e</sup> to signify "ruin." Possibly a trace of their existence is to be found in the

town "Avim" (accurately, as in the other cases, 'the Avvim') which occurs among the cities of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23), and which may have preserved the memory of some family of the extinct people driven up out of their fertile plains to take refuge in the wild hills of Bethel; just as in the "Zemaraim" of the preceding verse we have probably a reminiscence of the otherwise forgotten Zemarites [ZEMARAIM]. But on the other hand it is possible that the word in this place is but a variation or corruption of the name of Ai. [AI.]

The inhabitants of the north-central districts of Palestine (Galileans) were in later times distinguished by a habit of confounding the gutturals, as, for instance, ע with פ (see Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* ch. 87; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* גליל). Is it possible that אֲוִי, *Hivite*, is a variation, arising from this cause, of אֲיִ, *Aiite*, and that this people were known to the Israelites at the date of the conquest by the name of Hivites? At any rate it is a curious fact that both the LXX. and Jerome, as we have seen above, identified the two names, and also that the town of ha-Avvim was in the actual district of the Hivites, in the immediate neighbourhood of Gibeon, Chephirah, and their other chief cities (Josh. ix. 7, 17, compared with xviii. 22-27).

The name of the Avvim has been derived from Avva (Ava), or Ivvah (Ivah), as if they had migrated thence into Palestine; but there is no argument for this beyond the mere similarity of the names.<sup>f</sup>

2. The people of Avva, among the colonists who were sent by the king of Assyria to re-inhabit the depopulated cities of Israel (2 K. xvii. 31). They were idolaters, worshipping gods called Nibhaz and Tartak. [AVA.] [G.]

A'VITH (אֲוִית; Γερθαλα), the city of Hadad ben-Bedad, one of the kings of Edom before there were kings in Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 55; 1 Chr. i. 46; in the latter passage the Text (*Chetib*) has אֲוִית, which in the *Keri* is corrected to agree with the reading in Genesis). The name

may be compared with *el-Ghoreithieh* (الغويثة), a "chain of low hills," mentioned by Burckhardt (375) as lying to the E. of the district of *Kerek* in Mouab (Knobel, *Genesis*, 257). [G.]

AWL (אֲוִל; ὑψήλιον; *sublimis*), a tool of which we do not know the ancient form. The only notice of it is in connexion with the custom of boring the ear of the slave (Ex. xxi. 6; Dent. xv. 17). [W. L. B.]

AXE. The Jews had more than one designation for this tool: (1) אֲכֵרֶם, from its quality of *sharp-*

\* It is characteristic of the looseness of the A. V. that this name is given differently each time it occurs, and that they are all inaccurate.

<sup>b</sup> According to Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. §10) and Bertheau, the Avvim were an *Urvolk* of Palestine proper. They may have been so, but there is nothing to prove it, while the mode of their dwellings points rather to the desert as their origin.

<sup>c</sup> The punctuation of this passage in our Bibles is not in accordance with the Hebrew text, which has a full stop at Geshuri (ver. 2), thus: "This is the land that yet remaineth, all the borders of the Philistines and all the Geshurite. From Sihor . . . .

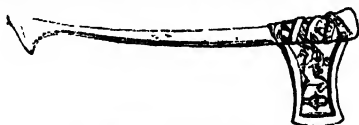
even to the border of Ekron northward, is counted to the Canaanite," &c.

<sup>d</sup> It is perhaps worth notice, where every syllable has some significance, that while "the Gazathitic . . . . the Ekronite," are all in the singular, "the Avvim" is plural.

<sup>e</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1000. Lengerke's explanation of it, as "dwellers in the lowlands," is not obvious; nor does he specify any derivation.

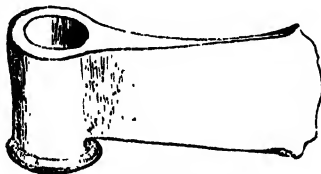
<sup>f</sup> See Lengerke's confident hypothesis (*Kenan*, 183), for which, as is often the case, he does not condescend to give the shadow of a reason.

ness; (2) **אֶזֶל**, from its use in *cutting*; (3) **אֶזֶל**, from the material, *iron*. The second of these terms appears occasionally to have been applied to the adze (1 K. vi. 7). The construction of the tool was similar to that now in use, except that the head appears to have been fastened to the handle by thongs, and so was liable to slip off



Egyptian Axe.—(British Museum.)

(Deut. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 5). The word "axe" is improperly given in our version as the translation of **אֶזֶל** (Is. xlv. 12, marginal translation; Jer. x. 3): the instrument meant is a *curved knife*, such as a wood-carver would use: in Is. xlv. 12, the word describes the sort of workman, the *smith of knives*, or fine workman: in Jer. x. 3, the stopping should be altered so as to connect the word with "the workman." [W. L. B.]



Assyrian Axe.—(British Museum.)

**AZÆL** (**Ἀζῆλος**; *Azelus*), name of a man (1 Esd. ix. 14). [ASAHEL.]

**AZÆLUS** (**Ἀζῆλος**; *Dichus*), an Israelite in the time of Esdras: the name is probably merely a repetition of that preceding it (1 Esd. ix. 34).

**A'ZAL** (**אֶזֶל**, **אֶזֶל**, but from the emphatic accent **אֶזֶל**, *Atzal*; 'Ιασόθ, Alex. 'Ασάθ; *usque ad proximum*), a name only occurring in Zech. xiv. 5. It is mentioned as the limit to which the 'ravine' or cleft (**אֶזֶל**) of the Mount of Olives will extend when "Jehovah shall go forth to fight." The whole passage of Zechariah is a highly poetical one: and several commentators agree with Jerome in taking *Azal* as an appellative, and not a proper name. [G.]

**AZALTAH** (**אֶזֶלְתָּא**; 'Εσάλας, 'Εσάλας; *A-lit, Eselin*), name of a man (2 K. xxii. 3; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8).

**AZANIAH** (**אֶזַנְיָה**; 'Αζανίας; *Azanias*), name of a man (Neh. x. 9).

**AZAPHION** (**Ἀσαπιών**; *Sephagus*), 1 Esd. v. 33. Possibly a corruption of SOPHERETH.

**AZARA** (**Ἀσάρ**; *Attre*), one of the "servants of the temple" (1 Esd. v. 31). No corresponding name can be traced in the parallel list in Ezra.

**AZA'RAEL** (the same name as the succeeding one; **אֶזֶרְאֵל**; 'Οζράλ; *Azareel*), a Levite-musician (Neh. xii. 36).

**AZA'REEL** (**אֶזֶרְאֵל**; 'Οζρήλ, 'Ασρήλ, 'Αζαρήλ, 'Εζρήλ, 'Εσδρήλ; *Azareel, Ezrehel, Ezrel,*

*Azareel*), name of five men. 1. (1 Chr. xii. 6). 2. (1 Chr. xxv. 18), called **UZZIEL** in xxv. 3. 3. (1 Chr. xxvii. 22). 4. (Ezr. x. 40), called elsewhere **ESRIL**. 5. (Neh. xi. 13).

**AZARIAH** (**אֶזַרְיָה** and **אֶזַרְיָה**; 'Αζαρίας; *Azarías*; *whom God hath helped*). It is a common name in Hebrew and especially in the families of the priests of the line of **ELEAZAR**, whose name has precisely the same meaning as **AZARIAH**. It is nearly identical, and is often confounded with **Ezra** as well as with **Zerahiah** and **Seraiah**. The principal persons who bore this name were:—

1. Son of Ethau, of the sons of Zerub, where, perhaps, **Zerahiah** is the more probable reading (1 Chr. ii. 8).

2. Son of Ahimaaz (1 Chr. vi. 9). He appears from 1 K. iv. 2, to have succeeded Zadok, his grandfather, in the high-priesthood, in the reign of Solomon, Ahimaaz having died before Zadok. [AHIMAAZ.] To him, it can scarcely be doubted, instead of to his grandson, Azariah the son of Johanan, belongs the notice in 1 Chr. vi. 10, "He it is that executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built at Jerusalem," meaning that he officiated at the consecration of the temple, and was the first high-priest that ministered in it. The other interpretation which has been put upon these words, as alluding to the Azariah who was high-priest in Uziah's reign, and resisted the king when he attempted to offer incense, is quite unsuited to the words they are meant to explain, and utterly at variance with the chronology. For this Azariah of 1 Chr. vi. 10 precedes Amariah, the high-priest in Jehoshaphat's reign, whereas Uziah was king five reigns after Jehoshaphat. Josephus merely mentions Azarias as the son and successor of Ahimaaz.

3. The son of Johanan. He must have been high-priest in the reigns of Abijah and Asa, as we know his son Amariah was in the days of Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa. It does not appear what part he took in Asa's zealous reformation (2 Chr. xv.), nor whether he approved the stripping of the house of God of its treasures to induce Benhadad to break his league with Baasha king of Israel, as related 2 Chr. xvi., for his name and his office are never alluded to in the history of Asa's reign, either in the book of Kings or Chronicles. The active persons in the religious movement of the times were the king himself and the two prophets, Azariah the son of Oded, and Hanani. The silence concerning Azariah, the high-priest, is, perhaps, rather unfavourable than otherwise to his religious character. His name is almost lost in Josephus's list of the high-priests. Having lost, as we saw in the article **AMARIAH**, its termination **AH**, which adhered to the following name, it got by some process transformed into **IOSOS**.

4. The high-priest in the reign of Uziah, king of Judah, whose name, perhaps from this circumstance, is often corrupted into Azariah (2 K. xiv. 21; xv. 1, 6, 7, 8, &c.). The most memorable event of his life is that which is recorded in 2 Chr. xxvi. 17-20. When king Uziah, elated by his great prosperity and power, "transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense," Azariah the priest, accompanied by eighty of his brethren, went in boldly after him, and withstood him. With unflinching faithfulness, and a high sense of his own responsibility as ruler of the

House of God, he addressed the king with the well-merited reproof—"It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary, for thou hast trespassed: neither shall it be for thine honour from the Lord God." And it is added that when "Azariah the chief priest and all the priests looked upon him, behold he was leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out from thence; yea himself hasted to go out, because the Lord had smitten him." Uzziah was a leper unto the day of his death, and, as such, was never able again to go to the Lord's House, which he had so presumptuously invaded. Azariah was contemporary with Isaiah the prophet, and with Amos and Joel, and doubtless witnessed the great earthquake in Uzziah's reign (Am. i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5). He is not mentioned in Josephus's list. *Ιουήλος* occurs instead; possibly the name of the prophet inadvertently substituted for that of the high-priest. Neither is he in the priestly genealogy of 1 Chr. vi.

5. The high-priest in the days of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 10-13). He appears to have coöperated zealously with the king in that thorough purification of the temple and restoration of the temple-services which was so conspicuous a feature in Hezekiah's reign. He especially interested himself in providing chambers in the house of the Lord in which to stow the tithes and offerings and consecrated things for the use of the priests and Levites, and in appointing overseers to have the charge of them. For the attendance of priests and Levites, and the maintenance of the temple-services, depended entirely upon the supply of such offerings, and whenever the people neglected them the priests and Levites were forced to disperse themselves to their villages, and so the house of God was deserted (comp. Neh. x. 35-39, xii. 27-30, 44-47). His name seems to be corrupted into *Νηήλος* in Josephus. He succeeded Urijah, who was high-priest in the reign of Ahaz. Who his successor was is somewhat uncertain. He is not, any more than the preceding, included in the genealogy of 1 Chr. vi.

6. Another Azariah is inserted between Hilkiiah, in Josiah's reign, and Seraiah, who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar, in 1 Chr. vi. 13. But Josephus does not acknowledge him, making Seraiah the son of Hilkiiah, and there seems to be scarcely room for him. It seems likely that he may have been inserted to assimilate the genealogy to that of Ezr. vii. 1, where, however, the Seraiah and Azariah are probably neither of them the high-priests of those names.

7. Several other priests and Levites of this name occur, as Azariah the son of Zephaniah (1 Chr. vi. 36); the son of Hilkiiah in the genealogy of Ezra (Ezr. vii. 1), who is probably the same head of a house as is indicated in 1 Chr. ix. 11; Neh. vii. 7, x. 2, and xii. 1, under the form Ezra; Azariah the son of Maaseiah, one of the priests of the plain, who repaired a portion of the wall (Neh. iii. 23, 24); a Levite (Neh. viii. 7); and other Levites (2 Chr. xxix. 12) in the days of Hezekiah.

8. A chief officer of Solomon's, the son of Nathan, perhaps David's grandson (1 K. iv. 5).

9. Son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah (2 Chr. xxi. 2).

10. The original name of Abed-nego (Dan. i. 6, 7, 11, 19). He appears to have been of the sect-

royal of Judah, and for this reason selected, with Daniel and his other two companions, for Nebuchadnezzar's especial service. The three children, as they were called, were remarkable for their beauty, and wisdom, and knowledge, and intelligence. They were no less remarkable for their piety, their strict adherence to the law of Moses, and the steadfastness of their faith, even unto death, and their wonderful deliverance.

11. Azariah, the son of Oded (2 Chr. xv. 1), called simply Oded in ver. 8, was a remarkable prophet in the days of king Asa, and a contemporary of Azariah the son of Johanan the high-priest, and of Hanani the seer. He powerfully stirred up the spirit of Asa, and of the people of Judah and Benjamin, in a brief but pithy prophecy, which has been preserved, to put away all idolatrous worship, and to restore the altar of the one true God before the porch of the temple. Great numbers of Israelites from Ephraim, and Manasseh, and Simeon, and all Israel, joined in the national reformation, to the great strengthening of the kingdom; and a season of rest and great prosperity ensued. Oded, the prophet in the days of Ahaz, may probably have been a descendant of Azariah.

12. At 2 Chr. xxii. 6, Azariah is a clerical error for Abaziah.

13. Several other persons of this name are mentioned of different tribes, as *e. g.* AZARIAH the son of Obed in the reign of Joash (1 Chr. ii. 38, 39; 2 Chr. xxiii. 1), of the tribe of Judah, whose name is very important, as marking clearly the time when the genealogy in 1 Chr. ii. 36-41, was made out, viz., in Hezekiah's reign; for Azariah, in v. 38, appears from 2 Chr. xxiii. 1, xxiv. 1, to have been the captain of a hundred when Joash was seven years old; in other words, about one generation older than Joash. Now there are six generations after Azariah in that genealogy, ending with Elihama, and, counting Joash, there are from Joash to Hezekiah also six generations, viz., Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah. Elihama, therefore, was contemporary with Hezekiah. Zabab, in 1 Chr. ii. 36, 37, we know too from xi. 41, to have been a contemporary of David. Another of the tribe of Ephraim, 2 Chr. xxviii. 12; a son of Hoshaiiah, Jer. xliii. 2, probably of Judah; comp. Neh. xii. 32, 33, &c. [A. C. H.]

**AZARI'AS** (*Ἀζαρίας; Azarias*). 1. (1 Esd. ix. 21), elsewhere called UZZIAH. 2. (1 Esd. ix. 43). 3. (1 Esd. ix. 48), elsewhere called AZARIAH. 4. Priest in the line of Esdras (2 Esd. i. 1), else, where AZARIAH and KHERIAS. 5. Name assumed by the angel Raphael (Tob. v. 12, vi. 6, 17; vii. 8, ix. 2). 6. A captain in the army of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Mac. v. 18, 56, 60).

**A'ZAZ** (*אָזָז; Ἀζάζ; Azaz*), name of a man (1 Chr. v. 8).

**AZAZI'AH** (*אָזַזְיָה; Ὀζας; Ozaziu, Azarius*), name of three men. 1. (1 Chr. xv. 21). 2. (1 Chr. xxvii. 20). 3. (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

**AZBAZ'ARETH** (*Ἀσβαζαρέθ; Asbazarareth*), king of the Assyrians, probably a corruption of Esarhaddon (1 Esd. v. 69).

**AZBUK** (*אָזְבֻּק; Ἀζαβούχ; Azbooc*), name of a man (Neh. iii. 16).

**AZE'KAH** (*אָזַקָה*), from a root signifying to dig

or till the ground," see *Gesen.* s. v.; 'Αζκηδ, once 'Ιαζκηδ; *Azcoa*, a town of Judah, with dependent villages ("daughters") lying in the Shefelah or rich agricultural plain, a situation quite in accordance with the derivation of the name given above. It is named with Adullam, Shinaraim, and other places known to have been in that locality (Josh. xv. 35; 2 Chr. xi. 9; Neh. xi. 30), but is most clearly defined as being near Shochoh (that is the northern one) [SUCHOH.] (1 Sam. xvii. 1). Joshua's pursuit of the Canaanites after the battle of Beth-horon extended to Azekah (Josh. x. 10, 11). Between Azekah and Shochoh, an easy step out of their own territory, the Philistines encamped before the battle in which Goliath was killed (1 Sam. xvii. 1). It was among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 9), was still standing at the time of the invasion of the kings of Babylon (Jer. xxxiv. 7), and is mentioned as one of the places re-occupied by the Jews after their return from Captivity (Neh. xi. 30).

The position of Azekah has not yet been recognised. The above passages would seem to show that it must have been to the N. of the Shefelah, near Beth-horon; but by Eusebius and Jerome it is spoken of as lying between (ἀνὰ μέσον) Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem, i. e. further S. and in the mountains of Judah. Perhaps like Shochoh, Aphek, &c. there were more than one place of the name. Schwarz (p. 102) would identify it with "Tell Ezkaria" (*Zakaria* on Robinson's Map, 1856) not far from *Ain-shems*, and very possibly correctly. [G.]

A'ZEL (אֶזֶל, in pause אֶזֶל; 'Εσῆλ; *Asel*), a descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 37, 38, ix. 43, 44).

A'ZEM (אֶזֶם, when not emphasized אֶזֶם; 'Ασόν, 'Ασού; *Asem, Esom*), a city in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 29), afterwards allotted to Simeon (xix. 3). Elsewhere it is ΕΖΕΜ. [G.]

AZEPIH'RITH (Ἀρσιφουρίθ; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. v. 16. There is no name answering to this in the parallel lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

AZ'GAD (אֶזְגָּד; 'Ασγὰδ; *Azjad*), the name of a man (Ezr. ii. 12, viii. 12; Neh. vii. 17, x. 15).

AZI'A (Ὀζῖος; *Ozius*), a "servant of the temple" (1 Esd. v. 31), elsewhere called UZZA.

AZI'EI (2 Esd. i. 2), one of the ancestors of Esdras, elsewhere called AZARIAH and ΕΜΑΣ.

A'ZIEL (אֶזִּיֶּל; 'Οζῖλ; *Oziel*), a Levite (1 Chr. xv. 20). The name is a shortened form of Jaziel (אֶזִּיֶּל), which occurs in ver. 18 of same chapter.

AZI'ZA (אֶזִּיזָא; Ὀζίζα; *Aziza*), name of a lion (Ezr. x. 27).

AZMA'VETH (אֶזְמַבֶּת; 'Αζμώθ, 'Ασμώθ; *Azmaveth, Azmoth*). 1. One of the "mighty men" of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 31; 1 Chr. xi. 33). 2. A descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 36, ix. 42). 3. A Benjamite (1 Chr. xii. 3). 4. One of David's overseers (1 Chr. xxvii. 25).

AZMA'VETH (אֶזְמַבֶּת; 'Αζμώθ; *Azmaveth*), a place to all appearance in Benjamin, being named with Anathoth, Kirjath-Jearim and other towns belonging to that tribe. Forty-two of the

\* The verb occurs only in Is. v. 2, where it is rendered in the A. V. "fenced;" but by Gesenius, in his *lexicon*, "grab ihn um."

*Bene-Azmaveth* returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 24). The "sons of the singers" seem to have settled round it (Neh. xii. 29). The name elsewhere occurs as BETH-AZMAVETH. *Azmaveth* does not make its appearance in the lists in Joshua, but the name was borne by several Benjamites of the kindred of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 36, ix. 42, xii. 3; in the last passage *Bene-A.* may merely denote natives of the place, especially as natives of Anathoth, Gibeah, &c. are mentioned in the same verse). [G.]

AZMON (אֶזְמוֹן or אֶזְמוֹן; 'Ασμωνά, Σελμωνά; *Asemona*), a place named as being on the S. boundary of the Holy Land, apparently near the torrent of Egypt (*Wadi el-Arish*) (Num. xxix. 4, 5; Josh. xv. 4). It has not yet been identified. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*), but evidently was not actually known to them. [G.]

AZ'NOTH-TA-BOR (אֶזְנוֹת תְּבוֹר; 'Αζανόθ Θαβώρ, or 'Αθθαβώρ; *Aznanthabor*) = the ears (i. e. possibly the summits) of Tabor, one of the landmarks of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34). The town, if town it be, or the reason for the expression contained in the name, has hitherto escaped recognition. By Eusebius (under 'Αζανόθ) it is mentioned as lying in the plain in the confines of Dio-cæsarea.

For the use of the word אֶזְנוֹת = ear, comp. UZZEN-SHERAH; and for the metaphor involved in the name, comp. CHISLOTH-TABOR. [G.]

A'ZOR ('Αζώρ; *Azor*), son of Eliakim, in the line of our Lord (Matt. i. 13, 14).

AZO'TUS. [ASINOD.]

AZ'RIEL (אֶזְרִיֶּל, *help of God*; Gesen. compares the Punic *Hadrubal*, i. e. בְּעֵל, *help of Baal*; 'Ιεζριήλ, 'Οζριήλ; *Ezriel, Ozriel*), name of three men. 1. (1 Chr. v. 24). 2. (1 Chr. xxvii. 19). 3. (Jer. xxxvi. 26).

AZRIKAM (אֶזְרִיקָם; 'Εζρικάμ; *Ezricam*), the name of four men. 1. A descendant of the royal line of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 23). 2. (1 Chr. viii. 38; ix. 44). 3. (1 Chr. ix. 14; Neh. xi. 15). 4. "Governor of the house" to king Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 7).

AZU'BAH (אֶזְוָבָה; 'Αζουβά; *Azuba*). 1. Wife of Caleb, son of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 18, 19). 2. Mother of king Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii. 42; 2 Chr. xx. 31).

A'ZUR or AZ'ZUR (אֶזְרוֹר or אֶזְרָר; 'Αζούρ, 'Εζέρ; *Azur*), name of three men. 1. A Gibeonite (Jer. xxvii. 1). 2. (Ez. xi. 1). 3. (Neh. x. 17).

AZU'RAH ('Αζαρόν, Alex. 'Αζουρός; *Azurac*), 1 Esd. v. 15. There is no corresponding name in the parallel lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

AZ'ZAH (אֶזְזָה; Γάζα; *Gaza*). This is the more accurate rendering of the name of the well-known Philistine city, Gaza (Deut. ii. 23; 1 K. iv. 24; Jer. xxv. 20). [GAZA.] There is apparently nothing to explain why an exception should have been made in these three places from the usual but less correct version of the name. [G.]

AZ'ZAN (אֶזְזָן; 'Οζζα; *Azzan*), name of a man (Num. xxxiv. 26).

AZ'ZUR. [AZUR.]

## B

**BA'AL** (בַּעַל; *Baal*; *Baal*), the supreme male divinity of the Phœnician and Canaanitish nations, as ASHTORETH was their supreme female divinity. Both names have the peculiarity of being used in the plural, and it seems certain that these plurals designate not (as Gesenius, *Thes. s. vv.*, maintained) statues of the divinities, but different modifications of the divinities themselves. That there were many such modifications of Baal is certain from the fact that his name occurs with numerous adjuncts, both in the O. T. and elsewhere, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. The plural Baalim is found frequently alone (e.g. Judg. ii. 11, x. 10; 1 K. xviii. 18; Jer. ix. 14; Hos. ii. 17), as well as in connexion with Ashtoreth (Judg. x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4) and with Asherah, or, as our version renders it, "the groves" (Judg. iii. 7; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 3). There is no difficulty in determining the meaning of the name since the word is in Hebrew a common noun of frequent occurrence, having the meaning *Lord*, not so much, however, in the sense of Ruler as of *Master, Owner, Possessor*. The name of the god, whether singular or plural, is always distinguished from the common noun by the presence of the article (הַבַּעַל, הַבְּעֵלִים), except when it stands in connexion with some other word which designates a peculiar modification of Baal. In the Chaldaic form the word becomes shortened into בַּעַל, and, thence dropping the guttural, בַּל, *BEL*, which is the Babylonian name of this god (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. et Talm.*, Gesen., Fürst, Movers; the identity of the two words is, however, doubted by Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 318).

There can be no doubt of the very high antiquity of the worship of Baal. We find his worship established amongst the Moabites and their allies the Midianites in the time of Moses (Num. xxi. 41), and through these nations the Israelites were seduced to the worship of this god under the particular form of Baal-Peor (Num. xxv. 3 sqq.; Deut. iv. 3). Notwithstanding the fearful punishment which their idolatry brought upon them in this instance, the succeeding generation returned to the worship of Baal (Judg. ii. 10-13), and with the exception of the period during which Gideon was judge (Judg. vi. 26, sqq. viii. 33) this form of idolatry seems to have prevailed amongst them up to the time of Samuel (Judg. x. 10; 1 Sam. vii. 4), at whose rebuke the people renounced the worship of Baalim. Two centuries pass over before we hear again of Baal in connexion with the people of Israel, though we can scarcely conclude from this silence that his worship was altogether abandoned. We know that in the time of Solomon the service of many gods of the surrounding nations was introduced, and particularly that of Ashtoreth, with which Baal is so frequently connected. However this may be, the worship of Baal spread greatly, and together with that of Asherah became the religion of the court and people of the ten tribes under Ahab, king of Israel, in consequence of his marriage with Jezebel (1 K. xvi. 31-33; xvii. 9, 22). And though this idolatry was occa-

sionally put down (2 K. iii. 2, x. 28) it appears never to have been permanently or effectually abolished in that kingdom (2 K. xvii. 16). In the kingdom of Judah also Baal-worship extensively prevailed. During the short reign of Ahaziah and the subsequent usurpation of his mother Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, it appears to have been the religion of the court (2 K. viii. 27; comp. xi. 18), as it was subsequently under Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xxviii. 2), and Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 3).

The worship of Baal amongst the Jews appears to have been appointed with much pomp and ceremonial. Temples were erected to him (1 K. xvi. 32; 2 K. xi. 18); his images were set up (2 K. x. 26); his altars were very numerous (Jer. xi. 13), were erected particularly on lofty eminences, (1 K. xviii. 20), and on the roofs of houses (Jer. xxiii. 29); there were priests in great numbers (1 K. xviii. 19), and of various classes (2 K. x. 19); the worshippers appear to have been arrayed in appropriate robes (2 K. x. 22); the worship was performed by burning incense (Jer. vii. 9) and offering burnt-sacrifices, which occasionally consisted of human victims (Jer. xix. 5). The officiating priests danced with frantic shouts around the altar, and cut themselves with knives to excite the attention and compassion of the god (1 K. xviii. 26-28; comp. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 50; Tert. *Apol.* 9; Lucan, i. 565; Tibul. i. 6, 47).

Throughout all the Phœnician colonies we continually find traces of the worship of this god, partly in the names of men such as Adher-bal, Asdrubal, Hannibal, and still more distinctly in Phœnician inscriptions yet remaining (Gesen. *Mon. Phœn.* passim). Nor need we hesitate to regard the Babylonian Bel (Is. xli. 1) or Belus (Herod. i. 181), as essentially identical with Baal, though perhaps under some modified form. Rawlinson distinguishes between the second god of the first triad of the Assyrian pantheon, whom he names provisionally Bel-Nimrod, and the Babylonian Bel whom he considers identical with Merodach (Herod. i. 594, sqq.; 627, sqq.).

The same perplexity occurs respecting the connexion of this god with the heavenly bodies as we have already noticed in regard to Ashtoreth. Creuzer (*Symb.* ii. 413) and Movers (*Phœn.* i. 180) declare Baal to be the Sun-god; on the other hand, the Babylonian god is identified with Zeus, by Herodotus, and there seems to be no doubt that Bel-Merodach is the planet Jupiter (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. c.). It is quite likely that in the case of Baal as well as of Ashtoreth the symbol of the god varied at different times and in different localities. Indeed the great number of adjuncts with which the name of Baal is found is a sufficient proof of the diversity of characters in which he was regarded, and there must no doubt have existed a corresponding diversity in the worship. It may even be a question whether in the original notion of Baal there was reference to any of the heavenly bodies, since the derivation of the name does not in this instance, as it does in the case of Ashtoreth, point directly to them. If we separate the name Baal from idolatry, we seem, according to its meaning, to obtain simply the notion of Lord and Proprietor of all. With this the idea of productive power is naturally associated, and that power, as naturally symbolized by the sun, whilst on the other hand the ideas of providential arrangement and rule, and so of prosperity, are as naturally suggested by the word, and in the astral mythology these ideas are associated with

the planet Jupiter. In point of fact we find adjuncts to the name of Baal answering to all these notions, e.g. *Βαελσαμην*, *Balsamen* (Phut. Poen. v. 2, 67) = *בעל-שמן*, "Lord of the heavens;" *בעל-חמן*, *Baal-Hamou* (Gesén. *Mou. Phoen.* 349), the Sun-Baal, and similarly the name of a city in the O. T. *בעל-המן* (Cant. viii. 11); *בעל-גד*, *Baal-Gad*, the name of a city (Josh. xi. 17), Baal the Fortune-bringer, which god may be regarded as identical with the planet Jupiter (Gesén. *Thes. Filr.*). Many more compounds of Baal in the O. T. occur, and amongst them a large number of cities, which are mentioned below. We shall first mention those names of men and of gods in which Baal is the first element. It may be noted before proceeding to specify the particular compounds of Baal that the word standing alone occurs in the O. T. in two instances as the name of a man (1 Chr. x. 5, viii. 30). First considers that in these instances the latter element of the word is dropped.

1. *BA'AL-BETH* (*בְּרִית* *בַּעַל*; *Βααλβερθ*; *Baalberth*). This form of Baal was worshipped at Shechem by the Israelites after the death of Gideon (Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4). The name signifies the "Covenant-Baal," and has been compared with the Greek *Zeús theios* or the Latin *Deus filius*. The meaning, however, does not seem to be the god who presides over covenants, but the god who comes into covenant with the worshippers. In Judg. ix. 46 he is called *בְּרִית אֱלֹהִים*. We know nothing of the particular form of worship paid to this god.

2. *BA'AL-ZEBUB* (*בַּעַל זְבֻב*; *Βααλ μύτα*; *Beelzebub*), the form of Baal worshipped at Ekron (2 K. i. 2, 3, 16). The meaning of the name is *Baal* or *Lord of the fly*. Though such a designation of the god appears to us a kind of mockery, and has consequently been regarded as a term of derision (Selden, *De Diis Syris*, 375), yet there seems no reason to doubt that this was the name given to the god by his worshippers, and the plague of flies in hot climates furnishes a sufficient reason for the designation. Similarly the Greeks gave the epithet *ἀρούριος* to Zeus (Pausan. v. 14, §2; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 38), and Pliny (xxix. 6, 34, init.) speaks of a Fly-god *Myiodes*. The name occurs in the N. T. in the well known form *BEELZEBUB*.

3. *BA'AL-HANAN* (*בַּעַל חֲנָן*; *Baal* is *gracius*; *Βααλαννός*, *Baallanón*; *Balkan*, *Balaan*; comp. *יְהוָה חֲנָן*, *Jehovah* is *gracius*). 1. The name of one of the early kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 38, 39; 1 Chr. i. 49, 50). 2. The name of one of David's officers, who had the superintendence of his olive and sycomore plantations (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). He was of the town of Gederah (Josh. xv. 36) or Beth-Gader (1 Chr. ii. 51), and from his name we may conjecture that he was of Canaanitish, not Jewish origin.

4. *BA'AL-PE'OR* (*בַּעַל פְּעֹר*; *Βαελφεγώρ*; *Beelphegor*). We have already referred to the worship of this god. The narrative (Num. xxv.) seems clearly to show that this form of Baal-worship was connected with licentious rites. Without laying too much stress on the Rabbinical derivation of the

word *פְּעֹר*, *hiatus*, i. e. "aperire hymenem virgineum," we seem to have reason to conclude that this was the nature of the worship. Baal-Peor was identified by the Rabbins and early fathers with Priapus (see the authorities quoted by Selden, *De Diis Syris*, i. 4, p. 302, sq., who, however, dissents from this view). This is moreover the view of Creuzer (ii. 411), Winer, (Gesénus, *FIRST*, and almost all critics. The reader is referred for more detailed information particularly to Creuzer's *Symbolik* and Movers' *Jah-nizier*. [F. W. G.]

*BA'AL* (*בַּעַל*), *geographical*. This word occurs as the prefix or suffix to the names of several places in Palestine. Gesénus has expressed his opinion (*Thes.* 225 a.) that in these cases it has no reference to any worship of the god Baal, at the particular spot, but merely expresses that the place "possesses" or contains something special denoted by the other part of the name, the word Baal bearing in that case a force synonymous with that of BETH. Without being so presumptuous as to contradict this conclusion, some reasons may (with considerable hesitation) be mentioned for reconsidering it.

(a.) Though employed in the Hebrew Scriptures to a certain extent metaphorically, and there certainly with the force of "possession" or "ownership,"—as a "lord of land" (2 K. i. 8), "lord of dreams" (Gen. xxxvii. 19), &c., Baal never seems to have become a naturalized Hebrew word, but frequently occurs so as to betray its Canaanite origin and relationship. Thus it is several times employed to designate the inhabitants of towns either certainly or probably heathen, but rarely if ever those of one undoubtedly Hebrew. It is applied to the men of Jericho before the conquest (Josh. xxiv. 11); to the men of Shechem, the ancient city of Hamor the Hivite, who rose to recover the rights of Hamor's descendants long after the conquest of the land (Judg. ix. 2-51, with Ewald's commentary, *Gesch.* ii. 445-7), and in the account of which struggle, the distinction between the *בְּעָלִים* of Shechem, and the *יִשְׂרָאֵלִים*—the Hebrew relations of Abimelech—is carefully maintained. It is used for the men of Keilah, a place on the western confines of Judah, exposed to all the attacks and the influences of the surrounding heathen (1 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12), for Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. xi. 26), and for others (Is. xvi. 8, &c.). Add to this the consideration that if Baal forms part of the name of a person, we are sure to find the name mentioned with some Hebrew alteration, as Jerub-besheth for Jerub-baal; Mephibosheth for Merib-baal; Ish-bosheth for Esh-baal, and others. In Hos. ii. 16, a remarkable instance is preserved of the distinction, noticed above in connexion with the record of the revolt at Shechem, between the heathen *Baal*, and the Hebrew *Ish*—"at that day, saith Jehovah, men shall call Me 'Ishi,' and shall call Me no more 'Bali,'" both words having the sense of "my husband."

(b.) Such places called by this name or its compounds as can be identified, and several of which existed at the time of the conquest, were either near Phœnicia, as Baal-gad, Baal-hermon, Belmaikos (of later times); or in proximity to some other acknowledged seat of heathen worship, as Baal-meon and Bamoth-Baal, near the infamous seat of Baal-peor; or Kirjath-Baal and Baal-tamar,



(*Ἰέβους, Ezbous*), near the "mountain of the hot springs," and reputed to be the native place of Elisha.

10. BA'AL-PER'AZIM (בְּאֵל־פְּרָצִים; *Baal-pharasis*), the scene of a victory of David over the Philistines, and of a great destruction of their images, and so named by him in a characteristic passage of exulting poetry—"Jehovah hath burst (*פָּרַץ*) upon mine enemies before me as a burst (*פָּרַץ*) of waters." Therefore he called the name of that place 'Baal-perazim,' i. e. bursts or destructions (2 Sam. v. 20; 1 Chr. xiv. 11). The place and the circumstance appear to be again alluded to in Is. xxviii. 21, where it is called *Mount P.* Perhaps this may point to the previous existence of a high place or sanctuary of Baal at this spot, which would lend more point to David's exclamation (see Gesenius, *Jes.* 814). The LXX. render the name in its two occurrences, respectively *Ἐπάνω διακοπών*, and *Διακοπή παρασίον*: the latter an instance of retention of the original word and its explanation side by side; the former uncertain.

11. BA'AL-SHAL'ISHA (בְּאֵל־שָׁלִישָׁה; *Baetharisd*, *Baethari*; *Baalalisa*), a place named only in 2 K. iv. 42; apparently not far from Migdal (comp. v. 38). It was possibly situated in the district, or "land" of the same name. [SHALISHA.]

12. BA'AL-TA'MAR (בְּאֵל־תָּמָר; *Baithamar*), *Baal Tamár*; *Baithamar*, a place named only in Judg. xi. 33, as near Gibeath of Benjamin. The palm-tree (*תָּמָר*) of Deborah (iv. 5) was situated somewhere in the locality, and is possibly alluded to (Stanley, 145, 6). In the days of Eusebius it was still known under the altered name of *Βηθθαμάρ*; but no traces of it have been found by modern travellers. [G.]

13. BA'AL-ZE'PHON (בְּאֵל־צֶפֶן; *place of Zephon*; *Beelzephon*, *Beelzephon*; *Beelzephon*), a place in Egypt near where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 2, 9; Num. xxxiii. 7). From the position of Goshen and the indications afforded by the narrative of the route of the Israelites, we place Baal-zephon on the western shore of the Gulf of Suez, a little below its head, which at this time was about 30 or 40 miles northward of the present head. [GOSHEN; RED SEA, PASSAGE OF.] Its position with respect to the other places mentioned with it is clearly indicated. The Israelites encamped before or at Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-zephon, according to Ex. (xiv. 2, 9), while in Num., Pi-hahiroth is described as being before Baal-zephon, and it is said that when the people came to the former place they pitched before Migdol (xxiii. 7); and again, that afterwards they departed from before Pi-hahiroth, here in Heb. *Hahiroth* (v. 8). Migdol and Baal-zephon must therefore have been opposite to one another, and the latter behind Pi-hahiroth with reference to the Israelites. Baal-zephon was perhaps a well-known place, if, as seems likely, it is always mentioned to indicate the position of Pi-hahiroth, which we take to be a natural locality [RED SEA, PASSAGE OF; PI-HAHIROTH]. The name has been supposed to mean "place of Typhon," or "sacred to Typhon," an etymology approved by Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.). Zephon would well enough correspond in sound to Typhon, had we any ground for considering the latter

name to be either Egyptian or Semitic, but as we have not, the conjecture is a very bold one. Were, however, Typhon an Egyptian word, we could not consider Zephon in Baal-zephon to be its Hebrew transcription, inasmuch as it is joined with the Hebrew form *צֶפֶן*. We would rather connect Baal-zephon, as a Hebrew compound, with the root *צָפַן*, as if it were named from a watch-tower on the frontier like the neighbouring *בְּנֵי־צֶפֶן*, "the tower." It is noticeable that the name of the son of Gad called Ziphion *צִיפְיוֹן* in Gen. (xlii. 16) is written Zephon *צֶפֶן* in Num. (xxvi. 15). The identifications of Baal-zephon that have been proposed depend upon the supposed meaning "place of Typhon." Forster (*Epp. ad Mich.*, pp. 28, 29) thinks it was Heroopolis, *Ἡρώων πόλις*, which some, as Champollion (*L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. p. 87 seqq.), consider, wrongly, to be the same as Avaris, the stronghold of the Hyksos, both which places were connected with Typhon (Steph. B. s. v. *Ἡρώ*; Manetho, ap. Jos. c. *Apion*, i. 26). Avaris cannot be Heroopolis, for geographical reasons. (Comp., as to the site of Avaris, Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, i. p. 86 seqq.; as to that of Heroopolis, Lepsius *Chron. d. Aegypt.* i. p. 344 seqq., and p. 342, against the two places being the same.) [R. S. P.]

BA'ALAH. [BAAL, No. 2.]

BA'ALATH. [BAAL, Nos. 3, 4.]

BA'ALE OF JUDAH. [BAAL, No. 2, a.]

BA'ALIM. [BAAL.]

BA'AL'IS (בְּאֵל־יִש; *Beleisad*; *Bualis*), king of the Bene-Ammon (*Βασιλεὺς υἱὸς Ἀμμων*) at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xl 14).

BA'ANA (בְּאֵנָה; *Bard*, *Bard*; *Bana*, *Bana*), the name of several men. 1. The son of Ahilud, Solomon's commissariat officer in Jezreel and the north of the Jordan valley (1 K. iv. 12). 2. (Neh. iii. 4). 3. (1 Esd. v. 8). [BAANA, 4.]

BA'ANAH (בְּעָנָה; *Bard*; *Bana*). 1. Son of Rimmon, a Benjamite, who with his brother Rechab murdered Ish-bosheth. For this they were killed by David, and their mutilated bodies hung up over the pool at Hebron (2 Sam. iv. 2, 5, 6, 9). 2. A Netophathite, father of Heleb or Heled, one of David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 29; 1 Chr. xi. 30).

3. (Accurately *Bana* בְּעָנָה; *Bard*; *Bana*), son of Hushai, Solomon's commissariat officer in Asher (1 K. iv. 16).

4. A man who accompanied Zerubbabel on his return from the captivity (Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7). Possibly the same person is intended in Neh. x. 27. [BAANA, 3.]

BA'ARA (בְּעָרָה; *Bard*; *Bard*; *Bana*), one of the wives of Shaharaim, a descendant of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 8).

BAASETAH (בְּעֵשֶׂה; *Baseta*; *Baseta*), a Gershonite Levite, one of the forefathers of Asaph the singer (1 Chr. vi. 40 [25]).

BA'ASHA (בְּעָשָׂה; *Bard*; *Bard*; *Bana*), third sovereign of the separate kingdom of Israel, and the founder of its second dynasty.

The name, according to Gesenius, is from a root *to be wicked*, but this would seem impossible unless it has been altered [ANIJAH], and Calmet suggests that it may mean in the *work*, from בָּנִי, and נָשָׂא *to make*, or *he who seeks* נָשָׂא, and *lays waste* נָשָׂא.

Baasha was son of Ahijah of the tribe of Issachar, and conspired against King Nadab, son of Jeroboam, when he was besieging the Philistine town of Gibbethon, and killed him with his whole family. He appears to have been of humble origin, as the prophet Jehu speaks of him as having been "exalted out of the dust" (1 K. xvi. 2). In matters of religion his reign was no improvement on that of Jeroboam; he equally forgot his position as king of the nation of God's election, and was chiefly remarkable for his persevering hostility to Judah. It was probably in the 13th year of his reign [ASA] that he made war on its king Asa, and began to fortify Ramoth as an *ἐπικύκλιον* against it. He was defeated by the unexpected alliance of Asa with Benhadad I. of Damascus, who had previously been friendly to Baasha. Benhadad took several towns in the N. of Israel, and conquered lands belonging to it near the sources of Jordan. Baasha died in the 24th year of his reign, and was honourably buried in the beautiful city of Tirzah (Cant. vi. 4), which he had made his capital. The dates of his accession and death according to Clinton (*F. II. i.* 321) are B.C. 953 and B.C. 931 (1 K. xv. 27, xvi. 7; 2 Chr. xvi. 1-6). [i. E. L. C.]

BA'BEL, BABYLON, &c. (בָּבֶל; Βαβυλών),

is properly the capital city of the country, which is called in Genesis *Shinar* (שִׁנְעַר), and in the later Scriptures *Chaldea*, or the land of the Chaldeans (כַּלְדָּיָה). The name is connected in Genesis with the Hebrew root בָּלַל, "*confundere*," "because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth" (Gen. xi. 9); but the native etymology is *Bub-il*, "the gate of the god *Il*;" or perhaps more simply "the gate of God;" and this no doubt was the original intention of the appellation as given by Nimrod, though the other sense came to be attached to it after the confusion of tongues. Probably a temple was the first building raised by the primitive nomads, and in the gate of this temple justice would be administered in early times (comp. 2 Sam. xix. 8), after which houses would grow up about the gate, and in this way the name would readily pass from the actual portal of the temple to the settlement. According to the traditions which the Greeks derived from the Babylonians in Alexander's age the city was originally built about the year B.C. 2230. The architectural remains discovered in southern Babylonia, taken in conjunction with the monumental records, seem to indicate that it was not at first the capital, nor, indeed, a town of very great importance. It probably owed its position at the head of Nimrod's cities (Gen. x. 10) to the power and pre-eminence whereto it afterwards attained rather than to any original superiority that it could boast over the places coupled with it. *Erech*, *Ur*, and *Ekkasar*, appear to have been all more ancient than Babylon, and were capital cities when *Babil* was a provincial village. The first rise of the Chaldean power was in the region close upon the Persian Gulf, as Berossus indicated by his fish-god Oannes, who brought the Babylonians civilization and the arts out of the

sea (ap. Syncell. p. 28, B.). Thence the nation spread northwards up the course of the rivers, and the seat of government moved in the same direction, being finally fixed at Babylon, perhaps not earlier than about B.C. 1700.

1. *Topography of Babylon*.—Ancient descriptions of the city.—The descriptions of Babylon which have come down to us in classical writers are derived chiefly from two sources, the works of Herodotus and of Ctesias. These authors were both of them eye-witnesses of the glories of Babylon—not, indeed, at their highest point, but before they had greatly declined—and left accounts of the city and its chief buildings, which the historians and geographers of later times were, for the most part, content to copy. The description of Herodotus is familiar to most persons. According to this, the city, which was built on both sides of the Euphrates, formed a vast square, enclosed within a double line of high walls, the extent of the outer circuit being 480 stades, or about 56 miles. The entire area included would thus have been about 200 square miles. Herodotus appears to imply that this whole space was covered with houses, which, he observes, were frequently three or four stories high. They were laid out in straight streets crossing each other at right angles, the cross streets leading to the Euphrates being closed at the river end with brazen gates, which allowed or prevented access to the quays wherewith the banks of the Euphrates were lined along its whole course through the city. In each division of the town, Herodotus says, there was a fortress or stronghold, consisting in the one case of the royal palace, in the other of the great temple of Belus. This last was a species of pyramid, composed of eight square towers placed one above the other, the dimensions of the basement tower being a stade—or above 200 yards—each way. The height of the temple is not mentioned by Herodotus. A winding ascent, which passed round all the towers, led to the summit, on which was placed a spacious ark or chapel, containing no statue, but regarded by the natives as the habitation of the god. The temple stood in a sacred precinct, two stades (or 400 yards) square, which contained two altars for burnt-offerings and a sacred ark or chapel, wherein was the golden image of Bel. The two portions of the city were united by a bridge, composed of a series of stone piers with moveable platforms of wood stretching from one pier to another. Such are the chief features of the description left us by Herodotus (i. 178-186).

According to Ctesias (ap. *Diod. Sic. ii. 7, et seqq.*) the circuit of the city was not 480 but 360 stades—which is a little under 42 miles. It lay, he says, on both sides of the Euphrates, and the two parts were connected together by a stone bridge five stades (above 1000 yards) long, and 30 feet broad, of the kind described by Herodotus. At either extremity of the bridge was a royal palace, that in the eastern city being the more magnificent of the two. It was defended by a triple *emcint*, the outermost 60 stades, or 7 miles, round; the second, which was circular, 40 stades, or 4½ miles; and the third 20 stades, or 2½ miles. The height of the second or middle wall was 300 feet, and its towers were 420 feet. The elevation of the innermost circuit was even greater than this. The walls of both the second and the third enclosure were made of coloured brick, and represented hunting scenes—the chase of the leopard and the lion—with figures, male and female, regarded by Ctesias as those of

Ninus and Semiramis. The other palace was inferior both in size and magnificence. It was enclosed within a single *cuneate*, 30 stades, or 3½ miles, in circumference, and contained representations of hunting and battle scenes as well as statues in bronze, said to be those of Ninus, Semiramis, and Jupiter Belus. The two palaces were joined, not only by the bridge, but by a tunnel under the river! Ctesias' account of the temple of Belus has not come down to us. We may gather, however, that he represented its general character in much the same way as Herodotus, but spoke of it as surmounted by three statues, one of Bel, 40 feet high, another of Rhea, and a third of Juno or Beltis. He seems further to have described elaborately the famous "hanging gardens" of Nebuchadnezzar (Diod. Sic. ii. 10), but the description, as reported by Diodorus, is not very intelligible. It appears that they were a square of 400 feet each way, and rose in terraces, the topmost terrace being planted with trees of all kinds, which grew to a great size.

In examining the truth of these descriptions, we shall most conveniently commence from the outer circuit of the town. All the ancient writers appear to agree in the fact of a district of vast size, more or less inhabited, having been enclosed within lofty walls, and included under the name of Babylon. With respect to the exact extent of the circuit they differ. The estimate of Herodotus and of Pliny (*II. N. vi. 26*) is 480 stades, of Strabo (*xvi. i. §5*) 385, of Q. Curtius (*v. i. §26*) 368, of Clitarchus (*ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 7*) 365, and of Ctesias (*ap. eund.*) 360 stades. It is evident that here we have merely the moderate variations to be expected in independent measurements, except in the first of the numbers. Setting this aside, the difference between the greatest and the least of the estimates is little more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.\* With this near agreement on the part of so many authors, it is the more surprising that in the remaining case we should find the great difference of one-third more, or 33½ per cent. Perhaps the true explanation is that Herodotus spoke of the *outer* wall, which could be traced in his time, while the later writers, who never speak of an inner and an outer barrier, give the measurement of Herodotus' *inner* wall, which may have alone remained in their day. This is the opinion of M. Oppert, who even believes that he has found traces of both enclosures, showing them to have been really of the size ascribed to them. This conclusion is at present disputed, and it is the more general belief of those who have examined the ruins with attention that no vestiges of the ancient walls are to be found, or at least, that none have as yet been discovered. Still it is impossible to doubt that a line of wall inclosing an enormous area originally existed. The testimony to this effect is too strong to be set aside, and the disappearance of the wall is easily accounted for, either by the constant quarrying, which would naturally have commenced with it (*Rich, First Mem. p. 44*), or by the subsidence of the bulwark into the moat from which it was raised. Taking the lowest estimate of the extent of the circuit, we shall have for the space within the rampart an area of above 100

square miles; nearly five times the size of London! It is evident that this vast space cannot have been entirely covered with houses. Diodorus confesses (*ii. 9, ad fin.*) that but a small part of the enclosure was inhabited in his own day, and Q. Curtius (*v. i. §27*) says that as much as nine-tenths consisted, even in the most flourishing times, of gardens, parks, paradises, fields, and orchards.

With regard to the height and breadth of the walls there is nearly as much difference of statement as with regard to their extent. Herodotus makes the height 200 royal cubits, or 337½ feet; Ctesias 50 fathoms, or 300 feet; Pliny and Solinus 200 royal feet; Strabo 50 cubits, or 75 feet. Here there is less appearance of independent measurements than in the estimates of length. The two original statements seem to be those of Herodotus and Ctesias, which only differ accidentally, the latter having omitted to notice that the royal scale was used. The later writers do not possess fresh data; they merely soften down what seems to them an exaggeration—Pliny and Solinus changing the cubits of Herodotus into feet, and Strabo the fathoms of Ctesias into cubits. We are forced then to fall back on the earlier authorities, who are also the only eye-witnesses; and, surprising as it seems, perhaps we must believe the statement, that the vast enclosed space above mentioned was surrounded by walls which have well been termed "artificial mountains," being nearly the height of the dome of St. Paul's! (See Grote's *Greece*, vol. iii. p. 397; and, on the other side, Mure's *Lit. of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 546.) The ruined wall of Nineveh was, it must be remembered, in Xenophon's time 150 feet high (*Anab. iii. 4. §10*), and another wall which he passed in Mesopotamia was 100 feet (*ibid. ii. 4. §12*).

The estimates for the thickness of the wall are the following:—Herodotus, 50 royal cubits, or nearly 85 feet; Pliny and Solinus, 50 royal, or about 60 common feet; and Strabo, 32 feet. Here again Pliny and Solinus have merely softened down Herodotus; Strabo, however, has a new number. This may belong properly to the inner wall, which, Herodotus remarks (*i. 181*), was of less thickness than the outer.

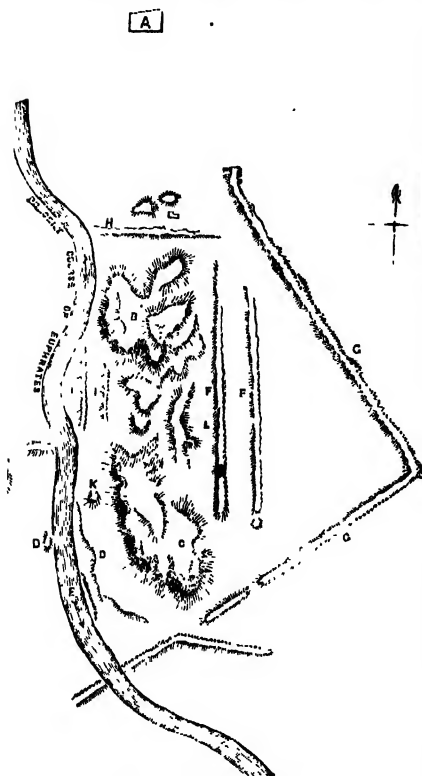
According to Ctesias the wall was strengthened with 250 towers, irregularly disposed, to guard the weakest parts (*Diod. S. ii. 7*); and according to Herodotus it was pierced with a hundred gates, which were made of brass, with brazen lintels and side-posts (*i. 179*). The gates and walls are alike mentioned in Scripture; the height of the one and the breadth of the other being specially noticed (*Jer. li. 58*; comp. *i. 15*, and *li. 53*).

Herodotus and Ctesias both relate that the banks of the river as it flowed through the city were on each side ornamented with quays. The stream has probably often changed its course since the time of Babylonian greatness, but some remains of a quay or embankment (K) on the eastern side of the stream still exist, upon the bricks of which is read the name of the last king. The two writers also agree as to the existence of a bridge, and describe it very similarly. Perhaps a remarkable mound (K) which interrupts the long flat valley—evidently the ancient course of the river—closing in the principal ruins on the west, may be a trace of this structure.

2. *Present state of the Ruins.*—Before seeking to identify the principal buildings of ancient Babylon with the ruins near Hillah, which are univer-

\* If the estimate of Ctesias be regarded as 100, that of Clitarchus will be . . . 100-1923  
 " Q. Curtius . . . . . 100-2  
 " Strabo . . . . . 100-694; but  
 " Herodotus . . . . . 133-3

sally admitted to mark the site, it is necessary to give an account of their present character and condition, which the accompanying plan will illustrate.

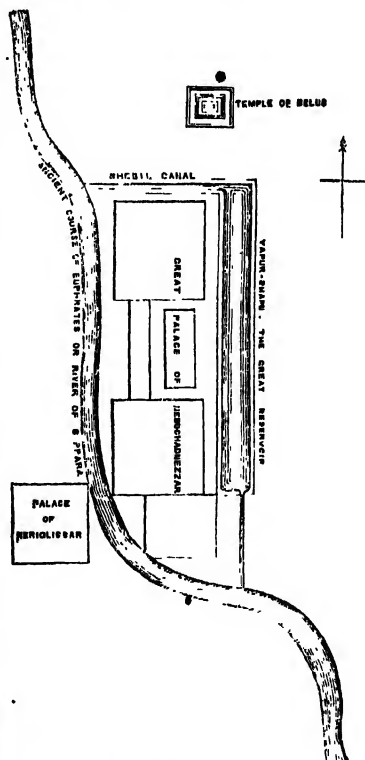


Present state of the Ruins of Babylon.

About five miles above *Hillah*, on the opposite or left bank of the Euphrates, occur a series of artificial mounds of enormous size, which have been recognised in all ages as probably indicating the site of the capital of southern Mesopotamia. They consist chiefly of "three great masses of building—the high pile of unbaked brickwork called by Rich 'Mujellibe,' but which is known to the Arabs as '*Babil* (A);' the building denominated the '*Kasr*' or palace (B); and a lofty mound (C), upon which stands the modern tomb of *Amran-ibn-'Alb*" (Loftus's *Chaldaea*, p. 17). Besides these principal masses the most remarkable features are two parallel lines of rampart (F F) bounding the chief ruins on the east, some similar but inferior remains on the north and west (I I and H), an embankment along the river-side (E), a remarkable isolated heap (K) in the middle of a long valley, which seems to have been the ancient bed of the stream, and two long lines of rampart (G G), meeting at a right angle, and with the river, forming an irregular triangle, within which all the ruins on this side (except *Babil*) are enclosed. On the west, or right bank, the remains are very slight and scanty. There is the appearance of an enclosure, and of a building of moderate size within it (D),

nearly opposite the great mound of *Amran*, but otherwise, unless at a long distance from the stream, this side of the Euphrates is absolutely bare of ruins.

Scattered over the country on both sides of the Euphrates, and reducible to no regular plan, are a number of remarkable mounds, usually standing single, which are plainly of the same date with the great mass of ruins upon the river-bank. Of these, by far the most striking is the vast ruin called the *Tirs-Nimrud*, which many regard as the tower of Babel, situated about six miles to the S.W. of Hillah, and almost that distance from the Euphrates at the nearest point. This is a pyramidal mound, crowned apparently by the ruins of a tower, rising to the height of 153½ feet above the level of the plain, and in circumference somewhat more than 2000 feet. As a complete description of it is given under the next article [BABEL, TOWER OF] no more need be said of it here. There is sufficient reason to believe from the inscriptions discovered on the spot, and from other documents of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, that it marks the site of Borsippa, and was thus entirely beyond the limits of Babylon (Beros. *Fr.* 14).



Portions of Ancient Babylon distinguishable in the present Ruins.

3. *Identification of sites.*—On comparing the existing ruins with the accounts of the ancient writers, the great difficulty which meets us is the position of the remains almost exclusively on the left bank of the river. All the old accounts agree in repre-

senting the Euphrates as running through the town, and the principal buildings as placed on the opposite sides of the stream. In explanation of this difficulty it has been urged, on the one hand, that the Euphrates having a tendency to run off to the right has obliterated all trace of the buildings in

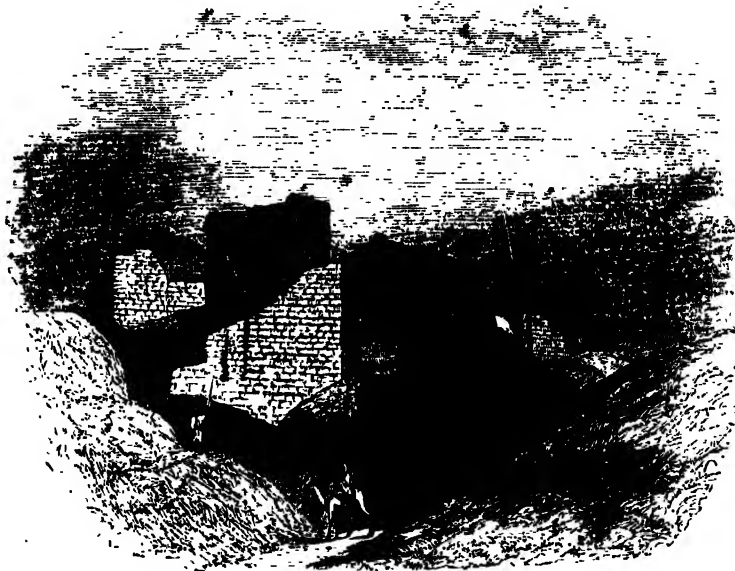
this direction (Layard's *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 493); on the other, that by a due extension of the area of Babylon it may be made to include the *Birs-Nimrud*, and that thus the chief existing remains will really lie on the opposite banks of the river (Rich, *Second Memoir*, p. 32; Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. p.



View of Babil, from the West.

383). But the identification of the *Birs* with Borsippa completely disposes of this latter theory; while the former is unsatisfactory, since we can scarcely suppose the abrasion of the river to have entirely removed all trace of such gigantic buildings as those which the ancient writers describe. Perhaps the most probable solution is to

be found in the fact, that a large canal (called *Shetil*) intervened in ancient times between the *Kasr* mound (B) and the ruin now called *Babil* (A), which may easily have been confounded by Herodotus with the main stream. This would have had the two principal buildings upon opposite sides; while the real river, which ran down the long



valley to the west of the *Kasr* and *Amrân* mounds, would also have separated (as Ctesias related) between the greater and the lesser palace. If this explanation be accepted as probable, we may identify the 'principal ruins as follows:—1. The great mound of *Babil* will be the ancient temple of Belus. It is an oblong mass, composed chiefly of unglazed brick, rising from the plain to the height of 140 ft., flatish at the top, in length about 200, and in breadth about 140 yards. This oblong shape is common to the temples, or rather temple-towers, of lower Babylonian, which seem to have had nearly the same proportions. It was origi-

ally coated with fine burnt brick laid in an excellent mortar, as was proved by Mr. Layard (*Nim. and Bab.* pp. 503-5); and was no doubt built in stages, most of which have crumbled down, but which may still be in part concealed under the rubbish. The statement of Berosus (Fr. 14), that it was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, is confirmed by the fact that all the inscribed bricks which have been found in it bear the name of that king. It formed the tower of the temple, and was surmounted by a chapel, but the main shrine, the altars, and no doubt the residences of the priests were at the foot, in a sacred precinct. 2. The mound of the *Kaar*

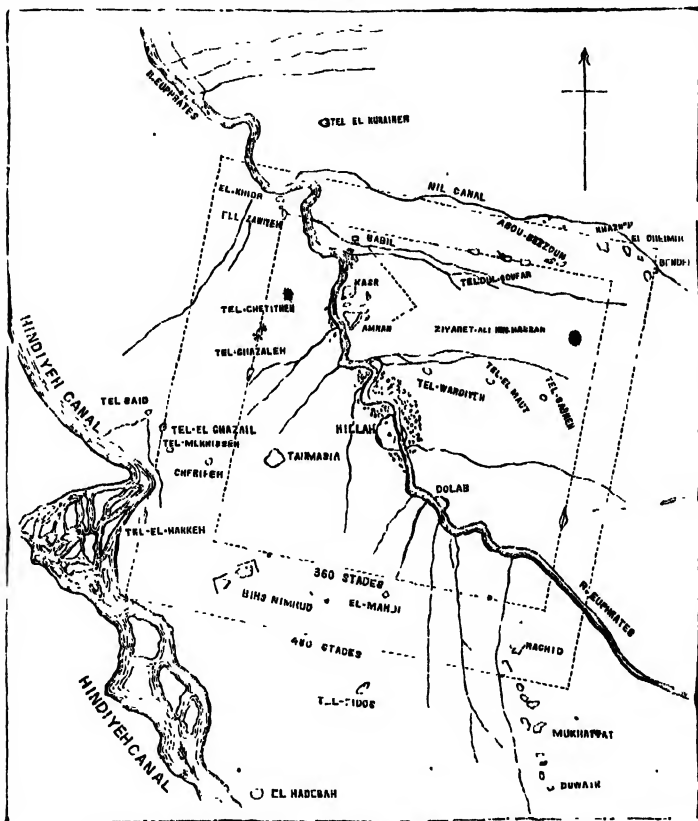


Chart of the country round Babylon, with limits of the ancient City, according to Oppert.

will mark the site of the great Palace of Nebuchadnezzar. It is an irregular square of about 700 yards each way, and may be regarded as chiefly formed of the old palace-platform (resembling those at Nineveh, Susa, and elsewhere), upon which are still standing certain portions of the ancient residence whereto the name of "*Kass*" or "*Palace*" especially attaches. The walls are composed of burnt bricks of a pale yellow colour and of excellent quality, bound together by a fine lime cement, and stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar. They "contain traces of architectural ornament—piers, buttresses, pilasters, &c." (Layard, p. 506); and in the rubbish at their base

have been found slabs inscribed by Nebuchadnezzar, and containing an account of the building of the edifice, as well as a few sculptured fragments and many pieces of enamelled brick of brilliant hues. On these last portions of figures are traceable, recalling the statements of Ctesias (ap. Diod. Sic.) that the brick walls of the palace were coloured and represented hunting scenes. No plan of the palace is to be made out from the existing remains, which are tossed in apparent confusion on the highest point of the mound. 3. The mound of *Amrân* is thought by M. Oppert to represent the "hanging gardens" of Nebuchadnezzar; but this conjecture does not seem to be a very happy one. The mound is com-

posed of poorer materials than the edifices of that prince, and has furnished no bricks containing his name. Again, it is far too large for the hanging-gardens, which are said to have been only 400 ft. each way. The *Amrân* mound is described by Rich as an irregular parallelogram, 1100 yards long by 800 broad, and by Ker Porter as a triangle, the sides of which are respectively 1400, 1100, and 850 ft. Its dimensions therefore very greatly exceed those of the curious structure with which it has been identified. Most probably it represents the ancient palace, coeval with Babylon itself, of which Nebuchadnezzar speaks in his inscriptions as adjoining his own more magnificent residence. It is the only part of the ruins from which bricks have been derived containing the names of kings earlier than Nebuchadnezzar; and is therefore entitled to be considered the most ancient of the existing remains. 4. The ruins marked DD on either side of the Euphrates, together with all the other remains on the right bank, may be considered to represent the lesser Palace of Ctesias, which is said to have been connected with the greater by a bridge across the river, as well as by a tunnel under the channel of the stream (1). The old course of the Euphrates seems to have been a little east of the present one, passing between the two ridges marked II, and then closely skirting the mound of *Amrân*, so as to have both the ruins marked D upon its right bank. These ruins are of the same date and style. The bricks of that on the left bank bear the name of Neriglissar; and there can be little doubt that this ruin, together with those on the opposite side of the stream, are the remains of a palace built by him. Perhaps (as already remarked) the mound K may be a remnant of the ancient bridge. 5. The two long parallel lines of embankment on the east (F F in the plan) which form so striking a feature in the remains as represented by Porter and Rich, but which are ignored by M. Oppert, may either be the lines of an outer and inner inclosure, of which Nebuchadnezzar speaks as defences of his palace; or they may represent the embankments of an enormous reservoir, which is often mentioned by that monarch as adjoining his palace towards the east. 6. The embankment (E) is composed of bricks marked with the name of Labynetos or *Nabunît*, and is undoubtedly a portion of the work which Berosus ascribes to the last king (Fr. 14).

The most remarkable fact connected with the magnificence of Babylon, is the poorness of the material with which such wonderful results were produced. The whole country, being alluvial, was entirely destitute of stone, and even wood was scarce and of bad quality, being only yielded by the palm-groves which fringed the courses of the canals and rivers. In default of these, the ordinary materials for building, recourse was had to the soil of the country—in many parts an excellent clay—and with bricks made from this, either sun-dried or baked, the vast structures were raised, which, when they stood in their integrity, provoked comparison with the pyramids of Egypt, and which even in their decay excite the astonishment of the traveller. A modern writer has noticed as the true secret of the extraordinary results produced, “the unbounded command of naked human strength” which the Babylonian monarchs had at their disposal (*Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 401); but this alone will not account for the phenomena; and we must give the Babylonians credit for a genius and a grandeur of conception rarely surpassed, which led them to

employ the labour whereof they had the command in works of so imposing a character. With only “brick for stone,” and at first only “slime (חמר) for mortar” (Gen. xi. 3), they constructed edifices of so vast a size that they still remain at the present day among the most enormous ruins in the world, impressing the beholder at once with awe and admiration.

4. *History of Babylon.*—The history of Babylon mounts up to a time not very much later than the Flood. The native historian seems to have possessed authentic records of his country for above 2000 years before the conquest by Alexander (Beros. Fr. 11); and Scripture represents the “beginning of the kingdom” as belonging to the time of Nimrod, the grandson of Ham, and the great-grandson of Noah (Gen. x. 6-10). Of Nimrod no trace has been found in the Babylonian remains, unless he is identical with the god Bel of the Babylonian Pantheon, and so with the Greek Belus, the hero-founder of the city. This identity is possible, and at any rate the most ancient inscriptions appear to show that the primitive inhabitants of the country were really Cushite, i. e. identical in race with the early inhabitants of Southern Arabia and of Ethiopia. The seat of government at this early time was, as has been stated, in lower Babylonia, Erech (*Uruk*) and Ur (*Mugheir*) being the capitals, and Babylon (if built) being a place of no consequence. The country was called Shinâr (שִׁנְאָר), and the people the *Akkadim* (comp. *Accad* of Gen. x. 10). Of the art of this period we have specimens in the ruins of *Mugheir* and *Uruk*, the remains of which date from at least the 20th century before our era. We find the use of kiln-baked as well as of sun-dried bricks already begun; we find writing practised, for the bricks are stamped with the names and titles of the kings; we find buttresses employed to support buildings, and we have probable indications of the system of erecting lofty buildings in stages. On the other hand, mortar is unknown, and the bricks are laid either in clay or in bitumen (comp. Gen. xi. 3); they are rudely moulded, and of various shapes and sizes; sun-dried bricks predominate, and some large buildings are composed entirely of them; in these reed-matting occurs at intervals, apparently used to protect the mass from disintegration. There is no trace of ornament in the erections of this date, which were imposing merely by their size and solidity.

The first important change which we are able to trace in the external condition of Babylon, is its subjection, at a time anterior to Abraham, by the neighbouring kingdom of Elam or Susiana. Berosus spoke of a first Chaldean dynasty consisting of eleven kings, whom he probably represented as reigning from B.C. 2234 to B.C. 1976. At the last mentioned date he said there was a change, and a new dynasty succeeded, consisting of 49 kings, who reigned 458 years (from B.C. 1976 to B.C. 1518). It is thought that this transition may mark the invasion of Babylonia from the East, and the establishment of Elamitic influence in the country, under Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv.), whose representative appears as a conqueror in the inscriptions. Amraphel, king of Shinâr, and Arioch, king of Ellasar (*Larsa*), would be tributary princes whom Chedorlaomer had subjected, while he himself may have become the founder of the new dynasty, which, according to Berosus, continued on the throne for above 450 years. From this point the history of

Babylon is almost a blank for above twelve centuries. Except in the mention of the plundering of Job by the Chaldeans (Job i. 17), and of the "goodly Babylonish garment" which Achan coveted (Josh. vii. 21), Scripture is silent with regard to the Babylonians from the time of Abraham to that of Hezekiah. Berosus covered this space with three dynasties; one (which has been already mentioned) of 49 Chaldaean kings, who reigned 458 years; another of 9 Arab kings, who reigned 245 years; and a third of 49 Assyrian monarchs, who held dominion for 526 years; but nothing beyond this bare outline has come down to us on his authority concerning the period in question. The monumental records of the country furnish a series of names, the reading of which is very uncertain, which may be arranged with a good deal of probability in chronological order, apparently belonging to the first of these three dynasties. Of the second no traces have been hitherto discovered. The third would seem to be identical with the Upper Dynasty of Assyria, of which some account has been given in a former article [ASSYRIA]. It would appear then as if Babylon, after having had a native Chaldaean dynasty which ruled for 224 years (Brandis, p. 17), and a second dynasty of Elamitic Chaldeans who ruled for a further period of 458 years, fell wholly under Semitic influence, becoming subject first to Akkadia for two centuries and a half, and then to Assyria for above five centuries, and not remaining even a qualified independence till the time marked by the close of the Upper and the formation of the Lower Assyrian empire. This is the conclusion which seems naturally to follow from the abstract which is all that we possess of Berosus; and doubtless it is to a certain extent true. But the statement is too broad to be exact; and the monuments show that Babylon was at no time absorbed into Assyria, or even for very many years together a submissive vassal. Assyria, which she had colonised during the time of the second or great Chaldaean dynasty, to which she had given letters and the arts, and which she had held in subjection for many hundred years, became in her turn (about B.C. 1270) the predominant Mesopotamian power, and the glory of Babylon in consequence suffered eclipse. But she had her native kings during the whole of the Assyrian period, and she frequently contended with her great neighbour, being sometimes even the aggressor. Though much sunk from her former greatness, she continued to be the second power in Asia; and retained a vitality which at a later date enabled her to become once more the head of an empire.

The line of Babylonian kings becomes exactly known to us from the year B.C. 747. An astronomical work of the geographer Ptolemy has preserved to us a document, the importance of which for comparative chronology it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. The "Canon of Ptolemy," as it is called, gives us the succession of Babylonian monarchs, with the exact length of the reign of each, from the year B.C. 747, when Nabonassar mounted the throne, to B.C. 331, when the last Persian king was dethroned by Alexander. This document, which from its close accordance with the statements of Scripture always vindicated to itself a high authority in the eyes of Christian chronologists, has recently been confirmed in so many points by the inscriptions that its authentic character is established beyond all possibility of cavil or dispute. As the basis of all accurate calculation for oriental

dates previous to Cyrus, it seems proper to transcribe the earlier portion of it in this place. [The dates B.C. are added for convenience sake.]

	Years.	N.E.	B.C.
Nabonassar . . . . .	14	1	747
Nadlus . . . . .	2	16	733
Chinzinus and Porus . . . . .	5	17	731
Elulaeus . . . . .	5	22	726
Mardocephalus . . . . .	12	27	721
Arceanus . . . . .	6	39	709
First Interregnum . . . . .	2	44	704
Belbus . . . . .	3	46	702
Aparanadius . . . . .	6	49	699
Regibelus . . . . .	1	55	693
Meselmorducus . . . . .	4	56	692
Second Interregnum . . . . .	8	60	688
Asaridanus . . . . .	13	68	680
Saoduchinus . . . . .	20	81	667
Cinneladanus . . . . .	22	101	647
Nabopolassar . . . . .	21	123	625
Nebuchadnezzar . . . . .	43	144	604
Illoarudamus . . . . .	2	187	561
Nerigassolassar . . . . .	4	189	559
Nabonadlus . . . . .	17	193	555
Cyrus . . . . .	9	210	538

Of Nabonassar, the first king in Ptolemy's list, nothing can be said to be known except the fact, reported by Berosus, that he destroyed all the annals of his predecessors for the purpose of compelling the Babylonians to date from himself (Fr. 11 a). It has been conjectured that he was the husband, or son, of Semiramis, and owed to her his possession of the throne. But of this theory there is at present no proof. It rests mainly upon a synchronism obtained from Herodotus, who makes Semiramis a Babylonian queen, and places her five generations (167 years) before Nitocris, the mother of the last king. The Assyrian discoveries have shown that there was a Semiramis about this time, but they furnish no evidence of her connexion with Babylon, which still continues uncertain. The immediate successors of Nabonassar are still more obscure than himself. Absolutely nothing beyond the brief notation of the canon has reached us concerning Nadlus (or Nabius), Chinzinus (or Chinzirus) and Porus, or Elulaeus, who certainly cannot be the Tyrian king of that name mentioned by Menander (ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14. §2). Mardocephalus, on the contrary, is a monarch to whom great interest attaches. He is undoubtedly the Merodach-Baladan, or Berodach-Baladan [MERODACH-BALADAN] of Scripture, and was a personage of great consequence, reigning himself twice, the first time for 12 years, contemporaneously with the Assyrian king Sargon, and the second time for six months only, during the first year of Sennacherib; and leaving a sort of hereditary claim to his sons and grandsons, who are found to have been engaged in hostilities with Esarhaddon and his successor. His dealings with Hezekiah sufficiently indicate the independent position of Babylon at this period, while the interest which he felt in an astronomical phenomenon (2 Chr. xxxii. 31) harmonises with the character of a native Chaldaean king which appears to belong to him. The Assyrian inscriptions show that after reigning 12 years Merodach-Baladan was deprived of his crown and driven into banishment by Sargon, who appears to have placed Arceanus (his son?) upon the throne as viceroy, a position which he maintained for five years. A time of trouble then ensued, estimated in the canon at two years, during which various pretenders assumed the crown,

among them a certain Hagrisa, or Acises, who reigned for about a month, and Merodach-Baladan, who held the throne for half a year (Polyhist. ap. Euseb.). Sennacherib, bent on re-establishing the influence of Assyria over Babylon, proceeded against Merodach-Baladan (as he informs us) in his first year, and having dethroned him, placed an Assyrian named *Belib*, or *Belibus*, upon the throne, who ruled as his viceroy for three years. At the end of this time, the party of Merodach-Baladan still giving trouble, Sennacherib descended again into Babylonia, once more overran it, removed *Belib*, and placed his eldest son—who appears in the Canon as *Aparnadius*—upon the throne. *Aparnadius* reigned for six years, when he was succeeded by a certain *Regibelus*, who reigned for one year; after which *Mesessimordacus* held the throne for four years. Nothing more is known of these kings, and it is uncertain whether they were viceroys, or independent native monarchs. They were contemporary with Sennacherib, to whose reign belongs also the second interregnum, extending to eight years, which the Canon interposes between the reigns of *Mesessimordacus* and *Asaridanus*. In *Asaridanus* critical eyes long ago detected *Esarhaddon*, Sennacherib's son and successor; and it may be regarded as certain from the inscriptions that this king ruled in person over both Babylonia and Assyria, holding his court alternately at their respective capitals. Hence we may understand how *Manasseh*, his contemporary, came to be "carried by the captives of the king of Assyria to Babylon," instead of to Nineveh, as would have been done in any other reign. [*ESARHADDON*.] *Saosduchinus* and *Ciniladanus* (or *Cinneladanus*), his brother (Polyhist.), the successors of *Asaridanus*, are kings of whose history we know nothing. Probably they were viceroys under the later Assyrian monarchs, who are represented by *Abydenus* (ap. Euseb.) as retaining their authority over Babylon up to the time of the last siege of Nineveh.

With *Nabopolassar*, the successor of *Cinneladanus*, and the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, a new era in the history of Babylon commences. According to *Abydenus*, who probably drew his information from *Berosus*, he was appointed to the government of Babylon by the last Assyrian king, at the moment when the Medes were about to make their final attack; whereupon, betraying the trust reposed in him, he went over to the enemy, arranged a marriage between his son *Nebuchadnezzar* and the daughter of the Median leader, and joined in the last siege of the city. [*NINEVEH*.] On the success of the confederates (B.C. 625) Babylon became not only an independent kingdom, but an empire; the southern and western portions of the Assyrian territory were assigned to *Nabopolassar* in the partition of the spoils which followed on the conquest, and thereby the Babylonian dominion became extended over the whole valley of the Euphrates as far as the Taurus range, over Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Idumaea, and (perhaps) a portion of Egypt. Thus, among others, the Jews passed quietly and almost without remark, from one feudal head to another, exchanging dependency on Assyria for dependency on Babylon, and continuing to pay to *Nabopolassar* the same tribute and service which they had previously rendered to the Assyrians. Friendly relations seem to have been maintained with Media throughout the reign of *Nabopolassar*, who led or sent a contingent to

help *Cyaxares* in his Lydian war, and acted as mediator in the negotiations by which that war was concluded (Herod. i. 74). At a later date hostilities broke out with Egypt. *Neco*, the son of *Psamatik* I., about the year B.C. 608, invaded the Babylonian dominions on the south-west, and made himself master of the entire tract between his own country and the Euphrates (2 K. xxiii. 29, and xxiv. 7). *Nabopolassar* was now advanced in life, and not able to take the field in person (*Beros. Fr.* 14). He therefore sent his son, *Nebuchadnezzar*, at the head of a large army, against the Egyptians, and the battle of *Carchemish*, which soon followed, restored to Babylon the former limits of her territory (comp. 2 K. xxiv. 7 with Jer. xlvi. 2-12). *Nebuchadnezzar* pressed forward and had reached Egypt, when news of his father's death recalled him; and hastily returning to Babylon, he was fortunate enough to find himself, without any struggle, acknowledged king (B.C. 604).

A complete account of the works and exploits of this great monarch—by far the most remarkable of all the Babylonian kings—will be given in a later article. [*NEBUCHADNEZZAR*.] It is enough to note in this place that he was great both in peace and in war, but greater in the former. Besides recovering the possession of Syria and Palestine, and carrying off the Jews after repeated rebellions into captivity, he reduced Phoenicia, besieged and took Tyre, and ravaged, if he did not actually conquer, Egypt. But it was as the adorning and beautifier of his native land—as the builder and restorer of almost all her cities and temples—that this monarch obtained that great reputation which has handed down his name traditionally in the East, on a par with those of *Nimrod*, *Solomon*, and *Alexander*, and made it still a familiar term in the mouths of the people. Probably no single man ever left behind him as his memorial upon the earth one half the amount of building which was erected by this king. The ancient ruins and the modern towns of Babylonia are alike built almost exclusively of his bricks. Babylon itself, the capital, was peculiarly the object of his attention. It was here that, besides repairing the walls and restoring the temples, he constructed that magnificent palace, which, with its triple enclosure, its hanging gardens, its plated pillars, and its rich ornamentation of enamelled brick, was regarded in ancient times as one of the seven wonders of the world (*Strab.* xvi. 1. §5).

*Nebuchadnezzar* died B.C. 561, having reigned for 43 years, and was succeeded by *Evil-Merodach*, his son, who is called in the Canon *Mloardunus*. This prince, who "in the year that he began to reign did lift up the head of *Jehoiachin*, king of Judah, out of prison" (2 K. xxv. 27), was murdered, after having held the crown for two years only, by *Neriglissar*, his brother-in-law. [*EVIL-MERODACH*.] *Neriglissar*—the *Nerigassolassar* of the canon—is (apparently) identical with the "*Nergal-shar-ezer*, *Rab-Mag*" of *Jeremiah* (xxxix. 3, 13-14). He bears this title, which has been translated "chief of the Magi" (*Gesenius*), or "chief priest" (*Col. Rawlinson*), in the inscriptions, and calls himself the son of a "king of Babylon." Some writers have considered him identical with "*Darius the Mede*" (*Larcher*, *Conringius*, *Bouhier*); but this is improbable [*DARIUS THE MEDE*], and he must rather be regarded as a Babylonian of high rank, who having married a daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar* raised his thoughts to the crown, and finding *Evil-Merodach* unpopular with his sub-

jects, murdered him, and became his successor. Neriglissar built the palace at Babylon, which seems to have been placed originally on the right bank of the river. He was probably advanced in life at his accession, and thus reigned but four years, though he died a natural death, and left the crown to his son, Laborosarchod. This prince, though a mere lad at the time of his father's decease, was allowed to ascend the throne without difficulty; but when he had reigned nine months, he became the victim of a conspiracy among his friends and connexions, who, professing to detect in him symptoms of a bad disposition, seized him, and tortured him to death. Nabonidus (or Labynetus), one of the conspirators, succeeded; he is called by Herodotus "a certain Nabonidus, a Babylonian" (ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 21), by which it would appear that he was not a member of the royal family; and this is likewise evident from his inscriptions, in which he only claims for his father the rank of "Rab-Mag." Herodotus seems to have been mistaken in supposing him (i. 188) the son of a great queen, Nitocris, and (apparently) of a former king, Labynetus (Nebuchadnezzar?). Indeed it may be doubted whether the Babylonian Nitocris of Herodotus is really a historical personage. His authority is the sole argument for her existence, which it is difficult to credit against the silence of Scripture, Berossus, the Canon, and the Babylonian monuments. She may perhaps have been a wife of Nebuchadnezzar; but in that case she must have been wholly unconnected with Nabonidus, who certainly bore no relation to that monarch.

Nabonidus, or Labynetus (as he was called by the Greeks), mounted the throne in the year B.C. 555, very shortly before the war broke out between Cyrus and Croesus. He entered into alliance with the latter of these monarchs against the former, and had the struggle been prolonged, would have sent a contingent into Asia Minor. Events proceeded too rapidly to allow of this; but Nabonidus had provoked the hostility of Cyrus by the mere fact of the alliance, and felt at once that sooner or later he would have to resist the attack of an avenging army. He probably employed his long and peaceful reign of 17 years in preparations against the dreaded foe, executing the defensive works which Herodotus ascribes to his mother (i. 185), and accumulating in the town abundant stores of provisions (ib. c. 190). In the year B.C. 539 the attack came. Cyrus advanced at the head of his irresistible hordes, but wintered upon the Diyaleh or Gyndes, making his final approaches in the ensuing spring. Nabonidus appears by the inscriptions to have shortly before this associated with him in the government of the kingdom his son, Bel-shar-ezer or Belshazzar; on the approach of Cyrus, therefore, he took the field himself at the head of his army, leaving his son to command in the city. In this way, by help of a recent discovery, the accounts of Berossus and the book of Daniel—hitherto regarded as hopelessly conflicting—may be reconciled. [BELSHAZZAR.] Nabonidus engaged the army of Cyrus, but was defeated and forced to shut himself up in the neighbouring town of Borsippa (marked now by the *Birs-Nimrud*), where he continued till after the fall of Babylon (Beross. ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 21). Belshazzar guarded the city, but, over-confident in its strength, kept insufficient watch, and recklessly indulging in untimely and impious festivities (Dan. v.), allowed the enemy to enter the town by the

channel of the river (Herod. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 7). Babylon was thus taken by a surprise, as Jeremiah had prophesied (li. 31)—by an army of Medes and Persians, as intimated 170 years earlier by Isaiah (xli. 1-9), and, as Jeremiah had also foretold (li. 39), during a festival. In the carnage which ensued upon the taking of the town, Belshazzar was slain (Dan. v. 30). Nabonidus, on receiving the intelligence, submitted, and was treated kindly by the conqueror, who not only spared his life, but gave him estates in Carmania (Beross. ut supra; comp. Abyd. Fr. 9).

Such is the general outline of the siege and capture of Babylon by Cyrus, as derivable from the fragments of Berossus, illustrated by the account in Daniel, and reduced to harmony by aid of the important fact, obtained recently from the monuments, of the relationship between Belshazzar and Nabonidus. It is scarcely necessary to remark that it differs in many points from the accounts of Herodotus and Xenophon; but the latter of these two writers is in his *Cyropædia* a mere romancer, and the former is very imperfectly acquainted with the history of the Babylonians. The native writer, whose information was drawn from authentic and contemporary documents, is far better authority than either of the Greek authors, the earlier of whom visited Babylon nearly a century after its capture by Cyrus, when the tradition had doubtless become in many respects corrupted.

According to the book of Daniel, it would seem as if Babylon was taken on this occasion, not by Cyrus, king of Persia, but by a Median king, named Darius (v. 31). The question of the identity of this personage with any Median or Babylonian king known to us from profane sources, will be discussed hereafter. [DARIUS THE MEDE.] It need only be remarked here that Scripture does not really conflict on this point with profane authorities; since there is sufficient indication, from the terms used by the sacred writer, that "Darius the Mede," whoever he may have been, was not the real conqueror, nor a king who ruled in his own right, but a monarch intrusted by another with a certain delegated authority (see Dan. v. 31, and ix. 1).

With the conquest by Cyrus commenced the decay and ruin of Babylon. The "broad walls" were then to some extent "broken down" (Beross. Fr. 14), and the "high gates" probably "burnt with fire" (Jer. li. 58). The defences, that is to say, were ruined; though it is not to be supposed that the laborious and useless task of entirely demolishing the gigantic fortifications of the place was attempted, or even contemplated, by the conqueror. Babylon was weakened, but it continued a royal residence, not only during the lifetime of Darius the Mede, but through the entire period of the Persian empire. The Persian kings held their court at Babylon during the larger portion of the year; and at the time of Alexander's conquests it was still the second, if not the first, city of the empire. It had, however, suffered considerably on more than one occasion subsequent to the time of Cyrus. Twice in the reign of Darius (Behist. Ins.), and once in that of Xerxes (Ctes. *Pers.* §22), it had risen against the Persians, and made an effort to regain its independence. After each rebellion its defences were weakened, and during the long period of profound peace which the Persian empire enjoyed from the reign of Xerxes to that of Darius Codomannus they were allowed to go completely to decay. The public buildings also suffered grievously

from neglect. Alexander found the great temple of Belus in so ruined a condition that it would have required the labour of 10,000 men for two months even to clear away the rubbish with which it was encumbered (Strab. xvi. 1. §5). His designs for the restoration of the temple, and the general embellishment of the city, were frustrated by his untimely death, and the removal of the seat of empire to Antioch under the Seleucidae gave the finishing blow to the prosperity of the place. The great city of Seleucia, which soon after arose in its neighbourhood, not only drew away its population, but was actually constructed of materials derived from its buildings (Plin. *H. N.* vi. 30). Since then Babylon has been a quarry from which all the tribes in the vicinity have perpetually derived the bricks with which they have built their cities, and (besides Seleucia) (tesiphon, Al Molain, Baghdad, Kufa, Kerbelah, Hillah, and numerous other towns, have risen from its ruins. The "great city," "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," has thus emphatically "become heaps" (Jer. li. 37)—she is truly "an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant." Her walls have altogether disappeared—they have "fallen" (Jer. li. 44), been "thrown down" (li. 15), been "broken utterly" (li. 58). "A drought is upon her waters" (li. 39); for the system of irrigation, on which, in Babylonia, fertility altogether depends, has long been laid aside; "her cities" are everywhere "a desolation" (li. 43); her "land a wilderness;" "wild beasts of the desert" (jackals) "lie there;" and "owls dwell there" (comp. Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 484, with Is. xiii. 21-2, and Jer. li. 39): the natives regard the whole site as haunted, and neither will the "Arab pitch tent, nor the shepherd fold sheep there" (Is. xiii. 20).

(See for the descriptive portions, Rich's *Two Memoirs on Babylon*; Ker Porter's *Travels*, vol. ii.; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, ch. xxi.; Fresnel's *Two Letters to M. Mohl in the Journal Asiatique*, June and July, 1853; and Loftus's *Chaldaea*, ch. ii. On the identification of the ruins with ancient sites, compare Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. Essay iv.; Oppert's Maps and Plans; and Rennell's Essay in Rich's *Babylon and Persopolis*. On the history, compare M. Niebuhr's *Geschichte Assur's und Babel's*; Brandis's *Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata*; Bosaquet's *Sacred and Profane Chronology*; and Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. Essays vi. and viii.) [G. R.]

**BABEL, TOWER OF.** The "tower of Babel" is only mentioned once in Scripture (Gen. xi. 4-5), and then as incomplete. No reference to it appears in the prophetic denunciations of the punishments which were to fall on Babylon for her pride. It is therefore quite uncertain whether the building ever advanced beyond its foundations. As, however, the classical writers universally in their descriptions of Babylon gave a prominent place to a certain tower-like building, which they called the temple (Herod., Diod. Sic., Arrian, Plin. &c.), or the tomb (Strabo) of Belus, it has generally been supposed that the tower was in course of time finished, and became the principal temple of the Chaldaean metropolis. Certainly this may have been the case; but, while there is some evidence against, there is none in favour of it. A Jewish tradition, recorded by Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 9), declared that fire fell from heaven, and split the tower through to its foundation; while Alexander Polyhistor (Fr.

10) and the other profane writers who noticed the tower (as Abydenus, Frs. 5 and 6), said that it had been blown down by the winds. Such authorities therefore as we possess, represent the building as destroyed soon after its erection. When the Jews, however, were carried captive into Babylonia, struck with the vast magnitude and peculiar character of certain of the Babylonian temples, they imagined that they saw in them, not merely buildings similar in type and mode of construction to the "tower" (בֵּיִלָּה) of their scriptures, but in this or that temple they thought to recognise the very tower itself. The predominant opinion was in favour of the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa, the modern *Birs-Nimrud*, although the distance of that place from Babylon is an insuperable difficulty in the way of the identification. Similarly when Christian travellers first began to visit the Mesopotamian ruins, they generally attached the name of "the tower of Babel" to whatever mass, among those beheld by them, was the loftiest and most imposing. Rawulf in the 16th century found the "tower of Babel" at *Fehyiah*, Pietro della Valle in the 18th identified it with the ruin *Babil* near *Hillah*, while early in the present century Rich and Ker Porter revived the Jewish notion, and argued for its identity with the *Birs*. There are in reality no real grounds either for identifying the tower with the Temple of Belus, or for supposing that any remains of it long survived the check which the builders received, when they were "scattered abroad upon the face of the earth," and "left off to build the city" (Gen. xi. 8). All then that can be properly attempted by the modern critic is to show, 1. what was the probable type and character of the building; and 2. what were the materials and manner of its construction.

With regard to the former point, it may readily be allowed that the *Birs-Nimrud*, though it cannot be the tower of Babel itself, which was at Babylon (Gen. xi. 9), yet, as the most perfect representative of an ancient Babylonian temple-tower, may well be taken to show, better than any other ruin, the probable shape and character of the edifice. This building appears, by the careful examinations recently made of it, to have been a sort of oblique pyramid built in seven receding stages. "Upon a platform of crude brick, raised a few feet above the level of the alluvial plain, was built of burnt brick the first or basement stage—an exact square, 272 feet each way, and 26 feet in perpendicular height. Upon this stage was erected a second, 230 feet each way, and likewise 26 feet high; which, however, was not placed exactly in the middle of the first, but considerably nearer to the south-western end, which constituted the back of the building. The other stages were arranged similarly—the third being 188 feet, and again 26 feet high; the fourth 146 feet square, and 15 feet high; the fifth 104 feet square, and the same height as the fourth; the sixth 82 feet square, and again the same height; and the seventh 20 feet square and once more the same height. On the seventh stage there was probably placed the ark or tabernacle, which seems to have been again 15 feet high, and must have nearly, if not entirely, covered the top of the seventh story. The entire original height, allowing three feet for the platform, would thus have been 156 feet, or, without the platform, 153 feet. The whole formed a sort of oblique pyramid, the gentler slope facing the N.E., and the steeper in-

climbing to the S.W. On the N.E. side was the grand entrance, and here stood the vestibule, a separate building, the debris from which having joined those from the temple itself, fill up the intermediate space, and very remarkably prolong the mound in this direction" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 582-3). The *Birs* temple, which was called the "Temple of the Seven Spheres," was ornamented with the planetary colours (see the plan), but this was most likely a peculiarity. The other chief features of it seem to have been common to most, if not all, of the Babylonian temple-towers. The feature of stages is found in the temples at *Warka* and *Mugheir* (Loftus' *Chaldaea*, pp. 129 and 168), which belong to very primitive times (B.C. 2230); that of the emplacement, so that the four angles face the four cardinal points, is likewise common

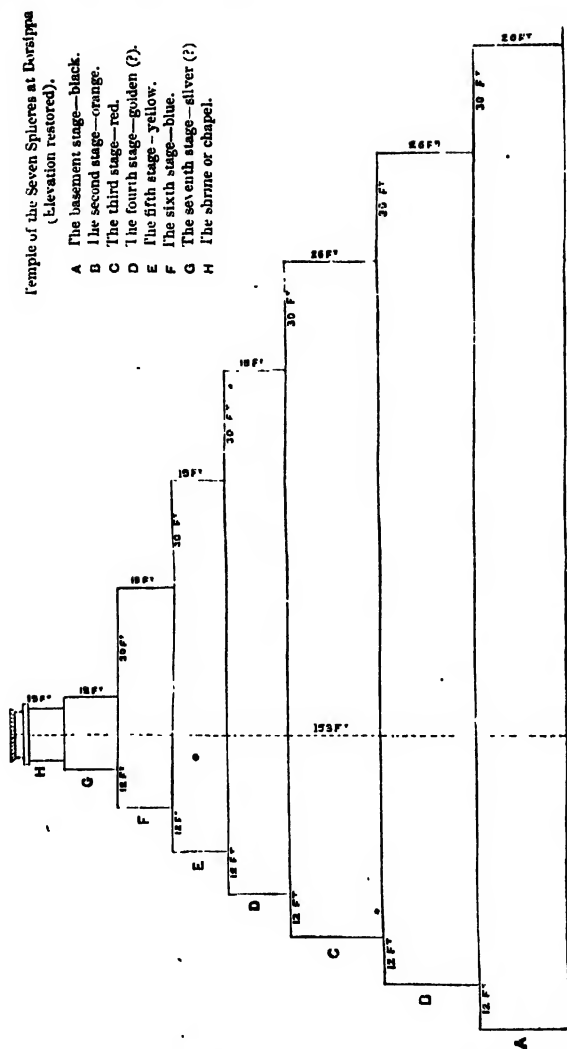
to those ancient structures; while the square form is universal. On the other hand it may be doubted whether so large a number of stages was common. The *Mugheir* and *Warka* temples have no more than two, and probably never had more than three, or at most, four stages. The great temple of Belus at Babylon (*Babil*) shows only one stage; though, according to the best authorities, it too was a sort of pyramid (Hérod., Strab.). The height of the *Birs* is 153½ feet, that of *Babil* 140 (?), that of the *Warka* temple 100, that of the temple at *Mugheir* 50 feet. Strabo's statement that the tomb of Belus was a stade (606 feet in height) would thus seem to be a gross exaggeration. Probably no Babylonian tower ever equalled the Great Pyramid; the original height of which was 480 feet.



Temple of Birs-Nimrud at Nimrup

With regard to the materials used in the tower, and the manner of its construction, more light is to be obtained from the *Warka* and *Mugheir* buildings than from the *Birs*. The *Birs* was rebuilt from top to bottom by Nebuchadnezzar, and shows the mode of construction prevalent in Babylon at the best period; the temples at *Warka* and *Mugheir* remain to a certain extent in their primitive condition, the upper stories alone having been renovated. The *Warka* temple is composed entirely of sun-dried bricks, which are of various shapes and sizes; the cement used is mud; and reeds are largely employed in the construction. It is a building of the most primitive type, and exhibits a ruder style of art than that which we perceive from Scripture to have obtained at the date of the tower. Burnt bricks were employed in the

composition of the tower (Gen. xi. 3), and though perhaps it is somewhat doubtful what the *hemar* (חמר) used for mortar may have been (see Fresnel in *Journ. Asiatique* for June, 1853, p. 9), yet on the whole it is most probable that bitumen (which abounds in Babylonia) is the substance intended. Now the lower basement of the *Mugheir* temple exhibits this combination in a decidedly primitive form. The burnt bricks are of small size and of an inferior quality; they are laid in bitumen; and they face a mass of sun-dried brick, forming a solid wall outside it, ten feet in thickness. No reeds are used in the building. Writing appears on it, but of an antique cast. The supposed date is B.C. 2300—a little earlier than the time commonly assigned to the building of the tower. Probably the erection of



the two buildings was not separated by a very long interval, though it is reasonable to suppose that of the two the tower was the earlier. If we mark its date, as perhaps we are entitled to do, by the time of Peleg, the son of Eber, and father of Reu (see Gen. x. 25), we may perhaps place it about B.C. 2600.

It is not necessary to suppose that any real idea of "scaling heaven" was present to the minds of those who raised either the Tower of Babel, or any other of the Babylonian temple-towers. The expression used in Genesis (xi. 4) is a mere hyperbole for great height (comp. Deut. i. 28; Dan. iv. 11, &c.), and should not be taken literally. Military defence was probably the primary object of such edifices in early times: but with the wish for this may have been combined further secondary motives, which remained when such defence was other-

wise provided for. Diodorus states that the great tower of the temple of Belus was used by the Chaldeans as an observatory (ii. 9), and the careful emplacement of the Babylonian temples with the angles facing the four cardinal points, would be a natural consequence, and may be regarded as a strong confirmation of the reality of this application. M. Fresnel has recently conjectured that they were also used as sleeping-places for the chief priests in the summer-time (*Journ. Asiatique*, June, 1853, pp. 529-31). The upper air is cooler, and is free from the insects, especially mosquitos, which abound below; and the description which Herodotus gives of the chamber at the top of the Belus tower (i. 181) goes far to confirm this ingenious view. [G. R.]

BA'BI (*BaB*; Alex. *BηBai*; *Beer*), 1 Esd. viii. 37. [BEBAI.]

BABYLON. [BABEL.]

BA'CA, THE VALLEY OF (בְּעֵי הַבָּקָה);

κοιλίᾱς τοῦ κλαυθμώνος; *Vallis lacrymarum*), a valley somewhere in Palestine, through which the exiled Psalmist sees in vision the pilgrims passing in their march towards the sanctuary of Jehovah at Zion (Ps. lxxxiv. 6). The passage seems to contain a play, in the manner of Hebrew poetry, on the name of the trees (בְּעֵי הַבָּקָה; MULBERRY) from which the valley probably derived its name, and the "tears"

(בְּעֵי) shed by the pilgrims in their joy at their approach to Zion. These tears were so abundant as to turn the dry valley in which the Baecim trees delighted (Niebuhr, quoted in Winckler, s. v.) into a springy or marshy place (בְּעֵי הַבָּקָה). That the valley was a real locality is most probable, from the use of the definite article before the name (Gesen. *Thes.* 205). A valley of the same name (وادي البكا) still exists in the Sinaitic district (Burck. 619).

The rendering of the Targum is Gehenna, i. e. the Go-Hinnom or ravine below Mount Zion. This locality agrees well with the mention of Baecim trees in 2 Sam. v. 23. [G.]

BACCHIDES (*Bακχίδης*), a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, §2) and

governor of Mesopotamia (ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, 1 Macc. vii. 8; Joseph. l. c.), who was commissioned by Demetrius Soter to investigate the charges which Alcimus preferred against Judas Maccabaeus. He confirmed Alcimus in the high priesthood; and, having inflicted signal vengeance on the extreme party of the Assideans [ASSIDEANS] he returned to Antioch. After the expulsion of Alcimus and the defeat and death of Nicanor, he led a second expedition into Judaea. Judas Maccabaeus fell in the battle which ensued at Laia (B.C. 161); and Bacchides reestablished the supremacy of the Syrian faction (1 Macc. ix. 25, of ἀσείβεις ἄνδρες; Jos. Ant. xiii. 1, §1). He next attempted to surprise Jonathan, who had assumed the leadership of the national party after the death of Judas; but Jonathan escaped across the Jordan. Bacchides then placed garrisons in several important positions, and took hostages for the security of the present government. Having completed the pacification of the country (Joseph. Ant. xiii. 1, 5) he returned to Demetrius (B.C. 160). After two years he came back at the request of the Syrian faction, in the hope of overpowering Jonathan and Simon, who still maintained a small force in the desert; but meeting with ill success, he turned against those who had induced him to undertake the expedition, and sought an honourable retreat. When this was known by Jonathan he sent envoys to Bacchides and concluded a peace (B.C. 158) with him, acknowledging him as governor under the Syrian king, while Bacchides pledged himself not to enter the land again, a condition which he faithfully observed (1 Macc. vii. ix.; Joseph. Ant. xii. 10, 11; xiii. 1). [B. F. W.]

**BACCHURUS** (Βακχούρος; Ζακχούρος), one of the "holy singers" (τῶν ἱεροψαλτῶν) who had taken a foreign wife (1 Esd. ix. 24). No name corresponding with this is traceable in the parallel list in Ezr.

**BACCHUS.** [DIONYSUS.]

**BACENOR** (Βαχναρ; Βακενор), apparently a captain of horse in the army of Judas Maccabaeus (2 Mac. xii. 35). Or possibly τοῦ Βαχναρος may have been the title of one of the Jewish companies or squadrons.

**BACHIRITES, THE** (הַבְּכִירִי; LXX. omits; *fam. Becheritarum*), the family of BECHER, son of Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 35). [BENJAMIN.]

**BADGER** (שִׁנְיָה, Tachash). The word occurs seven times in the 4th chapter of Numbers and six times in Exodus, always (with one exception) in connexion with שֶׁן, a skin, and in relation to the coverings of the Tabernacle, of the Ark of the Covenant, and of other sacred vessels. In Ezek. xvi. 10 it indicates the material of which the shoes of women were made. The LXX. render it by δέρματα βακθίθια and κάλυμμα δερμάτινον βακθίνων. Aquil. and Symm. λανθίνα, Jer. pelles lanthinæ: and in this conjecture that a colour is signified these ancient authorities are followed by Bochart, Oedman, Rosenmüller, and Hamilton Smith in Kitto. The fact, however, that שִׁנְיָה is frequently found in the plural seems to exclude the notion of a colour, and Gesenius argues that some animal must be meant, probably a badger

or seal. The Talmudists say that שִׁנְיָה is an animal

like a weasel. ● The Arabic تَنْكَس is not only a dolphin but also a seal, and seals were numerous on the shores of the peninsula of Sinai (Strab. xvi. p. 776). Perhaps the Latin *taxus* or *taxo*, the original of the Spanish *taxon*, Ital. *tusso*, Fr. *taisson*, Germ. *Duchs*, is the same word. The etymology of the word in Heb. is favourable to this view. שִׁנְיָה = שִׁנְיָה from the root שָׁנַה, *quiescit*; and seals no less than badgers are somnolent animals. Maurer, however, derives it from the root שָׁנַה, *intrusit, irrupit, penetra il*, a notion which suits the burrowing of the badger as well as the plunging of the seal. Pliny (ii. 56) mentions the use of the skins of seals as a covering for tents, and as a protection from lightning. (Comp. Plut. *Symp.* v. 9; Sueton. *Octav.* 90; Faber, *Archaeol. Hebr.* i. p. 115.)

The שִׁנְיָה has also been identified with the *Trichechus marinus* of Linnaeus, and with the sea-cow called *Lamantin* or *Dugong*. Others find it in an animal of the hyena kind, which is called by the Arabs *Tahesch* (Botta's *Voyage en Perse*, 1841) Robinson (i. 171) mentions sandals made of the thick skin of a fish which is caught in the Red Sea. It is a species of halibut, named by Elenberg *Halibut Hemprichii*. The skin is clumsy and coarse, and might answer very well for the external covering of the Tabernacle. The badger is not unknown in Palestine, but on the whole the weight of authority is in favour of rendering the word *seal*. [W. D.]

**BA'GO** (Βαγό; Βαγό; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. viii. 40. [BIGVAI.]

**BAGO'AS** (Βαγώας; Βαγούας, *Vagao*), Jud. xii. 11. The name is said to be equivalent to eunuch in Persian (Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 4, 9). Comp. Burmann ad *Ovid. Am.* ii. 2, 1. [B. F. W.]

**BA'GOI** (Βαγού; *Zoroar*), 1 Esd. v. 14. [BIGVAI.]

**BAHARUMITE, THE.** [BAHURIM.]

**BAHURIM** (בְּחֻרִים; בְּחֻרִים; *Barakim*; Alex. Βαουρίμ, Βαουρίμ; Jos. Βαχουρή and Βαουρί; *Bahurim*), a village, the slight notices remaining of which connect it almost exclusively with the flight of David. It was apparently on, or close to the road leading up from the Jordan valley to Jerusalem. Shimei the son of Gera resided here (2 Sam. xvii. 18; 1 K. ii. 8), and from the village, when David, having left the "top of the mount" behind him, was making his way down the eastern slopes of Olivet, into the Jordan valley below, Shimei issued forth, and running along (Jos. διατρέχων) on the side or "rib" of the hill over against the king's party, flung his stones and dust, and foul abuse (xvi. 5), with a virulence which is to this day exhibited in the East towards fallen greatness however eminent it may previously have been. Here in the court of a house was the well in which Jonathan and Ahimaaz eluded their pursuers (xvii. 18). In his account of the occurrence, Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 9, §7) distinctly states that Bahurim lay off the main road (παῖδες ἐκτραπέυοντες τῆς ὁδοῦ), which agrees well with the account of Shimei's behaviour. Here Phaltiel, the husband of Michal, bade farewell to his wife when on her return to King David at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 16). Bahurim must have been very near the south

\* In 1 Macc. ix. 27, his return seems to be referred to the death of Alcimus.

boundary of Benjamin, but it is not mentioned in the lists in Joshua, nor is any explanation given of its being Benjunitic, as from Shimei's residing there we may conclude it was. In the Targum Jonathan on 2 Sam. xvi. 5, we find it given as Almon (עלמן).

But the situation of Almon (see Josh. xxi. 18) will not at all suit the requirements of Bahurim. Dr. Barclay conjectures that the place lay where some ruins still exist close to a *Wady Rucahy*, which runs in a straight course for 3 miles from Olivet directly towards Jordan, offering the nearest though not the best route (Barclay, 563, 4).

**AZMAVETH** "the Barhumite" (הַבְּרֻחִי; *δ Βαρδιαμύτης*; Alex. *Βαρουμείτης*; 2 Sam. xxiii. 31), or "the Baharumite" (הַבְּהַרְוִי; *δ Βαρωυλ*; 1 Chr. xi. 33), one of the heroes of David's guard, is the only native of Bahurim that we hear of except Shimei. [G.]

**BAJITH** (הַבֵּית, with the definite article, "the house"), referring not to a place of this name, but to the "temple" of the false gods of Moab, as opposed to the "high places" in the same sentence (Is. xv. 2, and compare xvi. 12). The allusion has been supposed to be to Beth-Baal-meon, or Beth-diblathaim, which are named in Jer. xlviii. 22, as here, with Dibon and Nebo. But this is mere conjecture, and the conclusion of Gesenius is as above (*Jesuius ad loc.*); LXX. *Λυπεισθε ἐφ' εἰστρούς*; *Asculit domus*. [G.]

**BAKBAK'KAR** (בְּקֶבֶק; *Βακβακάρ*; *Bacbacur*), a Levite, apparently a descendant of Asaph (1 Chr. ix. 15).

**BAK'BUK** (בְּקֻבֵּק; *Βακβούκ*; *Bacbuq*). "Children of Bakbuk" were among the Nethinim who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53).

**BAKBUKIAH** (בְּקֻבֵּקִיָּה; LXX. omits).  
1. A Levite in time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 17, xii. 9). 2. A Levite porter, apparently a different person from the preceding (Neh. xii. 25).

#### BAKING. [BREAD.]

**BAI'AAM** (בַּלְעָם, i. e. Bileam; *Βαλαάμ*; Joseph. *Βάλαμος*; *Bilauum*), a man endowed with the gift of prophecy, introduced in Numbers (xvii. 1) as the son of Beor. He belonged to the Midianites, and perhaps as the prophet of his people possessed the same authority that Moses did among the Israelites. At any rate he is mentioned in conjunction with the five kings of Midian, apparently as a person of the same rank (Num. xxxi. 8; cf. xxxi. 16). He seems to have lived at Pethor, which is said at Deut. xxiii. 4 to have been a city of Mesopotamia (אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם). He himself speaks of being "brought from Aram out of the mountains of the East" (Num. xxiii. 7). The reading, therefore, בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, instead of עַמּוֹן, which at Num. xxii. 5, is found in some MSS., and is adopted by the Samaritan, Syriac, and Vulgate versions, need not be preferred, as the Ammonites do not appear to have ever extended so far as the Euphrates, which is probably the river alluded to in this place. The name Balaam, according to Gesenius, is compounded of בַּל and עָם, "non-populus fortasse, i. q. peregrinus;" according

to Vitringa it is בַּעַל and עָם, *the lord of the people*; according to Simonis, בָּלַעַל and עָם, *the destruction of the people*. There is a Bela, the son of Beor, mentioned Gen. xxxvi. 32, as the first king of Edom. Balaam is called in 2 Pet. ii. 15 "the son of Bosor;" this Lightfoot (*Works*, vii. 80) thinks a Chaldaism for Beor, and infers that St. Peter was then in Babylon. Balaam is one of those instances which meet us in Scripture of persons dwelling among heathens but possessing a certain knowledge of the one true God. He was endowed with a greater than ordinary knowledge of God: he was possessed of high gifts of intellect and genius: he had the intuition of truth, and could see into the life of things,—in short, he was a poet and a prophet. Moreover, he confessed that all these superior advantages were not his own but derived from God, and were his gift. And thus, doubtless, he had won for himself among his contemporaries far and wide a high reputation for wisdom and sanctity. It was believed that he whom he blessed was blessed, and he whom he cursed was cursed. Elated, however, by his fame and his spiritual elevation he had begun to conceive that these gifts were his own, and that they might be used to the furtherance of his own ends. He could make merchandise of them, and might acquire riches and honour by means of them. A custom existed among many nations of antiquity of devoting enemies to destruction before entering upon a war with them. At this time the Israelites were marching forwards to the occupation of Palestine: they were now encamped in the plains of Moab, on the east of Jordan by Jericho. Balak, the king of Moab, having witnessed the discomfiture of his neighbours, the Amorites, by this people, entered into a league with the Midianites against them, and despatched messengers to Balaam with the rewards of *divination* in their hands. We see from this, therefore, that Balaam was in the habit of using his wisdom as a trade, and of mingling with it devices of his own by which he imposed upon others and perhaps partially deceived himself. When the elders of Moab and Midian told him their message, he seems to have had some misgivings as to the lawfulness of their request, for he invited them to tarry the night with him that he might learn how the Lord would regard it. These misgivings were confirmed by the express prohibition of God upon his journey. Balaam reported the answer, and the messengers of Balak returned. The king of Moab, however, not deterred by this failure, sent again more and more honourable princes to Balaam, with the promise that he should be promoted to very great honour upon complying with his request. The prophet again refused, but notwithstanding invited the embassy to tarry the night with him that he might know what the Lord would say unto him further; and thus by his importunity he extorted from God the permission he desired, but was warned at the same time that his actions would be overruled according to the Divine will. Balaam therefore proceeded on his journey with the messengers of Balak. But God's anger was kindled at this manifestation of determined self-will, and the angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against him. The words of the Psalmist, "Be ye not like to horse and mule which have no understanding, whose mouths must be held with bit and bridle, lest they fall upon thee," had they been familiar to Balaam, would

have come home to him with most tremendous force; for never have they received a more forcible illustration than the comparison of Balaam's conduct to his Maker with his treatment of his ass, affords us. The wisdom with which the tractable brute was allowed to "speak with man's voice," and "forbid" the untractable "madness of the prophet," is palpable and conspicuous. He was taught, moreover, that even she had a spiritual perception to which he, though a prophet, was a stranger; and when his eyes were opened to behold the angel of the Lord, "he bowed down his head and fell flat on his face." It is hardly necessary to suppose, as some do, among whom are Heingstenberg, and Leibnitz, that the event here referred to happened only in a trance or vision, though such an opinion might seem to be supported by the fact that our translators render the word **פָּלַח** in xiv. 4, 16, "falling into a trance," whereas no other idea than that of simple falling is conveyed by it. St. Peter refers to it as a real historical event: "the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet" (2 Pet. ii. 16). We are not told *how* these things happened, but that they *did* happen, and that it pleased God thus to interfere on behalf of His elect people, and to bring forth from the genius of a self-willed prophet, who thought that his talents were his own, strains of poetry bearing upon the destiny of the Jewish nation and the Church at large, which are not surpassed throughout the Mosaic records. It is evident that Balaam, although acquainted with God, was desirous of throwing an air of mystery round his wisdom, from the instructions he gave Balak to offer a bullock and a ram on the seven altars he everywhere prepared for him; but he seems to have thought also that these sacrifices would be of some avail to change the mind of the Almighty, because he pleads the merit of them (xxii. 4), and after experiencing their impotency to effect such an object, "he went no more," we are told, "to seek for enchantments" (xiv. 1). His religion, therefore, was probably such as would be the natural result of a general acquaintance with God not confirmed by any covenant. He knew Him as the fountain of wisdom, how to worship Him he could merely guess from the customs in vogue at the time. Sacrifices had been used by the patriarchs, to what extent they were efficient could only be surmised. There is an allusion to Balaam in the prophet Micah (vi. 5), where Bishop Butler thinks that a conversation is preserved which occurred between him and the king of Moab upon this occasion. But such an opinion is hardly tenable, if we bear in mind that Balak is nowhere represented as consulting Balaam upon the acceptable mode of worshipping God, and that the directions found in Micah are of quite an opposite character to those which were given by the son of Boor upon the high places of Baal. The prophet is recounting "the righteousness of the Lord" in delivering His people out of the hand of Moab under Balak, and at the mention of his name the history of Balaam comes back upon his mind, and he is led to make those noble reflections upon it which occur in the following verses. "The doctrine of Balaam" is spoken of in Rev. ii. 14, where an allusion has been supposed to *Nikolaos*, the founder of the sect of the Nicolaitans, mentioned in v. 15, these two names being probably similar in signification. Though the utterance of Balaam was overruled so

that he could not curse the children of Israel, he nevertheless suggested to the Moabites the expedient of seducing them to commit fornication. The effect of this is recorded in ch. xxv. A battle was afterwards fought against the Midianites, in which Balaam sided with them and was slain by the sword of the people whom he had endeavoured to curse (Numb. xxxi. 8). (Comp. Bishop Butler's *Sermons*, serm. vii.; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii. 277). [S. L.]

**BALAC** (δ Βαλάκ; *Balac*), Rev. ii. 14. [BALAK.]

**BAL'ADAN.** [MERODACH-BALADAN.]

**BAL'AIH** (בַּלְאִי; *Balá; Bala*), Josh. xix. 3. [BALA, *Geogr.* No. 2, b.]

**BAL'AK** (בַּלְאָק; *Balak; Balac*), son of Zippor, king of the Moabites, at the time when the children of Israel were bringing their journeyings in the wilderness to a close. According to Gesenius the name signifies *vanitas, vicinus*. Balak entered into a league with Midian and hired Balaam to curse the Israelites; but his designs were frustrated in the manner recorded in Num. xxii.-xxiv. He is mentioned also at Josh. xxiv. 9; Judg. xi. 26; Mic. vi. 5. [BALAAM.] [S. L.]

**BAL'AMO.** [BALA, *Geogr.* No. 6.]

**BALASAMUS** (Βαλασαμος; *Balsamus*), in 1 Esd. ix. 43. The corresponding name in the list in Ezra is ΜΑΑΣΕΙΑΗ.

**BALDNESS** (ἡ γῆλη; *φαλκρωσις, φαλκρωμα*; and in Lev. xiii. 43, *φαλάντωμα*). There are two kinds of baldness, viz. artificial and natural. The latter seems to have been uncommon, since it exposed people to public derision, and is perpetually alluded to as a mark of squalor and misery (2 K. ii. 23; Is. iii. 24, "instead of well-set hair, baldness, and burning instead of beauty." Is. xv. 2; Jer. xvii. 5; Ez. vii. 18, &c.). For this reason it seems to have been included under the *λευχῆν* and *ψωρά* (Lev. xxi. 20, LXX.) which were disqualifications for priesthood. A man bald on the back of the head is called **גֵּהֵל, φαλακρός**, LXX., Lev. xiii. 40, and if forehead-bald, the word used to describe him is **גֵּהֵל, ἀναφαλάντιος**, LXX., Lev. xiii. 41 (*recalaster*). (Gesen. s. vv.) In Lev. xiii. 29 sq., very careful directions are given to distinguish Boahk, "a plague upon the head and beard" (which probably is the Mentagra of Pliny, and is a sort of leprosy), from mere natural baldness which is pronounced to be clean, v. 40 (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §189). But this shows that even natural baldness subjected men to an unpleasant suspicion. It was a defect with which the Israelites were by no means familiar, since *Αλιγυπτίους ἐν τῇ ἐλαχίστου τοιοῦτο φαλακροῦς πάντων ἀνθρώπων*, says Herod. (iii. 12); an immunity which he attributes to their constant shaving. They adopted this practice for purposes of cleanliness, and generally wore wigs, some of which have been found in the ruins of Thebes. Contrary to the general practice of the East, they only let the hair grow as a sign of mourning (Herod. ii. 36), and shaved themselves on all joyous occasions: hence in Gen. xli. 44 we have an undesigned coincidence. The same custom obtains in China, and among the modern Egyptians, who shave off all the hair except the shooshah, a tuft on the forehead and crown of the head (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 359, sq.; Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* i. ch. 1).

Baldness was despised both among Greeks and Romans. In *Il.* ii. 219, it is one of the defects of Thersites; Aristophanes (who was probably bald himself, *Par.* 767, *Eg.* 550) takes pride in not joining in the ridicule against it (*ὁὐδ' ἔσκωψεν τοὺς φαλακροὺς*, *Nub.* 540). Caesar was said "cultiviti deformitatem iniquissime ferre," and he generally endeavoured to conceal it (*Suet. Cæs.* 45; comp. *Rom.* 18).

Artificial baldness marked the conclusion of a Nazirite's vow (*Acts* xviii. 18; *Num.* vi. 9), and was a sign of mourning ("quasi calvitio luctus levaretur," *Cic. Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26). It is often alluded to in Scripture; as in *Mic.* i. 16; *Am.* viii. 10; *Jer.* xvii. 5, &c.; and in *Deut.* xiv. 1, the reason for its being forbidden to the Israelites is their being "a holy and peculiar people." (*Cf. Lev.* xiv. 27, and *Jer.* ix. 26, marg.) The practices alluded to in the latter passages were adopted by heathen nations (*e.g.* the Arabs, &c.) in honour of various gods. Hence the expression *προχοκουράδες*. The Abantes (*ἑπιθεν κομοῦντες*), and other half-civilised tribes, shaved off the forelocks, to avoid the danger of being seized by them in battle. (See also *Herod.* ii. 36, i. 82.) [F. W. F.]

**BALM**, the translation in the A. V. of the Hebrew *Tzavi* (צָוִי). Lee (*Lex.* p. 520) supposes it to be *Mustich*, a gum obtained from the *Pistacia Lentiscus*; but Gesenius defends the common rendering, balsam. It was the gum of a tree or shrub growing in Gilgal, and very precious. It was one of the best fruits of Palestine (*Gen.* xliii. 11), exported (*Gen.* xxxvii. 25; *Ez.* xxvii. 17) and especially used for healing wounds (*Jer.* viii. 22; xvi. 11, ii. 8). The Balsam was almost peculiar to Palestine (*Strab.* xvi. 2, p. 763; *Tac. Hist.* v. 6; *Plin.* xii. 25, §54, 32, §59), distilling from a shrub like the vine and rue, which in the time of Josephus was cultivated in the neighbourhood of Jericho and of the Dead Sea (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §1, xv. 4, §2), and still grows in gardens near Tiberias (*Burckhardt, Syria*, 323). It is derived from an unwooded root צָוִי, *fidit, fissuras fecit*, from the process by which it was obtained. In *Ezek.* xxvii. 17 the A. V. gives in the margin *rosin*. The LXX. have *ῥητινή* wherever צָוִי occurs in the Heb. The fact that the צָוִי grew originally in Gilgal does not forbid us to identify it with the shrub mentioned by Josephus as cultivated near Jericho; nor is it necessary to tie the sense of צָוִי down to the meaning of the cognate words in

Arab. and Syr. *ضرو* and *لَوْز*, the etymology of each being the same, so that they may be applicable to the gum of different trees or shrubs, which flourished in the localities where these languages were respectively spoken. Jahn says that the odoriferous balsam צָוִי is not gathered from the tree in Yemen called by the Arabic name *Abu Shamm*, but is distilled from a fruit which is indigenous on the mountains of Mecca and Medina. The sap extracted from the body of the tree is *opobalsamum*; the juice of the fruit is *carpobalsamum*, and the liquid which is extracted from the branches when cut off is *xylobalsamum* (Jahn, *Bibl. Ant.* i. §74). Bochart contends that the balm mentioned in *Jer.* viii. 8 was the resin drawn from the terebinth or turpentine tree. [W. D.]

**BALNU'US** (*Βαλνυός*; *Bonnus*), 1 *Esd.* ix. 31. [BINNUI.]

**BALTHAZAR**, *Bar.* i. 11, 12. [BELSHAZZAR.]

**BA'MAH** (בָּמָה, *a high place*). Though frequently occurring in the Bible to denote the elevated spots or erections on which the idolatrous rites were conducted [HIGH-PLACE], this word appears in its Hebrew form only in one passage (*Ez.* xx. 29), very obscure, and full of the periphrasis so dear to the Hebrew poets, so difficult for us to appreciate: "What is the high-place (בָּמָה) wherunto ye hie (יֵהֵבְתֶּם)? and the name of it is called Bamah (בָּמָה) unto this day." (*LXX.* τι ἐστὶν ἀβαμὰ . . . καὶ ἐπεκλέσαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀβαμὰ.) Ewald (*Propheten*, 286) pronounces this verse to be an extract from an older prophet than Ezekiel. [G.]

**BA'MOTH-BA'AL** (בָּמֹת-בָּאֵל, *high places of Baal*; *Βαιμών Βαάλ*; *Bamothbaal*), a sanctuary of Baal in the country of Moab (*Josh.* xiii. 17), which is probably mentioned in the Itinerary in *Num.* xxi. 19, under the shorter form of Bamoth, or Bamoth-in-the-ravine (20), and again in the enumeration of the towns of Moab in *Is.* xv. 2. In this last passage the word is translated in the A. V. "the high places," as it is also in *Num.* xvii. 41, where the same locality is doubtless referred to.<sup>a</sup> Near to Bamoth was another place bearing the name of the same divinity. ΒΑΛΙΜΕΩΝ, or ΒΕΤΙ-ΒΑΛΙΜΕΩΝ. [G.]

**BAN** (τοῦ Βαενύ; *Tubal*), a name in a very corrupt passage (*1 Esd.* v. 37); it stands for TOBIAH in the parallel lists in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

**BANATAS** (*Βανατας*; *Baneas*), 1 *Esd.* ix. 35. [BENAIH.]

**BA'NI** (בָּנִי; *Bani, Bouvi, Bavoul; Bonni, Bani, Benni*), the name of several men. 1. A Gadite, one of David's mighty men (2 *Sam.* xliii. 36; *LXX.* translate, Πολυδυναμῶς υἱὸς Γαλααθί). 2. A Levite of the line of Merari, and forefather to Kthan (*1 Chr.* vi. 46). 3. A man of Judah of the line of Pharez (*1 Chr.* ix. 4). 4. "Children of Bani" returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (*Ezra.* ii. 10; *Neh.* x. 14; *Ezra.* x. 29, 34; 1 *Esd.* v. 12). [BINNUI, MANI, and MAANI.] 5. An Israelite "of the sons of Bani" (*Ezra.* x. 38). [BANNUS.] 6. A Levite (*Neh.* iii. 17). 7. A Levite (*Neh.* viii. 7; ix. 4; *LXX.* transl. καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Καμυήλ, 5; x. 13). [ANUS.] 8. Another Levite (*Neh.* ix. 4; *LXX.* transl. υἱοὶ Χωρενί). 9. Another Levite, of the sons of Asaph (*Neh.* xi. 22).

**BANID** (*Βανίας*; *Alex. Bani; Banir*), 1 *Esd.* viii. 36. This represents a name which has apparently escaped from the present Hebrew text (see *Ezra.* viii. 10).

**BANNA'IA** (*Σαβανναίος*; *Alex. Bannvalous; Bannus*), 1 *Esd.* ix. 33. The corresponding name in the list in *Ezra* is ZABAD.

**BAN'NUS** (*Βαννυός*; *Baneas*), 1 *Esd.* ix. 34. [BANI, or BINNUI.]

**BANQUETS**. These, among the Hebrews,

<sup>a</sup> It will be observed that our Translators have, in *Num.* xliii. 3, rendered by "high place" a totally different word (בָּמָה), which is devoid of the special meaning of "Bamoth."

were not only a means of social enjoyment, but were a part of the observance of religious festivity. At the three solemn festivals, when all the males appeared before the Lord, the family also had its domestic feast, as appears from the place and the share in it to which "the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger," were legally entitled (Deut. xvi. 11). Probably, when the distance allowed, and no inconvenience hindered, both males and females went up (e. g. to Shiloh. 1 Sam. i. 9) together, to hold the festival. These domestic festivities were doubtless to a great extent retained, after laxity had set in as regards the special observance by the male sex (Nehem. viii. 17). Sacrifices, both ordinary and extraordinary, as amongst heathen nations (Ex. xxiv. 15; Judg. xvi. 23), included a banquet, and Eli's sons made this latter the prominent part. The two, thus united, marked strongly both domestic and civil life. It may even be said that some sacrificial recognition, if only in pouring the blood solemnly forth as before God, always attended the slaughter of an animal for food. The firstlings of cattle were to be sacrificed and eaten at the sanctuary if not too far from the residence (1 Sam. ix. 13; 2 Sam. vi. 19; Ex. xxii. 29, 30; Lev. xiv. 5, 6; Deut. xii. 17, 20, 21, xv. 19-22). From the sacrificial banquet probably sprang the *ἀγανθ*; as the Lord's supper with which it for a while coalesced, derived from the Passover. Besides religious celebrations, such events as the weaning a son and heir, a marriage, the separation or reunion of friends, and sheep-shearing, were customarily attended by a banquet or revel (Gen. xli. 8, xlix. 22, xxii. 27, 54; 1 Sam. xxv. 2, 36; 2 Sam. xiii. 23). At a funeral, also, refreshment was taken in common by the mourners, and this might tend to become a scene of indulgence, but ordinarily abstemiousness seems on such occasions to have been the rule. The case of Archelaus is not conclusive, but his inclination towards alien usages was doubtless shared by the Herodianizing Jews (Jer. xvi. 5-7; Ezek. xxiv. 17; Hos. ix. 4; Eccl. vii. 2; Joseph. *de B. J.* ii. 1). Birthday-banquets are only mentioned in the cases of Pharaoh and Herod (Gen. xl. 20; Matt. xiv. 6). A leading topic of prophetic rebuke is the abuse of festivals to an occasion of drunken revelry, and the growth of fashion in favour of drinking parties. Such was the invitation typically given by Jeremiah to the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv. 5). The usual time of the banquet was the evening, and to begin early was a mark of excess (Is. v. 11; Eccl. x. 16). The slaughtering of the cattle, which was the preliminary of a banquet, occupied the earlier part of the same day (Prov. ix. 2; Is. xxii. 13; Matt. xxi. 4). The most essential materials of the banqueting-room, next to the viands and wine, which last was often drugged with spices (Prov. ix. 2; Cant. viii. 2), were perfumed ointments, garlands or loose flowers, white or brilliant robes, after these, exhibitions of music, singers, and dancers, riddles, jesting and merriment (Is. xxviii. 1; \*Wis. ii. 6; 2 Sam. xix. 35; Is. xlv. 6, v. 12; Judg. xiv. 12; Neh. viii. 10; Eccl. x. 19; Matt. xxii. 11; Am. vi. 5, 6; Luke xv. 25). Seven days was a not uncommon duration of a festival, especially for a wedding, but sometimes fourteen (Tob. viii. 19; Gen. xxx. 27; Judg. xiv. 12); but if the bride were a widow, three days formed the limit (Buxtorf, *de Conviv. Hebr.*). The remainder sent to the guests (Luke xiv. 17) was, probably, only usual in princely banquets on a large scale, involving pro-

tracted preparation. "Whether the slaves who bade the guests had the office (as the *vocatores* or *invitatores* among the Romans) of pointing out the places at table and naming the strange dishes, must remain undecided." (Winer, s. v. *Gastmahl*.) There seems no doubt that the Jews of the O. T. period used a common table for all the guests. In Joseph's entertainment a ceremonial separation prevailed, but there is no reason for supposing a separate table for each, as is distinctly asserted in Tosephot Tr. Berach. c. vi. to have been usual (Buxtorf, l. c.). The latter custom certainly was in use among the ancient Greeks and Germans (Hom. *Od.* xxiii., xxii. 74; Tac. *German.* 22), and perhaps among the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 202, engravings). But the common phrase to "sit at table," or "eat at any one's table," shows the originality of the opposite usage. The posture at table in early times was sitting (שָׁבַע, סָבַב, to sit round, 1 Sam. xvi. 11, xx. 5, 18), and the guests were ranged in order of dignity (Gen. xliii. 33; 1 Sam. ix. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 2, §4): the words which imply the recumbent posture (*ἀνακλινειν*, *ἀναπαύειν*, or *ἀνακεισθαι*) belong to the N. T. The separation of the women's banquet was not a Jewish custom (Esth. i. 9). Portions or messes were sent from the entertainer to each guest at table, and a double or even five-fold share when peculiar distinction was intended, or a special part was reserved (1 Sam. i. 5; Gen. xliii. 34; 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24). Portions were similarly sent to poorer friends direct from the banquet-table (Neh. viii. 10; Esth. ix. 19, 22). The kiss on receiving a guest was a point of friendly courtesy (Luke vii. 45). Perfumes and scented oils were offered for the head, beard, and garments. It was strictly enjoined by the Rabbis to wash both before and after eating, which they called the *מים ראשונים* and *מים אחרונים*; but washing the feet seems to have been limited to the case of a guest who was also a traveller.

In religious banquets the wine was mixed, by rabbinical regulation, with three parts of water, and four short forms of benediction were pronounced over it. At the passover four such cups were mixed, blessed, and passed round by the master of the feast (*ἀρχιεπίκληστος*). It is probable that the character of this official varied with that of the entertainment; if it were a religious one, his office would be quasi-priestly; if a revel, he would be the mere *συμποσίτάρχης* or *arbiter bibendi*. [II. H.]

**BANUAS** (*Βάνυος*; *Bannis*), a name occurring in the lists of those who returned from captivity (1 Esd. v. 26). Banuas and Sudias answer to Hodaiviah in the parallel lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

**BARAB'BAS** (*Βαραββᾶς*, *בָּרַבְבָּאס*, son of Abba, see Simonis *Onom.* N. T. 38), a robber (*ἀγροτής*, John xviii. 40), who had committed murder in an insurrection (Mark xiv. 7; Luke xxiii. 19) in Jerusalem, and was lying in prison at the time of the trial of Jesus before Pilate. When the Roman governor, in his anxiety to save Jesus, proposed to release him to the people in accordance with the custom that he should release one prisoner to them at the Passover, the whole multitude cried out. *Αἶρε τοῦτον, ἀπόλυσον δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν Βαραββᾶν*: which request was complied with by Pilate. According to many of the cursive, or later MSS. in Matt. xxvii. 16, his name was *Ἰησοῦς Βαραββᾶς*; Pilate's question there running, *τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύνω*

ὡμῶν; Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν, ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν; and this reading is supported by the Armenian version, and cited by Origen (on Matt. vol. v. 35). It has in consequence been admitted into the text by Fritzsche and Tischendorf. But the contrast in ver. 20, "that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus," seems fatal to it. [H. A.]

BARACHEL (בִּרְחֵל; Βαραχίηλ; Barachel), the "Buize," father of Elihu (Job xxxii. 2, 6). [Buz.]

BARACHI'AS, Matt. xxiii. 35. [ZACHARIAS.]

BARAK (בָּרַק, lightning, as in Ex. xix. 16; Barak, LXX.; comp. the family name of Hannibal, Barca = "fulmen belli"), son of Abinoam of Kedesh, a refuge-city in Mount Naphtali, was invited by Deborah, a prophetess of Ephraim, to deliver Israel from the yoke of Jabin ("prudent") was probably the dynastic name of those kings of northern Canaan, whose capital city was Hazor on L. Merom. Sisera, his general and procurator, oppressed a promiscuous population at Harosheth. Accompanied, at his own express desire, by Deborah, Barak led his rudely-armed force of 10,000 men from Naphtali and Zebulun to an encampment on the summit of Tabor, where the 900 iron chariots of Jabin would be useless. At a signal given by the prophetess, the little army, seizing the opportunity of a providential storm (Joseph. v. 5, §4) and a wind that blew in the faces of the enemy, boldly rushed down the hill, and utterly routed the unwieldy host of the Canaanites in the plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon), "the battlefield of Palestine" (Stanley, *N. and P.* p. 311). From the prominent mention of Taanach (Judg. v. 19, "sandy soil") and of the river Kishon, it is most likely that the victory was partly due to the suddenly swollen waves of that impetuous torrent (χειμάρρους, LXX.), particularly its western branch called Megiddo. The victory was decisive, Harosheth taken (Judg. iv. 16), Sisera murdered, and Jabin ruined. A peace of 40 years ensued, and the next danger came from a dilettant quarter. The victors composed a splendid epinician ode in commemoration of their deliverance (Judg. v.).

It is difficult to decide the date of Barak. He appears to have been a contemporary of Shamgar (Judg. v. 6). If so, he could not have been so much as 178 years after Joshua, where he is generally placed. Lord A. Hervey supposes the narrative to be a repetition of Josh. xi. 1-12 (*Genealogies*, p. 228, *sq.*). A great deal may be said for this view; the names Jabin and Hazor; the mention of subordinate kings (Judg. v. 19; cf. Josh. xi. 2 *sq.*); the general locality of the battle; the prominence of chariots in both narratives, and especially the name Misrephoth-maim, which seems to mean "burning by the waters," as in the marg. of the A. V., and not "the flow of waters." Many chronological difficulties are also thus removed; but it is fair to add that in Stanley's opinion (*S. and P.*, 392, note) there are geographical difficulties in the way. (Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*; Lord A. Hervey, *Genealogies*, 225-246 *sq.*) [DEBORAH.] [F. W. F.]

BARBARIAN (βάρβαρος). Πᾶς μὴ Ἑλλην βάρβαρος is the common Greek definition, quoted by Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* ii. 504; and in this strict sense the word is used in Rom. i. 14, "I am debtor both to Greeks and barbarians;" where Luther used

the term 'Ungrieche,' which happily expresses its force. "Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι is the constant division found in Greek literature, but Thucydides (i. 3) points out that this distinction is subsequent to Homer, in whom the word does not occur, although he terms the Carians βαρβάρφωνοι (Il. ii. 867, where Eustathius connects the other form Κάρβατος with Κάρ). At first, according to Strabo (xiv. 662), it was only used κατ' ὀνοματοποιαν ἐπὶ τῶν δυσεκφόρων καὶ κληρῶν καὶ τραχείων λαλούντων, and its generic use was subsequent. It often retains this primitive meaning, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 11 (of one using an unknown tongue), and Acts xxviii. 24 (of the Maltese, who spoke a Punic dialect). So too Aesch. *Agam.* 2013, χελιδὼς δίκην Ἀγνώτα φωνῇν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη; and even of one who spoke a patois, ἔτε Λέσβιος ἐν καὶ ἐν φωνῇ βάρβαρῳ τετραμμένος, Plat. *Protag.* 341 c. (it is not so strong a word as παλιγγλωσσος, Donaldson, *Crit.* §88); and the often quoted line of Ov. *Trist.* v. 10, 37.

"Barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor uli."

The ancient Egyptians (like the modern Chinese) had an analogous word for all τοὺς μὴ σφισιν ὁμογλώσσους, Herod. ii. 158; and βάρβαρος is used in the LXX. to express a similar Jewish distinction. Thus in Ps. lxxii. 1, λαὸς βάρβαρος is used to translate מְגֵרִי, "peregrino sermone utens." (Schleusn. *Theor.* s. v.), which is also an onomatopoeian from מְגֵרִי, to stammer. In 1 Cor. v. 13, 1 Tim. iii. 7, we have of ἔξω, and Matt. vi. 32, τὰ ἔθνη, used Hebraistically for ὀνῆ, ὀνῆς (in very much the same sort of sense as that of βάρβαροι) to distinguish all other nations from the Jews; and in the Talmudists we find Palestine opposed to תַּלְמִדְיָא,

just as Greece was to Barbaria or ἡ βάρβαρος; (cf. Cic. *Fin.* ii. 15; Lightfoot, *Centuria Chorogr.* ad *init.*) And yet so completely was the term βάρβαρος accepted, that even Josephus and Philo scruple as little to reckon the Jews among them (*Ant.* xi. 7, §1, &c.), as the early Romans did to apply the term to themselves ("Demophilus scripsit, Marcus vertit barbæ;" Plant. *Asin.* prol. 10). Very naturally the word after a time began to involve notions of cruelty and contempt (ἔσθρος βάρβαρος, 2 Mac. iv. 25, xv. 2, &c.), and then the Romans excepted themselves from the scope of its meaning (Cic. *de Rep.* i. 37, §68). Afterwards only the savage nations were called barbarians; though the Greek Constantinopolitans called the Romans "barbarians" to the very last. (Gibbon, c. 51, vi. 351, ed. Smith; Winer, s. v.) [F. W. F.]

BARHUMITE, THE. [BAHURIM.]

BARIAH (בִּרְיָה; Βερρί; Alex. Βερία; Baria), one of the sons of Shimeiah, a descendant of the royal family of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 22).

BAR-JE'SUS. [ELYMAS.]

BAR-JONA. [PETER.]

BAR'KOS (בִּרְכֹּס; Βαρκός, Βαρκουέ; Barcos).

"Children of Barkos" were among the Nethinim who returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (*Exr.* ii. 53; *Neh.* vii. 55).

BARLEY (בָּרִיָּה; κριθή; hordeum), a grain cultivated for food both in Egypt and Palestine. It is first mentioned in Ex. ix. 31, from which passage we learn that it was earlier than wheat.

It was sown in October or the beginning of November, ripened in March, and was generally cut in April. It is reckoned among the valuable products of the promised land in Deut. viii. 8. We read of barley-meal in Num. v. 15, of barley-bread in Jud. vii. 13, and barley-cakes in Ex. iv. 12. It was measured by the ephah and homer. Barley was used as food for horses (1 K. iv. 28; comp. Hom. *Il.* v. 196), and there are several passages which indicate that it was less valued than wheat. The jealousy-offering (Num. v. 15) was to be barley-meal, though the common mincha was of fine wheat-flour (Lev. ii. 1), the meaner grain being appointed to denote the vile condition of the person on whose behalf it was offered. The purchase-money of the adulteress in Hos. iii. 2 is generally believed to be a mean price. The derivation of the word from שָׁבֵר, *horruit*, is obviously from the bearded ears of the barley—just as in Latin we have *hordeum* from *horreo*. Gesenius notices that שָׁבֵר sing. is used for the growing crop, and שָׁבֵרִים plur. for the grain. [W. D.]

**BARNABAS** (בְּרִנְבָּאס; *Barnabas*), a name signifying υἱὸς παρακλήσεως, "son of prophecy," or "exhortation" (or, but not so probably, "consolation," as A. V.), given by the Apostles (Acts iv. 36) to JOSEPH (or Joses, as the Rec. Text), a Levite of the island of Cyprus, who was early a disciple of Christ (according to Euseb. *II. E.* i. 12, and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. p. 176 Sylb., one of the Seventy), and in Acts (*I. c.*) is related to have brought the price of a field which he had sold, and to have laid it at the feet of the Apostles. In Acts ix. 27, we find him introducing the newly-converted Saul to the Apostles at Jerusalem, in a way which seems to imply previous acquaintance between the two. On tidings coming to the church at Jerusalem that men of Cyprus and Cyrene had been, after the persecution which arose about Stephen, preaching the word to Gentiles at Antioch, Barnabas was sent thither (Acts xi. 19-26), and being a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, he rejoiced at seeing the extension of the grace of God, and went to Tarsus to seek Saul, as one specially raised up to preach to the Gentiles (Acts xxvi. 17). Having brought Saul to Antioch, he was sent, together with him, to Jerusalem, upon a prophetic intimation of a coming famine, with relief to the brethren in Judaea (Acts xi. 30). On their return to Antioch, the two, being specially pointed out by the Holy Ghost (Acts xiii. 2) for the missionary work, were ordained by the church, and sent forth (A.D. 45). From this time, though not of the number of the Twelve, Barnabas and Paul enjoy the title and dignity of Apostles. Their first missionary journey is related in Acts xiii. xiv.; it was confined to Cyprus and Asia Minor. Some time after their return to Antioch (A.D. 47 or 48), they were sent (A.D. 50), with some others, to Jerusalem, to determine with the Apostles and Elders the difficult question respecting the necessity of circumcision for the Gentile converts (Acts xv. 1 ff.). On that occasion, Paul and Barnabas were recognized as the Apostles of the uncircumcision. After another stay in Antioch on their return, a variance took place between Barnabas and Paul on the question of taking with them, on a second missionary journey, John Mark, sister's son to Barnabas (Acts xv. 36 ff.). "The contention was so sharp, that they parted asunder;" and if we may judge from the hint furnished by the

notice that Paul was commended by the brethren to the grace of God, it would seem that Barnabas was in the wrong. He took Mark, and sailed to Cyprus, his native island. And here the Scripture notices of him cease: those found in Gal. ii. 1, 9, 13, belong to an earlier period; see above. From 1 Cor. ix. 6, we infer that Barnabas was a married man; and from Gal. i. c., and the circumstances of the dispute with Paul, his character seems not to have possessed that thoroughness of purpose and determination which was found in the great Apostle. As to his further labours and death, traditions differ. Some say that he went to Milan, and became first bishop of the church there: the Clementine Homilies make him to have been a disciple of our Lord Himself, and to have preached in Rome and Alexandria, and converted Clement of Rome: the Clementine Recognitions—to have preached in Rome even during the lifetime of Our Lord. There is extant an apocryphal work, probably of the fifth century, *Acta et Passio Barnabas in Cypro*, which relates his second missionary journey to Cyprus, and his death by martyrdom there; and a still later encomium of Barnabas, by a Cyprian monk Alexander, which makes him to have been brought up with St. Paul under Gamaliel, and gives an account of the pretended finding of his body in the time of the Emperor Zeno (474-490). We have an Epistle in 21 chapters called by the name of Barnabas. Of this, the first four chapters and a half are extant only in a barbarous Latin version; the rest in the original Greek. Its authenticity has been defended by some great names; and it is quoted as the work of Barnabas by Clem. Alex. (seven times), by Origen (thrice), and its authenticity, but not its authority, is allowed by Euseb. (*H. E.* iii. 25), and Jerome (*Catal. Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* c. 6; see Pearson, *l'indiction Ignatienne*, pt. i. c. 4). But it is very generally given up now, and the Epistle is believed to have been written early in the second century. The matter will be found concisely treated by Hefele, in the prolegomena to his edition of the Apostolic Fathers, 1 vol. 8vo., Tübingen, 1847; and more at length in his volume, *Das Sendschreiben des Ap. Barnabas*, &c., Tübingen, 1840; and in Heberle's article in Herzog's Cyclopaedia. [H. A.]

**BARODIS** (Βαρωδῖς; *Rahotis*), a name inserted in the list of those "servants of Solomon" who returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 34). There is no corresponding name in the list of Ezra or Nehemiah.

**BARNABAS**. [JOSEPH BARNABAS; JUDAS BARNABAS.]

**BARTACUS** (Βαρτάκος; *Bezaz*), the father of Apame, the concubine of king Darius (1 Esd. iv. 29). "The admirable" (δ θαυμαστός) was probably an official title belonging to his rank. The Syriac version has ܒܪܬܐ, a name which recalls that of Artachnes (Ἀρταχάνης), who is named by Herodotus (vii. 22, 117) as being in a high position in the Persian army under Xerxes, and a special favourite of that king (Simonis, *Onom.*; Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* i. 369).

**BARTHOLOMEW** (Βαρθολομαῖος, i. c. בְּרִתְלַמִּי, son of Talmai; comp. the LXX. Θολμαί, Θολαμαί, Josh. xv. 14, 2 K. xiii. 37, and Θολομαῖος, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 1, §1; *Bartholomaeus*), one of the Twelve Apostles of Christ (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13). His *οὐν*

name nowhere appears in the three first Gospels: and it has been not improbably conjectured that he is identical with Nathanael (John i. 45 ff.). Nathanael there appears to have been first brought to Jesus by Philip; and in the three first catalogues of the Apostles (cited above) Bartholomew and Philip appear together. It is difficult also to imagine, from the place assigned to Nathanael in John xxi. 2, that he can have been other than an Apostle. If this may be assumed, he was born at Cana of Galilee: and is said to have preached the gospel in India (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10; Jerome, *Vir. Illust.* 36): meaning thereby, probably, Arabia Felix (*Ἰνδοὶ οἱ καλούμενοι εὐδαίμονες*, Sophron.), which was sometimes called India by the ancients (Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante Construkt. M. Commentarii*, b. 206). Some allot Armenia to him as his mission-field, and report him to have been there thayed alive and then crucified with his head downwards (Assmann, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 2, 20). [H. A.]

**BARTIMAEUS** (*Βαρτιμαῖος*, i. e. *בִּרְמַיָּה*, son of *Tinnai*), a blind beggar of Jericho who (Mark x. 46 ff.) sat by the wayside begging as our Lord passed out of Jericho on His last journey to Jerusalem. Notwithstanding that many charged him to hold his peace, he continued crying, "Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me!" Being called, and his blindness miraculously cured, on the ground of his faith, by Jesus, he became thenceforward a disciple. Nothing more is known of him. [H. A.]

**BARUCH** (*בְּרָכְיָה*, *blessed* = *Benedict*; *Βαρούχ*; Joseph. *Βαρούχος*; *Baruch*). 1. Son of Neriah, the friend (Jer. xxii. 12), amanuensis (Jer. xxxvi. 4 ff.; 32) and faithful attendant of Jeremiah (Jer. xxvi. 10 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 6, §2; *N. C.* 603), in the discharge of his prophetic office. He was of a noble family (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §1, *ἐξ ἐπισήμων σφόδρα οἰκίας*; comp. Jer. li. 59; Bar. i. 1, *De tribu Simeon*, Vet. Lat.), and of distinguished acquisitions (Joseph. *l. c.* *τῇ πατριφίᾳ γλώττῃ διαφέρωντας πεπαιδευμένους*); and his brother Seraiah held an honourable office in the court of Zedekiah (Jer. li. 59). His enemies accused him of influencing Jeremiah in favour of the Chaldeans (Jer. xliii. 3; cf. xxxvii. 13); and he was thrown into prison with that prophet, where he remained till the capture of Jerusalem B.C. 586 (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §1). By the permission of Nebuchadnezzar he remained with Jeremiah at Mispas (Joseph. *l. c.*); but was afterwards forced to go down to Egypt with "the remnant of Judah, that were returned from all nations" (Jer. xliii. 6; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §6). Nothing is known certainly of the close of his life. According to one tradition he remained in Egypt till the death of Jeremiah, and then retired to Babylon, where he died in the 12th year after the destruction of Jerusalem (Bertholdt, *Eint.* 1740 n.). Jerome, on the other hand, states, "on the authority of the Jews" (*Hebraei tradunt*), that Jeremiah and Baruch died in Egypt "before the desolation of the country by Nabuchodonosor" (*Comm. in Is.* xxx. 6, 7, p. 405). [JEREMIAH.]

2. Son of Zababai (Neh. iii. 20, x. 6). 3. Son of Col-hozeh (Neh. xi. 5). [B. F. W.]

**BARUCH, THE BOOK OF**, is remarkable as the only book in the Apocrypha which is formed on the model of the Prophets; and though it is wanting in originality, it presents a vivid reflection

of the ancient prophetic fire. It may be divided into two main parts i.—iii. 8, and iii. 9—end. The first part consists of an Introduction (i. 1—14), followed by a confession and prayer (i. 15—iii. 8). The second part opens with an abrupt address to Israel (iii. 9—iv. 30), pointing out the sin of the people in neglecting the divine teaching of Wisdom (iii. 9—iv. 8), and introducing a noble lament of Jerusalem over her children, through which hope still gleams (iv. 9—30). After this the tone of the book again changes suddenly, and the writer addresses Jerusalem in words of triumphant joy, and paints in the glowing colours of Isaiah the return of God's chosen people and their abiding glory (iv. 30—v. 9).

1. The book at present exists in Greek, and in several translations which were made from the Greek. The two classes into which the Greek MSS. may be divided do not present any very remarkable variations (Fritzsche, *Eint.* §7); but the Syro-Hexaplaric text of the Milan MS., of which a complete edition is at length announced, is said to contain references to the version of Theodotion (Eichhorn, *Eint. in die Apoc. Schrift.* 388 n.), which must imply a distinct revision of the Greek, if not an independent rendering of an original Hebrew text. Of the two Old-Latin versions which remain, that which is incorporated in the Vulgate is generally literal; the other (Cursus, Rom. 1688; Sabatier) is more free. The vulgar Syriac and Arabic follow the Greek text closely (Fitzsche, *l. c.*).

2. The assumed author of the book is undoubtedly the companion of Jeremiah, though Jalu denied this; but the details are inconsistent with the assumption. If the reading in i. 1 be correct (*ἔρει*; De Wette *conj.* *μνησθ.* *Eint.* §321 a; comp. 2 K. xxv. 8), it is impossible to fix "the fifth year" in such a way as to suit the contents of the book, which exhibits not only historical inaccuracies but also evident traces of a later date than the beginning of the captivity (iii. 9 ff., iv. 22 ff.; i. 3 ff. Comp. 2 K. xxv. 27).

3. The book was held in little esteem among the Jews (Hieron. *Præf. in Jerem.* p. 834... *nec habetur apud Hebræos*; Epiph. *de mens. oὐ κεῖνται ἐπιστολαὶ (Βαρούχ) παρ' Ἑβραίοις*); though it is stated in the Greek text of the Apostolic Constitutions that it was read, together with the Lamentations, "on the tenth of the month Gorpiceus" (i. e. the day of Atonement; *Const. Ap.* v. 20, 1). But this reference is wanting in the Syriac version (Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* ii. 187), and the assertion is unsupported by any other authority. There is no trace of the use of the book in the New Testament, or in the Apostolic Fathers, or in Justin. But from the time of Irenæus it was frequently quoted both in the East and in the West, and generally as the work of Jeremiah (IREN. *adv. Hæc.* v. 35, 1 *significavit Jeremias*, Bar. iv. 36—v; TERTULL. *c. Gnóst.* 8 *Hieremias*, Bar. (Epist.) vi. 3 ff.; CLEM. *Pæd.* i. 10, §91, *διὰ Ἱερεμίου*, Bar. iv. 4; *id. Pæd.* ii. 3, §36, *θεοῦ γραφή*, Bar. iii. 16—19; ORIG. *c.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; *Ἱερεμίας σὺν θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* (?). CYPR. *Test. Lib.* ii. 6, *apud Hieremiam*, Bar. iii. 35, &c.). It was, however, "obelized" throughout in the LXX, as deficient in the Hebrew (*Cod. Chis.* ap. Daniel, &c., Rome, 1772, p. xxi.). On the other hand it is contained as a separate book in the Pseudo-Ladicean Catalogue, and in the Catalogues of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius and Nicephorus; but it is not specially mentioned

In the Conciliar catalogues of Carthage and Hippo, probably as being included under the title Jeremiah. (Comp. [ATHAN.] *Syn. S. Script.* ap. Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kan.* 138. HILAR. *Prolog. in Psalm.* 15.) It is omitted by those writers who reproduced in the main the Hebrew Canon (e.g. Melito, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius). Augustine quotes the words of Baruch (iii. 16) as attributed "more commonly to Jeremiah" (*quidam . . . scribas ejus attribuerunt . . . sed Jeremiae celebratius habetur, de Civ.* xviii. 33), and elsewhere uses them as such (c. *Faust.* xii. 43). At the Council of Trent Baruch was admitted into the Roman Canon; but the Protestant churches have unanimously placed it among the Apocryphal books, though Whiston maintained its authenticity (l. c. *infra*).

4. Considerable discussion has been raised as to the original language of the book. Those who advocated its authenticity generally supposed that it was first written in Hebrew (Huett, Dereser, &c.; but Jahn is undecided; Bertholdt, *Einkl.* 1755), and this opinion found many supporters (Bendtsen, Grüneberg, Mövers, Hitzig, De Wette, *Einkl.* §323). Others again have maintained that the Greek is the original text (Eichhorn, *Einkl.* 388 ff.; Bertholdt, *Einkl.* 1757; Hävernick, ap. De Wette, l. c.) The truth appears to lie between these two extremes. The two divisions of the book are distinguished by marked peculiarities of style and language. The Hebrew character of the first part (i.-iii. 8) is such as to mark it as a translation and not as the work of a Hellenizing Greek: e.g. i. 14, 15, 22, ii. 4, 9, 25, iii. 8; and several obscurities seem to be mistranslations: e.g. i. 2, 8, ii. 18, 29. The second part, on the other hand, which is written with greater freedom and vigour, closely approaches the Alexandrine type. And the imitations of Jeremiah and Daniel which occur throughout the first part (cf. i. 15-18=Dan. ix. 7-10; ii. 1, 2=Dan. ix. 12, 13, ii. 7-19=Dan. ix. 13-18) give place to the tone and imagery of the Psalms and Isaiah.

5. The most probable explanation of this contrast is gained by supposing that some one thoroughly conversant with the Alexandrine translation of Jeremiah, perhaps the translator himself (Hitzig, Fritzsche), found the Hebrew fragment which forms the basis of the book already attached to the writings of that prophet, and wrought it up into its present form. The peculiarities of language common to the LXX. translation of Jeremiah and the first part of Baruch seem too great to be accounted for in any other way (for instance the use of *δεσμώντης, ἀποστολή, βόμβησις (βομβεύει), ἀποικισμός, μάννα, ἀποστρέφειν (πειν.)*, *ἐργάζεσθαι τινι, ὄνομα επικαλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τινι*), and the great discrepancy which exists between the Hebrew and Greek texts as to the arrangement of the later chapters of Jeremiah, increases the probability of such an addition having been made to the canonical prophecies. These verbal coincidences cease to exist in the second part, or become very rare; but this also is distinguished by characteristic words: e.g. *ὁ αἰώνιος ὁ ἄγιος, ἐπάγειν*. At the same time the general unity (even in language, e.g. *χαρμοσύνη*) and coherence of the book in its present form point to the work of one man. (Fritzsche, *Einkl.* §5; Hitzig, *Psalm.* ii. 119; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv. 232 n.). Bertholdt appears to be quite in error (*Einkl.* 1743, 1762) in assigning iii. 1-8 to a separate writer (De Wette, *Einkl.* §322).

6. There are no certain data by which to fix the time of the composition of Baruch. Ewald (l. c.

pp. 230 ff.) assigns it to the close of the Persian period; and this may be true as far as the Hebrew portion is concerned; but the present book must be placed considerably later, probably about the time of the war of liberation (c. B.C. 160), or somewhat earlier.

7. The *Epistle of Jeremiah*, which, according to the authority of some Greek MSS., stands in the English version as the 6th chapter of Baruch, is the work of a later period. It consists of a rhetorical declamation against idols (comp. Jerem. x., xxix.) in the form of a letter addressed by Jeremiah "to them which were to be led captive to Babylon." The letter is divided into clauses by the repetition of a common burden: *they are no gods; fear them not* (vv. 16, 23, 29, 66); *how can a man think or say that they are gods?* (vv. 40, 44, 56, 64). The condition of the text is closely analogous to that of Baruch; and the letter found the same partial reception in the Church. The author shows an intimate acquaintance with idolatrous worship; and this circumstance, combined with the purity of the Hellenistic dialect, points to Egypt as the country in which the Epistle was written. There is no positive evidence to fix its date, for the supposed reference in 2 Mac. ii. 2, is more than uncertain; but it may be assigned with probability to the first century B.C.

8. A Syriac first Epistle of Baruch "to the nine and a half tribes" (comp. 4 Esdr. xiii. 40, Vers. Arab.) is found in the London and Paris Polyglots. This is made up of commonplaces of warning, encouragement, and exhortation. Fritzsche (*Einkl.* §8) considers it to be the production of a Syrian monk. It is not found in any other language. Whiston (*A Collection of Authentic Records*, &c. London, 1727, i. pp. 1 ff., 25 ff.) endeavoured to maintain the canonicity of this Epistle as well as that of the Book of Baruch. [B. F. W.]

**BARZIL'LAI** (בָּרְזִילַי, *iron*; Βερζελλί; *Barzillai*). 1. A wealthy Gileadite who showed hospitality to David when he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 27). On the score of his age, and probably from a feeling of independence, he declined the king's offer of ending his days at court (2 Sam. xix. 32-39). David before his death recommended his sons to the kindness of Solomon (1 K. ii. 7).

2. A Melchite, whose son Adriel married Michal, Saul's daughter (2 Sam. xxi. 8).

3. Ezr. ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63. [R. W. B.]

**BASALOTH** (Βασαλέμ; Alex. Βασαλώ; *Phasulon*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [BAZLITH.]

**BAS'CAMA** (ἡ Βασκαμᾶ; Jos. Βασκά; *Bas-cama*), a place in Gilead (εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν) where Jonathan Maccabæus was killed by Trypho, and from which his bones were afterwards disinterred and conveyed to Modin by his brother Simon (1 Mac. xiii. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 6, §6). No trace of the name has yet been discovered. [G.]

**BASH'AN** (almost invariably with the definite article, בָּשָׁן; *Basán*; *Basan*), a district on the east of Jordan. It is not, like Argob and other districts of Palestine, distinguished by one constant designation, but is sometimes spoken of as the "land of Bashan" (בְּרֶחַץ בָּשָׁן, 1 Chr. v. 11; and comp. Num. xxi. 33, xxxii. 33), and sometimes as "all Bashan" (כָּל בָּשָׁן; Deut. iii. 10, 13; Josh.

xii, 5, xiii, 12, 30), but most commonly without any addition. It was taken by the children of Israel after their conquest of the land of Sihon from Arnon to Jabbok. They "turned" from their road over Jordan and "went up by the way of Bashan"—probably by very much the same route as that now followed by the pilgrims of the Hifji and by the Romans before them—to Edrei on the western edge of the *Lejah*. [EDREI.] Here they encountered Og king of Bashan, who "came out" probably from the natural fastnesses of Argob, only to meet the entire destruction of himself, his sons, and all his people (Num. xxi. 33-35; Deut. iii. 1-3). Argob, with its 60 strongly fortified cities, evidently formed a principal portion of Bashan (Deut. iii. 4, 5), though still only a portion (13), there being besides a large number of unalled towns (5). Its chief cities were Ashtaroth (i. e. Beeshterah, comp. Josh. xxi. 27 with 1 Chr. vi. 71), Edrei, Golan, Saleah, and possibly Mahanaim (Josh. xiii. 30). Two of these cities, viz. Golan and Beeshterah, were allotted to the Levites of the family of Gershom, the former as a "city of refuge" (Josh. xxi. 27; 1 Chr. vi. 71).

The limits of Bashan are very strictly defined. It extended from the "border of Gilead" on the south to Mount Hermon on the north (Deut. iii. 3, 10, 14; Josh. xii. 5; 1 Chr. v. 23), and from the Arabah or Jordan valley on the west to Salchah (*Salchad*) and the border of the Geshurites, and the Manathites on the east (Josh. xii. 3-5; Deut. iii. 10). This important district was bestowed on the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 29-31), together with "half Gilead." After the Manassites had assisted their brethren in the conquest of the country west of the Jordan, they went to their tents and to their cattle in the possession which Moses had given them in Bashan (xii. 7, 8). It is just named in the list of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 13). And here, with the exception of one more passing glimpse, closes the history of Bashan as far as the Bible is concerned. It vanishes from our view until we meet with it as being devastated by Hazael in the reign of Jehu (2 K. x. 33). True the "oaks" of its forests and the wild cattle of its pastures—the "strong bulls of Bashan"—long retained their proverbial fame (Ezek. xxvii. 6; Ps. xvii. 12), and the beauty of its high downs and wide sweeping plains could not but strike now and then the heart of a poet (Am. iv. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 15; Jer. l. 19; Mic. vii. 14), but history it has none; its very name seems to have given place as quickly as possible to one which had a connexion with the story of the founder of the nation (Gen. xxxi. 47-8), and therefore more claim to use. Even so early as the time of the conquest, "Gilead" seems to have begun to take the first place as the designation of the country beyond the Jordan, a place which it retained afterwards to the exclusion of Bashan (comp. Josh. xii. 9, 15, 32; Judg. xx. 1; Ps. lx. 7, ciii. 8; 1 Chr. xxvii. 21; 2 K. xv. 29). Indeed "Bashan" is most frequently used as a mere accompaniment to the name of Og, when his overthrow is alluded to in the national poetry.

After the captivity, Bashan is mentioned as divided into four provinces—Gaulanitis, Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea. Of these four, all but the third have retained almost perfectly their ancient names, the modern *Lejah* alone having superseded the Argob and Trachonitis of the Old and New Testaments. The province of *Jaulan* is the most western of the four; it abuts on the sea of Galilee and the lake of Merom, from the former of which it

risers to a plateau nearly 3000 feet above the surface of the water. This plateau, though now almost wholly uncultivated, is of a rich soil, and its N.W. portion rises into a range of hills almost everywhere clothed with oak forests (Porter, ii. 259). No less than 127 ruined villages are scattered over its surface. [GOLAN.]

The *Hauran* is to the S.E. of the last named province and S. of the *Lejah*; like *Jaulan*, its surface is perfectly flat, and its soil esteemed amongst the most fertile in Syria. It too contains an immense number of ruined towns, and also many inhabited villages. [HAURAN.]

The contrast which the rocky intricacies of the *Lejah* present to the rich and flat plains of the Hauran and the *Jaulan* has already been noticed. [ARGOB.]

The remaining district, though no doubt much smaller in extent than the ancient Bashan, still retains its name, modified by a change frequent in the Oriental languages. *Ari-el-Bathanyeh* lies on the east of the *Lejah* and the north of the range of *Jebel Hauran* or *ed Druze* (Porter, ii. 57). It is a mountainous district of the most picturesque character, abounding with forests of evergreen oak, and with soil extremely rich; the surface studded with towns of very remote antiquity, deserted it is true, but yet standing almost as perfect as the day they were built.

For the boundaries and characteristics of these provinces, and the most complete researches yet published into this interesting portion of Palestine, see Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii. [G.]

BASHAN-HA'VOTH-JA'IR, a name given to Argob after its conquest by Jair (Deut. iii. 14).

BASH'EMATH, or DAS'MATH (בַּשְׁמַת, *fragrant*; *Basemath*). 1. Daughter of Ishmael, the last married of the three wives of Esau (Gen. xxvi. 3, 4, 13), from whose son, Reuel, four tribes of the Edomites were descended. When first mentioned she is called Mahalath (Gen. xxviii. 9); whilst, on the other hand, the name Bashemath is in the narrative (Gen. xxvi. 34) given to another of Esau's wives, the daughter of Elion the Hittite. It is remarkable that all Esau's wives receive different names in the genealogical table of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi.) from those by which they have been previously mentioned in the history. The diversity will be best seen by placing the names side by side:—

GENEALOGY (Gen. xxvi. 2, 3).	NARRATIVE (Gen. xxvi. 34; xxviii. 9).
1. Adah, d. of Elion.	2. Bashemath, d. of Elion.
2. Aholibamah, d. of Anah.	1. Judith, d. of Beeri.
3. Bashemath, d. of Ishmael.	3. Mahalath, d. of Ishmael.

Whatever be the explanation of this diversity of names, there is every reason for supposing that they refer to the same persons respectively; and we may well conclude with Hengstenberg that the change of all the names cannot have arisen from accident; and further, that the names in the genealogical table, which is essentially an Edomitish document, are those which these women respectively bore as the wives of Esau (Hengstenberg, *Auth. d. Pent.* ii. 277, Eng. transl. ii. 226). This view is confirmed by the fact that the Seirite wife, who is called Judith in the narrative, appears in the genealogical account under the name of AHOLIBAMAH, a name which appears to have belonged to a district of Idumea (Gen. xxvi. 41). The only ground for hesitation

or suspicion of error in the text is the occurrence of this name Bashemath both in the narrative and the genealogy, though applied to different persons. The Samaritan text seeks to remove this difficulty by reading Mahalath instead of Bashemath in the genealogy. We might with more probability suppose that this name (Bashemath) has been assigned to the wrong person in one or other of the passages; but if so it is impossible to determine which is erroneous.

2. A daughter of Solomon and wife of one of his officers, called in A. V. **BASMATH** (1 K. iv. 15). [F. W. G.]

**BASIN.** 1. **בַּסִּין**; **φιδλη**; *phiale*; from **פָּרַץ**, to scatter (Ges. p. 434); often in A. V. *basin*. 2. **בִּסְתָּ**; *κρατήρ*; *crater*. 3. **בִּפְתָּר**; *crater*; in A. V. sometimes *cup*, from **כַּפֶּר**, *cover*, a cup with a lid. 4. **בִּסְתָּ**, wrongly in LXX. (Ex. xii. 22) *θύρα*, and in Vulg. *linen* (Ges. p. 965).

1. Between the various vessels bearing in the A. V. the names of basin, bowl, charger, cup and dish, it is scarcely possible now to ascertain the precise distinction, as very few, if any remains are known up to the present time to exist of Jewish earthen or metal ware, and as the same words are variously rendered in different places. We can only conjecture as to their form and material from the analogy of ancient Egyptian or Assyrian specimens of works of the same kind, and from modern Oriental vessels for culinary or domestic purposes. Among the smaller vessels for the Tabernacle or Temple-service, many must have been required to receive from the sacrificial victims the blood to be sprinkled for purification. Moses, on the occasion of the great ceremony of purification in the wilderness, put half the blood in "the basins" **בַּסִּיִּם**, or bowls, and afterwards sprinkled it on the people (Ex. xxiv. 6, 8, xxxix. 21; Lev. i. 5, ii. 15, iii. 2, 8, 13, iv. 5, 34, viii. 23, 24, xiv. 14, 25, xvi. 15, 19; Heb. ix. 19). Among the vessels cast in metal, whether gold, silver, or brass, by Hiram for Solomon, besides the laver and great sea, mention is made of basins, bowls, and cups. Of the first (**בַּסִּיִּם**, marg. *bowls*) he is said to have made 100 (2 Chr. iv. 8; 1 K. vii. 45, 46. Cf. Ex. xxv. 29 and 1 Chr. xxviii. 14, 17). Josephus, probably with great exaggeration, reckons of **φιδλαι** and **σπονδία**, 20,000 in gold and 40,000 in silver, besides an equal number in each metal of **κρατήρες**, for the offerings of flour mixed with oil (Ant. viii. 3 §§7, 8. Comp. Birch, *Hist. of Pottery*, i. 152).

2. The "basin" from which our Lord washed the disciples' feet, **νιπτήρ**, was probably deeper and larger than the hand-basin for sprinkling, **בִּסְתָּ** (Jer. lii. 18), which, in A. V. "caldrons," Vulg. *lobetes*, is by the Syr. rendered *basin* for washing the feet (John xiii. 5). (Schleusner, Drusus.) [WASHING OF FEET AND HANDS.] [H. W. P.]

**BASKET.** The Hebrew terms used in the description of this article are as follows: (1) **סַל**, so called from the *twigs* of which it was originally made, specially used as the Greek *κανόνη* (Hom. *Od.* iii. 442), and the Latin *canistrum* (Virg. *Æn.* i. 701) for holding bread (Gen. xl. 16 ff.; Ex. xxix. 3, 23; Lev. viii. 2, 26, 31; Num. vi. 15, 17, 19). The form of the Egyptian bread-basket is delineated in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 226,

after the specimens represented in the tomb of Rameses III. These were made of gold (comp. Hom. *Od.* x. 355), and we must assume that the term *sal* passed from its strict etymological meaning to any vessel applied to the purpose. In Judg. vi. 19, meat is served up in a *sal*, which could hardly have been of wickerwork. The expression **סַלֵּי חֵרִי**

(Gen. xl. 16) is sometimes referred to the material of which the baskets were made (*κανὰ βαϊνά* Symm.), or the white colour of the peeled sticks, or lastly to their being "full of holes" (A. V. margin), i. e. *open work* baskets. (2) **סַלְמִלֹחַת**,



Egyptian Baskets. (From Wilkinson.)

a word of kindred origin, applied to the basket used in gathering grapes (Jer. vi. 9). (3) **סַלְמִלֹחַת**, in which the first-fruits of the harvest were presented (Deut. xvi. 2, 4). From its being coupled with the kneading-bowl (A. V. "store"; Deut. xxviii. 5, 17), we may infer that it was also used for household purposes, perhaps to bring the corn to the mill. The equivalent term in the LXX. for this and the preceding Hebrew words is **κάρταλλος**, which specifically means a basket that tapers downwards (*κόφινος ὅξως τὰ κάτω*, Suid.), similar to the Roman *corbis*. This shape of basket appears to have been familiar to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 401). (4) **בִּלְבֵּב**, so called from its similarity



Egyptian Baskets. (From Wilkinson.)

to a birdcage or trap (**κάρταλλος** is used in the latter sense in Eccles. xi. 30), probably in regard to its having a lid: it was used for carrying fruit (A. V. viii. 1, 2); the LXX. gives **ἄγγος**; Symm. more correctly **κάλαθος**; the Vulg. *umcinus*. (5) **בִּלְבֵּב**, used like the Greek **κάλαθος** (LXX.) for carrying fruit (Jer. xxiv. 1, 2), as well as for a larger scone for carrying clay to the brickyard (Is. lxxxi. 6; *κόφινος*, LXX.; *pots*, A. V.), or for holding bulky articles (2 K. x. 7; **κάρταλλος**, LXX.): the shape of this basket and the mode of carrying it usual among the brickmakers in Egypt is delineated in Wilkinson, ii. 99, and aptly illustrates Is. lxxvi. 6.

The name Sallai (Neh. xi. 8, xii. 20) seems to indicate that the manufacture of baskets was a recognised trade among the Hebrews.

In the N.T. baskets are described under the three following terms, *κόφινος*, *στυρίς*, and *σαργύνη*. The last occurs only in 2 Cor. xi. 33, in describing St. Paul's escape from Damascus: the word properly refers to anything twisted like a rope (Aesch. *Suppl.* 791) or any article woven of rope (*πλέγμα τι ἐκ σχοινοῦ*, Suid.); fish-baskets specially were so made (*ἀπὸ σχοινοῦ πλεγμάτων εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἰχθύων*, Etym. Mag.). With regard to *κόφινος* is exclusively used in the description of the miracle of feeding the five thousand (Matt. xiv. 20, xvi. 9; Mark vi. 43; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13), and *στυρίς* in that of the four thousand (Matt. xv. 37; Mark viii. 8), the distinction is most definitely brought out in Mark vii. 19, 20. The *στυρίς* is also mentioned as the means of St. Paul's escape (Acts ix. 25). The difference between these two kinds of baskets is not very apparent. Their construction appears to have been the same; for *κόφινος* is explained by Suidas as *ἀγγεῖον πλεκτόν*, while *στυρίς* is generally connected with *στειρά*. The *στυρίς* (*sporta*, Vulg.) seems to have been most appropriately used of the provision basket, the Roman *sportula*. Hesychius explains it as *τὸ τῶν πυρῶν ἄγγος*; compare also the expression *δείπνον ἀπὸ στυρίδος* (Athen. viii. 17). The *κόφινος* seems to have been generally larger. According to Etym. Mag. it is *βαθὺ καὶ κοίλον χώραμα*; as used by the Romans (Colum. xi. 3, p. 460) it contained manure enough to make a portable hotbed [*Dict. of Ant.* COPHINUS]; in Rome itself it was constantly carried about by the Jews (*quorum cophinus foenumque suppellex*, Juv. iii. 14, vi. 542). Greswell (*Diss.* viii. pt. 4) surmises that the use of the *cophinus* was to sleep in, but there is little to support this. [W. L. B.]

**BAS'MATH** (בַּסְמַת; ἡ Βασεμμάθ; *Basemath*), a daughter of Solomon, married to Ahimanz, one of his commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 15). [BASHEMATH.]

**BAS'SA** (*Basas*; Alex. *Βάσσα*; Vulg. not recognisable), 1 Esd. v. 16. [BEZAL.]

**BA'STAI** (*Basath*; *Hasten*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [BFSAL.]

**BAT** (בַּת; *hátalléph*), an animal included by the Mosaic law among unclean things which may not be eaten (Deut. xiv. 18, 19, and Lev. xi. 19, 20). It is accurately described in the latter passage as a fowl that creeps, going upon all-fours, for the bat has claws on its pinions by which it attaches itself to the surface of its dwelling-place, and creeps along it. It is mentioned in Is. ii. 20. Bats are very common in the East. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 307) describes his visit to a cavern on the banks of the Khabor, swarming with bats. "Flying towards the light," he adds, "these noisome beasts compelled us to retreat. They clung to our clothes, and our hands could scarcely prevent them settling on our faces. The rustling of their wings was like the noise of a great wind, and an abominable stench arose from the recesses of the cave."

The derivation of בַּת is of itself conclusive as to its meaning, being from: עָלָה = *caligi-*

*nosa fuit nox*, and בַּת רַבִּי *volans*; just as we have the Gk. *νύκτερις* from *νύξ*, and the Latin *Vespertilio* from *vesper*. Gesenius points out a similar derivation in Persian. *Comp. Or. Met.* iv. 415:—

Nocte volant, seroque trahunt a vespere noem."

In the three passages above referred to the LXX. have *νύκτερις*. [W. D.]

**BATH, BATHING.** This was a prescribed part of the Jewish ritual of purification in cases of accidental, leprous, or ordinary uncleanness (Lev. xv. *pass.*, xvi. 28, xxii. 6; Num. xix. 7, 19; 2 Sam. xi. 2, 4; 2 K. v. 10); as also after incurring which always implied defilement, e. g. Ruth iii. 3; 2 Sam. xii. 20. The high-priest at his inauguration (Lev. xiii. 6) and on the day of atonement, once before each solemn act of propitiation (xvi. 4, 24), was also to bathe. The rabbis have multiplied into ten times on that day. Maimon. (*Constit. de Vasis Sanct.* v. 3) gives rules for the strict privacy of the high-priest in bathing. There were bath-rooms in the later Temple over the chambers *Abtines* and *Hippararai* for the priests' use (Lightfoot, *Descr. of Temp.* 24). A bathing-chamber was probably included in houses even of no great rank in cities from early times (2 Sam. xi. 2); much more in those of the wealthy in later times; often in gardens (Susan. 15). With this, anointing was customarily joined; the climate making both these essential alike to health and pleasure, to which luxury added the use of perfumes (Susan. 17; Jud. x. 3; Esth. ii. 12). The "pools," such as that of Siloam, and Hezekiah's (Neh. iii. 15, 16; 2 K. xx. 20; Is. xxvii. 11; John ix. 7), often sheltered by porticoes (John v. 2), are the first indications we have of public bathing accommodation. Ever since the time of Jason (Prideaux, ii. 168) the Greek usages of the bath probably prevailed, and an allusion in Josephus (*Λουόμενος στρατιωτικώτερον*, B. J. i. 17, §7) seems to imply the use of the bath (hence, no doubt, a public one, as in Rome), by legionary soldiers. We read also of a castle luxuriously provided with a volume of water in its court, and of a Herodian palace with spacious pools adjoining, in which the guests continued swimming, &c. in very hot weather from noon till dark (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, §11, xv. 3, §3). The hot baths of Tiberias, or more strictly of Emmaus (Euseb. *Onomast.* Αἰθρά, query Αἰμάθ? Bonferrius) near it, and of Callirhoe, near the Eastern shore of the Dead Sea, were much resorted to. (Ireland, i. 46; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, xvii. 6, §5, B. J. i. 33, §5; Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8; Stanley, 375, 295.) The parallel customs of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, are too well known to need special allusion. (See *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* art. *Balneus*.) [H. H.]

**BATH.** [MEASURES.]

**BATH-RAB'BIM**, THE GATE OF (בַּת רַבִּי), one of the gates of the ancient city of Heshbon, by (עַל) which were two "pools," where-to Solomon likens the eyes of his beloved (Cant. vii. 4 [5]). The "Gate of Bathrabbim" at Heshbon would, according to the Oriental custom, be the gate pointing to a town of that name. The only place in this neighbourhood at all resembling Bath-

\* The "fishpools" of the A. V. is from *piscinas* of the Vulg. The Hebrew word Boreach is simply a pool or tank.

rabbim in sound is Rabbah (*Ammán*), but the one tank of which we gain any intelligence as remaining at *Heshbān*, is on the opposite (S.) side of the town to *Ammán* (Porter, *Handbook*, 298). Future investigations may settle this point. The LXX. and Vulg. translate: *ἐν πύλαις θυγατρὸς πολλῶν; in porta filiae multitudinis*. [G.]

**BATH'SHEBA** (בַּת־שֶׁבַע, 2 Sam. xi. 3, &c.;

also called Bathshua, בַּת־שׁוּא, in 1 Chr. iii. 5; *Βηρσαβέ*; Joseph. *Βεθσαβή*; i. e. *daughter of an oath*, or, *daughter of senen, so. years*, the daughter of Elian (2 Sam. xi. 3), or Amiel (1 Chr. iii. 5), the son of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xxiii. 34), the wife of Uriah the Hittite. It is probable that the enmity of Ahithophel towards David was increased, if not caused, by the dishonour brought by him upon his family in the person of Bathsheba. The child which was the fruit of her adulterous intercourse with David died: but after marriage she became the mother of four sons, Solomon (Matt. i. 6), Shimea, Shobab, and Nathan. When, in David's old age, Adonijah, an elder son by Haggith, attempted to set aside in his own favour the succession promised to Solomon, Bathsheba was employed by Nathan to inform the king of the conspiracy (1 K. i. 11, 15, 23). After the accession of Solomon, she, as queen-mother, requested permission of her son for Adonijah to take in marriage Abishag the Shunamite. This permission was refused, and became the occasion of the execution of Adonijah (1 K. i. 24, 25). [DAVID.] Bathsheba was said by Jewish tradition to have composed and recited Prov. xxxi. by way of atonement or reproof to her son Solomon, on his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter. Calmet, *Dict. s. v.*; Corn. : Lapid, on *Prov.* xxxi. [H. W. P.]

**BATH-SHUA** (בַּת־שׁוּא; Vat. and Alex

ή *Βηρσαβέ*; *Bethsabbe*), a variation of the name of Bathsheba, mother of Solomon, occurring only in 1 Chr. iii. 5. It is perhaps worth notice that Shua was a Canaanite name (comp. 1 Chr. ii. 3, and Gen. xxviii. 2, 12—where "Bath-shua" is really the name of Judah's wife), while Bathsheba's original husband was a Hittite.

**BATH-ZACHARI'AS** (בֵּית זַכְרְיָה; quasi

*Βαθ(α)χαρία*; Alex. and Joseph. *Βεθ(α)χαρία* *Bethzacharia*), a place, named only 1 Mac. vi. 32, 33, to which Judas Maccabaeus marched from Jerusalem, and where he encamped for the relief of Bethsura (Bethzur) when the latter was besieged by Antiochus Eupator. The two places were seventy stadia apart (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, §4), and the approaches to Bathzacharia were intricate and confined—*στενῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς παρόδου* (Joseph. *R. J.* i. i. §5, and comp. the passage cited above from which it is evident that Josephus knew the spot). This description is met in every respect by the modern *Beit Sukârich*, which has been discovered by Robinson at nine miles north of *Beit sir* "on an almost isolated promontory or tell, jutting out between two deep valleys, and connected with the high ground south by a low neck between the heads of the valleys, the neck forming the only place of access to what must have been an almost impregnable position" (Rob. iii. 283, 284). The place lies in the entangled country west of th. Hebron road between four and five miles south of Bethlehem. [BETHZUR.] [G.]

**BAV'AI** (בָּבַי; *Bevet*; *Bavai*), son of Heundal, nler (שֹׁרֶר) of the "district" (פְּקֻדָּה) of Keilah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 18).

**BAY-TREE**. The Heb. *Ezrâch* (עֶזְרָח) occurs only once in the Bible, in Ps. xxxvii. 35, where the A. V. renders it bay-tree, and in the margin "a tree that groweth in his own soil." In this passage the LXX. have *ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου*. Gesenius renders it *arbor indigena*, and derives it from the root עֶזַח, *ortus est sol, procrevit, progeminavit*, the form עֶזַח being equivalent to עֶזַח, with N prosthetic. There is no authority for assigning the name to any particular tree, though many commentators suppose the laurel to be meant. The *κέδρου* of the LXX. arose from confounding *עֶזַח* with *עֶזְרָה*. [W. D.]

**BAZ'LITH** (בְּצִלִּית), "Children of B." were amongst the Nethinim who returned with Zerubabel (Neh. vii. 54). In Ezr. ii. 52, the name is given as *BAZLUTH* (בְּצִלּוּת). LXX. in both *Βασαλώθ*; *Besluth*. [BASALOTH.]

**BDELLIUM**, the translation of the Heb. *bedolach* (בְּדֹלַח), which occurs only twice in the Scriptures. It is mentioned in Gen. ii. 12 as one of the productions of the land of Havilah, and in Num. xi. 7, where the colour of the manna is said to be as the colour of *bedellium*, while in Exod. xvi. 14 the manna is likened to the hoar-frost on the ground. The LXX. render it by *ἄνθραξ* in Gen. and by *πρόσταλλον* in Num. They therefore took it to be a precious stone; in which they are followed by Island, who supposes it to be a *crystal*, and by Wahl and Hartmann, who render it *beryl*, and would read *בְּרִלָה* for *בְּדֹלַח*. Others have taken it to be *Bdelium*, a

vegetable product exuding from a tree growing in Arabia, India, and Babylonia, whitish in colour, resinous, pellucid, and approaching to the colour of frankincense. Dioscorides describes it (i. 70, al. 80), and after him Pliny (xii. 9, §19). See also Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 1, §6; Celsus, *Hierob.* i. 324; and Clericus, *ad Gen.* ii. 12. Gesenius objects to both these explanations. It cannot be a precious stone, he argues, because in Gen. ii. 12 *אֲבָן* is prefixed to *שֹׁהַם*, not to *בְּדֹלַח*. It is not a gum, because that would not be of sufficient value to rank with the gold and precious stones of the land of Havilah. He adopts therefore the theory of Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 674-83, iii. 592, Lips.) that *בְּדֹלַח* signifies *pearls*, which are found in great abundance on the shores of the Persian Gulf. In this case *בְּדֹלַח* is a quadriliteral from *בָּדַל*, with a guttural added, and signifies *margarita selecta et eximia*. It is most probable that *bedolach* is a precious stone. [W. D.]

**BEAL'AI** (בְּעֵלְאִי), remarkable as containing the names of both Beal and Jah; *Baalaid*; *Baulia*), a Benjamite, who went over to David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 5).

**BE'ALOTH** (בְּעֵלּוֹת, the plur. fem. form of *Baal*; *Balmainân*; Alex. *Balâth*; *Buloth*), a town in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 24).

**BEAN**, CHILDREN OF (*בְּנֵי בִדְוֹן*; Joseph. *Βοι τοῦ Βιδών*; *filii Bean*), a tribe, apparently of predatory Bedouin habits, retreating into "towers" (*πύργους*) when not plundering, and who were destroyed by Judas Macabæus (1 Mac. v. 4). The name has been supposed to be identical with BEON; but in the absence of more information this must remain mere conjecture, especially as it is very difficult to tell from the context whether the residence of this people was on the east or west of Jordan. [G.]

**BEANS** (*בִּיב*; *Pál*), mentioned in 2 Sam. xvii. 28 among the provisions brought for David and for the people to Mahanaim, and in Ez. iv. 9 as one of the ingredients of the bread which the prophet should eat for 390 days. The LXX. in both places have *κναυός*. *בִּיב* is from the root *בָּב*, which, according to Gesenius, signifies *voleendo acquirere et complanare*, though, according to others, *findere, secare*. In the former case we have allusion to the rounded form of the bean—in the latter to its mode of germination. The monuments of Egypt show that the bean was cultivated in that country at an early date; and in spite of the contrary statement of Herodotus, it was probably an article of food with the lower classes. Beans with rice and dourra bread are chief articles of food to this day among the Fellahs. They eat horse-beans steeped in oil. [W. D.]

**BEAR** (*בֶּרֶךְ* and *בֶּרֶךְ*; *ἄρκτος*; *ursa*), an animal frequently mentioned in Scripture. The ferocity of the she-bear when deprived of her cubs is alluded to in 2 Sam. xvii. 8; Prov. xvii. 12; and Hos. xiii. 8—its attacking flocks in 1 Sam. xvii. 34, 36, 37—its hostility to cattle is implied in Is. xi. 7—its roaring in Is. lix. 11—its habit of ranging far and wide for food in Prov. xviii. 15—its lying in wait for its prey in Lam. iii. 10; and from 2 K. ii. 24 we may infer that it would attack men, and from Am. v. 19 that it was as much to be dreaded as the lion. The second beast of Daniel's vision "was like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh." The *בֶּרֶךְ* was therefore a carnivorous animal. The bear in Rev. xiii. 2 had the feet of a bear. It is also mentioned in Wisd. xi. 17, and Eccles. xlvii. 3. The LXX. translate it by *ἄρκτος*. Gesenius derives *בֶּרֶךְ* from *בָּרַךְ*, *repsit, rependo incessit*; but Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 806) says it was so called because it is an hairy animal, comparing *دب*,

*parros pilos habuit in facie*. The variety of the Asiatic bear which inhabits the Himalayas is especially ferocious, and it is probable that the same species among the mountains of Armenia is the animal of Scripture. [W. D.]

**BEARD** (*בֶּרֶךְ*; *πώγων*; *barba*). Western Asiatics have always cherished the beard as the badge of the dignity of manhood, and attached to it the importance of a feature. The Egyptians on the contrary, sedulously, for the most part, shaved the hair of the face and head, and compelled their slaves to do the like. Herodotus (i. 36) mentions it as a peculiarity of the Egyptians, that they let the beard grow in mourning, being at all other times shaved. Hence Joseph, when released

from prison, "shaved his beard" to appear before Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 14). It was, however, the practice among the Egyptians to wear a false beard,



Beards. Egyptian, from Wilkinson (top row). Of other nations from Rosellini and Layard (bottom row).

made of plaited hair, and of a different form according to the rank of the persons, private individuals being represented with a small beard, scarcely two inches long, kings with one of considerable length, square at the bottom, and gods with one turning up at the end (Wilkinson, *An. Egypt.* suppl. plate 77, part 2). The enemies of the Egyptians, including probably many of the nations of (Canaan, Syria, and Armenia, &c.), are represented nearly always bearded. On the tomb of Beni Hassan is represented a train of foreigners with asses and cattle, who all have short beards, as have also groups of various nations on another monument.

Egyptians of low caste or mean condition are represented sometimes, in the spirit of caricature, apparently with beards of slovenly growth (Wilkinson, ii. 127). In the Ninevite monuments is a series of battle-views from the capture of Lachish by Sennacherib, in which the captives have beards very like some of those in the Egyptian monuments.

There is, however, an appearance of conventionalism both in Egyptian and Assyrian treatment of the hair and beard on monuments, which prevents our accepting it as characteristic. Nor is it possible to decide with certainty the meaning of the precept (Lev. xix. 27, xxi. 5) regarding the "corners of the beard." It seems to imply something in which the cut of a Jewish beard had a ceremonial difference from that of other western Asiatics; and on comparing Herod. iii. 8 with Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 23, xlix. 32, it is likely that the Jews retained the hair on the sides of the face between the ear and eye (*κρόταφοι*), which the Arabs and others shaved away. Size and fullness of beard are said to be regarded, at the present day, as a mark of respectability and trustworthiness. The beard is the object of an oath, and that on which blessings or shame are spoken of as resting (D'Arvieux, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Arabes*). The custom was and is to shave or pluck it and the hair out in mourning (Is. i. 6, xv. 2; Jer. xli. 5, xlviii. 37; Ezr. ix. 3; Bar. vi. 31); to neglect it in seasons of permanent affliction (2 Sam. xix. 24), and to regard any insult to it as the last outrage which enmity can inflict. Thus David resented the treatment of his ambassadors by Hanun (2 Sam. x. 4); so the people of God are figuratively spoken of as "beard" or "hair" which he will shave with "the razor, the king of Assyria" (Is. vii. 20). The beard was the object of salutation, and under this show of friendly reverence Joab beguiled Amasa (2 Sam. xix. 9). The dressing, trimming, anointing, &c. of the

beard, was performed with much ceremony by persons of wealth and rank (Ps. cxxxiii. 2). The removal of the beard was a part of the ceremonial treatment proper to a leper (Lev. xiv. 9). There is no evidence that the Jews compelled their slaves to wear beards otherwise than they wore their own; although the Romans, when they adopted the fashion of shaving, compelled their slaves to cherish their hair and beard, and let them shave when manumitted (Liv. xxxiv. 52, xlv. 44). [II. H.]

BE'BAI (בְּבַי; *Baṣat*, *Bḡḡl*, *Bḡṣat*; *Bebai*).

1. "Sons of Bebai," 623 (Neh. 628) in number, returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 11; Neh. vii. 16; 1 Esd. v. 13), and at a later period twenty-eight more, under Zechariah the son of Bebai, returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 11). Four of this family had taken foreign wives (Ezr. x. 28; 1 Esd. ix. 29). The name occurs also among those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 15). [PAB.]

2. Father of Zechariah, who was the leader of the twenty-eight men of his tribe mentioned above (Ezr. viii. 11). *Baḡl*.

BE'DAI (Alex. *Bḡḡal*; Vat. omits; Vulg. omits), a place named only in Jud. xv. 4. It is possibly a mere repetition of the name Chobai occurring next to it.

BECHER (בְּכָר; *Boḡḡr*; *Bechor*: *first-born*, but according to Gesen. a *young camel*, which Simonis also hints at, *Onom.* p. 399).

1. The second son of Benjamin, according to the list both in Gen. xlv. 21, and 1 Chr. vii. 6; but omitted in the list of the sons of Benjamin in 1 Chr. vii. 1, as the text now stands. No one, however, can look at the Hebrew text of 1 Chr. viii. 1, בְּנֵימִן הוֹלִיד אֶת-בְּלַע בְּכוֹרוֹ אֲשֶׁבֶל, without at least suspecting that בְּכוֹרוֹ, *his first-born*, is a corruption of בְּכָר, *Becher*, and that the suffix י is a corruption of י, and belongs to the following אֲשֶׁבֶל, so that the genuine sense in that case would be, *Benjamin begat Bela, Becher, and Ashbel*, in exact agreement with Gen. xlv. 21. The enumeration, the second, the third, &c., must then have been added since the corruption of the text. There is, however, another view which may be taken, viz., that 1 Chr. viii. 1 is right, and that in Gen. xlv. 21, and 1 Chr. vii. 8, בְּכָר, as a proper name, is a corruption of בְּכָר, *first-born*, and so that Benjamin had no son of the name of Becher. In favour of this view it may be said that the position of Becher, immediately following Bela the first-born in both passages, is just the position it would be in if it meant "first-born;" that *Becher* is a singular name to give to a second son; and that the discrepancy between Gen. xlv. 21, where *Ashbel* is the third son, and 1 Chr. viii. 1, where he is expressly called the *second*, and the omission of *Ashbel* in 1 Chr. vii. 6, would all be accounted for on the supposition of בְּכָר having been accidentally taken for a proper name, instead of in the sense of "first-born." It may be added further that in 1 Chr. viii. 38, the same confusion has arisen in the case

of the sons of Azel, of whom the second is in the A. V. called *Bocheru*, in Hebrew בְּכָרִי, but which in the LXX. is rendered *πρωτότοκος αὐτοῦ*, and another name, Ἀσά, added to make up the six sons of Azel. And that the LXX. are right in their rendering is made highly probable by the very same form being repeated in ver. 39, "and the sons of Eshek his brother were Ulum his first-born, בְּכָרִי, *Jelush the second*," &c. The support too

which *Becher* as a proper name derives from the occurrence of the same name in Num. xxvi. 35, is somewhat weakened by the fact that Beral (*Baḡḡḡl*, LXX.) is substituted for *Becher* in 1 Chr. vii. 20, and that it is omitted altogether in the LXX. version of Num. xxvi. 35. Moreover, which is perhaps the strongest argument of all, in the enumeration of the Benjamite families in Num. xxvi. 38, there is no mention of *Becher* or the *Bachrites*, but *Ashbel* and the *Ashbelites* immediately follow *Bela* and the *Belaïtes*. Notwithstanding, however, all this, the first supposition was, it can scarcely be doubted, substantially the true one. *Becher* was one of Benjamin's three sons, *Bela*, *Becher*, *Ashbel*, and came down to Egypt with Jacob, being one of the fourteen descendants of Rachel who settled in Egypt, viz. Joseph and his two sons *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, Benjamin and his three sons above named, *Gera*, *Naaman*, *Ehi* (אֶחִי, alius אֶחִירָם, *Ahiram*, Num. xxvi. 38, and אֶחָרָה, *Aharah*, 1 Chr. viii. 1, and perhaps אֶחָרִי and אֶחִירָה, ver. 4 and 7), and *Ard* (אֶרֶד, but in 1 Chr. viii. 3, אֶדָר, *Addar*, the sons of *Bela*, *Muppim* (otherwise *Shuppim*, and *Shephuphan*, 1 Chr. vii. 12, 15, viii. 5; but *Shupham*, Num. xxvi. 39) and *Huppim* (*Hurum*, 1 Chr. viii. 5, but *Hupham* Num. xxvi. 39), apparently the sons of *Ahiram* or *Ehi* (*Aher*, 1 Chr. vii. 12), and *Iosh*, of whom we can give no account, as there is no name the least like it in the parallel passages, unless perchance it be for *Jonah* (יֹנָתַן), a son of *Becher*, 1 Chr. vii. 8.<sup>a</sup> And so, it is worthy of observation, the LXX. render the passage, only that they make *Ard* the son of *Gera*, great-grandson therefore to Benjamin, and make all the others sons of *Bela*. As regards the posterity of *Becher*, we have already noticed the singular fact of there being no family named after him at the numbering of the Israelites in the plains of Moab, as related in Num. xxvi. But the no less singular circumstance of there being a *Becher*, and a family of *Buchrites*, among the sons of *Ephraim* (ver. 35), seems to supply the true explanation. The slaughter of the sons of *Ephraim* by the men of *Gath*, who came to steal their cattle out of the land of *Goshen*, in that border army related in 1 Chr. vii. 21, had sadly thinned the house of *Ephraim* of its males. The daughters of *Ephraim* must therefore have sought husbands in other tribes, and in many cases must have been heireses. It is therefore highly probable that *Becher*,<sup>b</sup> or his heir and head of his house, married an *Ephraimitish* heiress, a daughter of *Shuthelah* (1 Chr. vii. 20, 21), and so that his house was reckoned in the tribe of *Ephraim*, just as *Jair*, the son of *Segub*, was reckoned in the tribe of *Manasseh* (1 Chr. ii. 22; Num. xxxii. 40, 41). The

<sup>a</sup> We are more inclined to think it is a corruption of אֶרֶד, or אֶדָר, and belongs to the preceding אֶחִי, *Ehi*, as *Ahiram* is certainly the right name, as appears by Num. xxvi. 38.

<sup>b</sup> This view suggests the possibility of *Becher* being really the first-born of Benjamin, but having forfeited his birthright for the sake of the *Ephraimitish* inheritance.

time when Becher first appears among the Ephraimites, viz., just before the entering into the promised land, when the people were numbered by genealogies for the express purpose of dividing the inheritance equitably among the tribes, is evidently highly favourable to this view. (See Num. xxvi. 52-56, xxvii.) The junior branches of Becher's family would of course continue in the tribe of Benjamin. Their names, as given in 1 Chr. vii. 8, were Zemira, Joush, Eliezer, Elioenai, Omri, Jerimoth, and Abiah; other branches possessed the fields round Anathoth and Alameth, called Alemeth vi. 60, and Almon Josh. xxi. 18. Which of the above were Becher's own sons, and which were grandsons, or more remote descendants, is perhaps impossible to determine. But the most important of them, as being ancestor to king Saul, and his great captain Abner (2 Sam. iii. 38), the last named Abiah, was it seems literally Becher's son. The generations appear to have been as follows: Becher—Abihū (Aphiah, 1 Sam. ix. 1)—Bechorath—Zeror—Abiel (Jehiel, 1 Chr. ix. 35)—Ner—Kish—Saul. Abner was another son of Ner, brother therefore to Kish, and uncle to Saul. Abiel or Jehiel seems to have been the first of his house who settled at Gibeon or Gibeah (1 Chr. viii. 29, ix. 35), which perhaps he acquired by his marriage with Maachah, and which became thenceforth the seat of his family, and was called afterwards Gibeah of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 4; Is. x. 29). From 1 Chr. vii. 6 it would seem that before this, Gibeon, or Geba, had been possessed by the sons of Ehud (called Abihud ver. 3) and other sons of Bela. But the text appears to be very corrupt.

Another remarkable descendant of Becher was Sheba the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, who headed the formidable rebellion against David described in 2 Sam. xx.; and another, probably, Shimei the son of Gera of Bahurim, who cursed David as he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 5), since he is said to be "a man of the family of the house of Saul." But if so, Gera must be a different person from the Gera of Gen. xlii. 21 and 1 Chr. viii. 3. Perhaps therefore מְשִׁימָה is used in the wider sense of tribe, as Josh. vii. 17, and so the passage may only mean that Shimei was a Benjamite. In this case he would be a descendant of Bela.

From what has been said above it will be seen how important it is, with a view of reconciling apparent discrepancies, to bear in mind the different times when different passages were written, as well as the principle of the genealogical divisions of the families. Thus in the case before us we have the tribe of Benjamin described (1) as it was about the time when Jacob went down into Egypt; (2) as it was just before the entrance into Canaan; (3) as it was in the days of David; and (4) as it was eleven generations after Jonathan and David, i. e. in Hezekiah's reign. It is obvious how in these later times many new heads of houses, called sons of Benjamin, would have sprung up, while older ones, by failure of lines, or translation into other tribes, would have disappeared. Even the non-appearance of Becher in 1 Chr. viii. 1 may be accounted for on this principle, without the necessity for altering the text.

2. Son of Ephraim, Num. xxvi. 35, called Bereb 1 Chr. vii. 20. Same as the preceding. [A. C. H.]

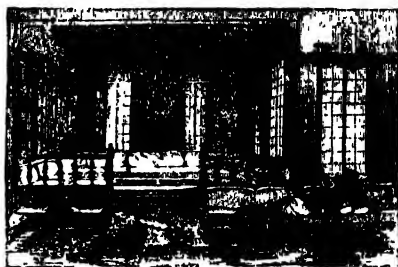
\* It is possible that Bechorath may be the same person as Becher, and that the order has been accidentally inverted.

† Comp. 1 Chr. vii. 14, viii. 5, 8, 29, ix. 35.

BECHO'RATH (בְּכוֹרֶת; Vat. Βαχίρ; Alex. Βεχωράθ; Bechorath), son of Aphiah, or Abiah, and grandson of Becher, according to 1 Sam. ix. 1, 1 Chr. vii. 8. [BECHER.] [A. C. H.]

BECTILETH, THE PLAIN OF (τὸ πεδῖον Βακταίλθ; Alex. Βεκτελέθ; Syr. ܒܕܬܝܠܬܐ) = house of slaughter, mentioned in Jud. ii. 21, as lying between Nineveh and Cilicia. The name has been compared with Βακταίαλλα, a town of Syria named by Ptolemy; Bactiali in the Peutinger Tables, which place it 21 miles from Antioch. The most important plain in this direction is the Bekaa, or valley lying between the two chains of Lebanon. And it is possible that Bectileth is a corruption of that well-known name: if indeed it be a historical word at all. [G.]

BED AND BED-CHAMBER. We may distinguish in the Jewish bed five principal parts:—1. the substratum; 2. the covering; 3. the pillow; 4. the bedstead or analogous support for 1., 5. the ornamental portions.

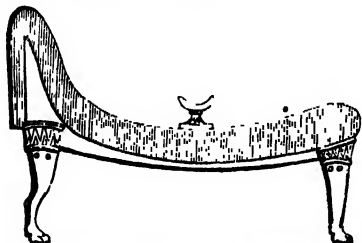


Bed. (From Fellows, A. C. H. Memoir.)

1. This substantive portion of the bed was limited to a mere mat, or one or more quilts. 2. A quilt tinner than those used in 1. In summer a thin blanket or the outer garment worn by day (1 Sam. xix. 13) sufficed. This latter, in the case of a poor person, often formed both 1. and 2. and that without a bedstead. Hence the law provided that it should not be kept in pledge after sunset, that the poor man might not lack his needful covering (Deut. xxiv. 13). 3. The only material mentioned, for this is that which occurs 1 Sam. xix. 13, and the word used is of doubtful meaning, but seems to signify some fabric woven or plaited of goat's-hair. It is clear, however, that it was something hastily adopted to serve as a pillow, and is not decisive of the ordinary use. In Ez. xiii. 18, occurs the word Πῶς (προσκεφάλαιον, LXX.), which seems to be the proper term. Such pillows are common to this day in the East, formed of sheep's fleece or goat's-skin, with a stuffing of cotton, &c. We read of a "pillow," also, in the boat in which our Lord lay asleep (Mark iv. 38) as he crossed the lake. The block of stone such as Jacob used, covered perhaps with a garment, was not unusual among the poorer folk, shepherds, &c.

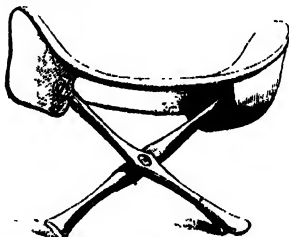
4. The bedstead was not always necessary, the divan, or platform along the side or end of an Oriental room, sufficing as a support for the bedding. (See preceding cut.) Yet some slight and portable frame seems implied among the senses of the word מַטָּה, which is used for a "bier" (2 Sam. iii. 31), and for the ordinary bed (2 K. iv. 10), for

the litter on which a sick person might be carried (1 Sam. xix. 15), for Jacob's bed of sickness (Gen. xlvii. 31), and for the couch on which guests reclined at a banquet (Esth. i. 6). Thus it seems the comprehensive and generic term. The proper word for a bedstead appears to be **נִרְשָׁה**, used Deut. iii. 11, to describe that on which lay the giant Og, whose vast bulk and weight required one of iron.



Bed and Head-rest. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*.)

5. The ornamental portions, and those which luxury added, were pillars and a canopy (Jud. xiii. 9); ivory carvings, gold and silver (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 21, 14), and probably mosaic work, purple and fine linen, are also mentioned as constituting parts of beds (Esth. i. 6; Cant. iii. 9, 10) where the word **מִטָּה**, LXX. *φάρατρον*, seems to mean "a litter" (Prov. vii. 16, 17; Amos xi. 4). So also are perfumes.



Pillow, or Head-rest. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*.)

There is but little distinction of the *bed* from sitting furniture among the Orientals; the same article being used for nightly rest, and during the day. This applies both to the divan and bedstead in all its forms, except perhaps the litter.

There was also a garden-watcher's bed, **מִטָּה גַּנְנוֹן**, rendered variously in the A. V. "cottage" and "lodge," which seems to have been slung like a hammock, perhaps from the trees (Is. i. 8, xiv. 20).

Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, 11) mentions the bed-chambers in the Arabian palace of Hyrcanus.

The ordinary furniture of a bedchamber in private life is given in 2 K. iv. 10. The "bed-chamber" in the temple where Joash was hidden, was, as Calmet suggests (*Dict. of Bib. Art.* "Beds"), probably, a store-chamber for keeping beds, not a mere bedroom, and thus better adapted to conceal the fugitives (2 K. xi. 2; 2 Chr. xxii. 11, **חֲדָרֵי הַמִּטּוֹת**, "chamber of beds," not the usual **חֲדָרֵי מִשְׁכָּב**, "chamber of reclining," Ex. vii. 28 and *passim*).

The position of the bed-chamber in the most remote and secret parts of the palace seems marked in the passages, Ex. viii. 3; 2 K. vi. 12. [H. II.]

**BE'DAD** (**בְּדָד**; *Bapdδ*; *Badud*), the father of one of the kings of Edom, "Iladad ben-Bedad" (Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Chr. i. 46).

**BEDAN** (**בְּדָן**; *Badan*), mentioned 1 Sam. xii. 11, as a Judge of Israel between Jerubbaal (Gideon) and Jephthah. As no such name occurs in the Book of Judges, various conjectures have been formed as to the person meant, most of which are discussed in Pole (*Synopsis, in loc.*). Some maintain him to be the Jair mentioned in Judg. x. 3, who, it must then be supposed, was also called Bedan to distinguish him from the older Jair, son of Manasseh, (Num. xxxii. 41), a Bedan being actually named among the descendants of Manasseh in 1 Chr. vii. 17. The Chaldee Paraphrast reads Samson for Bedan in 1 Sam. xii. 11, and many suppose Bedan to be another name for Samson, either a contraction of Ben-Dan (the son of Dan or Danite), or else meaning *in* or *into* Dan (**דָּן**) with a reference to Judg. xii. 25.

Neither explanation of the word is very probable, or defended by any analogy, and the order of the names does not agree with the supposition that Bedan is Samson, so that there is no real argument for it except the authority of the Paraphrast. The LXX., Syr., and Arab. all have Barak, a very probable correction except for the order of the names. Ewald suggests that it may be a false reading for Abdon. After all, as it is clear that the Book of Judges is not a complete record of the period of which it treats, it is possible that Bedan was one of the Judges whose names are not preserved in it, and so may perhaps be compared with the Jael of Judg. v. 6, who was probably also a Judge, though we know nothing about the subject except from Deborah's song. The only objection to this view is, that as Bedan is mentioned with Gideon, Jephthah, and Samuel, he would seem to have been an important Judge, and therefore not likely to be omitted in the history. The same objection applies in some degree to the views which identify him with Abdon or Jair, who are but cursorily mentioned. [G. E. L. C.]

**BEDEIAH** (**בְּדֵיָה**; *Baḏaia*; *Badaia*), one of the sons of Bani, in the time of Ezra, who had taken a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 35).

**BEE** (**דְּבוּרָה**; *Debbrah*), a gregarious insect of the Hymenopterous order. In Deut. i. 44, Ps. cxviii. 12, and Is. vii. 18 reference is made to the way in which bees attack the objects of their anger in swarms. Both the Psalmist and the Prophet in all probability adopted the simile from Moses. "The Amorites, which dwell in the mountains, came out against you and chased you as bees do," &c. (Deut. i. c.). In Judg. xiv. 8 and in Eccles. xi. 3 the production of honey by bees and its use as food is mentioned. Bees must have been very common in Palestine to justify the title given to it of a land flowing with milk and honey. It is noticeable that in Prov. vi. 8 the LXX. have introduced after the description of the forethought of the ant a similar panegyric on the bee as an example of industry and ingenuity in her work. This insertion, if it be an insertion, is of very ancient date, for it is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, by Origen, by Basil, &c. The LXX.

always render בְּרִיךְ by μελίσσα. The root of the word is בִּרְךְ, *exerjit*—*examen arum quasi exagimen* (Ges.) [W. D.]

**BEELI'ADA** (בְּעִלְיָדָה = known by Baul; 'Ελιαδέ; Alex. Βαλλιαδέ; *Bualiaida*), one of David's sons, born in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xiv. 7). In the lists in Samuel the name is ELIADA, El being substituted for Baul.

**BEEL'SARUS** (Βεελσαρδος; *Beelsuro*), 1 Esd. v. 8. [BISHAN.]

**BEELTETH'MUS** (Βέλτεθμος; Alex. Βεελτεμώ; *Bullthennus*), an officer of Artaxerxes residing in Palestine (1 Esd. ii. 16, 25). The name is a corruption of בְּעַל תְּהוֹם = lord of judgment, A. V. "chancellor," the title of Rehūm, the name immediately before it (Ezr. iv. 8).

**BEEL'ZEBUL** (Βεελζεβού; *Beelzebub*), the title of a heathen deity, to whom the Jews ascribed the sovereignty of the evil spirits (Matt. x. 25, xii. 24; Mark iii. 22; Luke xi. 15 ff.). The correct reading is without doubt *Beelzebub*, and not *Beelzebub* as given in the Syriac, the Vulg., and some other versions; the authority of the MSS. is decisive in favour of the former, the alteration being easily accounted for by a comparison with 2 K. i. 2, to which reference is made in the passages quoted. [BAAL, p. 146, No. 2.] Two questions present themselves in connexion with this subject:—(1) How are we to account for the change of the final letter of the name? (2) On what grounds did the Jews assign to the Beelzebub of Ekron the peculiar position of *δ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*? The sources of information at our command for the answer of these questions are scanty: the names are not found elsewhere: the LXX. translates Beelzebub Βεαλ μυίας, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 2, §1); and the Talmudical writers are silent on the subject.

1. The explanations offered in reference to the change of the name may be ranged into two classes, according as they are based on the *sound*, or the *meaning* of the word. The former proceeds on the assumption that the name Beelzebub was offensive to the Greek ear, and that the final letter was altered to avoid the double *b*, just as Habakkuk became in the LXX. Ἀμβακούμ (Hitzig, *Vorbericht* in Habakkuk), the choice of *k* as a substitute for *b*, being decided by the previous occurrence of the letter in the former part of the word (Bengel, *Gnomon* in Matt. x. 25, comparing Μελαχόλ in the LXX. π=Michal). It is, however, by no means clear why other names, such as Magog, or Eldad, should not have undergone a similar change: we should prefer the assumption, in connexion with this view, that the change was purely of an accidental nature, for which no satisfactory reason can be assigned. The second class of explanations carries the greatest weight of authority with it: these proceed on the ground that the Jews intentionally changed the pronunciation of the word, so as either to give a significance to it adapted to their own ideas, or to cast ridicule upon the idolatry of the neighbouring nations, in which case we might compare the adoption of Sychar for Sychem, Bethaven for Bethel. The Jews were certainly keenly alive to the significance of names, and not unfrequently indulged in an exercise of wit, consisting of a play

upon the meaning of the words, as in the case of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 25), Abraham (Gen. xvii. 5), and Sarah (Gen. xvii. 15). Lightfoot (*Exercitationes*, Matt. xii. 24) adduces instances from the Talmudical writers of opprobrious puns applied to idols. The explanations, which are thus based on etymological grounds, branch off into two classes; some connect the term with בְּבִיל, *habitation*, thus making Beelzebub = *οικοδεσπότης* (Matt. x. 25), *the lord of the dwelling*, whether as the "prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2), or as the prince of the lower world (Paulus, quoted by Olshausen, *Comment.* in Matt. x. 25), or as inhabiting human bodies (Schleusner, *Lex. s. v.*), or as occupying a mansion in the seventh heaven, like Saturn in Oriental mythology (Movers, *Phoenic.* i. 260, quoted by Winer, *Realwort.* art. *Beelzebub*; comp. Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex.* p. 205, for a similar view). Others derive it from בְּזַל, *dung* (a word, it must be observed, not in use in the Bible itself, but frequently occurring in Talmudical writers), thus making Beelzebub, literally, *the lord of dung, or the dunghill*; and in a secondary sense, as *zebel* was used by the Talmudical writers as = *idol* or *idolatry* (comp. Lightfoot *Errata*, Matt. xii. 24; Luke xi. 15), *the lord of idols, prince of false gods*, in which case it = *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*. It is generally held that the former of these two senses is more particularly referred to in the N. T. (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 498, comparing the term בְּזַל as though connected with בִּלְזַל, *ding*; Olshausen, *Comment.* in Matt. xii. 25); the latter, however, is adopted by Lightfoot and Schleusner. We have lastly to notice the ingenious conjecture of Hug (as quoted by Winer) that the fly, under which Baalzebub was represented, was the *Scarabæus pillularius* or *dunghill beetle*, in which case Baalzebub and Beelzebub might be used indifferently.

2. The second question hinges to a certain extent on the first. The reference in Matt. x. 25 may have originated in a fancied resemblance between the application of Abrahah to Baalzebub, and that of the Jews to our Lord for the ejection of the unclean spirits. As no human remedy availed for the cure of this disease, the Jews naturally referred it to some higher power and selected Beelzebub as the heathen deity to whom application was made in case of severe disease. The title *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων* may have special reference to the nature of the disease in question, or it may have been eluded from the name itself by a fancied or real etymology. It is worthy of special observation that the notices of Beelzebub are exclusively connected with the subject of demoniacal possession, a circumstance which may account for the subsequent disappearance of the name. [W. L. B.]

**BEER** (בְּרַם = well; τὸ φρέαρ; *puteus*).

1. One of the latest halting-places of the Israelites, lying beyond the Arnon, and so called because of the well which was there dug by the "princes" and "nobles" of the people, and is perpetuated in a fragment of poetry (Numb. xxi. 16-16).<sup>a</sup> This

<sup>a</sup> There is no connexion between the "gathering" in ver. 16 and that in xx. 8. From the A. V. it might be inferred that the former passage referred to the event described in the latter; but the two words rendered "gather" are radically different,—גָּחַץ in ch. xx., שָׁבַע in xxi.

is possibly the BEER-ELIM, or "well of heroes," referred to in Is. xv. 8. The "wilderness" (בְּרִית) which is named as their next starting point in the last clause of verse 18, may be that before spoken of in 13, or it may be a copyist's mistake for בְּרִית. It was so understood by the LXX., who read the clause, *καὶ ἀπὸ φρέατος*—"and from the well," i. e. "from Beer."

According to the tradition of the Targumists—a tradition in part adopted by St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 4)—this was one of the appearances, the last before the entrance on the Holy Land, of the water which had "followed" the people, from its first arrival at Rephidim, through their wanderings. The water—so the tradition appears to have run—was granted for the sake of Miriam, her merit being that, at the peril of her life, she had watched the ark in which lay the infant Moses. It followed the march over mountains and into valleys, encircling the entire camp, and furnishing water to every man at his own tent door. This it did till her death (Num. xx. 1), at which time it disappeared for a season, apparently rendering a special act necessary on each future occasion for its evocation. The striking of the rock at Kadesh (Num. xx. 10) was the first of these; the digging of the well at Beer by the staves of the princes, the second. Miriam's well at last found a home in a gulf or recess in the sea of Galilee, where at certain seasons its water flowed, and was resorted to for healing purposes (Targums Onkelos, and Ps. Jon. Num. xx. 1, xxi. 18, and also the quotations from the Talmud in Lightfoot on John v. 4).

2. A place to which Jotham, the son of Gideon, fled for fear of his brother Abimelech (Judg. ix. 21). There is nothing in the text or elsewhere to indicate its position (LXX. Vat. *Βαῖρα*; the Alex. entirely alters the passage—*καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ φούρες εἰς Παρά*; Vulg. in *Bera*). [G.]

BE'ERA (בְּעֵרָא; *Benpá*; *Bera*), son of Zophai, of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 37).

BE'ERAH (בְּעֵרָה; *Be'há*; Alex. *Benpá*; *Beera*), prince (בִּנְיָן) of the Reubenites, carried away by Tiglath-Pileser (1 Chr. v. 6).

BEER-ELIM (בְּעֵר אֵלִים, *well of heroes*; *φρέατ τοῦ Αἰλῆμ*; *puteus Elim*), a spot named in Is. xv. 8 as on the "border of Moab," apparently the south, Eglaim being at the north end of the Dead Sea. The name points to the well dug by the chiefs of Israel on their approach to the promised land, close by the "border of Moab" (Num. xxi. 16; comp. 13), and such is the suggestion of Gesenius (*Jesaja*, 533). [BEER, 1.] Beer-elim was probably chosen by the Prophet out of other places on the boundary on account of the similarity between the sound of the name and that of בְּרִית—the "howling" which was to reach even to that remote point (Ewald, *Proph.* 233). [G.]

BE'ERI (בְּעֵרִי, *fontanus*, Gesen.; *illustrious*, Fürst; *Be'há*, Gen., *Benpá*, Hos.; *Beerí*). 1. The father of Judith, one of the wives of Esau (Gen. xxvi. 34). There need be no question that Judith, daughter of Be'eri, is the same person as is called in the genealogical table (Gen. xxvi. 2) Abolibamah, daughter of Anah, and con-

sequently Be'eri and Anah must be regarded as names of the same person. There is the further difficulty that Be'eri is spoken of as a Hittite, whilst Anah is called a Horite and also a Ilvite, and we have thus three designations of race given to the same individual. It is stated under ANAH that Ilvite is most probably to be regarded as an error of transcription for Horite. With regard to the two remaining names the difficulty does not seem to be formidable. It is agreed on all hands that the name Horite (חֲרִי) signifies one who dwells in a hole or cave, a Troglodyte; and it seems in the highest degree probable that the inhabitants of Mount Seir were so designated because they inhabited the numerous caverns of that mountainous region. The name therefore does not designate them according to their race, but merely according to their mode of life, to whatever race they might belong. Of their race we know nothing except indeed what the conjunction of these two names in reference to the same individual may teach us: and from this case we may fairly conclude that these Troglodytes or Horites belonged in part at least to the widely extended Canaanitish tribe of the Hittites. On this supposition the difficulty vanishes, and each of the accounts gives us just the information we might expect. In the narrative, where the stress is laid on Esau's wife being of the race of Canaan, her father is called a Hittite; whilst in the genealogy, where the stress is on Esau's connexion by marriage with the previous occupants of Mount Seir, he is most naturally and properly described under the more precise term Horite. 2. Father of the prophet Hosea (Hos. i. 1). [F. W. G.]

BEER-LAHA'I-ROI (בְּעֵר לַחַי רֹאי, *well of the living and seeing* [*God*]; *φρέατ τοῦ ἐνῶπιον εἶδον*; *τὸ φρέατ τῆς ὁράσεως*; *puteus viventis et videntis me*), a well, or rather a living spring,\* (A. V. *fountain*, comp. ver. 7) between Kadesh and Bered, in the wilderness, "in the way to Shur," and therefore in the "south country" (Gen. xxiv. 62), which, according to the explanation of the text, was so named by Hagar, because God saw her (רָאָה) there (Gen. xvi. 14). From the fact of this etymology not being in agreement with the formation of the name, it has been suggested (Gen. *Thes.* 175) that the origin of the name is Lechi (comp. Judg. xv. 9, 19). It would seem, however, that the Lechi of Samson's adventure was much too far north to be the site of the well Lahai-roi.

By this well Isaac dwelt both before and after the death of his father (Gen. xxiv. 62, xxv. 11). In both these passages the name is given in the A. V. as "the well Lahai-roi."

Mr. Rowland announces the discovery of the well Lahai-roi at *Moyle* or *Moihi*, a station on the road to Beersheba, 10 hours south of *Ruheibeh*; near which is a hole or cavern bearing the name of *Boit Hagar* (Ritter, *Sinai*, 1086, 7); but this requires confirmation.

This well is not to be confounded with that by which the life of Ishmael was preserved on a subsequent occasion (Gen. xxi. 19) and which, according to the Moslem belief, is the well *Zem-zem* at Mecca. [G.]

\* One of the very few cases in which the two words בְּרִית, *Ein*, a living spring, and בְּעֵר, *Beer*, an artificial well, are applied to the same thing.

**BEER'ROTH** בְּאֵרֹת, wells; Βηρώτ, Βηρωσάδ, Βηρωσά; *Berth*), one of the four cities of the Hivites who deluded Joshua into a treaty of peace with them, the other three being Gibeon, Chephirah, and Kirjath-Jearim (Josh. ix. 17). Beeroth was with the rest of these towns allotted to Benjamin (xviii. 25), in whose possession it continued at the time of David, the murderers of Ish-bosheth being named as belonging to it (2 Sam. iv. 2). From the notice in this place (verse 2, 3) it would appear that the original inhabitants had been forced from the town, and had taken refuge at Gittaim (Neh. vi. 34), possibly a Philistine city.

Beeroth is once more named with Chephirah and K. Jearim in the list of those who returned from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29; 1 Esdr. v. 19). [BEEROTH.]

Beeroth was known in the times of Eusebius, and his description of its position (*Onom. Beeroth* with the corrections of Keland, 618, 9; Rob. i. 452, note) agrees perfectly with that of the modern *el-Birch*, which stands at about 10 miles north of Jerusalem by the great road to *Nāblus*, just below a ridge which bounds the prospect northwards from the Holy city (Rob. i. 451, 2; ii. 262). No mention of Beeroth beyond those quoted above is found in the Bible, but one link connecting it with the N. T. has been suggested, and indeed embodied in the traditions of Palestine, which we may well wish to regard as true, viz. that it was the place at which the parents of "the child Jesus" discovered that he was not among their "company" (Luke ii. 43-45). At any rate the spring of *el-Birch* is even to this day the customary resting-place for caravans going northward, at the end of the first day's journey from Jerusalem (Stanley, 215; Lord Nugent, ii. 112; Schubert in Winer, s. v.).

Besides Baanah and Rechab, the murderers of Ishbosheth, with their father Rimmon, we find Nahari "the Beerothite" (הַבְּרִיתִי; δ Βηρωσάιος; 2 Sam. xxiii. 37), or "the Berothite" (הַבְּרִיתִי; δ Βηρωσά; 1 Chr. xi. 39), one of the "mighty men" of David's guard. [G.]

**BEER'ROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN** (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי-יַעֲקֹב; Βηρώτ υἱῶν 'Ιακώ; Alex. 'Ιακώ; *Berth filiorum Jacan*), the wells of the tribe of Bene-Jaakan, which formed one of the halting-places of the Israelites in the desert (Dent. x. 6). In the lists in Num. xxxiii. the name is given as **BENE JAAKAN** only. [G.]

**BEER'-SHEBA** בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, well of *swearing*, or of *seven*; Φεάρ ὁρκισμοῦ, and Φεάρ τοῦ ὁρκῶ, in Genesis; Βηρσαβέε in Joshua and later books; Jos. Βηρσουβά; ὁρκισμὸν δὲ φεάρ λέγοιτο αὐτ.; *Bersabee*), the name of one of the oldest places in Palestine, and which formed, according to the well-known expression, the southern limit of the country.

There are two accounts of the origin of the name.

1. According to the first, the well was dug by Abraham, and the name given, because there he and Abimelech the king of the Philistines "swore" (נִשְׁבַּע) both of them (Gen. xxi. 31). But the compact was ratified by the setting apart of "seven ewe lambs;" and as the Hebrew word for "seven" is שֶׁבַע, *Sheba*, it is equally possible that this is the meaning of the name. It should not be over-

looked that here, and in subsequent early notices of the place, it is spelt *Beer-shaba* (שֶׁבַע בְּ).

2. The other narrative ascribes the origin of the name to an occurrence almost precisely similar, in which both Abimelech the king of the Philistines, and Phicol his chief captain, are again concerned, with the difference that the person on the Hebrew side of the transaction is Isaac instead of Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 31-33). Here there is no reference to the "seven" lambs, and we are left to infer the derivation of *Shibeah* (שִׁבְעָה, not "Shebah," as in the A. V.) from the mention of the "swearing" (יִשְׁבַּע) in yer. 31.

If we accept the statement of verse 18 as referring to the same well as the former account, we shall be spared the necessity of enquiring whether these two accounts relate two separate occurrences, or refer to one and the same event, at one time ascribed to one, at another time to another of the early heroes and founders of the nation. There are at present on the spot two principal wells, and five smaller ones. They are among the first objects encountered on the entrance into Palestine from the South, and being highly characteristic of the life of the Bible, at the same time that the identity of the site is beyond all question, the wells of Beersheba never fail to call forth the enthusiasm of the traveller.

The two principal wells—apparently the only ones seen by Robinson—are on or close to the northern bank of the *Wady es-Saba*. They lie just a hundred yards apart, and are so placed as to be visible from a considerable distance (Bonar, *Land of Prom.* 1). The larger of the two, which lies to the east, is, according to the careful measurements of Dr. Robinson, 12½ feet diam., and at the time of his visit (Apr. 12) was 44½ feet to the surface of the water: the masonry which encloses the well reaches downwards for 28½ feet.

The other well is 5 feet diam. and was 42 feet to the water. The curb-stones round the mouth of both wells are worn into deep grooves by the action of the ropes of so many centuries, and "look as if frilled or fluted all round." Round the larger well there are nine, and round the smaller five large stone troughs—some much worn and broken, others nearly entire, lying at a distance of 10 or 12 feet from the edge of the well. There were formerly ten of these troughs at the larger well. The circle around is carpeted with a sward of fine short grass, with crocuses and lilies (Bonar, 5, 6, 7). The water is excellent, the best, as Dr. R. emphatically records, which he had tasted since leaving Sinai.

The five lesser wells—apparently the only ones seen by Van de Velde—are, according to his account and the casual notice of Bonar, in a group in the bed of the wady, not on its north bank, and at so great a distance from the other two, that the latter were missed by Lieut. V.

On some low hills north of the large wells are scattered the foundations and ruins of a town of moderate size. There are no trees or shrubs near the spot. So much for the actual condition of Beersheba.

After the digging of the well Abraham planted a "grove" (עֵשֶׂל, *Eshel*) as a place for the worship of Jehovah, and here he lived until the sacrifice of Isaac, and for a long time afterwards, xxi. 33—xxii. 1, 19. Here also Isaac was dwelling at the time of the transference of the birthright from Esau to Jacob (xxvi. 39, xxviii. 10), and from the pa-

triarchal encampment round the wells of his grandfather, Jacob set forth on the journey to Mesopotamia which changed the course of his whole life. Jacob does not appear to have revisited the place until he made it one of the stages of his journey down to Egypt. He then halted there to offer sacrifice to "the God of his father," doubtless under the sacred grove of Abraham.

From this time till the conquest of the country we lose sight of B., only to catch a momentary glimpse of it in the lists of the "cities" in the extreme south of Judah (xv. 28) given to the tribe of Simeon (ix. 2; 1 Chr. iv. 28). Samuel's sons were judges in Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 2), its distance no doubt precluding its being among the number of the "holy cities" (LXX. τοῖς ἁγιασμένοις πόλεσι) to which he himself went in circuit every year (vii. 16). By the times of the monarchy it had become recognized as the most southerly place of the country. Its position as the place of arrival and departure for the caravans trading between Palestine and the countries lying in that direction would naturally lead to the formation of a town round the wells of the patriarchs, and the great Egyptian trade begun by Solomon must have increased its importance. Either Job's census extended (2 Sam. xxiv. 7; 1 Chr. xxi. 2), and here Elijah bade farewell to his confidential servant (משרת) before taking his journey across the desert to Sinai (1 K. xix. 3). From Dan to Beersheba (Judg. xx. 1, &c.), or from Beersheba to Dan (1 Chr. xvi. 2; comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 2), now became the established formula for the whole of the promised land; just as "from Geba to B." (2 K. xxiii. 8), or "from B. to Mount Ephraim" (2 Chr. xix. 4) was that for the southern kingdom after the disruption. After the return from the captivity the formula is narrowed still more, and becomes "from B. to the Valley of Hinnom" (Neh. xi. 30).

One of the wives of Ahaziah, king of Judah, Zibiah mother of Joash, was a native of Beersheba (2 K. xii. 1; 2 Chr. xxiv. 1). From the incidental references of Amos, we find that, like Bethel and Gilgal, the place was at this time the seat of an idolatrous worship, apparently connected in some intimate manner with the northern kingdom (Am. v. 5, viii. 14). But the allusions are so slight that nothing can be gathered from them, except that in the latter of the two passages quoted above, we have perhaps preserved a form of words or an adjuration used by the worshippers, "Live the 'way' of Beersheba!"\* After this, with the mere mention that Beersheba and the villages round it ("daughters") were re-inhabited after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 30), the name dies entirely out of the Bible records; like many other places, its associations are entirely confined to the earlier history, and its name is not even once mentioned in the New Testament.

But though unheard of, its position ensured a continued existence to Beersheba. In the time of Jerome it was still a considerable place (*oppidum*, Quæst. ad Gen. xvii. 30; or *vicius grandis*, Onom.), the station of a Roman *præsidium*; and later it is mentioned in some of the ecclesiastical lists as an episcopal city under the Bishop of Jerusalem (Itinerary, 820). Its present condition has been already described. It only remains to notice that the place

retains its ancient name as nearly similar in sound as an Arabic signification will permit—*Bir es-Sebâ*—the "well of the lion," or "of seven." [G.]

**BEESH'TERAH** (בִּישְׁתֶּרָה; ἡ Βοσράδ, Alex. *Beeθapā*; *Bosra*), one of the two cities allotted to the sons of Gershon, out of the tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan (Josh. xxi. 27). By comparison with the parallel list in 1 Chr. vi. 71, Beeshterah appears to be identical with Ashtaroth. In fact the name is considered by Gesenius as merely a contracted form of Beth-Ashtaroth, the house of A. (*Thes.* 196; comp. 175). [BOSOR.] [G.]

**BEETLE** (תִּרְיָל, *Charyôl*) occurs only in Lev. xi. 22, where it is mentioned as one of four *flying creeping things, that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet to leap without upon the earth*, which the Israelites were permitted to eat. The other three are the locust, the bald locust, and the grasshopper, respectively rendered by the LXX. *βρογχος*, *ἀντάκη*, and *ἄκρίς*—while they translate תִּרְיָל by *δριουμάχης*, which Suidas explains by *εἶδος ἀκρίδος, μὴ ἔχον πτερὰ*. Pliny (xi. 29) and Ari-totle (*Hist. Anim.* ix. 6) mention locusts that are serpent-destroyers.

Beetle is certainly an incorrect rendering of תִּרְיָל. It does not appear that the beetle, though common in Egypt, was ever an article of food, but the various kinds of locusts were so. The word is derived from an unused quadriliteral תִּרְיָל = Arab.

حرجل, *salūt, saltāvit*; as in Germ. we have *Heuschrecke* from *schrecken*. The Egyptian beetle is mentioned in Exod. viii. 21, &c., under the name אֶת־הַצִּבְעָה where the A. V. renders it "swarms of flies." See FLY. [W. D.]

## BEHEADING. [PUNISHMENTS.]

**BEHEMOTH** (בְּהֵמוֹת), an animal described in Job xl. 15-24, and nowhere else mentioned in Scripture. Various conjectures have been hazarded as to what animal is meant, the principal authorities being in favour either of the elephant or the hippopotamus. Among those who adopt *elephant* are Drusus, Grotius, Schultens, J. D. Michaëlis, &c., while among the advocates of *rhinoceros* are Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. p. 754 sq.), Ludolf (*Hist. Aethiop.* i. 11), and Gesenius (*Thes. Ling. Heb.* p. 183). The arguments of the last in favour of his own view may be summed up thus: 1st, the general purpose and plan of Jehovah's two discourses with Job require that the animal which in this second discourse is classed with the crocodile should be an amphibious not a terrestrial animal, the first discourse (xxxviii. xxxix.) having been limited to land-animals and birds. 2ndly, the crocodile and hippopotamus being both natives of Egypt and Aethiopia, are constantly mentioned together by the ancient writers (see Herod. ii. 69-71; Dio. i. 35; Plin. xxviii. 8). 3rdly, it seems certain that an amphibious animal is meant from the contrast between vv. 16, 20, 21, 22, and vv. 23, 24, in which the argument seems to be, "Though

\* There is a correspondence worth noting between the word "way" or "manner" in this formula (תִּרְיָל, literally "the road"), and the word

הַדָּבָר, "the way" (A. V. incorrectly "that way," by which the new religion is designated in the Acts of the Apostles (see ix. 2, &c.).

he feedeth upon grass," &c. like other animals, yet he liveth and delighteth in the waters, and nets are set for him there as for fish, which by his great strength he pierces through. 4thly, the mention of his tail in v. 17 does not agree with the elephant, nor can בָּהֵמָה, as some have thought, signify the trunk of that animal: and 5thly, though בְּהֵמָה may be the plural *majestatis* of בְּהֵמָה, *bestia*, yet it is probably an Egyptian word signifying *boos murinus*, put into a Semitic form.

The following is the passage of Job which describes the behemoth, literally rendered. It certainly suits the hippopotamus better than the elephant.

"Behold now Behemoth, which I have made with thee! He eateth chires (= the Egyptian *scitella porrum*) like cattle! Behold now, his strength is in his loins and his power in the muscles (lit. *firm parts*) of his belly.

"He curveth his tail like a cedar: the tendons of his haunches are intertwined.

"His bones are as pipes of brass; his spine like bars of hammered iron.

"He is chief of the works of God: He that made him hath furnished him with his weapon (i. e. his sharp-cutting teeth).

"For as to fold the mountains bring it forth for him, and all the beasts of the field disport there.

"Beneath the lotus-trees he lieth down; in covert of the reeds and marsh.

"The lotus-trees hide him with their shadow; the willows of the stream surround him.

"Lo! the river hath swoln beyond his channel, he does not haste to fly; he is confident though a river (or Jordan) draw near to his mouth.

"In his eyes (= sight) shall we take him? through the nets he has bored his nostril."

This description fully accords with Gordon Cumming's accurate observation of the habits of the hippopotamus, and also with Dr. Livingstone's account of the animal. [W. D.]

BE'KAIL. [WEIGHTS.]

BEL. [BAAL.]

BEL AND DRAGON. [DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO.]

BE'LA (בְּעֵלָא; Baalā, and Baal, and Baalā, Gen. xiv. 2, 8; *Bela*; a *swallowing up*, or *destruction*. In the *Liber Nona. Hebr.*, in St. Jerome's works, tom. ii., it is corrupted to *Salal*, in the *Cod. Reg.*; but in the *Cod. Colbert.* it is written *Bālla*, and interpreted *καταποντισμός* (see Ps. lv. (liv.) 9, Sept.). Jerome appears to confound it with בְּעֵל, where he renders it "*habens, sive devorans*," and with בְּלָה, where he says, "*Bulla, absorpta sive inveterata*").

1. One of the five cities of the plain which was spared at the intercession of Lot, and received the name of Zoar (צוֹר), *smallness*, i. e. a *little one* (Gen. xiv. 2, xix. 22). It lay on the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, on the frontier of Moab and Palestine (Jerome on Is. xv.), and on the route to Egypt; the connexion in which it is found,

\* Baalā is also the LXX.'s version of *Bera*, Gen. xiv. 2.

\* There can be no doubt that in both passages the cry of the distressed Moabites is compared to the howling of a heifer whose calf has been taken from

Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34; Gen. xiii. 10. We first read of Bela in Gen. xiv. 2, 8, where it is named with Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zebolim, as forming a confederacy under their respective kings, in the vale of Siddim, to resist the supremacy of the king of Shinar and his associates. It is singular that the king of Bela is the only one of the five whose name is not given, and this suggests the probability of *Bela* having been his own name, as well as the name of his city, which may have been so called from him. The tradition of the Jews was that it was called *Bela* from having been repeatedly engulfed by earthquakes; and in the passage Jer. xlviii. 34, "From Zoar even unto Horonaim (have they uttered their voice) as an heifer" of three years old," and Is. xv. 5, they absurdly fancied an allusion to its destruction by three earthquakes (Jerome, *Quæst. Heb. in Gen. xiv.*). There is nothing improbable in itself in the supposed allusion to the *swallowing up* of the city by an earthquake, which בְּעֵל exactly expresses (Num. xvi. 30); but the repeated occurrence of בְּעֵל, and words compounded with it, as names of men, rather favours the notion of the city having been called *Bela* from the name of its founder. This is rendered yet more probable by *Bela* being the name of an Edomitish king in Gen. xxxvi. 32. For further information see De Saucy's *Narrative*, i. 457-481, and Stanley's *S. & P.* 285. [ZOAR.]

2. Son of Beor, who reigned over Edom in the city of Dinhabah, eight generations before Saul, king of Israel, or about the time of the Exodus. Bernard Hyde, following some Jewish commentators (Simon. *Onnast.* 142, note), identifies this Bela with Balaam the son of Beor; but the evidence from the name does not seem to prove more than identity of family and race. There is nothing whatever to guide us as to the age of Beor, or Bosor, the founder of the house from which Bela and Balaam sprung. As regards the name of Bela's royal or native city Dinhabah, which Fürst and Gesenius render "place of plunder," it may be suggested whether it may not possibly be a form of בְּהֵמָה, the Chaldee for *gold*, after the analogy of the frequent Chaldee resolution of the daghes forte into nun. There are several names of places and persons in Idumea which point to gold as found there—as DIZAHAB, Deut. i. 1, "place of gold;" MEZAHAB, "waters of gold," or "gold-streams," Gen. xxvii. 39. Compare Dehebris, the ancient name of the Tiber, famous for its yellow waters. If this derivation for Dinhabah be true, its Chaldee form would not be difficult to account for, and would supply an additional evidence of the early conquests of the Chaldees in the direction of Idumea. The name of Bela's ancestor Beor, בְּעוֹר, is of a decidedly Chaldee or Aramean form, like Peor בְּעוֹר, Pethor בְּעוֹר, Rehob רְהוֹב, and others; and we are expressly told that Balaam the son of Beor dwelt in Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people, i. e. the river Euphrates; and he himself describes his home as being in Aram (Num. xxii. 5, xxiii. 7). Saul again, who reigned over Edom after Samlah, came

her. The בְּ of comparison is very frequently omitted in Hebrew poetry.

\* In מְדִינָהּ, "the golden city," Is. xiv. 4, the reading is doubtful (Gesen. in v.).

from Rehoboth by the river Euphrates (Gen. xxxvi. 37). We read in Job's time of the Chaldeans making incursions into the land of Uz, and carrying off the camels, and slaying Job's servants (Job i. 17). In the time of Abraham we have the king of Shinar apparently extending his empire so as to make the kings on the borders of the Dead Sea his tributaries, and with his confederates extending his conquests into the very country which was afterwards the land of Edom (Gen. xiv. 6). Putting all this together, we may conclude with some confidence that Bela the son of Beor, who reigned over Edom, was a Chaldean by birth, and reigned in Edom by conquest. He may have been contemporary with Moses and Baham. Hadad, of which name there were two kings (Gen. xxxvi. 35, 39), is probably another instance of an Aramean king of Edom, as we find the name Benhadad as that of the kings of Syria, or Aram, in later history (1 K. xx.). Compare also the name of Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates (2 Sam. viii. 3, &c.). The passage Gen. xxxvi. 31-39, is given in duplicate 1 Chr. i. 43-51.

3. Eldest son of Benjamin, according to Gen. xli. 21.<sup>d</sup> Num. xxvi. 38, 1 Ch. vii. 6 viii. 1, and head of the family of the Belaites. The houses of his family, according to 1 Chr. viii. 3-5, were Addar, Gera, Abihud (read *Ehud*, עֲהוּד, for עֲבִיחֻד), Abishua, Naamay, Aheah, Shupham, and Harum. Of these Ehud is the most remarkable. The exploit of Ehud the son of Gera, who shared the peculiarity of so many of his Benjamite brethren, in being left-handed (Judg. x. 16), in slaying Eglon the king of Moab, and delivering Israel from the Moabitish yoke, is related at length Judg. iii. 14-30. The greatness of the victory subsequently obtained may be measured by the length of the rest of 80 years which followed. It is perhaps worth noticing that as we have Husham by the side of Bela among the kings of Edom, Gen. xxxvi. 34, so also by the side of Bela, son of Benjamin, we have the Benjamite family of Hushim (1 Chr. vii. 12), sprung apparently from a foreign woman of that name, whom a Benjamite took to wife in the land of Moab (1 Chr. viii. 8-11). [BECHER.]

4. Son of Ahaz, a Reubenite (1 Chr. v. 8). It is remarkable that his country too was "in Arero, even unto Nebo and Baal-moon; and eastward he inhabited into the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates" (8, 9). [A. C. H.]

BELAH. [BELA, 3.]

BELAITES, THE (עֲבֵיטִים), Num. xxvi. 38. [BELA, 3.]

BEL'LEMUS (Βήλεμος; *Balsamus*), 1 Esd. ii. 16. [BISHLAM.]

BELIAL. The translators of our A. V., following the Vulgate, have frequently treated the word בְּעִלְזָה as a proper name, and given it in the form *Belial*, in accordance with 2 Cor. vi. 15. This is particularly the case where it is connected with the expressions עֲלֵי man of, or בֶּן son of: in other instances it is translated *wicked* or some equivalent term (Deut. xv. 9; Ps. xli. 8, cl. 3; Prov. vi. 12, xvi. 27, xix. 28; Nah. i. 11, 15). There can be no question, however, that the word is not to be regarded as a proper name in the O. T.; its

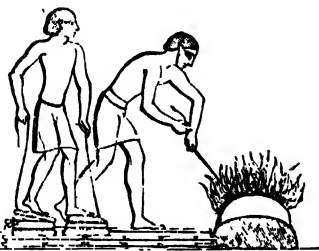
meaning is *worthlessness*, and hence *recklessness*, *lawlessness*. Its etymology is uncertain: the first part בְּ = *without*; the second part has been variously connected with עֹל, *yoke*, as in the Vulg. (Judg. xix. 22) *Belial*, *id est absque iugo*, in the sense of *unbridled*, *rebellious*; with עָלָה, *to ascend*, as = *without ascent*, that is, of the *lowest condition*; and lastly with עָלָה, *usefulness* = *without usefulness*, that is, *good for nothing* (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 209): the latter appears to be the most probable, not only in regard to sense, but also as explaining the unusual fusion of the two words, the ב at the end of the one and at the beginning of the other leading to a *crasis*, originally in the pronunciation, and afterwards in the writing. The expression *son* or *man* of *Belial* must be understood as meaning simply a *worthless*, *lawless* fellow (παράνομος, I.XX.): it occurs frequently in this sense in the historical books (Judg. xix. 22, xx. 13; 1 Sam. i. 16, ii. 12, x. 27, xxv. 17, 25, xxx. 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 7, xx. 1; 1 K. xxi. 10; 2 Chr. xiii. 7), and only once in the earlier books (Deut. xiii. 13). The adjunct עָלִים is occasionally omitted, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 6, and Job xxiv. 18, where בְּעִלְזָה stands by itself, as a term of reproach. The later Hebrews used *ḥamad* and *ḥamé* in a similar manner (Matt. v. 22); the latter is perhaps the most analogous; in 1 Sam. xxv. 25, Nabal (נָבָל = *ωυπρός*) is described as a man of *Belial*, as though the terms were equivalent.

In the N. T. the term appears in the form *Belias* and not *Belial*, as given in the A. V. The change of λ into ρ was common: we have an instance even in Biblical Hebrew מְרִיבֹת (Job xxxviii. 32) for מְרִיבֹת (2 K. xxiii. 5); in Chalde we meet with מְרִיבֹת for מְרִיבֹת; and various other instances; the same change occurred in the Doric dialect (φαῖρος for φαῖλος), with which the Alexandrine writers were most familiar. The term as used in 2 Cor. vi. 15 is generally understood as an appellative of Satan, as the personification of all that was bad: Bengel (*Gnomon* in loc.) explains it of Antichrist, as more strictly the opposite of Christ (*omnem collucientem antichristianum notare videtur*). [W. L. B.]

BELLOWS (חֶבֶל; *φυστήρ*, I.XX.). The word occurs only in Jer. vi. 29, "The bellows are burned;" where their use is to heat a smelting furnace. They were known even in the time of Moses, and perhaps still earlier, since the operations of a foundry would be almost impossible without them. A picture of two different kinds of bellows, both of highly ingenious construction, may be found in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 338. "They consisted," he says, "of a leather, secured and fitted into a frame, from which a long pipe extended for carrying the wind to the fire. They were worked by the feet, the operator standing upon them, with one under each foot, and pressing them alternately while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string he held in his hand. In one instance we observe from the painting, that when the man left the bellows, they were raised as if inflated with air; and this would imply a knowledge of the valve. The pipes even in the time of Thothmes III., [supposed to be] the contemporary of Moses, appear

<sup>d</sup> In A. V. "Belah," the ב being rendered by IL. Comp. SHUAM.

to have been simply of reed, tipped with a metal point to resist the action of the fire."



Egyptian Bellows. (F. Grailard, *Recherches sur les Arts des Anciens Egyptiens.*)

Bellows of an analogous kind were early known to the Greeks and Romans. Homer (*Il.* xviii. 470) speaks of 20 φῦσαι in the forge of Hephaestus, and they are mentioned frequently by ancient authors (*Dict. of Ant.* s. v. FOLLIS). Ordinary hand-bellows, made of wood and kid's-skin, are used by the modern Egyptians, but are not found in the old paintings. They may however have been known, as they were to the early Greeks. [F. W. F.]

**BELLS.** There are two words thus translated in the A. V., viz. מְצַפֵּץ, Ex. xxviii. 33 (from צַפֵּץ, to strike; *κῶδωνες*, LXX.), and מוֹצֵץ, Zech. xiv. 20 (τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν χάλινον τοῦ ἵππου, LXX.; A. V. marg. "bridles," from מוֹצֵץ, to strike).

In Ex. xxviii. 33 the bells alluded to were the golden ones, according to the Rabbis 72 in number (Winer, s. v. *Schellen*), which alternated with the three-coloured pomegranates round the hem of the high-priest's ephod. The object of them was "that his sound might be heard when he went in unto the holy place, and when he came out, that he die not" (Ex. xxviii. 34), or "that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people" (Keeley. xlv. 9). No doubt they answered the same purpose as the bells used by the Brahmans in the Hindoo ceremonies, and by the Roman Catholics during the celebration of mass (comp. Luke i. 21). To this day bells are frequently attached, for the sake of their pleasant sound, to the anklets of women. [ANKLET.] The little girls of Cairo wear strings of them round their feet (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 370), and at Koojar Mungo Park saw a dance "in which many performers assisted, all of whom were provided with little bells fastened to their legs and arms."

In Zech. xiv. 20 "bells of the horses" (where our marg. Vers. follows the LXX.) is probably a wrong rendering. The Hebr. word is almost the same as מְצַפֵּץ "a pair of cymbals," and as they are supposed to be inscribed with the words "Holiness unto the Lord," it is more probable that they are not bells but "concave or flat pieces of brass, which were sometimes attached to horses for the sake of ornament" (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §96). Indeed they were probably the same as the שְׁהַרְרִים, *σηρράκοι* (Is. iii. 18; Judg. viii. 21), lunulae of gold, silver, or brass used as ornaments, and hung by the Arabians round the necks of their camels, as we still see them in England on the harness of horses. They were not only ornamental, but

useful, as their tinkling tended to enliven the animals; and in the caravans they thus served the purpose of our modern sheep-bells. The comparison to the *κῶδωνες* used by the Greeks to test horses seems out of place; and hence Archbishop Secker's explanation of the verse, as meaning that war-horses would become useless, and their trappings would be converted to sacred purposes, is untenable. The general meaning, as obvious from the context, is that true religion will then be universally professed. [F. W. F.]

**BEL/MAIM** (Βελθέμ; Alex. Βελβαίμ; *Belma*), a place which, from the terms of the passage, would appear to have been south of Dothaim (Jud. vii. 3). Possibly it is the same as BELMEN, though whether this is the case, or indeed whether either of them ever had any real existence it is at present impossible to determine. [JUDITH.] The Syriac has Abel-mechola. [G.]

**BEL/MEN** (Βελμέν; Alex. Βελμαίν, Compl. Βελμαίμ; Vulg. omits), a place named amongst the towns of Samaria as lying between Bethhoron and Jericho (Jud. iv. 4). The Hebrew name would seem to have been Abel-maim, but the only place of that name in the O. T. was far to the north of the locality here alluded to. [ABEL-MAIM.] The Syriac version has Abel-meholah, which is more consistent with the context. [ABEL-MEHOLOH; BELMAIM.] [G.]

**BELSHAZ'ZAR** (בֶּלְשַׁצְצָר, Dan. v. 1, and בֶּלְשַׁצְצָר, vii. 1; Βαλτασαρ; *Baltasar*), the last king of Babylon. According to the well-known scriptural narrative, he was warned of his coming doom by the handwriting on the wall which was interpreted by Daniel, and was slain during a splendid feast in his palace. Similarly Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5. 3) tells us that Babylon was taken by Cyrus in the night, while the inhabitants were engaged in feasting and revelry, and that the king was killed. On the other hand the narratives of Berossus in Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 20) and of Herodotus (i. 184 ff.) differ from the above account in some important particulars. Berossus calls the last king of Babylon Nabonnedus or Nabonadius (*Nabu-nit* or *Nibon-nhit*, i. e. *Nebo blesses or makes prosperous*), and says that in the 17th year of his reign Cyrus took Babylon, the king having retired to the neighbouring city of Borsippus or Borsippa (Birs-i-Nimrud), called by Niebuhr (*Lect. on Anc. Hist.* xii.) "the Chaldean Benares, the city in which the Chaldeans had their most revered objects of religion, and where they cultivated their science." Being blockaded in that city Nabonnedus surrendered, his life was spared, and a principality or esate given to him in Carmania, where he died. According to Herodotus the last king was called Labynetus, a name easy to reconcile with the Nabonnedus of Berossus, and the Nabonidochus of Megasthenes (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 41). Cyrus, after defeating Labynetus in the open field, appeared before Babylon, within which the besieged defied attack and even blockade, as they had walls 300 ft. high, and 75 ft. thick, forming a square of 15 miles to a side, and had stored up previously several years' provision. But he took the city by drawing off for a time the waters of the Euphrates, and then marching in with his whole army along its bed, during a great Babylonian festival, while the people, feeling perfectly secure, were scattered over the whole city in reckless amusement. These dis-

crapaudies have lately been cleared up by the discoveries of Sir Henry Rawlinson; and the histories of profane writers, far from contradicting the scriptural narrative, are shown to explain and confirm it. In 1854 he decyphered the inscriptions on some cylinders found in the ruins of Um-Qeer (the ancient Ur of the Chaldees), containing memorials of the works executed by Nabonnelus. From these inscriptions it appears that the eldest son of Nabonnelus was called Bel-shar-ezar, and admitted by his father to a share in the government. This name is compounded of Bel (the Babylonian god) Shar (*a kinu*), and the same termination as in Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, &c., and is contracted into Belshazzar, just as Neriglissar (again with the same termination) is formed from Nergal-sharezar. In a communication to the *Athenæum*, No. 1377, Sir Henry Rawlinson says, "we can now understand how Belshazzar, as joint king with his father, may have been governor of Babylon, when the city was attacked by the combined forces of the Medes and Persians, and may have perished in the assault which followed; while Nabonnelus leading a force to the relief of the place was defeated, and obliged to take refuge in Borsippa, capitulating after a short resistance, and being subsequently assigned, according to Berosus, an honourable retirement in Carmania." In accordance with this view we arrange the last Chaldean kings as follows:—Nebuchadnezzar, his son Evilmerodach, Neriglissar, Labrosoarchad (his son, a boy, killed in a conspiracy), Nabonnelus or Labynetus, and Belshazzar. Herodotus says that Labynetus was the son of Queen Nitocris; and Megasthenes (Euseb. *Chr. Arm.* p. 60) tells us that he succeeded Labrosoarchad, but was not of his family. *Ναβαυλδοχον ἀποδεύκονσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντα ὁ οὐδέν.* In Dan. v. 2, Nebuchadnezzar is called the father of Belshazzar. This of course need only mean grandfather or ancestor. Now Neriglissar usurped the throne on the murder of Evilmerodach (Beros. *ap. Joseph. Apion.* i.): we may therefore well suppose that on the death of his son Labrosoarchad, Nebuchadnezzar's family was restored in the person of Nabonnelus or Labynetus, possibly the son of that king and Nitocris, and father of Belshazzar. The chief objection to this supposition would be that if Neriglissar married Nebuchadnezzar's daughter (Joseph. *c. Ap. i.* 21), Nabonnelus would through her be connected with Labrosoarchad. This difficulty is met by the theory of Rawlinson (*Herod. Essay* viii. §25), who connects Belshazzar with Nebuchadnezzar through his mother, thinking it probable that Nabu-nahit, whom he does not consider related to Nebuchadnezzar, would strengthen his position by marrying the daughter of that king, who would thus be Belshazzar's maternal grandfather. A totally different view is taken by Marcus Niebuhr (*Geschichte Assur's und Babel's seit Phil.* p. 91), who considers Belshazzar to be another name for Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar. He identifies their characters by comparing Dan. v. with the language of Berosus about Evilmerodach, *προσὸς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀσελγῆς.* He considers that the capture of Babylon described in Daniel, was not by the Persians, but by the Medes, under Astyages (*i. e.* Darius the Mede), and that between the reigns of Evilmerodach or Belshazzar, and Neriglissar, we must insert a brief period during which Babylon was subject to the Medes. This solves a difficulty as to the age of Darius (Dan. v. 31; cf. Rawlinson, *Essay* iii. §11), but

most people will probably prefer the actual facts discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson to the theory (though doubtless very ingenious) of Niebuhr. On Rawlinson's view, Belshazzar died B.C. 538, on Niebuhr's B.C. 559. [G. E. L. C.]

## BELTESHAZZAR. [DANIEL.]

BEN (בֶּן; LXX. omits; *Ben*), a Levite "of the second degree," one of the porters appointed by David to the service of the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18).

BENAI'AH (בְּנֵי־יָהּ and בְּנֵי־יָהּ = "built by Jah"; *Bavaias*; *Banaias*), the name of several Israelites:—

1. BENAIAHU, the son of Jehoiada the chief priest (1 Chr. xxvii. 5), and therefore of the tribe of Levi, though a native of Kabzeel (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chr. xi. 22), in the south of Judah; set by David (1 Chr. xi. 25) over his bodyguard of Cherethites and Pelethites (2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 K. i. 38; 1 Chr. xviii. 17; 2 Sam. xx. 23) and occupying a middle rank between the first three of the Gibeonim or "mighty men," and the thirty "valiant men of the armies" (2 Sam. xxiii. 22, 23; 1 Chr. xi. 25, xxvii. 6; and see Kennicott, *Diss.* 177). The exploits which gave him this rank are narrated in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 21; 1 Chr. xi. 22. He was captain of the host for the third month (1 Chr. xxvii. 5).

Benaiah remained faithful to Solomon during Adonijah's attempt on the crown (1 K. i. 8, 10), a matter in which he took part in his official capacity as commander of the king's body-guard (1 K. i. 32, 38, 44); and after Adonijah and Joab had both been put to death by his hand, he was raised by Solomon into the place of the latter as commander-in-chief of the whole army (ii. 35, iv. 4).

Benaiah appears to have had a son, called after his grandfather, Jehoiada, who succeeded Ahithophel about the person of the king (1 Chr. xxvii. 34). But this is possibly a copyist's mistake for "Benaiah the son of Jehoiada."

2. BENAIAH the PIRATHONITE; an Ephraimite, one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 30; 1 Chr. xi. 31), and the captain of the eleventh monthly course (1 Chr. xxvii. 14).

3. BENAIAHU; a Levite in the time of David, who "played with a psalter on Alamoth" (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 5).

4. BENAIAHU; a priest in the time of David, appointed to blow the trumpet before the ark (1 Chr. xv. 24, xvi. 6).

5. BENAIAH; a Levite of the sons of Asaph (2 Chr. xx. 14).

6. BENAIAHU; a Levite in the time of Hezekiah, one of the "overseers (שְׂרָפִים) of offerings" (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

7. BENAIAH, one of the "princes (שְׂרָפִים) of the families of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 36).

8. BENAIAH; four laymen in the time of Ezra who had taken strange wives. 1 (Ezr. x. 25). [BAANTIAS.] 2 (Ezr. x. 30). [NAIDUS.] 3 (x. 35) and 4 (x. 43). [BANAIAS.]

9. BENAIAHU; father of Pelatiah, "a prince of the people" in the time of Ezekiel (xi. i. 13).

BEN-AMMI (בֶּן־אָמִי, son of my kindred), the son of the younger daughter of Lot, and the progenitor of the Ammonites (Gen. xix. 38). The

reading of the LXX. and Vulgate differs from the Hebrew text, by inserting the name of Ammon, as well as the exclamation which originated it: καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀμμὼν λέγουσα Ὑἱὸς γένους μου; *Ammon, id est filius populi mei.*

**BENE-BERAK** (בְּנֵי-בֶרַק; *Bavai-Berak*; Alex. *Βαυβαράκ*; *et Bane et Baruch*; Syr. ܒܪܟܬܐ), one of the cities of the tribe of Dan, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 46. The paucity of information which we possess regarding this tribe (omitted entirely from the lists in 1 Chr. ii.-viii., and only one family mentioned in Num. xxvi.) makes it impossible to say whether the "sons of Berak" who gave their name to this place belonged to Dan, or were, as we may perhaps infer from the name, earlier settlers dispossessed by the tribe. The reading of the Syriac, *Baal-debac*, is not confirmed by any other version. By Eusebius the name is divided (comp. Vulg.), and *Bapaxal* is said to have been then a village near Azotus. No trace has been found of it. [G.]

**BENE-JA'AKAN** (בְּנֵי-יַעֲקֹב, *Children of Jaakan*; *Bavala*; Alex. *Bavakdv*; *Benefnacan*), a tribe who gave their name to certain wells in the desert which formed one of the halting-places of the Israelites on their journey to Canaan. [BEEROTH BENE-JA'AKAN.] In Num. xxxiii. 31, 32, the name is given in the shortened form of Bene-jaakan. The tribe doubtless derived its name from Jaakan, the son of Ezer son of Seir the Horite (1 Chr. i. 42), whose name is also given in Genesis as Akan. [AKAN; JAKAN.]

The situation of these wells has not been yet identified. In the time of Eusebius (*Onom. Beroth fil. Jacin*, *Iaxela*) the spot was shown 10 miles from Petra on the top of a mountain. Robinson suggests the small fountain *et-Taigyeb*, at the bottom of the Pass *er-Rubdy* under Petra, a short distance from the Arabah. The word Beeroth, however, suggests not a spring but a group of artificial wells.

In the Targ. Ps. Jon. the name is given in Numbers as Aktha. בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב. [G.]

**BENE-KE'DEM** (בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, *the children of the East*), an appellation given to a people, or to peoples, dwelling to the east of Palestine. It occurs in the following passages of the O. T.:—(1) Gen. xix. 1, "Jacob came into the land of the people of the East," in which was therefore reckoned Haran. (2) Job i. 3, Job was "the greatest of all the men of the East" [JOB]. (3) Judg. vi. 3, 33, vii. 12, viii. 10. In the first three passages the Bene-Kedem are mentioned together with the Midianites and the Amalekites; and in the fourth the latter peoples seem to be included in this common name: "Now Zebah and Zalmunna [were] in Karkor, and their hosts with them, about fifteen thousand [men], all that were left of all the hosts of the children of the East." In the events to which these passages of Judges relate, we find a curious reference to the language spoken by these eastern tribes, which was understood by Gideon and his servant (or one of them) as they listened to the talk in the camp; and from this it is to be inferred that they spoke a dialect intelligible to an Israelite: an inference bearing on an affinity of race, and thence on the growth of the Semitic languages. (4) 1 K. iv. 30, "Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East

country." (5) Is. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 28; Ez. xxv. 4, 10. From the first passage it is difficult to deduce an argument, but the other instances, with their contexts, are highly important. In Ezekiel, Ammon is delivered to the "men of the East," and its city Rabbah is prophesied to become "a stable for camels, and the Ammonites a couching-place for flocks;" referring, apparently, to the habits of the wandering Arabs; while "palaces" and "dwellings," also mentioned and thus rendered in the A. V., may be better read "*camps*" and "*tents*." The words of Jeremiah strengthen the supposition just mentioned: "Concerning Kedar, and concerning Hazor, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon shall smite, thus saith the Lord, Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the East. Their *tents* and their *flocks* shall they take away: they shall take to themselves their curtains [*i. e. tents*], and all their vessels, and their *camels*."

Opinions are divided as to the extension of the appellation of Bene-Kedem; some (as Rosenmüller and Wiener) holding that it came to signify the Arabs generally. From a consideration of the passages above cited, and that which makes mention of the land of Kedem, Gen. xxv. 6 [ISMAEL], we think (with Gesenius) that it primarily signified the peoples of the Arabian deserts (east of Palestine and Lower Egypt), and chiefly the tribes of Ishmael and of Keturah, extending perhaps to Mesopotamia and Babylonia (to which we may suppose Kedem to apply in Num. xxiii. 7, as well as in Is. ii. 6); and that it was sometimes applied to the Arabs and their country generally. The only positive instance of this latter signification of Kedem occurs in Gen. x. 30, where "Sephar, a mount of the East," is by the common agreement of scholars situate in Southern Arabia [ARABIA; SEPHAR].

In the O. T. עֶרֶב, with its conjugate forms, seems to be a name of the peoples otherwise called Bene-Kedem, and with the same limitations. The same may be observed of ἡ ἀνατολή in the N. T. (Matt. ii. 1, *seq.*). אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם (in the passages above referred to), are translated by the LXX. and in the Vulg., and sometimes transcribed (*Kedem*) by the former; except LXX. in 1 K. iv. 30, and LXX. and Vulg. in Is. ii. 6, where they make Kedem to relate to ancient time. [E. S. P.]

**BENIHA'DAD** (בְּנֵי-חֲדָד, *son of Hadad*; *vids* 'Aḏep; *Bcnadad*), the name of three kings of Damascus. *Hadad* or *Adad* was a Syrian god, probably the Sun (*Macrob. Saturnalia*, i. 23), still worshipped at Damascus in the time of Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4, 6), and from it several Syrian names are derived, as Hadadezer, *i. e. Hadad has helped*. The "*son of Hadad*," therefore, means worshipper of Hadad. Damascus, after having been taken by David (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6), was delivered from subjection to his successor by Rezon (1 K. xi. 24), who "was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon."

BENHADAD I. was either son or grandson to Rezon, and in his time Damascus was supreme in Syria, the various smaller kingdoms which surrounded it being gradually absorbed into its territory. Benhadad must have been an energetic and powerful sovereign, and his alliance was courted both by Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah. He finally closed with the latter on receiving a large amount of treasure,

and conquered a great part of the N. of Israel, thereby enabling Aza to pursue his victorious operations in the S. From 1 K. xx. 34, it would appear that he continued to make war upon Israel in Omri's time, and forced him to make "streets" in Samaria for Syrian residents. [AHAB.] This date is B.C. 950.

BENHADAD II., son of the preceding, and also king of Damascus. Some authors call him *grand-son*, on the ground that was unusual in antiquity for the son to inherit the father's name. But Benhadad seems to have been a religious title of the Syrian kings, as we see by its reappearance as the name of Hazael's son, Benhadad III. Long wars with Israel characterised the reign of Benhadad II., of which the earlier campaigns are described under AHAB. His power and the extent of his dominion are proved by the thirty-two vassal kings who accompanied him to his first siege of Samaria. Some time after the death of Ahab, probably owing to the difficulties in which Jehoram of Israel was involved by the rebellion of Moab, Benhadad renewed the war with Israel, and after some minor attempts which were frustrated by Elisha, attacked Samaria a second time, and pressed the siege so closely that there was a terrible famine in the city, and atrocities were committed to get food no less revolting than those which Josephus relates of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. But when the Syrians were on the very point of success, they suddenly broke up in the night in consequence of a sudden panic, under which they surmised that assistance was coming to Israel from Egypt or some Canaanitish cities as Tyre or Ramoth. Jehoram seems to have followed up this unhelped deliverance by successful offensive operations, since we find from 2 K. ix. 1 that Ramoth in Gilead was once more an Israelitish town. [AHAB.] Soon after Benhadad fell sick, and sent Hazael, one of his chief officers, with vast presents, to consult Elisha, who happened to be in Damascus, as to the issue of his malady. Elisha replied that the sickness was not a mortal one, but that still he would certainly die, and he announced to Hazael that he would be his successor, with tears at the thought of the misery which he would bring on Israel. On the day after Hazael's return Benhadad was murdered, but not, as is commonly thought from a cursory reading of 2 K. viii. 15, by Hazael. Such a supposition is hardly consistent with Hazael's character, would involve Elisha in the guilt of having suggested the deed, and the introduction of Hazael's name in the latter clause of ver. 15, can scarcely be accounted for, if he is also the subject of the first clause. Ewald, from the Hebrew text and a general consideration of the chapter (*Gesch. des V. I.* iii. p. 523, *note*), thinks that one or more of Benhadad's own servants were the murderers: Calmet (*Fragm.* vii.) believes that the wet cloth which caused his death, was intended to effect his cure. This view he supports by a reference to Bruce's *Travels*, iii. p. 33. Hazael succeeded him perhaps because he had no natural heirs, and with him expired the dynasty founded by Rezon. Benhadad's death was about B.C. 890, and he must have reigned some 30 years.

BENHADAD III., son of the above-mentioned Hazael, and his successor on the throne of Syria. His reign was disastrous for Damascus, and the vast power wielded by his father sank into insignificance. In the striking language of scripture, "Jehonhaz [the son of Jehu] besought the Lord, and the Lord hearkened unto him, for he saw the oppression of

Israel, because the king of Syria oppressed them; and the Lord gave Israel a saviour" (2 K. xii. 4, 5). This saviour was Jeroboam II. (cf. 2 K. xiv. 27), but the prosperity of Israel began to revive in the reign of his father Jehoahaz, the son of Jehoahaz. When Benhadad succeeded to the throne of Hazael, Jehoahaz, in accordance with a prophecy of the dying Elisha, recovered the cities which Jehoahaz had lost to the Syrians, and beat him in Aphek (2 K. xv. 17) in the plain of Esdraelon, where Alab had already defeated Benhadad II. [AHAB.] Jehoahaz gained two more victories, but did not restore the dominion of Israel on the E. of Jordan. This glory was reserved for his successor. The date of Benhadad III. is B.C. 840. His misfortunes in war are noticed by Amos i. 4. [G. E. L. C.]

BEN-HA'IL (בְּנֵי-חַיִל), son of the host, i. e. warrior; Benhail), one of the "princes" (שָׂרִים) whom king Jehoshaphat sent to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 7). The LXX. translates, τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν δυνάτων.

BEN-HA'NAN (בְּנֵי-חָנָן; υἱὸς Φανῆ; Alex. *avan*; *filius Hanan*), son of Shimon, in the line of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20).

BENI'NU (בְּנֵי-נִי; *Bavouat*; Alex. *Bavouaiat*; *Baninu*), a Levite; one of those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 13 [14]).

BENJAMIN (בְּנֵי-יָמִין; *Benjamin*, *Benjamin*). 1. The youngest of the children of Jacob, and the only one of the thirteen (if indeed there were not more: comp. "all his daughters," Gen. xxxvii. 35, xli. 7), who was born in Palestine. His birth took place on the road between Bethel and Bethlehem, a short distance—"a length of earth"—from the latter, and his mother Rachel died in the act of giving birth to him, naming him with her last breath Ben-oni, "son of my sorrow" (comp. 1 Sam. iv. 19-22). This was by Jacob changed into Benjamin (*Benjamin*) (Gen. xxxv. 16-18).

The name is worthy some attention. From the terms of the story it would appear to be implied that it was bestowed on the child in opposition to the desponding, and probably ominous, name given him by his dying mother, and on this assumption it has been interpreted to mean "Son of the right hand," i. e. fortunate, dexterous, *Felix*; as if

בְּנֵי-יָמִין. This interpretation is inserted in the text of the Vulgate and the margin of the A. V. and has the support of Gesenius (*Thes.* 219). On the other hand the Samaritan Codex gives the name in an altered form as בְּנֵי-יָמִין, son of days, i. e. son of my old age (comp. Gen. xlv. 20), which is adopted by Philo, Aben-ezra, and others. Both these interpretations are of comparatively late date, and it is notorious that such explanatory glosses are not only often invented long subsequently to the original record, but are as often at variance with the real meaning of that record. The meaning given by Josephus—*διδόντων ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην δόξαν τῇ μητρὶ* (*Ant.* i. 21, §3)—is completely different from either of the above. However this may be, the name is not so pointed as to agree with any interpretation founded on "son of"—being בְּנֵי, and not בְּנֵי. Moreover in the adjectival forms of the word the first syllable is generally suppressed,

as *בְּנֵי יִמִּינִי* *בְּנֵי יִמִּינִי*, *i. e.* "sons of Yemini," for sons of Benjamin; *אִישׁ יִמִּינִי*, "man of Yemini," for *man* of Benjamin (1 Sam. ix. 1; Esth. ii. 5); *אֶרֶץ יִמִּינִי*, land of Yemini for land of Benjamin (1 Sam. ix. 4); as if the patriarch's name had been originally *יִמִּין*, Yamin (comp. Gen. xli. 10), and that of the tribe Yeminites. These adjectival forms are carefully preserved in the LXX.

Until the journeys of Jacob's sons and of Jacob himself into Egypt we hear nothing of Benjamin, and as far as he is concerned those well-known narratives disclose nothing beyond the very strong affection entertained towards him by his father and his whole-brother Joseph, and the relation of fond endearment in which he stood, as if a mere darling child (comp. Gen. xli. 20), to the whole of his family. Even the harsh natures of the elder patriarchs relaxed towards him. But Benjamin can hardly have been the "lad" which we commonly imagine him to be, for at the time that the patriarchs went down to reside in Egypt, when "every man with his house went with Jacob," ten sons are ascribed to Benjamin,—a larger number than to any of his brothers—and two of these, from the plural formation of their names, were themselves apparently families (Gen. xli. 21).<sup>a</sup>

And here, little as it is, closes all we know of the life of the patriarch himself; henceforward the history of Benjamin is the history of the tribe. And up to the time of the entrance on the Promised Land that history is as meagre as it is afterwards full and interesting. We know indeed that shortly after the departure from Egypt it was the smallest tribe but one (Num. i. 36; comp. verse 1); that during the march its position was on the west of the tabernacle with its brother tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (Num. ii. 18-24). We have the names of the "captain" of the tribe, when it set forth on its long march (Num. ii. 22); of the "ruler" who went up with his fellows to spy out the land (xiii. 9); of the families of which the tribe consisted when it was marshalled at the great halt in the plains of Moab by Jordan-Jericho (Num. xvi. 38-41, 63), and of the "prince" who was chosen to assist in the dividing of the land (xxiv. 21). These are indeed preserved to us. But there is nothing to indicate what were the characteristics and behaviour of the tribe which sprang from the orphan darling of his father and brothers. No touches of personal biography like those with which we are favoured concerning Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 20-23): no record of zeal for Jehovah like Levi (Ex. xxxii. 26): no evidence of special bent as in the case of Reuben and Gad (Num. xxxii.). The only foreshadowing of the tendencies of the tribe which was to produce Ehud, Saul, and the perpetrators of the deed of Gibeah, is to be found in the prophetic gleam which lighted up the dying Jacob, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf,

in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil" (Gen. xlix. 27).

The proximity of Benjamin to Ephraim during the march to the Promised Land was maintained in the territories allotted to each. Benjamin lay immediately to the south of Ephraim and between him and Judah. The situation of this territory was highly favourable. It formed almost a parallelogram, of about 26 m. in length by 12 in breadth. Its eastern boundary was the Jordan, and from thence it extended to the wooded district of Kirjath-jearim, a point about eight miles west of Jerusalem, while in the other direction it stretched from the valley of Hinnom, under the "Shoulder of the Jebusite" on the south, to Bethel on the north. Thus Dan intervened between Benjamin and the Philistines, while the communications with the valley of the Jordan were in their own power. On the south the territory ended abruptly with the steep slopes of the hill of Jerusalem,—on the north it melted imperceptibly into the possessions of the friendly Ephraim. The smallness of this district, hardly larger than the county of Middlesex, was, according to the testimony of Josephus, compensated for by the excellence of the land (*ὁδὸς ἡγρῆς γῆς ἀπερῆν*, *Ant.* v. 1).<sup>b</sup> In the degenerate state of modern Palestine few traces remain of this excellence. But other and more enduring natural peculiarities remain, and claim our recognition, rendering this possession one of the most remarkable among those of the tribes.

(1.) The general level of this part of Palestine is very high, not less than 2000 feet above the maritime plain of the Mediterranean on the one side, or than 3000 feet above the deep valley of the Jordan on the other, besides which this general level or plateau is surmounted, in the district now under consideration, by a large number of eminences—defined, rounded hills—almost every one of which has borne some part in the history of the tribe. Many of these hills carry the fact of their existence in their names. Gibeon, Gibeah, Geba or Galn, all mean "hill;" Ramah and Ramathaim, "eminence;" Mizpeh, "Watch tower;" while the "ascent of Beth-horon," the "cliff Kimmou," the "pass of Mich-mash" with its two "teeth of rock," all testify to a country eminently broken and hilly.

The special associations which belong to each of these eminences, whether as sanctuary or fortress, many of them arising from the most stirring incidents in the history of the nation, will be best examined under the various separate heads.

(2.) No less important than these eminences are the torrent beds and ravines by which the upper country breaks down into the deep tracts on each side of it. They formed then, as they do still, the only mode of access from either the plains of Philistia and of Sharon on the west, or the deep valley of the Jordan on the east—the latter steep and precipitous in the extreme, the former more gradual in their declivity. Up these western passes swarmed the Philistines on their incursions during the times of Samuel and

<sup>a</sup> According to other lists, some of these "children" would seem to have been grandchildren (comp. Num. xvi. 38-41; 1 Chr. vii. 6-12, viii. 1).

<sup>b</sup> A trace of the pasture lands may be found in the mention of the "herd" (1 Sam. xi. 3); and possibly others in the names of some of the towns of Benjamin: as *hap-Parah*, "the cow;" *Zelah-ha-eleph*, "the ox-rib" (Josh. xviii. 23, 28).

<sup>c</sup> It is perhaps hardly fanciful to ask if we may not account in this way for the curious prevalence among

the names of the towns of Benjamin of the titles of *tribes*. *Ila-Avvin*, the *Avites*; *Zemuraim*, the *Zemarites*; *ha-Ophni*, the *Ophnites*; *Chephar ha-Ammonai*, the village of the *Ammonites*; *ha-Jebusi*, the *Jebusite*,—are all among the names of places in Benjamin; and we can hardly doubt that in these names is preserved the memory of many an ascent of the wild tribes of the desert from the sultry and open plains of the low level to the fresh air and secure fastnesses of the upper district.

of Saul, driving the first king of Israel right over the higher district of his own tribe, to Gilgal in the hot recesses of the Arabah, and establishing themselves over the face of the country from Michmash to Ajalon. Down these same defiles they were driven by Saul after Jonathan's victorious exploit, just as in earlier times Joshua had chased the Canaanites down the long hill of Beth-horon, and as centuries after the forces of Syria were chased by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iii. 16-24).

The passes on the eastern side are of a much more difficult and intricate character than those on the western. The principal one, which, now unfrequented, was doubtless in ancient times the main ascent to the interior, leaves the Arabah behind the site of Jericho, and breaking through the barren hills with many a wild bend and steep slope, extends to and indeed beyond the very central ridge of the table-land of Benjamin, to the foot of the eminence on which stand the ruins of *Birch*, the ancient Beeroth. At its lower part this valley bears the name of *Wady Fiwat*, but for the greater part of its length it is called *Wady Suweinit*. It is the main access, and from its central ravine branch out side valleys, conducting to Bethel, Michmash, Gibeah, Anathoth, and other towns. After the fall of Jericho this ravine must have stood open to the victorious Israelites, as their natural inlet to the country. At its lower end must have taken place the repulse and subsequent victory of Ai, with the conviction and stoning of Achan, and through it Joshua doubtless listened to the relief of the Gibeonites, and to his memorable pursuit of the Canaanites down the pass of Beth-horon, on the other side of the territory of Benjamin.

Another of these passes is that which since the time of our Saviour has been the regular road between Jericho and Jerusalem, the scene of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Others lie further north by the mountain which bears the traditional name of Quarantania; first up the face of the cliff, afterwards less steep, and finally leading to Bethel or Taiyibeh, the ancient Ophrah (Rob. i. 570).

These intricate ravines may well have harboured the wild beasts, which, if the derivation of the names of several places in this locality are to be trusted, originally haunted the district—*zeboim*, hyaenas (1 Sam. xiii. 18), *shual* and *shaalbim*, foxes or jackals (Judg. i. 35; 1 Sam. xiii. 17), *ajalon*, gazelles.<sup>d</sup>

Such were the limits and such the character of the possession of Benjamin as fixed by those who originally divided the land. But it could not have been long before they extended their limits, since in the early lists of 1 Chr. viii. we find mention made of Benjamites who built Lod and Ono, and of others who were founders of Ajalon (12, 13), all which towns were beyond the spot named above as the westernmost point in their boundary. These places too were in their possession after the return from the captivity (Neh. xi. 35).

The contrast between the warlike character of the tribe and the peaceful image of its progenitor has been already noticed. That fierceness and power

are not less out of proportion to the smallness of its numbers and of its territory. This comes out in many scattered notices. (a) Benjamin was the only tribe which seems to have pursued archery to any purpose, and their skill in the bow (1 Sam. xx. 20, 36; 2 Sam. i. 22; 1 Chr. viii. 40, xii. 2; 2 Chr. xvii. 17) and the sling (Judg. xx. 16) are celebrated. (b) When, after the first conquest of the country, the nation began to groan under the miseries of a foreign yoke, it is to a man of Benjamin, Ehud the son of Gera, that they turn for deliverance. The story seems to imply that he accomplished his purpose on Eglon with less risk, owing to his proficiency in the peculiar practice of using his left hand, a practice apparently confined to Benjamites, though by them greatly employed (Judg. iii. 15, and see xx. 16; 1 Chr. xii. 2). (c) Baanah and Rehab, "the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite of the children of Benjamin," are the only Israelites west of the Jordan named in the whole history as captains of marauding predatory "bands" (בָּנֵי יָדָיִם); and the act of which they

were guilty—the murder of the head of their house—hardly needed the summary vengeance inflicted on them by David to testify the abhorrence in which it must have been held by all Orientals however warlike. (d) The dreadful deed recounted in Judg. xix. though repelled by the whole country, was unhesitatingly adopted and defended by Benjamin with an obstinacy and spirit truly extraordinary. Of their obstinacy there is a remarkable trait in 1 Sam. xxii. 7-18. Though Saul was not only the king of the nation, but the head of the tribe, and David a member of a family which had as yet no claims on the friendship of Benjamin, yet the Benjamites resisted the strongest appeal of Saul to betray the movements of David, and after those movements had been revealed by Doeg the Edomite (worthy member—as he must have seemed to them—of an accursed race!) they still firmly refused to lift a hand against those who had assisted him.

And yet—to return to the deed of Gibeah—in one or two of the expressions of that antique and simple narrative—the phrase "Benjamin my brother"—the anxious inquiry, "what shall we do for wives for them that remain?"—and the entreaty to be favourable to them "for our sakes"—we seem to hear as it were an echo of those tones of fond affection which have given the son of Rachel's grief so distinct a place in our minds.

That frightful transaction was indeed a crisis in the history of the tribe: the narrative undoubtedly is intended to convey that the six hundred who took refuge in the cliff of Rimmon, and who were afterwards provided with wives partly from Jabesh Gilead (Judg. xxi. 10), partly from Shiloh (xxi. 21), were the only survivors. A long interval must have elapsed between so abject a condition and the culminating point at which we next meet with the tribe.<sup>e</sup>

Several circumstances may have conduced to its restoration to that place which it was now to assume. The Tabernacle was at Shiloh in Ephraim

nology of the book of Judges may be drawn from this circumstance—since no shorter period would have been sufficient for the tribe to have recovered such almost total extermination, and to have reached the numbers and force indicated in the lists of 1 Chr. xii. 1-8, vii. 6-12, viii. 1-40.

<sup>d</sup> The subject of the connexion between the topography of Benjamin and the events which took place there is treated in the most admirable manner in the 4th chapter of Mr. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*. Very much of the above article is drawn from that source.

<sup>e</sup> A fair argument in favour of the received chrono-

during the time of the last Judge; but the Ark was in Benjamin at Kirjath-jearim. Ramah, the official residence of Samuel, and containing a sanctuary greatly frequented (1 Sam. ix. 12, &c.),—Mizpeh, where the great assemblies of "all Israel" took place (1 Sam. vii. 5),—Bethel, perhaps the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Palestine, and Gibeon, specially noted as "the great high place" (2 Chr. i. 3), were all in the land of Benjamin. These must gradually have accustomed the people who resorted to these various places to associate the tribe with power and sanctity, and they tend to elucidate the anomaly which struck Saul so forcibly, "that all the desire of Israel" should have been fixed on the house of the smallest of its tribes (1 Sam. ix. 21).

The struggles and contests which followed the death of Saul arose from the natural unwillingness of the tribe to relinquish its position at the head of the nation, especially in favour of Judah. Had it been Ephraim, the case might have been different, but Judah had as yet no connexion with the house of Joseph, and was besides the tribe of David, whom Saul had pursued with such unrelenting enmity. The tact and sound sense of Abner, however, succeeded in overcoming these difficulties, though he himself fell a victim in the very act of accomplishing his purpose, and the proposal that David should be "king over Israel" was one which "seemed good to the whole house of Benjamin," and of which the tribe testified its approval, and evinced its good faith, by sending to the distant capital of Hebron a detachment of 3000 men of the "brethren of Saul" (1 Chr. xii. 29). Still the insults of Shimel and the insurrection of Sheba are indications that the soreness still existed, and we do not hear of any cordial co-operation or firm union between the two tribes until a cause of common quarrel arose, at the disruption, when Rehoboam assembled "all the house of Judah with the tribe of Benjamin, to fight against the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom again to the son of Solomon" (1 K. xii. 21; 2 Chr. xi. 1). Possibly the seal may have been set to this by the fact of Jeroboam having just taken possession of Bethel, a city of Benjamin, for the calf-worship of the northern kingdom (1 K. xii. 29). On the other hand Rehoboam fortified and garrisoned several cities of Benjamin, and wisely dispersed the members of his own family through them (2 Chr. xi. 10-12). The alliance was further strengthened by a covenant solemnly undertaken (2 Chr. xv. 9), and by the employment of Benjamites in high positions in the army of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 17). But what above all must have contributed to strengthen the alliance was the fact that the Temple was the common property of both tribes. True, it was founded, erected, and endowed by princes of "the house of Judah," but the city of "the Jebusite" (Josh. xviii. 25), and the whole of the ground north of the Valley of Hinnom, was in the lot of Benjamin. In this latter fact is literally fulfilled the prophecy of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 12): Benjamin "dwelt between" the "shoulders" of the ravines which encompass the Holy City on the west, south, and east (see a good treatment of this point in Blunt's *Undes. Coincidences*, Pt. II. §xvii.).

Henceforward the history of Benjamin becomes

<sup>1</sup> Bethel, however, was on the very boundary line, and centuries before this date was inhabited by both Ephraimites and Benjamites (Judg. xix. 10).

merged in that of the southern kingdom. That the tribe still retained its individuality is plain from the constant mention of it in the various censuses taken of the two tribes, and on other occasions, and also from the lists of the men of Benjamin who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii.; Neh. vii.) and took possession of their old towns (Neh. xi. 31-35). At Jerusalem the name must have been always kept alive, if by nothing else, by the name of "the high gate of Benjamin" (Jer. xx. 2). [JERUSALEM.]

But though the tribe had thus given up to a certain degree its independent existence, it is clear that the ancient memories of their house were not allowed to fade from the recollections of the Benjamites. The genealogy of Saul, to a late date, is carefully preserved in the lists of 1 Chr. (viii. 33-40, ix. 39-44); the name of Kish recurs as the father of Mordecai (Est. ii. 5), the honoured deliverer of the nation from miseries worse than those threatened by Nahash the Ammonite. But it was reserved for a greater than these to close the line of this tribe in the sacred history. The royal name once more appears, and "Saul who also is called Paul" has left on record under his own hand that he was "of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin." It is perhaps more than a mere fancy to note how remarkably the chief characteristics of the tribe are gathered up in his one person. There was the fierceness, in his persecution of the Christians; and there were the obstinacy and persistence, which made him proof against the tears and prayers of his converts, and "ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts xxi. 12, 13). There were the force and vigour to which natural difficulties and confined circumstances formed no impediment; and lastly, there was the keen sense of the greatness of his house, in his proud reference to his forefather "Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin."

Be this as it may, no nobler hero could be found to close the rolls of the worthies of his tribe—no prouder distinction could be desired for Benjamin than that of having produced the first judge of its nation, the first king, and finally, when Judaism gave place to Christianity, the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

2. A man of the tribe of Benjamin, son of Bilhan, and the head of a family of warriors (1 Chr. vii. 10).

3. One of the "sons of Harim;" an Israelite in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 32). [G.]

BENJAMIN, HIGH GATE, or GATE, OF (שַׁעַר בִּנְיָמִן), Jer. xx. 2, xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 7; Zech. xiv. 10. [JERUSALEM.]

BENO (בְּנוֹ); LXX. translates υἱοι; *Benno*, a Levite of the sons of Memri (1 Chr. xxiv. 26, 27).

BEN-O'NI (בֶּן-אֲוִי), son of my sorrow, or of my strength, i. e. of my last effort, Hiller, *Onom.* 300, &c.; υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου; *Benoni*, id est filius doloris mei, the name which the dying Rachel gave to her newly-born son, but which by his father was changed into BENJAMIN (Gen. xxxv. 18).

BEN-ZOHEH (בֶּן-זֹהֶה); υἱὸς Ζωδῆ; Alex. Ζωχδῆ; *Zoheth*, a name occurring among the descendants of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20). The passage

appears to be a fragment, and as if the name of a son of the Zoheth just mentioned had originally followed. A. V. follows Vulgate.

**BE'ON** (בֵּעוֹן; *Baia*; Alex. βαμά; *Beon*), a place on the east of Jordan (Num. xxxii. 3), doubtless a contraction of BAAL-MEON (comp. ver. 38).

**BE'OR** (בְּעוֹר; *Beor*; *Beor*). 1. The father of BEA, one of the early Edomite kings (Gen. xxxvi. 32; 1 Chr. i. 43). 2. Father of Balaam (Num. xxii. 5, xxiv. 3, 15; xxxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 22, xxiv. 9; Mic. vi. 5). He is called BOSOR in the N. T. [BEA.]

**BE'RA** (בְּרָע; *Vat.* and Alex. βαλλά; *Joseph.* βαλλάς; *Bera*), king of Sodom at the time of the invasion of the five kings under Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2; also 17 and 21).

**BERA'CHAH** (בְּרָכָה; *Bercha*; *Baracha*), a Benjamite, one of "Saul's brethren," who attached himself to David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 3).

**BERA'CHAH, VALLEY OF** (עֶמְקַ בְּרָכָה; *Koila*ς *Eblorlas*; *vallis benedictionis*), a valley (Jos. τινα κοίλον καὶ παραγγελίᾳ τόπον) in which Jehoshaphat and his people assembled to "bless" Jehovah after the overthrow of the hosts of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunim, who had come against them, and which from that fact acquired its name of "the valley of blessing" (2 Chr. xx. 26). The place is remarkable as furnishing one of the latest instances in the O. T. of a name bestowed in consequence of an occurrence at the spot.

The name of *Bereikht* (بريكت) still survives, attached to ruins in a valley of the same name lying between Tekna and the main road from Beth-lehem to Hebron, a position corresponding accurately enough with the locality of the battle as described in 2 Chr. xx. (Rob. iii. 275; the discovery is due to Wolcott; see Ritter, *Jordan*, 635.) It must not be confounded with Caphar-barucha, now probably *Beni Naim*, an eminence on very high ground, 3 or 4 miles east of Hebron, commanding an extensive view of the Dead Sea, and traditionally the scene of Abraham's intercession for Sodom. The tomb of Lot has been shown there since the days of Mandeville (see Ireland, 685; Rob. i. 489-91). [G.]

**BERACHI'AH** (בְּרַחִיָּה; *Berechiah*; *Berachia*; *Barachia*), a Gershonite Levite, father of Asaph the singer (1 Chr. vi. 39). [BERECHIAH.]

**BERAI'AH** (בְּרַאִיָּה; *Bapaa*; *Baraia*), son of Shimhi, a chief man of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 21).

**BERE'A** (Βερεΐα). 1. A city of Macedonia, to which St. Paul retired with Silas and Timotheus, in the course of his first visit to Europe, on being persecuted in Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 10), and from which, on being again persecuted by emissaries from Thessalonica, he withdrew to the sea for the purpose of proceeding to Athens (ib. 14, 15). The community of Jews must have been considerable in Berea, and their character is described in very favourable terms (ib. 11). Sopater, one of St. Paul's missionary companions, was from this place (Βερεῖας, Acts xx. 4). He accompanied the apostle on his return from the second visit to Europe

(ib.); and he appears to have previously been with him, in the course of that second visit, at Corinth, when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 21).

Berea, now called *Verria* or *Kara-Verria*, is fully described by Leake (*Northern Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 290 seqq.), and by Cousinery (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. i. pp. 69 seqq.). Situated on the eastern slope of the Olympian mountain-range, with an abundant supply of water, and commanding an extensive view of the plain of the Axios and Halicmon, it is regarded as one of the most agreeable towns in Rumili, and has now 15,000 or 20,000 inhabitants. A few ancient remains, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine, still exist here. Two roads are laid down in the Itineraries between Thessalonica and Berea, one passing by Pella. St. Paul and his companions may have travelled by either of them. Two roads also connect Berea with Dium, one passing by Pydna. It was probably from Dium that St. Paul sailed to Athens, leaving Silas and Timotheus behind; and possibly 1 Thess. iii. 2 refers to a journey of Timotheus from Berea, not from Athens. [TIMOTHY.] The coin in *Achern's Numismatic Illustrations of the N. T.* p. 46, is erroneously assigned to the Macedonian Berea, and belongs to the following.

2. The modern *Aleppo*, mentioned in 2 Macc. xiii. 4, in connexion with the invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Eupator, as the scene of the miserable death of Menelaus. This seems to be the city, in which Jerome says that certain persons lived, who possessed and used St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 3).

3. (*Bepia*), a place in Judaea, apparently not very far from Jerusalem, where Bacchides, the general of Demetrius, encamped shortly before the engagement in which Judas Maccabaeus was slain (1 Macc. ix. 4. See Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 11, §1). [J. S. H.]

**BERECHIAH** (בְּרַחִיָּה and בְּרַכִּיָּה; *Berachia*; *Barachia*). 1. One of the sons of Zerubabel, and a descendant of the royal family of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 20).

2. A man mentioned as the father of Meshullam who assisted in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 4, 30; vi. 18).

3. A Levite of the line of Elkanah (1 Chr. ix. 16).

4. A doorkeeper for the ark (1 Chr. xv. 23).

5. Berechiah, one of the chief men of the tribe of Ephraim in time of king Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 12).

6. Berechiah, father of Asaph the singer (1 Chr. xv. 17). [BERACHIAH.]

7. Berechiah, father of Zechariah the prophet (Zech. i. 1, also 7). [G.]

**BERED** (בְּרֵד; *Bapad*; *Barad*). 1. A place in the south of Palestine, between which and Kadeshi lay the well Lachai-roi (Gen. xvi. 14). The name is variously given in the ancient versions: Peschito, *Gadar*, גַּדָּר? = *Gerar*; Arab. *Iared*, يارد, probably a mere corruption of the Hebrew name; Onkelos, *Chagra*, חֲגָרָה (elsewhere employed in the Targums for "Shur"; can it be connected with Hagar, הָגָר, הֲגָרִי?); Ps.-Jonathan, *Chalutza*, חֲלוּצָא, i. e. the Elusa, "Ελουσα, of Ptolemy and the ecclesiastical writers, now *al-Khūssā*, on the Hebron road, about 12 miles south of Beersheba

(Rob. i. 201, 2; Stewart, 205; Reland, 755). We have the testimony of Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*) that Elusa was called by its inhabitants *Bareo*, which would be an easy corruption of Bered, בֶּרֶד, being read for בֶּרֶד. Chalutza is the name elsewhere given in the Arabic version for "Shur" and for "Genu."

2. A son or descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 20), possibly identical with Becher in Num. xxvi. 35, by a mere change of letters (בֶּרֶד for בֶּכֶר). [G.]

### BERENICE. [BERNICE.]

BE'RI (בֶּרִי; *Bapiv*; *Beri*), son of Zophah, of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 36).

BERIAH (בְּרִיעָה, *in evil*, or *a gift*, see No. 2; *Bepid*, *Bapid*; *Baria*, *Beria*, *Brie*). 1. A son of Asher (Gen. xli. 17; Num. xxvi. 44, 45), from whom descended the "family of the Berities," בְּרִיעִי, *Bepiat*, *familia Bricitarum* (Num. xxvi. 44).

2. A son of Ephraim, so named on account of the state of his father's house when he was born. "And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son, and Zabab his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath [that were] born in [that] land slew" [*lit.* "and the men . . . slew them"], "because they came down to take away their cattle. And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him. And when he went in to his wife, she conceived, and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house" [*lit.* "because evil" or "a gift" "was to his house" בְּרִיעָה הָיְתָה בְּבֵיתוֹ] *וְשֵׁם*

*ἐν κακοῖς ἐγένετο ἐν οἴκῳ μου*, LXX.: "eo quod in malis domus ejus ortus esset," Vulg.] (1 Chr. vii. 20-23). With respect to the meaning of the name, Gesenius prefers the rendering "in evil" to "a gift," as probably the right one. In this case בְּרִיעָה in the explanation would be, according to him, רָעָה with *Beth essentiae* (*Thes.*

s. v.). It must be remarked, however, that the supposed instances of *Beth essentiae* being prefixed to the subject in the O. T. are few and inconclusive, and that it is disputed by the Arabian grammarians if the parallel "redundant Bé" of the Arabic be ever so used (comp. *Thes.* pp. 174, 175, where this use of "redundant Bé" is too arbitrarily denied). The LXX. and Vulg. indicate a different construction, with an additional variation in the case of the former, ("my house" for "his house,") so that the rendering "in evil" does not depend upon the construction proposed by Gesenius. Michaelis suggests that בְּרִיעָה may mean a spontaneous gift of God, beyond expectation and the law of nature, as a son born to Ephraim now growing old might be called (*Suppl.* pp. 224, 225). In favour of this meaning, which, with Gesenius, we take in the simple sense of "gift," it may be urged, that it is unlikely that four persons would have borne a name of an unusual form, and that a case similar to that here supposed is found in the naming of Seth (Gen. iv. 25). This short notice is of no slight historical importance; especially as it refers to a period of Hebrew history respecting which the Bible affords us no other like information. The event must be assigned to the time between Jacob's death and the beginning of the oppression. The indications that

guide us are, that some of Ephraim's sons must have attained to manhood, and that the Hebrews were still free. The passage is full of difficulties. The first question is: What sons of Ephraim were killed? The persons mentioned do not all seem to be his sons. Shuthelah occupies the first place, and a genealogy of his descendants follows as far as a second Shuthelah, the words "his son" indicating a direct descent, as Houbigant (ap. Barrett, *Synopsis in loc.*) remarks, although he very needlessly proposes conjecturally to omit them. A similar genealogy from Beriah to Joshua is given in ver. 25-27. As the text stands there are but three sons of Ephraim mentioned before Beriah—Shuthelah, Ezer, and Elead—all of whom seem to have been killed by the men of Gath, though it is possible that the last two are alone meant, and the first of whom is stated to have left descendants. In the enumeration of the Israelite families in Numbers four of the tribe of Ephraim are mentioned, sprung from his sons Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahai, and from Erna, son or descendant of Shuthelah (xxvi. 35, 36). The second and third families are probably those of Beriah and a younger son, unless the third is one of Beriah, called after his descendant Tahai (1 Chr. vii. 25); or one of them may be that of a son of Joseph, since it is related that Jacob determined that sons of Joseph who might be born to him after Ephraim and Manasseh should "be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance" (Gen. xlviii. 6). See however BECHER. There can be no doubt that the land in which the men of Gath were born is the eastern part of Lower Egypt, if not Goshen itself. It would be needless to say that they were born in their own land. At this time very many foreigners must have been settled in Egypt, especially in and about Goshen. Indeed Goshen is mentioned as a non-Egyptian country in its inhabitants (Gen. xli. 34), and its own name as well as nearly all the names of its cities and places mentioned in the Bible, save the cities built in the oppression, are probably Semitic. In the Book of Joshua, Shihor, the Nile, here the Pelusiac branch, is the boundary of Egypt and Canaan, the Philistine territories apparently being considered to extend from it (Josh. xiii. 2, 3). It is therefore very probable that many Philistines would have settled in a part of Egypt so accessible to them and so similar in its population to Canaan as Goshen and the tracts adjoining it. Or else these men of Gath may have been mercenaries like the Cherethim (in Egyptian Shayratana) who were in the Egyptian service at a later time, as in David's, and to whom lands were probably allotted as to the native army. Some suppose that the men of Gath were the aggressors, a conjecture not at variance with the words used in the relation of the cause of the death of Ephraim's sons, since we may read "when (כִּי) they came down," &c., instead of "because," &c. (*Bagster's Bible, in loc.*), but it must be remembered that this rendering is equally consistent with the other explanation. There is no reason to suppose that the Israelites at this time may not have sometimes engaged in predatory or other warfare. The warlike habits of Jacob's sons are evident in the narrative of the vengeance taken by Simeon and Levi upon Hamor and Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 25-29), and of their posterity in the account of the fear of that Pharaoh who began to oppress them lest they should, in the event of war in the land, join with the enemies of his people, and by fighting

against them get them out of the country (Ex. i. 8-10). It has been imagined, according to which side was supposed to have acted the aggressor, that the Gittites descended upon the Ephraimites in a predatory excursion from Palestine, or that the Ephraimites made a raid into Palestine. Neither of these explanations is consistent with sound criticism, because the men of Gath are said to have been born in the land, that is, to have been settled in Egypt, as already shown, and the second one, which is adopted by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, i. pp. 177, 178), is inadmissible on the ground that the verb used, יָרַד, "he went down," or "descended," is applicable to going into Egypt, but not to coming from it. The Rabbinical idea that these sons of Ephraim went to take the Promised Land needs no refutation. (For these various theories see *Poli Synopsis in loc.*)

3. A Benjamite. He and his brother Sheima were ancestors of the inhabitants of Ajalon, and adopted the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr. viii. 13, 16).

4. A Levite (1 Chr. xliii. 10, 11). [R. S. P.]

BERITES. [BERIAH, 1.]

BERITES, THE (בְּרִיתִים; *Ev Xapβή*), a tribe or people who are named with Abel and Beth maachah—who were therefore doubtless situated in the north of Palestine—mentioned only as having been visited by Job in his pursuit after Sheba the son of Bichri (2 Sam. xv. 14). The expression is a remarkable one, "all the Berites" (כָּל הַבְּרִיתִים, "all the Bithron"). The Vulgate has a different reading—omnesque viri cuncti congregati fuerant—apparently reading for הַבְּרִיתִים by an easy transposition and change of letters בְּרִיתִים, i.e. the young men, and this is in Ewald's opinion the correct reading (*Gesch.* iii. 249, *note*). [G.]

BERITH, THE GON (בְּרִית), Judg. iv. 46. [BAAL-BERITH, p. 146.]

BERNICE and BERENICE (Βερνίκη, also in *Bernice*; *Berenice* = Φερηνίκη, see Sturz, *Diad. Mace.* p. 31; the form Beronice is also found), the eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts vii. 1, &c.). She was first married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 5, §1), and after his death (A.D. 48) she lived under circumstances of great suspicion with her own brother Agrippa II. (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 7, 3; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 156 ff.), in connexion with whom she is mentioned Acts xxv. 13, 23, xxvi. 30, as having visited Festus on his appointment as Procurator of Judea. She was a second time married, to Polemon, king of Cilicia, but soon left him, and returned to her brother (Joseph. *ibid.*). She afterwards became the mistress of Vespasian (Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 81), and of his son Titus (Sueton. *Tit.* 7). [H. A.]

BER'ODACH-BAL'ADAN. 2 K. xx. 12. [MERODACH-BALADAN.]

BER'OTH (*Βηρώθ*; Alex. *Βηρώθ*), 1 Esd. v. 9. [BEROTH.]

BE'ROTHAH, BE'ROTHAI (בְּרוֹתַי, בְּרוֹתַי; *Berotha, Bereth*). The first of these two names, each of which occurs once only, is given by Ezekiel (xlvii. 16) in connexion with Hamath and

Damascus as forming part of the northern boundary of the promised land. The second is mentioned (2 Sam. viii. 8) as the name of a city of Zobah taken by David, also in connexion with Hamath and Damascus. The slightness of these references makes it impossible to identify the names with any degree of probability, or even to decide whether they refer to the same locality or not. The well-known city *Beirút* (Berytus) naturally suggests itself as identical with one at least of the names; but in each instance the circumstances of the case seem to require a position further east, since Ezekiel places Berothah between Hamath and Damascus, and David's war with the king of Zobah led him away from the sea-coast towards the Euphrates (2 Sam. viii. 3). In the latter instance the difficulty is increased by the Hebrew text reading in 1 Chr. xviii. 8, *CHU* instead of Berothai, and by the fact that both in Samuel and Chronicles the Greek translators, instead of giving a proper name, translate by the phrase *ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν πόλεων*, clearly showing that they read either the same text in each passage, or at least words which bore the same sense. Fürst regards Berothah and Berothai as distinct places, and identifies the first with Berytus. Mislin (*Scripta Litur.* i. 244) derives the name from the wells (*Beeroth*), which are still to be seen bored in the solid rock at *Beirút*. [F. W. G.]

BE'ROTHITE, THE (1 Chr. xi. 39). [BEROTH.]

BERYL (בִּרְזִיתִי, *Turshish; θήρυλλος*), a precious stone, the first in the fourth row on the breastplate of the high-priest (Ex. xxviii. 20, xxix. 13). The colour of the wheels in Ezekiel's vision was as the colour of a beryl-stone (Ez. i. 16, x. 9); it is mentioned among the treasures of the king of Tyre in Ez. xxviii. 13, where the marginal reading is *chrysolite*; in Cant. v. 14 as being set in rings of gold; and in Dan. x. 6 the body of the man whom Daniel saw in vision is said to be like the beryl. In Rev. xxi. 19 the beryl is the 8th foundation of the city, the chrysolite being the 7th. In Ex. xxviii. 20 the LXX. have *χρυσόλιθος*, while they render the 11th stone, *הַשֵּׁנִי*, by *βηρύλλιον*. In Ez. i. 16 they have *θαρσεῖς*, in x. 9 *λίθος ἑνθρακος*, and xviii. 13 *ἑνθραξ*. In Cant. v. 14 and in Dan. x. 6 *θαρσεῖς*. This variety of rendering shows the uncertainty under which the old interpreters laboured as to the stone actually meant. Josephus takes it to have been the chrysolite, a golden-coloured gem, the topaz of more recent authors, found in Spain (Plin. xxxvii. 109), whence its name *בִּרְזִיתִי* (see Braun, *de Vest. Sac. Heb.* lib. ii. c. 18, §193). Luther suggests *turquoise*, while others have thought that amber was meant. Kailisch in the two passages of Exodus translates *בִּרְזִיתִי* by chrysolite, which he describes as usually green, but with different degrees of shade, generally transparent, but often only translucent—harder than glass, but not so hard as quartz. The passage in Rev. xxi. 20 is adverse to this view. Schleusner (i. p. 446) says the *θήρυλλος* is aquamarine. "The beryl is a gem of the genus emerald, but less valuable than the emerald. It differs from the precious emerald in not possessing any of the oxide of chrome. The colours of the beryl are greyish-green, blue, yellow, and sometimes nearly white." (Humble, *Dict. Geol. &c.* p. 30.) [W. D.]

**BERZEL'US** (Φαρζελάδος; Alex. Ζορ(ε)λάδου; Pharyzeleu), 1 Esd. i. 38. [BARZILLAI.]

**BESAI** (בֶּסַי; Βησαι, Basí; Besce). "Children of Besai" were among the Nethinim who returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 49; Neh. vii. 52). [BASAI.]

**BESODEIAH** (בֶּסֹדִיָּה; Βασωδία, "Aßδεια; Besodia), father of Meshullam, and one of the repairers of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 6).

**BESOR, THE BROOK** (נַחַל הַבְּשׂוֹר; χειμῶν-ρος τοῦ Βασόρ; torrens Besor), a torrent-bed or wady in the extreme south of Judah, of which mention occurs only in 1 Sam. xxx. 9, 10, 21. It is plain from the conditions of the narrative that it must have been south of Ziklag, but hitherto the situation of neither town nor wady has been identified with any probability. The name may signify "fresh" or "cool" (Fürst). [G.]

**BE'TAH** (בֵּיתָה; ἡ Μερεβάδα, quasi בֵּית מֶרֶבָּה; Alex. ἡ Μαρβάδα; Bete), a city belonging to Hadadezer, king of Zobah, mentioned with Beithai as having yielded much spoil of brass to David (2 Sam. viii. 8). In the parallel account 1 Chr. xviii. 8, the name is called by an inversion of letters, T'ibchath. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 195) pronounces the latter to be the correct reading, and compares it with Tebach (Gen. xxii. 24). [G.]

**BET'ANE** (Βετάνη; Alex. Βαιτάνη, i. e. prob. Βαιτάνη; Vulg. omits), a place apparently south of Jerusalem (Jud. i. 9), and possibly identical with Βηθανία of Eusebius (*Onom.* "Apl, Ain), two miles from the Terebinth of Abraham and four from Hebron. This has been variously identified with Betharath, Bethaninun, and Betaneh or Ecbatana in Syria, placed by Pliny (v. 17) on Carmel (Winer, s. v. *Betane*). Bethany is inadmissible from the fact of its unimportance at the time, if indeed it existed at all. [G.]

**BE'TEN** (בֵּיתָן; Βαιτόκ; Alex. Βαιτνέ; Beten), one of the cities on the border of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 25, only). By Eusebius (*Onom.* Βαιτνέ) it is said to have been then called Bebeten, and to have lain eight miles east of Ptolemais. No other trace of its existence has been discovered elsewhere. [G.]

**BETH** (בֵּית, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* and *Lex.*)), from a root, בָּנָה, to pass the night, or from בָּנָה, to build, as *domus*, *domus*, from *δέμω*, the most general word for a house or habitation. Strictly speaking it has the force of a settled stable dwelling, as in Gen. xxiii. 17, where the building of a "house" marks the termination of a stage of Jacob's wanderings (comp. also 2 Sam. vii. 2, 6, and many other places); but it is also employed for a dwelling of any kind, even for a tent, as in Gen. xxiv. 32, where it must refer to the tent of Laban; also Judg. xviii. 31, 1 Sam. i. 7, to the tent of the tabernacle, and 2 K. xxiii. 7, where it expresses the textile materials (A. V. "hangings") for the tents of Astarte. From this general force the transition was natural to a house in the sense of a family, as Ps. cvii. 41, "families" (Prayer-Book, "households"), or a pedigree, as Ezr. ii. 59. In 2 Sam. xiii. 7, 1 K. xiii. 7, and other places, it has the sense of "home," i. e. "to the house." Beth

also has some collateral and almost technical meanings, similar to those which we apply to the word "house," as in Ex. xxv. 27 for the "places" or sockets into which the bars for carrying the table were "housed;" and others.

Like *Aedes* in Latin and *Dom* in German, Beth has the special meaning of a temple or house of worship, in which sense it is applied not only to the tabernacle (see above) or temple of Jehovah (1 K. iii. 2; vi. 1, &c.), but to those of false gods—Dagon (Judg. xvi. 27; 1 Sam. v. 2), Rimmon (2 K. v. 18), Baal (2 K. x. 21), Nisroch (2 K. xix. 37), and other gods (Judg. ix. 27). "Bajith" in Is. xv. 2 is really In-Bajith = "the Temple"—meaning some well-known idol fane in Moab. [BAJITH.]

Beth is more frequently employed in combination with other words to form the names of places than either Kirjath, Hatzar, Beer, Ain, or any other word. A list of the places compounded with Beth is given below in alphabetical order; but in addition to these it may be allowable here to notice two, which, though not appearing in that form in the A. V., yet do so in the LXX., probably with greater correctness.

**BETH-EKED** (בֵּית עֶקֶד; Βαιθακῆδ; camera pastorum), the "shearing house," at the pit or well (בֵּית) of which, the forty-two brethren of Ahaziah were slain by Jehu (2 K. x. 12). It lay between Jezreel and Samaria according to Jerome (*Onom.*) 15 miles from the town of Legio, and in the plain of Esdraelon.

**BETH-HAGGAN** (בֵּית הַגָּן; Βαιθγαν; Domus horti), A. V. "the garden-house" (2 K. ix. 27), one of the spots which marked the flight of Ahaziah from Jehu. It is doubtless the same place as EN-GANNIM, "spring of gardens," the modern *Jenin*, on the direct road from Samaria northward, and overlooking the great plain (Stanley, 349, note). [G.]

**BETH-AB'ARA** (Βηθαβάρ, quasi בֵּית אַבְרָהָם, house of ford or ferry), a place beyond Jordan, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάν, in which, according to the Received Text of the N. T., John was baptizing (John i. 28), apparently at the time that he baptized Christ (comp. ver. 29, 39, 35). If the reading of the Received Text be the correct one, Bethabara may be identical with Beth-barah, the ancient ford of Jordan, of which the men of Ephraim took possession after Gideon's defeat of the Midianites [BETH-NIMRAH]; or, which seems more likely, with Beth-nimrah, on the east of the river, nearly opposite Jericho. [BETH-NIMRAH.] But the oldest MSS. (A B) and the Vulgate have not Bethabara but Bethany, a reading which Origen (*ad loc.*) states to have obtained in almost all the copies of his time, σχέδον πάντα τὰ ἀντίγραφα, though altered by him in his edition of the Gospel on topographical grounds. In favour of Bethabara are, (a) the extreme improbability of so familiar a name as Bethany being changed by copyists into one so unfamiliar as Bethabara, while the reverse—the change from an unfamiliar to a familiar name—is of frequent occurrence. (b) The fact that Origen, while admitting that the majority of MSS. were in favour of Bethany, decided notwithstanding for Bethabara. (c) That Bethabara was still known in the days of Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, s. v.), and

\* In the *Onomasticon*, however, Jerome has Bethabara.

greatly resorted to by persons desirous of baptism (*vitali gurgite baptizantur*).

Still the fact remains that the most ancient MSS. have "Bethany," and that name has been accordingly restored to the text by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and other modern editors. At this distance of time, and in the absence of any careful research on the east of Jordan, it is impossible to decide on evidence so slight and conflicting. It must not be overlooked that if Bethany be accepted, the definition "beyond Jordan" still remains, and therefore another place must be intended than the well-known residence of Lazarus. [G.]

**BETH-ANATHI** (בֵּית אֲנָתִי; Βαθθαμέ, Βαθαρὰ, Βαθνήθ; *Bethanath*), one of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali, named with Bethshemesh (Josh. xix. 38); from neither of them were the Canaanites expelled (Judg. i. 33). By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s. v. Avelp, Βαθμὰ, Βηθανάδα*) it is spoken of as a village called Batanana, 15 miles eastward of Caesarea (Diocæsarea, or Sepphoris), and reputed to contain medicinal springs, *λουτρά ἰσχυρά*. Nothing, however, is known to have been discovered of it in modern times. [G.]

**BETH-ANOTH** (בֵּית אֲנוֹת; Βαθανάμ; *Beth-anoth*), a town in the mountainous district of Judah, named with Halhul, Bethzur, and others, in Josh. xv. 59 only. It is very probably the modern *Beit-'anûn*, the remains of which, near to those of *Halhul* and *Beit Sâr*, were discovered by Wolcott and visited by Robinson (iii. 281). [G.]

**BETHANY** (quasi בֵּית הַיְּתָן, *house of dates*; Βηθανία; *Bethania*), a village which, scanty as are the notices of it contained in Scripture, is more intimately associated in our minds than perhaps any other place with the most familiar acts and scenes of the last days of the life of Christ. It was at Bethany that He raised Lazarus from the dead, and from Bethany that He commenced His "triumphal entry" into Jerusalem. It was His nightly resting-place during the time immediately preceding His passion; and here at the houses of Martha and Mary, and of Simon the leper, we are admitted to view Him, more nearly than elsewhere, in the circle of His domestic life.

Though it was only at a late period of the life of our Lord that His connexion with Bethany commenced, yet this is fully compensated for by its having been the scene of His very last acts on earth. It was somewhere here, on these wooded slopes beyond the ridge of Olivet, that the Apostles stood when they last beheld His figure, as, with "uplifted hands"—still, to the very moment of disappearance, "blessing" them—He was "taken up" into the "cloud" which "received" and hid Him from their "steadfast" gaze, the words still ringing in their ears, which prove that space and time are no hindrance to the connexion of Christians with their Lord—"Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

The little information we possess about Bethany is entirely gathered from the N. T., neither the O. T. nor the Apocrypha having apparently any

allusion to it.\* It was situated "at" (πρὸς) the Mount of Olives (Mark xi. 1; Luke xix. 29), about fifteen stadia from Jerusalem (John xi. 18), on or near the usual road from Jericho to the city (Luke xix. 29, comp. 1; Mark xi. 1, comp. x. 46), and close by and west (?) of another village called *BETHPIAGE*, the two being several times mentioned together.

There never appears to have been any doubt as to the site of Bethany, which is now known by a name derived from Lazarus—*el 'Azariyeh* (العازرية).

It lies on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, fully a mile beyond the summit, and not very far from the point at which the road to Jericho begins its more sudden descent towards the Jordan valley (Lindsay, 91, and De Saulcy, 120). The spot is a woody hollow more or less planted with fruit-trees,—olives, almonds, pomegranates, as well as oaks, and carobs; the whole lying below a secondary ridge or hump, of sufficient height to shut out the village from the summit of the mount (Rob. i. 431, 432; Stanley, 189; Bonar, 138, 9).

From a distance the village is, to use the emphatic words of the latest published description, "remarkably beautiful"—"the perfection of retirement and repose"—"of seclusion and lovely peace" (Bonar, 139, 230, 310, 337; and see Lindsay, 69). It is difficult to reconcile these glowing descriptions with Mr. Stanley's words (189), or with the impression which the present writer derived from the actual view of the place. Possibly something of the difference is due to the different time of year at which the visits were made.

*El-'Azariyeh* itself is a ruinous and wretched village, a "wild mountain hamlet" of "some twenty families," the inhabitants of which display even less than the ordinary eastern thrift and industry (Rob. i. 432; Stanley, 189; Bonar, 310). In the village are shown the traditional sites of the house and tomb of Lazarus; the former the remains of a square tower, apparently of old date, though certainly not of the age of the kings of Judah, to which De Saulcy assigns it (128)—the latter a deep vault excavated in the lime-stone rock, the bottom reached by 26 steps. The house of Simon the leper is also exhibited. As to the real age and character of these remains there is at present no information to guide us.

Schwarz maintains *el 'Azariyeh* to be AZAI; and would fix Bethany at a spot which, he says, the Arabs call *Beth-banan*, on the mount of Offence above Siloam (263; 135).

These traditional spots are first heard of in the 4th century—in the *Itinerary* of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, and the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome; and they continued to exist, with certain varieties of buildings and of ecclesiastical establishments in connexion therewith, down to the 16th century, since which the place has fallen gradually into its present decay. This part of the history is well given by Robinson (i. 432-3). By Mandeville and other mediæval travellers the town is spoken of as the "Castle of Bethany," an expres-

sions mentioned in the passage, and is quite out of the line of Sennacherib's advance.

\* The Arabic name is given above from Robinson. Lord Lindsay, however, denies that this is correct, and asserts, after frequently hearing it pronounced, that the name is *Lazariëh*.

\* It has been suggested (Hitzig, *Jesaja*) that the word rendered "poor" in the A. V. of Is. x. 30 (פֶּתִי)—"poor Anathoth"—is an abbreviated form of the name of Bethany, as Nimrah is of Beth-nimrah, &c.; but apart from any other difficulty, there is the serious one that Bethany does not lie near the other

sion which had its origin in *castellum* being employed in the Vulgate as the translation of *κώμη* in John xi. 1.

N.B. The derivation of the name of Bethany given above—that of Lightfoot and Reland—is doubtless more correct than the one proposed by Simonis (*Onom. s. v.*), viz. *בֵּית עֵינָה*, *locus depressionis*, which has no special applicability to this spot more than any other, while it lacks the correspondence with Beth-phage, “House of Figs,” and with the “Mount of Olives,” which gives so much colour to this derivation, although it is true that the dates have disappeared, and the figs and olives alone are now to be found in the neighbourhood of Bethany. This has been well brought out by Stauley (*N. d. P.* 186, 187). It may also be remarked that the use of the Chaldee word *הֵינִי*, for the fruit of the date-palm, is consistent with the late period at which we first hear of Bethany. [G.]

**BETH-AR'ABAH** (*בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה*, *house of the desert*; *Βαθαράβα*, *Θαράβαδμ*, *Βηθαράβα*; *Beth-Arabā*), one of the six cities of Judah which were situated down in the Arabah, i. e. the sunk valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea (“wilderness,” Josh. xv. 61), on the north border of the tribe, and apparently between Beth-hoglah and the high land on the west of the Jordan valley (xv. 6). It is also included in the list of the towns of Benjamin (xviii. 22, *Βαθαράβα*, Vat.). [G.]

**BETH-A'RAM** (accurately BETH-HARAM, *בֵּית הָרָם*; *Βαθαράμ*, Alex. *Βαθαράμ*; *Betharam*), one of the towns of Gad on the east of Jordan, described as in “the valley” (*הַעֲמֵק*), not to be confounded with the Arabah or Jordan valley, Josh. xiii. 27, and no doubt the same place as that named BETH-HARAM in Num. xxxii. 36. No further mention is found of it in the Scriptures; but Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*) report that in their day its appellation (*α Syris dicitur*) was *Bethramtha*, *Βηθραμθθά* (see also the quotations from the Talmud in Schwarz, 231); the Syriac and other versions, however, have all *Bethharan*, with no material variation, and that in honour of Augustus, Herod had named it *Libias* (*Λιβίας*). Josephus' account is that Herod (Antipas), on taking possession of his tetrarchy, fortified Sepphoris and the city (*πόλις*) of *Betharamphtha*, building a wall round the latter, and calling it *Julias* in honour of the wife of the emperor. As this could hardly be later than B.C. 1—Herod the Great, the predecessor of Antipas, having died in B.C. 4—and as the empress Livia did not receive her name of *Julia* until after the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, it is probable that Josephus is in error as to the new name given to the place, and speaks of it as having originally received that which it bore in his own day. It is curious that he names *Libias* long before (*Ant.* xiv. 1, §4) in such connexion as to leave no doubt that he alludes to the same place. Under the name of *Amathus* he again mentions it (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §6; comp. *B. J.* ii. 4, §2), and the destruction of the royal palaces there by insurgents from Perea.

Ptolemy gives the locality of *Libias* as 31° 26' lat. and 67° 10' long. (Lüster, *Jordan*, 573); and Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*) state that it was five miles south of *Bethuabran*, or *Bethamuran* (i. e. *Beth nimrah*?). This agrees with the position of the *Wady Seir*, or *Sir*, which falls into the Ghôr

opposite Jericho, and half way between *Wady Hesbān* and *Wady Shoub*. No one appears to have explored this valley. Seezen heard that it contained a castle and a large tank in masonry (*Reisen*, 1854; ii. 318). These may turn out to be the ruins of *Livias*. [G.]

**BETH-AR'BEI** (*בֵּית אֲרֵבַי*; *ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἱεροβόδμ*; Alex. *Ἱεροβαδλ*), named only in Hos. x. 14, as the scene of a sack and massacre by Shalman (Shalmaneser). No clue is given to its position; it may be the ancient stronghold of *Arbela* in Galilee, or (as conjectured by Hitzig) another place of the same name near Pella, of which mention is made by Eusebius in the *Onomasticon*. In the Vulgate Jerome has translated the name to mean “e domo ejus qui judicavit Raal,” i. e. *Jernubaal* (*יֶרֶנֻבַּעַל*) or *Gideon*, understanding *Salman* as *Zalmunna*, and the whole passage as a reference to Judg. viii. [G.]

**BETH-A'VEN** (*בֵּית אֲוֵן*, *house of naught*, i. e. *badness*; *Βαθών*, Alex. *Βηθαόν*; *Betharon*), a place on the mountains of Benjamin, east of Bethel (Josh. vii. 2, *Βαθήλ*, xviii. 12), and lying between that place and Michmash (1 Sam. xii. 5; also xiv. 23, *τῇ Βαμῶθ*). In Josh. xviii. 12, the “wilderness” (*Μῆδω* = pasture-land) of *Bethaven* is mentioned. In 1 Sam. xiii. 5 the reading of the LXX. is *Βαθωρών*, *Beth-horon*; but if this be correct, another *Beth-horon* must be intended than that commonly known, which was much further to the west. In Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, the name is transferred, with a play on the word very characteristic of this prophet, to the neighbouring Bethel—once the “house of God,” but then the house of idols, of “naught.” [G.]

**BETH-AZ'MAVETH** (*בֵּית עֲמֻת*; *Βηθασμῶθ*; *Bethazmōth*). Under this name is mentioned, in Neh. vii. 28 only, the town of Benjamin which is elsewhere called *AZMAVETH*, and *BETHSAMOS*.

Mr. Finn proposes to identify *Azmaveth* with *Himch*, a village on the hills of Benjamin to the S.E. of *Jeba*. [G.]

**BETH-BAAL-ME'ON** (*בֵּית בַּעַל מְעוֹן*; *οἶκος Μεελαῶθ*; Alex. *οἶκος Βελαμών*; *Oppidum Baalmonon*), a place in the possessions of Reuben, on the “Mishor” or downs (A. V. “plain”) east of Jordan (Josh. xiii. 17). At the Israelites' first approach its name was *BAAL-MEON* (Num. xxxii. 38, or in its contracted form, *BEON*, xxxii. 3), to which the *Beth* was possibly a Hebrew addition. Later it would seem to have come into possession of Moab, and to be known either as *Beth-meon* (Jer. xlviii. 23) or *Baal-meon* (Ez. xxv. 9). The name is still attached to a ruined place of considerable size (*betächtlich*, Seezen), a short distance to the S.W. of *Hesbān*, and bearing the name of “the fortress of *Mān*” (*حصن مبعون*), according to Burckhardt (865), or *Maḥin*, according to Seezen (*Reisen*, i. 408), which appears to give its appellation to the *Wady Zerkā Maḥin* (*Ibid.* 402). [G.]

**BETH-BA'RAH** (*בֵּית בָּרָה*, quasi *בֵּית עֲבָרָה*, *house of passage*, or, of the ford; *Βαθράδ*; *Beth-*

\* It is possible that the name contains a trace of the tribe or nation of *Maon*,—the *Maonites* or *Meunim*. [MAON; MEUNIM.]

*vera*), named only in Judg. vii. 24, as a point apparently south of the scene of Gideon's victory, which took place at about Bethshean, and to which point "the waters" (מים) were "taken" by the Ephraimites against Midian. What these "waters" were is not clear, probably the wadis and streams which descend from the highlands of Ephraim; it is only plain that they were distinct from the Jordan, to which river no word but its own distinct name is ever applied. Beth-barah derives its chief interest from the possibility that its more modern representative may have been Beth-abara where John baptized [BETH-ABARA]; but there is not much in favour of this beyond their similarity in sound. The pursuit of the Midianites can hardly have reached so far south as Beth-abara, which was accessible to Judaea and Jerusalem and all the "region round about" (ἡ περιχωρος; i. e. the oasis of the South Jordan at Jericho).

If the derivation of the name given above be correct, Beth-barah was probably the chief ford of the district, and may therefore have been that by which Jacob crossed on his return from Mesopotamia, and at which Jephthah slew the Ephraimites. [G.]

**BETH-BA'SI** (Βαιθβασι; *Bethbasai*), a town which from the mention of its decays (τὰ καθρημένα) must have been originally fortified, lying in the desert (τῇ ἐρημῳ), and in which Jonathan and Simon Maccabaeus took refuge from Bacchides (1 Mac. iv. 62, 64). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, §5) has Βηθαλαργά (Beth-hogla), but a reading of the passage quoted by Rehd. (632) presents the more probable form of Beth-koxiz. Either alternative fixes the situation as in the Jordan valley not far from Jericho. [KLIZ, VALLEY OF.] [G.]

**BETH-BIR'EI** (Βηθβρι; οἶκος Βαρουσαυρίμ (by inclusion of the next name); *Bethberai*), a town of SAMARIA (1 Chr. iv. 31), which by comparison with the parallel list in Josh. xix. appears to have had also the name of BETH-LEBATHIM. It lay to the extreme south, with Beersheba, Horonah, &c. (comp. Josh. xv. 32, Lebaoth). [G.]

**BETH-CAR** (βη'β, *house of lambs*; Βαιθχόρ, Alex. Βελχόρ; *Bethchar*), a place named as the point to which the Israelites pursued the Philistines from Mizpeh on a memorable occasion (1 Sam. vii. 11), and therefore west of Mizpeh. From the unusual expression "under Beth-car" (ב'תחתיה), it would seem that the place itself was on a height, with the road at its foot. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 2, §2) has μέγρι Κορβαίων, and goes on to say that the stone Ebenezer was set up at this place to mark it as the spot to which the victory had extended. [EBEN-EZER.] [G.]

**BETH-DA'GON** (βηθ'ג, *house of Dayan*; Βαγαδίαλ; Alex. Βηθδαγών; *Bethdayon*).

1. A city in the low country (*Shefel-th*) of Judah (Josh. xv. 41), and therefore not far from the Philistine territory, with which its name implies a connexion. From the absence of any conjunction before this name, it has been suggested that it should be taken with the preceding, "Gederoth-Bethdagion;" in that case probably distinguishing Gederoth from the two places of similar name in the neighbourhood. Guphardagon existed as a very large village between Diospolis (Lydda) and Jamnia in the time of Jerome (*Onom.* s. v.). A *Beitdagion* has been found by

Robinson between Lydda and Jatta, but this is too far north, and must be another place.

2. A town apparently near the coast, named as one of the landmarks of the boundary of Asher (Josh. xix. 27; βηθ'ג, Βαιθγενέθ). The name and the proximity to the coast, point to its being a Philistine colony.

3. In addition to the two modern villages noticed above as bearing this ancient name, a third has been found by Robinson (iii. 298) a few miles east of *Nabulus*. There can be no doubt that in the occurrence of these names we have indications of the worship of the Philistine god having spread far beyond the Philistine territory. Possibly these are the sites of towns founded at the time when this warlike people had overrun the face of the country to "Michmash eastward of Bethaven" on the south, and Gilboa on the north—that is, to the very edge of the heights which overlook the Jordan valley—driving "the Hebrews over Jordan into the land of Gad and Gilead" (1 Sam. xiii. 5-7; comp. 17, 18; xxix. 1; xxxi. 1). [G.]

**BETH-DIBLATHA'IM** (βηθδιβλαθ'αίμ, *house of the double cake* (of figs); οἶκος Δαιβλαθαίμ; domus Deblathaim), a town of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 22), apparently the place elsewhere called ALMOX-DIBLATHAIM. [G.]

**BETH-ÉL** (בית'אל, *house of God*; Βαιθηλ; Joseph. Βηθήλ, Βεθήλ η πόλις; *Bethel*).

1. A well-known city and holy place of central Palestine. Of the origin of the name of Bethel there are two accounts extant. 1. It was bestowed on the spot by Jacob under the awe inspired by the nocturnal vision of God, when on his journey from his father's house at Beersheba to seek his wife in Haran (Gen. xxviii. 19). He took the stone which had served for his pillow and put (שם) it for a pillar, and anointed it with oil; and he "called the name of that place (הוא מקום) Bethel; but the name of 'the' city (העיר) was called Luz at the first."

The expression in the last paragraph of this account is curious, and indicates a distinction between the "city" and the "place"—the early Canaanite "city" Luz, and the "place," as yet a mere undistinguished spot, marked only by the "stone," or the heap (Joseph. τοῖς λίθοις συμφορουμένοις), erected by Jacob to commemorate his vision.

2. But according to the other account, Bethel received its name on the occasion of a blessing bestowed by God upon Jacob after his return from Padan-aram; at which time also (according to this narrative) the name of Israel was given him. Here again Jacob erects (שם) a "pillar of stone," which, as before, he anoints with oil (Gen. xxxv. 14, 15). The key of this story would seem to be the fact of God's "speaking" with Jacob. "God went up from him in the place where He 'spoke' with him"—"Jacob set up a pillar in the place where He 'spoke' with him," and "called the name of the place where God 'spoke' with him Bethel."

Whether these two narratives represent distinct events, or, as would appear to be the case in other

\* The word is the same (בבר) in all three cases; though in the A. V. it is rendered "talked" in the two former.

instances in the lives of the patriarchs, are different representations of the one original occasion on which the hill of Bethel received its consecration, we know not, nor indeed does it concern us to know. It is perhaps worth notice that the prophet Hosea—in the only reference which the Hebrew Scriptures contain to this occurrence—had evidently the second of the two narratives before him, since in a summary of the life of Jacob he introduces it in the order in which it occurs in Genesis—laying full and characteristic stress on the keyword of the story: "He had power over the angel and prevailed; he wept and made supplication unto him; He found him in Bethel, and there He spake with us, even Jehovah God of hosts" (Hos. xii. 4, 5).

Early as is the date involved in these narratives, yet, if we are to accept the precise definition of Gen. xii. 8, the name of Bethel would appear to have existed at this spot even before the arrival of Abram in Canaan: he removed from the oaks of Moreh to "the' mountain on the east of Bethel," with "Bethel on the west and Hai on the east." Here he built an altar; and hither he returned from Egypt with Lot before their separation (xiii. 3, 4). See Stanley, *S. & P.* 218.

In one thing, however, the above narratives all agree,—in omitting any mention of town or buildings at Bethel at that early period, and in drawing a marked distinction between the "city" of Luz and the consecrated "place" in its neighbourhood (comp. besides the passages already quoted, Gen. xxxv. 7). Even in the ancient chronicles of the conquest the two are still distinguished (Josh. xvi. 1, 2); and the appropriation of the name of Bethel to the city appears not to have been made till still later, when it was taken by the tribe of Ephraim; after which the name of Luz occurs no more (Judg. i. 22-26). If this view be correct, there is a strict parallel between Bethel and Moriah, which (according to the tradition commonly followed) received its consecration when Abraham offered up Isaac, but did not become the site of an actual sanctuary till the erection of the Temple there by Solomon. [MORIAH.]

The intense significance of the title bestowed by Jacob on the place of his vision—"House of God"—and the wide extent to which that appellation has been adopted in all languages and in spite of the utmost diversities of belief, has been well noticed by Mr. Stanley (220, 1). It should not be overlooked how far this has been the case with the actual name; the very syllables of Jacob's exclamation, forming, as they do, the title of the chief sanctuary of the Mahometan world—the Beit-allah of Mecca—while they are no less the favourite designation of the meanest conventicles of the humblest sects of Protestant Christendom.

On the other hand, how singular is the fact—if the conclusions of etymologists are to be trusted (Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* 444; Bochart, *Canaan*, ii. 2)—that the awful name of Bethel should have lent its form to the word by which was called one of the most perplexing of all the perplexing forms assumed by the idolatry of the heathen—the Baitulia, the λίθοι ἑμψυχοί, or living stones, of the ancient Phœnicians. Another opportunity will occur for going more at length into this interesting subject [STONES]; it will be sufficient here to say that the Baitulia seem to have preserved the erect position of their supposed prototype, and that the worship consisted of anointing them with oil (Ammian, *adv. Gent.*, i. 39).

The actual stone of Bethel itself was the subject

of a Jewish tradition, according to which it was removed to the second temple, and served as the pedestal for the ark. It survived the destruction of the temple by the Romans, and was resorted to by the Jews in their lamentations (Reland, *Pal.* 638). [TEMPLE, THE SECOND.]

After the conquest Bethel is frequently heard of. In the troubled times when there was no king in Israel, it was to Bethel that the people went up in their distress to ask counsel of God (Judg. xx. 18, 26, 31, xxi. 2: in the A. V. the name is translated "house of God"). Here was the ark of the covenant under the charge of Phinehas the grandson of Aaron, with an altar and proper appliances for the offering of burnt-offerings and peace-offerings (xx. 26-28, xxi. 4); and the unwonted mention of a regular road or causeway as existing between it and the great town of Shechem is doubtless an indication that it was already in much repute. Later than this we find it named as one of the holy cities to which Samuel went in circuit, taking equal rank with Gilgal and Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 16).

Doubtless, although we are not so expressly told, it was this ancient reputation, combined with its situation on the extreme south frontier of his new kingdom, and with the hold which it must have had on the sympathies both of Benjamin and Ephraim—the former's by lot, and the latter's by conquest—that made Jeroboam choose Bethel as the depository of the new false worship which was to seal and consummate the division between the ten tribes and the two.

Here he placed one of the two calves of gold, and built a "house of high places" and an altar of incense, by which he himself stood to burn; as we see him in the familiar picture of 1 K. xiii. Towards the end of Jeroboam's life Bethel fell into the hands of Judah (2 Chr. xiii. 19), whence it was probably recovered by Baasha (xvi. 1). It then remains unmentioned for a long period. The worship of Baal, introduced by the Phœnician queen of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 31), had probably alienated public favour from the simple erections of Jeroboam to more gorgeous shrines (2 K. x. 21, 22). Samaria had been built (1 K. xvi. 24), and Jezreel, and these things must have all tended to draw public notice to the more northern part of the kingdom. It was during this period that Elijah visited Bethel, and that we hear of "sons of the prophets" as resident there (2 K. ii. 2, 3), two facts apparently incompatible with the active existence of the calf-worship. The mention of the bears so close to the town (iii. 23, 25), looks too as if the neighbourhood were not much frequented at that time. But after his destruction of the Baal worship throughout the country, Jehu appears to have returned to the simpler and more national religion of the calves, and Bethel comes once more into view (2 K. x. 29). Under the descendants of this king the place and the worship must have greatly flourished, for by the time of Jeroboam II., the great-grandson of Jehu, the rude village was again a royal residence with a "king's house" (Am. vii. 13); there were palaces both for "winter" and "summer," "great houses" and "houses of ivory" (iii. 15), and a very high degree of luxury in dress, furniture, and living (vi. 4-6). The one original altar was now accompanied by several others (iii. 14, ii. 8); and the simple "incense" of its founder had developed into the "burnt-offerings" and "meat-offerings" of the "solemn assemblies," with the fragrant "peace-offerings" of "fat beasts" (v. 21, 22).

How this prosperity came to its doom we do not told. After the desolation of the northern kingdom by the king of Assyria, Bethel still remained an abode of priests, who taught the wretched colonists "how to fear Jehovah," "the God of the land" (2 K. xvii. 28, 27). The buildings remained till the time of Josiah, by whom they were destroyed; and in the account preserved of his reforming iconoclasm we catch one more glimpse of the altar of Jeroboam, with its last loathsome fire of "dead men's bones" burning upon it, the altar and high-place surviving in their archaic antiquity amidst the successive additions of later votaries, like the wooden altar of Becket at Canterbury, which continued in its original simplicity through all the subsequent magnificence of the church in which he was murdered (Stanley, *Canterbury*, 184). Not the least remarkable of these later works was the monument (בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים; סְתֵּלָה), evidently a conspicuous erection, of the "man of God" who proclaimed the ultimate downfall of this idolatrous worship at its very outset, and who would seem to have been at a later date canonized as it were by the votaries of the very idolatry which he denounced. "Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them."

But, in any case, the fact of the continued existence of the tomb of this protester through so many centuries of idolatry illustrates very remarkably the way in which the worship of Jehovah and the false-worship went on side by side at Bethel. It is plain from several allusions of Amos that this was the case (v. 14, 23); and the fact before noticed of prophets of Jehovah being resident there, and of the friendly visits even of the stern Elijah; of the relation between the "man of God from Judah" and the "lying prophet" who caused his death; of the manner in which Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, a priest of Baal, resorts to the name of Jehovah for his solemn adjuration, and lastly of the way in which the denunciations of Amos were tolerated and he himself allowed to escape,—all these point to a state of things well worthy of investigation. In this connexion, too, it is curious that men of Bethel and Ai returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32); and that they returned to their native place whilst continuing their relations with Nehemiah and the restored worship (Neh. xi. 31). In the Book of Esdras the name appears as BETOLUIS. In later times Bethel is only named once, amongst the strong cities in Judaea which were repaired by Bacchides during the struggles of the times of the Maccabees (1 Mac. ix. 50).

Bethel receives a bare mention from Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*, as 12 miles from Jerusalem on the right hand of the road to Sichem; and here its ruins still lie under the scarcely altered name of *Beitln*. They cover a space of "three or four acres," and consist of "very many foundations and half-standing walls of houses and other buildings." "The ruins lie upon the front of a low hill between the heads of two hollow wadys which unite and run off into the main valley *es-Suweinit*" (Rob. i. 448-9). Dr. Clarke, and other travellers since his visit, have remarked on the "stony" nature of the soil at Bethel, as perfectly in keeping with the narrative of Jacob's slumber there. When on the spot little doubt can be felt as to the localities of this interesting place. The round mount S.E. of Bethel must be the "mountain" on which Abram built the altar, and on which he and Lot stood when they made their division of the land (Gen.

xii. 7, xiii. 10). It is still thickly strewn to its top with stones formed by nature for the building of "altar" or sanctuary. As the eye turns involuntarily eastward, it takes in a large part of the plain of the Jordan opposite Jericho; distant it is true, but not too distant to discern in that clear atmosphere the lines of verdure that mark the brooks which descend from the mountains beyond the river, and fertilize the plain even in its present neglected state. Further south lies, as in a map, fully half of that sea which now covers the once fertile oasis of the "cities of the plain," and which in those days was as "the garden of the Lord, even as the land of Egypt." Eastward again of this mount, at about the same distance on the left that Bethel is on the right, overlooking the *Wady Suweinit*, is a third hill crowned by a remarkably desolate-looking mass of grey debris, the most perfect heap of ruin to be seen even in that country of ruins. This is *Tell er-Rijme*, "the mound of the heap," agreeing in every particular of name, aspect, and situation, with Ai.

An admirable passage on the history of Bethel will be found in Stanley (217-223).

2. A town in the south part of Judah, named in Josh. xii. 16, and 1 Sam. xxx. 27. The collocation of the name in these two lists is decisive against its being the well-known Bethel. In the latter case the LXX. read *Baithsôp*, i. e. Bethzur. By comparison of the lists of the towns of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xv. 30, xix. 4; 1 Chr. v. 29, 30), the place appears under the names of CHESIL, BETHUL, and BETHUEL.

HIEL, THE BETHELITE (חִיל הַבֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים) is recorded as the rebuilder of Jericho (1 K. xvi. 34). [G.]

BETH-EMEK (בֵּית הָעֶמֶק, *house of the valley*; Βαιθμέ; Alex. *Βηθαμεία*; *Bethemec*), a place on or near the border of Asher, on the north side of which was the ravine of Jiphthah-el (Josh. xix. 27). Robinson has discovered an *Amkûh* about 8 miles to the N. E. of *Akka*; but if his identification of *Jefit* with Jiphthah-el be tenable, the site of Beth-emek must be sought for further south than *Amkûh* (Rob. iii. 103, 107, 8). [G.]

BE'THER, THE MOUNTAINS OF (הַרֵי בִּתְרִי; *δρη κοιλωμάτων*; *Bether*, and *Bethel*), Cant. ii. 17. There is no clue to guide us to what mountains are intended here.

For the site of Bether, so famous in the post-biblical history of the Jews, see Reland, 639, 640; Rob. iii. 267-271. [G.]

BETHES'DA (Βηθεσδα, as if *בֵּית מַעְיָן*, *house of mercy*, or *בֵּית מַעְיָן*, *place of the flowing of water*; Euseb. *Βηθαδα*; *Bethsaida*), the Hebrew name of a reservoir or tank (*κολυμβήθρα*, i. e. a swimming-pool), with five "porches" (*στοδς*), close upon the sheep-gate or "market" (*ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ*)—it will be observed that the word "market" is supplied in Jerusalem (John v. 2). The porches—i. e. cloisters or colonnades—were extensive enough to accommodate a large number of sick and infirm people, whose custom it was to wait there for the "troubling of the water."

\* Cloisters or colonnades round artificial tanks are common in the East. One example is the *Taj Bower*, in the set of drawings of Bejapore now publishing by the East India Company.

Eusebius—though unfortunately he gives no clue to the situation of Bethesda—describes it in the *Onomasticon* as existing in his time as two pools (*ἐν ταῖς λίμναις διδύμοις*), the one supplied by the periodical rains, while the water of the other was of a reddish colour (*ὑποκρινόμενον*), due, as the tradition then ran, to the fact that the flesh of the sacrifices was anciently washed there before offering, on which account the pool was also called *προβατική*. See, however, the comments of Lightfoot on this view, in his *Exercit. on S. John*, v. 2. Eusebius's statement is partly confirmed by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), who mentions in his *Itinerary* "twin fish-pools, having five porches, which are called Bethesda" (quoted in Barclay, 299).

The large reservoir called the *Birket Israil*, within the walls of the city, close by the St. Stephen's gate, and under the north-east wall of the Haram area, is generally considered to be the modern representative of Bethesda. This tradition reaches back certainly to the time of Saewulf, A.D. 1102, who mentions it under the name of Bethesda (*Early Trav.* 41). It is also named in the *Cities de Jerusalem*, A.D. 1187 (sect. vii.; Rob. ii. 562), and in more modern times by Maundrell and all the later travellers.

The little that can be said on the subject goes rather to confirm than to invalidate this tradition. On the one hand, (1) the most probable position of the sheep-gate is at the north-east part of the city [JERUSALEM]. On the other hand the *Birket Israil* exhibits none of the marks which appear to have distinguished the water of Bethesda in the records of the Evangelist and of Eusebius. (2) The construction of the *Birket* is such as to show that it was originally a water-reservoir, and not, as has been suggested, the moat of a fortress (Rob. i. 293-4, iii. 243); (3) there is certainly a remarkable coincidence between the name as given by Eusebius, Bezatha, and that of the north-east suburb of the city at the time of the Gospel history—Bezetha; and (4) there is the difficulty that if the *Birket Israil* be not Bethesda, which of the ancient "pools" does it represent?

One other proposed identification must be noticed, viz. that of Dr. Robinson (i. 342-3), who suggests the "fountain of the Virgin," in the valley of the Kedron, a short distance above the Pool of Siloam. In favour of this are its situation, supposing the sheep-gate to be at the south-east of the city, as Lightfoot, Robinson, and others suppose, and the strange intermittent "troubling of the water" caused by the periodical ebbing and flowing of the supply. Against it are the confined size of the pool, and the difficulty of finding room for the five stags. (See Barclay's detailed account, *City*, &c. 516-524, and 325, 6.) [G.]

**BETH'EZEL** (בֵּית הָעֶזֶל, *house of firmness* (?); *ὄικος ἐχόμενος ἀβρῆς*; *domus vicina*), a place named only in Mic. i. 11. From the context it was doubtless situated in the plain of Philistia. [G.]

**BETH-GA'DER** (בֵּית גַּדְרָא, if not in pause, Geder, גַּדְרָא; *Βαθυγέδωρ*; *Bethyader*), doubtless a place, though it occurs in the genealogies of Judah as if a person (1 Chr. ii. 51). Possibly the same place as GEDIR (Josh. xii. 13). [G.]

<sup>b</sup> The photographs, woodcuts, and careful statements of Salzmänn, are conclusive on this point.

**BETH-GA'MUL** (בֵּית גַּמּוּל, *house of the weaned, Gesen. Lev.*, but may it not be "house of camel" ?; *ὄικος γαμωλ*; Alex. *γαμωλ*; *Beth-gamul*), a town of Moab, in the *mishor* or downs east of Jordan (A. V. "plain country," Jer. xlviii. 23, comp. 21); apparently a place of late date, since there is no trace of it in the earlier lists of Num. xxxii. 34-38, and Josh. xiii. 16-20. A place called *Um el-Jemal* is said to exist a few miles south of Busrah in the Hauran (Burch. 106; Kiepert's map in Rob. 1857); but this is much too far to the N.E. to suit the requirements of the text. In a country of nomadic tribes this latter name would doubtless be a common one. [G.]

**BETH-HAC'-CEREM** (בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם, *house of the vine*; *Βηθακχαρῆμ*, *Βηθακχαράμ*; *Bethacharam*), a town which, like a few other places, is distinguished by the application to it of the word *pelec*, פֶּלֶץ, A. V. "part," (Neh. iii. 14). It had then a "ruler" called פֶּלֶץ. From the other mention of it (Jer. vi. 1) we find that it was used as a beacon-station, and that it was near Tekoa. By Jerome (*Comm. Jer.* vi.) a village named *Bethacharam* is said to have been on a mountain between Tekoa and Jerusalem, a position in which the eminence known as the Frank mountain (Herodium) stands conspicuous; and this has accordingly been suggested as Beth-haccerem (Pococke, Rob. i. 480). The name is at any rate a testimony to the early fruitfulness of this part of Palestine.

Karem (*Καρέμ*) is one of the towns added in the LXX. to the Hebrew text of Josh. xv. 59, as in the mountains of Judah, in the district of Bethlehem. [G.]

**BETH-HA'ARAN** (בֵּית הָאָרָן; ἡ Βαιθαράν; *Beth-aran*), one of the "fenced cities" on the east of Jordan, "built" by the Gadiates (Num. xxiii. 36). It is named with Beth-nimrah, and therefore is no doubt the same place as BETH-ARAM (accurately Beth-haram), Josh. xiii. 27. The name is not found in the lists of the towns of Moab in either Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel. [G.]

**BETH-HOG'LA**, and -HOG'LAH (בֵּית הַחֲגִלָּה, *house of partridge, Gesen.*; though Jerome gives another interpretation, *locus gyri*, reading the name חֲגִלָּה, and connecting it with the funeral races or dances at the mourning for Jacob [ATAD]; *Βαθυγλαδάμ*, *Βεθεγαῖώ*, *Βαθαλαγά*; *Bethagla*), a place on the border of Judah (Josh. xv. 6) and of Benjamin (xviii. 19), to which latter tribe it was reckoned to belong (xviii. 21). A magnificent spring and a ruin between Jericho and the Jordan still bear the names of *Ain-hajla* and *Käsr Hajla*, and are doubtless on or near the old site (Rob. i. 544-6). The LXX. reading, *Βαθυγλαδάμ*, may point to En-eglam, a place which was certainly near this locality. [G.]

**BETH-HORON** (בֵּית חֹרֶן, or in contracted form חֹרֶן, and once חֹרֶן, *house of caverns* or

<sup>a</sup> This name deserves notice as one of the very few instances in which the translators of the A. V. have retained the definite article, which in the original so frequently occurs in the middle of compound proper names.

holes; Βαιθωράν; *Beth-horon*), the name of two towns or villages, an "upper" (בֵּית הָעֶלְיוֹן) and a "nether" (בֵּית הַתַּחְתִּי), (Josh. xvi. 3, 5; 1 Chr. vii. 24), on the road from Gibeon to Azekah (Josh. x. 10, 11) and the Philistine Plain (1 Macc. iii. 24). Beth-horon lay on the boundary-line between Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3, 5, and xviii. 13, 14), was counted to Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 22; 1 Chr. vii. 24), and given to the Kohathites (Josh. xxi. 22; 1 Chr. vi. 68 [53]).

The road connecting the two places is memorable in sacred history as the scene of two of the most complete victories achieved by the Jewish arms; that of Joshua over the five kings of the Amorites (Josh. x.; Eccles. xlv. 6), and that of Judas Maccabæus over the forces of Syria under Seron (1 Macc. iii. 13-24). Later still the Roman army under Cestius Gallus was totally cut up at the same spot (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, §§8, 9).

There is no room for doubt that the two Beth-horons still survive in the modern villages of

*Beit-ûr* (بیت عور), *et-tahta*, and *el-fok*, which were first noticed by Dr. Chuke, and have been since visited by Dr. Robinson, Mr. Stanley, and others. Besides the similarity of the name, and the fact that the two places are still designated as "upper" and "lower," all the requirements of the narrative are fulfilled in this identification. The road is still the direct one from the site which must have been Gibeon (*et-Sib*), and from Michmash (*Makkhûsh*) to the Philistine plain on the one hand, and Antipatris (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, §9) on the other. On the mountain which lies to the southward of the nether village is still preserved the name (*Yalâ*) and the site of Ajalon, so closely connected with the proudest memories of Beth-horon; and the long "descent" between the two remains unaltered from what it was on that great day "which was like no day before or after it."

The importance of the road on which the two Beth-horons are situated, the main approach to the interior of the country from the hostile districts on both sides of Palestine—Philistia and Egypt on the west, Moab and Ammon on the east—at once explains and justifies the frequent fortification of these towns at different periods of the history (1 K. ix. 17; 2 Chr. viii. 5; 1 Mac. ix. 50; Jud. iv. 4, 5). This road, still, as in ancient times, "the great road of communication and heavy transport between Jerusalem and the sea-coast" (Rob. ii. 252), though a route rather more direct, known as the "Jaffa road," is now used by travellers with light baggage—leaves the main north road at *Tidei et-Pul*,  $\frac{3}{4}$  miles from Jerusalem, due west of Jericho. Bending slightly to the north, it runs by the modern village of *el-Sib*, the ancient Gibeon, and then proceeds by the Beth-horons in a direct line due west to *Jimzu* [JIMZO] and *Ludd* [LYDDA], at which it puts into three, diverging north to *Caphar-Saba* [ANTIPATRIS], south to *Gaza*, and west to *Jaffa* [JOPPA].

From Gibeon to the Upper Beth-horon is a distance of about 4 miles of broken ascent and descent. The ascent, however, predominates, and this therefore appears to be the "going up" to Beth-horon

which formed the first stage of Joshua's pursuit.\* With the upper village the descent commences; the road rough and difficult even for the mountaineers of Palestine; now over sheets of smooth rock flat as the flagstones of a London pavement; now over the upturned edges of the limestone strata; and now amongst the loose rectangular stones so characteristic of the whole of this district. There are in many places steps cut, and other marks of the path having been artificially improved. But though rough, the way can hardly be called "precipitous;" still less is it a ravine (Stanley, 208), since it runs for the most part along the back of a ridge or watershed dividing wadis on either hand. After about three miles of this descent, a slight rise leads to the lower village standing on its mamelon,—the last outpost of the Benjamite hills, and characterized by the date-palm in the enclosure of the village mosque. A short and sharp fall below the village, a few undulations, and the road is amongst the *dûra* of the great con-growing plain of Sharon.

This rough descent from the upper to the lower *Beitur* is the "going down to Beth-horon" of the Bible narrative. Standing on the high ground of the upper village, and overlooking the walled scene, we may feel assured that it was over this rough path that the Canaanites fled to their native lowlands.

In a remarkable fragment of early history (1 Chr. vii. 24) we are told that both the upper and lower towns were built by a woman of Ephraim, Sherah, who in the present state of the passage appears as a granddaughter of the founder of her tribe, and also as a direct progenitor of the great leader with whose history the place is so closely connected. [G.]

**BETH-JESHI'MOTH**, or -JES'TMOTH (בֵּית הַיִּשְׁמוֹת); in Numbers, בֵּית הַיִּשְׁמוֹת, *house of the wastes*; Αἰρημός; Alex. Ἀσμηός; *Bethsinuth*, *Bethiesinuth*, a town or place east of Jordan, in the "deserts" (עֲרֵבָה) of Moab; that is, on the lower level at the south end of the Jordan valley (Num. xxiii. 49); and named with Ashdath-pisgah and Beth-peor. It was one of the limits of the encampment of Israel before crossing the Jordan. Later it was allotted to Reuben (Josh. xii. 3, xlii. 20), but came at last into the hands of Moab, and formed one of the cities which were "the glory of the country" (Ez. xxv. 9). Schwarz (228) quotes "a *Beth-Jishmuth* as still known at the north-easternmost point of the Dead Sea, half a mile from the Jordan;" but this requires confirmation. [G.]

**BETH-LEBA'OTH** (בֵּית לֵבְאוֹת), *house of lionsesses*; Βαθαράθ, Alex. Βαθαλβάθ; *Beth-lebaoth*, a town in the lot of Simeon (Josh. xix. 6), and therefore in the extreme south of Judah (xv. 32. Lebaoth), probably in the wild country to which its name bears witness. In the parallel list in 1 Chr. iv. 31 the name is given BETH-UREI. [G.]

**BETH-LEHEM** (בֵּית לֵחֶם) = *house of bread*; Βηθλεέμ; *Bethlehem*. 1. One of the oldest towns in Palestine, already in existence at the time of Jacob's return to the country. Its earliest name

\* The statements of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Stanley on this point are somewhat at variance; but although the road from Gibeon to *Beitur et-Tahta* is by no means a uniform rise, yet the impression is certainly

that of an ascent; and *Beitur*, though perhaps no higher than the ridge between it and Gibeon, yet looks higher, because it is so much above everything beyond it.

was EPHRATH or EPHRAFAH (see Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7; Josh. xv. 59, LXX.), and it is not till long after the occupation of the country by the Israelites that we meet with it under its new name of Bethlehem. Here, as in other cases (comp. Bethmeon, Bethdiblathaim, Bethpsor), the "Beth" appears to mark the bestowal of a Hebrew appellation; and if the derivations of the Lexicons are to be trusted, the name in its present shape appears to have been an attempt to translate the earlier Ephrata into Hebrew language and idiom, just as the Arabs have in their turn, with a further slight change of meaning, converted it into *Beit-lahm* (house of flesh).

However this may be, the ancient name lingered as a familiar word in the mouths of the inhabitants of the place (Ruth i. 2, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xvii. 12) and in the poetry of the Psalmists and Prophets (Ps. cxxxii. 6; Mic. v. 2) to a late period. [EPHRAFAH.] In the genealogical lists of 1 Chr. it recurs, and Ephrath appears as a person—the wife of Caleb and mother of Hur (יְהוּרָה) (ii. 19, 51, iv. 4); the title of "father of Bethlehem" being bestowed both on Hur (iv. 4) and on Salma, the son of Hur (ii. 51, 54). The name of Salma recalls a very similar name intimately connected with Bethlehem, namely the father of Boaz, Salmah

שַׁלְמָה, Ruth iv. 20; A. V. "Salmon") or Salmon (שַׁלְמוֹן), verse 21). Hur is also named in Ex. xxxi. 2 and 1 Chr. ii. 20, as the father of Uri the father of Bezaleel. In the East a trade or calling remains fixed in one family for generations, and if there is any foundation for the tradition of the Targum that Jesse the father of David was "a weaver of the veils of the sanctuary" (Targ. Jonathan on 2 Sam. xxi. 19), he may have inherited the accomplishments and the profession of his art from his forefather, who was "filled with the Spirit of God," "to work all manner of works," and amongst them that of the embroiderer and the weaver (Ex. xxv. 35).<sup>b</sup>

After the conquest Bethlehem appears under its own name Beth-lehem-judah (Judg. xvii. 7; 1 Sam. xvii. 12; Ruth i. 1, 2), possibly, though hardly probably, to distinguish it from the small and remote place of the same name in Zebulun. As the Hebrew text now stands, however, it is omitted altogether from the list of the towns of Judah in Joshua xv. though retained by the LXX. in the eleven names which they insert between verses 59 and 60. Among these it occurs between Teko (Tekoa), *Θεκώ* (comp. 1 Chr. iv. 4, 5), and Phagor (P'oor, *Φαγόρ*). This omission from the Hebrew text is certainly remarkable, but it is quite in keeping with the obscurity in which Bethlehem remains throughout the whole of the Sacred history. Not to speak of the later event which has made the name of Bethlehem so familiar to the whole Christian and Mussulman world, it was, as the birthplace of David, the scene of a most important occurrence to ancient Israel. And yet from some cause or other it never rose to any eminence, nor ever became the theatre

of any action or business. It is difficult to say why Hebron and Jerusalem, with no special associations in their favour, were fixed on as capitals, while the place in which the great ideal king, the hero and poet of the nation, drew his first breath and spent his youth, remained an "ordinary Judæan village." No doubt this is in part owing to what will be noticed presently—the isolated nature of its position, but that circumstance did not prevent Gibeon, Ramah, and many other places situated on eminences from becoming famous, and is not sufficient to account entirely for such silence respecting a place so strong by nature, commanding one of the main roads, and the excellence of which as a military position may be safely inferred from the fact that at one time it was occupied by the Philistines as a garrison (2 Sam. xxiii. 14; 1 Chr. xi. 16).

Though not named as a Levitical city, it was apparently a residence of Levites, for from it came the young man Jonathan, the son of Gershon who became the first priest of the Danites at their new northern settlement (Judg. xvii. 7, xviii. 30), and from it also came the concubine of the other Levite whose death at Gibeon caused the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin (xix. 1-9).

The Book of Ruth is a page from the domestic history of Bethlehem; the names, almost the very persons, of the Bethlehemites are there brought before us; we are allowed to assist at their most peculiar customs, and to witness the very springs of those events which have conferred immortality on the name of the place. Many of these customs were doubtless common to Israel in general, but one thing must have been peculiar to Bethlehem. What most strikes the view, after the charm of the general picture has lost its first hold on us, is the intimate connexion of the place with Moab. Of the origin of this connexion no record exists, no hint of it has yet been discovered, but it continued in force for at least a century after the arrival of Ruth, till the time when her great grandson could find no more secure retreat for his parents from the fury of Saul, than the house or the king of Moab at Mizpeh (1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4). But whatever its origin, here we find the connexion in full vigour. When the famine occurs, the natural resource is to go to the country of Moab and "continue there;" the surprise of the city is occasioned not at Naomi's going but at her return. Ruth was "not like" the handmaidens of Boaz—some difference of feature or complexion there was doubtless which distinguished the "children of Lot" from the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but yet she glens after the reapers in the field without molestation or remark, and when Boaz in the most public manner possible proclaims his intention of taking the stranger to be his wife, no voice of remonstrance is raised, but loud congratulations are expressed, the parallel in the life of Jacob occurs at once to all, and a blessing is invoked on the head of Ruth the Moabitess, that she may be like the two daughters of the Mesopotamian Nahor, "like Rachel and like Leah, who did build the house of Israel." This, in the face of the strong denunciations of Moab contained in the law is, to say the least, very remarkable.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> At the date of the visit of Benjamin of Tudela, there were still "twelve Jews, *dyers* by profession, living at Beth-lehem" (Benj. of Tudela, *Asher*, i. 75).

<sup>b</sup> May not this elucidate the allusions to the "weaver's beam" (whatever the "beam" may be) which occur in the accounts of giants or mighty men slain by David or his heroes; but not in any unconnected with him.

<sup>c</sup> Moab appears elsewhere in connexion with a place in Judah, *Jashubi-lehem* (1 Chr. iv. 22). We might be tempted to believe the name merely another form of *Beth-lehem*, if the context—the mention of Mare-shah and Chozeba, places on the extreme west of the tribe—did not forbid it.

The elevation of David to the kingdom does not appear to have affected the fortunes of his native place. The residence of Saul acquired a new title specially from him, by which it was called even down to the latest time of Jewish history (2 Sam. xvi. 6; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 2, §1, Γαββαθουλή), but David did nothing to dignify Bethlehem, or connect it with himself. The only touch of recollection which he manifests for it, is that recorded in the well-known story of his sudden longing for the water of the well by the gate of his childhood (2 Sam. xxiii. 15).

The few remaining casual notices of Bethlehem in the Old Testament may be quickly enumerated. It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 6). By the time of the captivity, the Inn of Chimham by (בֵּית לֶחֶם = "close to") Bethlehem, appears to have become the recognised point of departure for travellers to Egypt (Jer. xli. 17)—a caravanserai or khan (כְּנָסִיָּה; see Stanley, *App.* §90), perhaps the identical one which existed there at the time of our Lord (καρδλυμα), like those which still exist all over the East at the stations of travellers. Lastly, a "children of Bethlehem," to the number of 123, returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 21; Neh. vii. 26).

In the New Testament Bethlehem retains its distinctive title of Bethlehem-judah<sup>4</sup> (Matt. ii. 1, 5), and once, in the announcement of the Angels, the "city of David" (Luke ii. 4; and comp. John vii. 42; κώμη; *custellum*). Its connexion with the history of Christ is too familiar to all to need any notice here: the remark should merely be made that as in the earlier history less is recorded of the place after the youth of David than before, so in the later, nothing occurs after the birth of our Lord to indicate that any additional importance or interest was fastened on the town. In fact, the passages just quoted, and the few which follow, exhaust the references to it in the N. T. (Matt. ii. 6, 8, 16; Luke ii. 15).

After this nothing is heard of it till near the middle of the 2nd century, when Justin Martyr speaks of our Lord's birth as having taken place "in a certain cave very close to the village," which cave he goes on to say had been specially pointed out by Isaiah as "a sign." The passage from Isaiah to which he refers is xxxiii. 13-19, in the LXX. version of which occurs the following—"He shall dwell on high: His place of defence shall be in a lofty cave of the strong rock" (Justin. *Dial. c. Tryph.* §§78, 70). Such is the earliest supplement we possess to the meagre indications of the narrative of the Gospels; and while it is not possible to say with certainty that the tradition is true, there is no reason for discrediting it. There is nothing in itself improbable—as there certainly is in many cases where the traditional scenes of events are laid in caverns—in the supposition that the place in which Joseph and Mary took shelter, and where was the "manger" or "stall" (whatever the φάτνη may have been),<sup>5</sup> was a cave in the limestone rock of which the eminence of Bethlehem is

composed. Nor is it necessary to assume that Justin's quotation from Isaiah is the ground of an inference of his own; it may equally be an authority happily adduced by him in support of the existing tradition.

But the step from the belief that the nativity may have taken place in a cavern, to the belief that the present subterranean vault or crypt is that cavern, is a very wide one. Even in the 150 years that had passed when Justin wrote, so much had happened at Bethlehem that it is difficult to believe that the true spot could have been accurately preserved. In that interval—an interval as long as that between the landing of William III. and the battle of Waterloo—not only had the neighbourhood of Jerusalem been overrun and devastated by the Romans at the destruction of the city, but the emperor Hadrian, amongst other desecrations, had actually planted a grove of Adonis at the spot (*lucus inunbrabat Adonidis*, Jerome, *Ep. Paul.*). This grove remained at Bethlehem for no less than 180 years, viz., from A.D. 135 till 315. After this the place was purged of its abominations by Constantine, who about A.D. 330 erected the present church (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3, 40. See Tobler, 102, *note*). Conceive the alterations in the ground implied in this statement!—a heathen sanctuary established and a grove planted on the spot—that grove and those erections demolished to make room for the Basilica of Constantine!

The modern town of *Beit-lahm* (بيت لحم)

lies to the E. of the main road from Jerusalem to Hebron, 6 miles from the former. It covers the E. and N.E. parts of the ridge of a "long grey hill" of Jura limestone, which stands nearly due E. and W., and is about a mile in length. The hill has a deep valley on the N. and another on the S. The west end shelves down gradually to the valley; but the east end is bolder, and overlooks a plain of some extent. The slopes of the ridge are in many parts covered by terraced gardens, shaded by rows of olives with figs and vines, the terraces sweeping round the contour of the hill with great regularity. On the top of the hill lies the village in a kind of irregular triangle (Stewart), at about 150 yards from the apex of which and separated from it by a vacant space on the extreme eastern part of the ridge, spreads the noble Basilica of St. Helena, "half church, half fort," now embraced by its three convents, Greek, Latin, and Armenian.

This is not the place for a description of the "holy places" of Bethlehem. All that can be said about them has been well said by Lord Nugent (i. 13-21), and Mr. Stanley (438-442). (See also, though interspersed with much irrelevant matter, Stewart, 246, 334, 5.) Of the architecture of the church very little is known; for a resumé of that little see Ferguson's *Handbook of Architecture*, 524; also Salzmann's Photographs and the *Etude* accompanying them (p. 72).<sup>6</sup> One fact, of great

<sup>4</sup> It is as well to remember that the "stable," and its accompaniments, are the creations of the imagination of poets and painters, with no support from the Gospel narrative.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Stanley mentions, and recurs characteristically to the interesting fact, that the present roof is constructed from English oak given to the church by Edward IV. (*S. & P.*, 141, 439.) Tobler, 104 *note*, adduces the authority of Eutychius that the present Church is the work of Justinian, who destroyed that of Constantine as not sufficiently magnificent.

<sup>4</sup> In the Greek copies of St. Matthew the name is given as Β. τῆς Ἰουδαίας; but in the more ancient Syriac recension lately published by Mr. Cureton it is, as in the O. T., Bethlehem-judah.

<sup>5</sup> Observe that this phrase has lost the meaning which it bears in the O. T., where it specially and invariably signifies the fortress of the Jebusites, the fastness of Zion (2 Sam. v. 7, 9; 1 Chr. xi. 5, 7).

interest—probably the most genuine about the place—is associated with a portion of the crypt of this church, namely, that here, “beside what he believed to be the cradle of the Christian faith,” St. Jerome lived for more than 30 years, leaving a lasting monument of his sojourn in the Vulgate translation of the Bible.

In the plain below and east of the convent, about a mile from the walls, is the traditional scene of the angels’ appearance to the shepherds, a very small poor village called *Beit-Sahur*, to the E. of which are the unimportant remains of a Greek church. These buildings and ruins are surrounded by olives (Seetzen, ii. 41, 42). Here in Arculf’s time, “by the tower of Ader,” was a church dedicated to the three shepherds, and containing their monuments (Arculf, 6). But this plain is too rich ever to have been allowed to lie in pasturage, and it is more likely to have been then occupied, as it is now, and as it doubtless was in the days of Jotham, by corn-fields, and the sheep to have been kept on the hills.<sup>b</sup>

The traditional well of David (2 Sam. xliii. 15), a group of three cisterns, is more than half a mile away from the present town on the other side of the wady on the north. A few yards from the western end of the village are two apertures, which have the appearance of wells; but they are merely openings to a cistern connected with the aqueduct below, and we have Dr. Robinson’s assurance that “there is now no well of living water in or near the town.”

The population of *Beit-I-tha* is about 3000 souls, entirely Christians. All travellers remark the good looks of the women (*Etolien*), the substantial clean appearance of the houses, and the general air of comfort (for an eastern town) which prevails.

2. (בֵּית לֵחֵם; *Baithlēm*, Alex. *Baithlēēm*; *Bethlehem*), a town in the district of Zebulun named nowhere but in Josh. xiv. 15. It has been recovered by Dr. Robinson at *Beit Lahm*, about six miles west of Nazareth, and lying between that town and the main road from Akka to Gaza. Robinson characterises it as “a very miserable village, none more so in all the country, and without a trace of antiquity except the name” (iii. 113). [G.]

BETHILOMON (*Baithlōmōn*), 1 Esd. v. 17. [BETHLEHEM, 1.] [G.]

BETH-MA’ACHAH (בֵּית מַעֲכָה), and with the article, הַבֵּית; *Bethmachā*, *Φερμαχά*; *Bethmachah*), a place named only in 2 Sam. xx. 14, 15, and there occurring more as a definition of the position of ABEL than for itself. In the absence of more information, we can only conclude that it is identical with MAACHAH, or ARAM-MAACHAH, one of the petty Syrian kingdoms in the north of Palestine. [ARAM.] [G.]

BETH-MAR’CABOTH (בֵּית הַמָּרְקָבִית, *house of the chariot*), in Chron. without the article; *Baithmarqabē*; Alex. *Baithamarchasbō*; *Bethmarchaboth*), one of the towns of Simeon, situated to the extreme south of Judah, with Ziklag and Hormah (Josh. xix. 5; 1 Chr. iv. 31). What “chariots” can have been in use in this rough and thinly inhabited part of the country, at a time so early as that at which

<sup>b</sup> Ἀγνανούστες (Luke ii. 8; A. V. “abiding in the field”) has no special reference to “field” more than hill; but means rather “passing the night out of doors.” χωρά also means a “district” or neighbourhood, with no special topographical signification.

these lists of towns purport to have been made out, we know not. At a later period—that of Solomon “chariot cities” are named, and a regular trade with Egypt in chariots was carried on (1 K. ix. 19; 2 Chr. viii. 6; 1 K. x. 29; 2 Chr. i. 17), which would naturally require depots or stopping-places on the road “up” to Palestine (Stanley, 160). In the parallel list, Josh. xv. 30, 31, Madmannah occurs in place of Beth-nimrah; possibly the latter was substituted for the former after the town had become the resort of chariots. Without supposing the one word to be a mere corruption of the other, the change of a name to one differing less in appearance than in meaning is quite in character with the plays on words frequent in Hebrew literature. [HAZAR-SUM, MADMANNAH.] [G.]

BETH-ME’ON (בֵּית מְעֹן; *oikos Meōn*; *Bethmaon*), Jer. xlviii. 23. A contracted form of the name elsewhere given as BETH-BAM-MLON. [G.]

BETH-NIM’RAH (בֵּית נִמְרָה = *house of sweet water*, Gesen.; ἡ Ναυρᾶ; Alex. Ἀμφραν, *Baithanabrad*; *Bethnaim*), one of the “fenced cities” on the East of the Jordan taken and “built” by the tribe of Gal (Num. xxxii. 36) and described as lying “in the valley” (בֵּית נִמְרָה) beside Beth-haran (Josh. xii. 27). In Num. xxxii. 3 it is named simply NIMRAH. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Bethannaiam, and Beth-nemina) the village is said to have been still standing five miles north of Lilius (Beth-haran); and under Νέβρα Eusebius mentions that it was a large place, *κώμη μεγάλη*, in *Katania* (? Batanea), and called Ahna.

The name still survives in the *Nahr Nimrin*, the Arab appellation of the lower end of the *Wady Shoab*, where the waters of that valley discharge themselves into the Jordan close to one of the regular fords a few miles above Jericho. It has been seen by Seetzen (*Reisen*, 1854, ii. 318), and Robinson (i. 551), but does not appear to have been explored, and all that is known is that the vegetation is very thick, betokening an abundance of water. The *Wady Shoab* runs back up into the Eastern mountains, as far as *es-Salt*. Its name (the modern form of Hobaḥ?) connects it with the wanderings of the children of Israel, and a tradition still clings to the neighbourhood, that it was down this valley they descended to the Jordan (Seetzen, ii. 377).

It seems to have escaped notice how fully the requirements of Bethnaba are met in the circumstances of Bethnima—its abundance of water and its situation close to “the region round about Jordan” (ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, i. e. the CIGAR of the O. T., the Oasis of Jericho), immediately accessible to “Jerusalem and all Judaea” (John i. 28; Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5) by the direct and ordinary road from the capital. Add to this, what is certainly a strong confirmation of this suggestion, that in the LXX. the name of Bethnima is found almost exactly assuming the form of Bethabana—*Baithanabrad*, *Bethabrad*, *Betharabā* (see Holmes and Parsons’ LXX.).

The “Waters of Nimrin,” which are named in the denunciations of Moab by Isaiah and Jeremiah, must from the context be the brook which still bears the same name at the S. E. part of the Dead Sea. [NIMRIN.] A similar name (signifying, however, in Arabic, “panther”) is not uncommon on the east of the Jordan. [G.]

**BETH-PA'LET** (בֵּית פֶּלֶט; when not in pause, בֵּלֶט, *house of flight*; Βαιθφαλάδ; *Bethphalel*), a town among those in the extreme south of Judah, named in Josh. xv. 27, and Neh. xi. 26, with Moladah and Beersheba. In the latter place it is ΒΕΤΗΦΑΛΕΤ (following the Vulgate). Its remains have not yet been discovered. [G.]

**BETH-PAZ'ZEF** (בֵּית פֶּצֶץ; Βηρσαφίς; Alex. Βαιθραφίς; *Bethphazis*), a town of Issachar named with En-haddah (Josh. xix. 21), and of which nothing is known. [G.]

**BETH-PE'OR** (בֵּית פְּעוֹר; οἶκος Φογώρ; in Josh. Βαιθφογώρ; *fanum Phogor, Phogor, Bethphogor*; in *Onom.* *Bethfogo*), a place, no doubt dedicated to the god Baal-peor, on the east of Jordan, opposite (ἀπέναντι) Jericho, and six miles above Libias or Beth-baran (Euseb. *Onomasticon*). It was in the possession of the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 20). In the Pentateuch the name occurs in a formula by which one of the last halting-places of the children of Israel is designated—"the ravine (בְּנֵי הַנָּחַל) over against (מולד) Beth-peor" (Deut. iii. 29, iv. 46). In this ravine Moses was probably buried (xxiv. 6).

Here, as in other cases, the Beth may be a Hebrew substitution for Baal. [G.]

**BETH-PHAGE** (Βεθφαγή and Βηθφαγή; *Bethphage*; quasi בֵּית פֶּיגָה, *house of unripe figs*), the name of a place on the mount of Olives, on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem. From the two being twice mentioned together, it was apparently close to BETHANY (Matt. xxi. 1, Mark xi. 1; Luke xiv. 29), and from its being named first of the two in the narrative of a journey from east to west, it may be presumed that it lay, if anything, to the eastward of Bethany. The fact of our Lord's making Bethany His nightly lodging place (Matt. xxi. 17, &c.) is no confirmation of this (as Winer would have it); since He would doubtless take up His abode in a place where He had friends, even though it were not the first place at which He arrived on the road. No remains which could answer to this position have however been found (Rob. i. 433), and the traditional site is above Bethany, halfway between that village and the top of the mount.

By Eusebius and Jerome, and also by Origen, the place was known, though no indication of its position is given; by the former it is called *κώμη*, by Jerome *villula*. They describe it as a village of the priests, possibly from "Beth place," signifying in Syriac the "house of the jaw," and the jaw in the sacrifices being the portion of the priests (Beland, 653). Lightfoot's theory, grounded on the statements of the Talmudists, is extraordinary: that Bethphage was the name of a district reaching from the foot of Olivet to the wall of Jerusalem. (But see Beland, 652; Hug, *Krit.* i. 18, 19.) Schwarz (263, 4), and Barclay, in his map, appear to agree in placing Bethphage on the southern shoulder of the "Mount of Offence," above the village of Siloam, and therefore west of Bethany.

The name of Bethphage, the signification of which as given above is generally accepted, is, like those of Bethany, Capernaum, Bezetha, and the Mount of Olives itself, a testimony to the ancient fruitfulness of this district (Stanley, 187). [G.]

**BETH-PH'LEET**, Neh. xi. 26. [BETH-PALET.]

**BETH-RA'PHA** (בֵּית רָפָא; *house of Rapha*, or of the giant; δ Βαθράα; Alex. Βαθρεφά; *Bethrapha*), a name which occurs in the genealogy of Judah as the son of Esh-ton (1 Chr. iv. 12 only). There is a Rapha in the line of Benjamin and elsewhere, but no apparent connexion exists between those and this, nor has the name been identified as belonging to any place. [G.]

**BETH-RE'HOB** (בֵּית רְחוֹב; *house of Rechob*, or of room; Ροάβ, δ οἶκος Ραάβ, Alex. Τάβ; *Rohob*), a place mentioned as having near it the valley in which lay the town of Laish or Dan (Judg. xviii. 28). It was one of the little kingdoms of Aiam or Syria, like Zohab, Maacah, and Ish-tob (comp. the reading of the Alex. LXX. above), in company with which it was hired by the Ammonites to fight against David (2 Sam. x. 6). In ver. 8 the name occurs in the shorter form of Rehob, in which form it is doubtless again mentioned in Num. xiii. 21. Being, however, "far from Zidon" (Judg. xviii. 28), this place must not be confounded with two towns of the name of Rehob in the territory of Asher. [REHOB.] The conjecture of Robinson (iii. 371) is that this ancient place is represented by the modern *Hinnin*, a fortress commanding the plain of the *Hileh*, in which the city of Dan (*Tell el-Kady*) lay.

Hadadezer the king of Zobah is said to have been the son of Rehob (2 Sam. viii. 3, 12). [G.]

**BETH-SA'IDA** (Βηθσαιδά; *house of fish*; *Bethsaida*), the name of two places in Northern Palestine:—

1. "Bethsaida of Galilee" (John xii. 21), a city (πόλις), which was the native place of Andrew, Peter, and Philip (John i. 44, xii. 21) in the land of Gennesareth (τῆς γῆς Γ.) (Mark vi. 45; comp. 53), and therefore on the west side of the lake. It was evidently in near neighbourhood to Capernaum, and Chorazin (Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13; and comp. Mark vi. 45, with John vi. 16), and, if the interpretation of the name is to be trusted, close to the water's edge. By Jerome (*Comm. in Esai.* ix. 1) and Eusebius (*Onom.*) these towns and Tiberias are all mentioned together as lying on the shore of the lake. Euphrasius (*adv. Hier.* v.) says of Bethsaida and Capernaum οὐ μακρὰν ὕψτων τῇ διαστήματι. Willibald (A.D. 722) went from Magdala to Capernaum, thence to Bethsaida, and then to Chorazin. These ancient notices, however, though they fix its general situation, none of them contain any indication of its exact position, and as, like the other two towns just mentioned, its name and all memory of its site have perished, no positive identification can be made of it. Dr. Robinson places Bethsaida at *Ain el-Tibiqah*, a short distance north of Khan Minyeh, which he identifies with Capernaum (iii. 359).

2. By comparing the narratives (of the same event) contained in Mark vi. 31-53, and Luke ix. 10-17, in the latter of which Bethsaida is named as the spot at which the miracle took place, while in the former the disciples are said to have crossed the water from the scene of the event "to Bethsaida in the land of Gennesareth"—it appears certain that the Bethsaida at which the 5000 were fed must have been a second place of the same name on the east of the lake. Such a place there was at the

north-eastern extremity—formerly a village (κώμη), but rebuilt and adorned by Philip the Tetrarch, and raised to the dignity of a town under the name of Julius, after the daughter of the emperor (Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, §1; B. J. ii. 9, §1, iii. 10, §7). Here in a magnificent tomb Philip was buried (Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, §6).

Of this Bethsaida we have certainly one and probably two mentions in the Gospels: 1. that named above, of the feeding of the 5000 (Luke ix. 10). The miracle took place in a *τόπος ἔρημος*—a vacant, lonely spot, somewhere up in the rising ground at the back of the town, covered with a profusion of green grass (John vi. 3, 10; Mark vi. 39; Matt. xiv. 19), and in the evening the disciples went down to the water and went home across the lake (*εἰς τὸ πέραν*) to Bethsaida (Mark vi. 45), or as St. John (vi. 17) and St. Matthew (xiv. 34) more generally express it, towards Capernaum, and to the land of Gennesareth. The coincidence of the two Bethsidas occurring in the one narrative, and that on the occasion of the only absolutely certain mention of the eastern one, is extraordinary. In the very ancient Syriac recension (the Nitrian) just published by Mr. Cureton, the words in Luke ix. 10 "belonging to the city, called Bethsaida" are omitted.

2. The other, highly probable, mention of this place is in Mark viii. 22.<sup>a</sup> If Dalmanutha (viii. 10) was on the west side of the lake, then was Bethsaida on the east; because in the interval Christ had departed by ship to the other side (13). And with this well accords the mention immediately after of the villages of Caesarea Philippi (27), and of the "high mountain" of the transfiguration (ix. 2), which, as Mr. Stanley has ingeniously suggested, was, not the traditional spot, but a part of the Hermon range somewhere above the source of the Jordan (*S. & P.* 399).

Of the western Bethsaida no mention is made in Josephus, and until the discovery by Reland of the fact that there were two places of the name, one on the west, and one on the east side, the elucidation of the various occurrences of the two was one of the hardest knots of sacred geography (see Cellarius, *Notit.* ii. 536). [G.]

**BETH-SAMOS** (Βαιθασμών; Alex. Βαιθασμῶν; *Cybethinus*), 1. Esd. v. 18. [BETH-AZMAVETH.]

**BETH'SAN** (1 Macc. v. 52; xii. 40, 41). [BETHSHEAN.]

**BETH'SHAN** (1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12; 2 Sam. xxi. 12). [BETHSHEAN.]

**BETH-SHE'AN** (בֵּית שֵׁעַן), or, in Samuel, BETHSHAN, (בֵּית שָׁן; Βαιθσάν, Βηθσάν, δ ὁ ἱὸς Σάν; *Bethsan*), a city which, with its "daughter" towns belonged to Manasseh (1 Chr. vii. 29), though within the limits of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11), and therefore on the west of Jordan (comp. 1 Macc. v. 52)—but not mentioned in the lists of the latter tribe. The Canaanites were not driven out from the

town (Judg. i. 27). In Solomon's time it seems to have given its name to a district extending from the town itself to Abel-meholah; and "all Bethshean" was under the charge of one of his commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 12).

The corpses of Saul and his sons were fastened up to the wall of Bethshean by the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12) in the open "street" or space (חֹרֶף), which—then as now—fronted the gate of an eastern town (2 Sam. xxi. 12). From this time we lose sight of Beth-shean<sup>b</sup> till the period of the Maccabees, in connexion with whose exploits it is mentioned more than once in a cursory manner (1 Macc. v. 32; comp. 1 Macc. xii. 40, 41). The name of Scythopolis (Σκυθων πόλις) appears for the first time in 2 Macc. xii. 29. [SCYTHOPOLIS.] This name, which it received after the exile, and under the Greek dominion, has not survived to the present day; as in many other cases (comp. PROLEMAIS) the old, Semitic appellation has revived, and the place is still called. *Beisán*. It lies in the Ghôr or Jordan valley, about twelve miles south of the sea of Galilee, and four miles west of the Jordan. The site of the town is on the brow of the descent, by which the great plain of Esdraelon drops down to the level of the Ghôr. A few miles to the south-west are the mountains of Gilboa, and close beside the town runs the water of the *Ain-Jalad*, the fountain of which is in Jezreel, and is in all probability the spring by which the Israelites encamped before the battle in which Saul was killed (1 Sam. xxix. 1).<sup>c</sup> Three other large brooks pass through or by the town, and in the fact of the abundance of water, and the exuberant fertility<sup>d</sup> of the soil consequent thereon, as well as in the power of using their chariots, which the level nature of the country near the town conferred on them (Josh. xvii. 16), resides the secret of the hold which the Canaanites retained on the place.

If Jabesh-Gilead was where Dr. Robinson conjectures—at *ed-Deir* in the *Wady Yâbis*—the distance from thence to Beisan, which it took the men of Jabesh "all night" to traverse, cannot be less than twenty miles. [G.]

**BETH-SHEMESH** (בֵּית שֵׁמֶשׁ), in prose שֵׁמֶשׁ, house of the sun; πόλις ἡλίου; Βαιθσαμὸς; *Bethsames*), the name of several places. 1. One of the towns which marked the north boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 10), but not named in the lists of the cities of that tribe. It was in the neighbourhood of Kirjath-jearim and Timnah, and therefore in close proximity to the low-country of Philistia. The expression "went down" in Josh. xv. 10; 1 Sam. vi. 21, seems to indicate that the position of the town was lower than Kirjath-jearim; and it is in accordance with the situation that there was a valley (עֵמֶק) of cornfields attached to the place (1 Sam. v. 13).

From Ekron to Bethshemesh a road (יָרֵד, ὁδός) existed along which the Philistines sent back the ark

<sup>a</sup> The use of the word κώμη in this place is remarkable. Mr. Stanley suggests that its old appellation had stuck to it, even after the change in its dignity (*S. & P.* App. §85).

<sup>b</sup> Unless the conjecture of Schwarz (148, note) be accepted, that the words (בֵּית הַשָּׁן, house of the tooth; A. V. *irony house*) in 1 K. xxii. 39, should be rendered Beth-ahan.

<sup>c</sup> The exactness of the definition in this description is seriously impaired in the A. V. by the substitution of "a fountain" for "the fountain" of the original.

<sup>d</sup> So great was this fertility, that it was said by the Rabbis, that if Paradise was in the land of Israel, Beth-shean was the gate of it; for that its fruits were the sweetest in all the land. (See the quotations in Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* ix.)

after its calamitous residence in their country (1 Sam. vi. 9, 12); and it was in the field of "Joshua the Beth-shemite" (בֵּית הַשֵּׁמִי) that the "great Abel" (whatever that may have been) was, on which the ark was set down (1 Sam. vi. 18). Beth-shemesh was a "suburb city," allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 16; 1 Chr. vi. 59); and it is named in one of Solomon's commissariat districts under the charge of Ben-Dekar (1 K. iv. 9). It was the scene of an encounter between Jehoash, king of Israel, and Amaziah, king of Judah, in which the latter was worsted and made prisoner (2 K. xiv. 11, 13; 2 Chr. xxv. 21, 23). Later, in the days of Ahaz, it was taken and occupied by the Philistines, together with several other places in this locality (2 Chr. xxviii. 18).

By comparison of the lists in Josh. xv. 10, xix. 41, 43, and 1 K. iv. 9, it will be seen that IR-SHEMESII, "city of the sun," must have been identical with Beth-shemesh, Ir being probably the older form of the name; and again, from Judg. i. 35, it appears as if Har-cheres, "mount of the sun," were a third name for the same place; suggesting an early and extensive worship of the sun in this neighbourhood. [IR-SHEMESII; HERES.]

Beth-shemesh is now *Ain-Shems*. It was visited by Dr. Robinson, who found it to be in a position exactly according with the indications of Scripture, on the north-west slopes of the mountains of Judah - "a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains" (Rob. iii. 153)—about two miles from the great Philistine plain, and seven from Ekron (ii. 224-6). The origin of the *Ain* ("spring") in the modern name is not obvious, as no spring or well appears now to exist at the spot; but the *Shems* and the position are decisive.

2. A city on the border of Issachar (Josh. xix. 22).

3. One of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali, twice named (Josh. xix. 38; Judg. i. 33), and on both occasions with BETH-ANATH. The Canaanite inhabitants were not expelled from either place, but became tributaries to Israel. Jerome's expression (*Onom.* Bethsamis) in reference to this is perhaps worthy of notice, "in qua cultores pristini manserunt;" possibly glancing at the worship from which the place derived its name.

4. By this name is once mentioned (Jer. xliii. 13) an idolatrous temple or place in Egypt, which the LXX. render by Ἡλιουπόλις ἐν Ἰνῶν, i. e. the famous Heliopolis; Vulg. *domus solis*. In the middle ages Heliopolis was still called by the Arabs *Ain Shems* (Edrisi, &c., in Rob. i. 25). [AVEN; ON.]

**BETH-SHITTAH** (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה, *house of the acacia*; Βηθσέττα; Alex. ἡ Βασιέττα; *Beth-setta*), one of the spots to which the flight of the host of the Midianites extended after their discomfiture by Gideon (Judg. vii. 22). Both the narrative and the name (comp. "Abel-shittim," which was in the Jordan valley opposite Jericho) require its situation to be somewhere near the river, where also Zereth (probably Zeredatha or Zartan) and Abel-meholah doubtless lay: but no identification has yet been made of any of these spots. The *Shittah* mentioned by Robinson (ii. 356) and Wilson (Ritter, *Jordan*, 414) is too far to the west to suit the above requirements. Josephus's version of the locality is absolutely in favour of the place being well watered: ἐν κοίλῃ χαράδρῃ περιειλημμένῃ χωρίῳ (*Ant.* v. 6, §5).

**BETH-SUR'A** (ἡ Βαθσούρα, τὰ Βαθσούρα, 1 Mac. iv. 29. 61; vi. 7, 26, 31, 49, 50; ix. 52; x. 14; xi. 65; xiv. 7; 2 Mac. xi. 5; xiii. 19, 23). [BETH-ZUR.]

**BETH-TAPPUAH** (בֵּית תַּפּוּא, *house of the apple or citron*; Βαθαχού, Alex. Βεθααφουέ; *Beth-thaphua*), one of the towns of Judah, in the mountainous district, and near Hebron (Josh. xv. 53; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 43). Here it has actually been discovered by Robinson under the modern name of *Teffah*, 1½ hour, or say 5 miles, W. of Hebron, on a ridge of high table-land. The terraces of the ancient cultivation still remain in use, and though the "apples" have disappeared, yet olive-groves and vineyards with fields of grain surround the place on every side (Rob. ii. 71; Schwarz, 105A).

The name of Tappuah was borne by another town of Judah which lay in the rich lowland of the Shefela. [APPLE; TAPPUAH.] [G.]

**BETHUEL** (בֵּיתוּאֵל; Βαθουήλ; Joseph. Βαθούηλος; *Bethuel*), the son of Nahor by Milcah; nephew of Abraham, and father of Rebekah (Gen. xxii. 22, 23; xxiv. 15, 24, 47; xxviii. 2). In xxv. 20, and xxviii. 5, he is called "Bethuel the Syrian" (i. e. Aramite, אֲרָמִי). Though often referred to as above in the narrative, Bethuel only appears in person once (xxiv. 50). Upon this an ingenious conjecture is raised by Prof. Blunt (*Coincidences*, I. §iv.) that he was the subject of some imbecility or other incapacity. The Jewish tradition, as given in the Targum Ps. Jonathan on Gen. xxiv. 55 (comp. 33), is that he died on the morning after the arrival of Abram's servant, owing to his having eaten a sauce containing poison at the meal the evening before, and that on that account Laban requested that his sister's departure might be delayed for a year or ten months. Josephus was perhaps aware of this tradition since he speaks of Bethuel as dead (*Ant.* i. 16, §2). [G.]

**BETHUEL** (בֵּיתוּאֵל; Βαθουήλ; Alex. Βαθούλ; *Bathuel*), 1 Chr. iv. 30. [BETHUL.]

**BETH'UL** (בֵּתוּל; Arab. *Bethur*, بثور; Βουλά; *Rethul*), a town of Simeon in the south, named with El-tolad and Ilormah (Josh. xix. 4). In the parallel lists in Josh. xv. 30, and 1 Chr. iv. 9, the name appears under the forms of CHESIL (כְּסִיל) and BETHU'EL; and probably also under that of Bethel in Josh. xii. 16; since, for the reasons urged under BETH'EL, and also on account of the position of the name in this list, the northern Bethel can hardly be intended. [BETH'EL.] [G.]

**BETHULIA** (Βεθουλία; *Bethulia*), the city which was the scene of the chief events of the book of Judith, in which book only does the name occur. Its position is there described with very minute detail. It was near to Dothaim (iv. 6), on a hill (ὄρος) which overlooked (ἀνέαντι) the plain of Esdraelon (vi. 11, 13, 14, vii. 7, 10, xiii. 10) and commanded the passes from that plain to the hill country of Manasseh (iv. 7, vii. 1), in a position so strong that Holofernes abandoned the idea of taking it by attack, and determined to reduce it by possessing himself of the two springs or wells (πηγάς) which were "under the city" in the valley at the foot of the eminence on which it was built, and from which the inhabitants derived their chief supply of water (vi. 11, vii. 7, 13, 21). Not-

withstanding this detail, however, the identification of the site of Bethulia has hitherto defied all attempts, and is one of the greatest puzzles of sacred geography; so much so as to form an important argument against the historical truth of the book of Judith (Rob. iii. 337, 8).

In the middle ages the name of Bethulia was given to "the Frank Mountain," between Bethlehem and Jerusalem (Rob. i. 479), but it is unnecessary to say that this is very much too far to the south to suit the narrative. More lately it has been assumed to be *Safel* in North Galilee (Rob. ii. 425); which again, if in other respects it would agree with the story, is too far north. Von Raumer (*Pal.* 135, 6) suggests *Sandir*, which is perhaps the nearest to probability. The ruins of that town are on an "isolated rocky hill," with a plain of considerable extent to the east, and, as far as situation is concerned, naturally all but impregnable (Rob. ii. 312). It is about three miles from *Dotham*, and some six or seven from *Jenin* (Engannim), which stand on the very edge of the great plain of Esdraelon. Though not absolutely commanding the pass which leads from *Jenin* to *Sebastieh*, and forms the only practicable ascent to the high country, it is yet sufficiently near to bear out the somewhat vague statement of Jud. v. 6. Nor is it unimportant to remember that *Samir* actually endured a siege of 2 months from Djezzar Pasha without yielding, and that on a subsequent occasion it was only taken after a three or four months' investment, by a force very much out of proportion to the size of the place (Rob. ii. 313). [G.]

#### BETH-ZACHARIAS. [BATH-ZACHARIAS.]

**BETH-ZUR** (בֵּית זֹר, *house of rock*; Βηθσούρ; *Bethsura*), a town in the mountains of Judah, named between Halhal and Gedor (Josh. xv. 58). As far as any interpretation can, in their present imperfect state, be put on the genealogical lists of 1 Chr. ii. 42-49, Bethzur would appear from ver. 45 to have been founded by the people of Maon, which again had derived its origin from Hebron. However this may be, Beth-zur was "built," —i. e. probably fortified—by Rehobam, with other towns of Judah, for the defence of his new kingdom (2 Chr. xi. 7). After the captivity the people of Beth-zur assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 16); the place had a "ruler" (שָׂרָא), and the peculiar word *Pelec* (פֶּלֶעַץ) is employed to denote a district or circle attached to it, and to some other of the cities mentioned here. [TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS.]

In the wars of the Maccabees, Bethzur, or Bethsura, played an important part. It was fortified by Judas and his brethren "that the people might have a defence against Idumaea," and they succeeded in making it "very strong and not to be taken without great difficulty" (Jos. Ant. xii. §4); so much so, that it was able to resist for a length of time the attacks of Simon Mac. (1 Macc. xi. 65) and of Lysias (2 Macc. xi. 5), the garrison having in the former case capitulated. Before Bethzur took place one of the earliest victories of Judas over Lysias (1 Macc. iv. 29), and it was in an attempt to relieve it when besieged by Antiochus Epiphanes, that he was defeated in the passes between Bethzur and Bath-zacharias, and his brother Eleazar killed by one of the elephants of the king's army (1 Macc. vi. 32-47; Jos. Ant. xii. 9, 3). The recovery of the site of Bethzur, under

the almost identical name of *Beit-sar*, by Wolcott and Robinson (i. 216, note; iii. 277), explains its impregnability, and also the reason for the choice of its position, since it commands the road from Beersheba and Hebron, which has always been the main approach to Jerusalem from the south.

A short distance from the Tell, on which are strewn the remains of the town, is a spring, *Ain el-Dhirweh*, which in the days of Jerome, and later, was regarded as the scene of the baptism of the Eunuch by Philip. The probability of this is elsewhere examined [GAZA]; in the meantime it may be noticed that *Beit-sar* is not near the road to Gaza (Acts viii. 26), which runs much more to the north-west. [BETHI-SURA.] [G.]

**BETO'LUS** (Βετόλιος), 1 Esd. v. 21. [BETHEL.]

**BETOMESTHAM** (Βετομεσθαίμ) and **BETOMASTHEM** (Βαιτομασθαίμ); Syr. *Bithmasthin*, a town "over against Esdraelon, facing the plain that is near Dotham" (Jud. iv. 6, xv. 4), and which from the manner of its mention would seem to have been of equal importance with Bethulia itself. No attempt to identify either Betomestham or Bethulia has been hitherto successful. [BETHULIA. DOTHAIM.] [G.]

**BETO'NIM** (בֵּית נִים = pistachio nuts; *Betonim*; *Betonim*), a town in the inheritance of the children of Gad, apparently on their northern boundary (Jos. xiii. 26). The word, somewhat differently pointed, occurs in Gen. xliii. 11, A. V. "nuts." It is probably related to the modern Arabic word *Bulm* = terebinth, *Pistacia terebinthus*. [G.]

#### BETROTHING. [MARRIAGE.]

**BEU'IAH** (בְּעֻיָּה = married; *oikouménē*; *inhabitant*), the name which the land of Israel is to bear, when "the land shall be married (נִשְׁתַּבַּח)," Is. liii. 4.

**BE'ZAI** (בְּצַי; Βασσαι, Βεσαι, Βησι; *Bezni*), "children of *Bezni*" to the number of 323, returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 17; Neh. vii. 23). The name occurs again among those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 18). [BASSA.]

**BEZAI'EEEL** (בְּצַיִּיֵּעֵל; Βεσαϊεήλ; *Bezeleel*).

1. The artificer to whom was confided by Jehovah the design and execution of the works of art required for the tabernacle in the wilderness (Ex. xxxi. 1-6). His charge was chiefly in all works of metal, wood, and stone, Aholiab being associated with him for the textile fabrics; but it is plain from the terms in which the two are mentioned (xxxvi. 1, 2, xxxviii. 22), as well as from the enumeration of the works in Bezaleel's name in xxxvii. and xxxviii., that he was the chief of the two, and master of Aholiab's department as well as his own. Bezaleel was of the tribe of Judah, the son of Uri the son of Hur (or Chur). Hur was the offspring of the marriage of Caleb (one of the chiefs of the great family of Pharez) with Ephrath (1 Chr. ii. 19, 50), and one of his sons, or descendants (comp. Ruth iv. 20) was Salma, or Salmon, who is handed down under the title of "father of Bethlehem;" and who, as the actual father of Boaz, was the direct progenitor of king David (1 Chr. ii. 51, 54; Ruth iv. 21). [BETHLEHEM, HUR.]

2. One of the sons of Pahath-moab who had taken a foreign wife, Ezr. x. 30.

BE'ZEK (בֶּזֶק; Bezék; Bezoe), the name of two apparently distinct places in Palestine.

1. The residence of Adoni-bezek, i. e. the "lord of Bezek" (Judg. i. 5); in the "lot (לֹט) of Judah" (verse 3), and inhabited by Canaanites and Perizzites (verse 4). This must have been a distinct place from

2. Where Saul numbered the forces of Israel and Judah before going to the relief of Jabesh-gilead (1 Sam. xi. 8). From the terms of the narrative this cannot have been more than a day's march from Jabesh; and was therefore doubtless somewhere in the centre of the country, near the Jordan valley. In accordance with this is the mention in the *Onomasticon*, of two places of this name seventeen miles from Neapolis (Shechem), on the road to Beth-shean. The LXX. inserts ἐν Βαυδ after the name, possibly alluding to some "high place" at which this solemn muster took place. This Josephus gives as Βαλδ (Ant. vi. 5, §1).

No identification of either place has been made in modern times.

[G.]

BE'ZER IN THE WILDERNESS (בְּצֶר בְּמִדְבָּר; Βοσόρ ἐν τῇ ἐρημῳ; *Besor in solitude*), a city of the Reubenites, with "suburbs," in the *Mishor* or downs, set apart by Moses as one of the three cities of refuge on the east of the Jordan, and allotted to the Merarites (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 36; 1 Chr. vi. 78). In the two last passages the exact specification, בְּצֶר, of the other two is omitted, but traces of its former presence in the text in Josh. xvi. 16 are furnished us by the reading of the LXX. and Vulg.—τὴν Βοσόρ ἐν τῇ ἐρημῳ, τὴν Μισώρ (Alex. Μισώρ) καὶ τὰ περισπόρια; *Besor in solitude, Mishor et Jaser*.

Bezer may be the Bosor of the Books of Maccabees. [BOSOR.]

[G.]

BE'ZER (בְּצֶר; Βοσόρ; Alex. Βασόρ; *Bosor*), son of Zophah, one of the heads of the house of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 37).

BE'ZETH (Βηζέθ; *Bethzecha*), a place at which Bacchides encamped after leaving Jerusalem, and where there was a "great pit" (τὸ φρέαρ τὸ μέγα; 1 Macc. vii. 19). By Josephus (Ant. xii. 10, §2) the name is given as "the village Beth-zetho" (κώμη Βηθζήθω λεγομένη), which recalls the name applied to the Mount of Olives in the early Syriac recension of the N. T. published by Mr. Cureton — Beth-Zaith. The name may thus refer either to the main body of the Mount of Olives, or to that branch of it to the north of Jerusalem, which at a later period was called Bezetha. [G.]

BI'ATAS (Φατίας; Alex. Φιδίας; *Philius*), 1 Esdr. ix. 48. [PELAIACH.]

BIBLIE (Βιβλία, LXX.; *Biblia*, Vulg.).—1. The application of this word, κατ' ἐξοχήν, to the collected books of the Old and New Testament is not to be traced further back than the 5th century. The terms which the writers of the New Testament use of the Scriptures of the Old are ἡ γραφή (2 Tim. iii. 16; Acts viii. 32; Gal. iii. 22), αἱ γραφαί (Matt. xxi. 42; Luke xxiv. 27), τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (2 Tim. iii. 15). Βιβλίον is found (2 Tim. iv. 13; Rev. x. 3, v. 1), but with no distinctive meaning; nor does the use of τὰ λοιτὰ τῶν βιβλίων for the Hagiographa in the Preface

to Ecclesiasticus, or of αἱ ἱερὰ βιβλία in Josephus (Ant. i. 6, §2), indicate anything as to the use of τὰ βιβλία alone as synonymous with ἡ γραφή. The words employed by early Christian writers were naturally derived from the language of the New Testament, and the old terms, with epithets like θεία, ἁγία, and the like continued to be used by the Greek fathers, and the equivalent "Scriptura" was by the Latin. The use of ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη in 2 Cor. iii. 14, for the law as read in the synagogues, and the prominence given in the Epistle to the Heb. (vii. 22, viii. 6, ix. 15) to the contrast between the παλαιὰ and the καινή, led gradually to the extension of the former to include the other books of the Jewish Scriptures, and to the application of the latter as of the former to a book or collection of books. Of the Latin equivalents which were adopted by different writers (*Instrumentum, Testamentum*), the latter met with the most general acceptance, and perpetuated itself in the languages of modern Europe. One passage in Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 1) illustrates the growing popularity of the word which eventually prevailed, "Instrumenti vel quod magis in usu est dicere, testamenti." The word was naturally used by Greek writers in speaking of the parts of these two collections. They enumerate (e. g. Athan. *Synop. Sac. Script.*) τὰ βιβλία of the Old and New Testament; and as these were contrasted with the apocryphal books circulated by heretics, there was a natural tendency to the appropriation of the word as limited by the article to the whole collection of the canonical Scriptures. In Chrysostom (*Hom. x. in Gen., Hom. ix. in Col.*) it is thus applied in a way which shows this use to have already become familiar to those to whom he wrote. The liturgical use of the Scriptures, as the worship of the Church became organised, would naturally favour this application. The MSS. from which they were read would be emphatically the books of each church or monastery. And when this use of the word was established in the East, it was natural that it should pass gradually to the Western Church. The terminology of that Church bears witness throughout (e. g. Episcopus, Presbyter, Diaconus, Litania, Liturgia, Monachus, Abbas, and others) to its Greek origin, and the history of the word Biblia has followed the analogy of those that have been referred to. Here too there was less risk of its being used in any other than the higher meaning, because it had not, in spite of the introduction even in classical Latinity of Bibliotheca, Bibliopola, taken the place of libri, or libelli, in the common speech of men.

It is however worthy of note, as bearing on the history of the word in our own language, and on that of its reception in the Western Church, that "Bible" is not found in Anglo-Saxon literature, though Bibliothece is given (Lye, *Dict. Anglo-Sax.*) as used in the same sense as the corresponding word in mediæval Latin for the Scriptures as the great treasure-house of books (Du Cange and Adelung, *in voc.*). If we derive from our mother-tongue the singularly happy equivalent of the Greek ἐπαγγελίον, we have received the word which stands on an equal eminence with Gospel as one of the later importations consequent on the Norman Conquest and fuller intercourse with the Continent. When the English which grew out of this union first appears in literature, the word is already naturalised. In R. Brunne (p. 290), *Piers Ploughman* (1916, 4271), and Chaucer (*Prolog.* 437), it appears in its dis-

inctive sense, though the latter, in at least one passage (*House of Fame*, Book iii.) uses it in a way which indicates that it was not always limited to that meaning. From that time however the higher use prevailed to the exclusion of any lower; and the choice of it, rather than of any of its synonyms by the great translators of the Scriptures, Wyclif, Luther, Coverdale, fixed it beyond all possibility of a change. The transformation of the word from a plural into a singular noun in all the modern languages of Europe, though originating probably in the solecisms of the Latin of the 13th century (Dr Cange, in *voc. Biblia*), has made it fitter than it would otherwise have been, for its high office as the title of that which, by virtue of its unity and plan, is emphatically *THE* Book.

II. The history of the growth of the collections known as the Old and New Testament respectively, will be found fully under CANON. It falls within the scope of the present article to indicate in what way and by what steps the two came to be looked on as co-ordinate authority, and therefore as parts of one whole—how, *i. e.* the idea of a completed Bible, even before the word came into use, presented itself to the minds of men. As regards a large portion of the writings of the New Testament it is not too much to say that they claim an authority not lower, nay even higher than the Old. That which had not been revealed to the "prophets" of the Old dispensation is revealed to the prophets of the New (Eph. iii. 5). The Apostles write as having the Spirit of Christ (1 Cor. vii. 40), as teaching and being taught "by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i. 12). Where they make no such direct claim their language is still that of men who teach as "having authority," and so far the old prophetic spirit is revived in them, and their teaching differs, as did that of their Master, from the traditions of the Scribes. As the revelation of God through the Son was recognised as fuller and more perfect than that which had been made *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως* to the fathers (Heb. i. 1), the records of what He had done and said, when once recognised as authentic, could not be regarded as less sacred than the Scriptures of the Jews. Indications of this are found even within the N. T. itself. Assuming the genuineness of the 2nd Epistle of Peter, it shows that within the lifetime of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul had come to be classed among the *γραφαὶ* of the Church (2 Pet. iii. 16). The language of the same Epistle in relation to the recorded teaching of Prophets and Apostles (iii. 2, cf. Eph. iii. 20, iii. 5, v. 11), shows that the *πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς* can hardly be limited to the writings of the Old Testament. The command that the letter to the Colossians was to be read in the church of Laodicea (Col. iv. 16), though it does not prove that it was regarded as of equal authority with the *γραφὴ θεοκνευστος*, indicates a practice which would naturally lead to its being so regarded. The writing of a man who spoke as inspired, could not fail to be regarded as participating in the inspiration. It is part of the development of the same feeling that the earliest records of the worship of the Christian Church indicate the liturgical use of some at least of the writings of the New, as well as of the Old Testament. Justin (*Apol.* i. 66) places *τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων* as read in close connexion with, or in the place of *τὰ ἀντιγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν*, and this juxtaposition corresponds to the manner in which Ignatius had previously spoken of *αἱ προφητεῖαι, νόμος Μωσέως*,

*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* (*Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 7). It is not meant of course that such phrases or such practices prove the existence of a recognised collection, but they show with what feelings individual writings were regarded. They prepare the way for the acceptance of the whole body of N. T. writings, as soon as the Canon is completed, as on a level with those of the Old. A little further on and the recognition is complete. Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolyo.* B. iii.), Irenaeus (*adv. Hær.* ii. 27, iii. 1), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. p. 455, iv. p. 561), Tertullian (*adv. Prax.* 15, 20), all speak of the New Testament writings (what writings they included under this title is of course a distinct question) as making up with the Old, *μία γνώσις* (Clem. Al. *l. c.*), "totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti" (Tert. *l. c.*), *universæ scripturæ*. As this was in part a consequence of the liturgical usage referred to, so it reacted on it, and influenced the transcribers and translators of the books which were needed for the instruction of the Church. The Syrian Peschito in the 3rd, or at the close of the 2nd century, includes (with the omission of some of the *ἀπτελεγόμενα*) the New Testament as well as the Old. The Alexandrian Codex, presenting in the fullest sense of the word a complete Bible, may be taken as the representative of the full maturity of the feeling, which we have seen in its earlier developments.

III. The existence of a collection of sacred books recognised as authoritative, leads naturally to a more or less systematic arrangement. The arrangement must rest upon some principle of classification. The names given to the several books will indicate in some instances the view taken of their contents, in others the kind of notation applied both to the greater and smaller divisions of the sacred volumes.

The existence of a classification analogous to that adopted by the later Jews and still retained in the printed Hebrew Bibles, is indicated even before the completion of the O. T. Canon (Zech. vii. 12). When the Canon was looked on as settled, in the period covered by the books of the Apocrypha, it took a more definite form. The Prologue to Ecclesiasticus mentions "the law and the prophets and the other Books." In the N. T. there is the same kind of recognition. "The Law and the Prophets" is the shorter (Matt. xi. 13; xxii. 40; Acts xiii. 15, &c.); "the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms" (Luke xxiv. 44), the fuller statement of the division popularly recognised. The arrangement of the books of the Heb. text under these three heads, requires however a further notice.

1. The *Torah*, תּוֹרָה, *νόμος*, naturally continued to occupy the position which it must have held from the first as the most ancient and authoritative portion. Whatever questions may be raised as to the antiquity of the whole Pentateuch in its present form, the existence of a book bearing this title is traceable to a very early period in the history of the Israelites (Josh. i. 8, viii. 3, xxiv. 26). The name which must at first have attached to those portions of the whole book was applied to the earlier and contemporaneous history connected with the giving of the Law, and ascribed to the same writer. The marked distinctness of the five portions which make up the Torah shows that they must have been designed as separate books, and when the Canon was completed, and the books in their present form made the object of study, names for each book were wanted and were found. In the Hebrew

classification the titles were taken from the initial words, or prominent words in the initial verse; in that of the LXX. they were intended to be significant of the subject of each book, and so we have—

1. בְּרֵאשִׁית . . . Γένεσις.
2. שְׁמוֹת (וַאֲלֵה) . . . Ἔξοδος.
3. וַיִּקְרָא . . . Λευιτικόν.
4. בְּמִדְבָּר . . . Ἀριθμοί.
5. דְּבָרִים . . . Δευτερονόμιον.

The Greek titles were adopted without change, except as to the 4th in the Latin versions, and from them have descended to the bibles of modern Christendom.

2. The next group presents a more singular combination. The arrangement stands as follows:—

Achim. נביאים Prophetae.	{ ראשונים (prioris)	{ נבואים (majores)	{ Isaiah. Jeremiah. Ezekiel.
	{ אחרונים (posteriores)	{ כְּתוּבִים (minores)	{ The twelve minor prophets.

—the Hebrew titles of these books corresponding to those of the English bibles.

The grounds on which books simply historical were classed under the same name as those which contained the teaching of Prophets, in the stricter sense of the word, are not at first sight obvious, but the O. T. presents some facts which may suggest an explanation. The Sons of the Prophets (1 Sam. x. 5; 2 K. v. 22, vi. 1) living together as a society, almost as a caste (Am. vii. 14), trained to a religious life, cultivating sacred ministrations, must have occupied a position as instructors of the people, even in the absence of the special calling which sent them as God's messengers to the people. A body of men so placed, become naturally, unless intellectual activity is absorbed in asceticism, historians and annalists. The references in the historical books of the O. T. show that they actually were so. Nathan the prophet, Gad, the seer of David (1 Chr. xxix. 29), Ahijah and Iddo (2 Chr. ix. 29), Isaiah (2 Chr. xxvi. 22, xxxiii. 32), are cited as chroniclers. The greater antiquity of the earlier historical books, and perhaps the traditional belief that they had originated in this way, were likely to co-operate in raising them to a high place of honour in the arrangement of the Jewish Canon, and so they were looked on as having the prophetic character which was deputed to the historical books of the Hagiographa. The greater extent of the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, no less than the prominent position which they occupied in the history of Israel, led naturally to their being recognised as the Prophetae Majores. The exclusion of Daniel from this subdivision is a more remarkable fact, and one which has been differently interpreted, the Rationalistic school of later criticism (Eichhorn, De Wette, Bertholdt) seeing in it an indication of later date, and therefore of doubtful authenticity, the orthodox school on the other, as represented by Heugstenberg (*Dissert. on Dan.*, Ch. ii. §iv. and v.), maintaining that the difference rested only on the ground that, though the utterer of predictions, he had not exercised, as the others had done, a prophet's office among the people. Whatever may have been its origin, the position of this Book in

the Hagiographa led the later Jews to think and speak slightly of it, and Christians who reasoned with them out of its predictions were met by remarks disparaging to its authority (Heugstenberg, *l. c.*). The arrangement of the Prophetae Minores does not call for special notice, except so far as they were counted, in order to bring the whole list of Canonical books within a memorial number, answering to that of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet, as a single volume, and described as τὸ δωδεκαπρόβητον.

3. Last in order came the group known as *Octubium*, כְּתוּבִים (from כָּתַב, to write), γραφαί, ἀγιο-γραφαί, including the remaining books of the Hebrew Canon, arranged in the following order, and with subordinate divisions:

- (a) Psalms, Proverbs, Job.
- (b) The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther.
- (c) Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.

Of these, (a) was distinguished by the memorial word אֱמֶת, "truth," formed from the initial letters of the three books; (b) הַמֶּשֶׁן מְנוּלוֹת, the five rolls as being written for use in the synagogues on special festivals on five separate rolls.

Of the Hebrew titles of these books, those which are descriptive of their contents are תְּהִלִּים, the Psalms, מְשָלִי, Proverbs, אֵיכָה, Lamentations (from the opening word of wailing in i. 1). The Song of Songs (שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים). Ecclesiastes (קֹהֵלֶת, the Preacher). 1 and 2 Chronicles (דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, words of days = records).

The Septuagint translation presents the following titles, — Ψαλμοί, Παροιμιαί, Θρήνοι, Ἄσμα ἀσμα-των, Ἑκκλησιαστής, Παραλειπομένα (i. e. things omitted, as being supplementary to the Books of Kings). The Latin version imports some of the titles, and translates others. Psalmi, Proverbia, Threni, Canticum Cantiorum, Ecclesiastes, Paralipomenon, and these in their translated form have determined the received titles of the book in our English Bibles, — Ecclesiastes, in which the Greek title is retained, and Chronicles, in which the Hebrew and not the Greek title is translated, being exceptions.

The LXX. presents, however, some striking variations in point of arrangement as well as in relation to the names of books. Both in this and in the insertion of the ἀπτελεσόμενα (i. e. things which are not completed), among the other books, we trace the absence of that strong reverence for the Canon and its traditional order which distinguished the Jews of Palestine. The Law, it is true, stands first, but the distinction between the greater and lesser prophets, between the Prophets and the Hagiographa is no longer recognised. Daniel, with the Apocryphal additions, follows upon Ezekiel; the Apocryphal 1st or 3rd Book of Esdras comes as a 2nd following on the Canonical Ezra. Tobit and Judith are placed after Nehemiah, Wisdom (Σοφία Σαδουμαντος) and Ecclesiasticus (Σοφία Σειραχ) after Canticles, Baruch before and the Epistle of Jeremiah after Lamentations, the twelve Lesser Prophets before the four Greater, and the two Books of Maccabees come at the close of all. The Latin version follows nearly the same order, inverting the relative position of the greater and lesser prophets.

The separation of the doubtful books under the title of Apocrypha in the Protestant versions of the Scriptures, left the others in the order in which we now have them.

The history of the arrangement of the Books of the New Testament presents some variations, not without interest, as indicating differences of feeling or modes of thought. The four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles uniformly stand first. They are so far to the New what the Pentateuch was to the Old Testament. They do not present however in themselves, as the Books of Moses did, any order of succession. The actual order does not depend upon the rank or function of the writers to whom they are assigned. The two not written by Apostles are preceded and followed by those which are, and it seems as if the true explanation were to be found in a traditional belief as to the dates of the several Gospels, according to which St. Matthew's, whether in its Greek or Hebrew form, was the earliest, and St. John's the latest. The arrangement once adopted would naturally confirm the belief, and so we find it assumed by Irenæus, Origen, Augustine. The position of the Acts as an intermediate book, the sequel to the Gospels, the prelude to the Epistles, was obviously a natural one. After this we meet with some striking differences. The order in the Alexandrian, Vatican and Ephraem MSS. (A B C) gives precedence to the Catholic Epistles, and as this is also recognised by the Council of Laodicea (*Can.* 60), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* iv. p. 35), and Athanasius (*Epist. Fest.* ed. Bened. i. p. 961), it would appear to have been characteristic of the Eastern Churches. Lachmann, who bases his recension of the text chiefly on this family of MSS., has reproduced the arrangement in his editions. The Western Church on the other hand, as represented by Jerome, Augustine, and their successors, gave priority of position to the Pauline Epistles, and as the order in which these were given presents (1.) those addressed to Churches arranged according to their relative importance, (2.) those addressed to individuals, the foremost place was naturally occupied by the Epistle to the Romans. The tendency of the Western Church to recognise Rome as its centre of authority may perhaps in part account for this departure from the custom of the East. The order of the Pauline Epistles themselves, however, is generally the same, and the only conspicuously different arrangement was that of Marcion, who aimed at a chronological order. In the three MSS. above referred to, the Epistle to the Hebrews comes after 2 Thessalonians. In those followed by Jerome, it stands, as in the English Bible and the Textus Receptus, after Philemon. We are left to conjecture the grounds of this difference. Possibly the absence of St. Paul's name, possibly the doubts which existed as to his being the sole author of it, possibly its approximation to the character of the Catholic Epistles may have determined the arrangement. The Apocalypse, as might be expected from the peculiar character of its contents, occupied a position by itself. Its comparatively late recognition may have determined the position which it has uniformly held as the last of the Sacred Books.

IV. *Division into Chapters and Verses.* As soon as any break is made in the continuous writing which has characterised in nearly all countries the early stages of the art, we get the germs of a system of division. But these divisions may be

used for two distinct purposes. So far as they are used to exhibit the logical relations of words, clauses and sentences to each other, they tend to a recognised punctuation. So far as they are used for greater convenience of reference, or as a help to the memory, they answer to the chapters and verses of our modern Bibles. The question now to be answered is that which asks what systems of notation of the latter kind have been employed at different times by transcribers of the Old and New Testament, and to whom we owe the system now in use.

(1.) The Hebrew of the Old Testament.

It is hardly possible to conceive of the liturgical use of the books of the Old Testament, without some kinds of recognised division. In proportion as the books were studied and commented on in the schools of the Rabbis, the division would become more technical and complete, and hence the existing notation which is recognised in the Talmud (the Gemara ascribing it to Moses,—Hupfeld, *Stud. und Krit.* 1830, p. 827) may probably have originated in the earlier stages of the growth of the synagogue ritual. The New Testament quotations from the Old are for the most part cited without any more specific reference than to the Book from which they come. The references however in Mark xii. 26 and Luke xx. 37 (ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ), Rom. xi. 2 (ἐν ἡλίᾳ) and Acts viii. 32 (ἡ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς), indicate a division which had become familiar, and show that some at least of the sections were known popularly by titles taken from their subjects. In like manner the existence of a cycle of lessons is indicated by Luke iv. 17; Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21; 2 Cor. iii. 14; and this, whether identical or not with the later Rabbinic cycle, must have involved an arrangement analogous to that subsequently adopted.

The Talmudic division is on the following plan. The law was in the first instance divided into fifty-four פְּרָשְׁיֹת, *Parshioth*=sections, so as to provide a lesson for each Sabbath in the Jewish intercalary year, provision being made for the shorter year by the combination of two of the shorter sections. Co-existing with this there was a subdivision into lesser *Parshioth*, which served to determine the portions of the sections taken by the several readers in the synagogue. The lesser *Parshioth* themselves were classed under two heads—the open פְּתוּחֹת, *Petuchoth*, which served to indicate a change of subject analogous to that between two paragraphs in modern writing, and began accordingly a fresh line in the MSS., and the shut סְתוּמֹת, *Satumoth*, which corresponded to minor divisions, and were marked only by a space within the line. The initial letters *D* and *D* served as a notation, in the margin or in the text itself, for the two kinds of sections. The threefold initial *DDD* or *DDD*. was used when the commencement of one of the *Parshioth* coincided with that of a Sabbath lesson (comp. Kell. *Einleitung in das A. T.* §170, 171).

A different terminology was employed for the Prophets *Priores* and *Posteriores*, and the division was less uniform. The tradition of the Jews that the Prophets were first read in the service of the synagogue, and consequently divided into sections, because the reading of the Law had been forbidden by Antiochus Epiphanes, rests upon a very slight foundation, but its existence is at any rate a proof

that the Law was believed to have been systematically divided before the same process was applied to the other books. The name of the sections in this case was הפטרות (Haphtaroth, from פתר, dimittere).

If the name were applied in this way because the lessons from the Prophets came at the close of the synagogue service, and so were followed by the dismissal of the people (Vitiinga *de Synag.* iii. 2, 20), its history would present a singular analogy to that of "Missa," "Mass," on the assumption that it also was derived from the "Ite missa est," by which the congregation was informed of the conclusion of the earlier portion of the service of the Church. The peculiar use of Missa shortly after its appearance in the Latin of ecclesiastical writers in a sense equivalent to that of Haphtaroth (sex Missas de Prophetâ Esaiâ facite, Caesar. Arelat. and Aurelian in Bingham, *Ant.* xiii. 1) presents at least a singular coincidence. The Haphtaroth themselves were intended to correspond with the larger Parshioth of the Law, so that there might be a distinct lesson for each Sabbath in the intercalary year as before; but the traditions of the German and the Spanish Jews, both of them of great antiquity, present a considerable diversity in the length of the divisions, and show that they had never been determined by the same authority as that which had settled the Parshioth of the Law (Van der Hooght, *Præfat. in Bib.* §35). Of the traditional divisions of the Hebrew Bible however that which has exercised most influence in the received arrangement of the text, was the subdivision of the larger sections into verses (פסוקים *Pesukim*). These do not appear to have been used till the post-Talmudic revision of the text by the Masoretes of the 9th century. They were then applied, first to the prose and afterwards to the poetical books of the Hebrew Scriptures, superseding in the latter the arrangement of *סτίχοι, κῶλα, κόμματα*, lines and groups of lines, which had been based upon metrical considerations. The verses of the Masoretic divisions were preserved with comparatively slight variations through the middle ages, and came to the knowledge of translators and editors when the attention of European scholars was directed to the study of Hebrew. In the Hebrew MSS. the notation had been simply marked by the Soph-Pessuk (:) at the end of each verse; and in the earlier printed Hebrew Bibles (Sabionetta's, 1557, and Plantin's, 1566) the Hebrew numerals which guide the reader in referring, are attached to every fifth verse only. The Concordance of Rabbi Nathan 1450, however, had rested on the application of a numeral to each verse, and this was adopted by the Dominican Paginus in his Latin version, 1528, and carried throughout the whole of the Old and New Testament, coinciding substantially, as regards the former, with the Masoretic, and therefore with the modern division, but differing materially as to the New Testament from that which was adopted by Robert Stephens (*cf. infra*) and through his widely circulated editions passed into general reception. The chief facts that remain to be stated as to the verse divisions of the Old Testament are, (1.) that it was adopted by Stephens in his edition of the Vulgate, 1555, and by Frelon in that of 1556; that it appeared, for the first time in an English translation, in the Geneva Bible of 1560, and was thence transferred to the Bishops' Bible of 1568, and the Authorized Version of 1611. In Coverdale's Bible we meet with the older nota-

tion, which was in familiar use for other books, and retained in some instances (*e.g.* in references to Plato), to the present times. The letters A B C D are placed at equal distances in the margin of each page, and the reference is made to the page (or, in the case of Scripture, to the chapter) and the letter accordingly.

The Septuagint translation, together with the Latin versions based upon it, have contributed little or nothing to the received division of the Bibles. Made at a time when the Rabbinic subdivisions were not enforced, hardly perhaps existing, and not used in the worship of the synagogue, there was no reason for the scrupulous care which showed itself in regard to the Hebrew text. The language of Tertullian (*Scorp.* ii.) and Jerome (*in Mic.* vi. 9; *Zeph.* iii. 4) implies the existence of "capitula" of some sort; but the word does not appear to have been used in any more definite sense than "locus" or "passage." The liturgical use of portions of the Old Testament would lead to the employment of some notation to distinguish the ἀναγνώσματα or "lectiones," and individual students or transcribers might adopt a system of reference of their own; but we find nothing corresponding to the fully organised notation which originated with the Talmudists or Masoretes. It is possible indeed that the general use of Lectionaria—in which the portions read in the Church services were written separately—may have hindered the development of such a system. Whatever traces of it we find are accordingly scanty and fluctuating. The sticho-metric mode of writing (*i.e.* the division of the text into short lines generally with very little regard to the sense) adopted in the 4th or 5th centuries (see *Prolegom.* to Bickington's *Septuaginta*, i. §6), though it may have facilitated reference, or been useful as a guide to the reader in the half-chant commonly used in liturgical services, was too arbitrary (except where it corresponded to the parallel clauses of the Hebrew poetical books) and inconvenient to be generally adopted. The Alexandrian MSS. present a partial notation of κεφαλαία, but as regards the Old Testament these are found only in portions of Deuteronomy and Joshua. Traces exist (Monument. Eccles. Cotelier. Breitinger, *Proleg. ut sup.*) of a like division in Numbers, Exodus, and Leviticus, and Latin MSS. present frequently a system of division into "tituli" or "capitula," but without any recognised standards. In the 13th century, however, the development of theology as a science, and the more frequent use of the Scriptures as a text-book for lectures, led to the general adoption of a more systematic division, traditionally ascribed to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (Trivet *Annal.* p. 182, ed. Oxon), Hugh de St. Cher (Gilbert Genebrard, *Chronol.* i. iv. p. 644), and passing through his Commentary (*Postilla in Universa Biblia*, and Concordance, *circ.* 1240) into general use. No other subdivision of the chapters was united with this beyond that indicated by the marginal letters A B C D as described above.

As regards the Old Testament then, the present arrangement grows out of the union of Cardinal Hugo's caputular division and the Masoretic verses. The Apocryphal books, to which of course no Masoretic division was applicable, did not receive a versicular division till the Latin edition of Paginus in 1528, nor the division now in use till Stephens' edition of the Vulgate in 1545. The history of the New Testament presents some additional facts of interest. Here, as in the case of the Old, the

system of notation grew out of the necessities of study. The comparison of the Gospel narrative gave rise to attempts to exhibit the harmony between them. Of these, the first of which we have any record, was the *Diatesaron* of Tatian in the 2nd century (Euseb. *II. E.* iv. 29). This was followed by a work of like character from Ammonius of Alexandria in the 3rd (Euseb. *Epist. ad Carpianum*). The system adopted by Ammonius, however, that of attaching to the Gospel of St. Matthew the parallel passages of the other three, and inserting those which were not parallel, destroyed the outward form in which the Gospel history had been recorded, was practically inconvenient. Nor did their labours have any direct effect on the arrangement of the Greek text, unless we adopt the conjectures of Mill and Wetstein that it is to Ammonius or Tatian that we have to ascribe the marginal notation of κεφάλαια, marked by Α Β Γ Δ, which are found in the older MSS. The search after a more convenient method of exhibiting the parallelisms of the Gospels led Eusebius of Caesarea to form the ten Canons (κανόνες, registers) which bear his name, and in which the sections of the Gospels are classed according as the fact narrated is found in one Evangelist only, or in two or more. In applying this system to the transcription of the Gospels, each of them was divided into shorter sections of variable length, and to each of these were attached two numerals, one indicating the Canon under which it would be found, and the other its place in that Canon. Luke, for example, would represent the 13th section belonging to the first Canon. This division, however, extended only to the books that had come under the study of the Harmonists. The Epistles of St. Paul were first divided in a similar manner by the unknown Bishop to whom Euthalius assigns the credit of it (*circa* 396), and he himself, at the instigation of Athanasius, applied the method of division to the Acts and the Catholic Epistles. Andrew, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, completed the work by dividing the Apocalypse (*circa* 500).

Of the four great uncial MSS., A presents the Ammonian or Eusebian numerals and canons, C and D the numerals without the canons. B has neither numerals nor canons, but a notation of its own, the chief peculiarity of which is, that the Epistles of St. Paul are treated as a single book, and brought under a continuous capitulation. After passing into disuse and so into comparative oblivion, the Eusebian and Euthalian divisions have recently (since 1827) again become familiar to the English student through Bishop Lloyd's edition of the Greek Testament.

With the New Testament, however, as with the Old, the division into chapters adopted by Hugh de St. Cher superseded those that had been in use previously, appeared in the early editions of the Vulgate, was transferred to the English Bible by Coverdale and so became universal. The notation of the verses in each chapter naturally followed on the use of the Masoretic verses for the Old Testament. The superiority of such a division over the marginal notation Α Β Γ Δ in the Bible of Cardinal Hugh de St. Cher led men to adopt an analogous system for the New. In the Latin version of Pagninus accordingly, there is a versicular division, though differing from the one subsequently used in the greater length of its verses. The absence of an authoritative standard like that of the Masoretes, left more scope to the individual discre-

tion of editors or printers, and the activity of the two Stephens caused that which they adopted in their numerous editions of the Greek Testament and Vulgate to be generally received. In the Preface to the Concordance, published by Henry Stephens, 1591, he gives the following account of the origin of this division. His father, he tells us, finding the books of the New Testament already divided into chapters (temata, or sections), proceeded to a further subdivision into verses. The name *versiculi* did not commend itself to him. He would have preferred temmata or sectionculae, but the preference of others for the former led him to adopt it. The whole work was accomplished "inter equitulum" on his journey from Paris to Lyons. While it was in progress men doubted of its success. No sooner was it known than it met with universal acceptance. The edition in which this division was first adopted was published in 1551, another came from the same press in 1555. It was used for the Vulgate in the Antwerp edition of Plantin in 1559, for the English version published in Geneva in 1580, and from that time, with slight variations in detail, has been universally recognised. The convenience of such a system for reference is obvious; but it may be questioned whether it has not been purchased by a great sacrifice of the perception by ordinary readers of the true order and connexion of the books of the Bible. In some cases the division of chapters separates portions which are very closely united (See e. g. Matt. ix. 38, and x. 1, xix. 1, and xx. 1; Mark ii. 23-28, and iv. 1-5, viii. 38, and ix. 1; Luke xx. 45-47, and xxi. 1-4; Acts vii. 60, and viii. 1; 1 Cor. x. 33, xi. 1; 2 Cor. iv. 18, v. 1, vi. 18, and vii. 1), and throughout gives the impression of a formal division altogether at variance with the continuous flow of narrative or thought which characterised the book as it came from the hand of the writer. The separation of verses in its turn has conduced largely to the habit of building doctrinal systems upon isolated texts. The advantages of the received method are united with those of an arrangement representing the original more faithfully in the structure of the Paragraph Bibles, lately published by different editors, and in the Greek Testaments of Lloyd, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. The student ought, however, to remember in using these that the paragraphs belong to the editor not to the writer, and are therefore liable to the same casualties rising out of subjective peculiarities, dogmatic bias, and the like, as the chapters of our common Bibles. Practically the risk of such casualties has been reduced almost to a minimum by the care of editors to avoid the errors into which their predecessors have fallen, but the possibility of the evil exists, and should therefore be guarded against by the exercise of an independent judgment. [E. H. P.]

**BICH'RI** (בִּחְרִי; Βοχρῆ-εἰ; *Bichri* and *Bochri*: first-born, Sim.; youthful, Gesen., Fürst; but perhaps rather son of *Becher*), ancestor of Sheba (2 Sam. xx. 1 ff.). [BECHER.] [A. C. H.]

**BID'KAR** (בִּדְקָר; Βαδεκάρ; Joseph. Βαδάκρος; *Badacer*), Jehu's "captain" (בִּדְקָר; Joseph. δὲ τῆς ῥοπῆς πολὺς ἡγεμὼν, *Ant.* ix. 6, §3), ignally his fellow-officer (2 K. ix. 25); who completed the sentence on Jehoram son of Ahab, by casting his body into the field of Naboth after Jehu had transfixed him with an arrow.

**BIER.** [BURIAL.]

**BIG'THA** (בִּגְתָּה; Βαγάθ; *Bagatha*), one of the seven "chamberlains" (שְׂרָפִים, eunuchs) of the harem of Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10).

**BIG'THAN** and **BIG'THANA** (בִּגְתָּן, Esth. ii. 21, and בִּגְתָּנָה, vi. 2; *Bagathan*), an eunuch (chamberlain, A. V.) in the court of Ahasuerus, one of those "who kept the door" (marg. "threshold," ἀρχισματόφύλακες, LXX.), and who conspired with Teresh, one of his confidants, against the king's life. The conspiracy was detected by Mordecai, and the eunuchs hung. Prieaux (*Con.* i. 363) supposes that these officers had been partially superseded by the degradation of Vashti, and sought revenge by the murder of Ahasuerus. This suggestion falls in with that of the Chaldee V.s., and of the LXX. which in Esth. ii. 21 interpolates the words ἐλπιήθησαν οἱ δύο εὐνοῦχοι τοῦ βασιλέως . . . ὅτι προήχθη Μορδοχάιος. The name is omitted by the LXX. on both occasions. Bigthan is probably derived from the Persian and Sanskrit *Bagānā*, "a gift of fortune" (Gesen. s. v.). [F. W. F.]

**BIG'VAI** (בִּגְוַי; Βαγουέ, *Bagouai*; *Beguai*, *Beguai*).

1. "Children of Bigvai," 2056 (Neh. 2067) in number, returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 14; Neh. vii. 19), and 72 of them at a later date with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 14). [BAGOI; BAGO.]

2. Apparently one of the chiefs of Zerubbabel's expedition (Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7), and who afterwards signed the covenant (Neh. x. 16).

**BIL'DAD** (בִּלְדָּד, son of contention, if Genesis' derivation of it from בִּלְדָּן be correct; *Baldad*; *Baldad*), the second of Job's three friends. He is called "the Shuhite" (שֻׁחִיטָי), which implies both his family and nation. Shuah was the name of a son of Abraham and Keturah, and of an Arabian tribe sprung from him, when he had been sent eastward by his father. Gesen. (s. v.) supposes it to be "the same as the *Sakala* of Ptolemy (v. 15) to the east of Batanen," and therefore to the east of the land of Uz [SHUAH]. The LXX. strangely enough, renders it δὲ τῶν Σαυχέων τύραννος, appearing to intend a distinction between him and the other friends, whom in the same verse it calls βασιλεῖς (Job ii. 11).

Bildad takes a share in each of the three controversies with Job (viii. xviii. xxv.). He follows in the train of Eliphaz, but with more violent declamation, less argument, and keener invective. His address is abrupt and untender, and in his very first speech he cruelly attributes the death of Job's children to their own transgressions; and loudly calls on Job to repent of his supposed crimes. His second speech (xviii.) merely recapitulates his former assertions of the temporal calamities of the wicked; on this occasion he implies, without expressing, Job's wickedness, and does not condescend to exhort him to repentance. In the third speech (xxv.), unable to refute the sufferer's arguments, he takes refuge in irrelevant dogmatism on God's glory and man's nothingness: in reply to which Job justly reproves him both for deficiency in argument and failure in charitable forbearance (Ewald, *das Buch Ijob*). [F. W. F.]

**BIL'EAM** (בִּלְעָם; Ἰερμβλάν, Alex. *ΙΒλαμ*; *Balam*), a town in the western half of the tribe

of Manasseh, named only in 1 Chr. vi. 70, as being given (with its "suburbs") to the Kohathites. In the lists in Josh. xvii. and xxi. this name does not appear, and Ibleam and Gath-rimmon are substituted for it, the former by an easy change of letters, the latter uncertain. [GATHRIMMON; IBLEAM.] [G.]

**BIL'GAH** (בִּלְגָּה; δ Βελγάς; *Belya*). 1. A priest in the time of David; the head of the fifteenth course for the temple service (1 Chr. xxiv. 14).

2. A priest who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua (Neh. xii. 5, 18); probably the same who, under the slightly altered name BILGAI, sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 8).

**BIL'GAI** (בִּלְגַּי; Βελγαί; *Belyai*), Neh. x. 8; probably the same as BILGAI, 2.

**BIL'HAH** (בִּלְהָה; Βαλλά; *Bala*). 1. Handmaid of Rachel (Gen. xxix. 29), and concubine of Jacob, to whom she bore Dan and Naphtali (Gen. xxx. 3-8, xxxv. 25, xli. 25; 1 Chr. vii. 13). Her stepson Reuben afterwards lay with her (Gen. xxxv. 22), which entailed a curse upon Reuben (Gen. xlix. 4).

2. A town of the Simeonites (1 Chr. iv. 29); also called Bualah and Bulah. [BAAL, p. 147, No. 2, b.]

**BIL'HAN** (בִּלְהָן; Βαλαάν, *Balaan*; *Balan*; the same root as Bilhah, Gen. xxx. 3, &c. The final *n* is evidently a Horite termination, as in Zaan, Akan, Dihan, Aran, Lotan, Alvan, Hemandan, Esiban, &c.; and may be compared with the Ethiopian *ana*, Greek αἰνῶ, αν, &c.).

1. A Horite chief, son of Ezer, son of Seir, dwelling in Mount Seir, in the land of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 27; 1 Chr. i. 42).

2. A Benjamite, son of Jediel (1 Chr. vii. 10). It does not appear clearly from which of the sons of Benjamin Jediel was descended, as he is not mentioned in Gen. xli. 21, or Num. xvi. But as he was the father of Ehud (ver. 10), and Ehud seems, from 1 Chr. viii. 3, 6, to have been a son of Bela, Jediel, and consequently Bilhan, were probably Belaites. The occurrence of Bilhan as well as Bela in the tribe of Benjamin, names both imported from Edom, is remarkable. [A. C. H.]

**BIL'SHAN** (בִּלְשָׁן; Βαλασάν, *Balaan*; *Belsan*), one of Zerubbabel's companions on his expedition from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7).

**BIM'HAI** (בִּמְהַי; Βαμαήλ; *Chumai*), one of the sons of Japhlet in the line of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 33).

**BIN'EÄ** (בִּנְעָה; Βαριά; *Banaa*), the son of Moza; one of the descendants of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 37; ix. 43).

**BIN'NUI** (בִּנְנוּי; Βανούι, *Banaia*, *Bavi*; *Bennai*, *Benuis*, *Binnui*). 1. A Levite, father of Noadiah, in Ezra's time (Ezr. viii. 33).

2. One of the sons of Pahath-moab, who had taken a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 30). [BALNUUS.]

3. Another Israelite, of the sons of Bani, who had also taken a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 38).

4. Altered from BANI in the corresponding list in Ezra (Neh. vii. 15).

5. A Levite, son of Henadad, who assisted at the reparation of the wall of Jerusalem, under Nehemiah, Neh. iii. 24; x. 9. He is possibly also the Binnui in xii. 8.

**BIRDS** (ἄν, ἄν, ἄν; τὰ πετεινά—τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὄρνεα, ὄρνιθιον; volucris, avis). Birds are mentioned as articles of food in Deut. xiv. 11, 20, the intermediate verses containing a list of unclean birds which were not to be eaten. There is a similar list in Lev. xi. 13-19. From Job vi. 6, Luke xi. 12, we find that the eggs of birds were also eaten. Quails and pigeons are edible birds mentioned in the O. T. Our Saviour's mention of the hen gathering her chickens under her wing implies that the domestic fowl was known in Palestine. The art of snaring wild birds is referred to in Ps. cxvii. 7; Prov. i. 17, vii. 23; Am. iii. 5; Hos. v. 1, vii. 12. The cage full of birds in Jer. v. 27, was a trap in which decoy-birds were placed to entice others, and furnished with a trap-door which could be dropped by a fowler watching at a distance. This practice is mentioned in Ecclesi. xi. 30 (πέδιξε θηρευτὴς ἐν καρτάλλῳ; comp. Arist. Hist. Anim. ix. 8). In Deut. xxi. 6, it is commanded that an Israelite finding a bird's-nest in his path might take the young or the eggs, but must let the hen-bird go. By this means the extirpation of any species was guarded against. (Comp. Phocyl. Carm. 80, seq.:

Μή τις ὄρνιθας καλῆς ἅμα πάντας ἐλίσσῃ  
μητέρα δ' ἐκπολίποις, ἢ ἔχη πάλι τῆσδε νεοττούς.

Birds were not ordinarily used as victims in the Jewish sacrifices. They were not deemed valuable enough for that purpose; but the substitution of turtle-doves and pigeons was permitted to the poor, and in the sacrifice for purification. The way of offering them is detailed in Lev. i. 15-17, and v. 8; and it is worthy of notice that the practice of not dividing them, which was the case in other victims, was of high antiquity (Gen. xv. 10).

The abundance of birds in the East has been mentioned by many travellers. In Curzon's *Memoirs of the Levant*, and in Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, this abundance is noticed; by the latter in connexion with his admirable illustration of the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 4). (Comp. Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* v. 59.)

The nests of birds were readily allowed by the Orientals to remain in their temples and sanctuaries, as though they had placed themselves under the protection of God (comp. Herod. i. 159; Aelian, V. H. v. 17). There is probably an allusion to this in Ps. lxxiv. 3.

The seasons of migration observed by birds are noticed in Jer. viii. 7. Birds of song are mentioned in Ps. civ. 12; Eccl. xii. 4. Ducks and geese are supposed to be meant by the word בְּרִיִּים in 1 K. iv. 23. [W. D.]

**BIR'SHA** (בִּרְשָׁא; Bapod; Bersa), king of Gomorha at the time of the invasion of Chedor-lamer (Gen. xiv. 2).

**BIRTH-DAYS** (τὰ γενέσια, Matt. xiv. 6). Properly τὰ γενέσια is a birthday feast (and hence in the early writers the day of a martyr's commemoration), but τὰ γενέσια seems to be used in this sense by a Hellenism, for in Herod. iv. 26, it means a day in honour of the dead. It is very probable that in Matt. xiv. 6, the feast to commemorate Herod's accession is intended, for we know that such feasts were common (especially in Herod's family, Joseph. Ant. xv. 11, §3; Blunt's *Coincidences*, Append. vii.), and were called "the day of the king" (Hos. vii. 5). The Gemarists distinguish ex-

pressly between מְלָכִים שֶׁל בְּנוֹסָא, γενέσια regui, and the הַלִּידָה יוֹם or birthday. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xiv. 6.)

The custom of observing birthdays is very ancient (Gen. xl. 20; Jer. xx. 15); and in Job i. 4, &c., we read that Job's sons "feasted every one his day." In Persia they were celebrated with peculiar honours and banquets, for the details of which see Herod. i. 138. And in Egypt "the birthdays of the kings were celebrated with great pomp. They were looked upon as holy: no business was done upon them, and all classes indulged in the festivities suitable to the occasion. Every Egyptian attached much importance to the day, and even to the hour of his birth" (Wilkinson, v. 290). Probably in consequence of the ceremonies usual in their celebration the Jews regarded their observance as an idolatrous custom (Lightfoot, l. c.). [F. W. F.]

### BIRTHRIGHT (בִּכּוּר; τὰ πρωτοτοκία).

The advantages accruing to the eldest son were not definitely fixed in patriarchal times. The theory that he was the priest of the family rests on no scriptural statement, and the rabbis appear divided on the question (see Hottinger's *Note on Goodwin's Moses and Aaron*, i. 1; Ugel. iii. 53). Great respect was paid to him in the household, and, as the family widened into a tribe, this grew into a sustained authority, undefined save by custom, in all matters of common interest. Thus the "princes" of the congregation had probably rights of primogeniture (Num. vii. 2, xxi. 18, xxv. 14). A "double portion" of the paternal property was allotted by the Mosiac law (Deut. xxi. 15-17), nor could the caprice of the father deprive him of it. This probably means twice as much as any other son enjoyed. Such was the inheritance of Joseph, his sons reckoning with his brethren, and becoming heads of tribes. This seems to explain the request of Elisha for a "double portion" of Elijah's spirit (2 K. ii. 9). Reuben, through his unfilial conduct, was deprived of the birthright (Gen. xlix. 4; 1 Chr. v. 1). It is likely that some remembrance of this lost pre-eminence stirred the Reubenite leaders of Korah's rebellion (Num. xvi. 1, 2, xxvi. 5-9). Esau's act, transferring his right to Jacob, was allowed valid (Gen. xxv. 33). The first-born of the king was his successor by law (2 Chr. xxi. 3); David, however, by divine appointment, excluded Adonijah in favour of Solomon, which deviation from rule was indicated by the anointing (Goodwin, l. c. 4, with Hottinger's notes). The first-born of a line is often noted by the early scriptural genealogies, e. g. Gen. xxii. 21, xxv. 13; Num. xxvi. 5, &c. The Jews attached a sacred import to the title (see Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 922) and thus "first-born" and "first-begotten" seem applied to the Messiah (Rom. vii. 29, Heb. i. 6). [H. II.]

**BIR'ZAVITH** (בִּרְזָוִית, Keri, ברִּית; Bep-θαιθ, Alex. Bep'αί; Barsaith), a name occurring in the genealogies of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 31), and apparently, from the mode of its mention, the name of a place (comp. the similar expression, "father of Bethlehem," "father of Tekoa," &c. in chaps. ii. and iv.). The reading of the Keri may be interpreted "well of olives." No trace of it is found elsewhere.

**BISH'LAM** (בִּשְׁלָם; Beselan), apparently an officer or commissioner (συνταγμασόμενος, 1 Esd. ii. 16) of Artaxerxes in Palestine at the time of the

return of Zerubbabel from captivity (Ezr. iv. 7). By the LXX. the word is translated, *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, in peace; see margin of A. V., and so also both Arabic and Syriac versions.

**BISHOP** (*ἐπίσκοπος*). This word, applied in the N. T. to the officers of the Church who were charged with certain functions of superintendence, had been in use before as a title of office. The inspectors or commissioners sent by Athens to her subject-states were *ἐπίσκοποι* (Aristoph. *Av.* 1022), and their office, like that of the Spartan Harmosts, authorised them to interfere in all the political arrangements of the state to which they were sent. The title was still current and beginning to be used by the Romans in the later days of the republic (Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 11). The Hellenistic Jews found it employed in the LXX. though with no very definite value, for officers charged with certain functions (Num. iv. 16, xxxi. 14; Ps. cix. 8; Is. lx. 17; for Heb. *בִּשְׁפָּרָה*, or *בִּשְׁפָּרָה*). When the organisation of the Christian churches in Gentile cities involved the assignment of the work of pastoral superintendence to a distinct order the title *ἐπίσκοπος* presented itself as at once convenient and familiar, and was therefore adopted as readily as the word elder (*πρεσβύτερος*) had been in the mother church of Jerusalem. That the two titles were originally equivalent is clear from the following facts.

1. *ἐπίσκοποι* and *πρεσβύτεροι* are nowhere named together as being orders distinct from each other.

2. *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διδάκοι* are named as apparently an exhaustive division of the officers of churches addressed by St. Paul as an apostle (Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8).

3. The same persons are described by both names (Acts xx. 17, 18; Tit. i. 5, 8).

4. *πρεσβύτεροι* discharge functions which are essentially episcopal, i. e. involving pastoral superintendence (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2). The age that followed that of the Apostles witnessed a gradual change in the application of the words, and in the Epistles of Ignatius, even in their least interpolated or most mutilated form, the bishop is recognised as distinct from, and superior to, the Presbyters (*Ep. ad Smyrn.* viii.; *ad Trall.* ii., iii., viii.; *ad Magn.* vi.). In those of Clement of Rome, however, the two words are still dealt with as interchangeable (1 Cor. xlii., xlv., lvii.). The omission of any mention of an *ἐπίσκοπος* in addition to the *πρεσβύτεροι* and *διδάκοι* in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians (c. v.), and the enumeration of "apostoli, episcopi, doctores, ministri" in the Shepherd of Hermas (i. 3, 5), are less decisive, but indicate a transition stage in the history of the word.

Assuming as proved the identity of the bishops and elders of the N. T. we have to inquire into—1. The relation which existed between the two titles. 2. The functions and mode of appointment of the men to whom both titles were applied. 3. Their relations to the general government and discipline of the Church.

I. There can be no doubt that *πρεσβύτεροι* had the priority in order of time. The existence of a body bearing that name is implied in the use of the correlative of *πρεσβύτεροι* (comp. Luke xii. 26; 1 Pet. v. 1, 5) in the narrative of Ananias (Acts v. 6). The order itself is recognised in Acts xi. 30, and takes part in the deliberations of the Church at Jerusa-

lem in Acts xv. It is transferred by Paul and Barnabas to the Gentile churches in their first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 23). The earliest use of *ἐπίσκοποι*, on the other hand, is in the address of St. Paul to the elders at Miletus (Acts xv. 18), and there it is rather descriptive of functions than given as a title. The earliest epistle in which it is formally used as equivalent to *πρεσβύτεροι* (except on the improbable hypothesis that Timothy belongs to the period following on St. Paul's departure from Ephesus in Acts xx. 1) is that to the Philippians, as late as the time of his first imprisonment at Rome. It was natural, indeed, that this should be the order; that the word derived from the usages of the *synagogues* of Palestine, every one of which had its superintending elders (*בְּרִיָּה*; comp. Luke vii. 3), should precede that borrowed from the constitution of a Greek state. If the latter was afterwards felt to be the more adequate, it may have been because there was a life in the organisation of the Church higher than that of the *synagogues*, and functions of pastoral superintendence devolving on the elders of the Christian congregation which were unknown to those of the other periods. It had the merit of being descriptive as well as titular; a "nomen officii" as well as a "nomen dignitatis." It could be associated, as the other could not be, with the thought of the highest pastoral superintendence—of Christ himself as the *πομπὴν καὶ ἐπίσκοπος* (1 Pet. ii. 25).

II. Of the order in which the first elders were appointed, as of the occasion which led to the institution of the office, we have no record. Arguing from the analogy of the Seven in Acts vi. 5, 6, it would seem probable that they were chosen by the members of the Church collectively (possibly to take the place that had been filled by the Seven, comp. Stanley's *Apost. Age*, p. 64) and then set apart to their office by the laying on of the apostles' hands. In the case of Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6) the *πρεσβύτεροι*, probably the body of the elders at Lystra, had taken part with the apostle in this act of ordination; but here it remains doubtful whether the office to which Timothy was appointed was that of the Bishop-Elder or one derived from the special commission with which the two epistles addressed to him show him to have been entrusted. The connexion of 1 Tim. v. 22 is, on the whole, against our referring the laying on of hands there spoken of to the ordination of elders (comp. Hammond, *in loc.*), and the same may be said of Heb. vi. 2. The imposition of hands was indeed the outward sign of the communication of all spiritual *χαρίσματα*, as well as of functions for which *χαρίσματα* were required, and its use for the latter (as in 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6) was connected with its instrumentality in the bestowal of the former. The conditions which were to be observed in choosing these officers, as stated in the pastoral epistles, are, blameless life and reputation among those "that are without" as well as within the Church, fitness for the work of teaching, the wide kindness of temper which shows itself in hospitality, the being "the husband of one wife" (i. e. according to the most probable interpretation, not divorced and then married to another; but comp. Hammond, Estius, Ellicott, *in loc.*), showing powers of government in his own household as well as in self-control, not being a recent and, therefore, an untried convert. When appointed, the duties of the bishop-elders appear to have

been as follows:—1. General superintendence over the spiritual well-being of the flock (1 Pet. v. 2). According to the aspects which this function presented those on whom it devolved were described as *ποιμένες* (Eph. iv. 11), *προεστώτες* (1 Tim. v. 17), *ποιστάρται* (1 Thess. v. 12). Its exercise called for the *χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως* (1 Cor. xii. 28). The last two of the above titles imply obviously a recognised rank, as well as work, which would show itself naturally in special marks of honour in the meetings of the Church. 2. The work of teaching, both publicly and privately (1 Thess. v. 12; Tit. i. 9; 1 Tim. v. 17). At first, it appears from the description of the practices of the Church in 1 Cor. xiv. 26, the work of oral teaching, whatever form it assumed, was not limited to any body of men, but was exercised according as each man possessed a special *χάρισμα* for it. Even then, however, there were, as the warnings of that chapter show, some inconveniences attendant on this freedom, and it was a natural remedy to select men for the special function of teaching because they possessed the *χάρισμα*, and then gradually to confine that work to them. The work of preaching (*κηρύσσειν*) to the heathen did not belong, apparently, to the bishop-elders as such, but was the office of the apostle-evangelist. Their duty was to feed the flock, teaching publicly (Tit. i. 9), opposing errors, admonishing privately (1 Thess. v. 12). 3. The work of visiting the sick appears in Jam. v. 14, as assigned to the elders of the Church. There, indeed, it is connected with the practice of anointing as a means of healing, but this office of Christian sympathy would not, we may believe, be confined to the exercise of the extraordinary *χαρίσματα λαδύνων*, and it is probably to this, and to acts of a like kind, that we are to refer the *ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων* of Acts xix. 34, and the *ἀντιλήψεις* of 1 Cor. xii. 28. 4. Among these acts of charity that of receiving strangers occupied a conspicuous place (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 8). The bishop-elder's house was to be the house of the Christian who arrived in a strange city and found himself without a friend. 5. Of the part taken by them in the liturgical meetings of the Church we have no distinct evidence. Reasoning from the language of 1 Cor. x. xii., and from the practices of the post-apostolic age, we may believe that they would preside at such meetings, that it would belong to them to bless and to give thanks when the Church met to break bread.

The mode in which these officers of the Church were supported or remunerated varied probably in different cities. At Miletus St. Paul exhorts the elders of the Church to follow his example and work for their own livelihood (Acts xix. 34). In 1 Cor. ix. 14, and Gal. vi. 6, he asserts the right of the ministers of the Church to be supported by it. In 1 Tim. v. 17, he gives a special application of the principle in the assignment of a double allowance (*τιμή*, comp. Hammond, *in loc.*) to those who have been conspicuous for their activity.

Collectively at Jerusalem, and probably in other churches, the body of bishop-elders took part in deliberations (Acts xv. 6-22, xxi. 18), addressed other churches (*ibid.* xv. 23), were joined with the apostles in the work of ordaining by the laying on of hands (2 Tim. i. 6). It lay in the necessities of any organised society that such a body of men should be subject to a power higher than their own, whether vested in one chosen by themselves or de-

iving its authority from some external source; and we find accordingly that it belonged to the delegate of an apostle, and *à fortiori* to the apostle himself, to receive accusations against them, to hear evidence, to admonish where there was the hope of amendment, to depose where this proved unavailing (1 Tim. v. 19, iv. 1; Tit. iii. 10).

III. It is clear from what has been said that episcopal functions in the modern sense of the words, as implying a special superintendence over the ministers of the Church, belonged only to the apostles and those whom they invested with their authority. The name of apostle was not, however, limited to the twelve. It was claimed for St. Paul for himself (1 Cor. ix. 1); it is used by him of others (Rom. xvi. 7; 2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25). It is clear that a process of change must have been at work between the date of the latest of the pastoral epistles and the letters of Ignatius, leading not so much to an altered organisation as to a modification of the original terminology. The name of apostle is looked on in the latter as belonging to the past, a title of honour which their successors could not claim. That of bishop rises in its significance, and takes the place left vacant. The dangers by which the Church was threatened made the exercise of the authority which was thus transmitted more necessary. The permanent superintendence of the bishop over a given district, as contrasted with the less settled rule of the travelling apostle, would tend to its development. The Revelation of St. John presents something like an intermediate stage in this process. The angels of the seven churches are partly addressed as their representatives, partly as individuals ruling them (Rev. ii. 2, iii. 2-4). The name may belong to the special symbolism of the Apocalypse, or have been introduced like *πρεσβύτεροι* from the organisation of the synagogue, and we have no reason for believing it ever to have been in current use as part of the terminology of the Church. But the functions assigned to the angels are those of the earlier apostolate, of the later episcopate. The abuse of the old title of the highest office by pretenders, as in Rev. ii. 2, may have led to a reaction against its being used at all except for those to whom it belonged *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. In this, or in some similar way, the constitution of the Church assumed its later form; the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the Ignatian Epistles, took the place of the apostles, bishops, elders, and deacons, of the New Testament (Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 63-77; Neander's *Pflichten*, u. *Leit.* i. p. 248-266; Augusti, *Christl. Archäol.* b. ii. c. 6).

The later history of the word is only so far remarkable as illustrating by its universal reception in all the western churches, and even in those of Syria, the influence of the organisation which originated in the cities of Greece or the Proconsular Asia, and the extent to which Greek was the universal medium of intercourse for the churches of the first and second centuries (Milman, *Latin Christ.* b. i. c. i.); nowhere do we find any attempt at substituting a Latin equivalent, hardly even an explanation of its meaning. Augustine (*de Civ. D.* i. 9) compares it with "speculators," "præpositi;" Jerome (*Ep. VIII. ad Euseb.*) with "superintendentes." The title *episcopus* itself, with its companions, *presbyter* and *diaconus*, was transmitted by the Latin of the Western Church to all the Romance languages. The members of the

Gothic race received it, as they received their (Christianity, from the missionaries of the Latin Church. [E. II. P.]

**BITHIAH** (בִּיתְיָה, *worshipper*, lit. *daughter*, of *Jehovah*; *Bethia*; *Bethis*), daughter of a Pharaoh, and wife of Meret, a descendant of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 18). The date of Meret cannot be determined, for the genealogy in which his name occurs is indistinct, some portion of it having apparently been lost. It is probable, however, that he should be referred to the time before the Exodus, or to a period not much later. Pharaoh in this place might be conjectured not to be the Egyptian royal title, but to be or represent a Hebrew name; but the name Bithiah probably implies conversion, and the other wife of Meret seems to be called "the Jewess." Unless we suppose a transposition in the text, or the loss of some of the names of the children of Meret's wives, we must consider the name of Bithiah understood before "she bare Miriam" (ver. 17), and the latter part of ver. 18 and ver. 19 to be recapitulatory; but the LXX. does not admit any except the second of these conjectures. The Scriptures, as well as the Egyptian monuments, show that the Pharaohs intermarried with foreigners; but such alliances seem to have been contracted with royal families alone. It may be supposed that Bithiah was taken captive. There is, however, no ground for considering her to have been a concubine: on the contrary, she is shown to be a wife, from her taking precedence of one specially designated as such. [R. S. P.]

**BITHRON** (more accurately "the Bithron," בֵּיתְרוֹן, *the broken or divided place*, from בָּרַץ, *to cut up*, Ges.; *ἄλην τὴν παρατείνουσαν*; *omnis Bethuron*), a place—from the form of the expression, "all the Bithron," doubtless a district—in the Arabah or Jordan valley, on the east side of the river (2 Sam. ii. 29). The spot at which Abner's party crossed the Jordan not being specified, we cannot fix the position of the Bithron, which lay between that ford and Muhannaim. As far as we know the whole of the country in the Ghôr on the other side of the river is of the broken and intersected character indicated by the derivation of the name. If the renderings of the Vulg. and Aquila are correct, they must of course intend another Bethoron than the well known one. Bethharam, the conjecture of Thesius, is also not probable. [G.]

**BITHYNIA** (Βιθυνία). This province of Asia Minor, though illustrious in the earlier parts of post-apostolic history, through Pliny's letters and the Council of Nicea, has little connexion with the history of the Apostles themselves. It is only mentioned in Acts xvi. 7, and in 1 Pet. i. 1. From the former of these passages it appears that St. Paul, when on his progress from Iconium to Troas, in the course of his second missionary journey, made an attempt to enter Bithynia, but was prevented, either by providential hindrances or by direct Divine intimations. From the latter it is evident that, when St. Peter wrote his first Epistle, there were Christians (probably of Jewish or proselyte origin) in some of the towns of this province, as well as in "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia and Asia."

Bithynia, considered as a Roman province, was on the west contiguous to Asia. On the east its limits underwent great modifications. The province was originally inherited by the Roman republic

(B.C. 74) as a legacy from Nicomedes III., the last of an independent line of monarchs, one of whom had invited into Asia Minor those Gauls, who gave the name of GALATIA to the central district of the peninsula. On the death of Mithridates, king of Pontus, B.C. 63, the western part of the Pontic kingdom was added to the province of Bithynia, which again received further accessions on this side under Augustus A.D. 7. Thus the province is sometimes called "Pontus and Bithynia" in inscriptions; and the language of Pliny's letters is similar. The province of Pontus was not constituted till the reign of Nero [PONTUS]. It is observable that in Acts ii. 9 Pontus is in the enumeration and not Bithynia, and that in 1 Pet. i. 1 both are mentioned. See Marquardt's continuation of Becker's *Röm. Alterthümer*, III. i. p. 146. For a description of the country, which is mountainous, well-wooded and fertile, Hamilton's *Researches in A. A.* may be consulted, also a paper by Ainsworth in the *Roy. Geog. Journal*, vol. ix. The course of the river Rhynclacus is a marked feature on the western frontier of Bithynia, and the snowy range of the Mysian Olympus on the south-west. [J. S. H.]

**BITTERN** (כִּפּוֹד, *Kipód*), an animal mentioned in connexion with the desolations of Babylon, Idumaea, and Nineveh (Is. xiv. 23, xxiv. 11, and Zeph. ii. 14). In all these passages the LXX. have *ἐχίνος*, the hedgehog or porcupine, a translation which Gesenius defends on etymological grounds, deriving כִּפּוֹד from כָּפַר (*contractus est*, "quippe qui prae metu contrahit et contrahit se"). The context of the passages in which it occurs seems to require an aquatic bird rather than a quadruped, and this is confirmed by the Arabic version, which has *Al-houbara*, the name of a bird which, according to Shaw, is of the bigness of a capon, but of a longer habit of body. The bittern answers these conditions, and is a solitary bird, loving marshy ground. Its scientific name is *Botaurus stellatus*, and it belongs to the Gruidae or cranes. [W. D.]

**BIZJOTHIAH** (בִּזְיֹתְיָה; LXX. omits; *Buziothia*), a town in the south of Judah named with BEERSHEBA and BAALAH (Josh. xv. 28). No mention or identification of it is found elsewhere. [G.]

**BIZ'THA** (בִּזְתָּה; *Baz'du*, Alex. *Baz'ea*; *Buzath*), the second of the seven eunuchs of king Alasnerus' harem (Est. i. 10). The name is Persian, possibly *بسته*, *baste*, a word referring to his condition as a eunuch (Ges. *Thes.* 197).

**BLAINS** (בִּלְיָנִים; *φλυκτίδες*, *φλύκταιναι*, LXX.; Ex. ix. 9, *ἀναξίουσαι ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετραπόδοις*; also *בִּלְיָנִים*, *pustula urdens*), violent ulcerous inflammations (from *בָּלַע*, to boil up). It was the sixth plague of Egypt, and hence is called in Deut. xxviii. 27, 35, "the botch of Egypt" (*בִּלְיָנִים מִצְרַיִם*; cf. Job ii. 7, *בִּלְיָנִים*). It seems to have been the *ψώρα ἀγρία* or black leprosy, a fearful kind of elephantiasis (comp. Plin. xxvi. 5). It must have come with dreadful intensity on the magicians whose art it baffled, and whose scrupulous cleanliness (Herod. ii. 36) it rendered nugatory: so that they were unable to stand in the presence of Moses because of the boils.

Other names for purulent and leprous eruptions are **צִנְחָה** (Morphea alba), **צִנְחָה** (Morphea nigra), and the more harmless scab **סִפְחָה** (Lev. xiii. passim (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §189). [F. W. F.]

**BLASPHEMY** (βλασφημία), in its technical English sense, signifies the speaking evil of God (נִכְבֵּשׁ יְהוָה, in this sense it is found Ps. lxxiv. 18; Is. lli. 5; Rom. ii. 24, &c. But according to its derivation (βλάπτω φημι quasi βλαψίφ.) it may mean any species of calumny and abuse (or even an unlucky word, Eurip. *Ion*. 1187): see 1 K. xxi. 10; Acts xviii. 6; Jude 9, &c. Hence in the LXX. it is used to render **כָּרַךְ**, Job ii. 5; **רָחַף**, 2 K. xix. 6; **הוֹכִיחַ**, 2 K. xix. 4, and **לָעַן** Hos. vii. 16, so that it means "reproach," "derision," &c.: and it has even a wider use, as 2 Sam. xii. 14, where it means "to despise Judaism," and 1 Macc. ii. 6, where βλασφημία = idolatry. In Sir. iii. 18 we have **ὡς βλάσφημος ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν πατέρα**, where it is equivalent to **κατ' ἁγιάσματός** (Schleusner, *Thesaur.* s. v.).

Blasphemy was punished with stoning, which was inflicted on the son of Shelomith (Lev. xxiv. 11). On this charge both our Lord and St. Stephen were condemned to death by the Jews. From Lev. xxiv. 16, wrongly understood, arose the singular superstition about never even *pronouncing* the name of Jehovah. Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people," does not refer to blasphemy in the strict sense, since "elohim" is there used (as elsewhere) of imagistrates, &c.

The Jews, misapplying Ex. xxiii. 13, "Make no mention of the name of other gods," seemed to think themselves bound to give nicknames to the heathen deities; hence their use of Bosheth for Baal, Bethaven for Bethel, Beelzebub for Beelzebub, Hos. iv. 5, &c. It is not strange that this "contumelia numinum" (Plin. xiii. 9), joined to their zealous proselytism, made them so deeply unpopular among the natives of antiquity (Winer, s. v. *Gotteslästerung*). When a person heard blasphemy he laid his hand on the head of the offender, to symbolize his sole responsibility for the guilt, and rising on his feet, tore his robe, which might never again be mended. (On the mystical reasons for these observances, see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* Matt. xxvi. 65.)

It only remains to speak of "the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," which has been so fruitful a theme for speculation and controversy (Matt. xii. 32; Mark iii. 28). It consisted in attributing to the power of Satan those unquestionable miracles, which Jesus performed by "the finger of God," and the power of the Holy Spirit; nor have we any safe ground for *extending* it to include all sorts of *willing* (as distinguished from *unwilling*) offences, besides this one limited and special sin. The often misunderstood expression "it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, &c.," is a direct application of a Jewish phrase in allusion to a Jewish error, and will not bear the inferences so often extorted from it. According to the Jewish school notions, "a quo blasphematur nomen Dei, ei non valet poenitentia ad suspendendum iudicium, nec dies expiationis ad expandendum, nec plagae ad adstergendum, sed omnes suspendunt iudicium, et mors adestergit." In refutation of this tradition our Lord used the phrase to imply that "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven; neither before death, nor, as

you vainly dream, by means of death" (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad locum*). As there are no tenable grounds for identifying this blasphemy with "the sin unto death," 1 John v. 16, we shall not here enter into the very difficult inquiries to which that expression leads. [F. W. F.]

**BLASTUS** (βλάστος), the chamberlain (δ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος) of Herod Agrippa I., mentioned Acts xii. 20, as having been made by the people of Tyre and Sidon a mediator between them and the king's anger. [H. A.]

## BLINDING. [PUNISHMENTS.]

**BLINDNESS** (עִוְרָה, עִוְרָה, from the root עָוַר, to bore) is extremely common in the East from many causes; e. g. the quantities of dust and sand pulverised by the sun's intense heat; the perpetual glare of light; the contrast of the heat with the cold sea-air on the coast where blindness is specially prevalent; the dews at night while they sleep on the roofs; small pox, old age, &c.; and perhaps more than all the Mahometan fatalism, which leads to a neglect of the proper remedies in time. One traveller mentions 4000 blind men in Cairo, and Volney reckons that 1 in every 5 were blind, besides others with sore eyes (i. 86). *Ludd*, the ancient Lydda, and *Ramleh*, enjoy a fearful notoriety for the number of blind persons they contain. The common saying is that in *Ludd* every man is either blind or has but one eye. Jaffa is said to contain 500 blind out of a population of 5000 at most. There is an asylum for the blind in Cairo (which at present contains 300), and their conduct is often turbulent and fanatic (Lane, i. 39, 292; Trench, *On the Miracles*; Matt. ix. 27, &c.). Blind beggars figure repeatedly in the N. T. (Matt. xii. 22), and "opening the eyes of the blind" is mentioned in prophecy as a peculiar attribute of the Messiah (Is. xxix. 18, &c.). The Jews were specially charged to treat the blind with compassion and care (Lev. xix. 4; Deut. xvii. 18).

Penal and miraculous blindness are several times mentioned in the Bible (Gen. xix. 11, *ἀσπασία*, LXX.; 2 K. vi. 18-22; Acts ix. 9). In the last passage some have attempted (on the ground of St. Luke's profession as a physician) to attach a technical meaning to *ἀχλὺς* and *σκότος* (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §201), viz. a spot or "thin tunicle over the cornea," which vanishes naturally after a time: for which fact Winer (s. v. *Blindheit*) quotes Hippocr. (*Prædict.* ii. 215) *ἀχλὺς . . . ἐκλεαίνονται καὶ ἀφανίζονται ἢ μὴ τῷ μὲν ἐπιγενέσθαι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ*. But this does not remove the miraculous character of the infliction. In the same way analogies are quoted for the use of saliva (Matt. viii. 23, &c.) and of fish-gall in the case of the *λεῦκωμα* of Tobias; but, whatever may be thought of the latter instance, it is very obvious that in the former the saliva was no more instrumental in the cure than the touch alone would have been (Trunch *on the Miracles, ad loc.*).

Blindness wilfully inflicted for political or other purposes was common in the East, and is alluded to in Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 2; Jer. xiii. 12). [F. W. F.]

**BLOOD** (דָּם). To blood is ascribed in Scripture the mysterious sacredness which belongs to life, and God reserves it to Himself when allowing man the dominion over and the use of the lower animals for food, &c. (as regards, however, the eating of blood, see FOOD). Thus reserved, it acquires

a double power; 1. that of sacrificial atonement, in which it had a wide recognition in the heathen world; and 2. that of becoming a curse, when wantonly shed, *e. g.* even that of beast or fowl by the huntsman, unless duly expiate, *e. g.* by burial (Gen. ix. 4; Lev. vii. 26, xvii. 11-13). As regards 1. the blood of sacrifices was caught by the Jewish priest from the neck of the victim in a basin, then sprinkled seven times (in case of birds at once squeezed out on the altar, *i. e.* on its horns, its base, or its four corners, or on its side above or below a line running round it, or on the mercy-seat, according to the quality and purpose of the offering; but that of the passover on the lintel and door-posts, Exod. xii.; Lev. iv. 5-7, xvi. 14-19; Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. x. and xiii.). There was a drain from the temple into the brook Cedron to carry off the blood (Maimon. *apud Cramer de Aré Ester*. Ugolini, viii.). In regard to 2. it sufficed to pour the animal's blood on the earth, or to bury it, as a solemn rendering of the life to God; in case of human bloodshed a mysterious connexion is observable between the curse of blood and the earth or land on which it is shed, which becomes polluted by it; and the proper expiation is the blood of the shedder, which every one had thus an interest in seeking, and was bound to seek (Gen. iv. 10, ix. 4-6; Num. xxxv. 33; Ps. cvi. 38; see BLOOD, AVENGER OF). In the case of a dead body found, and the death not accounted for, the guilt of blood attached to the nearest city, to be ascertained by measurement, until freed by prescribed rites of expiation (Deut. xxi. 1-9). The guilt of murder is one for which "satisfaction" was forbidden (Num. xxxv. 31). [H. H.]

### BLOOD, ISSUE OF (דִּם יֵצֵא; Rabin.;

*fluxus laborans*). The term is in Scripture applied only to the case of women under menstruation or the *fluxus ulteri* (Lev. xv. 19-30; Matt. ix. 20, γυνὴ ἀμώροισα; Mark v. 25 and Luke viii. 43, ὄδρα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος). The latter caused a permanent legal uncleanness, the former a temporary one, mostly for seven days; after which she was to be purified by the customary offering. The "bloody flux" (δυσενεπία) in Acts xxviii. 8, where the patient is of the male sex, is, probably, a medically correct term (see Bartholini *de Morbis Biblicis*, 17). [H. H.]

### BLOOD, REVENGER OF (דָּם; Goel).

It was, and even still is, a common practice among nations of patriarchal habits, that the nearest of kin should, as a matter of duty, avenge the death of a murdered relative. The early impressions and practice on this subject may be gathered from writings of a different though very early age and of different countries (Gen. xxiv. 30; Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 84, 88, xxiv. 480, 482; *Od.* xv. 270, 276; Müller on Aeschyl. *Eum.* c. ii. A. & B.). Compensation for murder is allowed by the Koran, and he who transgresses after this by killing the murderer shall suffer a grievous punishment (Sale, *Koran*, ii. p. 21, and xvii. p. 230). Among the Bedouins, and other Arab tribes, should the offer of blood-money be refused, the 'Thar,' or law of blood, comes into operation, and any person within the fifth degree of blood from the homicide may be legally killed by any one within the same degree of consanguinity to the victim. Frequently the homicide will wander from tent to tent over the Desert, or even rove through the towns and villages on its borders with

a chain round his neck and in rags begging contributions from the charitable to pay the apportioned blood-money. Three days and four hours are allowed to the persons included within the 'Thar,' for escape. The right to blood-revenge is never lost, except as annulled by compensation: it descends to the latest generation. Similar customs with local distinctions are found in Persia, Abyssinia, among the Druses and Circassians. (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, pp. 28, 30, *Voyage*, ii. p. 350; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, pp. 66, 85, *Travels in Arabia*, i. p. 409, ii. 330, *Syria*, pp. 540, 113, 643; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* pp. 305-307; Chardin, *Voyages*, vol. vi. pp. 107-112.) Money-compensations for homicide are appointed by the Hindû law (Sir W. Jones, vol. iii. chap. vii.), and Tacitus remarks that among the German nations "lucrum homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero" (*Germani*. 21). By the Anglo-Saxon law also money-compensation for homicide, *wer-gild*, was sanctioned on a scale proportioned to the rank of the murdered person (Lappenberg, ii. 336; Lingard, i. 411, 414).

The spirit of all legislation on the subject has probably been to restrain the licence of punishment assumed by relatives, and to limit the duration of feuds. The law of Moses was very precise in its directions on the subject of Retaliation.

1. The wilful murderer was to be put to death without permission of compensation. The nearest relative of the deceased became the authorized avenger of blood (דָּם, the redeemer, or avenger, as next of kin, Gesen. s. v. p. 254, who rejects the opinion of Michaëlis, giving it the sig. of "polluted," *i. e.* till the murder was avenged (δ ἀρχαῖος, *LXX.*, *propinquus occisi*, Vulg., Num. xxxv. 19), and was bound to execute retaliation himself if it lay in his power. The king, however, in later times appears to have had the power of restraining this licence. The shedder of blood was thus regarded as impious and polluted (Num. xxxv. 16-31; Deut. xix. 11; 2 Sam. xiv. 7, 11, xvi. 8, and iii. 29, with 1 K. ii. 31, 33; 1 Chr. xxdv. 22-25).

2. The law of retaliation was not to extend beyond the immediate offender (Deut. xxiv. 16; 2 K. xiv. 6; 2 Chr. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxi. 29-30; Ezek. xviii. 20; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, §39).

3. The involuntary shedder of blood was permitted to take flight to one of six Levitical cities, specially appointed out of the 48 as cities of refuge, three on each side of the Jordan (Num. xxxv. 22, 23; Deut. xix. 4-6. The cities were Kedesh, in Mount Naphtali; Shechem, in Mount Ephraim; Hebron, in the hill-country of Judah. On the E. side of Jordan, Bezer, in Reuben; Ramoth, in Gad; Golan, in Manasseh (Josh. xx. 7, 8). The elders of the city of refuge were to hear his case and protect him till he could be tried before the authorities of his own city. If the act were then decided to have been involuntary, he was taken back to the city of refuge, round which an area with a radius of 2000 (3000, Patrick) cubits was assigned as the limit of protection, and was to remain there in safety till the death of the high-priest for the time being. Beyond the limit of the city of refuge the revenger might slay him, but after the high-priest's death he might return to his home with impunity (Num. xxxv. 25, 28; Josh. xx. 4, 6). The roads to the cities were to be kept open (Deut. xix. 3).

To these particulars the Talmudists add, among others of an absurd kind, the following: at the

cross-roads posts were erected bearing the word **מקלט**, *refuge*, to direct the fugitive. All facilities of water and situation were provided in the cities: no implements of war or chase were allowed there. The mothers of high-priests used to send presents to the detained persons to prevent their wishing for the high-priest's death. If the fugitive died before the high-priest, his bones were sent home after the high-priest's death (P. Fagius in Targ. Onk. Ap. Kittershus. *de Jure Asyli, Crit. Sacr.* viii. p. 159; Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorogr.* c. 50, Op. ii. p. 208).

4. If a person were found dead, the elders of the nearest city were to meet in a rough valley untouched by the plough, and washing their hands over a beheaded heifer, protest their innocence of the deed, and deprecate the anger of the Almighty (Deut. xxi. 1-9).

[H. W. P.]

**BOANERGES** (**Boavepyés**), a name signifying *vial* **Βοαυγής**, "sons of thunder," given by our Lord to the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. It is the Aramaic pronunciation (according to which *Scheva* is sounded as *oa*) of **בני רעש**. The latter word in Hebrew signifies a *thunder* or *uproar* (Ps. ii. 1), but in Arabic and Syriac *thunder*. Probably the name had respect to the fiery zeal of the brothers, signs of which we may see in Luke ix. 54; Mark ix. 38; comp. Matt. xx. 20 ff.

[H. A.]

**BOAR** (**חזיר**, *Chazir*), a pachydermatous animal, mentioned only by this name in Ps. lxxv. 14, but in several other passages where the domesticated animal is meant the A. V. has *swine* (Lev. xi. 7; Deut. xiv. 8; Prov. xi. 22; Is. lxxv. 4, lxxvi. 3). The boar is an animal which commits great ravages upon vineyards, and it is in this connexion that he is mentioned by the Psalmist. Pooncke observed very large herds of wild swine by the Jordan where it flows into the sea of Tiberias, and among the reeds by the shore of that sea. This habit of lurking in reeds was known to the Assyrians, and sculptured on their monuments (see Layard, *Nimrod and Babylon*, p. 109). **חזיר** is from an unused root **חזר** (*circumivit, volvit, quod se volutant in luto porci*). The LXX. render it *sūs* or *ēs*, but in the N. T. **χοίρος** is used for swine.

[W. D.]

**BO'AZ** (**בועז**, *Boe'az*; **Booz**). 1. A wealthy Bethlehemite, kinsman to Elimelech, the husband of Naomi. Finding that the kinsman of Ruth, who stood in a still nearer relation than himself, was unwilling to perform the office of **גאל**, he had those obligations publicly transferred with the usual ceremonies to his own discharge; and hence it became his duty by the "levirate law" to marry Ruth (although it is hinted, Ruth iii. 10, that he was much her senior, and indeed this fact is evident whatever system of chronology we adopt), and to redeem the estates of her deceased husband Mahlon (iv. 1 ff.; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §157). He gladly undertook these responsibilities, and their happy union was blessed by the birth of Obed, from whom in a direct line our Lord was descended. No objection seems to have arisen on the score of Ruth's Moabitish birth; a fact which has some bearing on the date of the narrative (cf. Ex. ix. 1 ff.).

[BETHLEHEM.]

Boaz is mentioned in the genealogy (Matt. i. 5), but there is great difficulty in assigning his date. The genealogy in Ruth (iv. 18-22) only allows 10

generations for 850 years, and only 4 for the 450 years between Salmon and David, if (as is almost certain from St. Matt. and from Jewish tradition) the Rahab mentioned is Rahab the harlot. If Boaz be identical with the judge Ibzan (**יבזן**), as is stated with some shadow of probability by the Jerusalem Talmud and various Rabbis, several generations must be inserted. Dr. Kennicott, from the difference in form between Salmah and Salmor (Ruth v. 20, 21), supposes that by mistake two different men were identified (*Dissert.* i. 543); but we want at least *three* generations, and this supposition gives us only one. Mill quotes from Nicolas Syranus the theory, "dicunt majores nostri, et bene quod videtur, quod tres fuerint Boaz sibi succedentes; in Mt. i. isti tres sub uno nomine comprehenduntur." Even if we shorten the period of the Judges to 240 years, we must suppose that Boaz was the youngest son of Salmon, and that he did not marry till the age of 65 (Dr. Mill, *On the Genealogies*; Lord A. Hervey, *Id.* 262, &c.).

2. BOAZ, the name of one of Solomon's brazen pillars erected in the temple porch. [**JACHIN**.] It stood on the left, and was 17½ cubits high (1 K. vii. 15, 21; 2 Chr. iii. 15; Jer. lii. 21). It was hollow and surmounted by a chapter, 5 cubits high, ornamented with net-work and 100 pomegranates. The apparent discrepancies in stating the height of it, arise from the including and excluding of the ornament which united the shaft to the chapter, &c.

[F. W. F.]

**BOOC'AS** (**δ Βορκάς**; *Boccus*), a priest in the line of Esdras (1 Esd. viii. 2). [**BUKKI**; **BOURIH**.]

**BOCH'ERU** (**בכר**; *Boeru*; 1 Chr. viii. 38, ix. 44, according to the present Hebrew text), son of Azel; but rendered **πρωτότοκος** by LXX. in both passages, as if pointed **בכר**. [**BUCHER**.] [**A.C.H.**]

**BO'CHIM** (**הבכים**, *the weepers*; **δ Κλαυθμών**, *Κλαυθμῶνες*; *locus flentium sive lacrymarum*), a place on the west of Jordan above Gilgal (Judg. ii. 1 and 5), so called because the people "wept" there.

**BO'HAN** (**בון**; **Bdon**; *Boen*), a Reubenite, after whom a stone was named, possibly erected to commemorate some achievement in the conquest of Palestine (comp. 1 Sam. vii. 12). Its position was on the border of the territories of Benjamin and Judah between Betharabah and Bethhogla on the E., and Adummim and Enshemesh on the W. Its exact situation is unknown (Josh. xv. 6, xvii. 17). [**STONES**.]

[W. L. B.]

**BONDAGE**. [**SLAVERY**.]

**BOOK**. [**WRITING**.]

**BOOTH**. [**SUCCOTH**; **TABERNACLES**, **FEAST OF**.]

**BOOTY**. This consisted of captives of both sexes, cattle, and whatever a captured city might contain, especially metallic treasures. Within the limits of Canaan no captives were to be made (Deut. xx. 14 and 16); beyond those limits, in case of warlike resistance, all the women and children were to be made captives, and the men put to death. A special charge was given to destroy the "pictures and images" of the Canaanites, as tending to idolatry (Num. xxxiii. 52). The case of Amalek was a special one, in which Saul was bidden to destroy the

cattle. So also was that of the expedition against Arad, in which the people took a vow to destroy the cities, and that of Jericho, on which the curse of God seems to have rested, and the gold and silver, &c. of which were viewed as reserved wholly for Him (1 Sam. xv. 2, 3; Num. xxi. 2; Josh. vi. 19). The law of booty was that it should be divided equally between the army who won it and the people of Israel, but of the former half one head in every 500 was reserved to God, and appropriated to the priests, and of the latter one in every 50 was similarly reserved and appropriated to the Levites (Num. xxi. 26-47). As regarded the army David added a regulation that the baggage-guard should share equally with the troops engaged. The present made by David out of his booty to the elders of towns in Judah was an act of grateful courtesy merely, though perhaps suggested by the law, Num. i. c. So the spoils devoted by him to provide for the temple, must be regarded as a free-will offering (1 Sam. xxx. 24-26; 2 Sam. viii. 11; 1 Chr. xvi. 27). [H. H.]

BO'OZ (Rec. T. *Bod̄z*; Lachm. with ABD, *Bod̄s*; Booz), Matt. i. 5; Luke iii. 32. [BOAZ.]

BO'RITH (*Borith*), a priest in the line of Ephraim (2 Esd. i. 2). The name is a corruption of BUKKI.

BORROWING. [LOAN.]

BOS'CATH (בֹּסְקַת), 2 K. xxii. 1. [BOZ-KATH.]

BO'SOR, 1. (Βοσόρ; ܒܫܘܪ; *Bosor*), a city both large and fortified, on the East of Jordan in the land of Gilead (Galad), named with Bozrah (Bosora), Carnaim, and other places in 1 Macc. v. 26, 36. It is probably BEZER, though there is nothing to make the identification certain.

2. (ὁ Βοσόρ, *cc Bosor*), the Aramaic mode of pronouncing the name of BEOR, the father of Balaam (2 Pet. ii. 15); in accordance with the substitution, frequent in Chaldee, of *ב* for *ב* (see Gesenius, 1144). [G.]

BOS'ORA (Βοσώρα, and Βοσὸρρα; ܒܫܘܪܐ; *Barasa, Bosor*), a strong city in Gilead taken by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Mac. v. 26, 28), doubtless the same as BOZRAH.

**BOTTLE.** The words which are rendered in A. V. of O. T. "bottle" are, 1. *בֹּתֵל* (Gen. xxi. 14, 15, 19); *ἀσκός*; *uter*: a skin-bottle. 2. *בִּלְלִי* (1 Sam. x. 3; Job xxviii. 37; Jer. xiii. 12; Is. v. 10, xxx. 14; Lam. iv. 2); *ἀγγεῖον, κερμαῖον, ἀσκός*; *uter, vas testevum, lagenā, lagunculā*. 3. *בִּנְיָן* (Jer. xix. 1); *βυκὸς δοτράκων; lagunculā*. 4. *בִּנְיָן* (Josh. ix. 4, 13; Judg. iv. 19; 1 Sam. xvi. 20; Ps. cxix. 83); *ἀσκός*; *uter, lagenā*.

In N. T. the only word rendered "bottle" is *ἀσκός* (Matt. ix. 27; Mark ii. 18; Luke v. 33). The bottles of Scripture are thus evidently of two kinds. 1. The skin bottle; 2. The bottle of earthen or glass-ware, both of them capable of being closed from the air. 1. The skin bottle will be best described in the following account collected from Chardin and others. The Arabs, and all those that lead a wandering life, keep their water, milk, and other liquors, in

leathern bottles. These are made of goatskins. When the animal is killed, they cut off its feet and its head, and they draw it in this manner out of the skin, without opening its belly. In Arabia they are tanned with acacia-bark and the hairy part left outside. If not tanned, a disagreeable taste is imparted to the water. They afterwards sew up the places where the legs were cut off and the tail, and when it is filled they tie it about the neck. The great leathern bottles are made of the skin of a he-goat, and the small ones, that serve instead of a bottle of water on the road, are made of a kid's skin. These bottles when rent are repaired sometimes by setting in a piece; sometimes by gathering up the wounded place in manner of a purse; sometimes they put in a round flat piece of wood, and by that means stop the hole (Chardin, ii. 405, viii. 409; Wellsted, *Arabia*, i. 89, ii. 78; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. c. 1. Harmer, from Chardin's notes, ed. Clarke, i. 284). Bruce gives a description of a vessel of the same kind, but larger. "A gerba is an ox's skin, squared, and the edges sewed together by a double seam, which does not let out water. An opening is left at the top, in the same manner as the bung-hole of a cask; around this the skin is gathered to the size of a large handful, which, when the gerba is full of water, is tied round with whipcord. These gerbas contain about sixty gallons each, and two of them are the load of a camel. They are then all besmeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water from oozing through, as to prevent its being evaporated by the heat of the sun upon the gerba, which, in fact, happened to us twice, so as to put us in danger of perishing with thirst." (*Travels*, iv. 334.)



Skin Bottles. (From the Museo Barbours.)

Wine-bottles of skin are mentioned as used by Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, by Homer (*Od.* vi. 78, *οἶνον ἔχειεν Ἀσκόφ ἐν αἰγέλω*; *Il.* iii. 247); by Herodotus, as used in Egypt (ii. 121), where he speaks of letting the wine out of the skin by the *ποδῶν*, the end usually tied up to serve as the neck; by Virgil (*Georg.* ii. 384). Also by Athenaeus, who mentions a large skin-bottle of the nature of the gerba (*ἀσκός ἐκ παρθαλῶν δερμάτων ἑρβαμένος*, v. 28 p. 199). Chardin says that wine in Persia is preserved in skins saturated with pitch, which, when good, impart no flavour to the wine (*Voyages*, iv. 75). Skins for wine or other liquids are in use to this day in Spain, where they are called *borrachas*.

The effect of external heat upon a skin-bottle is indicated in Ps. cxix. 83, "a bottle in the smoke," and of expansion produced by fermentation in Matt. ix. 17, "new wine in old bottles."

2. Vessels of metal, earthen, or glass ware for liquids were in use among the Greeks, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Assyrians (*χρυσόπυκος φιάλη Τυροσηνή, Athen.* i. 20 (28); *ἀργυρέη φιάλη, Il.* xxiii. 243; *κροφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον*, 270), and also no doubt among the Jews, especially in later times. Thus Jer. xix. 1, "a potter's earthen bottle."

The Jews probably borrowed their manufactures in this particular from Egypt, which was celebrated for glass work, as remains and illustrations of Egyptian workmanship are extant at least as early as the 15th century B.C. (Wilkinson, ii. 59, 60).



Egyptian Bottles. 1 to 7, glass; 8 to 11, earthenware. (From the British Museum Collection.)

Glass bottles of the 3rd or 4th century B.C. have been found at Babylon by Mr. Layard. At Cairo many persons obtain a livelihood by selling Nile water, which is carried by camels or asses in skins, or by the carrier himself on his back in pitchers of porous grey earth (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 153, 155; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 611; Maundrell, *Journey*, p. 407, Bohm; Wilkinson, *Egypt*, c. iii. vol. i. 148-158; *Dict. of Antiq. VINUM*; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 196, 503; *Gesenius*, s. v.) [H. W. P.]



Assyrian Glass Bottles. (From the British Museum Collection.)

## BOW. [ARMS.]

**BOWL.** 1. **בִּלְלָה**; *στρογγύλον ἀνθέμιον*; *funiculus*; see Ges. p. 288. 2. **בִּסְפָל**; *λεκανή*; *concha*. 3. **בִּסְפָל**; also in A. V. *dish*. 4. **בִּיבִי**; *κρατήρ*; *scyphus*. 5. **בִּמְכִי**; *κύαθος*; *cyathus*. Of these words (1) may be taken to indicate chiefly roundness, from **בִּלְלָה**, *roll*, as a ball or globe, placed as an ornament on the tops of capitals of columns (1 K. vii. 41; 2 Chr. iv. 12, 13); also the knob or boss from which proceed the branches of a candlestick (Zech. iv. 2), and also a suspended lamp, in A. V. "golden bowl" (Eccl. xii. 3). (2) indicating lowness, is perhaps a shallow dish or basin; (3) a hollow vessel; (4) a round vessel (Jer. xxxv. 5) *κεράμιον* LXX.; (5) a lustratory vessel, from **בִּמְכִי**, *pure*.

A like uncertainty prevails as to the precise form and material of these vessels as is noticed under **BASIN**. Bowls would probably be used at meals for liquors, or broth, or potage (2 K. iv. 40). Modern Arabs are content with a few

wooden bowls. In the Brit. Mus. are deposited several terra-cotta bowls with Chaldean inscriptions of a superstitious character, expressing charms against sickness and evil spirits, which may possibly explain the "divining cup" of Joseph (Gen. xlv. 5). The bowl was filled with some liquid and drunk off as a charm against evil. See a case of Tippoo Sahib drinking water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune (Gleig, *Life of Munro*, i. 218). One of the Brit. Mus. bowls still retains the stain of a liquid. These bowls, however, are thought by Mr. Birch not to be very ancient (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 509, 511, 526. Birch, *Anc. Pottery*, i. 154. Shaw, 231.) [H. W. P.]

**BOX-TREE** (**בֹּזְרַח**, *Te issahir*), a tree mentioned twice by the Prophet Isaiah, and in one passage as a product of Mount Lebanon (Is. xli. 19, lx. 13). It is translated box-tree in A. V. and *burus* in the Vulgate, but is properly a species of cedar, called *Scherbin*, to be recognized by the small size of the cones, and the upward tendency of the branches. (See Niebuhr's *Arab.* p. 149.) This last character explains the derivation from **בֹּזְרַח**, *erectus fuit*, whence **בֹּזְרַח**, *erectio* = *proceritas* = *proceru arbor*. In both the above-quoted passages the word is connected in the A. V. with the fir-tree and the pine-tree. In Is. xli. 19 the LXX. do not translate it at all, and they render **בֹּזְרַח** by *πόρον*; in Is. lx. 13 they translate it by *κέρπος*.

There is no reference to the **בֹּזְרַח** in Stanley's enumeration of the trees of Palestine (Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 139-146, App. p. 517-521), and possibly the name is synonymous with **בִּרְזַח**; but Robinson, in his latest volume of Biblical Researches in Palestine, mentions a grove near el-Hadith which only the natives speak of as *Arez*, though the tree bears a general resemblance to the cedar, and is probably the *Scherbin*. (See Cels. *Herob.* i. pp. 74, 79; Freytag, *Lex.* ii. p. 408; Roh. iii. 593.) [W. D.]

**BO'ZEZ** (**בֹּזֶזֶז**, *shining*, according to the conjecture of Gesenius, *Thes.* 229; *Boazés*; *Boscs*), the name of one of the two "sharp rocks" (Hebrew, "teeth of the cliff") "between the passages" by which Jonathan entered the Philistine garrison. It seems to have been that on the north side (1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5). Robinson notices two hills of blunt conical form in the bottom of the *Wady Swereit* just below *Makhnds* (i. 441 and iii. 289). Stanley, on the other hand, could not make them out (*S. & P.* 205, note). And indeed these hills answer neither to the expression of the text nor the requirements of the narrative. [G.]

**BOZ'KATH** (**בֹּזְקַת**; *Βασθηδω*; Alex. *Μαοχθ*; in Kings, *Βασουπθ*; Joseph. *Βοαίθ*; *Buscath*, *Bescath*), a city of Judah in the Shefelah; named with Lachish (Josh. xv. 39). It is mentioned once again (2 K. xxii. 1) as the native place of the mother of king Josiah. Here it is spelt in the A. V. "Boscath." No trace of the site has yet been discovered. [G.]

**BOZ'RAH** (**בֹּזְרָה**), possibly from a root with the force of restraining, therefore used for a sheepfold, Gesen. s. v.; *Βοσράρα*; *Boarép*, also *δρυρῶμα* Jer. xlix. 22, *τειχος* Am. i. 12; *Bosra*), the name of more than one place on the east of

Palestine. 1. In Edom—the city of Jobab the son of Zerah, one of the early kings of that nation (Gen. xxxvi. 33; 1 Chr. i. 44). This is doubtless the place mentioned in later times by Isaiah (xxiv. 6, lxiii. 1 (in connexion with Edom), and by Jeremiah (xlix. 13, 22), Amos (i. 12), and Micah (ii. 12, “sheep of B,” comp. *Isa. xxiv. 6*: the word is here rendered by the Vulgate and by Gesenius “fold,” “the sheep of the fold,” *Ges. Thes.* 230). It was known to Eusebius, who speaks of it in the *Onomasticon* (Βοσάρα) as a city of Esau in the mountains of Idumaea, in connexion with *Isa. lxiii. 1*, and in contradistinction to Bostra in Peræa. There is no reason to doubt that the modern representative of Bozrah is *el-Busairih*, البصيرة, which was

first visited by Burckhardt (*Syr.* 407; *Rezezyra*), and lies on the mountain district to the S.E. of the Dead Sea, between Tüfleh and Petra, about halfway between the latter and the Dead Sea. Irby and Mangles mention it under the name of *Ipsayra* and *Bsüda* (chap. viii.: see also Robinson, ii. 167). The “goats” which Isaiah connects with the place were found in large numbers in this neighbourhood by Burckhardt (*Syr.* 405).

2. In his catalogue of the cities of the land of Moab, Jeremiah (xlviii. 24) mentions a Bozrah as in “the plain country” (ver. 21, בְּצִוְיָא, *i. e.* the high level downs on the east of the Dead Sea and of the lower Jordan, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs). Here lay Heshbon, Nebo, Kirjathaim, Diblathaim, and the other towns named in this passage, and it is here that we presume Bozrah should be sought, and not, as has been lately suggested, at Bosra, the Roman city in Bashan full sixty miles from Heshbon (Porter’s *Damascus*, ii. 163, &c.). On the other hand Bozrah stands by itself in this passage of Jeremiah, not being mentioned in any of the other lists of the cities of Moab, *e. g.* Num. xxiii.; Josh. xiii.; *Isa. xvi.*; *Ez. xiv.*; and the catalogue of Jeremiah is expressly said to include cities both “far and near” (xlviii. 24). Some weight also is due to the consideration of the improbability that a town at a later date so important and in so excellent a situation should be entirely omitted from the Scripture. Still there is the fact of the specification of its position as in the Mishor; and also this, that in a country where the Qery kings were “sheep-masters” (2 K. iii. 4), a name signifying a sheepfold must have been of common occurrence.

For the Roman Bostra, the modern *Busra*, on the south border of the *Hauran*, see Reland, 665, and Porter, ii. chap. 12. [G.]

### BRACELET (רֶמֶסֶת; ψάλλιον; χλιδών).

Under ARMLET an account is given of these ornaments, the materials of which they were generally made, the manner in which they were worn, &c. Besides רֶמֶסֶת three other words are translated by “bracelet” in the Bible, viz.: 1. מַצְצָה (from מָצַץ to fasten), Num. xxxi. 50, &c.; 2. שֶׁרֶת (a chain, σείρα, from its being wreathed, שָׂרַף). It only occurs in this sense in *Is. iii. 19*, but compare the expression “wreathen chains” in *Ex. xxviii. 14, 22*. Bracelets of fine twisted Venetian gold are still common in Egypt (Lane, ii. 368, Append. A. and plates); 3. מַתְּיָל, Gen. xxxviii.

18, 25, rendered “bracelet,” but meaning probably “a string by which a seal-ring was suspended” (*Gesen. s. v.*).



Gold Egyptian Bracelet. (Wilkinson.)

Men as well as women wore bracelets, as we see from Cant. v. 14, which may be rendered, “His wrists are circlets of gold full set with topazes.” Layard says of the Assyrian kings: “The arms were encircled by armlets, and the wrists by bracelets, all equally remarkable for the taste and beauty of the design and workmanship. In the centre of the bracelets were stars and rosettes, which were probably inlaid with precious stones” (*Nineveh*, ii. 323). These may be observed on the sculptures in the British Museum. [ARMLET; ANKLET.] [F. W. F.]



Assyrian Bracelet (lasp. (Nineveh Marbles.)

### BRAMBLE. [THISTLE; THORN.]

BRASS (χαλκός). The word שִׁנִּי (from the root שָׁנָה, to shine) is improperly translated by “brass” in the earlier books of Scripture, since the Hebrews were not acquainted with the compound of copper and zinc known by that name. In most places of the O. T. the correct translation would be copper (although it may sometimes possibly mean bronze (χαλκός κεκραμένος), a compound of copper and tin. Indeed a simple metal was obviously intended, as we see from Deut. viii. 9, “out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass,” and Job xxviii. 2, “Brass is molten out of the stone,” and Deut. xxxiii. 25, “Thy shoes shall be iron and brass,” which seems to be a promise that Asher should have a district rich in mines, which we know to have been the case, since Euseb. (viii. 15, 17) speaks of the Christians being condemned τοῖς κατὰ Φαινὸν τῆς Παλαιστοῖνος χαλκοῦ μετάλλοις (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorogr.* c. 99). [ASHER.]

Copper was known at a very early period, and the invention of working it is attributed to Tubalcain (Gen. iv. 24; cf. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 243; comp. “Prius aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus,” *Lucr.* v. 1292). Its extreme ductility (χαλκός from χλιδών) made its application almost universal among the ancients, as Hesiod expressly says (*Dict. of Ant.*, art. AES).

The same word is used for money, in both Testaments (*Ezek. xvi. 36*; *Matt. x. 9*, &c.).

It is often used in metaphors, *e. g.* *Lev. xxvi. 9*, “I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass,” *i. e.* dead and hard. This expression is reversed in Deut. xxviii. 23 (comp. Coleridge’s “All in a hot and copper sky,” &c. *Anc. Mar.*). “Is my flesh of brass,” *i. e.* invulnerable, *Job vi. 12*. “They are all brass and iron,” *i. e.* base, ignoble, impure, *Jer. vi. 28*. It is often used as an emblem of strength, *Zech. vi. 1*; *Jer. i. 18*, &c. The “brazen thighs” of the mystic image in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream were a fit symbol of the Ἀχαιοὶ χαλκοχί-  
Q

**τῶνες.** No special mention of orichalcum seems to be made in the Bible.

The word *χαλκολίβανον* in Rev. i. 15, ii. 18 (*οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡμοῖσι χαλκολίβανον*), has excited much difference of opinion. The A. V. renders it "fine brass," as though it were from *χ.* and *λείβω* (smelting brass), or that *δρεῖχαλκος*, which was so rare as to be more valuable than gold. Bochart makes it "as album igneo colore splendens," as though from *לָבַן*, "shining." It may perhaps be deep-coloured frankincense, as opposed to *ἀργυρολίβανον* (Liddell and Scott's *Lec.*) [F. W. F.]

### BRAZEN-SERPENT. [SERPENT.]

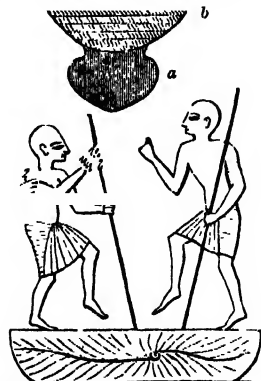
**BREAD (ἄρτος).** The preparation of bread as an article of food dates from a very early period: it must not, however, be inferred from the use of the word *lechem* in Gen. iii. 19 ("bread," A. V.) that it was known at the time of the fall, the word there occurring in its general sense of *food*: the earliest undoubted instance of its use is found in Gen. xviii. 6. The corn or grain (*שֵׁבֶר, גֶּזֶר*) employed was of various sorts: the best bread was made of wheat, which after being ground produced the "flour" or "meal" (*קֶמַח; ἄλευρον*; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 24; 1 K. iv. 22, xvii. 12, 14), and when sifted the "fine flour" (*סֵלֶת*), more fully *סֵלֶת הַקֵּיץ*, Ex. xlix. 2; or *סֵלֶת קֶמַח*, Gen. xviii. 6; *σεμιδαλῖς*) usually employed in the sacred offerings (Ex. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 1; Ex. xlii. 14), and in the meals of the wealthy (1 K. iv. 22; 2 K. vii. 1; Ez. xvi. 13, 19; Rev. xviii. 13). "Barley" was used only by the very poor (John vi. 9, 14), or in times of scarcity (Ruth iii. 15, compared with i. 1; 2 K. iv. 38, 42; Rev. vi. 6; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 10, §2): as it was the food of horses (1 K. iv. 28), it was considered a symbol of what was mean and insignificant (Judg. vii. 13; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* v. 6, §4, *μάζαν κριθίνην, ἢ εὐτελέας ἀνθρώποις ἔβρωτον*; Liv. xxvii. 13), as well as of what was of a mere animal character, and hence ordered for the offering of jealousy (Num. v. 15; comp. Hos. iii. 2; Philo, ii. 307). "Spelt" (*שֶׁבֶר; ὄλυν, ζέα; rye, fitches, spelt*, A. V.) was also used both in Egypt (Ex. ix. 32) and Palestine (Is. xxviii. 25; Ez. iv. 9; 1 K. xix. 6, LXX. *ἐγκρυφῶς ὀλυντῆς*); Hierolotus indeed states (ii. 36) that in the former country bread was made exclusively of *olyra*, which, as in the LXX., he identifies with *zea*; but in this he was mistaken, as wheat was also used (Ex. ix. 32; comp. Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* ii. 397). Occasionally the grains above mentioned were mixed, and other ingredients, such as beans, lentiles, and millet, were added (Ez. iv. 9; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 28); the bread so produced is called "barley cakes" (Ez. iv. 12, "as barley cakes," A. V.), inasmuch as barley was the main ingredient. The amount of meal required for a single baking was an ephah or three measures (Gen. xviii. 6; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 24; Matt. xiii. 33), which appears to have been suited to the size of the ordinary oven. The baking was done in primitive times by the mistress of the house (Gen. xviii. 6) or one of the daughters (2 Sam. xiii. 8); female servants were however employed in large households (1 Sam. viii. 13): it appears always to have been the proper business of women in a family (Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 19; Matt. xii. 33; cf. Plin. xviii. 11, 28). Baking

as a profession, was carried on by men (Hos. vii. 4, 6). In Jerusalem the bakers congregated in one quarter of the town, as we may infer from the names "bakers' street" (Jer. xxxvii. 21), and "tower of the ovens" (Neh. iii. 11, xii. 38, "furnaces," A. V.). In the time of the Herods, bakers were scattered throughout the towns of Palestine (*Ant.* xv. 9, §2). As the bread was made in thin cakes, which soon became dry and unpalatable, it was usual to bake daily, or when required (Gen. xviii. 6; comp. Harmer's *Observations*, i. 483): reference is perhaps made to this in the Lord's prayer (Matt. vi. 11; Luke xi. 3). The bread taken by persons on a journey (Gen. xlv. 23; Josh. ix. 12) was probably a kind of biscuit. The process of making bread was as follows:—the flour was first mixed with water, or perhaps milk (Burchiardi's *Notes on the Bedouins*, i. 58); it was then kneaded (*שָׁבַב*) with the hands (in Egypt with the feet also;



Egyptians kneading dough with their hands. (Wilkinson. From a painting in the Tomb of Hunefer III. at Thebes.)

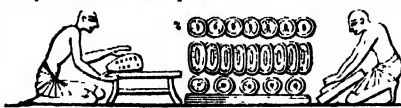
Herod. ii. 36; Wilkinson, ii. 386) in a small wooden bowl or "kneading-trough" (*מִשְׁכָּה*), a term which may, however, rather refer to the leathern bag in which the Bedouins carry their provisions, and which serves both as a wallet and a table; Niebuhr's *Voyage*, i. 171; Harmer, iv. 366 ff.; the LXX. inclines to this view, giving *ἐγκαταλειμματα* ("store," A. V.) in Deut. xxviii. 5, 17; the expression in Ex. xii. 34, however, "bound up in their clothes," favours the idea of a wooden bowl), until it became dough (*פַּצֵּץ; σταῖς*, Ex. xii. 34, 39; 2 Sam. xiii. 8; Jer. vii. 18; Hos. vii. 4: the term "dough" is improperly given in the



Egyptians kneading the dough with their feet. At *a* and *b* the dough is probably left to ferment in a basket, as is now done at Cairo. (Wilkinson.)

A. V. as = עֲרִיסוֹת, in Num. xv. 20, 21; Neh. x. 37; Ez. xlv. 30). When the kneading was completed, leaven (שָׂאֵר; ζύμη) was generally added [LEAVEN]; but when the time for preparation was short, it was omitted, and unleavened cakes, hastily baked, were eaten, as is still the prevalent custom among the Bedouins (Gen. xviii. 6, xix. 3; Ex. xii. 39; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. xxviii. 24). Such cakes were termed מַצּוֹת (ἄζυμα, LXX.), a word of doubtful sense, variously supposed to convey the ideas of *thinness* (Fürst. *Lec. s. v.*), *sweetness* (Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 815), or *purity* (Knobel, *Comm.* in Ex. xii. 20), while leavened bread was called חֻמֵּץ (lit. *sharpened* or *soured*; Ex. xii. 39; Hos. vii. 4). Unleavened cakes were ordered to be eaten at the passover to commemorate the hastiness of the departure (Ex. xii. 15, xiii. 3, 7; Deut. xvi. 3), as well as on other sacred occasions (Lev. ii. 11, vi. 16; Num. vi. 15). The leavened mass was allowed to stand for some time (Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 21), sometimes for a whole night ("their baker sleepeth all the night," Hos. vii. 6), exposed to a moderate heat in order to forward the fermentation ("he censeth from stirring" [מְעִיר] "raising," A. V.) the fire "until it be leavened," Hos. vii. 4). The dough was then divided into round cakes (חֻמֵּץ, lit. *circles*; ἄρτοι; "loaves," A. V.; Ex. xxix. 23; Judg. viii. 5; 1 Sam. x. 3; Prov. vi. 26; in Judg. vii. 13, עֲלֵלֶה; *magis*), not unlike flat stones in shape and appearance (Matt. vii. 9; comp. iv. 3), about a span in diameter and a finger's breadth in thickness (comp. Lane's *Modern Egypt*, i. 164): three of these were required for the meal of a single person (Luke xi. 5), and consequently

vi. 19), and mixed with oil. Similar cakes, sprinkled with seeds, were made in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 386). Sometimes they were rolled out into wafers



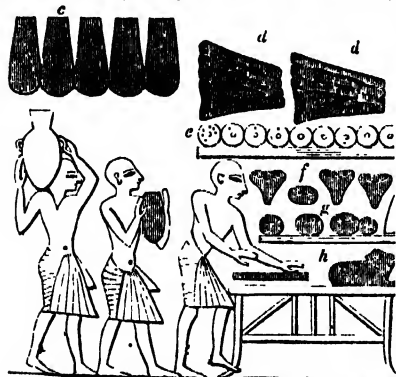
Egyptians making cakes of bread sprinkled with seeds. (Wilkinson.)

רְקִיקֹת; ἄλγανον; Ex. xxi. 2, 23; Lev. ii. 4; Num. vi. 15-19), and merely coated with oil. Oil was occasionally added to the ordinary cake (1 K. xvii. 12). A more delicate kind of cake is described in 2 Sam. xiii. 6, 8, 10; the dough ("flour," A. V.) is kneaded a second time, and probably some stimulating seeds added, as seems to be implied in the name לֵבִיבוֹת (from לֵבֵב, *heart*; compare our expression *a cordial*; κολλυβιστός; *sorbitioncake*). The cakes were now taken to the oven; having been first, according to the practice in Egypt, gathered into "white baskets" (Gen. xl. 16), סָלִי חָרִי, a doubtful expression, referred by some to the whiteness of the bread (κατὰ χροσθιστῶν; Aquil. κόφινον γυρῶς; *cinistra farinæ*), by others, as in the A. V., to the whiteness of the baskets, and again, by connecting the word חָרִי with the idea of a *hole*, to an open-work basket (*margin*, A. V.), or lastly to bread baked in a hole (Kitto, *Cyclop.* art. *Bread*). The baskets were placed on a tray and carried on the baker's head (Gen. xl. 16; Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, ii. 386).



An Egyptian carrying cakes to the oven. (Wilkinson.)

The methods of baking (פֶּתַח) were, and still are, very various in the East, adapted to the various styles of life. In the towns, where professional bakers resided, there were no doubt fixed ovens, in shape and size resembling those in use among ourselves: but more usually each household possessed a portable oven (פֶּתַח; κλίβανος), consisting of a stone or metal jar about three feet high, which was heated inwardly with wood (1 K. xvii. 12; Is. xlv. 15; Jer. vii. 18) or dried grass and flower-stalks (χόρτος, Matt. vi. 30); when the fire had burned down, the cakes were applied either inwardly (Herod. ii. 92) or outwardly: such ovens were used by the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 385), and by the Easterns of Jerome's time (*Comment.* in Lam. v. 10), and are still common among the Bedouins (Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 350; Niebuhr's *Descript. de l'Arabie*, pp. 45, 46). The use of a single oven by several families only took place in time of famine (Lev. xxvi. 26). Another species of oven consisted of a hole dug in the ground, the sides of which were coated with clay and the bottom with pebbles (Harmer, i. 487). Jahn (*Archæol.* i. 9, §140) thinks that this oven is referred to in the term בִּירִים (Lev. xi. 35); but the dual number is an objection to this view; the term חָרִי (Gen. xl. 16) has also been referred to it.



Two Egyptians curving bread to the confectioner, who rolls out the paste, which is afterwards made into cakes of various forms, d, e, f, g, h. (Wilkinson.)

one was barely sufficient to sustain life (1 Sam. ii. 36, "morsel," A. V.; Jer. xxxvii. 21, "piece," A. V.), whence the expression לֶחֶם חַיִּים, "bread of affliction" (1 K. xxii. 27; Is. xxx. 20), referring not to the quality (*pauæ plebeia*, Grotius), but to the quantity; two hundred would suffice for a party for a reasonable time (1 Sam. xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvi. 1). The cakes were sometimes *punctured*, and hence called חֻמֵּץ (καλλυρίς; Ex. xxix. 2, 23; Lev. ii. 4, viii. 26, xxiv. 5; Num. xv. 20; 2 Sam.

Other modes of baking were specially adapted to the migratory habits of the pastoral Jews, as of the modern Bedouins; the cakes were either spread upon stones, which were previously heated by lighting a fire above them (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 58) or beneath them (Belzoni's *Travels*, p. 84); or they were thrown into the heated embers of the fire itself (Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 350; Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 46); or lastly, they were roasted by being placed between layers of dung, which burns slowly, and is therefore specially adapted for the purpose (Ez. iv. 12, 15; Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57; Niebuhr's *Descript.* p. 46). The terms by which such cakes were described were **עֲנַה** (Gen. xviii. 6; Ex. xii. 39; 1 K. xvii. 13; Ez. iv. 12; Hos. vii. 8), **מַעֲוֵה** (1 K. xvii. 12; Ps. xxxv. 16), or more fully **עֲנַה רְצִים** (1 K. xix. 6, lit. on the stones, "coals," A. V.), the term **עֲנַה** referring, however, not to the mode of baking, but to the rounded shape of the cake (Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 997): the equivalent terms in the LXX. **ἐγκυφλας**, and in the Vulg. *subcinericius panis*, have direct reference to the peculiar mode of baking. The cakes required to be carefully turned during the process (Hos. vii. 8; Harmer, i. 488). Other methods were used for other kinds of bread; some were baked on a pan (**מַחְבַּת**; **τῆγανον**; *sartago*: the Greek term survives in the *tajen* of the Bedouins), the result being similar to the *khubz* still used among the latter people (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 58), or like the Greek **ταγῆνια**, which were baked in oil, and eaten warm with honey (Athen. xiv. 55, p. 646); such cakes appeared to have been chiefly used as sacred offerings (Lev. ii. 5, vi. 14, vii. 9; 1 Chr. xliii. 29). A similar cooking utensil was used by Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 9) named **מִשְׁרֵת** (**τῆγανον**), in which she baked the cakes and then emptied them out in a heap (**צָק**, not *poured*, as if it had been broth) before Amnon. A different kind of bread, probably resembling the *flûta* of the Bedouins, a *pasty* substance (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57) was prepared in a saucepan, **מִרְחֶשֶׁת** (**ἄρχαδα**; *oraticula*; *frying-pan*, A. V.; none of which meanings however correspond with the etymological sense of the word, which is connected with *boiling*); this was also reserved for sacred offerings (Lev. ii. 7; vii. 9). As the abovementioned kinds of bread (the last excepted) were thin and crisp, the mode of eating them was by breaking (Lev. ii. 6; Is. lviii. 7; Lam. iv. 4; Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36, xxvi. 26; Acts xx. 11; comp. Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, §22, **ἄπρους διέκλα**), whence the **טָמַר**, **פָּרַם**, to break = to give bread (Jer. xvi. 7): the pieces broken for consumption were called **מִלֶּחֶם מֵרֶגֶל** (Matt. xiv. 20; John vi. 12). Old bread is described in Josh. ix. 5, 12, as **crumbled** (**דָּבָק**; Aquil. **ψαθουρωμένος**; *in frusta comminuti*; A. V. "mouldy," following the LXX. **ἐσθιωτῶν καὶ βεβρωμένος**), a term which is also applied (1 K. xiv. 3) to a kind of biscuit, which easily crumbled (**καλλυπτός**; "cracknels," A. V.). [W. M. B.]

BREASTPLATE. [ARMS, p. 111.]

BRETHREN OF JESUS. [BROTHER.]

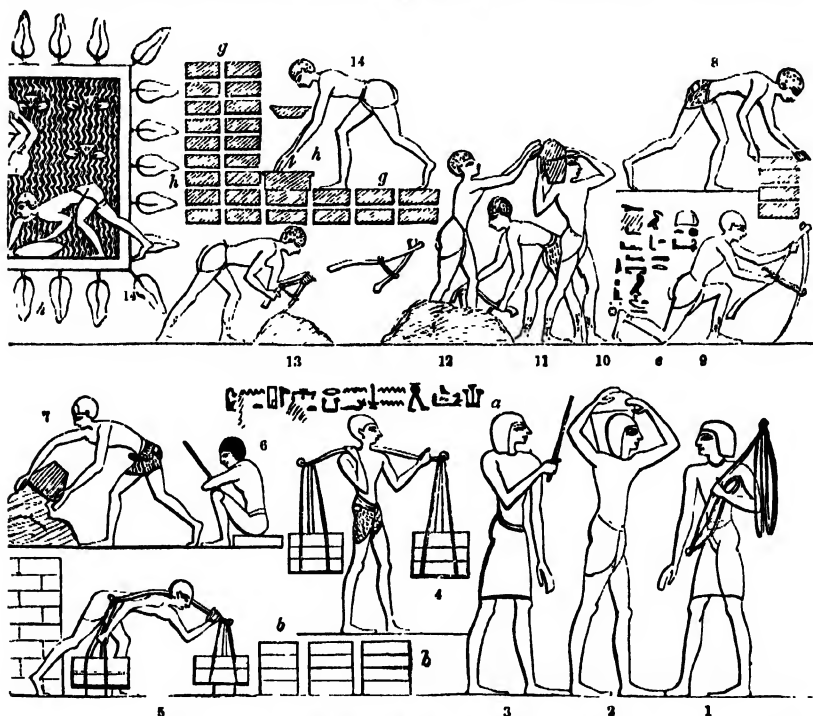
BRICK (**לִבְנָה**, *made of white clay*; **πλῆθος**; *later*; in Ez. iv. 1, A. V., *tile*). Herodotus (i.

179), describing the mode of building the walls of Babylon, says that the clay dug out of the ditch was made into bricks as soon as it was carried up, and burnt in kilns, **καμίνισσι**. The bricks were cemented with hot bitumen (**ἄσφαλτος**), and at every thirtieth row crates of reeds were stuffed in. This account agrees with the history of the building of the Tower of Confusion, in which the builders used brick instead of stone, and slime (**ἰλ**; **ἄσφαλτος**), for mortar (Gen. xi. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4, §3). In the alluvial plain of Assyria, both the material for bricks and the cement, which bubbles up from the ground, and is collected and exported by the Arabs, were close at hand for building purposes, but the Babylonian bricks were more commonly burnt in kilns than those used at Nineveh, which are chiefly sun-dried like the Egyptian. Xenophon mentions a wall called the wall of Media, not far from Babylon, made of burnt bricks set in bitumen (**πλινθοῖσι σπασίαι ἐν ἄσφαλτῳ κειμέναις**) 20 feet wide, and 100 feet high. Also another wall of brick 50 feet wide (Diod. ii. 7, 8, 12; Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, §12, iii. 4, §11; Nah. iii. 14; Layard, *Nimrod*, ii. 46, 252, 278). While it is needless to inquire to what place, or to whom the actual invention of brick-making is to be ascribed, there is perhaps no place in the world more favourable for the process, none in which the remains of original brick structures have been more largely used in later times for building purposes. The Babylonian bricks are usually from 12 to 13 in. square, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. (English bricks are usually 9 in. long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  wide,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  thick.) They most of them bear the name inscribed in cuneiform character, of Nebuchadnezzar, whose buildings, no doubt, replaced those of an earlier age (Layard, *Nin. and Babyl.* pp. 505, 531). They thus possess more of the character of tiles (Ezek. iv. 1). They were sometimes glazed and enamelled with patterns of various colours. Semiramis is said by Diodorus to have overlaid some of her towers with surfaces of enamelled brick bearing elaborate designs (Diod. ii. 8). Enamelled bricks have been found at Nimroud (Layard, ii. 312). Pliny (vii. 56) says that the Babylonians used to record their astronomical observations on tiles (*oculibus laterculis*). He also, as well as Vitruvius, describes the process of making bricks at Rome. There were three sizes, (1.)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. long, 1 ft. broad; (2.) 4 (Greek) palms long, 12-135 in. (3.) 5 palms long, 15-16875 in. The breadth of (2.) and (3.) the same. He says the Greeks preferred brick walls in general to stone (xxxv. 14; Vitruv. ii. 3, 8). Bricks of more than 3 palms length and of less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  palm, are mentioned by the Talmudists (Ges. s. v.). The Israelites, in common with other captives, were employed by the Egyptian monarchs in making bricks and in building (Ex. i. 14, v. 7). Kiln-bricks were not generally used in Egypt, but were dried in the sun, and even without straw as firm as when first put up in the reigns of the Amunophs and Thothmes whose names they bear. The usual dimensions vary from 20 in. or 17 in. to 14½ in. long;  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. to 6½ in. wide; and 7 in. to 4½ in. thick. When made of the Nile mud, or alluvial deposit, they required (as they still require) straw to prevent cracking, but those formed of clay taken from the torrent beds on the edge of the desert, held together without straw; and crude brick walls had frequently the additional security of a layer of reeds and sticks, placed at intervals to act as binders (Wilkinson, ii. 194, smaller ed.; Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, i. 14; comp. Her.

i. 179). Baked bricks however were used, chiefly in places in contact with water. They are smaller than the sun-dried bricks (Birch, i. 23). A brick-kiln is mentioned as in Egypt by the prophet Jeremiah (xliii. 9). A brick pyramid is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 136) as the work of King Asychis. Sesostrius (ii. 138) is said to have employed his captives in building. Numerous remains of buildings of various kinds exist, constructed of sun-dried bricks, of which many specimens are to be seen in the Brit. Mus. with inscriptions indicating their date and purpose (Birch, i. 11, 17). Among the paintings at Thebes, one on the tomb of Rekshara, an officer of the court of Thothmes III. (about 1400 B.C.), represents the enforced labours in brick-making of captives, who are distinguished from the natives by the co-

lour in which they are drawn. Watching over the labourers are "task-masters," who, armed with sticks, are receiving the "tale of bricks" and urging on the work. The processes of digging out the clay, of moulding, and of arranging, are all duly represented, and though the labourers cannot be determined to be Jews, yet the similarity of employment illustrates the Bible history in a remarkable degree (Wilkinson, ii. 197; Birch, i. 19; see Aristoph. *Av.* 1133, *Αἰγύπτιος πλωτοφόρος*; *Ex.* v. 17, 18).

The Jews learned the art of brick-making in Egypt, and we find the use of the brick-kiln in David's time (2 Sam. xii. 31), and a complaint made by Isaiah that the people built altars of brick instead of unhewn stone as the law directed (*Is.* lxxv. 3; *Ex.* xx. 25). [POTTERY.] [H. W. P.]



Foreign captives employed in making bricks at Thebes. (Wilkinson.)

Figs. 1, 2. Men returning after carrying the bricks. Figs. 3, 4. Taskmasters. Figs. 4, 5. Men carrying bricks. Figs. 12, 13. Digging and mixing the clay or mud. Fig. 14. Making bricks with a wooden mould, 4, 5. Fig. 14. Fetching water from the tank, 4. At 4 the bricks (10b) are said to be made at Thebes.

## BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM. [MARRIAGE.]

**BRIDGE.** The only mention of a bridge in the Canonical Scriptures is indirectly in the proper name Geshur (*גֶּשׁוּר*), a district in Bashan, N.E. of the sea of Galilee. At this place a bridge still exists, called the bridge of the sons of Jacob (*Gesen. s. v.*). Absalom was the son of a daughter of the king of Geshur (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xiv. 23, 32). The Chaldee paraphrase renders "gates," in Nahum ii. 6, "bridges," where however dykes or weirs are to be understood, which being burst by inundation, destroyed the walls of Nineveh (*Diod. ii. 27*). Judas Maccabæus is said to have intended to make a bridge in order to besiege the town of Casphor or Caspis,

situate near a lake (2 Mac. xii. 13). Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §3), speaking of the Jordan at the time of the passage of the Israelites, says it had never been bridged before, *οὐκ ἔσκευτο πρῶτον*, as if in his own time bridges had been made over it, which under the Romans was the case. (See the notices below.) In *Is.* xxxvii. 25, *הָאֵר, dig for water*, is rendered by LXX. *γέφυρας τρέψου*.

Permanent bridges over water do not appear to have been used by the Israelites in their earlier times, but we have frequent mention made of fords, and of their military importance (*Gen.* xxxii. 22; *Josh.* ii. 7; *Judg.* iii. 28, vii. 24, xii. 5; *Is.* xvi. 2). West of the Jordan there are few rivers of importance (*Amm. Marc.* xiv. 8; *Ireland*, p. 284),

and perhaps the policy of the Jews may have discouraged intercourse with neighbouring tribes, for it seems unlikely that the skill of Solomon's architects was unable to construct a bridge.

Herodotus (i. 186) describes a bridge consisting of stone piers, with planks laid across, built by Nitocris, B.C. circ. 600, connecting the two portions of Babylon (see Jer. li. 31, 32, l. 38), and Diodorus speaks of an arched tunnel under the Euphrates (ii. 9). Bridges of boats are described also by Herodotus (iv. 88, vii. 36; comp. Aesch. *Pers.* 69, *λυδῆσμος σκεδία*), and by Xenophon (*Anab.* ii. 4, §12). A bridge over the Zab, made of wicker-work connecting stone piers, is described by Layard (i. 192), a mode of construction used also in South America.

Though the arch was known and used in Egypt as early as the 15th century B.C. (Wilkinson, ii. 302, *sup.*, Birch, i. 14), the Romans were the first constructors of arched bridges. They made bridges over the Jordan and other rivers of Syria, of which remains still exist (Stanley, 296; Irby and Mangles, 90, 91, 92, 142, 143). A stone bridge over the Jordan, called the Bridge of the daughters of Jacob, is mentioned by B. de la Brocquière, A.D. 1132, and a portion of one by Arculf, A.D. 700 (*Early Trav.* in *Pal.* 8, 300; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 315; Robinson, ii. 441). The bridge (*γεφύρα*) connecting the Temple with the upper city, of which Josephus speaks (*B. J.* vi. 6, §2, *Ant.* xv. 11, 5), seems to have been an arched viaduct (Robinson, i. 288, iii. 224). [H. W. P.]

**BRIERS.** No less than six Heb. words are thus rendered in eleven passages of the O. T. In Heb. vi. 8, it represents *ἀκανθαι*. In the 8th chapter of Judges occurs twice (v. 7, 16) the word בְּרִיקָנִים, which the LXX. render by ταῖς Βαρκενίμ, or Βαρκομυελ, and the A. V. by *briers*. This is probably an incorrect rendering. The word properly means a threshing machine, consisting of a flat square wooden board set with teeth of iron, flint, or fragments of iron pyrites, which are abundant in Palestine. Gesenius conjectures that בְּרִיקָן was the name for *pyrites*, from בְּרִיק, *fulguravit*; and hence that בְּרִיקָנִי = *tribula pyritica munita* = מורֶנֶ (see Robinson, ii. 307).

For חֲרִיק, Mic. vii. 4, and סִלּוֹן, Ez. xxviii. 24, see under THORN.

In Ez. ii. 6, we read "Though briers and thorns be with thee," *briers* representing the Heb. סְרָבִים, which is explained by *rebels* in the margin. The root is סָרַב, *rebellis vel refractarius fuit*, and the rendering should be "Though rebellious men like thorns be with thee."

In Is. lv. 13, we have "instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree," the Heb. word for brier being סִרְפָּד, *sirpad*; *κονίη*; *urtica*. *Κόνυσα* is a strong-smelling plant of the endive kind, *flea-bane*, *Inula helenium*, Linn. (*Arist. H. A.* iv. 8,

28; Diosc. iii. 126). The Peschito has סִרְפָּד, *satureia*, savory, wild thyme, *Thymus Serpyllum*, a plant growing in great abundance in the desert of Sinai according to Burckhardt (*Syr.* ii.). Gesenius rejects both flea-bane and wild thyme on etymological grounds, and prefers *urtica*, nettle, consider-

ing סִרְפָּד to be a compound of סָרַב, *ussit*, and סִרְפָּד, *punctil.* He also notices the opinion of Ewald (*Gram. Crit.* p. 520) that *Sinupi album*, the white-mustard, is the plant meant.

In Is. v. 6, we have mention of briers and thorns as springing up in desolated and wasted lands; and here the Hebrew word is שִׁמְרִי, from root שִׁמַּר, *riguit, horruit* [ADAMANT] (comp. Is. vii. 23, 24, 25, ix. 18, and xxxii. 13. In Is. x. 17, xxvii. 4, שִׁמְרִי is used metaphorically for men. The LXX. in several of these passages have *ἀκανθα*; in one *χόρτος*, in another *ἀγρωστis ἐρηδ.*

There is nothing in the etymology or usage by which we can identify the שִׁמְרִי with any particular species of prickly or thorny plant. Possibly it is a general term for the very numerous plants of this character which are found in the uncultivated lands of the East. [W. D.]

**BRIMSTONE** (בְּרִית; *θεῖον; sulphur*). The Hebrew word is connected with בָּרַח, "gopher-wood." A. V. Gen. vi. 14, and probably signified in the first instance the *gum* or *resin* that exuded from that tree; hence it was transferred to all inflammable substances, and especially to sulphur, a mineral substance found in considerable quantities on the shores of the Dead Sea, as well as in other parts of Palestine. It was one of the elements employed in the destruction of the cities of the plain (Gen. xix. 24), and hence is frequently employed in a metaphorical sense, as expressive of Divine vengeance (Deut. xxix. 23; Job xviii. 15; Is. xxxiv. 9; Ez. xxxviii. 22; Rev. xix. 20, xx. 10, xxi. 8). [W. L. B.]

**BROTHER** (אָח; *ἀδελφός*). The Hebrew word is used in various senses in the O. T. as 1. Any kinsman, and not a mere brother; e.g. nephew (Gen. xiv. 16, xiii. 8), husband (Cant. iv. 9). 2. One of the same tribe (2 Sam. xix. 13). 3. Of the same people (Ex. ii. 11), or even of a cognate people (Num. xx. 14). 4. An ally (Am. i. 9). 5. Any friend (Job v. 15). 6. One of the same office (1 K. ix. 13). 7. A fellow man (Lev. xix. 17). 8. Metaphorically of any similarity. It is a very favourite Oriental metaphor, as in Job xxx. 19, "I am become a brother to the jackals" (Gesen. s. v.).

The word *ἀδελφός* has a similar range of meanings in the N. T., and is also used for a disciple (Matt. xxv. 40, &c.); a fellow-worker, as in St. Paul's *Epp.* passim; and especially a Christian. Indeed, we see from the Acts that it was by this name that Christians usually spoke of each other. The name Christian was merely used to describe them objectively, i.e. from the Pagan point of view, as we see from the places where it occurs, viz. Acts [xi. 26], xxvi. 28, and 1 Pet. iv. 16.

The Jewish schools distinguish between "brother" and "neighbour;" "brother" meant an Israelite by blood, "neighbour" a proselyte. They allowed neither title to the Gentiles; but Christ and the Apostles extended the name "brother" to all Christians, and "neighbour" to all the world, 1 Cor. v. 11; Luke x. 29, 30 (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* v. 22).

We must now briefly touch on the difficult and interesting question as to who were "the brethren of the Lord," and pass in review the theories respecting them. And first we would observe that in arguing at all against their being the *real* brethren

of Jesus, far too much stress has been laid on the assumed indefiniteness of meaning attached to the word "brother" in Scripture. In all the adduced cases it will be seen that, when the word is used in any but its proper sense, the context prevents the possibility of confusion; and indeed in the only two exceptional instances (not metaphorical), viz. those in which Lot and Jacob are respectively called "brothers" of Abraham and Lahan, the word is only extended so far as to mean "nephew;" and it must be remembered that even these exceptions are quoted from a single book, seventeen centuries earlier than the gospels. If then the word "brethren," as repeatedly applied to James, &c. really mean "cousins" or "kinsmen," it will be the *only* instance of such an application in which no data are given to correct the laxity of meaning. Again, no really parallel case can be quoted from the N. T., except in merely rhetorical and tropical passages; whereas when "nephews" are meant they are always specified as such, as in Col. iv. 10; Acts xvii. 16 (Kitto, *The Apostles*, &c., p. 165, sq.). There is therefore no adequate warrant in the language alone, to take "brethren" as meaning "relatives;" and therefore the *à priori* presumption is in favour of a literal acceptance of the term. We have dwelt the more strongly on this point, because it seems to have been far too easily assumed that no importance is to be attached to the mere fact of their being *invariably* called Christ's brethren; whereas this consideration alone goes far to prove that they really were so.

There are however three traditions respecting them. They are first mentioned (Matt. xiii. 56) in a manner which would certainly lead an unbiased mind to conclude that they were our Lord's uterine brothers. "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not *his mother* called Mary? and *his brethren* James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon? and *his sisters*, are they not all with us?" But since we find that there was a "Mary, the mother of James and Joses" (Matt. xxviii. 36), and that a "James and Judas (?)" were sons of Alphaeus (Luke vi. 15, 16), the most general tradition is—1. That they were all our Lord's first cousins, the sons of Alphaeus (or Clopas—not Cleopas, see Alford, *Gk. Test.* Matt. x. 3) and Mary, the sister of the Virgin. This tradition is accepted by Papias, Jerome (*Cat. Script. Ecc.* 2), Augustine, and the Latin Church generally, and is now the one most commonly received. Yet there seem to be overwhelming arguments against it: for (1.) The reasoning entirely depends on three very doubtful assumptions, viz. *a.* that "his mother's sister" (John xix. 25) must be in apposition with "Mary, the wife of Cleophas," which would be improbable, if only on the ground that it supposes two sisters to have had the same name, a supposition substantiated by no parallel cases [Wieseler (comp. Mark xv. 40) thinks that Salome, the wife of Zebedee, is intended by "his mother's sister"]. *b.* that "Mary, the mother of James" was the wife of Alphaeus, *i. e.* that the James intended is Ἰάκωβος ὁ Ἀλφαίου. *c.* That Cleophas, or more correctly Clopas, whose wife Mary was, is identical with Alphaeus; which may be the case, although it cannot be proved. (2.) If his cousins were meant, it would be signally untrue that "neither did his brethren believe on him" (John vii. 5 sq.), for in all probability three out of the four (viz. James the Less, Matthew (or Levi), and Jude, the brother (?) of James) were actual *Apostles*. We do not see how this objection can be

removed. (3.) It is quite unaccountable that these "brethren of the Lord," if they were only his cousins, should be always mentioned in conjunction with the Virgin Mary, and never with their own mother Mary, who was both alive and in constant attendance on our Lord. (4.) They are generally spoken of as *distinct from* the Apostles; see Acts i. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 15; and Jude (17) seems to clearly imply that he himself was not an Apostle. It seems to us that these four objections are quite adequate to set aside the very slight grounds for identifying the "brethren of the Lord" with the "sons of Alphaeus."

II. A second tradition accepted by Hilary, Epiphanius, and the Greek fathers generally, makes them the sons of Joseph by a former marriage with a certain Escha or Salome of the tribe of Judah; indeed Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 29, §4) even mentions the supposed order of birth of the 4 sons and 2 daughters. But Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.* xii. 49) slights this as a mere conjecture, borrowed from the "decrementa Apocryphorum," and Origen says that it was taken from the Gospel of St. Peter. The only shadow of ground for its possibility is the apparent difference of age between Joseph and the Virgin.

III. They are assumed to have been the offspring of a levirate marriage between Joseph and the wife of his deceased brother Clopas. But apart from all evidence, it is obviously idle to examine so arbitrary an assumption.

The arguments *against* their being the sons of the Virgin after the birth of our Lord, are founded on—(1.) The almost constant tradition of her *ἀειπαρθενία*. St. Basil (*Serm. de S. Nativ.*) even records a story that "Zachary was slain by the Jews between the porch and the altar" for affirming her to be a Virgin *after*, as well as before the birth of her most holy Son (Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dubit.* II. 3, 4). Still the tradition was *not* universal: it was denied, for instance, by large numbers called Antidicomarianitæ and Helvidiani. To quote Ezek. xlv. 2 as any *argument* on the question is plainly absurd. (2.) On the fact that on the cross Christ commended his mother to the care of *St. John*; but this is easily explicable on the ground of his brethren's apparent disbelief in Him at that time, though they seem to have been converted very soon afterwards. (3.) On the identity of their names with those of the sons of Alphaeus. This argument loses all weight, when we remember the constant recurrence of names in Jewish families, and the extreme commonness of these particular names. In the N. T. alone there may be at least five contemporary Jameses, and several Judes, not to mention the 21 Simons, 17 Joses, and 16 Judes mentioned by Josephus.

On the other hand, the arguments for their being our Lord's uterine brothers are numerous, and, *taken collectively*, to an unprejudiced mind almost irresistible, although singly they are open to objections: *a. g.* (1.) The word *παρδρόνος υἱός*, Luke ii. 7. (2.) Matt. i. 25, *οὐκ ἐγγίνωσκεν αὐτῇ υἱὸς οὐ ἔτεκεν*, κ.τ.λ., to which Alford justly remarks, only one meaning could have been attached but for preconceived theories about the *ἀειπαρθενία*. (3.) The general tone of the gospels on the subject, since they are *constantly* spoken of *with* the V. Mary, and with no shadow of a hint that they were not her own children (Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31, &c.). It can we think be hardly denied that any one of these arguments is singly stronger than those produced on the other side.

To sum up then, we have seen (I.) that "the brethren of the Lord" could hardly have been identical with the sons of Alphaeus, and (II.) that we have no grounds for supposing them to have been the sons of Joseph by a previous, or (III.) a levirate marriage; that the arguments in favour of their being actual brothers of our Lord are cogent, and that the tradition on the other side is not sufficiently weighty or unanimous to set them aside. Finally, this tradition of the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord (which any one may hold, if he will, as one of the "pie credibilia," Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.* II. 3, 6) is easily accounted for by the general error on the inferiority of the wedded to the virgin state: Scripture in no way requires us to believe it, and since Mary's previous virginity is alone requisite to the Gospel narrative, we must regard it as a question of mere curiosity. [JAMES; JESUS; JUDE] (Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. III. and notes; Kuinoel and Alford on *Matt.* xiii. 56; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. Matt.* v. 22, &c., &c.). [F. W. F.]

## BUBASTIS. [PIBSETHL]

BUK'KI (בֻּקִּי; *Bokki* and *Bokai*; *Bocci*). 1. Son of Abishua and father of Uzzi, fifth from Aaron in the line of the high-priests in 1 Chr. v. 31, vi. 36 (vi. 5, 51, A. V.), and in the genealogy of Ezra, *Ezra*. vii. 4, and 1 Esdr. viii. 2, where he is called *Bokkai*, *BOCCAS*, which is corrupted to *BORITII*, 2 Esdr. i. 2. Whether Bukki ever filled the office of high-priest, we are not informed in Scripture. Epiphanius in his list of the ancestors of Jehoiada, whom he fancifully supposes to be brother of Elijah the Tishbite, omits both Bukki and Abishua (*Advers. Melchizedec.* iii.). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 1, §3) expressly says that all of Aaron's line between Joseph (Abishua) the high-priest, and Zadok who was made high-priest in the reign of David, were private persons (*idiautouoantes*) i. e. not high-priests, and mentions by name "Bukki the son of Joseph the high-priest," as the first of those who lived a private life, while the pontifical dignity was in the house of Ithamar. But in v. 11, §5 Josephus says as expressly that Abishua (there called Abiezer) having received the high-priesthood from his father Phinehas, transmitted it to his own son Bukki, who was succeeded by Uzzi, after whom it passed to Eli. We may conclude therefore that Josephus had no more means of knowing for certain who were high-priests between Phinehas and Eli, than we have, and may adopt the opinion, which is far the most probable, that there was no high-priest between them, unless perhaps Abishua. For an account of the absurd fancies of the Jews, and the statements of Christian writers relative to the succession of the high-priests at this period, see Selden, *de Success. in Pontif. Hebr.*; also *Genealog. of our Lord*, ch. x. [A. C. H.]

2. Son of Jogli, "prince" (יְנִישִׁי) of the tribe of Dan, one of the ten men chosen to apportion the land of Canaan between the tribes (*Num.* xxiv. 22). (בֻּקִּיָּה, Alex. *Bokki*; *Bocci*.)

BUKKI'AH (בֻּקִּיָּה, *Bukkijahu*; *Bouklas*, Alex. *Bokelas*; *Boccianus*), a Kohathite Levite, of the sons of Heman, one of the musicians in the Temple, the leader of the sixth band or course in the service (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 13).

\* The "princes" are only specified to seven tribes out of the ten: not to Judah, Simeon, or Benjamin.

## BUL. [MONTHS.]

BULLI, BULLOCK, terms used synonymously with ox, oxen, in the A. V. as the representatives of several Hebrew words. Twice in the N. T. as the rendering of ταύρος, *Heb.* ix. 13, x. 4.

בֶּקָר is properly a generic name for horned cattle when of full age and fit for the plough. Accordingly it is variously rendered *bullock* (*Is.* lxiv. 25), *cow* (*Ex.* iv. 15), *oxen* (*Gen.* xii. 16). Hence in *Deut.* xxi. 3, בֶּקָרָהּ is a *heifer*; *Ex.* xix. 1, בֶּקָרָהּ, a *young bullock*; and in *Gen.* xviii. 7, simply בֶּקָרָהּ; rendered a *calf* in A. V. It is derived from an unused root, בָּקַר, to *clear*, hence to *plough*, as in Latin *armentum* is *aramentum*.

שֶׁן differs from בֶּקָר in the same way as שֶׁן, a *sheep*, from שָׂן, a *flock* of sheep. It is a generic name, but almost always signifies *one head of horned cattle*, without distinction of age or sex. It is very seldom used collectively. The Chaldee form of the word, שֶׁן, occurs in *Ezra*. vi. 9, 17, vii. 17; *Dan.* iv. 25, &c.; and *Plutarch* (*Sull.* c. 17) says Θῆρ of Φοίνικες τὴν βοὴν καλοῦσι. It is probably the same word as ταύρος, *taurus*, *German* *stier*; *Engl.* *steer*. The root שֶׁן is not used, but

the Arab. شَرَّ, *excitavit pulverem*, is a very natural derivation of the word.

עֵגֶל-עֵגֶל, a *calf, male or female, property of the first year*, derived, as Gesenius thinks, from an Aethiopic word signifying *fetus, embryo, pullus, vatulus*, while others derive it from עָגַל, *rotavit, rotavit, festinavit*. The word is used of a trained heifer (*Hos.* x. 11), of one giving milk (*Is.* vii. 21, 22), of one used in ploughing (*Judg.* xiv. 18), and of one three years old (*Gen.* xv. 9). Almost synonymous with עֵגֶל is פָּר, the latter signifying generally a young bull of two years old, though in one instance (*Judg.* vi. 25) possibly a bull of seven years old. It is the customary term for bulls offered in sacrifice, and hence is used metaphorically in *Hos.* xiv. 3, "so will we render, 'as bullocks, our lips'."

There are four or five passages in which the word עֵגֶל is used for *bulls*. It is the plural of עֵגֶל, *strong*, whence its use. See *Ps.* xxii. 13, l. 11; *Is.* xxxiv. 7; *Jer.* l. 11.

All the above words refer to domesticated cattle, which formed of old, as now, an important part of the wealth of the people of Palestine. In *Is.* li. 20, the word מִלֵּךְ occurs, and is rendered "wild bull" but "wild ox" in *Deut.* xiv. 5. The LXX. have σαρδαν in the former passage and θύρα in the latter. It was possibly one of the larger species of antelope, and took its name from its swiftness—the

Arabic عَرَب being *cursu anteverit*. The *Antelope Oryx* of Linnæus is indigenous in Syria, Arabia, and Persia. Dr. Robinson mentions large herds of black and almost hairless buffaloes as still existing in Palestine, and these may be the animal indicated (*iii.* 396). [W. D.]

BULRUSH, used synonymously with *Rush* in the A. V. as the rendering of the words אֲנָחַן and אֲנָחַל. In *Is.* ix. 13, xix. 15, we have the

proverbial expression **בִּנְיָן וְרֹשֶׁת**, A. V. "branch and rush," equivalent to high and low alike (the LXX. have *μέγαν καὶ μικρον* in one passage, *ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος* in the other), and in Is. lviii. 5, **בִּנְיָן** is rendered *bulrush*. The word is derived from **בִּנְיָן**, *marsh*, because the bulrush grows in marshy ground. The root **בִּנְיָן** is not in use, but we have

the cognate Arab. verb **بَنَى**, *tepida fuit aqua, corrupta, stagnans*. The bulrush was platted into ropes, as appears from Job xli. 2, where **בִּנְיָן** = *funis junceus* (see Bochart. *Hieroz.* ii. p. 772); comp. Plin. H. N. xix. 2, "*junco Græcos ad funes usos, nomini credamus, quo herbam eam appellant.*" The LXX. have *κρίνον* in Is. lviii. 5, and also in Job xli. 2.

**בִּנְיָן**, translated *bulrush*, occurs in Ex. ii. 3; Is. xviii. 2; translated *rush* in Job viii. 11, and Is. xxxv. 7. It is the Hebrew name of the *Papyrus Niloticus*, which was called so from its quality of absorbing water, the root being **בִּנְיָן**, *sorpsit, hausit*. The Egyptians used this plant for garments, shoes, baskets, various kinds of utensils, and especially for boats. It was the material of the ark in which Moses was exposed, and of it the vessels mentioned in Is. xviii. 2, were formed. This practice is referred to by Lucan (iv. 136), "*Conserisit bibula Memphis cymba papyro,*" and by Pliny (xiii. 11. s. 22) "*Ex ipso quidem papyro navigia texunt.*" (Comp. Cels. *Hierob.* ii. 137-152.) In Job viii. 11, the LXX. have *πάρπος*. [W. D.]

**BUNAH** (**בִּנְיָן**; *Bavad; Huna*), a son of Jerahmeel, of the family of Pharez in Judah (1 Chr. ii. 25).

**BUN'NI**. 1. (**בִּנְיָן**; *Bonni, Boni*), one of the Levites in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. ix. 4); possibly the same person is mentioned in x. 15. The LXX. in both cases translate the name by *vids*.

2. Another Levite, but of earlier date than the preceding (Neh. xi. 15). The name, **בִּנְיָן**, is also slightly different. LXX. omits.

3. Bunni is said to have been the Jewish name of Nikodemus (Lightfoot on John iii. 1; Ewald, v. 233).

**BURIAL, SEPULCHRES, TOMBS**. The Jews uniformly disposed of the corpse by entombment where possible, and failing that, by interment; extending this respect to the remains even of the slain enemy and malefactor (1 K. xi. 15; Deut. xxi. 23), in the latter case by express provision of law. Since this was the only case so guarded by Mosaic precept, it may be concluded that natural feeling was relied on as rendering any such general injunction superfluous. Similarly, to disturb remains was regarded as a barbarity, only justifiable in the case of those who had themselves outraged religion (2 K. xxiii. 16, 17; Jer. viii. 1, 2). The Rabbis quote the doctrine "dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," as a reason for preferring to entomb or inter their dead; but that preferential practice is older than the Mosaic record, as traceable in patriarchal examples, and continued unaltered by any Gentile influence; so Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) notices that it was a point of Jewish custom, *corpora condere quam cremare*.

On this subject we have to notice: 1. the place of burial, its site and shape; 2. the mode of burial; 3. the prevalent notions regarding this duty.

1. A natural cave enlarged and adapted by excavation, or an artificial imitation of one, was the standard type of sepulchre. This was what the structure of the Jewish soil supplied or suggested. A distinct and simple form of sepulchre as contrasted with the complex and elaborate rites of Egypt clings to the region of Palestine and varies but little with the great social changes between the periods of Abrahah and the captivity. Jacob and Joseph, who both died in Egypt, are the only known instances of the Egyptian method applied to patriarchal remains. Sepulchres, when the owner's means permitted it, were commonly prepared beforehand, and stood often in gardens, by roadsides, or even adjoining houses. Kings and prophets alone were probably buried within towns (1 K. ii. 10, xvi. 6, 28; 2 K. x. 35, xij. 9; 2 Chr. xvi. 14, xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. xxv. 1, xxviii. 3). Sarah's tomb and Rachel's seem to have been chosen merely from the accident of the place of death; but the successive interments at the former (Gen. xlix. 31) are a chronicle of the strong family feeling among the Jews. It was the sole fixed spot in the unsettled patriarchal life; and its purchase and transfer, minutely detailed, are remarkable as the sole transaction of the kind, until repeated on a similar occasion at Shechem. Thus it was deemed a misfortune or an indignity, not only to be deprived of burial (Is. xiv. 20; Jer. passim; 2 K. ix. 10), but in a lesser degree to be excluded from the family sepulchre (1 K. xiii. 22), as were Uzziah the royal leper, and Manasseh (2 Chr. xvi. 23, xxxiii. 20). Thus the remains of Saul and his sons were reclaimed to rest in his father's tomb. Similarly it was a mark of a profound feeling towards a person not of one's family to wish to be buried with him (Ruth i. 17; 1 K. xiii. 31), or to give him a place in one's own sepulchre (Gen. xliii. 6; comp. 2 Chr. xxiv. 16). The head of a family commonly provided space for more than one generation; and these galleries of kindred sepulchres are common in many eastern branches of the human race. Cities soon became populous and demanded cemeteries (comp. the term *ποταμὸς θείων*, Ez. xxxix. 15), which were placed without the walls; such an one seems intended by the expression in 2 K. xxiii. 6, "the graves of the children of the people," situated in the valley of the Kedron or of Jehoshaphat. Jeremiah (vii. 32, xix. 11) threatens that the eastern valley called Tophet, the favourite haunt of idolatry, should be polluted by burying there (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 16). Such was also the "Potter's Field" (Matt. xxvii. 7), which had perhaps been wrought by digging for clay into holes serviceable for graves.

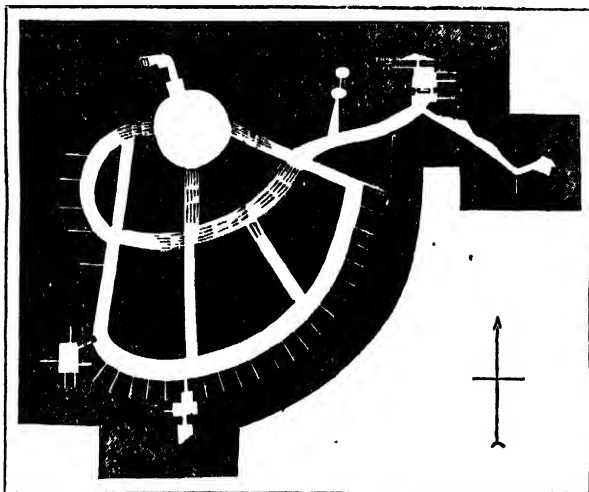
The Mishnaic description of a sepulchre, complete according to Rabbinical notions, is somewhat as follows: a cavern about 6 cubits square, or 6 by 8, from three sides of which are recessed longitudinally several vaults, called **כְּבוֹתִים**, each large enough for a corpse. On the fourth side the cavern is approached through a small open covered court, or portico **מִדְּלָתוֹ**, of a size to receive the bier and bearers. In some such structures the demoniac may have housed. The entry from this court to that cavern was closed by a large stone called **סֶלֶק**, as capable of being rolled, thus confirming the Evangelistic narrative. Sometimes several such caverns, each with its recesses, were entered from the several sides of the same portico. (Mishna, Bava

Batra, 6, 8, quoted by J. Nicolaus *de sepulchris Hebraeorum*.) Such a tomb is that described in Buckingham's *Travels in Arabia* (p. 158), and those known to tradition as the "tombs of the kings" (see below). But earlier sepulchres were doubtless more simple, and, to judge from 2 K. xiii. 21, did not prevent mutual contact of remains. Sepulchres were marked sometimes by pillars, as that of Rachel, or by pyramids as those of the Asmoneans at Modin (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7), and had places of higher and lower honour. Like temples, they were, from their assumed inviolability, sometimes made the depositories of treasures (De Saulcy, ii. 183). We find them also distinguished by a "title" (2 K. xxiii. 17). Such as were not otherwise noticeable were scrupulously "whited" (Matt. xxiii. 27) once a year, after the rains before the passover, to warn passers by of deilement (*Cippi Hebr.* Hottinger, p. 1034; Rossteusch *de sepul. calce notat.* Ugolini, xxxii.).

2. With regard to the mode of burial, we should remember that our impressions, as derived from the O. T., are those of the burial of persons of rank or public eminence, whilst those gathered from the N. T. regard a private station. But in both cases "the manner of the Jews" included the use of spices, where they could command the means. Thus Asa lay in a "bed of spices" (2 Chr. xvi. 14). A portion of these were burnt in honour of the deceased, and to this use was probably destined part of the 100 pounds weight of "myrrh and aloes" in our Lord's case. On high state occasions the vessels, bed, and furniture used by the deceased were burnt also. Such was probably the "great burning" made for Asa. If a king was unpopular or died disgraced (e. g. Jehoram, 2 Chr. xxxi. 19; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 5, §3), this was not observed. In no case, save that of Saul and his sons, were the bodies burned, nor in that case were they so burnt as not to leave the "bones" easily concealed and transported, and the whole proceeding looks like a hasty precaution against hostile violence. Even then the bones were interred, and re-exhumed for solemn entombment. The ambiguous word in Am. vi. 10, מַסְרֵפוֹ, rendered in the A. V. "he that burneth him," probably means "the burner of perfumes in his honour," i. e. his near relation, on whom such duties devolved; not, as Winer (*s. v. Begraben*) and others think, "the burner of the corpse." For a great mortality never causes men to burn corpses where it is not the custom of the country; nor did the custom vary among the Jews on such an occasion (Ez. xxxix. 12-14). It was the office of the next of kin to perform and preside over the whole funeral office; but a company of public buriers, originating in an exceptional necessity (Ez. i. c.), had become, it seems, customary in the times of the N. T. (Acts v. 6, 10). The closing of the eyes, kissing, and washing the corpse (Gen. xli. 4, l. 1; Acts iv. 37), are customs common

to all nations. Coffins were but seldom used, and if used were open; but fixed stone sarcophagi were common in tombs of rank. The bier, the word for which in the O. T. is the same as that rendered bed [see BED], was borne by the nearest relatives, and followed by any who wished to do honour to the dead. The grave-clothes (δένδια, ἐντάφια) were probably of the fashion worn in life, but swathed and fastened with bandages, and the head covered separately. Previously to this being done, spices were applied to the corpse in the form of ointment, or between the folds of the linen; hence our Lord's remark, that the woman had anointed his body, πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάζειν, "with a view to dressing it in these ἐντάφια;" not, as in A. V. "for the burial." For the custom of mourners visiting the sepulchre see MOURNING; for that of frequenting tombs for other purposes, see NECROMANCY.

3. The precedent of Jacob's and Joseph's remains being returned to the land of Canaan was followed, in wish at least, by every pious Jew. Following a similar notion, some of the Rabbins taught that only in that land could those who were buried obtain a share in the resurrection which was to usher in Messiah's reign on earth. Thus that land was called by them "the land of the living," and the sepulchre itself, "the house of the living." Some even feigned that the bodies of the righteous, wherever else buried, rolled back to Canaan underground, and found there only their appointed rest (J. Nicolaus, *de sepult. Heb.* xiii. 1). Tombs were, in popular belief, led by the same teaching, invested with traditions. Thus Machpelah is stated (Lightfoot, *Centuria Chorographia*, s. v. Hebron) to have been the burial-place not only of Abraham and Sarah, but also of Adam and Eve; and there was probably at the time of the N. T. a spot fixed upon by tradition as the site of the tomb of every prophet of note in the O. T. To repair and adorn these was deemed a work of exalted piety (Matt. xxiii. 29). The scruples of the Scribes extended even to the burial of the ass whose neck was broken (Ex. xxxiv. 20), and of the first-born of cattle. (R. Maimon, *de primogen.* ch. iii. §4, quoted by J. Nicolaus, *de sepult. Heb.* xvi. 3, 4.) [H. H.]



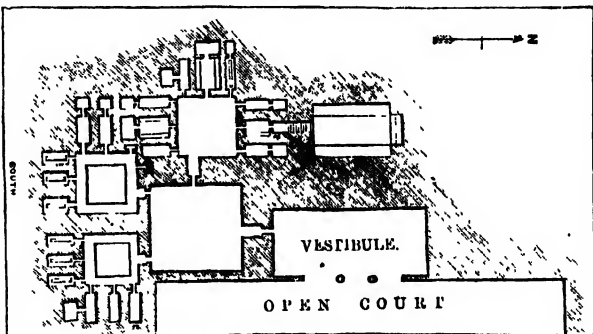
Plan of the Tombs called "Tomb of the Prophets."

The neighbourhood of Jerusalem is thickly studded with tombs, many of them of great antiquity. A succinct but valuable account of them is given in Porter's *Handbook* (p. 143, sq.); but it is only necessary in this article to refer to two or three of the most celebrated. The so-called "Tombs of the Prophets" will be best explained by the preceding plan, taken from Porter (p. 147), and of which he gives the following description:—

"Through a long descending gallery, the first part of which is winding, we enter a circular chamber about 24 ft. in diameter and 10 high, having a hole in its roof. From this chamber two parallel galleries, 10 ft. high and 5 wide, are carried southwards through the rock for about 60 ft., a third diverges S.E., extending 40 ft. They are connected by two cross-galleries in concentric curves, one at their extreme end, the other in the middle. The outer one is 115 ft. long and has a range of thirty niches on the level of its floor, radiating outwards. Two small chambers, with similar niches, also open into it."

The celebrated "Tombs of the Kings" have received this name on account of their remarkable character; but they are supposed by Robinson and Porter to be the tomb of Helena, the widowed queen of Monobazus king of Adiabene. She became a proselyte to Judaism, and fixed her residence at Jerusalem, where she relieved many of the poor during the famine predicted by Agabus in the days of Claudius Caesar (Acts xi. 28), and built for herself a tomb, as we learn from Josephus. (On Helena and her tomb see Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 2 §1, sq., 4, §3; *B. J.* v. 2, §2, 4, §2; Paus. viii. 16, §5; Robinson, i. 361, sq.) Into the question of the origin of these tombs it is, however, unnecessary to enter; but their structure claims our attention. They are excavated out of the rock. The traveller passes through a low arched doorway into a court 92 ft. long by 87 wide. On the western side is a vestibule or porch 39 ft. wide. The open front was supported by two columns in

the middle. Along the front extend a deep frieze and cornice, the former richly ornamented. At the southern side of the vestibule is the entrance to the tomb. The first room is a mere antechamber 18½ ft. by 19. On the S. side are two doors leading to other chambers, and on the W. one. These three chambers have recesses, running into the walls at right angles, and intended for bodies. (For further particulars see Porter, from whose *Handbook* the preceding account is taken.)



Plan of the Tombs called "Tombs of the Kings."

The so-called "Tomb of Zachariah," said to have been constructed in honour of Zachariah, who was slain "between the temple and the altar" in the



The so-called "Tomb of Zachariah." (From Photograph.)

reign of Joash (2 Chr. xxiv. 21; Matt. xxiii. 35), is held in great veneration by the Jews. It is doubtful, however, whether it be a tomb at all, and the style of architecture can scarcely be earlier than our era. A drawing of it is inserted here on account of its celebrity. It bears a considerable resemblance to the so-called tomb of Absalom which is figured on p. 14.

**BURNT-OFFERING** (חֶלֶב or חֶלֶבֶת, and in poetical passages חֶלֶבֶת, i.e. "perfect," *δολοκρπαστος* (Gen.), *δολοκαύτωμα* (Ex. and Lev., &c. LXX.;



Front of the Vestibule of the Tombs called "Tombs of the Kings." (From Photograph.)

*δολοαύρωμα*, N. T.; *holocaustum*, Vulg.). The original derivation of the word *עֹלָה* is from the root *עָלָה* "ascends;" and it is applied to the offering, which was wholly consumed by fire on the altar, and the whole of which, except the refuse ashes, "ascended" in the smoke to God. It corresponds therefore in sense, though not exactly in form, to the word *δολοαύρωμα*, "whole burnt-offering," from which the name of the sacrifice in modern languages is taken. Every sacrifice was in part "a burnt-offering," because, since fire was the chosen manifestation of God's presence, the portion of each sacrifice especially dedicated to Him was consumed by fire. But the term is generally restricted to that which is properly a "whole burnt-offering," the whole of which was so offered and so consumed.

The burnt-offering is first named in Gen. viii. 20, as offered after the Flood. (In iv. 4 we find the more general word *מִנְחָה* "offering," a word usually applied to unbloody sacrifices, though in the LXX. and in Heb. xi. 4 translated by *θυσία*.) Throughout the whole of the book of Genesis (see xv. 9, 17, xxi. 2, 7, 8, 13) it appears to be the only sacrifice referred to; afterwards it became distinguished as one of the regular classes of sacrifice under the Mosaic law.

Now all sacrifices are divided (see Heb. v. 1) into "gifts" and "sacrifices-for-sin" (i. e. eucharistic and propitiatory sacrifices), and of the former of these the burnt-offering was the choicest specimen. Accordingly (in Ps. xl. 8, 9, quoted in Heb. x. 5) we have first (in ver. 8) the general opposition, as above, of sacrifices (*θυσίαι*) (propitiatory), and offerings (*προσφοραί*), and then (in ver. 9) "burnt-offering," as representing the one, is opposed to "sin-offering," as representing the other. Similarly in Ex. x. 25 (less precisely) "burnt-offering" is contrasted with "sacrifice." (So in 1 Sam. xv. 22; Ps. l. 8; Mark xii. 33.) On the other hand, it is distinguished from "meat-offerings" (which were unbloody), and from "peace-offerings" (both of the eucharistic kind), because only a portion of them were consumed. (See 1 K. iii. 15, viii. 64, &c.)

The meaning therefore of the whole burnt-offering was that which is the original idea of all sacrifice, the offering by the sacrificer of himself, soul and body, to God, the submission of his will to the Will of the Lord. See Ps. xl. 10, li. 17, 19, and compare the more general treatment of the subject under the word SACRIFICE. It typified (see Heb. v. 1, 3, 7, 8) our Lord's offering (as especially in the temptation and the agony), the perfect sacrifice of His own human will to the Will of His Father. As that offering could only be accepted from one either sinless or already purified from sin, therefore the burnt-offering (see Ex. xxix. 36, 37, 38; Lev. viii. 14, 18, ix. 8, 12, xvi. 3, 5, &c.) was always preceded by a sin-offering. So also we Christians, because the sin-offering has been made once for all for us, offer the continual burnt-offering of ourselves, "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to the Lord." (See Rom. xii. 1.)

In accordance with this principle it was enacted that with the burnt-offering a "meat-offering" (of

flour and oil) and "drink-offering" of wine should be offered, as showing that, with themselves, men dedicated also to God the chief earthly gifts with which He had blessed them. (Lev. viii. 18, 22, 26, ix. 16, 17, xiv. 20; Ex. xxix. 40; Num. xxviii. 4, 5.)

The ceremonial of the burnt-offering is given in detail in the book of Leviticus. The animal was to be a male unblemished, either a young bullock, ram, or goat, or, in case of poverty, a turtle-dove or pigeon. It was to be brought by the offerer "of his own voluntary will," and slain by himself, after he had laid his hand upon its head, to make it his own representative, on the north side of the altar. The priest was then to sprinkle the blood upon the altar,\* and afterwards to cut up and burn the whole victim, only reserving the skin for himself. The birds were to be offered similarly, but not divided. (See Lev. i., vii. 8, viii. 18-21, &c.) It will be observed how all these ceremonies were typical of the meaning described above, and especially how emphatically the freedom of will in the sacrificer is marked.

The burnt-offering being thus the rite which represented the normal state and constant duty of man, when already in covenant with God,<sup>b</sup> was the one kind of sacrifice regularly appointed. Thus there were, as *public burnt-offerings*—

1st. *The daily burnt-offering*, a lamb of the first year, sacrificed every morning and evening (with an offering of flour and wine) for the people (Ex. xxix. 38-42; Num. xxviii. 3-8).

2ndly. *The Sabbath burnt-offering*, double of that which was offered every day (Num. xxviii. 8-10).

3rdly. *The offering at the new moon, at the three great festivals, the great Day of Atonement, and feast of trumpets*: generally two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs. (See Num. xxviii. 11-xxix. 39.)

*Private burnt-offerings* were appointed at the consecration of priests (Ex. xxix. 15; Lev. viii. 18, ix. 12), at the purification of women (Lev. xii. 6, 8), at the cleansing of the lepers (Lev. xiv. 19), and removal of other ceremonial uncleanness (xv. 15, 30), on any accidental breach of the Nazarite vow, or at its conclusion (Num. vi.; comp. Acts xxi. 26), &c.

But *freewill burnt-offerings* were offered and accepted by God on any solemn occasions, as, for example, at the dedication of the tabernacle (Num. vii.) and of the temple (1 K. viii. 64), when they were offered in extraordinary abundance. But, except on such occasions, the nature, the extent, and the place of the sacrifice were expressly limited by God, so that, while all should be unblemished and pure, there should be no idea (as among the heathen) of buying His favour by costliness of sacrifice. Of this law Jephthah's vow was a transgression, consistent with the semi-heathenish character of his early days (see Judg. xi. 3, 24). The sacrifice of cows in 1 Sam. vi. 14 was also a formal infraction of it, excused by the probable ignorance of the people, and the special nature of the occasion.

[A. B.]

BUSHEL. [MEASURES.]

\* It is clear that in this ceremony the burnt-offering touched closely on the propitiatory or sin-offering; although the solemnity of the blood-sprinkling in the latter was much greater, and had a peculiar significance. It is, of course, impossible that the forms of sacrifices should be rigidly separated, because the

ideas which they enshrine, though capable of distinction, are yet inseparable from one another.

<sup>b</sup> This is remarkably illustrated by the fact that heathens were allowed to offer burnt-offerings, and that Augustus ordered two lambs and a bullock to be offered for him every day (Joseph. B. J. ii. 17, §2).

**BUTTER** (חֶמֶן, *chem'hân*; *Βούτυρον*, *butyrun*), curdled milk, as distinguished from חֶלֶב, *fresh milk*; hence *curds*, *butter*, and in one place probably *cheese*. It comes from an unused

root, חֶמֶן = Arab. حَمَّ, *spissum fuit lac*. In Gen. xviii. 8, *butter and milk* are mentioned among the things which Abraham set before his heavenly guests (comp. Judg. v. 25; 2 Sam. xvii. 29). Milk is generally offered to travellers in Palestine in a curdled or sour state, "*lebben*," thick, almost like butter (comp. Josephus' rendering in Judg. iv. 19:—γάλα διεφθόρος ἦν). In Deut. xxxii. 15, we find חֶמֶן וְחֶלֶב בֵּין חֶמֶן among the blessings which Joshua had enjoyed, where milk of kine would seem contrasted with milk of sheep. The two passages in Job (xx. 17, xix. 6) where the word חֶמֶן occurs are also best satisfied by rendering it *milk*; and the same may be said of Ps. lv. 21, which should be compared with Job xxix. 6.

In Prov. xxx. 33, Gesenius thinks that cheese is meant, the word חֶמֶן signifying *pressure* rather than churning. Jarchi (on Gen. xviii. 8) explains חֶמֶן to be *pinguedo lactis, quam de ejus superficie colligunt*, i. e. cream, and Vittinga and Hitzig give this meaning to the word in Is. vii. 15-22. Butter was not in use among the Greeks and Romans except for medicinal purposes, but this fact is of no weight as to its absence from Palestine. Robinson mentions the use of butter at the present day (*Bib. Res.* i. 449), and also the method of churning (i. 485, and ii. 418), and from this we may safely infer that the art of butter-making was known to the ancient inhabitants of the land, so little have the habits of the people of Palestine been modified in the lapse of centuries. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, i. p. 52) mentions the different uses of butter by the Arabs of the Hedjaz. [W. D.]

**BUZ** (בּוּז, *contempt*; δ *Baûz*), the second son of Milah and Nahor (Gen. xii. 21). The genitive name is בּוּזִי, and Elihu is called "the Buzite" (בּוּזִי-הַנָּזֵר) of the kindred of Ram, i. e. Aram. Elihu was therefore probably a descendant of Buz, whose family seems to have settled in Arabia Deserta or Petraea, since Jeremiah (xxv. 23 'Pûr), in denouncing God's judgments against them, mentions them with Thema and Dedan. Some connect the territory of Buz with Busan, a Roman fort mentioned in Amm. Marc. xviii. 10, and others with Baza in Arabia Petraea, which however has only the first letter in common with it (Winer, s. v.).

The jingle of the names Huz and Buz is by no means so apparent in the Hebrew (חֻז, בּוּז); but it is quite in the Oriental taste to give to relations these rhyming appellatives; comp. Ishua and Ishui (Gen. xvi. 17); Meluajael and Methusael (Gen. iv.), Uzziel and Uzzi (1 Chr. vii. 7); and among the Arabians, Haroot and Marout the rebel angels, Hasan and Huseyn, the sons of 'Alee, &c. The Koran abounds in such homoioteleuta, and so pleasing are they to the Arabs, that they even call Cain and Abel, Kabil and Habil (Weil's *Bibl. Legends*, 23; also Southey's *Notes to Thalaba*), or Habil and Habid (see Stanley, 413). The same idiom is found in Mahatta and the modern languages of the East.

2. A name occurring in the genealogies of the

tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 14). (Βούξ, Alex. 'Αυξ-Βούξ; *Buz*). [F. W. F.]

**BU'ZI** (בּוּזִי, no article; Βουζί, *Buzi*), father of Ezekiel the prophet (Ez. i. 3).

**BYSSUS**. [LINEN.]

## C

**CAB**. [MEASURES.]

**CAB'BON** (כַּבּוֹן; Καββᾶ; Alex. Καββᾶ; *Chelbon*), a town in the low country (*Shefelah*) of Judah (Josh. xv. 40) which is only once mentioned, and of which nothing has been since discovered. ● [G.]

**CA'BUL** (כַּבּוּל; Χωθαμασσομέλ, including the Hebrew word following, כַּבּוּלָה; Alex. Καβῶλ; *Cabul*), a place named as one of the landmarks on the boundary of Asher (Josh. xix. 27). From its mention in proximity to Jiphthach-el—afterwards Jotapata, and now *Jefat*—it is probable that it is the same with that spoken of by Josephus (*Vit.* §43, 45) as in the district of I'otemais, and 40 stadia from Jotapata. In this case it may fairly be considered as still existing in the modern *Kabûl*, which was found by Dr. Smith and by Robinson 8 or 9 miles east of *Akht*, and about the same distance from *Jefat* (Rob. iii. 87, 8. For references to the Talmuds see Schwarz, 192). Being thus on the very borders of Galilee, it is more than probable that there is some connection between this place and the district (כַּבּוּלָה, "the land of C.") containing twenty cities, which was presented by Solomon to Hiram king of Tyre (1 K. ix. 11-14). The LXX. rendering of the name, "Οριον, appears to arise from their having read כַּבּוּל, *Gebool*, "boundary," for כַּבּוּל.

On the other hand, the explanation of Josephus is quite in accordance with that hinted at in the text—itself thoroughly in keeping with Oriental modes of speech. Hiram, not liking Solomon's gift, seizes on the name of one of the cities, which in his own Phœnician tongue expresses his disappointment (κατὰ φωνικὴν γλῶτταν, οὐκ ἀρέσκον, Jos. Ant. viii. 5, §3), and forms from it a designation for the whole district. The pun is doubtless a Phœnician one, since there is no trace of it in the Hebrew beyond the explanation in ver. 12, "they pleased him not;" the Hebrew words for which, כַּבּוּלָה וְכַבּוּל, have no affinity whatever with "Cabul." See however possible derivations of the name in the *Onomasticon* of Simonis (p. 417), and Hiller (435, 775). [G.]

**CAD'DIS** (Καδδῖς; *Gaddis*), the surname (καλούμενος) of JOANNAN, the eldest brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. ii. 2).

**CADES**, 1 Mac. xi. 63, 73. [KEDESH.]

**CA'DES-BARNE** (Κάδης Βαρνή; Vulg. *has* different reading), Judith v. 14. [KADESH-BARNEA.]

**CAD'MIEL** (Καδομήλος; Alex. Καδομήλος; *Caduhel*), 1 Esd. v. 26, 58. [KADMIEL.]

**CAESAR** (*Καῖσαρ*, also *ὁ Σεβαστός* [AUGUSTUS] in Acts xxv. 21, 25), always in the N. T. the Roman emperor, the sovereign of Judaea (John xix. 15; Acts xvii. 7). It was to him that the Jews paid tribute (Matt. xxii. 17 ff.; Luke xx. 22, xxiii. 2); and to him that such Jews as were *ciccs Romani* had the right of appeal (Acts xxv. 11 f., xxvi. 32, xxviii. 19); in which case, if their cause was a criminal one, they were sent to Rome (Acts xxv. 12, 21,—comp. Pliny, *Epp.* x. 97); where was the court of the emperor (Phil. iv. 22). The N. T. history falls entirely within the reigns of the five first Roman Caesars, viz., Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; only the two former of whom, and Claudius, are mentioned by name; but Nero is the emperor alluded to in the Acts from ch. xxv. to the end, and in Phil. (I. c.), and possibly in the Apocalypse. See further under AUGUSTUS, and under the names of the several Caesars above-mentioned. [H. A.]

**CAESARE'A** (*Καῖσαρεα*, Acts viii. 40, ix. 30, x. 1, 24, xi. 11, xii. 19, xviii. 22, xxi. 8, 16; xxiii. 23, 33; xxv. 1, 4, 6, 13). The passages just enumerated show how important a place this city occupies in the Acts of the Apostles. It was the residence, apparently for several years, of Philip, one of the seven deacons or almoners (viii. 40, xxi. 8, 16), and the scene of the conversion of the Italian centurion, Cornelius (x. 1; 24, xi. 11). Here Herod Agrippa I. died (xii. 19). From hence St. Paul sailed to Tarsus, when forced to leave Jerusalem on his return from Damascus (ix. 30), and at this port he landed after his second missionary journey (xviii. 22). He also spent some time at Caesarea on his return from the third missionary journey (xxi. 8, 16), and before long was brought back a prisoner to the same place (xxiii. 23, 33), where he remained two years in bonds before his voyage to Italy (xxv. 1, 4, 6, 13).

Caesarea was situated on the coast of Palestine, on the line of the great road from Tyre to Egypt, and about half way between Joppa and Dora (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21, §5). The journey of St. Peter from Joppa (Acts x. 24) occupied rather more than a day. On the other hand St. Paul's journey from Ptolemais (Acts xxi. 8) was accomplished within the day. The distance from Jerusalem was about 70 miles; Josephus states it in round numbers as 600 stadia (*Ant.* xiii. 11, §2; *B. J.* i. 3, §5). The Jerusalem Itinerary gives 68 miles (*Wesseling*, p. 600. Dr. Robinson thinks this ought to be 78: *Bib. Res.* ii. 242, note). It has been ascertained, however, that there was a shorter road by *Antipatris* than that which is given in the Itinerary,—a point of some importance in reference to the night-journey of Acts xxiii. [ANTIPATRIS].

In Strabo's time there was on this point of the coast merely a town called "Strato's tower" with a landing-place (*πρόσβασις ἔκων*), whereas, in the time of Tacitus, Caesarea is spoken of as being the head of Judaea ("Judaene caput," Tac. *Hist.* ii. 79). It was in this interval that the city was built by Herod the Great. The work was in fact accomplished in ten years. The utmost care and expense were lavished on the building of Caesarea. It was a proud monument of the reign of Herod, who named it in honour of the Emperor Augustus. The full name was *Καῖσαρεα Σεβαστή* (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, §1). It was sometimes called Caesarea Stratonis, and Caesarea Palaestinae; sometimes also (from its position) *παρὰ τὸς* (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 9,

§1), or *ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ* (id. vii. 1, §3). It must be carefully distinguished from CAESAREA PHILIPPI.

The magnificence of Caesarea is described in detail by Josephus in two places (*Ant.* xv. 9; *B. J.* i. 21). The chief features were connected with the harbour (itself called *Σεβαστὸς λιμὴν* on coins, and by Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 5, §1), which was equal in size to the Piræus. A vast breakwater, composed of stones 50 feet long, curved round so as to afford complete protection from the south-westerly winds, leaving an opening only on the north. Broad landing-wharves surrounded the harbour; and conspicuous from the sea was a temple, dedicated to Caesar and to Rome, and containing colossal statues of the Emperor and the Imperial City. Caesarea contained also an amphitheatre and a theatre. The latter was the scene of the death of Herod Agrippa I. Caesarea was the official residence of the Hæroclidian kings, and of Festus, Felix, and the other Roman procurators of Judaea. Here also were the head-quarters of the military forces of the province. It was by no means strictly a Jewish city. The Gentile population predominated; and at the synagogue-worship the Scriptures of the O. T. were read in Greek. Constant feuds took place here between the Jews and Greeks; and an outbreak of this kind was one of the first incidents of the great war. It was at Caesarea that Vespasian was declared emperor. He made it a Roman colony, called it by his name, and gave to it the *Jus Italicum*. The history of the place, during the time of its greatest eminence, is summed up in one sentence by Pliny:—"Statonis turis, eadem Caesarea, ab Herode rege condita: nunc Colonia prima Flavia, a Vespasiano Imperatore deducta" (v. 14).

To the Biblical geographer Caesarea is interesting as the home of Eusebius. It was also the scene of some of Origen's labours and the birth-place of Procopius. It continued to be a city of some importance even in the time of the Crusades. Now, though an Arabic corruption of the name still lingers on the site (*Kaisariyeh*), it is utterly desolate; and its ruins have for a long period been a quarry, from which other towns in this part of Syria have been built. (See Buckingham's *Travels* and the Appendix to vol. i. of Dr. Traill's *Josephus*.) [J. S. H.]

**CAESAREA PHILIPPI** (*Καῖσαρεα ἡ Φιλιπποῦ*) is mentioned only in the two first Gospels (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27) and in accounts of the same transactions. The story in Eusebius, that the woman healed of the issue of blood, and supposed to have been named Berenice, lived at this place, rests on no foundation.

Caesarea Philippi was the northernmost point of our Lord's journeyings; and the passage in His life, which was connected with the place, was otherwise a very marked one. (See Stanley's *Sinai & Palestine*, p. 391.) The place itself too is remarkable in its physical and picturesque characteristics, and also in its historical associations. It was at the easternmost and most important of the two recognised sources of the Jordan, the other being at *Tell-el-Kadi*. [DAN or LAISH, which by Winer and others has been erroneously identified with Caes. Philippi.] Not that either of these sources is the most distant fountain-head of the Jordan, the name of the river being given (as in the case of the Mississippi and Missouri, to quote Dr. Robinson's illustration, not to the most remote fountains, but the most copious. The spring rises, and the city was built, on a limestone terrace in a

valley at the base of Mount Hermon. Caesarea Philippi has no O. T. history, though it has been not unreasonably identified with *Baal-Gad*. Its annals run back direct from Herod's time into heathenism. There is no difficulty in identifying it with the *Panion* of Josephus; and the inscriptions are not yet obliterated, which show that the God Pan had once a sanctuary at this spot. Here Herod the Great erected a temple to Augustus, the town being then called from the grotto where Pan had been honoured. It is worth while here to quote in succession the words of Josephus and of Dr. Robinson:—"Herod, having accompanied Caesar to the sea and returned home, erected him a beautiful temple of white marble near the place called Panium. This is a fine cavern in a mountain; under which there is a great cavity in the earth; and the cavern is abrupt, and very deep, and full of still water. Over it hangs a vast mountain, and under the mountain rise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar." (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, §3; comp. *B. J.* i. 21, §3). "The situation is unique; combining in an unusual degree the elements of grandeur and beauty. It nestles in its recess at the southern base of the mighty Hermon, which towers in majesty to an elevation of 7000 or 8000 feet above. The abundant waters of the glorious fountain spread over the terrace luxuriant fertility and the graceful interchange of copse, lawn and waving fields." (Robinson, iii. 404.)

Panium became part of the territory of Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, who enlarged and embellished the town, and called it Caesarea Philippi, partly after his own name, and partly after that of the emperor (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §1; *B. J.* ii. 9, §1). Agrippa II. followed in the same course of flattery, and called the place *Neronias* (*Ant.* xx. 9, §4). Josephus seems to imply in his life (*Vit.* 13) that many heathens resided here. Titus exhibited gladiatorial shows at Caesarea Philippi after the end of the Jewish war (*B. J.* vii. 2, §1). The old name was not lost. Coins of *Caesarea Paneas* continued through the reigns of many emperors. Under the simple name of *Paneas* it was the seat of a Greek bishopric in the period of the great councils and of a Latin bishopric during the crusades. It is still called *Baniyas*, the first name having here, as in other cases, survived the second. A remarkable monument, which has seen all the periods of the history of Caesarea Philippi, is the vast castle above the site of the city, built in Syro-Greek or even Phœnician times, and, after receiving additions from the Saracens and Franks, still the most remarkable fortress in the Holy Land. [J. S. H.]

**CAGE.** The term so rendered in Jer. v. 27, צִיָּה, is more properly a *trap* (παγίς, *decipula*), in which decoy birds were placed: the same article is referred to in Eccus. xi. 30 under the term κάραλλος, which is elsewhere used of a tapering basket. [FOWLING.] In Rev. xviii. 2 the Greek term is φυλακή, meaning a prison or restricted habitation rather than a cage. [W. L. B.]

**CAIAPHAS** (Καϊάφας, said (Winer, &c.) to be derived from נִדְּבָא, *depressio*, Targ. Prov. xvi. 26), in full ΙΩΣΗΦΙ ΚΑΙΑΦΑΣ (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 2), high-priest of the Jews under Tiberius during the years of our Lord's public ministry, and at the

time of his condemnation and crucifixion. Matt. xvi. 3, 57 (Mark and Luke do not name him); John xi. 49, xviii. 13, 14, 24, 28; Acts iv. 6. The Procurator Valerius Gratus, shortly before his leaving the province, appointed him to the dignity, which was before held by Simon ben-Camith. He held it during the whole procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, but soon after his removal from that office was deposed by the Proconsul Vitellius (A.D. 36), and succeeded by Jonathan, son of Ananias (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §3). He was son-in-law of Annas. [ANNAS.] Some in the ancient church confounded him with the historian Josephus, and believed him to have become a convert to Christianity. (Assmann, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 165.) [H. A.]

**CAIN** (קַיִן, derived either from קַיִן, *to acquire*, Gen. iv. 1; from קַיִן, *a spear*, as indicative of the violence used by Cain and Lamech, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 120; or from an Arabic word *kayn*, *a smith*, in reference to the arts introduced by the Cainites, von Bohlen, *Introd.* to Gen. ii. 85; קַיִן; Joseph. *Kdīs; Cain*). The historical facts in the life of Cain, as recorded in Gen. iv., are briefly these:—He was the eldest son of Adam and Eve; he followed the business of agriculture; in a fit of jealousy, roused by the rejection of his own sacrifice and the acceptance of Abel's, he committed the crime of murder, for which he was expelled from Eden, and led the life of an exile; he settled in the land of Nod, and built a city which he named after his son Enoch; his descendants are enumerated, together with the inventions for which they were remarkable. Occasional references to Cain are made in the N. T. (Heb. xi. 4; 1 John iii. 12; Jude 11.)

The following points deserve notice in connexion with the Biblical narrative:—1. The position of the land of Nod. The name itself tells us little; it means *flight* or *exile*, in reference to v. 12 where a cognate word is used: von Bohlen's attempt to identify it with India, as though the Hebrew name *Ilind* (הִינד) had been erroneously read *ham-Nod*, is too far fetched; the only indication of its position is the indefinite notice that it was "east of Eden" (16), which of course throws us back to the previous settlement of the position of Eden itself. Knobel (*Comm.* in loc.), who adopts an ethnological interpretation of the history of Cain's descendants, would identify Nod with the whole of Eastern Asia, and even hints at a possible connexion between the names Cain and China. It seems vain to attempt the identification of Nod with any special locality; the direction "east of Eden" may have reference to the previous notice in iii. 24, and may indicate that the land was opposite to (κατέναντι, LXX.) the entrance, which was barred against his return. It is not improbable that the *east* was further used to mark the direction which the Cainites took, as distinct from the Sethites, who would, according to Hebrew notions, be settled towards the west. Similar observations must be made in regard to the city Enoch, which has been identified with the names of the Heniochi, a tribe in Caucasus (Hasse), Anuchta, a town in Susiana (Huetius), Chnago, an ancient town in India (von Bohlen), and Iconium, as the place where the deified king Anncas was honoured (Ewald): all such attempts at identification must be subordinated to the previous settlement of the position of Eden and Nod.

2. The "mark set upon Cain" has given rise to

various speculations, many of which would never have been broached, if the Hebrew text had been consulted: the words probably mean that Jehovah gave a sign to Cain, very much as signs were afterwards given to Noah (Gen. ix. 13), Moses (Ex. iii. 2, 12), Elijah (1 K. xix. 11), and Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 7, 8). Whether the sign was perceptible to Cain alone, and given to him once for all, in token that no man should kill him, or whether it was one that was perceptible to others, and designed as a precaution to them, as is implied in the A. V., is uncertain; the nature of the sign itself is still more uncertain.

3. The narrative implies the existence of a considerable population in Cain's time; for he fears lest he should be murdered in return for the murder he had committed (14). Josephus (*Ant. i. 2, §1*) explains his fears as arising not from men but from wild beasts; but such an explanation is wholly unnecessary. The family of Adam may have largely increased before the birth of Seth, as is indeed implied in the notice of Cain's wife (17), and the mere circumstance that none of the other children are noticed by name may be explained on the ground that their lives furnished nothing worthy of notice.

4. The character of Cain deserves a brief notice. He is described as a man of a morose, malicious, and revengeful temper; and that he presented his offering in this state of mind is implied in the rebuke contained in ver. 7, which may be rendered thus: "If thou dost well (or, as the LXX. has it, *ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς*), is there not an elevation of the countenance (i. e. cheerfulness and happiness)? but if thou dost not well, there is a sinking of the countenance: sin lurketh (as a wild beast) at the door, and to thee is its desire: but thou shalt rule over it." The narrative implies therefore that his offering was rejected on account of the temper in which it was brought.

5. The descendants of Cain are enumerated to the sixth generation. Some commentators (Knobel, von Bohlen) have traced an artificial structure in this genealogy, by which it is rendered parallel to that of the Sethites: e. g. there is a decade of names in each, commencing with Adam and ending with Jubal and Noah, the deficiency of generations in the Cainites being supplied by the addition of the two younger sons of Lamech to the list; and there is a considerable similarity in the names, each list containing a Lamech and an Enoch; while Cain in the one = Cain-an in the other, Methuselah = Methuselah, and Mehujel = Mahalalel: the inference from this comparison being that the one was framed out of the other. It must be observed, however, that the differences far exceed the points of similarity; that the order of the names, the number of generations, and even the meanings of those which are noticed as similar in sound, are sufficiently distinct to remove the impression of artificial construction.

6. The social condition of the Cainites is prominently brought forward in the history. Cain himself was an agriculturist, Abel a shepherd: the successors of the latter are represented by the Sethites and the progenitors of the Hebrew race in later times, among whom a pastoral life was always held in high honour from the simplicity and devotional habits which it engendered: the successors of the former are depicted as the reverse in all these respects. Cain founded the first city; Lamech instituted polygamy; Jubal introduced the nomadic

life; Jubal invented musical instruments; Tubalcain was the first smith; Lamech's language takes the stately tone of poetry; and even the names of the women, Naamah (*pleasant*), Zillah (*shadow*), Adah (*ornamental*), seem to bespeak an advanced state of civilization. But along with this, there was violence and godlessness; Cain and Lamech furnish proof of the former, while the concluding words of Gen. iv. 26 imply the latter.

7. The contrast established between the Cainites and the Sethites appears to have reference solely to the social and religious condition of the two races. On the one side there is pictured a high state of civilization, unsanctified by religion, and productive of luxury and violence; on the other side, a state of simplicity which afforded no material for history beyond the declaration "then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." The historian thus accounts for the progressive degeneration of the religious condition of man, the evil gaining a pre-dominance over the good by its alliance with worldly power and knowledge, and producing the state of things which necessitated the flood.

8. Another motive may be assigned for the introduction of this portion of sacred history. All ancient nations have loved to trace up the invention of the arts to some certain author, and, generally speaking, these authors have been regarded as objects of divine worship. Among the Greeks, Apollo was held to be the inventor of music, Vulcan of the working of metals, Triptolemus of the plough. A similar feeling of curiosity prevailed among the Hebrews; and hence the historian has recorded the names of those to whom the invention of the arts was traditionally assigned, obviating at the same time the dangerous error into which other nations had fallen, and reducing the estimate of their value by the position which their inventors held. [W. L. B.]

CAIN<sup>1</sup> (with the article, *כַּיִן* = "the lance," Gen.; but may it not be derived from *כֵּן*, *Kēn*, "a nest," possibly in allusion to its position; *Zanawadu*, Alex. *Zawawadu*, both by including name preceding; *Accain*); one of the cities in the low country (*Shefelah*) of Judah, named with Zanoah and Gibeah (Josh. xv. 56). It does not appear to have been mentioned or identified by any one. [G.]

CAINAN (Marg., correctly Kenan; *כֵּנָן*; *Kān-vān*; *Cainan*; *possessor*, *Fürst*; *tel. faber*, Gesen., as if = *כֵּן* from the Arab. *to forge*, as in Tubalcain, Gen. iv. 22: see Dr. Mill's *Vind. of our Lord's Geneal.* p. 150). 1. Son of Enos, aged 70 years when he begat Mahalalel his son. He lived 840 years afterwards, and died aged 910 (Gen. v. 9-14). The rabbinical tradition was that he first introduced idol-worship and astrology—a tradition which the Hellenists transferred to the post-diluvian Cainan. Thus Ephrem-Syrus asserts that the Chaldees in the time of Terah and Abram worshipped a graven god called Cainan; and Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, another Syriac author, also applies it to the son of Arphaxad (Mill, *ut sup.*). The origin of the tradition is not known; but it may probably have been suggested by the meaning of the supposed root in Arabic and the Aramean dialects; just

<sup>1</sup> The letter *כ* is generally rendered in the A. V. by *K*. A possible connexion of this name with that of the "Kenites" is obscured by the form *Cain*, which is probably derived from the Vulgate.

as another signification of the same root seems to have suggested the tradition that the daughters of Cain were the first who made and sang to musical instruments (Gesen. s. v. חָנַן).

2. Son of Arphaxad, and father of Sala, according to Luke iii. 35, 36, and usually called the second Cainan. He is also found in the present copies of the LXX. in the genealogy of Shem, Gen. x. 24, xi. 12, and 1 Chr. i. 18 (though he is omitted in 1 Chr. i. 24), but is nowhere named in the Hebrew codex, nor in any of the versions made from the Hebrew, as the Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, &c. Moreover it can be demonstrated that the intrusion of the name into the version of the LXX. is comparatively modern, since Augustine is the first writer who mentions it as found in the O. T. at all;\* and since we have the absolute certainty that it was not contained in any copies of the Alexandrine Bible which either Berosus, Eupolemus, Polyhistor, Josephus, Philo, Theophilus of Antioch, Julius Africanus, Origen, Eusebius, or even Jerome, had access to. It seems certain therefore that his name was introduced into the genealogies of the Greek O. T. in order to bring them into harmony with the genealogy of Christ in St. Luke's Gospel, where Cainan was found in the time of Jerome. The question is thus narrowed into one concerning its introduction into the Gospel. It might have been thought that it had found its way by accident into the genealogy of Joseph, and that Luke inserted that genealogy exactly as he found it. But as Beza's very ancient MS. presented to the University of Cambridge, does not contain the name of Cainan, and there is strong ground for supposing that neither did Irenaeus's copy of St. Luke, it seems on the whole more probable that Cainan was not inserted by St. Luke himself, but was afterwards added, either by accident, or to make up the number of generations to 17, or from some other cause which cannot now be discovered. For further information, see *Geneal. of our Lord J. C.*, ch. viii.; Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarch.* ii. 8-15; Bochart, *Phaleg*, lib. ii. cap. 13; and for the opposite view, Mill's *Vind. of our Lord's Geneal.* p. 143 sqq. [A. C. H.]

**CAIUS.** [JOHN, SECOND AND THIRD EPISTOLICALS.] [BREAD.] [TLES OF.]

**CALAH** (כַּלַּח; Καλαχ; Chale), one of the most ancient cities of Assyria. Its foundation is ascribed to the patriarch Ashur (Gen. x. 11). The name has been thought identical with the Halah (חֲלָה), which is found in Kings (2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11) and Chronicles (1 Chr. v. 26); but this view is unsupported by the Septuagint, which renders Halah by Ἀλαῖ. According to the opinion of the best Oriental antiquaries, the site of Calah is marked by the *Nimrod* ruins, which have furnished so large a proportion of the Assyrian remains at present in England. If this be regarded as ascertained, Calah must be considered to have been at one time (about B.C. 930-720) the capital of the empire. It was the residence of the warlike Sardanapalus and his successors down to the time of Sargon, who built a new capital, which he called by his

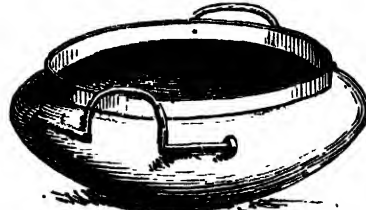
own name, on the site occupied by the modern *Khorsabad*. Calah still continued under the later kings to be a town of importance, and was especially favoured by Esarhaddon, who built there one of the grandest of the Assyrian palaces. In later times it gave name to one of the chief districts of the country, which appears as Calacine (Ptolem. vi. 1) or Calachène (Strab. xvi. 1, §1) in the geographers. [G. R.]

**CALAMO'LALUS** (Καλαμωλλός; *Chlomis*), 1 Esdr. v. 22, a corrupt name, apparently agglomerated of ELAM, LOD, and HADID.

**CALAMUS** (קָנָה; κάλαμος). This word occurs three times in A. V.—Ex. xxx. 23 among the ingredients of the holy anointing oil,—Cant. iv. 14 in an enumeration of the sweet scents,—and Ex. xxvii. 19, among the articles brought to the markets of Tyre. קָנָה is properly the marsh and river reed, and is used in that sense in various passages of Scripture [REED]; but in the places just referred to it signifies the *Calamus odoratus*, an Indian and Arabian plant (Plin. xii. 12, 48), of which the Linnaean name is *Acorus calamus*. No doubt the same plant is intended in Is. xlii. 24; Jer. vi. 20; where A. V. has *sweet cane*. In the latter text the Heb. is קָנָה הַפֶּשֶׁת, and in Ex. xxx. 23, קָנָה בָּשֵׁם. "A scented cane is said to have been found in a valley of Mount Lebanon (Polyb. v. 46; Strab. xvi. 4). The plant has a reed-like stem which is extremely fragrant, like the leaves, especially when bruised. It is of a tawny colour, much jointed, breaking into splinters, and having the hollow stem filled with pith like a spider's web." (Kalisch on Ex. xxx. 23.) [W. D.]

**CAL'COL** (כַּלְכָּל; Καλχάλ, Χαλκός; Chalchal, Chalcol), a man of Judah, son or descendant of Zerah (1 Chr. ii. 6). Probably identical with CHALCOL (A. V. only; no difference in the Hebrew), son of Mahol, one of the four wise men whom Solomon excelled in wisdom (1 K. iv. 31). For the grounds of this identification see DARDA. [G.]

**CALDRON.** 1. קִדְרִין, probably from קִדְרִין, *boil*, akin to Arab. كَلَد, *to be moved*, as water in boiling; a pot or kettle; also a basket. 2. קִדְרִין, a pot or kettle. 3. אִתְּנִין, or אִתְּנִין. 4. קִדְרִין, from קִדְרִין, *pour*. אִתְּנִין, *χύτρα, ποδιστήρ, lebes, olla*. A vessel for boiling flesh, either for ceremonial or domestic



Bronze caldron from Egyptian Thebes. (Brit. Mus.)

\* Demetrius (a.c. 170), quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 21), reckons 1360 years from the birth of Shem to Jacob's going down to Egypt, which seems to include the 130 years of Cainan. But in the great fluctuation of the numbers in the ages of the patri-

archs, no reliance can be placed on this argument. Nor have we any certainty that the figures have not been altered in the modern copies of Eusebius, to make them agree with the computation of the altered copies of the LXX.

use (2 Chr. xxxv. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 14; Mic. iii. 3; Job xli. 20). [H. W. P.]

**CALEB** (כָּלֵב; *Xalæß*; *dog*, Gesen.; *Beller*, *Kläffer*, i. e. *barker*, Fürst). 1. According to 1 Chr. ii. 9, 18, 19, 42, 50, the son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah, and the father of Hur by Ephrath or Ephratah, and consequently grandfather of Caleb the spy. His brothers, according to the same authority, were Jerahmeel and Ram; his wives Azubah, Jerioth, and Ephratah; and his concubines Ephah and Maachah (ver. 9, 42, 46, 48). But from the manifest corruption of the text in many parts of the chapter, from the name being written כְּלֵבִי in ver. 9, which looks like a patronymic, from כְּלֵב, Chelub (1 Chr. iv. 11) the brother of Shuah, from the evident confusion between the two Calebs at ver. 49, and from the non-appearance of this elder Caleb anywhere except in this genealogy, drawn up in Hezekiah's reign [AZARIAH, No. 13], it is impossible to speak with confidence of his relations, or even of his existence.

2. Son of Jephunneh, by which patronymic the illustrious spy is usually designated (Num. xiii. 6, and ten other places), with the addition of that of "the Kenazite," or "son of Kenaz," in Num. xxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, 14. Caleb is first mentioned in the list of the rulers or princes (נְשִׂאִים), called in the next verse ראשֵׁי הָעָם, "heads," one from each tribe, who were sent to search the land of Canaan in the second year of the Exodus, where it may be noted that these נְשִׂאִים or ראשֵׁי הָעָם are all different from those named in Num. i. ii. vii. x. as princes or heads of the tribes of Israel, and consequently that the same title was given to the chiefs of families as to the chiefs of the whole tribe. Caleb was a נְשִׂאִי or ראשֵׁי הָעָם in the tribe of Judah, perhaps as chief of the family of the Hezronites, at the same time that Nahshon the son of Amminadab was prince of the whole tribe. He and Oshea or Joshua the son of Nun were the only two of the whole number, who on their return from Canaan to Kadesh-Barnea, encouraged the people to enter in boldly to the land, and take possession of it; for which act of faithfulness they narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the infuriated people. In the plague that ensued, while the other ten spies perished, Caleb and Joshua alone were spared. Moreover, while it was announced to the congregation by Moses that, for this rebellious murmuring, all that had been numbered from 20 years old and upwards, except Joshua and Caleb, should perish in the wilderness, a special promise was made to Caleb the son of Jephunneh, that he should survive to enter into the land which he had trodden upon, and that his seed should possess it. Accordingly, 45 years afterwards, when some progress had been made in the conquest of the land, Caleb came to Joshua and reminded him of what had happened at Kadesh, and of the promise which Moses made to him with an oath. He added that though he was now 85 years of age, he was as strong as in the day when Moses sent him to spy out the land, and he claimed possession of the land of the Anakims, Kirjath-Arba, or Hebron, and the neighbouring hill-country (Josh. xiv.). This was immediately granted to him, and the following chapter relates how he took possession of Hebron, driving out the three sons of Anak; and how he offered

Achsah his daughter in marriage to whoever would take Kirjath-Sepher, i. e. Debir; and how when Othniel, his younger brother, had pertained the feat, he not only gave him his daughter to wife, but with her the upper and nether springs of water which she asked for. After this we hear no more of Caleb, nor is the time of his death recorded. But we learn from Josh. xxi. 13, that in the distribution of cities out of the different tribes for the priests and Levites to dwell in, Hebron fell to the priests, the children of Aaron, of the family of Kohathites, and was also a city of refuge, while the surrounding territory continued to be the possession of Caleb, at least as late as the time of David (1 Sam. xxv. 3, xxx. 14).

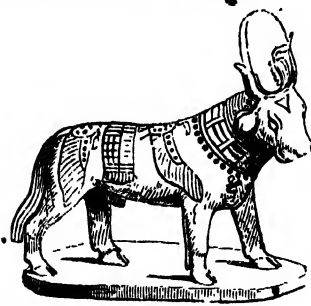
But a very interesting question arises as to the birth and parentage of Caleb. He is, as we have seen, styled "the son of Jephunneh the Kenazite," and his younger brother Othniel, afterwards the first Judge, is also called "the son of Kenaz" (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13, ii. 9, 11).

On the other hand the genealogy in 1 Chr. ii. makes no mention whatever of either Jephunneh or Kenaz, but represents Caleb, though obscurely, as being a descendant of Hezron and a son of Hur (see too ch. iv.). Again in Josh. xv. 13 we have this singular expression, "Unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a part among the children of Judah;" and in xiv. 14, the no less significant one, "Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenazite, because that he wholly followed Jehovah God of Israel." It becomes therefore quite possible that Caleb was a foreigner by birth; a proselyte, incorporated into the tribe of Judah, into which perhaps he or his ancestors had married, and one of the first-fruits of that gentle harvest, of which Jethro, Rahab, Ruth, Naaman, and many others were samples and signs. And this conjecture receives a most striking confirmation from the names in Caleb's family. For on turning to Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, we find that Kenaz is an Edomitish name, the son of Eliphaz. Again, in 1 Chr. ii. 50, 52, among the sons of Caleb the son of Hur we find Shobal and half the Manahethites or sons of Manahath. But in Gen. xxxvi. 20-23, we are told that Shobal was the son of Seir the Horite, and that he was the father of Manahath. So too Korah, Phuran, Etah (1 Chr. ii. iv.), and perhaps Jephunneh, compared with Pinon, are all Edomitish names (1 Chr. i.; Gen. xxxvi.). We find too Temanites, or sons of Teman (1 Chr. i. 36), among the children of Ashur the son of Hezron (1 Chr. iv. 6). The finding thus whole families or tribes, apparently of foreign origin, incorporated into the tribes of Israel, seems further to supply us with an easy and natural solution of the difficulty with regard to the great numbers of the Israelites at the Exodus. The seed of Abraham had been multiplied by the accretion of proselytes, as well as by generation.

3. **CALEB-EPHRATAH**, according to the present text of 1 Chr. ii. 24, the name of a place where Hezron died. But no such place was ever heard of, and the composition of the name is a most improbable one. Nor could Hezron or his son have given any name to a place in Egypt, the land of their bondage, nor could Hezron have died, or his son have lived, elsewhere than in Egypt. The present text must therefore be corrupt, and the reading which Jerome's Hebrew Bible had, and which is preserved in the LXX., is probably the true one. viz. בְּנֵי כָלֵב אֶפְרַתָּה, "Caleb came in unto

Ephraim." The whole information given seems to be that Hezron had two wives, the first whose name is not given, the mother of Jeralmeel, Ram, and Caleb or Chelubai; the second, Abiah, the daughter of Machir, whom he married when 60 years old, and who bore him Segub and Ashur. Also that Caleb had two wives, Azubah, the first, the mother, according to Jerome's version, of Jeieloth; and Ephratah, the second, the mother of Hur; and that this second marriage of Caleb did not take place till after Hezron's death. [A. C. H.]

**CALF** (חֲזַרְיָ לֶעֱזָרָה; μόσχον, δέμαλις). In Ex. xxxii. 4, we are told that Aaron, constrained by the people in the absence of Moses, made a molten calf of the golden earrings of the people, to represent the Elohim which brought Israel out of Egypt. He is also said to have "finished it with a graving-tool," but the word חֲזַרְיָ may mean a mould (comp. 2 K. v. 23, A. V. "bags;" LXX. θυλάκας). Bochart (*Hieroz.* lib. ii. cap. xxxiv.) explains it to mean "he placed the earrings in a bag," as Gideon did (Judg. viii. 24). Probably, however, it means that after the calf had been cast, Aaron ornamented it with the sculptured wings, feathers, and other marks, which were similarly represented on the statues of Apis, &c. (Wilkinson, iv. 348). It does not seem likely that the earrings would have provided the enormous quantity of gold required for a solid figure. More probably it was a wooden figure laminated with gold, a process which is known to have existed in Egypt. A gilded ox covered with a pall" was an emblem of Osiris (Wilkinson, iv. 335).



Bronze figure of Apis. (Wilkinson.)

The legends about the calf are numerous. The suggestion is said by the Jews to have originated with certain Egyptian proselytes (Godwyn's *Mos. and Aur.* iv. 5); Hur, "the desert's martyr," was killed for opposing it; Abu'lfeida says that all except 12,000 worshipped it; when made, it was magically animated (Ex. xxxii. 24). "The devil," says Jonathan, "got into the metal and fashioned it into a calf" (Lightfoot, *Works*, v. 398). Hence the Koran (vii. 146) calls it "a corporeal calf, made of their ornaments, which loved." This was effected, not by Aaron (according to the Mohammedans), but by al Sâmeri, a chief Israelite, whose descendants still inhabit an island of the Arabian gulf. He took a handful of dust from the footsteps of the horse of Gabriel, who rode at the head of the host, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low. No one is to be punished in hell more than

40 days, being the number of days of the calf-worship (Sale's *Koran*, ed. Davenport, p. 7, note; and see Weil's *Legends*, 125). It was a Jewish proverb that "no punishment befalleth the Israelites in which there is not an ounce of this calf" (Godwyn, *ubi sup.*).

To punish the apostasy Moses burnt the calf, and then grinding it to powder scattered it over the water, where, according to some, it produced in the drinkers effects similar to the water of jealousy (Num. v.). He probably adopted this course as the deadliest and most irreparable blow to their superstition (Jerome, *Ep.* 128; Plut. *de Is.* p. 362), or as an allegorical act (Job xv. 16), or with reference to an Egyptian custom (Herod. ii. 41; *Poli Syn. ad loc.*). It has always been a difficulty to explain the process which he used; some account for it by his supposed knowledge of a forgotten art (such as was one of the boasts of alchemy) by which he could reduce gold to dust. Goguet (*Origine des Loix*) invokes the assistance of natron, which would have had the additional advantage of making the daught nauseous. Baumgarten easily endows the fire employed with marvellous properties. Bochart and Rosenmüller merely think that he cut, ground, and filed the gold to powder, such as was used to sprinkle over the hair (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, §3). There seems little doubt that חֲזַרְיָ = κατακάτω, LXX. (Hävernick's *Introd. to the Pentat.* p. 292.)

It has always been a great dispute respecting this calf and those of Jeroboam, whether, I. the Jews intended them for some Egyptian God, or II. for a mere cherubic symbol of Jehovah.

I. The arguments for the first supposition are, 1. The ready apostasy of the Jews to Egyptian superstition (Acts vii. 39, and chap. v. passim; Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 10). 2. The fact that they had been worshippers of Apis (Jo-Ji. xxiv. 14), and their extreme familiarity with his cultus (1 K. xi. 40). 3. The resemblance of the feast described in Ex. xxxii. 5, to the festival in honour of Apis (Sund. s. v. "Apis"). Of the various sacred cows of Egypt, that of Isis, of Athor, and of the three kinds of sacred bulls, Apis, Basis, and Mnevis, Sir G. Wilkinson fixes on the latter as the prototype of the golden calf; "the offerings, dancings, and rejoicings practised on that occasion were doubtless in imitation of a ceremony they had witnessed in honour of Mnevis" (*Anc. Egypt.*, v. 197, see Plates 35, 36). The ox was worshipped from its utility in agriculture (Plut. *de Is.* 74), and was a symbol of the sun, and consecrated to him (Hom. *Od.* i. xii. &c.; Warburton, *Div. Leg.* iv. 3, 5). Hence it is almost universally found in Oriental and other mythologies. 4. The expression "an ox that eateth hay," &c. (Is. cvi. 20, &c.), where some see an allusion to the Egyptian custom of bringing a bottle of hay when they consulted Apis (Godwyn's *Mos. and Aur.* iv. 5). Yet these terms of scorn are rather due to the intense hatred of the Jews, both to this idolatry and that of Jeroboam. Thus in Tob. i. 5, we have one of Jeroboam's calves called ἡ δέμαλις Βδαλ, which is an unquestionable calumny; just as in Jer. xlvi. 15, "ἄνις ὁ μόσχος σου ὁ ἐκλεκτός is either a mistake or a corruption of the text (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 28, 6, and Schleusner, s. v. "Apis").

II. It seems to us more likely that in this calf-worship the Jews merely

"Likened their Maker to the graven ox;"

or in other words, adopted a well-understood cherubic emblem. For 1. it is obvious that they were aware of this symbol, since Moses finds it unnecessary to describe it (Ex. xxv. 18-22). 2. Josephus seems to imply that the calf symbolized God (*Ant.* viii. 8, §4). 3. Aaron in proclaiming the feast (Ex. xxxii. 5) distinctly calls it a feast to Jehovah, and speaks of the god as the visible representation of Him who had led them out of Egypt. 4. It was extremely unlikely that they would so soon adopt a deity whom they had so recently seen humiliated by the judgments of Moses (Num. xxxiii. 4). 5. There was only one Apis, whereas Jeroboam erected two calves. (But see Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §464.) 6. Jeroboam's well-understood political purpose was, not to introduce a new religion, but to provide a different form of the old; and this alone explains the fact that *this* was the only form of idolatry into which Judah never fell, since she already possessed the archetypal emblems in the Temple. 7. It appears from 1 K. xxii. 6, &c. that the prophets of Israel, though sanctioning the calf-worship, still regarded themselves, and were regarded, as "prophets of Jehovah."

These arguments, out of many others, are aduced from the interesting treatise of Moncaeus, *de Vitulo Aureo* (*Sacri Critici*, ix.). The work is inhibited by the Church of Rome, and has been answered by Visorinus. A brief resumé of it may be found in *Poli Syn.* ad Ex. xxxii., and in Watt's "Remnants of Time" (ad finem). [CHERUBIM.]

The prophet Hosea is full of denunciations against the calf-worship of Israel (Hos. viii. 5, 6, x. 6), and mentions the curious custom of *kissing* them (xiii. 2). His change of Bethel into Bethaven possibly rose from contempt of this idolatry (but see BETHAVEN). The calf at Dan was carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, and that of Bethel 10 years after by his son Shalmaneser (1 K. xv. 29, xvii. 13; Prideaux, *Connexion*, i. 15).

Bochart thinks that the ridiculous story of Celsus about the Christian worship of an ass-headed deity called *Θαφαβαθ ή Ουριλ* (a story, at the source of which Tertullian, 'Όσκολογος, *Apol.* 16, *Ad. Nat.* i. 14, could only guess), sprang from some misunderstanding of cherubic emblems (Minuc. Fel. *Apol.* ix.). But it is much more probable, as Origen conjectured, that the Christians were confounded with the absurd mystic *Ophiani* (Tac. *Hist.* v. 4; Merivale, *Hist. of Emp.* vi. 564).

In the expression "the calves of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2), the word "calves" is used metaphorically for victims or sacrifices, and the passage signifies either "we will render to thee sacrifices of our lips," that is, "the tribute of thanksgiving and praise," or "we will offer to thee the sacrifices which our lips have vowed." The LXX. erroneously translate *καρπὸν τῶν χειλέων*, which is followed by the Syr. and Arab. versions, and is supposed to have been borrowed by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 15). For allusions to the "fatted calf" see Gen. xviii. 21; Luke xv. 23, &c.; and on the custom of cutting up a calf, and "passing between the parts thereof" to ratify a covenant, see Jer. xxiv. 18, 19; Gen. xv. 10, 17; Ephrem Syrus, i. 161; Hom. *Il.* iii. 208. [F. W. F.]

CALITAS (Καλιτάς, and Καλίτας; *Calitas*), 1 Esd. ix. 23, 48. [KALITA.]

CALLISTHENES (Καλλισθένης), a partisan of Nicanor, who was burnt by the Jews on the

leat of that general in revenge for his guilt in setting fire to "the sacred portals" (2 Macc. viii. 33). [B. F. W.]

CAL/NEH, or CAL/NO (כַּלְנֶה, כַּלְנֵה; *Cal* *dan*, *Chaldan*; *Chalanne*), appears in Genesis (x. 10) among the cities of Nimrod. The word is thought to mean "the foot of the god *Ana* or *Anu*," who was one of the chief objects of Babylonian worship. Probably the site is the modern *Niffer*, which was certainly one of the early capitals, and which, under the name of *Nopher*, the Talmud identifies with Calneh (see the *Goma*). Arab traditions made Niffer the original Babylon, and said that it was the place where Nimrod endeavoured to mount on eagles' wings to heaven. Similarly, the LXX. speak of Calneh or Calno, as "the place where the tower was built" (Is. x. 9). *Niffer* is situated about 60 miles S.E.E. of Babylon in the marshes on the left bank of the Euphrates; it has been visited and described by Mr. Layard (*Nin. & Bab.* ch. xxiv.), and Mr. Loftus (*Chaldaea*, p. 101). We may gather from Scripture that in the 8th century B.C. Calneh was taken by one of the Assyrian kings, and never recovered its prosperity. Hence it is compared with Carchemish, Hamath, and Gath (Is. x. 9; Am. vi. 2), and regarded as a proof of the resistless might of Assyria. [G. R.]

CAL/NO (כַּלְנֶה; *Chaldan*; Alex. *Chaldan*), the passage however does not agree with the Hebrew; *Calano*, Is. x. 9. [CAL/NEH.]

CAL/PHI (δ Καλφί; Jos. *Καψάλος*; *Calphi*), father of Judas, one of the two captains (*ἀρχοντες*) of Jonathan's army who remained firm at the battle of Gennesar (1 Macc. xi. 70).

CALVARY (κράνιον; Syr. *Karkaptha*; *Calvaria*), a word occurring in the A. V. only in Luke xiii. 33, and there no proper name, but arising from the translators having literally adopted the word *calvaria*, i. e. a bare skull, the Latin word by which the κράνιον of the Evangelists is rendered in the Vulgate; κράνιον again being nothing but the Greek interpretation of the Hebrew GOLGOTHA.

Κράνιον is used by each of the four Evangelists in describing the place of the Crucifixion, and is in every case translated in the Vulg. *calvarias* and in every case that in St. Luke the A. V. has "scull." Prof. Stanley has not omitted to notice this (*S. & P.* 460, note), and to call attention to the fact that the popular expression "Mount Calvary" is not warranted by any statement in the accounts of the place of our Lord's crucifixion. There is no mention of a mount in either of the narratives. [CRUCIFIXION; GOLGOTHA; JERUSALEM.] [G.]

CAMEL (כַּמֶּלֶךְ, כַּמֶּלֶךְ, כַּמֶּלֶךְ; *kámelos*; *camelus*, *dromedarius*), an animal of the order *Ruminantia*, and genus *Camelus*. It is a native of Asia, where from the earliest ages to the present day it has been the chief means of communication between the different regions of the East; and from its wonderful powers of endurance in the desert has enabled routes to be opened which would otherwise have been impracticable. "Their home is the desert; and they were made, in the wisdom of the Creator, to be the carriers of the desert. The coarse and prickly shrubs of the wastes are to them the most delicious food; and even of these they eat but little. So few are the wants of their nature, that their power of going without food, as well as

without water, is wonderful. Their well-known habit of lying down upon the breast to receive their burdens, is not, as is often supposed, merely the result of training; it is an admirable adaptation of their nature to their destiny as carriers. This is their natural position of repose; as is shown too by the callosities upon the joints of the legs, and especially by that upon the breast. Hardly less wonderful is the adaptation of their broad cushioned foot to the arid sands and gravelly soil, which it is their lot chiefly to traverse. . . . . As the carriers of the East, the 'ships of the desert,' another important quality of the camel is their sure-footedness" (Robinson, ii. 632-635). The present geographical distribution of the camel extends over Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor to the foot of the Caucasus, the south of Tartary, and part of India. In Africa it is found in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the Senegal, and from Egypt and Abyssinia to Algiers and Morocco. The camel and dromedary are one species; the latter being distinguished only by higher breeding and finer qualities. The two-humped camel, sometimes called the Bactrian camel, is a variety only, not a distinct species (Patterson, *Introd. to Zoology*, p. 417). The dromedary is a swift-riding camel, called by the Arabs *Delou*, by the Turks *Hejia*; the difference between them and a common camel being as great as that between a high-bred Arab mare and an English cart-horse (Layard, *N. & B.* p. 292).

The camel is frequently mentioned in Holy Scripture. It was used not only in Palestine, but also in Arabia (Jud. vii. 12), in Egypt (Ex. ix. 3), in Syria (2 K. viii. 9), and in Assyria, as appears from the sculptures of Nineveh (see Layard, *N. & B.* p. 582). It was used at an early date both as a riding animal and as a beast of burden (Gen. xxiv. 64, xxxvii. 25). It was likewise used in war (1 Sam. xxx. 17; Is. xxi. 7). Of its hair course garments were manufactured (Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6). The camel is included in the lists of unclean animals (Lev. xi. 4; Deut. xiv. 7). The word **נֶמֶל** is found in all the Semitic languages, in the Greek and Latin (whence it has passed into the languages of Western Europe), and in the Coptic **ⲕⲣⲁⲛⲉⲗⲁ**. In Sanscrit it occurs as *kramēla* and *kranēlaka*; and hence Schlegel traces the word to the root *kram* = to step. Bochart derives it from the root **נָמַל**, to revenge, because the camel is vindictive and retains the memory of injuries (animal *μνησκάων*); but Gesenius considers it more likely that **נֶמֶל** should have assumed the force of the cognate verb **חָמַל**, to carry.

The word **נֶמֶל** occurs in Is. lx. 5, and in Jer. ii. 25. In both places A. V. has *dromedary*: it should rather be *young camel*; the distinction between it and **נֶמֶל** being of age, and not of species.

**נֶמֶלֶת**, in Is. lxvi. 20, seems to be the name given to high-bred riding camels, now called *Delous*: the root being **נָמַל**, to leap, or move quickly, in the same way as we have in the Greek *δρόμαδες*. (Comp. *Herod.* iii. 103, *αἱ γὰρ σφί τετραπόδες ἵππων οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐς ταχέστερά εἰσι*. See Layard, *N. & B.* p. 292, note.)

In Esth. viii. 10, the words **הַחֲמֵשׁתָּיִם הַרְפָּדִים** are rendered in A. V. "camels and young dromedaries" [MULE]; and 1 K. iv. 28 (v. 8, Heb.), **רָכָשׁ** is rendered *dromedaries* [HORSE]. [W. D.]

**CA'MON** (**קָמוֹן**; *Ῥαμων*; Alex. *Ῥαμῶν*; Jos. *Καμών*; *Camon*), the place in which JAIR the Judge was buried. The few notices of Jair which we possess have all reference to the country E. of Jordan, and there is therefore no reason against accepting the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, §6) that Camon was a city of Gilead. In support of this is the mention by Polybius (v. 70, §12) of a Camoun (*Καμουῖν*) in company with Pella and other trans-Jordanic places (Reland, 679). In modern times, however, the name has not been recovered on the E. of Jordan. Eusebius and Jerome identify it with CYAMON, in the plain of Esdraelon. [G.]

# CAMP. [ENCAMPMENTS.]

**CAMPHIRE** (**כִּפְרִי**; *κύπρος*; *cyprius*; A. V. marg. *cypress*), a plant or shrub, mentioned only in Cant. i. 14, iv. 13. It is the *Lansonia incana* of Linnaeus, has whitish scented flowers growing in bunches, and acquired its name from **כִּפְרִי**, to cover, or paint, because from the dried leaves of the plant was made an unguent, with which women imparted a red stain to their nails. In Adler's *Lex.* the Syr.

**ܚܝܢܐ** is explained by *henna, folia hennae*.

The Arabs call the plant *Menna*; it is still used for the same purpose as of old; and it is an interesting proof of the identity of this plant with the **כִּפְרִי** of Canticles, that the women of the East are fond of placing its bunches of sweet-smelling flowers in their bosom. It is supposed that allusion to the practice of staining the nails with henna is made in Deut. xxi. 12. The practice is universal in Egypt, and must have been so for ages, for the nails of mummies (especially of females) show traces of it. The shrub is described and figured in Sonnini, *Aegypt. Travels*, i. p. 164. (See also Dioscorid. i. 125; Plin. xii. 24; Celsius, *Hierobot.* i. p. 222, seq.)

Kimchi mentions that Eben Esra would connect

**כִּפְרִי** with the Arb. word **كفر**, the calyx of the palm-tree flower—comparing the Chald. **ܚܝܢܐ** = unripe dates; so also T. D. Michaelis: but this view of the word is rejected by Gesenius. [W. D.]

**CANA OF GALILEE**, once CANA IN GALILEE (*Κανά της Γαλιλαίας*; Syriac, *Katna*, **ܟܬܢܐ**, Nitrian, *Katnah*, **ܟܬܢܐ**; *Cana Galilæae*), a village or town memorable as the scene of Christ's first miracle (John ii. 1, 11, iv. 46), as well as of a subsequent one (iv. 46, 54), and also as the native place of the Apostle Nathanael (xii. 2). The four passages quoted—all, it will be observed, from St. John—are the only ones in which the name occurs. Neither of them affords any clue to the situation of Cana. All we can gather is, that it was not far from Capernaum (John ii. 12, iv. 46), and also on higher ground, since our Lord went down (*κατέβη*) from the one to the other (ii. 12). No further help it to be obtained from the notices either of Josephus (*Vit.* §16; *B. J.* i. 17, §5)—even if the place

which he mentions be the same—or of Eusebius and Jerome in their *Onomasticon*.

The traditional site is at *Kefr Kenna*, a small village about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-west of Nazareth. It now contains only the ruins of a church said to stand over the house in which the miracle was performed, and—doubtless much older—the fountain from which the water for the miracle was brought (*Mislin*, iii. 44:3-6). The Christians of the village are entirely of the Greek Church. The "water-pots of stone" were shown to M. Lamartine, though at St. Willibald's visit centuries before there had been but one remaining (*Early Trav.* 16). In the time of the Crusades, the six jars were brought to France, where one of them is said still to exist in the Musée d'Angers (see M. Didron's *Essays in the Annales Archéologiques*, xi. 5, xiii. 2).

The tradition identifying *Kefr Kenna* with Cana is certainly of considerable age. It existed in the time of Willibald (the latter half of the 8th cent.), who visited it in passing from Nazareth to Tabor, and again in that of Phocas (12th cent. See *Reiland*, 680). From that time until lately the tradition appears to have been undisturbed. But even by Quakerism the claims of another site were admitted, and these have been lately brought forward by Dr. Robinson with much force. The rival site is a village situated further north, about 5 miles north of *Seffurieh* (Sepphoris) and 9 of Nazareth, near the present *Jefut*, the Jotapata of the Jewish wars. This village still bears the name of *Kam el-jelil* (قنا للجليل), a name which is

in every respect the exact representative of the Hebrew original—as *Kenna*, כפר כנא, is widely different from it—and it is in this fact that the chief strength of the argument in favour of the northern Kana seems to reside. The argument from tradition is not of much weight. The testimonies of Willibald and Phocas, given above, appear to have escaped the notice of Dr. Robinson, and they certainly form a balance to those of Adichomius and others, which he quotes against *Kefr Kenna* (*Rob.* ii. 346-9, iii. 108, with the note on *De Sauley*; comp. *Ewald*, v. 147; *Mislin*, iii. 443-6).

The Gospel history will not be affected whichever site may be discovered to be the real one. [G.]

**CANAAN** (כנען) (= *C'nann*; comp. the Greek name *Xvā*, as mentioned below); *Xavān*; *Jos. Xavānos*; (*Chanaan*). 1. The fourth son of Ham (*Gen.* x. 6; 1 Chr. i. 8; comp. *Jos. Ant.* i. 6, §4), the progenitor of the Phœnicians ("Zidon"), and of the various nations who before the Israelite conquest peopled the sea-coast of Palestine, and generally the whole of the country westward of the Jordan (*Gen.* x. 13; 1 Chr. i. 13). [CANAAN, LAND OF; CANAANITES.] In the ancient narrative of *Gen.* ix. 20-27, a curse is pronounced on Canaan for the unfilial and irreverential conduct of Ham: it is almost as if the name had belonged to both, or the father were already merged in the son.

2. The name "Canaan" is sometimes employed for the country itself—more generally styled "the land of C." It is so in *Zeph.* i. 5; and we also find "Language of C." (*Is.* xix. 18); "Wars of C." (*Judg.* iii. 1); "Inhabitants of C." (*Ex.* xv. 15); "King of C." (*Judg.* iv. 2, 23, 24, v. 19); "Daughters of C." (*Gen.* xxviii. 1, 6, 8, xxxvi. 2); "Kingdoms of C." (*Ps.* cxxxv. 11).

In addition to the above the word occurs in several passages where it is concealed in the A. V. by being translated. These are: *Is.* xxiii. 8, "traffickers," and xxiii. 11, "the merchant city;" (*Gesenius*, "Jehovah gab Befehl über Canaan;" *Hos.* xii. 2, "He is a merchant;" *Ewald*, "Kanaan halt trügerische wage;" *Zeph.* i. 11, "merchant-people;" *Ewald*, "dass alle Canaaniter sind dahin.") [G.]

**CANAAN, THE LAND OF** (כנען), from a root כנע, signifying to be low; see 2 Chr. xxviii.

19; *Job* xl. 12, amongst other passages in which the verb is used), a name denoting the country west of the Jordan and Dead-Sea, and between those waters and the Mediterranean; specially opposed to the "land of Gilead," that is the high table-land on the east of the Jordan. Thus: "our little ones and our wives shall be here in the cities of Gilead . . . but we will pass over armed into the land of Canaan" (*Num.* xxxii. 20-32), and see xxxiii. 51: "Phineas . . . returned from the children of Reuben and the children of Gad out of the land of Gilead into the land of Canaan to the children of Israel," *Josh.* xxii. 32; see also *Gen.* xii. 5, xiii. 2, 19, xxi. 18, xxiii. 18, xxv. 6, xxvii. 1, xviii. 4, 7, xlv. 30; *Num.* xii. 2, 17, xxvii. 40, 51; *Josh.* xvi. 2; *Judg.* xxi. 12. True the district to which the name of "low land" is thus applied contained many very elevated spots—Shechem (*Gen.* xxi. 18), Hebron (*xviii.* 19), Bethel (*xxv.* 6), Beth-lehem (*xlviii.* 7), Shiloh (*Josh.* xxi. 2; *Judg.* xxi. 12), which are all stated to be in the "land of Canaan." But high as the level of much of the country west of the Jordan undoubtedly is, there are several things which must always have prevented, as they still prevent, it from leaving an impression of elevation. These are, (1) that remarkable, wide, maritime plain over which the eye ranges for miles from the central hills; a feature of the country which cannot be overlooked by the most casual observer, and which impresses itself most indelibly on the recollection; (2) the still deeper, and still more remarkable and impressive hollow of the Jordan valley, a view into which may be commanded from almost any of the heights of central Palestine; and, (3) there is the almost constant presence of the long high line of the mountains east of the Jordan, which from their distance have the effect more of an enormous cliff than of a mountain range—looking down on the more broken and isolated hills of Canaan, and furnishing a constant standard of height before which everything is dwarfed.

The word "Canaanite" was used in the O. T. in two senses, a broader and a narrower, which will be most conveniently examined under that head; but this does not appear to be the case with "Canaan," at least in the older cases of its occurrence. It is only in later notices, such as *Zeph.* ii. 5, and *Matt.* xv. 22, that we find it applied to the low maritime plains of Philistia and Phœnicia (comp. *Mark* vii. 26). In the same manner it was by the Greeks that the name *Xvā*, *C'na*, was used for Phœnicia, i. e. the sea-side plain north of the "Tyrian ladder" (see the extract in *Reiland*, 7, and *Gesenius*, 696), and by the later Phœnicians both of Phœnicia proper and of the Punic colonies in Africa. (See the coin of Laodicea ad Lib. and the testimony of Augustin, both quoted by *Gesenius*, 696.) The LXX. translators had learnt to apply this meaning to the word, and in two cases they render the Hebrew words given above by *χώρα τῶν*

Φοινίκων (Ex. xvi. 35; Josh. v. 12, comp. v. 1), as they do "Canaanites" by Φοινίκες. [G.]

**CANAANITE, THE** (Rec. T. δ Καναανίτης, A, Καναανίτης; Lachm. with B C, δ Καναανίτης; D, Χαναανίτης; Chamaeus), the designation of the Apostle SIMON, otherwise known as "Simon Zelotes." It occurs in Matt. vi. 4; Mark iii. 18.

The word does not signify a descendant of Canaan, that being in the Greek both of the LXX. and the N. T. Χαναανίτης = חנאני (comp. Matt. xv. 22 with Mark vii. 26). Nor does it signify, as has been suggested, a native of Kunn, since that would probably be Κανίτης. But it comes from a Chaldee or Syriac word, כנעני, Kanaan, or כנעני, Kamenich, by which the Jewish sect or faction of

"the Zealots"—so prominent in the last days of Jerusalem—was designated (see Buxtorf, *Lex. s. v.*). This Syriac word is the reading of the Peshito version. The Greek equivalent of Kanaan is Ζηλωτής, Zelotes, and this St. Luke (vi. 15; Acts i. 13) has correctly preserved. St. Matthew and St. Mark, on the other hand, have literally transferred the Syriac word, as the LXX. translators did frequently before them. There is no necessity to suppose, as Mr. Cureton does (*Nitrian Rec.* lxxvii.), that they mistook the word for

כנעני = Χαναανίτης, a Canaanite or descendant of Canaan. The Evangelists could hardly commit such an error, whatever subsequent transcribers of their works may have done. But that this meaning was afterwards attached to the word is plain from the readings of the Codex Bezae (D) and the Vulgate, as given above, and from the notice quoted from Coteler in the note to Winer's article (463). The spelling of the A. V. has doubtless led many to the same conclusion: and it would be well if it were altered to "Kananite," or some other form distinguished from the well-known one in which it now stands. [G.]

**CANAANITES, THE** (חנאני, i. e. accurately according to Hebrew usage—Gesen. *Heb. Gram.* §107—"the Canaanite;" but in the A. V. with few exceptions rendered as plural, and therefore indistinguishable from חנאני, which also, but very unfrequently, occurs: Χαναανίτης, Φοινίξ, Ex. vi. 15, comp. Josh. v. 1; Chamaeus), a word used in two senses:—1. a tribe which inhabited a particular locality of the land west of the Jordan before the conquest; and 2. in a wider sense, the people who inhabited generally the whole of that country.

1. For the tribe of "the Canaanites" only—the dwellers in the lowland. The whole of the country west of Jordan was a "lowland" as compared with the loftier and more extended tracts on the east: but there was a part of this western country which was still more emphatically a "lowland."

a. There were the plains lying between the shore of the Mediterranean and the foot of the hills of Benjamin, Judah, and Ephraim—the Shefelah or plain of Philistia on the south—that of Sharon between Jaffa and Carmel—the great plain of Esdraelon in the rear of the bay of Akka; and lastly, the plain of Phoenicia, containing Tyre, Sidon, and all the other cities of that nation. b. But separated entirely from these was the still lower region of the Jordan Valley or Arabah, the modern Ghôr, a region which extended in length from the sea of Cinneroth (Gennesareth) to the south of the Dead Sea about

120 miles, with a width of from 8 to 14. The climate of these sunken regions—especially of the valley of the Jordan—is so peculiar, that it is natural to find them the special possession of one tribe.

"Amalek"—so runs one of the earliest and most precise statements in the ancient records of Scripture—"Amalek dwells in the land of the south; and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, dwell in the mountains; and the Canaanite dwells by the sea, and by the side of Jordan" (Num. xiii. 29). This describes the division of the country a few years only before the conquest. But there had been little or no variation for centuries. In the notice which purports to be the earliest of all, the seats of the Canaanite tribe—as distinguished from the sister tribes of Zidon, the Hittites, Amorites, and the other descendants of Canaan—are given as on the sea-shore from Zidon to Gaza, and in the Jordan valley to Sodom, Gomorrah, and Lasha (afterwards 'allurhoe), on the shore of the present Dead Sea (Gen. x. 18-20). In Josh. xi. 3—at a time when the Israelites were actually in the western country—this is expressed more broadly. "The Canaanite on the east and the west" is carefully distinguished from the Amorite who held "the mountain" in the centre of the country. In Josh. xiii. 2, 3, we are told with more detail that

"all the 'circles' (גלילות) of the Philistines . . . from Sihor (the *Wady el Arish*) unto Ekron northward, is counted to the Canaanite." Later still, the Canaanites are still dwelling in the upper part of the Jordan Valley—Bethshean; the plain of Esdraelon—Taanach, Ibleam, and Megiddo; the plain of Sharon—Dor; and also on the plain of Phoenicia—Accho and Zidon. Here were collected the chieftains which formed a prominent part of their armies (Judg. i. 19, iv. 3; Josh. xvii. 16), and which could indeed be driven nowhere but in these level lowlands (Stanley, *S. & P.* 134).

The plains which thus appear to have been in possession of the Canaanites specially so called, were not only of great extent; they were also the richest and most important parts of the country, and it is not unlikely that this was one of the reasons for the name of "Canaanite" being

2. applied as a general name for the non-Israelite inhabitants of the land, as we have already seen was the case with "Canaan."

Instances of this are, Gen. xii. 6; Num. xxi. 3—where the name is applied to dwellers in the south, who in xiii. 29 are called Amalekites; Judg. i. 10—with which comp. Gen. xiv. 13 and xiii. 18, and Josh. x. 5, where Hebron, the highest land in Palestine, is stated to be Amorite; and Gen. xiii. 12, where the "land of Canaan" is distinguished from the very Jordan-valley itself. See also Gen. xxiv. 3, 37, comp. xxviii. 2, 6; Ex. xiii. 11, comp. 5. But in many of its occurrences it is difficult to know in which category to place the word. Thus in Gen. i. 11: if the floor of Atad was at Bethhogla, close to the west side of the Jordan, "the Canaanites" must be intended in the narrower and stricter sense; but the expression "inhabitants of the land" appears as if intended to be more general. Again, in Gen. x. 18, 19, where the present writer believes the tribe to be intended, Gesenius takes it to apply to the whole of the Canaanite nations. But in these and other similar instances, allowance must surely be made for the different dates at which the various records thus compared were composed. And besides this, it is difficult to imagine what ac-

curate knowledge the Israelites can have possessed of a set of petty nations, from whom they had been entirely removed for four hundred years, and with whom they were now again brought into contact only that they might exterminate them as soon as possible. And before we can solve such questions we also ought to know more than we do of the usages and circumstances of people who differed not only from ourselves, but also possibly in a material degree from the Orientals of the present day. The tribe who possessed the ancient city of Hebron, besides being, as shown above, called interchangeably Canaanites and Amorites, are in a third passage (Gen. xxiii.) called the children of Heth or Hittites (comp. also xxvii. 46 with xxviii. 1, 6). The Canaanites who were dwelling in the land of the south when the Israelites made their attack on it, may have been driven to these higher and more barren grounds by some other tribes, possibly by the Philistines who displaced the Arvites, also dwellers in the low country (Deut. ii. 23).

Beyond their chariots (see above) we have no clue to any manners or customs of the Canaanites. Like the Phœnicians, they were probably given to commerce; and thus the name became probably in later times an occasional synonym for a merchant (Job xli. 6; Prov. xxxi. 24; comp. Is. xxiii. 8, 11; Hos. xii. 2; Zeph. i. 11. See Kenick, *Phœn.* 232).

Of the language of the Canaanites little can be said. On the one hand, being—if the genealogy of Gen. x. be right—Hamites, there could be no affinity between their language and that of the Israelites who were descendants of Shem. On the other is the fact that Abram and Jacob shortly after their entrance to the country seem able to hold converse with them, and also that the names of Canaanite persons and places which we possess, are translatable into Hebrew. Such are Melchizedek, Hamor, Shechem, Sissera . . . Ephrath, and also a great number of the names of places. But we know that the Egyptian and Assyrian names have been materially altered in their adoption into Hebrew record, either by translation into Hebrew equivalents, or from the impossibility of accurately rendering the sounds of one language by those of another. The modern Arabs have adopted the Hebrew names of places as nearly as would admit of their having a meaning in Arabic, though that meaning may be widely different from that of the Hebrew name. Examples of this are *Beit-ur*, *Beit-lahm*, *Bir es sebu*, which mean respectively, "house of the eye," "house of flesh," "well of the lion," while the Hebrew names which these have superseded meant "house of caves," "house of bread," "well of the oath." May not a similar process have taken place when the Hebrews took possession of the Canaanite towns, and "called the lands after their own names?" (For an examination of this interesting but obscure subject see Gesenius, *Hebr. Spr.* 223-5.)

The "Nethinim" or servants of the temple seem to have originated in the dedication of captives taken in war from the petty states surrounding the Israelites. [*NETHINIM.*] If this was the case, and if they were maintained in number from similar sources, there must be many non-Israelite names in the lists of their families which we possess in Ezr. ii. 43-54; Neh. vii. 46-56. Several of the names in these catalogues—such as Sisera, Mehunim, Nephusim—are the same as those which we know to be foreign, and doubtless others would be found on examination. The subject perhaps would not be beneath the examination of a Hebrew scholar.

This is perhaps the proper place for noticing the various shapes under which the formula for designating the nations to be expelled by the Israelites is given in the various Books.

1. Six nations: the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites. This is the usual form, and, with some variation in the order of the names, it is found in Exod. iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. xx. 17; Josh. ix. 1, xii. 8; Judg. iii. 5. In Ex. xiii. 5, the same names are given with the omission of the Perizzites.

2. With the addition of the Girgashites: making up the mystic number seven (Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10, xxiv. 14). The Girgashites are retained and the Hivites omitted in Neh. ix. 8 (comp. Ezr. ix. 1).

3. In Exod. xxiii. 28, we find the Canaanite, the Hittite and the Hivite.

4. The list of ten nations in Gen. xv. 19-21 includes some on the east of Jordan, and probably some on the south of Palestine.

5. In 1 K. ix. 20 the Canaanites are omitted from the list. [G.]

CANDA'CE (*Κανδακη*, Strab. xvii. p. 820), a queen of Ethiopia (*Μειοθ*), mentioned Acts viii. 27. The name was not a proper name of an individual, but that of a dynasty of Ethiopian queens. (See Plin. iv. 35; Dion Cass. liv. 5; Strab. l. c.) The eunuch of this queen, who had charge of all her treasure, is mentioned in Acts as having been met by Philip the Evangelist on the desert road from Jerusalem to Gaza, and converted to Christianity. Ethiopian tradition gives him the name of Indich; and in Iren. iii. 12, and Euseb. *II. E.* ii. 1, he is said to have first propagated the gospel in Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, but Sophronius makes him preach and suffer martyrdom in the island of Ceylon. (See Wolf, *Curae*, ii. 113.) [H. A.]

CANDLESTICK (*נֵרְנִי*; *λυχνία τοῦ φωτός*, 1 Macc. i. 21; *δ ἁγίος—λεγόμενος λύχνος καὶ καίμενος ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τῷ ναῷ*, Diol. Sic. ap. Schleusn. *Thes. s. v.*), which Moses was commanded to make for the tabernacle, is described Ex. xxv. 31-37, xxxvii. 17-24. It is called in Lev. xxiv. 4, "the pure," and in Ecclus. xxvi. 19, "the holy candlestick." With its various appurtenances (mentioned below) it required a talent of "pure gold," and it was not *moulded*, but "of beaten work" (*τορευτή*). Josephus, however, says (*Ant.* iii. 6, §7) that it was of *cast* gold (*καχωνευμένη*), and hollow. From its golden base (*יָתֵד*, *βῆσις*, Jos.), which, according to the Jews, was 3 feet high (Winer, *Leuchter*), sprang a main shaft or reed (*נֵרְנִי*), "and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun. It terminated in 7 heads all in one row, all standing parallel to one another, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets" (Whiston's *Jos. ubi supra*). As the description given in Ex. is not very clear, we abbreviate Lightfoot's explanation of it. "The foot of it was gold, from which went up a shaft straight, which was the middle light. Near the foot was a golden dish wrought almondwis; and a little above that a golden knob, and above that a golden flower. Then two branches, one on each side, bowed, and coming up as high as the middle shaft. On each of them were three golden cups placed almondwis on sharp, scollop-shell fashion; above which was a golden knob, a golden flower, and the socket.

Above the branches on the middle shaft was a golden boss, above which rose two shafts more; above the coming out of these was another boss, and two more shafts, and then on the shaft upwards were three golden scollop-cups, a knop, and a flower: so that the heads of the branches stood an equal height" (*Works*, ii. 399, ed. Pitman). Calmet remarks that "the number 7 might remind them of the sabbath;" we have seen that Josephus gives it a somewhat Egyptian reference to the number of the planets, but elsewhere (*B. J.* vii. 5, §5) he assigns to the 7 branches a merely general reference, as τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰσθμοῦδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. The whole weight of the candlestick was 100 minae; its height was, according to the Rabbis, 5 feet, and the breadth, or distance between the exterior branches 3½ feet (*Jahn, Arch. Bibl.* §329). It has been calculated to have been worth 5076l. exclusive of workmanship.

According to Josephus the ornaments on the shaft and branches were 70 in number, and this was a notion in which the Jews with their peculiar reverence for that number would readily coincide but it seems difficult from the description in Exodus to confirm the statement. On the main shaft (called "the candlestick" in Ex. xxv. 34) there are said to be "4 almond-shaped bowls, with their knops and their flowers," which would make 12 of these ornaments in all; and as on each of the 6 branches there were apparently (for the expression in verse 33 is obscure) 3 bowls, 3 knops, and 3 flowers, the entire number of such figures on the candlestick would be 66. The word translated "bowl" in the A. V. is כַּוֵּץ, κρατήρ, for which Joseph. (l. c.) has κρατηρία καὶ βότσκοι. It is said to have been almond-shaped (קַוֵּץ עֲקֵטוּרִימָנוּמִי קַרְוִיטְסִקִּים), but whether the fruit or flower of the almond is intended cannot be certain. The word כַּוֵּץ is variously rendered "knop" (A. V.), "pommel" (Geddes), σφαρωτήρ (LXX.), spherula (Vulg.), "apple" (Arabic, and other versions); and to this some apply the βότσκοι, and not (as is more natural) the σφαίρια of Jos. The third term is כַּוֵּץ, "a bud," κρίνα (LXX. and Jos.), which from an old gloss seems to be put for any ἄρθος ἐνὸς δὲ δὲ δὲ, κρίνους ὅμοιον. From the fact that it was expressly made "after the pattern, shown in the mount," many have endeavoured to find a symbolical meaning in these ornaments, especially Meyer and Bähr (*Symbol.* i. 416, sq.). Generally it was "a type of preaching" (Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, ii. 1) or of "the light of the law" (Lightfoot, l. c.). Similarly candlesticks are made types of the spirit, of the Church, of witnesses, &c. (*Comp. Zech.* iv.; *Rev.* ii. 5, xi. 4, &c.; Wemyss, *Chav. Symbol.* s. v.)

The candlestick was placed on the south side of the first apartment of the tabernacle, opposite the table of shew-bread, which it was intended to illumine, in an oblique position (Λοξῶς) so that the lamps looked to the east and south (*Jos. Ant.* iii. 6, §7; *Ex.* xxv. 37); hence the central was called "the western" lamp, according to some, though others render it "the evening lamp," and say that it alone burned perpetually (*Ex.* xxvii. 20, 21), the others not being lit during the day, although the Holy Place was dark (*Ex.* xxx. 8; 1 Macc. iv. 50). In 1 Sam. iii. 2 we have the expression "ere the

amp of God went out in the temple of the Lord," and this taken in connexion with 1 Chr. xiii. 11, and *Lev.* xxiv. 2, 3, would seem to imply that "always" and "continually," merely mean "tempore constituto," i. e. by night; especially as Aaron is said to have dressed the lamps every morning and lighted them every evening. Rabbi Kimchi (*ad loc.*) says that the other lamps often went out at night, but "they always found the western lamp burning." They were each supplied with sotton, and half a log of the purest olive-oil (about two wine-glasses), which was sufficient to keep them burning during a long night (Winer).

The priest in the morning trimmed the lamps with golden snuffers (סִנְפִּיטִים; ἐκαυστήρες; forcipes), and carried away the snuff in golden dishes (סִנְפִּיטִים; ἀποθέματα; *acerrae*, *Ex.* xxv. 38). When carried about, the candlestick was covered with a cloth of blue, and put with its appendages in badger-skin bags, which were supported on a bar (*Num.* iv. 9).

In Solomon's temple, instead of this candlestick (or besides it, as the Rabbis say, for what became of it we do not know), there were 10 golden candlesticks similarly embossed, 5 on the right and 5 on the left (1 K. vii. 49; 2 Chr. iv. 7). These are said to have formed a sort of railing before the veil, and to have been connected by golden chains, under which, on the day of atonement, the high priest crept. They were taken to Babylon (*Jer.* lii. 19).

In the temple of Zerubbabel there was again a single candlestick (1 Macc. i. 23, iv. 49). It was taken from the Herodian temple by Titus, and carried in triumph immediately before the conqueror (*Joseph. B. J.* vii. 5, §5). The description given of its κίων and ἄεττοι κανίσκοι by Josephus, agrees only tolerably with the deeply interesting sculpture on the Arch of Titus; but he



Candlestick. (From Arch of Titus.)

drops a hint that it was not identical with the one used in the Temple, saying (possibly in allusion to the fantastic griffins, &c., sculptured on the pediment, which are so much worn that we found it difficult to make them out) τὸ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας: where see Whiston's note. Hence Jahn (*Hebr. Com.* §clix.) says that the candlestick carried in the triumph was "somewhat different from the golden candlestick of the temple." These questions, are

examined in Rehdal's treatise *De Spoliis Templi Hierosol. in Arcu Titiano conspiciuntur*. The general accuracy of the sculpture is undoubted (Frideaux, *Con.* i. 166).

After the triumph the candlestick was deposited in the Temple of Peace, and according to one story fell into the Tiber from the Milvian bridge during the flight of Maxentius from Constantine, Oct. 28, 312 A.D.; but it probably was among the spoils transferred, at the end of 400 years, from Rome to Carthage by Genseric, A.D. 455 (Gibbon, iii. 291). It was recovered by Belisarius, once more carried in triumph to Constantinople, "and then respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem" (Id. iv. 24), A.D. 533. It has never been heard of since.

When our Lord cried "I am the light of the World" (John viii. 12), the allusion was probably suggested by the two large golden chandeliers, lighted in the court of the women during the feast of tabernacles, which illuminated all Jerusalem (Wetstein, *ad loc.*), or perhaps to the lighting of this colossal candlestick, "the more remarkable in the profound darkness of an Oriental town" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 420). [F. W. F.]

CANE. [CALAMUS.]

**CANKERWORM** (כָּנָן; *βροῦχος*). The Heb. term *yelek* probably describes the locust in a certain stage of its growth, viz., just when it emerges from the caterpillar state and obtains the use of its wings; see Nah. iii. 16, "the cankerworm throweth off (כָּנָן, *spoileth*, A. V.) its scales and fleeth away." The term is translated *caterpillar* in Is. cv. 34, and Jer. li. 14, 27; *cankerworm* in Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Nah. iii. 15, 16. [LOCUST.] [W. L. B.]

**CAN'NEH** (כִּנְנֶה, one Codex כִּנְנֶה; *Xavav*; Alex. *Xavav*; *Chene*), Ez. xxvii. 23. [CANNEH.]

**CANON OF SCRIPTURE**, THE, may be generally described as "the collection of books which forms the original and authoritative written rule of the faith and practice of the Christian Church." Starting from this definition it will be the object of the present article to examine shortly, I. The original meaning of the term: II. The Jewish Canon of the Old Testament Scriptures as to (a) its formation, and (b) extent: III. The Christian Canon of the Old; and IV. of the New Testament.

I. *The use of the word Canon*.—The word Canon (*Κανών*, akin to כָּנָן [cf. Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.] *κάνη*, *κάννα*, *canna* [*canalis*, *channel*], *cane*, *cannon*) in classical Greek is (1) properly a *straight rod*, as the rod of a shield, or that used in weaving (*liciatorium*), or a carpenter's rule. (2) The last usage offers an easy transition to the metaphorical use of the word for a *testing rule* in ethics (comp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 4, 5), or in art (the *Canon* of Polykletus; Luc. *de Salt.* p. 946 B.), or in language (the *Canons* of Grammar). The varied gift of tongues, according to the ancient interpretation of Acts ii. 7, was regarded as the "canon" or test which determined the direction of the labours of the several Apostles

(Severian, ap. Crain. *Cat. in Act.* ii. 7, *διδοτας ἐκαστῷ γλώσσαις καθάπερ κανόν*). Chronological tables were called *κανόνες χρονικοί* (Plut. *Sol.* 27); and the summary of a book was called *κανών*, as giving the "rule," as it were, of its composition. The Alexandrine grammarians applied the word in this sense to the great "classical" writers, who were styled "the rule" (*ὁ Κανών*), or the perfect model of style and language. (3) But in addition to these active meanings the word was also used passively for a measured space (at Olympia), and, in later times, for a fixed tax (Du Cange, s. v. *Canon*).

The ecclesiastical usage of the word offers a complete parallel to the classical. It occurs in the LXX. in its literal sense (Jud. xiii. 6), and again in Aquila (Job xxxviii. 5). In the N. T. it is found in two places in St. Paul's epistles (Gal. vi. 16; 2 Cor. x. 13-16), and in the second place the transition from an active to a passive sense is worthy of notice. In patristic writings the word is commonly used both as a rule in the widest sense, and especially in the phrases "the rule of the Church," "the rule of faith," "the rule of truth" (*ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, *ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως*; and so also *κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός*, and *ὁ κανὼν* simply). This rule was regarded either as the abstract, ideal standard, embodied only in the life and action of the Church; or, again, as the concrete, definite creed, which set forth the facts from which that life sprang (*regula*: Tertull. *de virg.* vel. 1). In the fourth century, when the practice of the Church was further systematised, the decisions of synods were styled "Canons" and the discipline by which ministers were bound was technically "the Rule," and those who were thus bound were styled *Canonici* ("Canons"). In the phrase "the canon (i. e. fixed part) of the mass," from which the popular sense of "canonize" is derived, the passive sense again prevailed.

As applied to Scripture the derivatives of *κανὼν* are used long before the simple word. The Latin translation of Origen speaks of *Scripturae Canonicae* (*de Princ.* iv. 33), *libri regulares* (*Comm. in Matt.* §117), and *libri canonizati* (id. §28). In another place the phrase *haberi in Canone* (*Prolog. in Cant.* s. f.) occurs, but probably only as a translation of *κανονίζεσθαι*, which is used in this and cognate senses in Athanasius (*Ep. Fest.*), the Laodicean Canons (*ἀκανόνιστα*, *Can. lix.*), and later writers. This circumstance seems to show that the title "Canonical" was first given to writings in the sense of "admitted by the rule," and not as "forming part of and giving the rule." It is true that an ambiguity thus attaches to the word, which may mean only "publicly used in the Church;" but such an ambiguity may find many parallels, and usage tended to remove it. The spirit of Christendom recognised the books which truly expressed its essence; and in lapse of time, when that spirit was denuded by later overgrowths of superstition, the written "rule" occupied the place and received the name of that vital "Rule" by which it was first stamped with authority

\* Credner accepts the popular interpretation, as if canonical were equivalent to "having the force of law," and supposes that *scripturae legis*, a phrase occurring in the time of the persecution of Diocletian, represents *γραφὰ κανόνος*, which however does not, as far as I know, occur anywhere (*Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* p. 67). The terms *canonical* and *canonize* are probably of Alexandrine origin; but there are not the

slightest evidence for connecting the "canon" of classical authors with the "canon" of Scripture, notwithstanding the tempting analogy. If it could be shown that *ὁ κανὼν* was used at an early period for the list of sacred books, then it would be the simplest interpretation to take *κανονίζεσθαι* in the sense of "being entered on the list."

(ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ θείαι γραφαί, Isid. Pelus. *Ep.* cxiv.; comp. Aug. *de doctr. Chr.* iv. 9 (6); and as a contrast *Anon.* ap. Euseb. *II. E.* v. 28).

The first direct application of the term *κανὼν* to the Scriptures seems to be in the verses of Amphilochius (c. 380 A.C.), who concludes his well-known Catalogue of the Scriptures with the words *οὗτος ἀπευδίστατος κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνευστῶν γραφῶν*, where the word indicates the rule by which the contents of the Bible must be determined, and thus secondarily an index of the constituent books. Among Latin writers the word is commonly found from the time of Jerome (*Prol. Gal.* . . . Tobias et Judith *non sunt in Canone*) and Augustine (*De Civ.* xvii. 24, . . . *perpauca auctoritatem Canonis obtinuerunt*; id. xviii. 38, . . . *inocuiantur in Canone*), and their usage of the word, which is wider than that of Greek writers, is the source of its modern acceptance.

The uncanonical books were described simply as "those without," or "those uncanonicalized" (*ἀκανόνιστα*, Conc. *Laod.* lix.). The Apocryphal books, which were supposed to occupy an intermediate position, were called "books read" (*ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα*, Athan. *Ep. Fest.*), or "ecclesiastical" (*ecclesiastici*, Rufin. in *Synb. Apust.* §38), though the latter title was also applied to the canonical Scriptures (Leont. *I. c. inf.*). The canonical books (Leont. *de Sect.* ii. τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία) were also called "books of the Testament" (*ἐνδιδόθηκα βιβλία*), and Jerome styled the whole collection by the striking name of "the holy library" (*Bibliotheca sancta*), which happily expresses the unity and variety of the Bible (Crelmer, *Zur Gesch. d. Ktn.* §1; *Hist. of Canon of N. T.* App. D).

II. (a) *The formation of the Jewish Canon.*—The history of the Jewish Canon in the earliest times is beset with the greatest difficulties. Before the period of the exile only faint traces occur of the solemn preservation and use of sacred books. According to the command of Moses the "book of the law" was "put in the side of the ark" (Deut. xxxi. 25 ff.), but not in it (1 K. viii. 9; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. i. 7, v. 1, 17), and thus in the reign of Josiah, Hilkiash is said to have "found the book of the law in the house of the Lord" (2 K. xxii. 8; comp. 2 Chr. xxiv. 14). This "book of the law," which, in addition to the direct precepts (Ex. xxiv. 7), contained general exhortations (Deut. xxviii. 61) and historical narratives (Ex. xvii. 14), was further increased by the records of Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 26), and probably by other writings (1 Sam. x. 25), though it is impossible to determine their contents.<sup>b</sup> At a subsequent time collections of proverbs were made (Prov. xxv. 1), and the later prophets (especially Jeremiah; comp. Kuiper, *Jerem. Libror. ss. interp. et vindex*, Berol. 1837) were familiar with the writings of their predecessors, a circumstance which may naturally be connected with the training of "the prophetic schools." It perhaps marks a further step in the formation of the Canon when "the book of the Lord" is mentioned by Isaiah as a general collection of sacred teaching (xxx. 16; comp. xix. 18), at once familiar and authoritative; but it is unlikely that any definite collection either of "the psalms" or of "the prophets" existed before the captivity. At that time Zechariah speaks of

"the law" and "the former prophets" as in some measure co-ordinate (Zech. vii. 12); and Daniel refers to "the books" (Dan. ix. 2, ספרים) in a manner which seems to mark the prophetic writings as already collected into a whole. Even after the captivity the history of the Canon, like all Jewish history up to the date of the Maccabees, is wrapped in great obscurity. Faint traditions alone remain to interpret results which are found realized when the darkness is first cleared away. Popular belief assigned to Ezra and "the great synagogue" the task of collecting and promulgating the Scriptures as part of their work in organising the Jewish Church. Doubts have been thrown upon this belief (Rau, *De Synag. magna*, 1726; comp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iv. 191), and it is difficult to answer them, from the scantiness of the evidence which can be adduced; but the belief is in every way consistent with the history of Judaism and with the internal evidence of the books themselves. The later embellishments of the tradition, which represent Ezra as the second author of all the books [2 Esdras], or define more exactly the nature of his work, can only be accepted as signs of the universal belief in his labours, and ought not to cast discredit upon the simple fact that the foundation of the present Canon is due to him. Nor can it be supposed that the work was completed at once; so that the account (2 Macc. ii. 13) which assigns a collection of books to Nehemiah is in itself a confirmation of the general truth of the gradual formation of the Canon during the Persian period. The work of Nehemiah is not described as initiatory or final. The tradition omits all mention of the law, which may be supposed to have assumed its final shape under Ezra, but says that Nehemiah "gathered together the [writings] concerning the kings and prophets, and the [writings] of David, and letters of kings concerning offerings," while "founding a library" (*καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων*; 2 Macc. i. c.). The various classes of books were thus completed in succession; and this view harmonises with what must have been the natural development of the Jewish faith after the Return. The constitution of the Church and the formation of the Canon were both from their nature gradual and mutually dependent. The construction of an ecclesiastical polity involved the practical determination of the divine rule of truth, though, as in the parallel case of the Christian Scriptures, open persecution first gave a clear and distinct expression to the implicit faith.

The persecution of Antiochus (B.C. 168) was for the Old Testament what the persecution of Diocletian was for the New, the final crisis which stamped the sacred writings with their peculiar character. The king sought out "the books of the law" (τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου, 1 Macc. i. 56) and burnt them; and the possession of a "book of the covenant" (*βιβλίον διαθήκης*) was a capital crime (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §4, ἡφανίστο εἶπου βιβλος εὐρεθείη ἐπὶ καὶ νόμος . . .). According to the common tradition, this proscription of "the law" led to the public use of the writings of the prophets, and without discussing the accuracy of this belief,

<sup>b</sup> According to some (Fabric. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 1113), this collection of sacred books was preserved by Jeremiah at the destruction of the Temple (comp. 2 Macc. ii. 4 f.); according to others it was consumed

together with the ark (Epiph. *de Pond.* civ. ii. 162). In 2 K. xxii. 8 ff., 2 Chr. xxxiv. 14 ff., mention is made only of *the Law*.

it is evident that the general effect of such a persecution would be to direct the attention of the people more closely to the books which they connected with the original foundation of their faith. And this was in fact the result of the great trial. After the Maccabæan persecution the history of the formation of the Canon is merged in the history of its contents.<sup>a</sup> The Bible appears from that time as a whole, though it was natural that the several parts were not yet placed on an equal footing, nor regarded universally and in every respect with equal reverence<sup>d</sup> (comp. Zunz, *D. Gottesd. Vortr. d. Jud.* pp. 14, 25, &c.).

But while the combined evidence of tradition and of the general course of Jewish history leads to the conclusion that the Canon in its present shape was formed gradually during a lengthened interval, beginning with Ezra and extending through a part or even the whole (Neh. xii. 11, 22) of the Persian period (A.C. 458-332), when the cessation of the prophetic gift<sup>e</sup> pointed out the necessity and defined the limits of the collection, it is of the utmost importance to notice that the collection was peculiar in character and circumscribed in contents. All the evidence which can be obtained, though it is confessedly scanty, tends to show that it is false, both in theory and fact, to describe the O. T. as "all the relics of the Hebræo-Chaldaic literature up to a certain epoch" (De Wette, *Eintl.* §8), if the phrase is intended to refer to the time when the Canon was completed. The epilogue of Ecclesiastes (xii. 11 ff.) speaks of an extensive literature, with which the teaching of Wisdom is contrasted, and "weariness of the flesh" is described as the result of the study bestowed upon it. It is impossible that these "many writings" can have perished in the interval between the composition of Ecclesiastes and the Greek invasion, and the Apocrypha includes several fragments which must be referred to the Persian period (Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, 10 f.; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.*; Hengstenberg, *Beitrag*, i.; Hävernick, *Eintl.* i.; Oehler, art. *Canon d. A. T.* in Herzog's *Encyclop.*).

(B) *The contents of the Jewish Canon.*—The first notice of the O. T. as consisting of distinct and definite parts occurs in the prologue to the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). The date of this is disputed [ECCLESIASTICUS; JESUS SON OF SIRACH]; but if we admit the later date (c. B.C. 131), it falls in with what has been said on the effect of the Antiochian persecution. After that "the law, the prophecies, and the remainder of the books" are mentioned as integral sections of a completed whole (*ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*), and the phrase which designates the last class suggests no reason for supposing that that was still indefinite and open to additions. A like threefold classification is used for describing the entire O. T. in the Gospel of St. Luke (xiv. 44, *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς*; comp. Acts xxviii. 23), and appears again in a passage of Philo, where the

Therapeutæ are said to find their true food in "laws and oracles uttered by prophets, and hymns and (τὰ ἄλλα) the other [books?] by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected" (Philo, *de vita cont.* 3). [BIBLE.]

The triple division of the O. T. is itself not a mere accidental or arbitrary arrangement, but a reflection of the different stages of religious development through which the Jewish nation passed. The Law is the foundation of the whole revelation, the special discipline by which a chosen race was trained from a savage wilfulness to the accomplishment of its divine work. The Prophets portray the struggles of the same people when they came into closer connexion with the kingdoms of the world, and were led to look for the inward anti-types of the outward precepts. The Hagiographæ carry the divine lesson yet further, and show its working in the various phases of individual life, and in relation to the great problems of thought and feeling, which present themselves by a necessary law in the later stages of civilization (comp. Oehler, art. *Canon*, in Herzog's *Encyclop.* p. 253).

The general contents of these three classes still, however, remain to be determined. JOSEPHUS, the earliest direct witness on the subject, enumerates twenty books "which are justly believed to be divine" (τὰ δίκαιως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα): five books of Moses, thirteen of the prophets, extending to the reign of Artaxerxes (i. e. *Esther*, according to Josephus),<sup>f</sup> and four which contain hymns and directions for life (Joseph. c. *Apion.* i. 8). Still there is some ambiguity in this enumeration, for in order to make up the numbers, it is necessary either to rank Job among the prophets, or to exclude one book, and in that case probably Ecclesiastes, from the Hagiographæ. The former alternative is the more probable, for it is worthy of special notice that Josephus regards primarily the historic character of the prophets (τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν), a circumstance which explains his deviation from the common arrangement in regard to the later annals (1 and 2 Chr., Ezr., Neh.), and Daniel and Job, though he is silent as to the latter in his narrative (comp. Orig. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25). The later history, he adds, has also been written in detail, but the records have not been esteemed worthy of the same credit, "because the accurate succession of the prophets was not preserved in their case" (διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν). "But what faith we place in our own Scriptures (γράμματα) is seen in our conduct. They have suffered no addition, diminution, or change. From our infancy we learn to regard them as decrees of God (θεοῦ δόγματα); we observe them, and if need be we gladly die for them" (c. *Apion.* i. 8; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 10).

In these words Josephus clearly expresses not his own private opinion, nor the opinion of his sect, the Pharisees, but the general opinion of his countrymen. The popular belief that the Sadducees received only the books of Moses (Tertull. *De*

<sup>a</sup> The reference to the work of Judas Macc. in 2 Macc. ix. 14, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας τὰ διακεκρυμμένα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γεγονότα ἥμιν ἐπισυνήγαγε πάντα, καὶ ἔστι κατ' ἡμῖν, appears from the connexion to refer in particular to his care with regard to the restitution of the copies of the sacred writings which were "lost" (διακεκρυμμένα). It is of importance to notice that the work was a restoration, and not a new collection.

<sup>d</sup> Yet the distinction between the three degrees of

inspiration which were applied by Abarbanel (Kell, *Eintl.* §158, 6) to the three classes of writings is unknown to the early rabbins.

<sup>e</sup> After Malachi, according to the Jewish tradition (Vitringa, *Obs. Sacr.* vi. 8; ap. Kell, *l. c.*).

<sup>f</sup> The limit fixed by Josephus marks the period to which the prophetic history extended, and not, as is commonly said, the date at which the O. T. canon was itself finally closed.

*præcor. hæret.* 45; Hieron. in *Matth.* xii. 31, p. 181; Origen, c. *Cels.* i. 49), rests on no sufficient authority; and if they had done so, Josephus could not have failed to notice the fact in his account of the different sects [SADDUCEES].<sup>5</sup> In the traditions of the Talmud on the other hand, Gamaliel is represented as using passages from the Prophets and the Hagiographa in his controversies with them, and they reply with quotations from the same sources without scruple or objection. (Comp. Eichhorn, *Eintl.* §35; Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. et Talm.* ii. 616; C. F. Schmid, *Enarr. Sent. Fl. Josephi de Libris V. T.* 1777; G. Güldenapfel, *Dissert. Josephi de Sadd. Can. Sent. exhibens*, 1804.)

The casual quotations of Josephus agree with his express Canon. With the exception of Prov., Eccles., and Cant., which furnished no materials for his work, and Job, which, even if historical, offered no point of contact with other history, he uses all the other books either as divinely inspired writings (5 Moses, Is., Jer., Ez., Dan., xii. Proph.), or as authoritative sources of truth.

The writings of the N. T. completely confirm the testimony of Josephus. Coincidences of language show that the Apostles were familiar with several of the Apocryphal books (Bleek, *Ueber d. Stellung d. Apokr. u. s. w.* in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, pp. 267 ff.);<sup>6</sup> but they do not contain one authoritative or direct quotation from them, while, with the exception of Judges, Eccl., Cant., Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, every other book in the Hebrew Canon is used either for illustration or proof.<sup>7</sup>

Several of the early fathers describe the contents of the Hebrew Canon in terms which generally agree with the results already obtained. MELITO of Sardis (c. 179 A.D.) in a journey to the East made the question of the exact number and order of "the books of the Old Testament" a subject of special inquiry, to satisfy the wishes of a friend (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26). He gives the result in the following form: the books are, 5 Moses, Jos., Jud., Ruth, 4 K., 2 Chr. Ps., Prov. (Σαλομῶνος Παροιμίαι ἡ καὶ Σοφία), Eccl., Cant., Job, Is., Jer. xii. Proph., Dan., Ez., Esdr. The arrangement is peculiar, and the books of Nehemiah and Esther are wanting. The former is without doubt included in the general title "Esdras," and it has been conjectured (Eichhorn, *Eintl.* §52; comp. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i., 136) that Esther may have formed part of the same collection of records of the history after the exile.<sup>8</sup> The testimony of ORIGEN

labours under a similar difficulty. According to the present Greek text (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; *In Ps.* i. *Philoc.* 3), in enumerating the 22 books "which the Hebrews hand down as included in the Testament (ἐνδιαθήκους)," he omits the book of the 12 minor prophets, and adds "the letter" to the book of Jeremiah and Lamentations (Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἐνῷ). The number is thus imperfect, and the Latin version of Rufinus has rightly preserved the book of the xii prophets in the catalogue, placing it after Cant. and before the greater prophets, a strange position which can hardly have been due to an arbitrary insertion (cf. Hil. *Prolog. in Ps.* 15). The addition of "the Letter" to Jer. is inexplicable except on the assumption that it was an error springing naturally from the habitual use of the LXX., in which the books are united, for there is not the slightest trace that this late apocryphal fragment [BARUCH, BOOK OF] ever formed part of the Jewish Canon. The statement of JEROME is clear and complete. After noticing the coincidence of the 22 books of the Hebrew Bible with the number of the Hebrew letters, and of the 5 double letters with the 5 "double books" (Sam., K., Chr., Ez., Jer.), he gives the contents of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, in exact accordance with the Hebrew authorities, placing Daniel in the last class; and adding that whatever is without the number of these must be placed among the Apocrypha. ("Hic prologus Script. quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hæbraeo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest, ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha esse ponendum," Hieron. *Prolog. Gal.*) The statement of the *Talmud* is in many respects so remarkable that it must be transcribed entire. "But who wrote [the books of the Bible]? Moses wrote his own book, ? the Pentateuch, the section about Balaam and Job. Joshua wrote his own book and the eight [last] verses of the Pentateuch. Samuel wrote his own book, the book of Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms [of which however some were composed] by the ten venerable elders, Adam, the first man, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Haman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his own book, the books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his friends [reduced to writing] the books contained in the Memorial word IamSCHak, i. e. Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes. The men of the

<sup>5</sup> In *Ant.* xiii. 10, §6, Josephus simply says that the Sadducees rejected the *precepts* which were not contained in the laws of Moses (ἀπερ οὐκ ἀναγράφονται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως νόμοις), but derived only from tradition (τὰ ἐκ παραδόσεως, opposed to τὰ γεγραμμένα). The statement has no connexion whatever with the other writings of the Canon.

The Canon of the SAMARITANS was confined to the Pentateuch, not so much from their hostility to the Jews, as from their undue exaltation of the Law (Keil, *Eintl.* §218).

The chief passages which Bleek quotes, after Stier and Nitzsch, are James i. 19 || Sirac. v. 11; 1 Pet. i. 6, 7 || Wisd. iii. 3-7; Heb. xi. 34, 35 || 2 Macc. vi. 18-17, 42; Heb. i. 3 || Wisd. vii. 26, &c.; Rom. i. 20-32 || Wisd. xiii. xv.; Rom. ix. 31 || Wisd. xv. 7; Eph. vi. 13-17 || Wisd. v. 18-20. But it is obvious that if these passages prove satisfactorily that the Apostolic writers were acquainted with the apocryphal books, they indicate with equal clearness that their silence with regard to them cannot have been purely accidental. An earlier criticism of the alleged coin-

cidences is given in Cosin's *Canon of Scripture*, §§35 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Some passages are quoted in the N. T. which are not found in the canonical books. The most important of these is that from the prophecies of Enoch [Ezech., Book of] (Jude, 17). Others have been found in Luke xi. 49-51; John vii. 38; James iv. 5, 6; 1 Cor. ii. 9; but these are more or less questionable.

<sup>7</sup> Iody (*De Bibl. text.* p. 646) quotes a singular note, falsely attributed to Athanasius, who likewise omits Esther. "Sunt etiam ex antiquis Hebraeis qui Esther admittant, atque ut numerus idem (22) servetur, cum *Judithibus* copulantur." The book is wanting also in the *Synops. S. Script.*, Gregor. Naz., Amphilochius, Nicophorus Callistus, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Origen expressly excludes 1 Macc. from the canon (ἐξ οὗ ἐστὶν τὸν ἐν τῷ 1 Μακκ.), although written in Hebrew. Berthold's statement to the contrary is incorrect (*Eintl.* §31), although Keil (*de Auct. Can. Libb. Macc.* 67) maintains the same opinion.

great Synagogue [reduced to writing] the books contained in the memorial letter KaNDaG, i. e. Ezekiel, the 12 lesser prophets, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his own book, and brought down the genealogies of the books of Chronicles to his own times . . . Who brought the remainder of the books [of Chronicles] to a close? Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah" (Baba Bathra f. 14 b. *ap.* Oehler, art. *Kanon*, l. c.).

In spite of the comparatively late date (c. A.D. 500), from which this tradition is derived, it is evidently in essence the earliest description of the work of Ezra and the Great Synagogue which has been preserved. The details must be tested by other evidence, but the general description of the growth of the Jewish Canon bears every mark of probability. The early fables as to the work of Ezra [2 ESDRAS; see above] are a natural corruption of this original belief, and after a time entirely supplanted it; but as it stands in the great collection of the teaching of the Hebrew Schools, it bears witness to the authority of the complete Canon, and at the same time recognizes its gradual formation in accordance with the independent results of internal evidence.

The later Jewish Catalogues throw little light upon the Canon. They generally reckon twenty-two books, equal in number to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, five of the Law, eight of the Prophets (Josh., Jud., and Ruth, 1, 2 Sam., 1, 2 K., Is., Jer., and Lam., Ez., 12 Proph.), and nine of the Hagiographa (Hieron. *Prolog. in Reg.*). The last number was more commonly increased to eleven by the distinct enumeration of the books of Ruth and Lamentation ("the 24 Books" עשרים וארבעה), and in that case it was supposed that the *Yod* was thence repeated in reverence for the sacred name (Hody, *De Bibl. text.* p. 644; Eichhorn, *Eint.* §6). In Hebrew MSS., and in the early editions of the O. T., the arrangement of the later books offers great variations (Hody, *l. c.*, gives a large collection), but they generally agree in reckoning all separately except the books of Ezra and Nehemiah<sup>m</sup> (Buxtorf, Hottinger, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, *l. cc.*; Zuntz, *Gottesd. Vorträge d. Juden*).

So then it has been shown that the Hebrew Canon was uniform and coincident with our own;<sup>n</sup> but while the Palestinian Jews combined to preserve the strict limits of the old prophetic writings, the Alexandrine Jews allowed themselves greater freedom. Their ecclesiastical constitution was less definite, and the same influences which created among them an independent literature disinclined them to regard with marked veneration more than the Law itself. The idea of a Canon was foreign

to their habits; and the fact that they possessed the sacred books not merely in a translation, but in a translation made at different times, without any unity of plan and without any uniformity of execution, necessarily weakened that traditional feeling of their real connexion which existed in Palestine. Translations of later books were made (1 Macc., Ecclesi., Baruch, &c.), and new ones were written (2 Macc. Wisd.), which were reckoned in the sum of their religious literature, and probably placed on an equal footing with the Hagiographa in common esteem. But this was not the result of any express judgment on their worth, but a natural consequence of the popular belief in the doctrine of a living Word which deprived the prophetic writings of part of their distinctive value. So far as an authoritative Canon existed in Egypt, it is probable that it was the same as that of Palestine. In the absence of distinct evidence to the contrary this is most likely, and positive indications of the fact are not wanting. The translator of the Wisdom of Sirach uses the same phrase (ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βιβλία) in speaking of his grandfather's biblical studies in Palestine, and of his own in Egypt (comp. Eichhorn, *Eint.* §22), and he could hardly have done so, had the Bible been different in the two places. The evidence of PHILO, if less direct, is still more conclusive. His language shows that he was acquainted with the Apocryphal books, and yet he does not make a single quotation from them (Hornemann, *Observ. ad illustr. doctr. de Can. V. T. ex Philone*, pp. 28, 29, *ap.* Eichhorn, *Eint.* §26), though they offered much that was favourable to his views. On the other hand, in addition to the Law, he quotes all the books of "the Prophets," and the Psalms and Proverbs, from the Hagiographa, and several of them (Is., Jer., Hos., Zechar., Ps., Prov.), with clear assertions of their "prophetic" or inspired character. Of the remaining Hagiographa (Neh., Ruth, Lam., 1, 2 Chron., Dan., Eccl., Cant.) he makes no mention, but the three first may have been attached, as often in Hebrew usage, to other books (Ez., Jud., Jer.), so that four writings alone are entirely unattested by him (comp. Hornemann, *l. c.*). A further trace of the identity of the Alexandrine Canon with the Palestinian is found in the Apocalypse of Esdras [2 ESDRAS], where "24 open books" are specially distinguished from the mass of esoteric writings which were dictated to Ezra by inspiration (2 Esdr. xiv. 44 ff.).

From the combination of this evidence there can be no reasonable doubt that at the beginning of the Christian era the Jews had only one Canon of the Sacred writings, defined distinctly in Palestine, and

<sup>m</sup> Notwithstanding the unanimous judgment of later writers, there are traces of the existence of doubts among the first Jewish doctors as to some books. Thus in the Mishna (Jad. 3, 5) a discussion is recorded as to Cant. and Eccles. whether they "soil the hands;" and a difference as to the latter book existed between the great schools of Hillel and Shammai. The same doubts as to Eccles. are repeated in another form in the Talmud (Sabb. f. 80, 2), where it is said that the book would have been concealed (נִסְתָּר) but for the quotations at the beginning and the end. Comp. Hieron. *Comm. in Eccles.* s. l.: "Aiant Hebraei cum inter cetera scripta Salomonis quae antiquata sunt nec in memoria draverunt, et hic liber oblitrandus videretur, eo quod vanas dei auereret creaturas . . . ex hoc uno capitulo (xli.

meruisse auctoritatem . . ." Parallel passages are quoted in the notes on the passage, and by Bleek, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, pp. 322 ff. The doubts as to Esther have been already noticed.

A series of references to the Apocryphal books from Jewish writers has been made by Hottinger (*Theol. Philol.* 1659), and collected and reprinted by Wordsworth (*On the Canon of the Scriptures*, App. C.). Compare also the valuable notices in Zuntz, *D. Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden.* pp. 126 ff.

<sup>n</sup> The dream of a second and third revision of the Jewish canon—in the times of Eleazer and Hillel, by which the Apocryphal books were ratified (Genebrard), rests on no basis whatever. The supposition that the Jews rejected the Apocrypha after our Lord's coming (Card. Perron) is equally unfounded. Cosin, *Canon of Scripture*, §§23, 25.

admitted, though with a less definite apprehension of its peculiar characteristics, by the Hellenizing Jews of the Dispersion, and that this Canon was recognized, as far as can be determined, by our Lord and His apostles. But on the other hand, the connexion of other religious books with the Greek translation of the O. T., and their common use in Egypt was already opening the way for an extension of the original Canon, and assigning an authority to later writings which they did not derive from ecclesiastical sanction.

III. a. *The History of the Christian Canon of the Old Testament.*—The history of the Old Testament Canon among Christian writers exhibits the natural issue of the currency of the LXX., enlarged as it had been by apocryphal additions. In proportion as the Fathers were more or less absolutely dependent on that version for their knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, they gradually lost in common practice the sense of the difference between the books of the Hebrew Canon and the Apocrypha. The custom of individuals grew into the custom of the Church; and the public use of the Apocryphal books obliterated in popular regard the characteristic marks of their origin and value, which could only be discovered by the scholar. But the custom of the Church was not fixed in an absolute judgment. It might seem as if the great leaders of the Christian Body shrink by a wise forethought from a work for which they were unfitted; for by acquiescences and constitution they were little capable of solving a problem which must at last depend on historical data. And this remark must be applied to the details of patristic evidence on the contents of the Canon. Their habit must be distinguished from their judgment. The want of critical tact which allowed them to use the most obviously pseudonymous works (2 Esdras, Enoch) as genuine prophecies of their supposed authors, or as "divine Scripture," greatly diminishes the value of casual and isolated testimonies to single books. In such cases the form as well as the fact of the attestation requires to be examined, and after this the combined witness of different Churches can alone suffice to stamp a book with ecclesiastical authority.

The confusion which was necessarily introduced by the use of the LXX. was further increased when the Western Church rose in importance. The LXX. itself was the original of the Old Latin, and the recollection of the original distinction between the constituent books of the Bible became more and more difficult in the version of a version; and at the same time the Hebrew Church dwindled down to an obscure sect, and the intercourse between the Churches of the East and West grew less intimate. The impulse which instigated Melito in the second century to seek in "the East" an "accurate" account of "the books of the Old Testament," gradually lost its force as the Jewish nation and literature were further withdrawn from the circle of Christian knowledge. The Old Latin version converted use popularly into belief, and the investigations of Jerome were unable to counteract the feeling which had gained strength silently, without any distinct and authoritative sanction. Yet one important, though obscure, protest was made against the growing error. The Nazarenes, the relics of the Hebrew Church, in addition to the New Testament "made use of the Old Testament, as the Jews" (Epiph. *Hæc.* xxix. 7). They had "the whole Law, and the Prophets, and the Hagiographa so called, that is the poetical books, and

the Kings, and Chronicles and Esther, and all the other books in Hebrew" (Epiph. *l. c.* παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ πᾶς ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ γραφεῖα λεγόμενα, φησὶ δὲ τὰ στιχῆρη, καὶ αἱ βασιλείαι καὶ παραλειπόμενα, καὶ Αἰσῆθρ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα Ἑβραϊκῶς ἀναγινώσκονται). And in connexion with this fact, it is worthy of remark that JUSTIN MARTYR, who drew his knowledge of Christianity from Palestine, makes no use of the Apocryphal writings in any of his works.

From what has been said, it is evident that the history of the Christian Canon is to be sought in the first instance from definite catalogues and not from isolated quotations. But even this evidence is incomplete and unsatisfactory. A comparison of the subjoined table (No. I.) of the chief extant Catalogues will show how few of them are really independent; and the later transcriptions are commonly of no value, as they do not appear to have been made with any critical appreciation of their distinctive worth.

These Catalogues evidently fall into two great classes, Hebrew and Latin; and the former, again, exhibits three distinct varieties, which are to be traced to the three original sources from which the Catalogues were derived. The first may be called the pure Hebrew Canon, which is that of the Church of England (the *Talmud*, *Jerome*, *Joim. Damasc.*). The second differs from this by the omission of the book of Esther (*Melito* [*Athanas.*] *Syn. S. Script.*, *Greg. Naz.*, *Amphiloch.*, *Leont.*, *Niceph.*, *Cullist.*). The third differs by the addition of Baruch, or "the Letter" (*Origen*, *Athanas.*, *Cyr. Hieros.*, [*Concil. Laod.*], *Hil. Pictav.*). The omission of Esther may mark a real variation in the opinion of the Jewish Church [*ESHER*], but the addition of Baruch is probably due to the place which it occupied in direct connexion with Jeremiah, not only in the Greek and Latin translations, but perhaps also in some copies of the Hebrew text [*BARUCH*, *BOOK OF*]. This is rendered more likely by the converse fact that the Lamentations and Baruch are not distinctly enumerated by many writers, who certainly received both books. During the four first centuries this Hebrew Canon is the only one which is distinctly recognised, and it is supported by the combined authority of those fathers whose critical judgment is entitled to the greatest weight. In the meantime, however, as has been already noticed, the common usage of the early fathers was influenced by the position which the Apocryphal books occupied in the current versions, and they quoted them frequently as Scripture, when they were not led to refer to the judgment of antiquity. The subjoined table (No. II.) will show the extent and character of this partial testimony to the disputed books.

These casual testimonies are, however, of comparatively slight value, and are, in many cases, opposed to the deliberate judgment of the authors from whom they are quoted. The real divergence as to the contents of the Old Testament Canon is to be traced to AUGUSTINE, whose wavering and uncertain language on the point furnishes abundant materials for controversy. By education and character he occupied a position more than usually unfavourable for historical criticism, and yet his overpowering influence, when it fell in with ordinary usage, gave consistency and strength to the opinion which he appeared to advocate, for it may be reasonably doubted whether he differed intentionally from Jerome except in language. In a

## No. I.—CHRISTIAN CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The list extends only to such books as are disputed. Of the signs, \* indicates that the book is expressly reckoned as *Holy Scripture*: † that it is placed expressly in a *second* rank: ? that it is mentioned with *doubt*. A blank marks the silence of the author as to the book in question.

	Lamen- tatione	Baruch	Ezech.	Ezechiel- tatione	Wisdom.	Tobit.	Judith.	1, 2 Mac- cabees.	
<b>I. CONCILIAR CATALOGUES:</b>									
[Laodicene] . . . A.C. 363	*	*	*						Conc. Laod. <i>Can.</i> lix. <sup>1</sup>
Carthaginian . . . 397 (?)			*	*	*	*	*	*	Conc. Carthag. iii. <i>Cm.</i> xxxix. (Alii xlvii.). <sup>2</sup>
Apostolic Canons . .			*	†			*?	*	Can. Apost. lxxvi. (Alii lxxxv.). <sup>3</sup>
<b>II. PRIVATE CATALOGUES:</b>									
<i>(a) Greek writers.</i>									
Melito . . . . A.C. c. 160									<i>Ap.</i> Euseb. <i>H. E.</i> iv. 26.
Origen . . . . c. 183-253	*	?	*					†	<i>Ap.</i> Euseb. <i>II. E.</i> vi. 25. <sup>4</sup>
Athanasius . . . 296-373	*	*	†	†	†	†	†		<i>Ep. Fest.</i> i. 767, <i>Ed. Ben.</i> <sup>5</sup>
Cyril of Jerus. . . 315-386	*	*	*						<i>Catech.</i> iv. 35.
<i>Synopsis S. Script.</i>			†	†	†	†	†		Credner, <i>Zur Gcsch. d. Kan.</i> 127 ff. <sup>6</sup>
[Nicephori] <i>Stichometria</i>		*	†	†	†	†	†	†	Credner, <i>a. a. O.</i> 117 ff. <sup>7</sup>
Gregory of Naz. . . 300-391									<i>Carm.</i> xii. 31, <i>Ed. Par.</i> 1840. <sup>8</sup>
Amphilochius . . . c. 380			?						Amphiloch. <i>Ed. Combef.</i> p. 132. <sup>9</sup>
Epiphanius . . . c. 303-403			*	†	†				<i>De Mensuris</i> , p. 162, <i>Ed. Petav.</i> <sup>10</sup>
Leontius . . . . c. 590									<i>De Sectis</i> , Act. ii. (Gallandi, xii. 625 f.) <sup>11</sup>
Joannes Damasc. . . †750			*	†	†				<i>De fide orthod.</i> iv. 17. <sup>12</sup>
Nicephorus Callist. . c. 1330			?			?	?		Hody, p. 648. <sup>13</sup>
Cod. Gr. <i>Sacc.</i> X. . .			†	†	†	†	†	†	Montfaucon, <i>Bibl. Coislin.</i> p. 193 f.
<i>(b) Latin writers.</i>									
Hilarius Pictav. A.C. †c. 370	*	?	*			?	?		<i>Prolog. in Ps.</i> 15. <sup>14</sup>
Hieronymus . . . 329-420	*		*	†	†	†	†	†	<i>Prolog. Galeat.</i> ix. pp. 547 ff., <i>Ed. Migne.</i> <sup>15</sup>
Ruffinus . . . . c. 380			*	†	†	†	†	†	<i>Expos. Symb.</i> 37 f. <sup>16</sup>
Augustinus . . . 355-430			*	*	*	*	*	*	<i>De doctr. Christ.</i> ii. 8. <sup>17</sup>
[Damasus] . . . .	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Credner, <i>a. a. O.</i> p. 188.
[Innocentius] . . . .			*	*	*	*	*	*	<i>Ep. ad Exsup.</i> (Gallandi, viii. 56 f.)
Cassiodorus . . . †570			*	*	*	*	*	*	<i>De Instit. Div. litt.</i> xiv. <sup>18</sup>
Isidorus Hispal. . . †696	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	<i>De Orig.</i> vi. 1. <sup>19</sup>
Sacram. Gallic. "ante annos 1000"			*			*	*	*	Hody, p. 654.

famous passage (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8 (13)) he enumerates the books which are contained in "the whole Canon of Scripture," and includes among them the apocryphal books without any clear mark of distinction. This general statement is further confirmed by two other passages, in which it is argued that he draws a distinction between the Jewish and Christian Canons, and refers the authority of the Apocryphal books to the judgment of the Christian Church. In the first passage he speaks of the Maccabæan history as not "found in the Sacred Scriptures which are called canonical, but in others, among which are also the books of the Maccabees, which the Church, and not the Jews, holds for canonical, on account of the marvellous sufferings of the martyrs [recorded in them] . . ." (*quorum supputatio temporum non in Scripturis Sanctis, quæ Canonice appellantur, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Machabæorum libri, quos non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro Canonicis habet . . . de Civ. xviii. 36*). In the other passage he speaks of the books of the Maccabees as "received (recepta) by the Church, not without profit, if they be read with sobriety" (*c. Gaud. i. 38*). But it will be noticed that

in each case a distinction is drawn between the "Ecclesiastical" and properly "Canonical" books. In the second case he expressly lowers the authority of the books of the Maccabees by remarking that "the Jews have them not like the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets to which the Lord gives His witness" (*Aug. l. c.*). And the original catalogue is equally qualified by an introduction which distinguishes between the authority of books which are received by all and by some of the Churches; and, again, between those which are received by churches of great or of small weight (*de Doctr. Chr. ii. 8 (12)*) so that the list which immediately follows must be interpreted by this rule. In confirmation of this view of Augustine's special regard for the Hebrew Canon, it may be further urged that he appeals to the Jews, "the librarians of the Christians," as possessing "all the writings in which Christ was prophesied of" (*In Ps. xl., Ps. lvi.*), and to "the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets," which were supported by the witness of the Jews (*c. Gaud. l. c.*), as including "all the canonical authorities of the Sacred books" (*de unit. Eccles. 16*), which, as he says in another place (*de Civ. xv.*

## NOTES ON TABLE NO. I.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence against the authenticity of this Canon, as an original part of the collection, is decisive, in spite of the defence of Bickell (*Stud. u. Krft.* iii. 611 ff.), as the present writer has shown at length in another place (*Hist. of N. T. Canon*, iv. 498 ff.). The Canon recurs in the *Copibular Aquigran*, c. xx., with the omission of *Baruch* and *Lamentations*.

<sup>2</sup> The same Canon appears in Conc. Hipp. *Can.* xxxvi. The Greek version of the Canon omits the books of Maccabees; and the history of the Council itself is very obscure. Comp. Cosin. §82.

<sup>3</sup> This Canon mentions three books of the Maccabees. *Judith* is not found in some MSS.; and generally it may be observed that the published text of the Conciliar Canons needs a thorough revision. Ecclesiasticus is thus mentioned: *ἔθεν δὲ προσετίθησαν οὗτοι μαθηταὶ ὡς τὸν τοῦ νῦν τὴν σφύραν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ.* Comp. *Constit. Apost.* ii. 57.

<sup>4</sup> The Canons of Laodicea, Carthage, and the Apostolic Canons, were all ratified in the Quin-Sextine Council, *Can. 2*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ἰερωνὺς σὺν ἑσθίονι καὶ ἰεροτολῇ ἐν ἐν.* Origen expressly says that this catalogue is *ὡς Ἑβραίοι παρορίσσει*, and begins with the words: *εἰς δὲ αἱ εἰκοσι δύο βιβλαὶ καὶ ἑβραίοις αἰδε.* He quotes several of the Apocryphal books as Scripture, as will be seen below; and in his letter to Africanus defends the interpolated Greek text of Daniel and the other O. T. books, on the ground of their public use (*Ep. ad Afric.* § 3, ff.). The whole of this last passage is of the deepest interest, and places in the clearest light the influence which the LXX. exercised on common opinion.

<sup>6</sup> Athanasius closes his whole catalogue with the words: *ταῦτα ἡμεῖς τὸν συντηροῦν . . . ἐν τοῖς μὲν οὖν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλῆς ἐνυγκρίσεται. μηδὲς τούτους ἐπιβαλλέτω: μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρέστω τ. . . . ὅσιν καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔθεν, οὐ καὶ κανονίζονται μὲν τοῖσι μὲν δὲ παρὰ τὴν πατρίαν ἀναγιγνωσκέσθαι τὸν ἄρτι προσερχομένους καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον.*

<sup>7</sup> The list of the Apocryphal books is prefaced by a clause nearly identical with that in Athanasius. In a second enumeration (Credner, *a. a. O.* p. 144), three books of the *Maccabees* and *Susanna* are enumerated among the *ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων*.

<sup>8</sup> The Apocryphal books are headed: *καὶ δοκεῖ ἀντιλέγονται τῇ παλαιᾷ ἀγρᾷ εἶναι. Σωσάννα (i. e. Add. to Daniel) is reckoned among them.*

<sup>9</sup> The catalogue ends with the words: *πάσαις ἔχεις. εἰ τὴν δὲ τούτων ἀγρᾷ οὐκ ἐν γνήσιος.*

<sup>10</sup> The verses occur under the name of Gregory of Nazianzen, but are generally referred to Amphilocheus. Of Euthy he says: *τούτοις προσερχομένοις τὴν ἑσθίον.* He concludes: *ὅσους ἀφαιρέστας Κανὼν ἐν εἰς τὴν θεοπνευστων γραφῶν.*

<sup>11</sup> Euphranitus adds of Wisdom and Ecclesi. *ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰς καὶ ἀφαιρέτω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμφοῖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀναφύρονται, διὰ οὐδὲ . . . ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κεινῇ* [*ἀντι-*

*θεσῶν*]. The same catalogue is repeated *de Mens.* p. 180. In another place (*adv. haer.* lxxvi. p. 941), he speaks of the teaching contained in "the xxii. books" of the Old Test., in the New Test., and then *ἐν ταῖς Σοφίαις, Σολομῶντος τε θμῶ καὶ νου Σιράχ καὶ πάσαις ἀπλῶς θείας γραφαῖς.* In a third catalogue (*adv. haer.* v. p. 19) he adds the letters of *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* (which he elsewhere specially notices as wanting in the Hebrew, *de Mens.* p. 163), and speaks of Wisdom and Ecclesi. as *ἐν ἀμφιέκτῃ* (among the Jews), *χωρὶς ἄλλων τῶν βιβλίων ἐναποκρύφω.* Comp. *adv. haer.* xxix. p. 122.

<sup>12</sup> *Ἰερον. l. c. ταῦτα ἐστὶ καὶ κανονίζονται βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ νέα, ἐν ταῖς παλαιαῖς πάντα δεχόμενοι αἱ Ἑβραίοι.*

<sup>13</sup> *Joan. Damasc. l. c. ἡ σοφία τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ . . . ἐνέμενοι μὲν καὶ καλὰ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρμόζοντα, οὐδὲ ἐκτενὲς ἐν τῇ κεινῇ.*

<sup>14</sup> *Onibus nonnulli adficiunt Esther, Judith, et Tobit, iactæ δὲ τούτων τῇ γραφῇ ἐκείνῃ νόθον* (Hody, l. c.).

<sup>15</sup> *Isid. l. c. Quibusdam autem visum est addita Tobia et Judith xxiv. libros secundum numerum graecarum litterarum connumerare . . .*

<sup>16</sup> *Isid. l. c. Quicquid extra hos (the books of the Hebrew canon) est, inter apocrypha ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quae vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Sirach liber, et Judith et Tobias et Pastor non sunt in canone. Machabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperimus Graecus est. . . . Cf. Prolog. in Libros Salom. ad Chrym. et Heliod. Fertur et Παράφρασις, Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδής, quae Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. . . . Sicut ergo Judith et Tobit, et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicos non recipit, sic et haec duo volumina legit ad edificationem plebis, non et auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Comp. Prologus in Dan. Hierem., Tobit, Judith, Jonam; Ep. ad Antimum, lili. Hence at the close of Euthy one very ancient MS., quoted by Martianus on the place, adds: *ἡμεῖς καὶ completum est Vet. Test. id est, omnes canonicae Scripturae . . . quae transiit Hieronymus . . . de Hebraica veritate . . . caeterae vero Scripturae, quae non sunt canonicae, sed dicuntur ecclesiasticae, istae sunt, id est . . . giving the list contained in Prolog. Galat.**

<sup>17</sup> After giving the Hebrew canon and the received canon of N. T., Rufinus says: *Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt, id est, Sapientia, quae dicitur Salomonis, et alia Sapientia quae dicitur filii Sirach . . . ejusdem vero ordinis libellus est Tobias et Judith et Machabæorum libri. . . . Quae omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluntur, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidel confirmandam. Caeteras vero Scripturas apocryphas nominantur, quas in ecclesiis legi voluntur.*

<sup>18</sup> See below.

<sup>19</sup> Cassiodorus gives also, however, with marks of high respect, the catalogue of Jerome. Comp. Cosin, § 89.

<sup>20</sup> Isidorus, like Cassiodorus, gives the catalogue of Jerome, as well as that of Augustine. Comp. Cosin, § 103.

## No. II.—QUOTATIONS OF THE APOCRYPHA AS SCRIPTURE.

	1, 2 Macc.	Baruch.	Ecclesiasticals.	Wisdom.	Tobit.	Judith.	Additions to Esther.	Additions to Daniel.
I. <i>Greek writers.</i>								
CLEMENS ROM.	..	..	..	[ <i>Ep. ad Cor.</i> 27.]	..	[ <i>Ep. ad Cor.</i> 55.]	..	<i>Ado. haer.</i> iv. 5, 2; 26, 3.
POLYCARP	..	..	..	[ <i>Ep. c. 6.</i> ]	[ <i>Ado. haer.</i> i. 30, 11.]	..	..	<i>Proph. Ecl.</i> 1.
BARNABAS	..	<i>Ado. haer.</i> v. 35, 1.	..	[ <i>Ado. haer.</i> iv. 38, 3.]	<i>Strom.</i> ii. 23, vi. 12.	<i>Strom.</i> ii. 7.	..	<i>Ep. ad Afric. &amp;c.</i>
IRENAEUS	..	<i>Paed.</i> i. 10; ii. 3.	<i>Strom.</i> iii. 5, &c.	<i>Strom.</i> iv. 16; vi. 11, 14, 15, &c.	<i>Ep. ad Afric.</i> 13.	[ <i>Hom.</i> ix. in <i>Jud.</i> 1.]	<i>Ep. ad Afric. De Orat.</i> 14.	<i>Comm. in Don. pp.</i> 639 ff., ed. Nizigae.
CLEM. ALEX.	[ <i>Strom.</i> v. 14.]	<i>Sel. in Ps. cxv.</i>	<i>Comm. in Joan.</i> xxxii. 14.	29; <i>Hom. sapie.</i> In <i>Cont. Procl.</i>	<i>De Orat.</i> 11.	<i>Sel. in Jer.</i> 23.	..	[ <i>Cont. xl.</i> 2.]
ORIGENES	<i>De Princ.</i> ii. 1, 5	<i>Sel. in Jer.</i> xxxi.	..	<i>In Cant. Procl.</i>	[ <i>In Joan.</i> p. 697, ed. Nizigae.]	..	..	<i>Comm. in Don. pp.</i> 639 ff., ed. Nizigae.
HIPPOLYTUS	[ <i>De Antichr.</i> 49.]	<i>Ado. d. Noet.</i> 3.	..	<i>Conc. i. 3, &amp;c.</i>	<i>c. Arias.</i> i. p. 133.	[ <i>Conc. xi.</i> 2.]	..	<i>c. Arias.</i> iii. 580.
METHODIUS	..	<i>Conc.</i> viii. 3.	<i>Conc. i. 3, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Conc. i. 3, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Conc. i. 3, &amp;c.</i>	..	..	<i>Conc. ii.</i> 16, &c.
ATHANASIUS	..	<i>c. Arias.</i> i. p. 416.	<i>c. Arias.</i> i. p. 183.	<i>c. Arias.</i> i. p. 513.	<i>c. Arias.</i> i. p. 133.	..	..	<i>Orat.</i> xxxvi. 3.
EUSEBIUS	..	<i>Dem. Ev.</i> vi. 19.	..	<i>Præp. Et.</i> i. 9.	..	..	..	<i>Hom. xii. in Proc.</i> 13.
CYRILL. HIEROS.	..	<i>Cat.</i> xl. 15.	[ <i>Ep.</i> xxiii. 17.]	<i>Cat.</i> ix. 2.	..	..	..	<i>Ancoor.</i> 23, 24.
GREGOR. N. A.	..	<i>Ado. Eum.</i> iv. 16.	..	..	..	..	..	..
BASIL	..	..	..	<i>Ado. Eumom.</i> v. 2.	..	..	..	..
EPHRAEMUS	..	<i>Haer.</i> lvii. 2, &c.	<i>Haer.</i> xxiv. 6, &c.	<i>Haer.</i> xxvi. (Quot.) 15, &c.	..	..	..	..
CHRYSOSTOM	..	<i>In Ps.</i> xlix. 3.	<i>De Laz.</i> ii. 4.	<i>In Ps.</i> cix. 7.	..	..	..	..
II. <i>Latin writers.</i>								
TERTULLIAN	..	<i>Scorp.</i> 8.	..	[ <i>de prax.</i> <i>haer.</i> 7.]	..	..	..	<i>Adv. Hermog.</i> 44.
CYPRIAN	..	<i>Test.</i> ii. 6.	<i>Testim.</i> ii. 1; <i>De Mortal.</i> 9.	<i>Testim.</i> ii. 14; <i>De Mortal.</i> 23.	<i>De Orat.</i> Dom. 32.	..	..	<i>De Orat.</i> Dom. 8.
HILARIUS PICTAV.	..	<i>In Ps.</i> lxviii. 19.	<i>In Ps.</i> lxvi. 9, &c.	<i>In Ps.</i> cxviii. 2, 8.	<i>In Ps.</i> cxix. 7.	<i>In Ps.</i> cxxy. 6.	..	<i>In Ps.</i> lli. 19, &c.
AMBRASIUS	..	<i>De Trin.</i> iv. 142.	<i>In Ps.</i> cxviii. 18, 2.	<i>de Sp.</i> S. iii. 18, 133, &c.	<i>Lib. de Tobia.</i> 1.	..	..	<i>de Sp.</i> S. iii. C, 39.
HIERONYMUS	..	..	[ <i>Dial. c. Pelag.</i> i. 33.]	[ <i>Dial. c. Pelag.</i> i. 33.]	..	..	..	..
LEUCIUS	..	..	..	<i>Pro Athan.</i> i. p. 860, ed. Nizigae.	<i>Pro Athan.</i> i. p. 871.	<i>De non parc.</i> p. 953.	..	<i>Pro Athan.</i> ii. pp. 894 ff.
OPTATUS	..	..	<i>De Sch. Don.</i> iii. 3.	<i>De Sch. Don.</i> ii. 23.	..	..	..	<i>Serm.</i> cccxlii.
AGUSTINUS	..	<i>D. Chr.</i> xviii. 34.	<i>In Ps.</i> lxviii. 8, &c.	<i>In Ps.</i> lviii. 1.	..	..	..	..

23, 4), "were preserved in the temple of the Hebrew people by the care of the successful priests." But on the other hand Augustine frequently uses passages from the apocryphal books as co-ordinate with Scripture, and practically disregards the rules of distinction between the various classes of Sacred writings which he had himself laid down. He stood on the extreme verge of the age of independent learning, and follows at one time the conclusions of criticism, at another the prescriptions of habit, which from his date grew more and more powerful.

The enlarged Canon of Augustine, which was, as it will be seen, wholly unsupported by any Greek authority, was adopted at the Council of CARTHAGE (A.C. 397 ?), though with a reservation (Can. 47, *De confirmando isto Canone transmarina ecclesia consultatur*), and afterwards published in the decretals which bear the name of INNOCENT, DAMASUS, and GELASIUS (cf. Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* 151 ff.); and it recurs in many later writers. But nevertheless a continuous succession of the more learned fathers in the West maintained the distinctive authority of the Hebrew Canon up to the period of the Reformation. In the 6th century PRIMARIUS (*Comm. in Apoc. iv.* Cosin, §92 ?), in the 7th GREGORY the Great (*Moral.* xix. 21, p. 622), in the 8th BEDE (*In Apoc. iv. ?*), in the 9th ALCUIN (*ap. Hody*, 654; yet see *Carm.* vi., vii.), in the 10th RADULPHUS PLAV. (*In Levit.* xiv. Hody, 655), in the 12th PETER OF CLUGNI (*Ep. c. Petr.* Hody, l. c.), HUGO DE S. VICTORE (*de Script.* 6), and JOHN OF SALISBURY (Hody, 656; Cosin, §130), in the 13th HUGO CARDINALIS (Hody, 656), in the 14th NICHOLAS LIRANUS (Hody, p. 657; Cosin, §146), WICLIF (? comp. Hody, 658), and OCCAM (Hody, 657; Cosin, §147), in the 15th THOMAS ANGLICUS (Cosin, §150), and THOMAS DE WALDEN (*Id.* §151), in the 16th Card. XIMENES (*Ed. Compl. Pref.*), SIXTUS SEVENSIUS (*Biblioth.* i. 1), and Card. CAJETAN (Hody, p. 662; Cosin, §173), repeat with approval the decision of Jerome, and draw a clear line between the Canonical and Apocryphal books (Cosin, *Scholaistical History of the Canon*; REUSS, *Die Gesch. d. Heiligen Schriften N. T.*, Ed. 2, §328).

Up to the date of the COUNCIL OF TRENT, the Romanists allow that the question of the Canon was open, but one of the first labours of that assembly was to circumscribe a freedom which the growth of literature seemed to render perilous. The decree of the Council "on the Canonical Scriptures," which was made at the 4th Session (April 8th, 1546), at which about 53 representatives were present, pronounced the enlarged Canon, including the apocryphal books, to be deserving in all its parts of "equal veneration" (*pari pietatis affectu*), and added a list of books "to prevent the possibility of doubt" (*ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit*). This hasty and peremptory decree, unlike in its form to any catalogue before published, was closed by a solemn anathema against all who should "not receive the entire books with all their parts as sacred and canonical" (*Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata Latine editione habentur, pro*

sacris et canonicis non susceperit . . . anathema esto, *Conc. Trid. Sess. iv.*). This decree was not, however, passed without opposition (Sarpi, 139 ff. ed. 1655, though Pallavacino denies this); and in spite of the absolute terms in which it is expressed, later Romanists have sought to find a method of escaping from the definite equalization of the two classes of Sacred writings by a forced interpretation of the subsidiary clauses. In Pin (*Dissert. prelim.* i. 1), Lamy (*App. Bibl.* ii. 5), and Jahn (*Etol. ind. A. T.*, i. 141 ff. *ap. Reuss, a. a. O.* §337), endeavoured to establish two classes of proto-Canonical, and deuterocanonical books, attributing to the first a dogmatic, and to the second only an ethical authority. But such a classification, however true it may be, is obviously at variance with the terms of the Tridentine decision, and has found comparatively little favour among Romish writers (comp. [Herbst] Welte, *Etol. ii.* ff. 1 f.).

The reformed churches unanimously agreed in confirming the Hebrew Canon of Jerome, and refused to allow any dogmatic authority to the apocryphal books, but the form in which this judgment was expressed varied considerably in the different confessions. The Lutheran formulae contain no definite article on the subject, but the note which Luther placed in the front of his German translation of the Apocrypha (ed. 1534), is an adequate declaration of the later judgment of the Communion: "Apocrypha, that is Books which are not placed on an equal footing (*nicht gleich gehalten*) with Holy Scripture, and yet are profitable and good for reading." This general view was further expanded in the special prefaces to the separate books in which Luther freely criticized their individual worth, and wholly rejected 3 and 4 Esdras, as unworthy of translation. At an earlier period Carlstadt (1520) published a critical essay, *De canonicis scripturis libellus* (reprinted in Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* pp. 291 ff.), in which he followed the Hebrew division of the Canonical books into three ranks, and added Wisd., Ecclesi., Judith, Tobit, 1 and 2 Macc., as Hagiographa, though not included in the Hebrew collection, while he rejected the remainder of the Apocrypha with considerable parts of Daniel as "utterly apocryphal" (*plane apocryphi*; Credn. pp. 389, 410 ff.).

The Calvinistic churches generally treated the question with more precision, and introduced into their symbolic documents a distinction between the "Canonical" and "Apocryphal," or "Ecclesiastical" books. The Gallican confession (1561), after an enumeration of the Hieronymian Canon (*Art. 3*), adds (*Art. 4*) "that the other ecclesiastical books are useful, yet not such that any article of faith could be established out of them" (*quo [sc. Spiritu Sancto] suggerente docemur, illos [sc. libros Canonicos] ab aliis libris ecclesiasticis discernere, qui, ut sint utiles, non sunt tamen ejusmodi, ut ex his constitui possit aliquis fidei articulus*). The Belgic Confession (1561?) contains a similar enumeration of the Canonical books (*Art. 4*), and allows their public use by the Church, but denies to them all independent authority in matters of faith (*Art. 6*). The later Helvetic Confession (1562, Bullinger) notices the distinction between the Canonical and Apocryphal books without pronouncing any judgment on the question (Niemeyer, *Libr. Symb. Eccles. Ref.* p. 468). The Westminster Confession (*Art. 3*) places the Apocryphal books on a level with other human writings, and concedes to them no other authority in the Church.

\* The history of the Catalogue published at the Council of Florence (1441) is obscure (Cosin, §§159 f.), and it was probably limited to the determination of books for Ecclesiastical use (Reuss, §325).

The English Church (*Art. 6*) appeals directly to the opinion of St. Jerome, and concedes to the Apocryphal books (including [1571] 4 Esdras and The prayer of Manasses<sup>†</sup>) a use "for example of life and instruction of manners," but not for the establishment of doctrine; and a similar decision is given in the Irish Articles of 1815 (Hardwick, *l. c.*, 341 f.). The original English Articles of 1552 contained no catalogue (*Art. 5*) of the contents of "Holy Scripture," and no mention of the Apocrypha, although the Tridentine decree (1546) might seem to have rendered this necessary. The example of foreign Churches may have led to the addition upon the later revision.

The expressed opinion of the later Greek Church on the Canon of Scripture has been modified in some cases by the circumstances under which the declaration was made. The "Confession" of Cyril Lucar, who was most favourably disposed towards the Protestant churches, confirms the Laodicene Catalogue, and marks the Apocryphal books as not possessing the same divine authority as those whose canonicity is unquestioned (Kimmel, *Mon. Fül. Eccles. Or. i.* p. 42, τὸ κύριον πῶρὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὡς τὰ κυρία καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως κανονικὰ βιβλία). In this judgment Cyril Lucar was followed by his friend Metrophanes Critopolus, in whose confession a complete list of the books of the Hebrew Canon is given (Kimmel, *ii.* pp. 105 f.), while some value is assigned to the Apocryphal books ἀποβλήτους οὐκ ἡγούμεθα in consideration of their ethical value; and the detailed decision of Metrophanes is quoted with approval in the "Orthodox Teaching" of Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow (ed. Athens, 1836, p. 59). The "Orthodox Confession" simply refers the subject of Scripture to the Church (Kimmel, p. 159, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . νὰ δοκιμάσῃ τὰς γραφάς; comp. p. 123). On the other hand the Synod at Jerusalem, held in 1672, "against the Calvinists," which is commonly said to have been led by Romish influence (yet comp. Kimmel, p. lxxxviii.), pronounced that the books which Cyril Lucar "ignorantly or maliciously called apocryphal," are "canonical and Holy Scripture," on the authority of the testimony of the ancient Church ([Kimmel,] Weissenborn, *Doct. Confess.* pp. 467 f.). The Constantinopolitan Synod, which was held in the same year, notices the difference existing between the Apostolic, Laodicene, and Carthaginian Catalogues, and appears to distinguish the Apocryphal books as not wholly to be rejected (ὅσα μέντοι τῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλίων τῇ ἀναριθμῶσει τῶν ἀγιογράφων οὐ συμπεριλαμβάνονται . . . οὐκ ἀπόβλητα τυγχάνουσι διδόναι). The authorised Russian Catechism (*The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, &c., by Rev. W. Blackmore, Aberd., 1845, pp. 37 ff.) distinctly quotes and defends the Hebrew Canon on the authority of the Greek Fathers, and repeats the judgment of Athanasius on the usefulness of the Apocryphal books as a preparatory study in the Bible; and there can be no doubt but that the current of Greek opinion, in accordance with the unanimous agreement of the ancient Greek Catalogues, coincides with this judgment.

The history of the Syrian Canon of the O. T. is involved in great obscurity from the scantiness of the evidence which can be brought to bear upon it.

The Peshito was made, in the first instance, directly from the Hebrew, and consequently adhered to the Hebrew Canon; but as the LXX. was used afterwards in revising the version, so many of the Apocryphal books were translated from the Greek at an early period, and added to the original collection (*Assem. Bibl. Or. i.* 71). Yet this change was only made gradually. In the time of Ephrem (c. A.D. 370) the Apocryphal additions to Daniel were yet wanting, and his commentaries were confined to the books of the Hebrew Canon, though he was acquainted with the Apocrypha (Lardner, *Credibility*, &c., iv. pp. 427 f.; see Lengerke, *Daniel*, exil.). The later Syrian writers do not throw much light upon the question. Gregory Bar Hebraeus, in his short commentary on Scripture, treats of the books in the following order (*Assem. Bibl. Orient. ii.* 282): the Pentateuch, Josh., Judg., 1 & 2 Sam., Ps., 1 & 2 K., Prov., *Ecclos.*, *Ecl.*, Cant., *Wisd.*, Ruth, *Hist. Sus.*, Job, Is., 12 Proph., Jer., Lam., Ez., Dan., *Bel.*, 4 Gosp., Acts . . . 14 Epist. of St. Paul, omitting 1 & 2 Chr., Ezr., Neh., Esther, *Tobit*, 1 & 2 Macc., *Judith*, (*Baruch*?), *Apocalypse*, Epist. James, 1 Pet., 1 John.

In the Scriptural Vocabulary of Jacob of Edessa (*Assem. l. c.* p. 499), the order and number of the books commented upon is somewhat different: Pent., Josh., Jud., Job, 1 & 2 Sam., David (i. e. Ps.), 1 & 2 K., Is., 12 Proph., Jer., Lam., *Baruch*, Ez., Dan., Prov., *Wisd.*, Cant., Ruth, Esth., *Judith*, *Ecclos.*, Acts, Epist. James, 1 Pet., 1 John, 14 Epist. of St. Paul, 4 Gosp., omitting 1 & 2 Chr., Ezr., Neh., *Ecl.*, *Tobit*, 1 & 2 Macc., *Apoc.* (comp. *Assem. Bibl. Orient. iii.* 4 not.).

The Catalogue of Ebed-Jesu (*Assem. Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 5 ff.) is rather a general survey of all the Hebrew and Christian literature with which he was acquainted (Catalogus librorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum) than a Canon of Scripture. After enumerating the books of the Hebrew Canon, together with *Ecclos.*, *Wisd.*, *Judith*, add. to *Dim.*, and *Baruch*, he adds, without any break, "the traditions of the Elders" (Mishnah), the works of Josephus, including the Fables of Aesop which were popularly ascribed to him, and at the end mentions the "book of *Tobias and Tobit*." In the like manner, after enumerating the 4 Gosp., Acts, 3 Cath. Epist. and 14 Epist. of St. Paul, he passes at once to the Diatessaron of Tatian, and the writings of "the disciples of the Apostles." Little dependence, however, can be placed on these lists, as they rest on no critical foundation, and it is known from other sources that varieties of opinion on the subject of the Canon existed in the Syrian Church (*Assem. Bibl. Orient. iii.* 6 not.).

One testimony, however, which derives its origin from the Syrian Church, is specially worthy of notice. Junilius, an African bishop of the 6th century, has preserved a full and interesting account of the teaching of Paulus, a Persian, on Holy Scripture, who was educated at Nisibis where "the Divine Law was regularly explained by public masters," as a branch of common education (*Junil. De part. leg. Praef.*). He divides the books of the Bible into two classes, those of "perfect," and those of "mean" authority. The first class includes all the books of the Hebrew Canon with the exception of 1 & 2 Chr., Job, Canticles, and Esther, and with the addition of *Ecclesiasticus*. The second class consists of Chronicles (2), Job, Esdras (2), *Judith*, Esther, and *Macabees* (2), which are added by "very many" (*plurimi*) to the Canonised

<sup>†</sup> The Latin copy of 1562 includes only 2, 3 Esd., *Wisd.*, *Ecclos.*, *Tobit*, Jud., 1, 2 Macc. (Hardwick, *Hist. of Art.* p. 275).

books. The remaining books are pronounced to be of no authority, and of these Canticles and Wisdom are said to be added by "some" (*quidam*) to the Canon. The classification as it stands is not without difficulties, but it deserves more attention than it has received (comp. Hody, p. 653; Gallandi, *Biblioth.* xii. 79 ff. The reprint in Wordsworth, *On the Canon*, App. A., pp. 42 ff., is very imperfect).

The Armenian Canon, as far as it can be ascertained from editions, follows that of the LXX., but it is of no critical authority; and a similar remark applies to the Aethiopian Canon, though it is more easy in this case to trace the changes through which it has passed (Dillmann, *Ueber d. Aeth. Kan.*, in Ewald's *Jahrbuch*, 1853, pp. 144 ff.).

In addition to the books already quoted under the heads for which they are specially valuable, some still remain to be noticed. C. F. Schmid, *Hist. ant. et vindic. Can. S. Vet. et Nov. Test.*, Lips. 1775. [H. Corrodi], *Versuch einer Beleuchtung . . . d. Bibl. Kanons*, Halle, 1792; Movers, *Loci quidam Hist. Can. V. T. illustrati*, Breslau, 1842. The great work of Hody (*De biblior. text.*, Oxon. 1705) contains a rich store of materials, though even this is not free from minor errors. Stuart's *Critical History and Defence of the Old Test. Canon*, London, 1849, is rather an apology than a history.

IV. *The history of the Canon of the New Testament.*—The history of the Canon of the N. T. presents a remarkable analogy to that of the Canon of the O. T. The beginnings of both Canons are obscure from the circumstances under which they arose: both grew silently under the guidance of an inward instinct rather than by the force of external authority: both were connected with other religious literature by a series of books which claimed a partial and questionable authority: both gained definiteness in times of persecution. The chief difference lies in the general consent with which all the churches of the West have joined in ratifying one Canon of the N. T., while they are divided as to the position of the O. T. Apocrypha.

The history of the N. T. Canon may be conveniently divided into three periods. The first extends to the time of Hegesippus (c. A.D. 170), and includes the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the Apostolic writings. The second is closed by the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303), and marks the separation of the sacred writings from the remaining Ecclesiastical literature. The third may be defined by the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), in which a catalogue of the books of Scripture was formally ratified by conciliar authority. The first is characteristically a period of tradition, the second of speculation, the third of authority; and it is not difficult to trace the features of the successive ages in the course of the history of the Canon.

1. *The history of the Canon of the New Testament to 170 A.D.*—The writings of the N. T. themselves contain little more than faint, and perhaps unconscious intimations of the position which they were destined to occupy. The mission of the Apostles was essentially one of preaching and not of writing; of founding a present church and not of legislating for a future one. The "word" is essentially one of "hearing," "received," and

"handed down," a "message," a "proclamation." Written instruction was in each particular case only occasional and fragmentary; and the completeness of the entire collection of the incidental records thus formed is one of the most striking proofs of the Providential power which guided the natural development of the church. The prevailing method of interpreting the O. T., and the peculiar position which the first Christians occupied, as standing upon the verge of "the coming age" (*aión*), seemed to preclude the necessity and even the idea of a "New Testament." Yet even thus, though there is nothing to indicate that the Apostles regarded their written remains as likely to preserve a perfect exhibition of the sum of Christian truth, coordinate with the Law and the Prophets, they claim for their writings a public use (1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16; Rev. xxii. 18), and authoritative power (1 Tim. iv. 1 ff.; 2 Thess. iii. 6; Rev. xxii. 19); and, at the time when 2 Peter was written, which on any supposition is an extremely early writing, the Epistles of St. Paul were placed in significant connexion with "the other Scriptures"<sup>4</sup> (*τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*, not *τὰς ἄλλας γραφάς*).

The transition from the Apostolic to the sub-Apostolic age is essentially abrupt and striking. An age of conservatism succeeds an age of creation; but in feeling and general character the period which followed the working of the Apostles seems to have been a faithful reflection of that which they moulded. The remains of the literature to which it gave birth, which are wholly Greek, are singularly scanty and limited in range, merely a few Letters and "Apologies." As yet writing among Christians was, as a general rule, the result of a pressing necessity and not of choice; and under such circumstances it is vain to expect either a distinct consciousness of the necessity of a written Canon, or any clear testimony as to its limits.

The writings of the APOSTOLIC FATHERS (c. 70-120 A.D.) are all occasional. They sprang out of peculiar circumstances, and offered little scope for quotation. At the same time, the Apostolic tradition was still fresh in the memories of men, and the need of written Gospels was not yet made evident by the corruption of the oral narrative. As a consequence of this, the testimony of the Apostolic fathers is chiefly important as proving the general currency of such outlines of history and types of doctrine as are preserved in our Canon. They show in this way that the Canonical books offer an adequate explanation of the belief of the next age, and must therefore represent completely the earlier teaching on which that was based. In three places, however, in which it was natural to look for a more distinct reference, Clement (*Ep.* 47), Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 12), and Polycarp (*Ep.* 3) refer to Apostolic Epistles written to those whom they were themselves addressing. The casual coincidences of the writings of the Apostolic fathers with the language of the Epistles are much more extensive. With the exception of the Epistles of *Jude*, *2 Peter*, and *2, 3 John*,<sup>5</sup> with which no coincidences occur, and 1, 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Titus, and Philemon, with which the coincidences are very questionable, all the other Epistles were clearly known, and used by them; but still they are not quoted with the formulas which preface citations from the O. T.

<sup>4</sup> The late tradition commonly quoted from Photius (*Biblioth.* 254) to show that St. John completed the Canon refers only to the Gospels: τοὺς τόμους οὐ ἀνέγραψαν διαφόροις γλώσσαις τὰ σωτήρια τοῦ

θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διδάγματα . . . διδάσκειν καὶ συνδιεσφάρονται . . .

<sup>5</sup> The titles of the disputed books of the N. T. are italicized throughout, for convenience of reference.

(ἡ γραφή λέγει, γέγραπται, &c.),<sup>a</sup> nor is the famous phrase of Ignatius (*ad Philad.* 5, *προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας*) sufficient to prove the existence of a collection of Apostolic records as distinct from the sum of Apostolic teaching. The coincidences with the Gospels on the other hand both in fact and substance are numerous and interesting, but such as cannot be referred to the exclusive use of our present written Gospels. Such a use would have been alien from the character of the age and inconsistent with the influence of a historical tradition. The details of the life of Christ were still too fresh to be sought for only in fixed records; and even where memory was less active, long habit interposed a barrier to the recognition of new Scriptures. The sense of the infinite depth and paramount authority of the O. T. was too powerful even among Gentile converts to require or to admit of the immediate addition of supplementary books. But the sense of the peculiar position which the Apostles occupied, as the original inspired teachers of the Christian church, was already making itself felt in the sub-apostolic age; and by a remarkable agreement Clement (*ad Cor.* i. 7, 47), Polycarp (*ad Phil.* iii.), Ignatius (*ad Rom.* iv.), and Barnabas (c. i.) draw a clear line between themselves and their predecessors, from whom they were not separated by any lengthened intervals of time. As the need for a definite standard of Christian truth became more pressing, so was the character of those in whose writings it was to be sought more distinctly apprehended.

The next period (120-170 A.D.), which may be fitly termed the age of the Apologists, carries the history of the formation of the Canon one step further. The facts of the life of Christ acquired a fresh importance in controversy with Jew and Gentile. The oral tradition, which still remained in the former age, was dying away, and a variety of written documents claimed to occupy its place. Then it was that the Canonical Gospels were definitely separated from the mass of similar narratives in virtue of their outward claims, which had remained, as it were, in abeyance during the period of tradition. The need did not create but recognised them. Without doubt and without controversy, they occupied at once the position which they have always retained as the fourfold Apostolic record of the Saviour's ministry. Other narratives remained current for some time, which were either interpolated forms of the Canonical books (*The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, &c.), or independent traditions (*The Gospel according to the Egyptians*, &c.), and exercised more or less influence upon the form of popular quotations, and perhaps in some cases upon the text of the Canonical Gospels; but where the question of authority was raised, the four Gospels were ratified by universal consent. The testimony of JUSTIN MARTYR († c. 246 A. D.) is in this respect most important. An impartial examination of his Evangelic references, if conducted with due reference to his general manner of quotation, to possible variations of reading, and to the nature of his subject, which excluded

express citations from Christian books, shows that they were derived certainly in the main, probably exclusively, from our Synoptic Gospels, and that each Gospel is distinctly recognised by him (*Dial.* c. *Tryph.* §103, p. 331, D. *ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἡ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Matthew, John) *αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθεῖσαν δυνάμιν* (Mark, Luke) *συμπεριδεχθαι* . . . . Comp. *Dial.* c. 49 with Matt. xvii. 13; *Dial.* c. 106 with Mark iii. 16, 17; *Dial.* c. 105 with Luke xxiii. 46). The references of Justin to St. John are less decided (comp. *Apol.* i. 61; *Dial.* 63, 123, 56, &c.; Otto, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, u. s. v. 1841, pp. 77 ff. 1843, pp. 34 ff.); and of the other books of the N. T. he mentions the *Apocalypse* only by name (*Dial.* c. 81), and offers some coincidences of language with the Pauline Epistles.

The evidence of PAPIAS (c. 140-150 A.D.) is nearly contemporary with that of Justin, but goes back to a still earlier generation (ὁ πρεσβύτερος λέγει). In spite of the various questions which have been raised as to the interpretation of the fragments of his 'Enarrations' preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39) it seems on every account most reasonable to conclude that Papias was acquainted with our present Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the former of which he connected with an earlier Hebrew original (*ἡμῆμενοι*); and probably also with the Gospel of St. John (*Frag.* xi. Routh; comp. *Iren.* v. s. f.), the former Epistles of St. John and St. Peter (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24), and the *Apocalypse* (*Frag.* viii.).<sup>b</sup>

Meanwhile the Apostolic writings were taken by various mystical teachers as the foundation of strange schemes of speculation, which are popularly confounded together under the general title of Gnosticism, whether Gentile or Jewish in their origin. In the earliest fragments of Gnostic writers which remain there are traces of the use of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and of 1 Corinthians (*Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη* [Simon M.] ap. Hippol. *adv. Haer.* vi. 16; 9; 13); and the *Apocalypse* was attributed by a confusion not difficult of explanation to Cerinthus (Epiph. *Haer.* li. 3). In other Gnostic (Ophite) writings a little later there are references to St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. John, Romans, 1, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, *Hebrews* (*Hist. of N. T. Canon*, pp. 313 ff.); and the Clementine Homilies contain clear coincidences with all the Gospels (*Hom.* xix. 20 St. Mark; *Hom.* xix. 22 St. John). It is, indeed, in the fragments of a Gnostic writer, Basilides (c. 125 A.D.), that the writings of the N. T. are found quoted for the first time in the same manner as those of the O. T. (Basil. ap. Hipp. *adv. Haer.* pp. 238 γέγραπται; 240 ἡ γραφή, &c.). A Gnostic, Heraclion, was the first known commentator on the Christian Scriptures. And the history of another Gnostic, Marcion, furnishes the first distinct evidence of a Canon of the N. T.

The need of a definite Canon must have made itself felt during the course of the Gnostic controversy. The common records of the life of Christ may be supposed to have been first fixed in the discussions with external adversaries. The standard

<sup>a</sup> The exceptions to this statement which occur in the Latin versions of Polycarp (*ad Phil.* c. xlii. "ut his Scripturis dictum est." Ps. iv. 4; Eph. iv. 28), and Barnabas (c. iv. "sicut scriptum est," Matt. xx. 16), cannot be urged against the uniform practice which is observed in the original texts. Some of the most remarkable Evangelic citations are prefaced by

[Κύριος] εἶπεν καὶ λέγει, which seems to show that they were derived from tradition and not from a written narrative (Clem. Ep. 13, 46).

<sup>b</sup> A fragment of Papias' Commentary on the *Apocalypse* is preserved in the Commentary published by Cramer, *Cat. in Apoc.*, p. 360, which is not noticed by Routh.

of Apostolic teaching was determined when the Church itself was rent with internal divisions.<sup>a</sup> The Canon of MARCION (c. 140 A.D.) contained both elements, a Gospel ("The Gospel of Christ") which was a mutilated recension of St. Luke, and an "Apostle" or Apostolikon, which contained ten Epistles of St. Paul—the only true Apostle in Marcion's judgment—excluding the pastoral Epistles, and that to the Hebrews (Trt. *adv. Marc.* v.; Epiph. *adv. Haer.* xlii.). The narrow limits of this Canon were a necessary consequence of Marcion's belief and position, but it offers a clear witness to the fact that Apostolic writings were thus early regarded as a complete original rule of doctrine. Nor is there any evidence to show that he regarded the books which he rejected as unauthentic. The conduct of other heretical teachers who professed to admit the authority of all the Apostles proves the converse; for they generally defended their tenets by forced interpretations, and not by denying the authority of the common records. And while the first traces of the recognition of the divine inspiration and collective unity of the Canon comes from them, it cannot be supposed, without inverting the whole history of Christianity, that they gave a model to the Catholic Church, and did not themselves simply perpetuate the belief and custom which had grown up within it.

The close of this period of the history of the N. T. Canon is marked by the existence of two important testimonies to the N. T. as a whole. Hitherto the evidence has been in the main fragmentary and occasional; but the MURATORIAN CANON in the West, and the PESHITO in the East, deal with the collection of Christian Scriptures as such. The first is a fragment, apparently translated from the Greek, and yet of Roman origin, mutilated both at the beginning and the end, and written, from internal evidence, about 170 A.D. It commences with a clear reference to St. Mark's Gospel, and then passes on to St. Luke as the *third*, St. John, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul. The first Epistle of St. John is quoted in the text; and then afterwards it is said that "the Epistle of Jude and two Epistles of the John mentioned above (*superscripti*: or "which bear the name of John" *superscriptae*) are reckoned among the Catholic [Epistles] (*M.S. Catholica, i.e. Ecclesia?*)."<sup>a</sup> "We receive moreover the *Apocalypses* of John and Peter only, which [latter] some of our body will not have read in the Church."<sup>a</sup> Thus the catalogue omits of the books received at present the *Epistle of James*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and 2 Peter, while it notices the partial reception of the *Revelation of Peter*. The Canon of the Peshito forms a remarkable complement to this catalogue. It includes the four Gospels and the Acts, fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, 1 John, 1 Peter, and James, omitting Jude, 2 Peter, 2, 3 John, and the *Apocalypse*; and this Canon was preserved in the Syrian Churches as long as they had an independent literature (Ebed Jesu † 1318 A.D., ap. Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. pp. 3 ff.). Up to this point, therefore, 2 Peter is the only book of the N. T. which is not recognised as an Apostolic and authoritative writing; and in this result the evidence from

casual quotations coincides exactly with the enumeration in the two express catalogues.

2. *The history of the Canon of the N. T. from 170 A.D. to 303 A.D.*—The second period of the history of the Canon is marked by an entire change in the literary character of the Church. From the close of the second century Christian writers take the foremost place intellectually as well as morally; and the powerful influence of the Alexandrine Church widened the range of Catholic thought, and checked the spread of speculative heresies. From the first the common elements of the Roman and Syrian Canons, noticed in the last section, form a Canon of acknowledged books, regarded as a whole, authoritative and inspired, and coordinate with the O. T. Each of these points is proved by the testimony of contemporary fathers who represent the Churches of Asia Minor, Alexandria and North Africa. IRENAEUS, who was connected by direct succession with St. John (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20), speaks of the Scriptures as a whole, without distinction of the Old or New Testaments, as "perfect, inasmuch as they were uttered by the Word of God and His Spirit" (*Adv. Haer.* ii. 28, 2). "These could not be," he elsewhere argues, "more than four Gospels or fewer" (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 11, 8 sq.). CLEMENT of ALEXANDRIA, again, marks "the Apostle" (ὁ ἀπόστολος, *Strom.* vii. 3, §14; sometimes ἀπόστολοι) as a collection definite as "the Gospel," and combines them "as Scriptures of the Lord" with the Law and the Prophets (*Strom.* vi. 11, §88) as "ratified by the authority of one Almighty power" (*Strom.* iv. 1, §2). TERTULLIAN notices particularly the introduction of the word *Testament* for the earlier word *Instrument*, as applied to the dispensation and the record (*adv. Marc.* iv. 1), and appeals to the *New Testament*, as made up of the "Gospels" and "Apostles" (*adv. Prax.* 15). This comprehensive testimony extends to the four Gospels, the Acts, 1 Peter, 1 John, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, and the *Apocalypse*; and, with the exception of the *Apocalypse*, no one of these books was ever afterwards rejected or questioned till modern times.<sup>a</sup>

But this important agreement as to the principal contents of the Canon left several points still undecided. The East and West, as was seen in the last section, severally received some books which were not universally accepted. So far the error lay in defect; but in other cases apocryphal or unapostolic books obtained a partial sanction or a popular use, before they finally passed into oblivion. Both these phenomena, however, were limited in time and range, and admit of explanation from the internal character of the books in question. The examination of the claims of the separate writings belongs to special introductions; but the subjoined table (No. III.) will give a general idea of the extent and nature of the historic evidence which bears upon them.

This table might be much extended by the insertion of isolated testimonies of less considerable writers. Generally, however, it may be said that of the "disputed" books of the N. T., the *Apocalypse* was universally received, with the single exception of Dionysius of Alexandria, by all the writers of the period; and the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, by the Churches of Alexandria, Asia (?) and Syria, but not by those of Africa and Rome. The

<sup>a</sup> We have given what appears to be the meaning of the corrupt text of the passage. It would be out of place to discuss all the disputed points here; comp. *Hist. of N. T. Canon*, pp. 242 ff., and the references there given.

<sup>a</sup> The Manichees offer no real exception to the truth of this remark. Comp. Beausobre, *Hist. des Manich.*, i. ff. 297 f.

No. III.—REFERENCES TO THE ANTILOGOMENA UP TO THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CENTURY.<sup>1</sup>

	Epistle to the Hebrews.	Jude.	James.	2, 3 John.	2 Peter.	Apocalypse.	Epistle of Barnabas.	Shepherd of Hermas.	Epistle of Clement.	Apocalypse of Peter.
CLEMENT ROM.	Ep. 36, &c. Cf. Hieron. De vir. ill. 15.	..	Ep. 10, 36, &c.	..	(   Ep. 11.)					
POLYCARP.		..	..	..	(   Ep. 3.)	* Dial. 81.				
JUSTIN MARTYR.	(   Apol. l. 12, 63.)	..	..	..	..	* Ado. haer. v. 35, 2. Cf. Euseb. H. E. v. 8.		* Ado. haer. iv. 20, 2. Cf. Euseb. H. E. v. 8.	[Ado. haer. iii. 3, 3.]	
IRENÆUS	(Euseb. H. E. v. 26.)	..	(Ado. haer. iv. 16, 2.)	* Ado. haer. 1, 16, 3 (ii.).	..	* Paed. ii. 10, §108; Strom. vi. 13, §107.	* Strom. ii. 6, §31, &c. Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 13.	* Strom. i. 29, §181.	* Strom. iv. 17, §107, &c. Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 13.	Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 13.
CLEMENT ALEX.	* Strom. vi. 8, §62. Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 14. ? De pudic. 20 (Barnabas).	* Strom. iii. 2, §11. Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 13. De hab. mul. 3.	[Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.]	Cf. Strom. ii. 15, §66.	[Cf. Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.]	* Ado. Marc. iii. 14.	..	† De pudic. 10, 20.		
TERTULLIAN		..	..	..	..			† De pudic. 10, 20.		
ORIGEN	* Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25, &c.	* Comm. in Mat. T. x. §17, 17d.T. xvii. 3.	† Comm. in Joann. xix. 6, * Sol. in Pa. xxx.    Comm. in Luc. xxii. 46.	[Hom. in Jos. vii. 1.]	[* Hom. in Jos. vii. 1; in Lev. iv. 4.] Cf. Sol. in Pa. iii. † Ap. Euseb. H. E. vii. 25.	* Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25. Comm. in Joann. i. 14. Cf. Euseb. H. E. vii. 10. 1 H. E. vii. 24.	* c. Cels. i. 63.	† De Orat. 12. * De græc. ii. 1. Comm. in Rom. xvi. 14.	* Sol. in Ezek. viii.	
DIOTYREUS ALEX.	* Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 41.	..	..	..	H. E. vii. 25.	1 H. E. vii. 24.				
CYPRIAN	(† De ex. mart. 11.)	..	..	..	..	De op. et elem. 14.				
HIPPOLYTUS	(† Phot. 121.)	..	..	..	..	* De Antichr. 36.				
METHIDIUS	De Resurr. 5, p. 269. (Ed. Migne), Comp. v. 7.	..	..	..	..	* De Resurr. 9, p. 315. Comp. viii. 4. p. 143.				
EUSEBIUS	* Eccl. Proph. i. 50, &c. Cf. 1 H. E. iii. 3.	1 H. E. iii. 25.	† H. E. iii. 25.	? H. E. iii. 23.	? H. E. iii. 25.	† H. E. iii. 39. p. 143.	† H. E. iii. 23.	† H. E. iii. 25.	[H. E. vi. 13. Cf. iii. 25.]	† H. E. iii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> The sign || marks a verbal coincidence: \* a direct quotation: ? an expression of doubt: ( ) an uncertain reference: † a clear rejection: [ ] that the evidence is suspicious, or inconclusive as to the authority assigned to the book.

Epistles of *St. James* and *St. Jude*, on the other hand, were little used, and the *Second Ep. of St. Peter* was barely known.

But while the evidence for the formation of the Canon is much more copious during this period than during that which preceded, it is essentially of the same kind. It is the evidence of use and not of inquiry. The Canon was fixed in ordinary practice, and doubts were resolved by custom and not by criticism. Old feelings and beliefs were perpetuated by a living tradition; and if this habit of mind was unfavourable to the permanent solution of difficulties, it gives fresh force to the claims of the acknowledged books, which are attested by the witness of every division of the Church (ORIGEN, CYPRIAN, METHODIUS), for it is difficult to conceive how such unanimity could have arisen except from the original weight of apostolical authority. For it will be observed that the evidence in favour of the acknowledged books as a whole is at once clear and concordant from all sides as soon as the Christian literature is independent and considerable. The Canon preceded the literature and was not determined by it.

3. *The history of the N. T. Canon from A.D. 303-397.*—The persecution of Diocletian was directed in a great measure against the Christian writings (Lact. *Instit.* v. 2; *de mort. persec.* 16). The influence of the Scriptures was already so great and so notorious, that the surest method of destroying the faith seemed to be the destruction of the records on which it was supported. The plan of the emperor was in part successful. Some were found who obtained protection by the surrender of the Sacred books, and at a later time the question of the readmission of these "traitors" (*traditores*), as they were emphatically called, created a schism in the Church. The Donatists, who maintained the sterner judgment on their crime, may be regarded as maintaining in its strictest integrity the popular judgment in Africa on the contents of the Canon of Scripture which was the occasion of the dissension; and Augustine allows that they held in common with the Catholics the same "Canonical Scriptures," and were alike "bound by the authority of both Testaments" (August. c. *Cresc.* i. 31, 57; *Ep.* 129, 3). The only doubt which can be raised as to the integrity of the Donatist Canon arise from the uncertain language which Augustine himself uses as to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the Donatists may also have countenanced. But, however this may have been, the complete Canon of the N. T., as commonly received at present, was ratified at the third COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE (A.D. 397),<sup>7</sup> and from that time was accepted throughout the Latin Church (JEROME, INNOCENT, RUFINUS, PHILASTRIUS), though occasional doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews still remained\* (Ibid. *Hisp. Proem.* §§85-109).

Meanwhile the Syrian Churches, faithful to the conservative spirit of the East, still retained the Canon of the Peshito. CHRYSOBOSTOM (†407 A.D.),

THEODORE of MOPUESTIA (†429 A.D.), and THEODORET, who represent the Church of Antioch, furnish no evidence in support of the Epistles of *Jude*, 2 *Peter*, 2, 3 *John*, or the *Apocalypse*. JUNILIUS, in his account of the public teaching at Nisibis, places the Epistles of *James*, *Jude*, 2, 3 *John*, 2 *Peter* in a second class, and mentions the doubts which existed in the East as to the *Apocalypse*. And though EPHREM SYRUS was acquainted with the *Apocalypse* (*Opp. Syr.* ii. p. 332 c.), yet his genuine Syrian works exhibit no habitual use of the books which were not contained in the Syrian Canon, a fact which must throw some discredit upon the frequent quotations from them, which occur in those writings which are only preserved in a Greek translation.

The Churches of Asia Minor seem to have occupied a mean position as to the Canon between the East and West. With the exception of the *Apocalypse*, they received generally all the books of the N. T. as contained in the African Canon, but this is definitely excluded from the Catalogue of GREGORY of NAZIANZUS (†c. 389 A.D.), and pronounced "spurious" (*ψευδὸν*) on the authority of "the majority" (*οἱ πολλοί*), in that of AMPHILOCHIOS (c. 380 A.D.), while it is passed over in silence in the Laodicean Catalogue, which even if it has no right to its canonical position, yet belongs to the period and country with which it is commonly connected. The same Canon, with the same omission of the *Apocalypse* is given by CYRIL of JERUSALEM (†386 A.D.); though EPIPHANIUS, who was his fellow-countryman and contemporary, confirms the Western Canon, while he notices the doubts which were entertained as to the *Apocalypse*. These doubts prevailed in the Church of Constantinople, and the *Apocalypse* does not seem to have been recognised there down to a late period, though in other respects the Constantinopolitan Canon was complete and pure (NICEPHORUS, PHOTIUS, OECUMENIUS, THEOPHYLACT, † c. 1077 A.D.).

The well-known Festal Letter of ATHANASIUS (†373 A.D.) bears witness to the Alexandrine Canon. This contains a clear and positive list of the books of the N. T. as they are received at present; and the judgment of Athanasius is confirmed by the practice of his successor CYRIL.

One important Catalogue yet remains to be mentioned. After noticing in separate places the origin and use of the Gospels and Epistles, EUSEBIUS sums up in a famous passage the results of his inquiry into the evidence on the Apostolic books furnished by the writings of the three first centuries (*H. E.* iii. 25). His testimony is by no means free from difficulties, nor in all points obviously consistent, but his last statement must be used to fix the interpretation of the former and more cursory notices. In the first class of *acknowledged* books (*ἀπολογισμένα*) he places the four Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul (i.e. fourteen, *H. E.* iii. 3), 1 John, 1 Peter, and (*ἐν γὰρ παλαιῇ*)

\* The enumeration of the Pauline Epistles marks the doubt which had existed as to the Hebrews: *Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli xiii; ejusdem ad Hebræos una*. In the Council of Hippo (*Can.* 36) the phrase is simply "*xiv Epistolæ of St. Paul*." Generally it may be observed that the doubt was in many, if not in most, cases as to the *authenticity*, and not as to the *canonicity* of the letter. Comp. Hieron. *Ep. ad Dard.*, 129, §3.

<sup>7</sup> The MSS. of the Vulgate from the sixth century downwards very frequently contain the apocryphal

Epistle to the Laodiceans among the Pauline Epistles, generally after the Epistle to the Colossians, but also in other places, without any mark of suspicion. The text in *Cod. Harl.* (Brit. Mus.) 2833 (sec. xi.), in which it occurs after the *Apocalypse*, differs in several respects from any of Anger's MSS. Comp. Anger, *Der Laodiceener Brief*, Leips. 1843, pp. 142 ff. The Greek title in G (not F), *ἡ πρὸς Λαοδικαίους ἐπιστολή*, is apparently only a rendering of the Latin title from the form of the name (*g. Laudiceenses*).

## No. IV.—THE CHIEF CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Only "disputed" books are noticed, or such as were in some degree recognized as authoritative. The symbols are used as before.

	Epistle to Hebrews.	Jude.	James.	2 & 3 John.	2 Peter.	Apocalypse.	Epistle of Barnabas.	Shepherd of Hermas.	Epistle of Clement.	Apocalypse of Peter.
<b>I. CONCILIAR CATALOGUES:</b>										
[Laodicea] .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>1</sup>
Carthage .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>2</sup>
Apostolic (Concil. Quinisext.)	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>3</sup>
<b>II. ORIENTAL CATALOGUES:</b>										
<i>(a) Syria.</i>										
The Peshito Version .. ..	*		*							
Junilius .. .. .	*	?	?	?	?	?				<i>L. c. supr.</i>
Joann. Damasc. .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>3</sup>
Ebed Jesu .. .. .	*		*							<i>L. c. supr.</i>
<i>(b) Palestine.</i>										
Eusebius .. .. .	*	?	?	?	?	?	†	†		<i>H. E. iii. 25.</i> <sup>4</sup>
Cyril of Jerus. .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>5</sup>
Epiphanius .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>Ado. Haer. lxxxi. 5.</i>
<i>(c) Alexandria.</i>										
Origen .. .. .	*	?	?	?	?	*				<i>Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.</i>
Athanasius .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*		†		<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>6</sup>
<i>(d) Asia Minor.</i>										
Gregor. Naz. .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i>
Amphilochius .. .. .	*	?	?	?	?	?				<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>7</sup>
<i>(e) Constantinople.</i>										
Chrysostom .. .. .	*		*							<i>Synopsis S. Script. tom. vi. p. 318 A.</i> <sup>8</sup>
Leontius .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i>
Nicephorus .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	?	?	†	†	<i>L. c. supr.</i> <sup>9</sup>
<b>III. OCCIDENTAL CATALOGUES:</b>										
<i>(a) Africa.</i>										
<i>Cod. Clurom.</i> .. .. .	( )	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	<i>Tischdf. Cod. Clurom. pp. 468, sq.</i>
Augustine .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>L. c. supr.</i>
<i>(b) Italy.</i>										
<i>Cin. Murat.</i> .. .. .		*		( )	*	*		†	*	<i>Hist. N. T. Canon, pp. 558 ff.</i>
Philastrius .. .. .		*	*	*	*	*				<i>Haer. 88 (All. 60).<sup>10</sup></i>
Jerome .. .. .		*	*	*	*	*				<i>Ad Paul. Ep. 53, §8 (i. p. 548, Ed. Migne).</i>
Rufinus .. .. .		*	*	*	*	*		†		<i>L. c. supr.</i>
Innocent .. .. .		*	*	*	*	*			†	<i>L. c. supr.</i>
[Gelasius] .. .. .		*	*	*	*	*		†		<i>L. c. supr.</i>
Cassiodorus (Vel. Trans.)		*	*			*				<i>De inst. div. Litt. 14.<sup>11</sup></i>
<i>(c) Spain.</i>										
Isidore of Sev. .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*				<i>De Ord. Libr. S. Script. init.<sup>12</sup></i>
<i>Cod. Baroc. 206</i> .. .. .	*	*	*	*	*	*	†		†	<i>Hody, p. 649.</i>

<sup>1</sup> The omission of the *Apocalypse* is frequently explained by the expressed object of the Catalogue, as a list of books for public ecclesiastical use: *ὅσα δὲ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεισθαι*, compared with the former canon: *ὅτι οὐ δὲ ἰδιωτικῶς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.* Yet compare the Catalogue of Cyril.

<sup>2</sup> The Catalogue adds likewise the Apostolical Constitutions (*ἡσυχασταὶ* . . . ἐν ὅκτω βιβλίοις) for esoteric use. When the Catalogue was confirmed in the Quinisextine Council (Can. 2), the Constitutions were excluded on the ground of corruptions; but no notice was taken of the Epistles of Clement, both of which, as is well known, are found at the end of the *Cod. Alex.*, and are mentioned in the index before the general summary of books; which again is followed by the titles of the *Apocryphal Psalms of Solomon*.

<sup>3</sup> He adds also "the Apostolic Canons," and according to one MS. the two Epistles of Clement.

<sup>4</sup> The other chief passages in Eusebius are, *H. E. iii. 3 24; ii. 23*. His object in the passage quoted is ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς κατ' ἐκκλ. διαθήκης γραφάς.

<sup>5</sup> The list concludes with the words, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ ἀναγινώσκεισθαι, ταῦτα μὴδὲ κατὰ σαυτῶν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι ἔχουσας . . .

<sup>6</sup> At the end of the list Athanasius says (comp. above), μηδεὶς τούτους ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τι.

<sup>7</sup> Amphiloch. *l. c.* :—

τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον, οὐκ εὖ λεγόντες· γνησία γὰρ ἡ χάρις. εἰεν τί λοιπὸν; καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν· τινὲς μὲν ἔπτα φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνον .

in case its *authenticity* is admitted (such seems to be his meaning), the *Apocalypse*. The second class of *disputed* books (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*) he subdivides into two parts, the first consisting of such as were generally known and recognised (*γνώριμα τοῖς πολλοῖς*), including the Epistles of *James*, *Jude*, *2 Peter*, *2, 3 John*; and the second of those which he pronounces spurious (*ψευδα*), that is which were either unauthentic or unapostolic, as the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, the *Apocalypse* of John (if not a work of the Apostle), and according to some the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These two great classes contain all the books which had received ecclesiastical sanction, and were in common distinguished from a third class of *heretical forgeries* (e.g. the Gospels of Thomas, Peter, Mathias, &c.).

One point in the testimony of Eusebius is particularly deserving of notice. The evidence in favour of the apostolic authority of *2 Peter* which can be derived from the existing writings of the first three centuries is extremely slender; but Eusebius, who possessed more copious materials, describes it as "generally well known;" and this circumstance alone suggests the necessity of remembering that the early Catalogues rest on evidence no longer available for us. In other respects the classification of Eusebius is a fair summary of the results which follow from the examination of the extant ante-Nicene literature.

The evidence of later writers is little more than the repetition or combination of the testimonies already quoted. An examination of table No. IV., p. 266, which includes the most important *Catalogues* of the writings of the N. T., will convey a clear summary of much that has been said, and supply the most important omissions.

At the era of the Reformation the question of the N. T. Canon became again a subject of great though partial interest. The hasty decree of the Council of Trent, which affirmed the authority of all the books commonly received, called out the opposition of controversialists, who quoted and enforced the early doubts. ERASMUS with characteristic moderation denied the apostolic origin of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *2 Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*, but left their canonical authority unquestioned (*Praef. ad Antilegomen.*). LUTHER, on the other hand, with bold self-reliance, created a purely subjective standard for the canonicity of the Scriptures in the character of their "teaching of Christ," and while he placed the Gospel and first Epistle

of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and the first Epistle of St. Peter, in the first rank as containing the "kernel of Christianity," he set aside the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *St. Jude*, *St. James*, and the *Apocalypse* at the end of his version, and spoke of them and the remaining Antilegomena with varying degrees of disrespect, though he did not separate *2 Peter* and *2, 3 John* from the other Epistles (comp. Landerer, *Art. Canon* in Herzog's *Encyclop.* pp. 295 ff.). The doubts which Luther rested mainly on internal evidence were variously extended by some of his followers (MELANCTHON, *Centur. Maydob.*, FLACIUS, GERHARD: comp. Reuss, §334); and especially with a polemical aim against the Romish Church by CHEMnitz (*Exam. Conc. Trid.* i. 73). But while the tendency of the Lutheran writers was to place the Antilegomena on a lower stage of authority, their views received no direct sanction in any of the Lutheran symbolic books which admit the "prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments," as a whole, without further classification or detail. The doubts as to the Antilegomena of the N. T. were not confined to the Lutherans. CARLSTADT, who was originally a friend of Luther and afterwards professor at Zurich, endeavoured to bring back the question to a critical discussion of evidence, and placed the Antilegomena in a third class "on account of the controversy as to the books, or rather (ut certius loquar) as to their authors" (*De Can. Script.* pp. 410-12, ed. Credn.). CALVIN, while he denied the Pauline authorship of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and at least questioned the authenticity of *2 Peter*, did not set aside their canonicity (*Praef. ad Hebr.*; *ad 2 Petr.*); and he notices the doubts as to *St. James* and *St. Jude* only to dismiss them.

The language of the Articles of the Church of England with regard to the N. T. is remarkable. In the Articles of 1552 no list of the books of Scripture is given; but in the Elizabethan Articles (1562, 1571) a definition of Holy Scripture is given as "the Canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church" (Art. vi.). This definition is followed by an enumeration of the books of the O. T. and of the Apocrypha; and then it is said summarily, without a detailed catalogue, "all the books of the N. T., as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical (pro Canonici habemus)." A distinction thus remains between the "Canonical" books, and such

#### NOTES ON TABLE NO. IV.—continued.

χρημα δέχασθαι, τὴν Ἰακώβου μίαν  
μίαν δὲ Πέτρον τὴν τ' Ἰωάννου μίαν . . .  
τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν  
τινὲς μὲν ἀρκεῖται, οἱ πλείους δὲ γε  
νόθον λέγουσιν. Οὗτος ἀνευκλότατος  
Καὶὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοσεβούνων γραφῶν . . .

<sup>10</sup> This Canon of Chrysostom, which agrees with that of the Peshito, is fully supported by the casual evidence of the quotations which occur in his works. The quotation from *2 Peter*, which is found in *Hom. in Joann.* 34 (33), tom. viii. p. 230 (ed. Par.), stands alone. Suidas' assertion (s. v. Ἰωάννης) that he received "the *Apocalypse* and three *Epistles* of St. John" is not supported by any other evidence.

<sup>11</sup> Nicophorus adds to the disputed books "the Gospel according to the Hebrews." In one MS. the *Apocalypse* of St. John is placed also among the Apocryphal books (Credner, s. a. O. p. 122).

<sup>12</sup> This catalogue, which excludes the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Apocalypse* (statutum est nihil aliud legi in ecclesia debere catholica nisi . . . et Pauli tractatum

epistolae et septem alias . . .), is followed by a section in which Philastrius speaks of "other [heretics] who assert that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is not Paul's" (*Haer.* 89). And in another place (*Haer.* 60) he reckons it as heresy to deny the authenticity of the Gospel and *Apocalypse* of St. John. The different statements seem to be the result of careless compilation.

<sup>13</sup> This catalogue is described as "secundum antiquam translationem," and stands parallel with those of Jerome and Augustine. The enumeration of the Catholic epistles is somewhat ambiguous, but I believe that it includes only three epistles. Epistolae Petri ad gentes, *Jacobi*, *Johannis* ad Parthos. The insertion of *Jude* after *gentes*, seems to have been a typographical error, for the present writer has not found the reading in any one of four MSS. which he has examined.

<sup>14</sup> In another place (*De eccles. off.* l. 12) Isidore mentions without condemning the doubts which existed as to the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *James*, *2, 3 John*, *2 Peter*, but not as to *Jude*.

"Canonical books as have never been doubted in the Church;" and it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the framers of the Articles intended to leave a freedom of judgment on a point on which the greatest of the continental reformers, and even of Romish scholars (Sixtus Sen. *Biblioth. S. i.* 1; Caletan, *Præf. ad Epp. ad Hebr., Jac., 2, 3 John, Jud.*) were divided. The omission cannot have arisen solely from the fact that the Article in question was framed with reference to the Church of Rome, with which the Church of England was agreed on the N. T. Canon; for all the other protestant confessions which contain any list of books, give a list of the books of the New as well as of the Old Testament (*Conf. Belg. 4; Conf. Gall. 3; Conf. Fid. 1*). But if this license is rightly concealed by the Anglican Articles, the great writers of the Church of England have not availed themselves of it. The early commentators on the Articles take little (Burnet) or no notice (Beveridge) of the doubts as to the Antilegomena; and the chief controversialists of the Reformation accepted the full Canon with emphatic avowal (Whitaker, *Disp. on Scripture*, xiv. p. 105; Fulke's *Defence of Eng. Trans.* p. 8; Jewel, *Defence of Apol.* ii. 9, 1).

The judgment of the Greek Church in the case of the O. T. was seen to be little more than a reflection of the opinions of the West. The difference between the Roman and Reformed Churches on the N. T. were less marked; and the two conflicting Greek confessions confirm in general terms, without any distinct enumeration of books, the popular Canon of the N. T. (*Cyr. Luc. Conf. i. p. 42; Dosith. Confess. i. p. 487*). The confession of METROPHANES gives a complete list of the books; and compares their number—thirty-three—with the years of the Saviour's life, that "not even the number of the Sacred books might be devoid of a divine mystery." (*Metroph. Critop. Conf. ii. 105*, Ed. Kimm. et Weissenb.). At present, as was already the case at the close of the 17th century (Leo Allatius, ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc. v. App. p. 38*), the Antilegomena are reckoned by the Greek Church as equal in Canonical authority in all respects with the remaining books (*Catechism, l. c. supr.*).

The assaults which have been made, especially during the present century, upon the authenticity of the separate books of the Old and New Testaments belong to the special articles. The general course which they have taken is simple and natural. Semler (*Untersuch. d. Kan. 1771-5*) first led the way towards the later subjective criticism, though he rightly connected the formation of the Canon with the formation of the Catholic Church, but without any clear recognition of the providential power which wrought in both. Next followed a series of special essays in which the several books were discussed individually with little regard to the place which they occupy in the whole collection (Schleiermacher, Bretschneider, De Wette, &c.). At last an ideal view of the early history of Christianity was used as the standard by which the books were to be tried, and the books were regarded as results of typical forms of doctrine and not the sources of them (F. C. Baur, Schwieger, Zeller). All true sense of historic evidence was thus lost. The growth of the Church was left without explanation, and the original relations and organic unity of the N. T. were disregarded.

For the later period of the history of the N. T. (Canon, from the close of the second century, the

great work of Lardner (*Credibility of the Gospel History*, Works i.—vi. Ed. Kippis, 1788) furnishes ample and trustworthy materials. For the earlier period his criticism is necessarily imperfect, and requires to be combined with the results of later inquiries. Kirchhofer's collection of the original passages which bear on the history of the Canon (*Quellensammlung, u. s. w.*, Zürich, 1844) is useful and fairly complete, but frequently inaccurate. The writings of F. C. Baur and his followers often contain very valuable hints as to the characteristics of the several books in relation to later teaching, however perverse their conclusions may be. In opposition to them Thiersch has vindicated, perhaps with an excess of zeal, but yet in the main rightly, the position of the Apostolic writings in relation to the first age (*Versuch zur Herstellung, u. s. w.*, Erlangen, 1845; and *Erwiderung, u. s. w.*, Erlang., 1846). The section of Reuss on the subject (*Die Gesch. d. heil. Schriften N. T.*, 2te Aufl. Braunschw. 1853), and the article of Landerer (Herzog's *Encyclop. s. v.*) contain valuable summaries of the evidence. Other references and a fuller discussion of the chief points are given by the author of this article in *The History of the Canon of the N. T.* (Camb. 1855). [B. F. W.]

CANOPY (*κανοπέριον; conopeum*; Jud. x. 21, xiii. 9, xvi. 19). The canopy of Holofernes is the only one mentioned, although, perhaps, from the "pillars" of the litter [BED] described in Cant. iii. 10, it may be argued that its equipage would include a canopy. It probably retained the mosquito nets or curtains in which the name originated, although its description (Jud. x. 21) betrays luxury and display rather than such simple usefulness. Varro (*R. R. ii. 10, 8*) uses *quis in conopis jacent* of languid women very much as *ἀναπαύμενος . . . ἐν τῷ κανοπέῳ* (l. c.) describes the position of a luxurious general. (For further classical illustration, see *Dict. of Ant. art. CONOPEUM*.) It might possibly be asked why Judith, whose business was escape without delay, should have taken the trouble to pull down the canopy on the body of Holofernes? Probably it was an instance of the Hebrew notion that blood should be instantly covered (comp. 2 Sam. xx. 12; Lev. xvii. 13) [BLOOD]; and for this purpose the light bedding of Syria was inadequate. [BED.] Tent furniture also is naturally lighter, even when most luxurious, than that of a palace; and thus a woman's hand might unfix it from the pillars without much difficulty. [H. H.]

CANTICLES (*שִׁיר חַשְׁמִיּוֹן, Song of Songs*, i. c. the most beautiful of songs; *ᾠδα ἀσπασαν;* *Canticum Canticorum*), entitled in the A. V. THE SONG OF SOLOMON. No book of the O. T. has been the subject of more varied criticism, or been more frequently selected for separate translation than the Song of Solomon. It may be convenient to consider it under four points of view:—I. *Author and date*; II. *Form*; III. *Meaning*; IV. *Canonicity*.

I. *Author and date*.—By the Hebrew title it is ascribed to Solomon; and so in all the versions, and by the majority of Jewish and Christian writers, ancient and modern. In fact, if we except a few of the Talmudical writers (Bava Bathra, R. Moses Kimchi; see Gray's Key), who assigned it to the age of Hezekiah, there is scarcely a dissentient voice down to the close of the last century. More recent criticism, however, has called in question this deep-rooted, and well accredited tradition. Among Eng-

lish scholars Kennicott, among German Eichorn and Rosenmüller, regard the poem as belonging to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah (Kennicott, *Diss.* i. pp. 20-22; Eichorn, *Isagogen in V. T.* P. iii. § 647, p. 531, ff. ed. sec.; Rosenm. *Animadv. on Louth. Praelect., Schol. in V. T.*). Kennicott based his opinion upon the uniform insertion of the <sup>1</sup>, in all the copies, in the name of David (דָּוִד). The name, however, occurs only once (iv. 4); and the insertion of the letter in this solitary instance is easily accounted for by a supposed error in transcription. At any rate the insertion of the <sup>1</sup> would not bring the Canticles so far down as the time of Ezra; since we find the same peculiarity in Hos. iii. 5, and Am. vi. 5 (Gesen. *Lex.* s. v.). The charge of Chaldaism has been vigorously pressed by Rosenmüller, and especially by Eichorn. But Gesenius (*Heb. Gr.* §2) assigns the book to the golden age of Hebrew literature, and traces "the few solitary Chaldaisms" which occur in the writings of that age to the hands of Chaldee copyists. Gesenius has moreover suggested an important distinction between Chaldaisms, and *dialectic* variations indigenous to N. Palestine, where he conjectures that Judges and Canticles were composed. The application of this principle is sufficient to eliminate most of the Chaldaisms alleged by Eichorn (e. g. שָׁרָה for שָׁרָה); while the occurrence of similar forms in Phœnician affords an indication of other intrusive forces beside the Aramean acting upon the Biblical Hebrew. Nor is the suggestion of Gesenius that the book was written in N. Palestine, and consequently tinged with a local colouring, inconsistent with the opinion which places it among the "one thousand and five" songs of Solomon (1 K. iv. 32). Comp. 1 K. ix. 19 with 2 Chr. viii. 6, where the buildings of Lebanon are decidedly contrasted with those of Jerusalem, and are not therefore to be confounded with the "house of the forest of Lebanon" (1 K. vii. 2), which was probably in Jerusalem. By a further comparison of these passages with Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 441), who describes remains of massive buildings as still standing on Lebanon, it will appear probable that Solomon had at least a hunting-seat somewhere on the slopes of that mountain (comp. Cant. iv. 9). In such a retreat, and under the influence of its scenery, and the language of the surrounding peasantry, he may have written Canticles. Artistically this would have been in keeping with the general conditions of pastoral poetry. In our own language such compositions are not unfrequently accommodated to rustic ideas, and sometimes to provincial dialects. If, moreover, it should be urged that Chaldaisms are not provincialisms; it may be replied that Solomon could scarcely be ignorant of the Aramean literature of his own time, and that he may have consciously used it for the purpose of enrichment (Gesen. *Heb. Gr.* §§ 2, 4).

The title, though it is possibly too flattering to have come from the hand of Solomon, must have existed in the copy used by the LXX., and consequently can lay claim to a respectable antiquity. The moral argument put forward by the supporters of the most recent literal interpretation, and based upon the improbability of Solomon's criminating himself (see below), is not very conclusive. His conduct could easily be traced to a spirit of generous self-accusation; and at any rate it need not be exalted above the standard which was likely to flourish in the atmosphere of a court such as his.

On the whole then it seems unnecessary to depart from the plain meaning of the Hebrew title.

Supposing the date fixed to the reign of Solomon, great ingenuity has been employed by the Rabbinical and some Christian writers, in determining at what period of that monarch's life the poem was written (see Pol. *Syn. Pref. ad Cant.*). The point at issue seems to have been whether Solomon ever repented after his fall. If he did, it was contended that the ripeness of wisdom exhibited in the Song seemed the natural growth of such an experience: if he did not, it was urged that no other than a spiritually-minded man could have composed such a poem; and that therefore it must have been written while Solomon was still the cherished of God. Then again it was a moot point whether the composition was the product of Solomon's matured wisdom, or the fresh outburst of his warm and passionate youth; whether in fact the master element of the poem were the *literal* form, or the *allegorical* meaning. The question resolves itself into one of *interpretation*, and must be determined by reference to III. below.

II. *Form*.—This question is not determined by the Hebrew title. The rendering of שִׁיר הַשְּׁמִירִים, mentioned by Simonis (*Lex. Heb.*), "series carminum" (comp. *σειρά*, chain), and adopted by Paulus, Goud, and other commentators, can scarcely compete with Gesen. "Song of Songs, i. e. the most beautiful of songs" (comp. Ps. xlv. 1, יְיָ רֵדָה, שִׁיר, "a delightful song," Gesen.; "carmen jucundum," Rosenm.; comp. also Theoc. *Idyl.* viii. *προσφιλέλις μέλος*). The non-continuity which many critics attribute to the poem is far from being a modern discovery. This is sufficiently attested by the Lat. "Cantica cantiorum," and the Chaldee paraphrase, "the songs and hymns which Solomon, the prophet, the king of Israel, uttered in the spirit of prophecy before the Lord." Ghislerius (16th cent.) considered it a drama in five acts. One of the first separate translations published in England is entitled "The Canticles, or Balades of Solomon, in English metre," 1549; and in 1596 appeared Solomon's Song in 8 eclogues, by J. M. [Jervase Markham]; the number of eclogues in this latter production being the same as that of the *Idylls* into which the book was afterwards divided by Jahn. Down to the 18th cent., however, the Canticles were generally regarded as continuous.

Gregory Nazianzus calls it *νυμφικὸν δράμα τε καὶ ᾄσμα*. According to Patrick, it is a "Pastoral Eclogue," or a "Dramatic poem;" according to Lowth, "an epithalamium, or *δαριστὸς* nuptialis of a pastoral kind." Michaelis and Rosenmüller, while differing as to its interpretation, agree in making it continuous, "carmen amatorium" (Mich.). A modified continuity was suggested by Bossuet, who divided the Song into 7 parts, or scenes of a pastoral drama, corresponding with the 7 days of the Jewish nuptial ceremony (Lowth, *Praelect.* xxx.). Bossuet is followed by Calmet, Percy, Williams, and Lowth; but his division is impugned by Taylor (*Fragm. Calmet*), who proposes one of 6 days; and considers the drama to be *postnuptial*, not *ante-nuptial*, as it is explained by Bossuet. The entire nuptial theory has been severely handled by J. D. Michaelis, and the literal school of interpreters in general. Michaelis attacks the first day of Bossuet, and involves in its destruction the remaining six

(*Not. ad Lowth. Pract.* xxxi.). It should be observed that Lowth does not compromise himself to the perfectly dramatic character of the poem. He makes it a drama, but only of the *minor* kind, i. e. dramatic as a dialogue; and therefore not more dramatic than an Idyll of Theocritus, or a Satire of Horace. The fact is, that he was unable to discover a plot; and evidently meant a good deal more by the term "pastoral" than by the term "drama." Moreover, it seems clear, that if the only dramatic element in Cant. be the dialogue, the rich pastoral character of its scenery, and allusions, renders the term *drama* less applicable than that of *idyll*. Bossuet, however, claims it as a regular drama with all the properties of the classic model. Now the question is not so much whether the Canticles make up a drama, or a series of idylls, as which of these two Greek names the more nearly expresses its form. And if with Lowth we recognize a chorus completely sympathetic and assistant, it is difficult to see how we can avoid calling the poem a drama. But in all the translations of the *allegorical* school which are based upon the dramatic idea, the interference of the chorus is so infrequent, or so indefinite; the absence of anything like a dramatic progress and development sufficient to enlist the sympathy of a chorus is so evident, that the strongly marked *idyllic* scenery could not fail to outweigh the scarcely perceptible elements of dramatic intention. Accordingly the Idyllic theory, propounded by Sig. Melesegenio, confirmed by the use of a similar form among the Arabians, under the name of "Cassides" (Sir W. Jones, *Poes. As. Comment.* iii.), and adopted by Good, became for a time the favourite hypothesis of the *allegorical* school. After Markham's translation, however (see above), and the division of Ghislarius, we cannot consider this theory as originating either with the learned Italian translator, or, as suggested by Mr. Horne, with Sir W. Jones.

The *idyllic* form seems to have recommended itself to the *allegorical* school of translators as getting rid of that dramatic unity and plot which their system of interpretation reduced to a succession of events without any culminating issue. In fact, it became the established method of division both with literal and allegorical translators; e. g. Herder, J. v. Smith, Kleuker, Magnus; and as late as 1846 was maintained by Dr. Noyes of Harvard University, an ultra literalist. But the majority of recent translators belonging to the literal school have adopted the theory of Jacobi, originally proposed in 1776, and since developed by Umbreit, Ewald, Meier, &c. Based as this theory is upon the dramatic evolution of a simple love-story, it supplies that essential movement and interest, the want of which was felt by Lowth; and justifies the application of the term *drama*, to a composition of which it manifests the vital principle and organic structure.

By the reactionary allegorists, of whom Rosenmüller may be considered the representative, the Song of Solomon has either been made absolutely continuous, or has been divided with reference to its spiritual meaning, rather than its external form (e. g. Hengstenberg, and Prof. Burrows).

The supposition that the Cant. supplied a model to Theocritus seems based on merely verbal coincidences, such as could scarcely fail to occur between two writers of *pastoral* poetry (comp. Cant. i. 8, vi. 10, with Theoc. xviii. 30, 38; Cant. iv. 11 with Theoc. xx. 26, 27; Cant. viii. 6, 7, with Theoc.

xxiii. 23-26; see other passages in Pol. Syn.; Lowth, *Præf.*; Gray's *Key*). In the essential matters of form and of ethical teaching, the resemblance does not exist.

III. *Meaning*.—The schools of interpretation may be divided into three:—the *mystical*, or *typical*; the *allegorical*; and the *literal*.

1. The *mystical* interpretation is properly an offshoot of the *allegorical*, and probably owes its origin to the necessity which was felt of supplying a *literal* basis for the speculations of the allegorists. This basis is either the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter, or his marriage with an Israelitish woman, the Shulamite. The former (taken together with Harmer's variation) was the favourite opinion of the mystical interpreters to the end of the 18th century: the latter has obtained since its introduction by Good (1803). The mystical interpretation makes its first appearance in Origen, who wrote a voluminous commentary upon the Cant. Its literal basis, minus the mystical application, is condemned by Theodoret (A.D. 420). It reappears in Abulpharagius (1226-1286), and was received by Grotius. As involving a literal basis, it was vehemently objected to by Saucinius; Durham, and Calovius; but approved of, and systematized by Bossuet, endorsed by Lowth, and for the purpose of translation by Percy and Williams. The arguments of Calovius prevented its taking root in Germany; and the substitution by Good of an Israelitish for an Egyptian bride has not saved the general theory from the neglect which was inevitable after the reactionary movement of the 19th century allegorists.

2. *Allegorical*.—Notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to discover this principle of interpretation in the LXX. (Cant. iv. 8); Jesus Sirach (xlvii. 14-17); Wisd. (viii. 2); and Joseph. (c. *Apion.* i. § 8); it is impossible to trace it with any certainty farther back than the Talmud (see Ginsburg, *Introd.*). According to the Talmud the *beloved* is taken to be God, the *loved one*, or bride, is the *congregation of Israel*. This general relation is expanded into more particular detail by the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, which treats the Song of songs as an allegorical history of the Jewish people from the Exodus to the coming of the Messiah, and the building of the third temple. In order to make out the parallel, recourse was had to the most extraordinary devices; e. g. the reduction of words to their numerical value, and the free interchanging of words similar to each other in sound. Elaborate as it was, the interpretation of the Targum was still further developed by the mediæval Jews; but generally constructed upon the same allegorical hypothesis. It was introduced into their liturgical services; and during the persecutions of the middle ages, its consoling appeal to the past and future glories of Israel maintained it as the popular exposition of a national poem. It would be strange if so universal an influence as that of the scholastic philosophy had not obtained an expression in the interpretation of the Canticles. Such an expression we find in the theory of Ibn Caspe (1200-1250), which considers the book as representing the union between the *active intellect* (*intellectus agens*), and the *receptive or material intellect* (*intellectus materialis*). A new school of Jewish interpretation was originated by Mendelssohn (1729-1786); which, without actually denying the existence of an allegorical meaning, determined to keep it in abeyance, and meanwhile to

devote itself to the literal interpretation. At present the most learned Rabbis, following Löwesoohn, have abandoned the allegorical interpretation in toto (Hexheimer, 1848; Philippon, 1854).

In the Christian Church, the Talmudical interpretation, imported by Origen, was all but universally received. It was impugned by Theodore of Mopsuestia (360-429), but continued to hold its ground as the orthodox theory till the revival of letters; when it was called in question by Erasmus and Grotius, and was gradually superseded by the typical theory of Grotius, Bossuet, Lowth, &c. This, however, was not effected without a severe struggle, in which Sanctius, Durham, and Calovius were the champions of the *allegorical* against the *typical* theory. The latter seems to have been mainly identified with Grotius (Pol. *Syn.*), and was stigmatised by Calovius as the heresy of Theodore Mopsuest., condemned at the 2nd council of Constantinople, and revived by the Anabaptists. In the 18th century the allegorical theory was resuscitated, and reconstructed by Puffendorf (1776), and the reactionary allegorists; the majority of whom, however, with Rosenm., return to the system of the Chaldee paraphrase.

Some of the more remarkable variations of the allegorical school are:—(a.) The extension of the Chaldee allegory to the Christian Church, originally projected by Aponius (7th century), and more fully wrought out by De Lyra (1270-1340), Brightman (1600), and Cocceius (1603-1699). According to De Lyra, chaps. ii.-vii. describe the history of the Israelites from the Exodus to the birth of Christ; chap. vii. ad fin. the history of the Christian Church to Constantine. Brightman divides the Cant. into a history of the *Loyal*, and a history of the *Evangelical* Church; his detail is highly elaborate, e. g. in Cant. v. 8, he discovers an allusion to Peter Waldo (1160), and in verse 13 to Robert Trench (1290). (b.) Luther's theory limits the allegorical meaning to the contemporaneous history of the Jewish people under Solomon. (c.) According to Ghislerius, and Corn. a Lapide the Bride is the Virgin Mary. (d.) Puffendorf refers the spiritual sense to the circumstances of our Saviour's death and burial.

3. The *literal* interpretation seems to have been connected with the general movement of Theodore Mopsuest. (360-429) and his followers, in opposition to the extravagances of the early Christian allegorists. Its *scheme* was nuptial, with Pharaoh's daughter as the bride. That it was by many regarded as the only admissible interpretation appears from Theodore, who mentions this opinion only to condemn it. Borne down and overwhelmed by the prolific genius of mediæval allegory, we have a glimpse of it in Abulpharagius (vid. sup.); and in the MS. commentary (Bodl. Oppenh. Coll. No. 625), cited by Mr. Ginsburg, and by him referred conjecturally to a French Jew of the 12th or 13th cent. This Commentary anticipates more recent criticism by interpreting the Song as *celebrating the humble love of a shepherd and shepherdess*. The extreme literal view was propounded by Castellio (1544); who called the Cant. "*Colloquium Salomonis cum amica quâdam Sulamithâ*," and rejected it from the Canon. Following out this idea, Whiston (1723) recognised the book as a composition of Solomon; but denounced it as *foolish, lascivious, and idolatrous*. Meanwhile the *nuptial* theory was adopted by Grotius as the literal basis of a secondary and spiritual interpre-

tation; and, after its dramatical development by Bossuet, long continued to be the standard scheme of the mystical school. In 1803 it was reconstructed by Good, with a Jewish instead of an Egyptian lude. The purely *literal* theory, opposed on the one hand to the allegorical interpretation, and on the other to Castellio and Whiston, owes its origin to Germany. Michaelis (1770) regarded the Song as an exponent of *wedded love, innocent, and happy*. But, while justifying its admission into the Canon, he is betrayed into a levity of remark altogether inconsistent with the supposition that the book is inspired (Not. ad Lowth. *Præf.*). From this time the scholarship of Germany was mainly enlisted on the side of the literalists. The literal basis became thoroughly dissociated from the mystical superstructure; and all that remained to be done was to elucidate the true scheme of the former. The most generally received interpretation of the modern literalists is that which was originally proposed by Jacobi (1771), adopted by Herder, Ammon, Umbreit, Ewald, &c.; and more recently by Prof. Meier of Tübingen (1854), and in England by Mr. Ginsburg, in his very excellent translation (1857). According to the detailed application of this view as given by Mr. Ginsburg, the Song is intended to display the *victory of humble and constant love over the temptations of wealth and royalty*. The tempter is Solomon: the object of his seductive endeavours is a Shulamite shepherdess, who, surrounded by the glories of the court, and the fascinations of unwonted splendour, pines for the shepherd-lover from whom she has been involuntarily separated.

The drama is divided into 5 sections, indicated by the thrice repeated formula of adjuration (ii. 7, iii. 5, viii. 4), and the use of another closing sentence (v. 1).

Section 1 (Ch. i.—ii. 7): scene—a country seat of Solomon. The shepherdess is committed to the charge of the court-ladies ("daughters of Jerusalem"); who have been instructed to prepare the way for the royal approach. Solomon makes an unsuccessful attempt to win her affections.

Sect. 2 (ii. 8—iii. 5): the shepherdess explains to the court-ladies the cruelty of her brothers, which had led to the separation between herself and her beloved.

Sect. 3 (iii. 6—v. 1): entry of the royal train into Jerusalem. The shepherd follows his betrothed into the city, and proposes to rescue her. Some of her court companions are favourably impressed by her constancy.

Sect. 4 (v. 2—viii. 4): the shepherdess tells her dream, and still farther engages the sympathies of her companions. The king's flatteries and promises are unavailing.

Sect. 5 (viii. 5-14): the conflict is over; virtue and truth have won the victory: and the shepherdess and her beloved return to their happy home; visiting on the way the tree beneath whose shade they first plighted their troth (viii. 5). Her brothers repeat the promises which they had once made conditionally upon her virtuous and irreproachable conduct.

Such is a brief outline of the scheme most recently projected by the literalists. It must not be supposed, however, that the supporters of the *allegorical* interpretation have been finally driven from the field. Even in Germany a strong band of reactionary Allegorists have maintained their

ground, including such names as Hug, Kaiser, Rosenmüller, Hahn, and Hengstenberg. On the whole, their tendency is to return to the 'Chaldee Paraphrase; a tendency which is specially marked in Rosenmüller. In England the battle of the Literalists has been fought by Dr. Pye Smith (*Congreg. Mag.* for 1837, 38); in America by Prof. Noyes, who adopts the extreme *erotic* theory, and is unwilling to recognize in Cant. any moral or religious design. It should be observed that such a sentiment as this of Dr. Noyes is utterly alien to the views of Jacobi and his followers; who conceive the recommendation of virtuous love and constancy to be a portion of the very highest moral teaching, and in no way unworthy of an inspired writer.

The allegorical interpretation has been defended in America by Professors Stuart and Burrowes. The internal arguments adduced by the allegorists are substantially the same which were urged by Calovius against the literal basis of the mystical interpretation. The following are specimens:—

(a.) Particulars not applicable to Solomon (v. 2); (b.) particulars not applicable to the wife of Solomon (i. 6, 8; v. 7; vii. 1, cf. i. 6); (c.) Solomon addressed in the second person (viii. 12); (d.) particulars inconsistent with the ordinary conditions of decent love (v. 2); (e.) date 20 years after Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (comp. Cant. v. 4, and 1 K. vi. 38). It will readily be observed that these arguments do not in any way affect the literal theory of Jacobi.

For *external* arguments the allegorists depend principally upon *Jewish tradition, and the analogy of Oriental poetry*. The value of the former, as respects a composition of the 10th cent. B.C., is estimated by Mich. (*Not. ad Lowth.*) at a very low rate. For the latter, it is usual to refer to such authors as Chardin, Sir W. Jones, Herbelot, &c. (see Rosenm. *Animad.*). Rosenmüller gives a song of Hafiz, with a paraphrase by a Turkish commentator, which unfolds the spiritual meaning. For other specimens of the same kind see Lane's *Egyptians*. On the other hand the objections taken by Dr. Noyes are very important (*New Transl.*). It would seem that there is one essential difference between the Song of Solomon and the allegorical compositions of the poets in question. In the latter the allegory is more or less avowed; and distinct reference is made to the Supreme Being: in the former there is nothing of the kind. But the most important consideration adduced by the literalists is the fact that the Cant. are the production of a different country, and separated from the songs of the Sufis and the Hindoo mystics by an interval of nearly 2000 years. To which it may be added that the Song of Solomon springs out of a religion which has nothing in common with the Pantheism of Persia and India. In short, the conditions of production in the two cases are utterly dissimilar. But the literalists are not content with destroying this analogy; they proceed farther to maintain that allegories do not generally occur in the sacred writings without some intimation of their secondary meaning, which intimation in the case of the Cant. is not forthcoming. They argue from the total silence of our Lord and His apostles respecting this book, not indeed that it is uninspired; but that it was never intended to bear within its poetic envelope that mystical sense which would have rendered it a perfect treasury of reference for Paul, when unfolding the spiritual relation between Christ and His church (see 2 Cor.

xi. 2; Rom. vii. 4; Eph. v. 23-32). Again, it is urged, that if this poem be allegorically spiritual, then its spiritualism is of the very highest order, and utterly inconsistent with the opinion which assigns it to Solomon. The philosophy of Solomon, as given in Eccl., is a philosophy of indifference, apparently suggested by the exhaustion of all sources of physical enjoyment. The religion of Solomon had but little practical influence on his life; if he wrote the glowing spiritualism of the Cant. when a young man, how can we account for his fearful degeneracy? If the poem was the production of his old age, how can we reconcile it with the last fact recorded of him that "his heart was not perfect with the Lord, his God?" For the same reason it is maintained that no other writer would have selected Solomon as a symbol of the Messiah. The excessively amative character of some passages is designated as almost blasphemous when supposed to be addressed by Christ to His church (vii. 2, 3, 7, 8); and the fact that the *dramatis personae* are three, is regarded as decidedly subversive of the allegorical theory.

The strongest argument on the side of the allegorists is the matrimonial metaphor so frequently employed in the Scriptures to describe the relation between Jehovah and Israel (Ex. xxiv. 15, 16; Num. xv. 39; Ps. lxxiii. 27; Jer. iii. 1-11; Ez. xvi., xxiii., &c.). It is fully stated by Prof. Stuart (*O. T. Canon*). On the other hand the literalists deny so early a use of the metaphor. They contend that the phrase "to go whoring after other gods" describes a literal fact; and that even the metaphor as used by the prophets who lived after Solomon implies a wedded relation, and therefore cannot be compared with the ante-nuptial affection which forms the subject of Cant.

IV. *Canonicity*.—It has already been observed that the book was rejected from the Canon by Castellio and Whiston; but in no case has its rejection been defended on *external* grounds. It is found in the LXX., and in the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodot. It is contained in the catalogue given in the Talmud, and in the catalogue of Melito; and in short we have the same evidence for its canonicity as that which is commonly adduced for the canonicity of any book of the O. T.

(In addition to the ordinary sources, reference is advised to Lowth, *Praelect.* xxx., xxi., together with the notes of Michaelis, and the animadversions of Rosenmüller, Oxon. 1821; Harmer's *Outlines*, &c., London, 2nd ed. 1775; Transl. with notes by Mason Good, Lond. 1803; *Congreg. Mag.* for 1837 and 1838; *New Transl. of Prov. Eccl. and Cant.* by Prof. Noyes, Boston, 1846; *Commentary on Song*, &c., by Prof. Burrowes, Philadelphia, 1853; *Das Gerüttelte Hohelied*, by J. T. Jacobi, 1771; *Salomon's Lieder der Liebe*, &c., in vol. iii. of Herder's works, Stuttgart, and Tübingen, 1852; *Das Hohelied Salomo's*, &c., by Ewald, Göttingen, 1826; *Das Hohe Lied Salomons ausgelegt von W. Hengstenberg*, Berlin, 1853; *Das Hohe Lied*, &c., by Ernst Meier, Tübingen, 1854; *The Song of Songs*, &c., by C. D. Ginsburg, Lond., 1857; the last mentioned is specially recommended to the English reader.) [T. E. B.]

CAPERNAUM (Rec. T. *Καπερναούμ*; Lachm. with B. *Καφαρναούμ*, as if כפר נחום, "village of Nâchum;" Syriac Nîtr. ܩܦܪܢܐܘܡ, Pesch. ܩܦܪܢܐܘܡ; *Capharnaum*), a name\* with

which all are familiar as that of the scene of many acts and incidents in the life of Christ. There is no mention of Capernaum in the O. T. or Apocrypha, but the passage is. ix. 1 (in Hebrew, viii. 23) is applied to it by St. Matthew. The word *Cephar* in the name perhaps indicates that the place was of late foundation. [CAPIHAR.]

The few notices of its situation in the N. T. are not sufficient to enable us to determine its exact position. It was on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee (τὴν παραθαλάσσιον, Matt. iv. 13; comp. John vi. 24), and, if recent discoveries are to be trusted (Creton's *Nitrian Roc.* John vi. 17), was of sufficient importance to give to that Sea, in whole or in part, the name of the "lake of Capernaum." (This was the case also with Tiberias, at the other extremity of the lake. Comp. John vi. 1, "the sea of Galilee of Tiberias.") It was in the "land of Gennesareth" (Matt. xiv. 34, compared with John vi. 17, 21, 24), that is, the rich, busy plain on the west shore of the lake, which we know from the descriptions of Josephus and from other sources to have been at that time one of the most prosperous and crowded districts in all Palestine. [GENNESARETH.] Being on the shore, Capernaum was lower than Nazareth and Cana of Galilee, from which the road to it was one of descent (John ii. 12; Luke iv. 31), a mode of speech which would apply to the general level of the spot even if our Lord's expression "exalted unto heaven" (ἐξωθῆσθαι, Matt. xi. 23) had any reference to height of position in the town itself. It was of sufficient size to be always called a "city" (πόλις, Matt. ix. 1; Mark i. 33); had its own synagogue, in which our Lord frequently taught (John vi. 59; Mark i. 21; Luke iv. 33, 38)—a synagogue built by the centurion of the detachment of Roman soldiers which appears to have been quartered in the place\* (Luke vii. 1, comp. 8; Matt. viii. 8). But besides the garrison there was also a customs station, where the dues were gathered both by stationary (Matt. ix. 9; Mark i. 14; Luke v. 27) and by itinerant (Matt. xvii. 24) officers. If the "way of the sea" was the great road from Damascus to the south (Ritter, *Jordan*, 271) the duties may have been levied not only on the fish and other commerce of the lake, but on the caravans of merchandise passing to Galilee and Judaea.

The only interest attaching to Capernaum is as the residence of our Lord and his Apostles, the scene of so many miracles and "gracious words." At Nazareth He was "brought up," but Capernaum was emphatically His "own city;" it was when He returned thither that He is said to have been "at home" (Mark ii. 1; such is the force of *ἐν οἴκῳ*—A. V. "in the house"). Here he chose the Evangelist Matthew or Levi (Matt. ix. 9). The brothers Simon-Peter and Andrew belonged to Capernaum (Mark i. 29), and it is perhaps allowable to imagine that it was on the sea-beach below the town (for, doubtless, like true orientals, these two fishermen kept close to home), while Jesus was "walking" there, before "great multitudes" had learned to "gather together unto Him," that they heard the quiet call which was to make them forsake all and follow Him (Mark i. 16, 17, comp. 28). It was here that Christ worked the miracle on the centurion's servant (Matt. viii. 5; Luke vii.

1), on Simon's wife's mother (Matt. viii. 14; Mark i. 30; Luke iv. 38), the paralytic (Matt. ix. 1; Mark ii. 1; Luke v. 18), and the man afflicted with an unclean devil (Mark i. 33; Luke iv. 33). The son of the nobleman (John iv. 46) was, though resident at Capernaum, healed by words which appear to have been spoken in Cana of Galilee. At Capernaum occurred the incident of the child (Mark ix. 33; Matt. xviii. 1; comp. xvii. 24); and in the synagogue there was spoken the wonderful discourse of John vi. (see verse 59).

The doom which our Lord pronounced against Capernaum and the other unbelieving cities of the plain of Gennesareth has been remarkably fulfilled. In the present day no ecclesiastical tradition even ventures to fix its site; and the contest between the rival claims of the two most probable spots is one of the hottest, and at the same time the most hopeless, in sacred topography. Fortunately nothing hangs on the decision. The spots in dispute are 1. *Khan Minyeh*, a mound of ruins which takes its name from an old khan hard by. This mound is situated close upon the sea-shore at the north-western extremity of the plain (now *El Ghawceir*). It is of some extent, but consisting of heaps only with no visible ruins. These are south of the ruined khan; and north of them, close to the water-line of the lake, is a large spring surrounded by vegetation and overshadowed by a fig-tree which gives it its name—*Ain et Tin* (the spring of the fig-tree). Three miles south is another large spring called the "Round Fountain," which is a mile and a half from the lake, to which it sends a considerable stream with fish.

2. Three miles north of *Khan Minyeh* is the other claimant, *Tell Hâm*,—ruins<sup>b</sup> of walls and foundations covering a space of "half a mile long by a quarter wide," on a point of the shore projecting into the lake and backed by a very gently rising ground. Rather more than three miles further is the point at which the Jordan enters the north of the lake.

The arguments in favour of *Khan Minyeh* will be found in Robinson (ii. 403, 4, iii. 344-358). They are chiefly founded on Josephus's account of his visit to Capharnaïm, which Dr. R. would identify with the mounds near the khan, and on the testimonies of successive travellers from Arculfus to Quaresinius, whose notices Dr. R. interprets—often, it must be confessed, not without difficulty—in reference to *Khan Minyeh*. The fountain Capharnaïm, which Josephus elsewhere mentions (*B. J.* iii. 10, §8) in a very emphatic manner as a chief source of the water of the plain of Gennesareth and as abounding with fish, Dr. R. believes to be the *Ain et Tin*. But the "Round Fountain" certainly answers better to Josephus's account than a spring so close to the shore and so near one end of the district as is *Ain et Tin*. The claim of *Khan Minyeh* is also strongly opposed by a later traveller (Bonar, 437-41). Still this makes nothing for *Tell Hâm*.

The arguments in favour of *Tell Hâm* date from about 1875. They are urged by Dr. Wilson. The principal one is the name, which is maintained to be a relic of the Hebrew original—Caphar having given place to *Tell*. Dr. Wilson also ranges Josephus on his side (*Lands of the Bible*, ii. 139-149. See also Ritter, *Jordan*, 335-343, who supports

\* The fact of a Roman having built the synagogue certainly seems some argument against the prosperity of the town.

<sup>b</sup> Vast ruins . . . no ordinary city . . . site of a great town (Bonar, 414, 3).

*Tell Hâm*). *Kham Mungch*, *Et-Tubighah*, and *Tell Hâm*, are all, without doubt, ancient sites, but the conclusion from the whole of the evidence is irresistible:—that it is impossible to say which of them represents Capernaum, which (Chorazin, or which Bethsaida. Those anxious to inquire further into this subject may consult the originals, as given above. For the best general description and reproduction of the district, see Stanley, *S. & P.* ch. x. [4.]

**CAPHAR** (כפר, from a root signifying "to cover," Ges. 707), one of the numerous words employed in the Bible to denote a village or collection of dwellings smaller than a city (*Ir*). Mr. Stanley proposes to render it by "hamlet" (*S. and P.* App. §85), to distinguish its occurrences from those of Chavvah, Chatzer, Beutoteh, and other similar words. As an appellative it is found only three times: 1 Chr. xvii. 25; Cant. vii. 11, and 1 Sam. vi. 18 (in the last the pointing being different, *Copher*, כפר); but in neither is there anything to enable us to fix any special force to the word.

In names of places it occurs in CHEPHAR-AMMONAI, CHEPHIRAI, CAPHAR-SALAMA. But the number of places compounded therewith mentioned in the Talmuds shows that the name became a much commoner one at a time subsequent to the Biblical history. In Arabic *Kefr* is in frequent use (see the lists in the Index to Robinson, ii. and iii.) To us its chief interest arises from its forming a part of the name of CAPERNAUM, i. e. Capharnahum. [G.]

**CAPHAR-SALAMA** (Χαφασαλαμ; Alex. *Χαφασαλαμ*; *Capharsalamai*), a place (κόμη, *Jos. Ant.* xii. 10, §4) at which a battle was fought between Judas Maccabæus and Nicanor (1 Mac. vii. 31). From the fugitives having taken refuge in the "city of David," it would appear to have been near Jerusalem. Is it not possible that it was Siloam, the Arabic name of which is *Kefr-selâm*? Ewald places it north of Ramla on the Samaritan boundary (*Gesch.* iv. 368, note), but no certain traces of it seem to have been yet found. [G.]

**CAPHEN'ATHA** (Χαφενάθα; *Caphetatha*), a place apparently close to and on the east side of Jerusalem, which was repaired by Jonathan Maccabæus (1 Mac. xii. 37). The name is derived by Lightfoot from *Caphniath* the Talmudic word for unripe figs. If this be correct, there is a remarkable correspondence between the name Caphenatha and those of Bethany (house of dates), Bethphage (house of figs), and of the Mount of Olives itself, on which the three were situated—all testifying to the ancient fruitfulness of the place. [G.]

**CAPHIRA** (Καφίρας; *Enocadies*), 1 Esd. v. 19. [CHEPHIRAI.]

**CAPH'TOR** (כפרת; *Καππαδοκία*; *Cappadocia*): **CAPH'TORIM** (כפרתים; *Γαββοριεμ*, *Χαφβοριεμ*, *Καφβοριεμ*; *Caphthorim*, *Cappadoces*), a country thrice mentioned as the primitive seat of the Philistines (Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4; Am. ix. 7), who are once called Caphtorim (Deut. ii. 23), as of the same race as the Mizraite people of that name (*Gen.* x. 14; 1 Chr. i. 12). The position of the country, since it was peopled by Mizraites, must be supposed to be in Egypt or near to it in Africa, for the idea of the south-west of Palestine is excluded by the migra-

tion of the Philistines. In Jer. it is spoken of as **כפרת**, and has therefore been supposed to be an island. **כפרת**, however, has a wider signification; commonly it is any maritime land, whether coast or island, as in the expression **כפרת הים** (*Gen.* x. 5), by which the northern coasts and the islands of the Mediterranean seem to be intended, the former, in part at least, being certainly included. It must be remembered, however, that the Nile is spoken of as a sea (**ים**) by Nahum in the description of No, or Thebes (iii. 8). [No.] It is also possible that the expression in Jer. merely refers to the maritime position of the Philistines (*comp. Ez.* xxv. 16), and that Caphtor is here poetically used for Caphtorim.

The writer (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed., *Egypt*, p. 419) has proposed to recognise Caphtor in the ancient Egyptian name of Coptos. This name, if literally transcribed, is written in the hieroglyphics Kehtu, Kehta, and Keht-Hor, probably pronounced Kubb, Kaht, and Keht-Hor (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* Taf. xxxviii. no. 899, 900), whence **κεφτ**, **κεπτο**, **κεπτω**, **κεβτω**,

**Gr. Κόπτος**, Arab. **كفت**, **Kuft**. The similarity of name is so great that it alone might satisfy us, but the correspondence of **Αἴγυπτος**, as if **Αἴα γυπτος**, to **כפרת**, unless **כפרת** refer to the Philistine coast, seems conclusive. We must not suppose, however, that Caphtor was Coptos: it must rather be compared to the Coptite nome, probably in primitive ages of greater extent than under the Ptolemies, for the number of nomes was in the course of time greatly increased. The Caphtoin stand last in the list of the Mizraite peoples in *Gen.* and *Chr.*, probably as dwellers in Upper Egypt, the names next before them being of Egyptian, and the earliest names of Libyan peoples [**Εἰγυπ**]. It is not necessary to discuss other identifications that have been proposed. The chief are Cappadocia, Cyprus, and Crete, of which the last alone, from the evident connexion of the Philistines with Crete, would have any probability in the absence of more definite evidence. There would, however, be great difficulty in the way of the supposition that in the earliest times a nation or tribe removed from an island to the mainland.

The migration of the Philistines is mentioned or alluded to in all the passages speaking of Caphtor or the Caphtorim. It thus appears to have been an event of great importance, and this supposition receives support from the statement in Amos. In the lists of *Gen.* and *Chr.*, as the text now stands, the Philistines are said to have come forth from the Casluhim—"the Casluhim, whence came forth the Philistines, and the Caphtorim,"—where the Heb. forbids us to suppose that the Philistines and Caphtorim both came from the Casluhim. Here there seems to have been a transposition, for the other passages are as explicit, or more so, and their form does not admit of this explanation. The period of the migration must have been very remote, since the Philistines were already established

\* The conquest of the Avim does not seem to have been complete when the Israelites entered the Promised Land, for they are mentioned after the "Ave lords of the Philistines" in *Josh.* (xiii. 3). The expression therefore in *Deut.* ii. 23, "And the Avim

in Palestine in Abraham's time (Gen. xxi. 32, 34). The evidence of the Egyptian monuments, which is indirect, tends to the same conclusion, but takes us yet further back in time. It leads us to suppose that the Philistines and kindred nations were cognate to the Egyptians, but so different from them in manners that they must have separated before the character and institutions of the latter had attained that development in which they continued throughout the period to which their monuments belong. We find from the sculptures of Rameses III. at Medinet Haboo, that the Egyptians about 1200 B.C. were at war with the Philistines, the Tok-karu, and the Shayratana of the Sea, and that other Shayratana served them as mercenaries. The Philistines and Tok-karu were physically cognate, and had the same distinctive dress; the Tok-karu and Shayratana were also physically cognate, and fought together in the same ships. There is reason to believe that the Tok-karu are the Carians, and the Shayratana cannot be doubted to be the Cherethim of the Bible and the earlier Cretans of the Greeks, inhabiting Crete, and probably the coast of Palestine also (*Enc. Brit. Egypt*, 462). All bear a greater resemblance to the Egyptians than does any other group of foreign peoples represented in their sculptures. This evidence points therefore to the spread of a seafaring race cognate to the Egyptians at a very remote time. Their origin is not alone spoken of in the record of the migration of the Philistines, but in the tradition of the Phœnicians that they came from the Erythraean Sea [ARABIA], and we must look for the primaevial seat of the whole race on the coasts of Arabia and Africa, where all ancient authorities lead us mainly to place the Cushites and the Ethiopians. [CUSH.] The difference of the Philistines from the Egyptians in dress and manners is, as we have seen, evident on the Egyptian monuments. From the Bible we learn that their laws and religion were likewise different from those of Egypt, and we may therefore consider our previous supposition as to the time of the separation of the peoples to which they belong to be positively true in their particular case. It is probable that they left Caphtor not long after the first arrival of the Mizraite tribes, while they had not yet attained that attachment to the soil that afterwards so eminently characterized the descendants of those which formed the Egyptian nation. The words of the prophet Amos seem to indicate a deliverance of the Philistines from bondage. "[Are] ye not as children of Ethiopians (בְּשֵׁיִם) unto me, [O] children of Israel? hath the LORD said. Have not I caused Israel to go up out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?" (Am. ix. 7). The mention of the Ethiopians is worthy of note: here they are perhaps spoken of as a degraded people. The intention appears to be to show that Israel was not the only nation which had been providentially led from one country to another where it might settle, and the interposition would seem to imply oppression preceding the migration. It may be remarked that Manetho speaks of a revolt and return to allegiance of the Libyans, probably the Lehabim, or Lubim, from whose name Libya, &c., certainly came, in the reign of the first

who dwelt in villages (בְּחִצְרוֹת, wrongly made a prop. name in the A. V., and in the LXX., where the fem. pl. חִצְרוֹת has become, through the previous

king of the third dynasty, Necherôphês or Necherôchis, in the earliest age of Egyptian history, B.C. cir. 2600 (Cory, *Anc. Frag.* 2nd ed. pp. 100, 101.). [R. S. P.]

**CAPPADO'CIA** (Καππαδοκία). This eastern district of Asia Minor is interesting in reference to New Testament history only from the mention of its Jewish residents among the hearers of St. Peter's first sermon (Acts ii. 9), and its Christian residents among the readers of St. Peter's first Epistle (1 Pet. i. 1). The Jewish community in this region, doubtless, formed the nucleus of the Christian: and the former may probably be traced to the first introduction of Jewish colonists into Asia Minor by Selencus (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3 §4). The Roman period, through the growth of large cities and the construction of roads, would afford increased facilities for the spread both of Judaism and Christianity. It should be observed that Cappadocia was easily approached from the direction of Palestine and Syria, by means of the pass called the Cilician Gates, which led up through the Taurus from the low coast of Cilicia, and that it was connected, at least under the later Emperors, by good roads with the district beyond the Euphrates.

The range of Mount Taurus and the upper course of the Euphrates may safely be mentioned, in general terms, as natural boundaries of Cappadocia on the south and east. Its geographical limits on the west and north were variable. In early times the name reached as far northwards as the Euxine Sea. The region of Cappadocia, viewed in this extent, constituted two satrapies under the Persians, and afterwards two independent monarchies. One was Cappadocia on the Pontus, the other Cappadocia near the Taurus. Here we have the germ of the two Roman provinces of Pontus and Cappadocia. [PONTUS.] Several of the monarchs who reigned in Cappadocia Proper bore the name of Ariarathes. One of them is mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 22. The last of these monarchs was called Archelaus (see Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, §6). He was treacherously treated by the Emperor Tiberius, who reduced his kingdom to a province A.D. 17. This is the position in which the country stood during the time of St. Peter's apostolic work.

Cappadocia is an elevated table-land intersected by mountain-chains. It seems always to have been deficient in wood; but it was a good grain country, and it was particularly famous for grazing. Its Roman metropolis, afterwards both the birthplace and episcopal see of St. Basil, was Caesarea (now *Kaisariyeh*), formerly Mazaca, situated near Mount Argæus, the highest mountain in Asia Minor. Some of its other cities were equally celebrated in ecclesiastical history, especially Nyssa, Nazianzus, Samosata and Tyana. The native Cappadocians seem originally to have belonged to the Syrian stock: and since Ptolemy (v. 6) places the cities of Iconium and Derbe within the limits of this region, we may possibly obtain from this circumstance some light on "the speech of Lycaonia," Acts xiv. 11. [LYCAONIA.] The best description of these parts of Asia Minor will be found in Hamilton's *Researches*, and Texier's *Asie Mineure*. [J. S. H.]

**CAPTAIN.** (1.) As a purely military title, change of קָדֵשׁ to קָדֵשׁ, 'Asaphêd, even to Azazah (Gaza), Caphtorim who came forth from Caphtor destroyed them and dwelt in their stead," may mean that a part of the Avim alone perished.

Captain answers to  $\text{קצין}$  in the Hebrew army, and  $\chi\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (*tribunus*) in the Roman. [ARMY.] The "captain of the guard" ( $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ ) in Acts xxviii. 16, is also spoken of under ARMY [p. 114]. (2.)  $\text{קצין}$ , which is occasionally rendered *captain*, applies sometimes to a military (Josh. x. 24; Judg. xi. 6, 11; Is. xxii. 3; Dan. xi. 18), sometimes to a civil command (e.g. Is. i. 10, iii. 6): its radical sense is *division*, and hence *decision* without reference to the means employed: the term illustrates the double office of the  $\text{קצין}$ . (3.) The "captain of the temple" ( $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\text{ιερου}$ ) mentioned by St. Luke (xxii. 4; Acts iv. 1, v. 24) in connexion with the priests, was not a military officer, but superintended the guard of priests and Levites, who kept watch by night in the Temple. The office appears to have existed from an early date; the "priests that kept the door" (2 K. xii. 9, xxv. 18) are described by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8. §5) as  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron$   $\text{ιερον}$   $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ : a notice occurs in 2 Macc. iii. 4 of a  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\text{ιερου}$ ; this officer is styled  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$  by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, §2; B. J., vi. 5, §3); and in the Mishna (*Middoth*, i. §2)  $\text{איש הר הכהן}$ , "the captain of the mountain of the Temple;" his duty, as described in the place last quoted, was to visit the posts during the night, and see that the sentries were doing their duty. (4.) The term  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ , rendered "captain" (Heb. ii. 10), has no reference whatever to a military office. [W. L. B.]

### CAPTIVITIES OF THE JEWS.

The bondage of Israel in Egypt, and their subjugation at different times, by the Philistines and other nations, are sometimes included under the above title; and the Jews themselves, perhaps with reference to Daniel's vision (ch. vii.), reckon their national captivities as four—the Babylonian, Median, Grecian, and Roman (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. i. p. 748). But the present article is confined to the forcible deportation of the Jews from their native land, and their forcible detention, under the Assyrian or Babylonian kings.

The kingdom of Israel was invaded by three or four successive kings of Assyria. Pul or Sardanapalus, according to Rawlinson (*Outline of Assyrian History*, p. 14, but compare Rawl. *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 466), imposed a tribute, B.C. 771 (or 762 Rawl.) upon Menahem (1 Chr. v. 26, and 2 K. xv. 19). Tiglath-Pileser carried away B.C. 740 the trans-Jordanic tribes (1 Chr. v. 26) and the inhabitants of Galilee (2 K. xv. 29, compare Is. ix. 1), to Assyria. Shalmaneser twice invaded (2 K. xvii. 3, 5) the kingdom which remained to Hoshea, took Samaria B.C. 721 after a siege of three years, and carried Israel away into Assyria. In an inscription interpreted by Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 472), the capture of Samaria is claimed by King Sargon (Is. xx. 1) as his own achievement. The cities of Samaria were occupied by people sent from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim; and Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river of Gozan became the seats of the exiled Israelites.

Sennacherib B.C. 713 is stated (Rawl. *Outline*, p. 24, but compare Demetrius ap. Clem. Alexand. *Stromata*, i. 21, incorrectly quoted as confirming the statement) to have carried into Assyria 200,000 captives from the Jewish cities which he took (2 K. xviii. 18). Nebuchadnezzar, in the first half of his reign, B.C. 606-562, repeatedly invaded Judaea, be-

sieged Jerusalem, carried away the inhabitants to Babylon, and destroyed the city and Temple. Two distinct deportations are mentioned in 2 K. xxiv. 14 (including 10,000 persons) and xxv. 11. One in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 20. Three in Jer. lii. 28, 29, including 4800 persons, and one in Dan. i. 3. The two principal deportations were, (1) that which took place B.C. 598, when Jehoiachin with all the nobles, soldiers, and artificers were carried away; and (2) that which followed the destruction of the Temple and the capture of Zedekiah B.C. 588. The three which Jeremiah mentions may have been the contributions of a particular class or district to the general captivity; or they may have taken place, under the orders of Nebuchadnezzar, before or after the two principal deportations. The captivity of certain selected children B.C. 607, mentioned by Daniel, who was one of them, may have occurred when Nebuchadnezzar was colleague or lieutenant of his father Nabopolassar, a year before he reigned alone. The 70 years of captivity predicted by Jeremiah (xxv. 12) are dated by Prideaux from B.C. 606 (see *Connexion*, anno 606; and comp. Davison, *On Prophecy*, Lect. vi. pt. 1). If a symbolical interpretation were required, it would be more difficult to regard (with Winer and Rosenmüller) these 70 years as an indefinite period designated arbitrarily by a sacred number, than to believe with St. Augustine (*Enarratio in Ps.* cxxvi. 1) that they are a symbol of "all time." The captivity of Ezekiel dates from B.C. 598, when that prophet, like Mordcai the uncle of Esther (ii. 6), accompanied Jehoiachin.

We know nothing, except by inference from the book of Tobit, of the religious or social state of the Israelitish exiles in Assyria. Doubtless the constant policy of 17 successive kings had effectually estranged the people from that religion which centered in the Temple, and had reduced the number of faithful men below the 7000 who were revealed for the consolation of Elijah. Some priests at least were among them (2 K. xvii. 28), though it is not certain that these were of the tribe of Levi (1 K. xii. 31). The people had been nurtured for 250 years in idolatry in their own land, where they departed not (2 K. xvii. 22) from the sins of Jeroboam, notwithstanding the proximity of the Temple, and the succession of inspired prophets (2 K. xvii. 18) among them. Deprived of these checks on their natural inclinations (2 K. xvii. 15), torn from their native soil, destitute of a hereditary king, they probably became more and more closely assimilated to their heathen neighbours in Media. And when, after the lapse of more than a century, they were joined B.C. 598 by the first exiles from Jerusalem, very few families probably retained sufficient faith in the God of their fathers to appreciate and follow the instruction of Ezekiel. But whether they were many or few, their genealogies were probably lost, a fusion of them with the Jews took place, Israel ceasing to envy Judah (Is. xi. 13); and Ezekiel may have seen his own symbolical prophecy (xxxvii. 15-19) partly fulfilled.

The captive Jews were probably prostrated at first by their great calamity, till the glorious vision of Ezekiel in the 5th year of the captivity revived and reunited them. The wishes of their conqueror were satisfied when he had displayed his power by transporting them into another land, and gratified his pride by inscribing on the walls of the royal palace his victorious progress and the number of his captives. He could not have designed to increase

the population of Babylon, for he sent Babylonian colonists into Samaria. One political end certainly was attained—the more easy government of a people separated from local traditions and associations (see Gesenius on Is. xxxvi. 16, and compare Gen. xlvii. 21). It was also a great advantage to the Assyrian king to remove from the Egyptian border of his empire a people who were notoriously well-affected towards Egypt. The captives were treated not as slaves but as colonists. There was nothing to hinder a Jew from rising to the highest eminence in the state (Dan. ii. 48), or holding the most confidential office near the person of the king (Neh. i. 11; Tob. i. 13, 22). The advice of Jeremiah (xxix. 5, &c.) was generally followed. The exiles increased in numbers and in wealth. They observed the Mosaic law (Esth. iii. 8; Tob. xiv. 9). They kept up distinctions of rank among themselves (Ez. xx. 1). And though the assertion in the Talmud be unsupported by proof that they assigned thus early to one of their countrymen the title of Head of the Captivity (or, captain of the people, 2 Esd. v. 16), it is certain that they at least preserved their genealogical tables, and were at no loss to tell who was the rightful heir to David's throne. They had neither place nor time of national gathering, no Temple; and they offered no sacrifice. But the rite of circumcision and their laws respecting food, &c. were observed; their priests were with them (Jer. xxix. 1); and possibly the practice of erecting synagogues in every city (Acts xv. 21) was begun by the Jews in the Babylonian captivity.

The captivity is not without contemporaneous literature. In the apocryphal book of Tobit, which is generally believed to be a mixture of poetical fiction with historical facts recorded by a contemporary, we have a picture of the inner life of a family of the tribe of Naphtali, among the captives whom Shalmaneser brought to Nineveh. The apocryphal book of Baruch seems, in Mr. Layard's opinion, to have been written by one whose eyes, like those of Ezekiel, were familiar with the gigantic forms of Assyrian sculpture. Several of the Psalms appear to express the sentiments of Jews who were either partakers or witnesses of the Assyrian captivity. Ewald assigns to this period Ps. xlii., xliii., lxxxiv., xvii., xli., xlii., xlv., xxxviii., lxxxviii., xl., lxi., cix., li., lxi., xxv., xxxiv., lxxxii., xiv., cxx., cxxi., cxxii., cxxx., cxxxi. And in Ps. lxxx. we seem to have the words of an Israelite, dwelling perhaps in Judaea (2 Chr. xv. 9, xxxi. 6), who had seen the departure of his countrymen to Assyria; and in Ps. cxxvii. an outpouring of the first intense feelings of a Jewish exile in Babylon. But it is from the three great prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, that we learn most of the condition of the children of the captivity. The distant warnings of Jeremiah, advising and cheering them, followed them into Assyria. There, for a few years, they had no prophetic guide; till suddenly the vision of Ezekiel at Chebar (in the immediate vicinity of Nineveh, according to Layard, or, according to others, near Carthage on the Euphrates) assured them that the glory which filled the Temple at Jerusalem was not hopelessly withdrawn from the outcast people of God. As Jeremiah warned them of coming woe, so Ezekiel taught them how to bear that which was come upon them. And when he died, after passing at least 27 years (Ez. xxix. 17) in captivity, Daniel survived even beyond the Return; and though his high station and ascetic life probably secluded him from frequent

familiar intercourse with his people, he filled the place of chief interpreter of God's will to Israel, and gave the most conspicuous example of devotion and obedience to His laws.

The Babylonian captivity was brought to a close by the decree (Ezr. i. 2) of Cyrus B.C. 536, and the return of a portion of the nation under Shebazzar or Zerubbabel B.C. 535, Ezra B.C. 458, and Nehemiah B.C. 445. The number who returned upon the decree of B.C. 536 (which was possibly framed by Daniel, Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 8) was 42,360, besides servants. Among them about 30,000 are specified (compare Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii.) as belonging to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. It has been inferred (Prideaux, *anno* 536) that the remaining 12,000 belonged to the tribes of Israel (compare Ezr. vi. 17). And from the fact that out of the 24 courses of priests only 4 returned (Ezr. ii. 36), it has been inferred that the whole number of exiles who chose to continue in Assyria was about six times the number of those who returned. Those who remained (Esth. viii. 9, 11), and kept up their national distinctions, were known as The Dispersion (John vii. 35; 1 Pet. i. 1; James i. 1); and, in course of time, they served a great purpose in diffusing a knowledge of the true God, and in affording a point for the commencement of the efforts of the Evangelists of the Christian faith.

Many attempts have been made to discover the ten tribes existing as a distinct community. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5, §2) believed that in his day they dwelt in large multitudes, somewhere beyond the Euphrates, in Arsareth, according to the author of 2 Esd. xiii. 45. Rabbinical traditions and fables, committed to writing in the middle ages, assert the same fact (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in 1 Cor. xiv. Appendix), with many marvellous amplifications (Kissemenger, *Ent. Jud.* vol. ii., ch. x.; Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, App. bk. vi.). The imagination of Christian writers has sought them in the neighbourhood of their last recorded habitation: Jewish features have been traced in the Afghan tribes: rumours are heard to this day of a Jewish colony at the foot of the Himalayas: the Black Jews of Malabar claim affinity with them: elaborate attempts have been made to identify them recently with the Nestorians, and in the 17th century with the Indians of North America. But though history bears no witness of their present distinct existence, it enables us to track the footsteps of the departing race in four directions after the time of the Captivity. (1.) Some returned and mixed with the Jews (Luke ii. 36; Phil. iii. 5, &c.). (2.) Some were left in Samaria, mingled with the Samaritans (Ezr. vi. 21; John iv. 12), and became bitter enemies of the Jews. (3.) Many remained in Assyria, and mixing with the Jews formed colonies throughout the East, and were recognised as an integral part of the Dispersion (see Acts ii. 9, xvi. 7; Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, p. 212), for whom, probably ever since the days of Ezra, that plaintive prayer, the tenth of the Shemoneh Esre, has been daily offered, "Sound the great trumpet for our deliverance, lift up a banner for the gathering of our exiles, and unite us all together from the four ends of the earth." (4.) Most, probably, apostatized in Assyria, as Prideaux (*anno* 677) supposes, and adopted the usages and identity of the nations among whom they were planted, and became wholly swallowed up in them. Dissertations on the Ten Tribes have been written by Calmet, *Commentaire Littéral*, vol.

iii. and vi.; by Witsius, *Aegyptiacæ*; and by J. D. Michaelis.

The Captivity was a period of change in the vernacular language of the Jews (see Neh. viii. 8) and in the national character. The Jews who returned were remarkably free from the old sin of idolatry: a great spiritual renovation, in accordance with the divine promise (Ez. xxxvi. 24-28), was wrought in them. A new and deep feeling of reverence for the letter of the law and for the person of Moses was probably a result of the religious service which was performed in the synagogues. A new impulse of commercial enterprise and activity was implanted in them, and developed in the days of the Dispersion (see James iv. 13). [W. T. B.]

**CARABASION** (Ῥαβασίων; Alex. *Karabasíon*; *Marimoth*), a corrupt name to which it is difficult to find anything corresponding in the Hebrew text (1 Esd. ix. 34).

**CARBUNCLE** (בִּרְקָה, אֲבִנֵי בִּרְקָה or בִּרְקָה; *κρύσταλλον, σμαράγδος*; *lapides scutptos, smaragdus, carbunculus* (?)). From the etymology of בִּרְקָה (Ex. xxviii. 17), root בִּרַךְ, to *flush*, we assume that a stone of a bright coruscant colour is meant. Kalisch translates it *smaragd*, and says it is a sort of precious corundum of strong glass lustre, a beautiful green colour with many degrees of shade, pellucid and doubly refractive. Pliny enumerates twelve species of *σμαράγδος*. They are not rare in Egypt. (Rosem. *Alterth.* iv. 1, 34. See Braun, *de Vest. Sacerdot.* p. 517, sq.) The form בִּרְקָה occurs in Ez. xxviii. 13.

In Is. liv. 12, אֲבִנֵי בִּרְקָה (lit. "stones of a sparkling gem") are translated "*carbuncles*," and by the LXX. λίθους κρυστάλλινους. אֲבִנֵי בִּרְקָה comes from the root בִּרַךְ, to *light a fire*. Compare the Arab.

قَدَحَ, to *force fire from the hearth*. The same root in Chald., Syr., and Arab. has the force of *borin*; a meaning which may be traced to the production of fire by rapid boring into wood. [W. D.]

**CAR'CAS** (כִּרְכַּס; *Ἀρκεσαίος*; *Churchas*), the seventh of the seven "chamberlains" (i. e. eunuchs, קַרְיָסִים) of king Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10). The name has been compared with the Sanscrit *Karaka* = *severe* (see Gesenius, 713).

**CARCHEMISH** (כַּרְכֵּמִישׁ; *Χαρκαμύς*, *Xapmels*; *Charcomis*). The Scriptural Carchemish is not, as has generally been supposed, the classical Circesium. It lay very much higher up the Euphrates, occupying nearly the site of the later *Mabog*, or Hierapolis. The Assyrian inscriptions show it to have been, from about B.C. 1100 to B.C. 850, a chief city of the Hittites, who were masters of the whole of Syria from the borders of Damascus to the Euphrates at *Bir*, or *Bireh-jik*. It seems to have commanded the ordinary passage of the Euphrates in this part of its course, and thus in the contentions between Egypt and Assyria its possession was of primary consequence (comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 20, with Jer. xli. 2). Carchemish appears to have been taken by Pharaoh-Necho shortly after the battle of Megiddo (ab. B.C. 608), and retaken by Nebuchadnezzar after a battle three years later, B.C. 605 (Jer. xli. 2). The word Carchemish

would mean "the fort of Chemosh," the well-known deity of the Moabites. [G. R.]

**CARE'AH** (קָרְיָה; *Karhā*; Alex. *Karhēs*; *Curec*), father of Johanan (2 K. xxv. 23), elsewhere in the A. V. spelt KAREAH.

**CARIA** (Καρία), the southern part of the region which in the N. T. is called ASIA, and the south-western part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. In the Roman times the name of Caria was probably less used than previously. At an earlier period we find it mentioned as a separate district (1 Mac. xv. 23). At this time (B.C. 139) it was in the enjoyment of the privilege of freedom, granted by the Romans. A little before it had been assigned by them to Rhodes, and a little later it was incorporated in the province of Asia. From the context it appears that many Jews were resident in Cain. The cities where they lived were probably Halicarnassus (Ἥλιος), Cnidus (Ἰβ. also Acts xxvii. 7), and Miletus (Acts xx. 15-38). Off the coast of Caria were the islands PATMOS, COS, RHODES. [J. S. H.]

**CAR'ME** (Χαρμί; Alex. *Χαρμή*; *Curec*), 1 Esd. v. 25. [HARIM.]

**CAR'MEL**. Nearly always with the definite article, הַכַּרְמֶל, i. e. "the park," or "the well-wooded place." 1. (δ *Καρμήλος*; *Carmel*. In Kings, generally "Mount C." הַר הַכַּרְמֶל; ὄρος τὸ *Καρμήλιον*; in the Prophets, "Carmel.") A mountain which forms one of the most striking and characteristic features of the country of Palestine. As if to accentuate more distinctly the bay which forms the one indentation in the coast, this noble ridge, the only headland of lower and central Palestine, forms its southern boundary, running out with a bold bluff promontory all but into the very waves of the Mediterranean. From this point it stretches in a nearly straight line, bearing about S.S.E., for a little more than twelve miles, when it terminates suddenly by a bluff somewhat corresponding to its western end, breaking down abruptly into the hills of *Jenin* and Samaria which form at that part the central mass of the country.

Carmel thus stands as a wall between the maritime plain of Sharon on the south, and the more inland expanse of Esdraelon on the north. Towards the former the slopes or spurs, by which the central ridge descends, are gradual; but on the north side the gradients are more sudden, in many places descending almost by precipices to the Kishon, which runs at the foot of the mountain in a direction generally parallel to the central axis.

The structure of Carmel is in the main the Jura formation (upper oolite), which is prevalent in the centre of Western Palestine—a soft white limestone, with nodules and veins of flint. As usual in limestone formations it abounds in caves ("more than 2000," Mislin, ii. 46), often of great length and extremely tortuous. At the west end are found chalk and tertiary breccia formed of fragments of chalk and flint (Rusegger, in Ritter, *Pal.* 712). On the north-east of the mount, beyond the *Nahr el Mukatta*, plutonic rocks appear, breaking through the deposited strata and forming the beginning of the basalt formation which runs through the Plain of Esdraelon to Tabor and the Sea of Galilee (Ritter, 712, 3). The round stones known by the names of "Lapides Judaici" and "Elijah's melons" are the bodies known to geologists as

"geodes." Their exterior is chert or flint of a lightish brown colour; the interior hollow, and lined with crystals of quartz or chalcedony. They are of the form, and often the size, of the large water melons of the east. Formerly they were easily obtained, but are now very rarely found (Seezen, ii. 131, 4; Parkinson's *Organic Remains*, i. 322, 451). The "olives" are commoner. They are the fossil spines of a kind of echinus (*Cidaris glandifera*) frequent in these strata, and in size and shape are exactly like the fruit (Parkinson, iii. 45). The "apples" are probably the shells of the *Cidaris* itself. For the legend of the origin of these "fruits," and the position of the "field" or "garden" of Elijah in which they are found, see Mislin, ii. 64, 5.<sup>a</sup>

In form Carmel is a tolerably continuous ridge, at the W. end about 600,<sup>b</sup> and the E. about 1600 feet above the sea. The highest part is some four miles from the east end, at the village of *Esfeh*, which, according to the measurements of the English engineers, is 1728 feet above the sea. In appearance Carmel still maintains the character which there is no reason to doubt was the origin of its name. It is still clothed with the same "excellency" of "wood," which supplied the prophets of Israel and Judah alike with one of their most favourite illustrations (Is. xxxiii. 9; Mic. vii. 14). Modern travellers delight to describe its "rocky dells with deep jungles of copse"—its "shrubberies thicker than any others in central Palestine" (Stanley, M.S.)—its "impenetrable brushwood of oaks and other evergreens, tenanted in the wilder parts by a profusion of game and wild animals" (Porter, *Handb.*), but in other places bright with "hollyhocks, jasmine, and various flowering creepers" (Van de Velde). "There is not a flower," says the last-named traveller, "that I have seen in Galilee, or on the plains along the coast, that I do not find here on Carmel . . . still the fragrant, lovely mountain that he was of old" (i. 317, 8). "The whole mountain side was dressed with blossoms and flowering shrubs and fragrant herbs" (Martineau, 559).

Carmel fell within the lot of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 26), which was extended as far south as Dor (*Tantura*), probably to give the Asherites a share of the rich corn-growing plain of Sharon. The king of "Jokneam of Carmel" was one of the Canaanite chiefs who fell before the arms of Joshua (xii. 22). These are the earliest notices which we possess of the name. There is not in them a hint of any sanctity as attaching to the mount. But taking into account the known propensity of the early inhabitants of Palestine to convert "high places" into sanctuaries—the prominence of Carmel—the fact that an altar of Jehovah did exist there before the introduction of Baal worship into the kingdom (1 K. xviii. 30)—Elijah's choice of the place for the assembly of the people, such assemblies being commonly held at holy places—and the custom, which appears to have been prevalent, of resorting thither on new-moon and sabbath (2 K. iv. 23)—taking these into account, there seem to be grounds for believing that from very early times it was considered as a sacred spot. In later times we know that its

reputation was not confined to Palestine. Pythagoras was led to it by that reputation; such is the express statement of his biographer Iamblichus, who himself visited the mountain; Vespasian too came thither to consult—so we are told by Tacitus with that mixture of fact and fable which marks all the heathen notices of Palestine—the oracle of the god, whose name was the same as that of the mountain itself; an oracle without image or temple—"ara tantum et reverentia" (*Dict. of Geogr. Carmelus*).

But that which has made the name of Carmel most familiar to the modern world is its intimate connexion with the history of the two great prophets of Israel—Elijah and Elisha. The fiery zeal of the one, the healing tenderness of the other are both inseparably connected in our minds with this mountain. Here Elijah brought back Israel to allegiance to Jehovah, and slew the prophets of the foreign and false god; here at his entreaty were consumed the successive "fifties" of the royal guard; but here, on the other hand, Elisha received the visit of the bereaved mother whose son he was soon to restore to her arms (2 K. iv. 25, &c.).

The first of these three events, without doubt, took place at the eastern end of the ridge. In fact it is difficult to find another site, the actual name of which has not been preserved, in which every particular is so minutely fulfilled as in this. The tradition preserved in the convent, and among the Druses of the neighbouring villages—the names of the places—the distance from Jezreel—the nature of the locality—the presence of the never-failing spring—all are in its favour. It is, however, remarkable that the identification has been made but lately, and also that it should have been made by two travellers almost at the same time—Lieut. Van de Velde in 1852, and Professor Stanley in 1853. This interesting site cannot be better described than in the words of the latter traveller.

"The tradition is unusually trustworthy: it is perhaps the only case in Palestine in which the recollection of an alleged event has been actually retained in the native Arabic nomenclature. Many names of towns have been so preserved, but here is no town, only a shapeless ruin, yet the spot has a name—*El-Maharrakah*—the burning, or 'the sacrifice.' The Druses come here from a distance to perform a yearly sacrifice; and, though it is possible this practice may have originated the name, it is more probable that the practice itself arose from an earlier tradition. . . . But be the tradition good or bad, the localities adapt themselves to the event in almost every particular. The summit thus marked out is the extreme eastern point of the range, commanding the last view of the sea behind, and the first view of the great plain in front. . . . There on the highest ridge of the mountain may well have stood on its sacred 'high-place' the altar of Jehovah which Jezebel had cast down. Close beneath, on a wide upland sweep, under the shade of ancient olives and round a well of water, said to be perennial, and which may therefore have escaped the general drought, and have been able to furnish water for the trenches round the altar, must have been ranged on one side the king and people with the 850

<sup>a</sup> The legend is sometimes told of Lazarus (Seezen, *Reisen*, 1854, ii. 134).

<sup>b</sup> The cupola of the convent is 560 ft. above the sea (Admiralty Chart, 1858). For the general form of the ridge see the section on Van de Velde's new map.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus distinctly says that the water was obtained from the neighbouring well: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπύρας (*Ant.* viii. 13, §5). There is therefore no occasion for the "coincidence" discovered by Prof. Blunt, *Und. Coincidences* (II. xxii.).

prophets of Baal and Astarte, and on the other the solitary and commanding figure of the prophet of Jehovah. Full before them opened the whole plain of Esdraelon: the city of Jezreel, with Ahab's palace and Jezebel's temple, distinctly visible: in the nearer foreground, immediately under the base of the mountain, was clearly seen the winding bed of the Kishon." To this may be added that a knoll is pointed out between the ridge and the plain, bearing the name of *Tell Kasir*,<sup>d</sup> "the hill of the Priests," and that the modern name of the Kishon is *Nahr el Mukatta*, "the river of slaughter." "The closing scene still remains. From the slaughter by the side of the Kishon the king went up to the glades of Carmel to join in the sacrificial feast. And Elijah too ascended to the 'top of the mountain,' and there with his face on the earth remained wrapt in prayer, while his servant mounted to the highest point of all, whence there is a wide view of the blue reach of the Mediterranean, over the western shoulder of the ridge. . . . Seven times the servant climbed and looked, and seven times there was nothing . . . At last out of the far horizon there rose a little cloud,<sup>e</sup> and it grew in the deepening shades of evening till the whole sky was overcast, and the forests of Carmel shook in the welcome sound of the mighty winds, which in eastern regions preceed a coming tempest" (*Sinai & Palestine*, p. 353-6).

There is good reason to believe that a later incident in the life of the same great prophet took place on Carmel. This was when he "caused fire to come down from heaven" and consume the two "fifties" of the guard which Ahaziah had despatched to take him prisoner, for having stopped his messengers to Baalzebub the god of Ekron (2 K. i. 9-15). [See ELIJAH, p. 529.] In this narrative our Version, as is too frequently the case, conceals the force of the original by imperfect translation. "A hill" (v. 9) should be "the mount" (הַר), the word always used for Carmel, and, in connexion with Elijah, for Carmel only, with the exception of Sinai, which of course cannot be intended here. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 2, §1), with equal force, has ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους.

The tradition in the present convent is, that Elijah and Elisha both resided on the mountain, and a cave is actually shown under the high-altar of the church as that of Elijah. There is nothing in the Scripture to sanction such a statement with regard to Elijah, but in the case of Elisha, the tradition may rest on better grounds. After the ascent of Elijah, Elisha went to Mount Carmel (2 K. ii. 25), though only for a time; but he was again there at the Shunammite's visit (iv. 25), and that at a time when no festival, no "new moon or sabbath" (v. 23), required his presence. (In iv. 27, there is nearly the same error as was noticed above in reference to i. 9; "the hill" should be rendered "the mount.")

This is the last mention of Carmel as the scene of any event in the sacred history. Its sanctity no doubt remained, but it is its richness and its prominence—"Tabor among the mountains; Carmel by the sea"—which appear to have taken hold of the poets of the nation, both of Israel and Judah,

and their references to it are frequent and characteristic (*Cant.* vii. 5; *Is.* xxxv. 2, xxxvii. 24; *Jer.* xlv. 18, l. 19; *Am.* i. 2, ix. 3; *Mic.* vii. 14; *Nah.* i. 4).

Carmel has derived its modern name from the great prophet; *Mar Elyas* is the common designation, *Karmel* being occasionally, but only seldom, heard. It is also the usual name of the convent, though dedicated "in honorem BB. Virginius Marine."

Professor Stanley has pointed out (*S. and P.* 352) that it is not any connexion with Elijah that gives the convent its interest to the western world, but the celebrated order of the Barefooted Carmelite Friars, that has sprung from it, and carried its name into Europe. The order is said in the traditions of the Latin Church to have originated with Elijah himself (St. John of Jerus. quoted in Mislin, 49), but the convent was founded by St. Louis, and its French origin is still shown by the practice of unfurling the French flag on various occasions. Edward I. of England was a brother of the order, and one of its most famous generals was Simon Stokes of Kent (see the extracts in Wilson's *Lands*, ii. 246. For the convent and the singular legends connecting Mount Carmel with the Virgin Mary and Our Lord see Mislin, ii. 47-50). By Napoleon it was used as a hospital during the siege of Acre, and after his retreat was destroyed by the Arabs. At the time of Irby and Mangley's visit (1817) only one friar remained there (Irby, 60).

2. (Χερμέα in Josh.; τὸ Κάριμλον in Sam.; *Charmel*) a town in the mountainous country of Judah (Josh. xv. 55), familiar to us as the residence of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 2, 5, 7, 40), and the native place of David's favourite wife, "Abigail the Carmelitess" (1 Sam. xxvii. 3; 1 Chr. iii. 1). This was doubtless the Carmel at which Saul set up a "place" (מָקוֹם, i. e. literally a "hand;" comp. 2 Sam. xviii. 18, "Absalom's place," where the same word is used) after his victory over Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 12). And this Carmel, and not the northern mount, must have been the spot at which king Uziah had his vineyards (2 Chr. xxvi. 10). In the time of Eusebius and Jerome it was the seat of a Roman garrison (*Onomasticon*, Carmelus). The place appears in the wars of the Crusades, having been held by king Amalrich against Saladin in 1172. The ruins of the town, now *Karmul*, still remain at ten miles below Hebron in a slightly S.E. direction, close to those of *Mitha* (Maon), *Zif* (Ziph), and other places named with Carmel in Josh. xv. 55. They are described both by Robinson (i. 494-8) and by Van de Velde (ii. 77-79), and appear to be of great extent. Conspicuous among them is a castle of great strength, in the walls of which are still to be seen the large bevelled masonry characteristic of Jewish buildings. There is also a very fine and large reservoir. This is mentioned in the account of king Amalrich's occupation of the place, and now gives the castle its name of *Kasr el-Birkeh* (Van de Velde, ii. 78). [G.]

CARMÍ (כַּרְמִי; Καρμί; *Charmi*). 1. A man of the tribe of Judah, father of Achan, the "troubler of Israel" (Josh. vii. 1, 18; 1 Chr. ii. 7), according to the first two passages the son of Zabdi or Zimri. [ZABDI.] In 1 Chr. iv. 1 the name is given as that of a "son of Judah;" but the same

<sup>d</sup> But this knoll appears, from the description of Van de Velde (i. 330), and from his new map (Dec. 1858), the only one in which it is marked, to be too far off.

<sup>e</sup> This cloud is treated in the formularies of the Roman Catholic Church as a type of the Virgin Mary. (See Mislin, ii. p. 45, and *Breviarium Rom.* July 16.)

person is probably intended; because (1) no son of Judah of that name is elsewhere mentioned; and (2) because, out of the five names who in this passage are said to be "sons" of Judah, none but Pharez are strictly in that relation to him. Hezron is the 2nd generation, Hur the 4th, and Shobal the 6th.

2. The 4th son of Reuben, progenitor of the family of THE CARMITES (כַּרְמִיתִים) (Gen. xlii. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xvi. 6; 1 Chr. v. 3). [G.]

CARNA'IM (Καρναῖν; Alex. *Karpvelv*; *Carnilia*), a large and fortified city in the country east of Jordan—"the land of Galaad;" containing a "temple" (τὸ τέμενος ἐν Κ.). It was besieged and taken by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44). Under the name of CARNION (τὸ Καρνίον) the same occurrence is related in 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26, the temple being called the ATARGATEION (τὸ Ἀταργατεῖον). This enables us to identify it with ASITEKION-KARNAIM. [G.]

CARN'ION. [CARNAIM.]

CARPENTER. [HANDICRAFT.]

CARPUS (Κάρπος; on the accentuation, see Wiener's Grammar, 6th ed. p. 49), a Christian at Troas, with whom St. Paul states that he left a cloak (2 Tim. iv. 13); on which of his journeys it is uncertain, but probably in passing through Asia Minor after his first captivity, for the last time before his martyrdom at Rome. According to Hippolytus, Carpus was bishop of Berytus in Thrace, called *Berrhoea* in the *Synopsis de Vita et Morte Prophetarum*, which passes under the name of Dorotheus of Tyre. [H. A.]

CARRIAGE. This word occurs only six times in the text of the A. V., and it may be useful to remind the reader that in none of these does it bear its modern sense, but signifies what we now call "baggage." The Hebrew words so rendered are three. 1. כְּלִי, *c'le*, generally translated "stuff" or "vessels." It is like the Greek word *σκεῦος*; and in its numerous applications perhaps answers most nearly to the English word "things." This word, rendered "carriage," occurs in 1 Sam. xvii. 22—"David left his 'baggage' in the hands of the keeper of the 'baggage'"; also Is. x. 28—"At Michmash he hath left his 'baggage'."

2. כְּבִידִה, *Cebudih*, "heavy matters," Judg. xviii. 21 only, though perhaps the word may bear a signification of "preciousness," which is sometimes attached to the root, and may allude to the newly acquired treasures of the Danites (LXX. Alex. *τὴν κτήνην τὴν ἐνδοξον*).

3. The word rendered "carriages" in Is. xlii. 1 should, it would appear (Ges. *Thes.* 917 b; *Jesaja*, ii. 101), be "your burdens."

4. In the N. T., Acts xxi. 15, "we took up our carriages" is the rendering of *ἐπισκευασμένοι*, and here also the meaning is simply "baggage" (Jer. *praeparati*).

5. But in the margin of 1 Sam. xvii. 20, and xxvi. 5, 7—and there only—"carriage" is employed in the sense of a wagon or cart; the "place of the carriage" answering to "trench" in the text. The Hebrew word is מַעְגָּל, from עָגְלָה, a wagon, and the allusion is to the circle of wagons which surrounded the encampment (Ges. *Thes.* 989).

For carriages in the modern sense, see CART; CHARIOT. [G.]

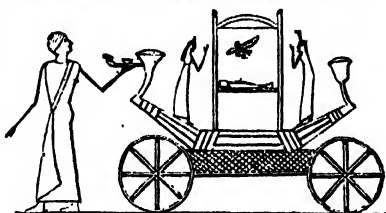
CARSHENA (כַּרְשֵׁנָא; LXX. omits; *Char-sena*), one of the seven princes (שֵׁנִים) of Persia and Media who "saw the king's face, and sat the first in the kingdom" of Ahasuerus (Est. i. 14). A similar name, *Carshen*, is found in modern Persian. For other derivations from the ancient dialects of Persia, see Gesenius, 717.

CART (עֲגָלָה; *ēmaḡa*; *plaustrum*; also rendered "wagon," Gen. xlv. 19, 27; Num. vii. 3, 7, 8; from עָגַל, *roll*, Ges. p. 989), a vehicle drawn by cattle (2 Sam. vi. 6), to be distinguished from the chariot drawn by horses. [CHARIOT.] Carts and wagons were either open or covered (Num. vii. 3), and were used for conveyance of persons (Gen. xlv. 19), burdens (1 Sam. vi. 7, 8), or produce (Am. ii. 13). As there are no roads in Syria and Palestine and the neighbouring countries, wheel-carriages for any purpose except conveyance of agricultural produce are all but unknown; and though modern usage has introduced European carriages drawn by horses into Egypt, they were unknown there also in times comparatively recent. (Stanley, *S. & P.* 135; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 339; Lynch, *Narrative*, 75, 84; Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 123; Layard, *Nin.* ii. 75; Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, 2nd series, 77.) The only cart used in Western Asia has two wheels of solid wood (Olearius, *Travels*, 418; Sir R. Porter, *Travels*, ii. 533). For the machine used for threshing in Egypt and Syria, see THRESHING. But in the monuments of ancient Egypt representations are found of carts



Egyptian cart with two wheels. (Wilkinson.)

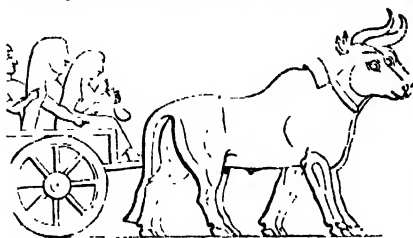
with two wheels, having four or six spokes, used for carrying produce, and of one used for religious purposes having four wheels with eight spokes. A



Egyptian cart with four wheels. (Wilkinson.)

bas-relief at Nineveh represents a cart having two wheels with eight spokes, drawn by oxen, conveying female captives; and others represent carts captured from enemies with captives, and also some used in carrying timber and other articles (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 396, *Nin. & Bab.* 134, 447, 583, *Mon. of Bab.* pt. ii. pls. 12, 17). Four-wheeled carriages

are said by Pliny (*N. H.* vii. 56) to have been invented by the Phrygians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt. Abridgm.* i. 384, 385; ii. 39, 47). The carts



Aegyrian cart drawn by oxen (Layard, ii. 396)

used in India for conveying goods, called Suggur or Huckeri, have two wheels, in the former case of solid wood, in the latter with spokes. They are drawn by oxen harnessed to a pole (Capper, *India*, pp. 346, 352). [H. W. P.]



Modern Indian cart

**CARVING.** 1. **מַקְלָעַת**, *carved work in relief*, **מַקְלָע**, *carve*; in pl. **מַקְלָעוֹת**, *carved figures*. 2. **חֲרָטוֹת**, from **חָרַט**, *carve* = **χαράσσω**. 3. **מַטְקָה**, participle in Pual of **חָקַה** (not used) **חָקַק**, *cut, delineate: engraved, or carved (work)*, 1 K. vi. 35. 4. **פְּתוּחָה**, *carved work*, from **פָּתַח**, *open*, applied to wood, 1 K. vii. 36; to gems, Ex. xxviii. 9, 36; 2 Chr. ii. 6, 13; to stone, Zech. iii. 9; **γλυφά**, **γλύμμα**, **ἐγκολαπτόν**; *cutlature*.

The arts of carving and engraving were much in request in the construction both of the Tabernacle and the Temple (Ex. xxxi. 2, 5, xxxv. 33; 1 K. vi. 18, 35; Ps. lxxiv. 6), as well as in the ornamentation of the priestly dresses (Ex. xxviii. 9-36; Zech. iii. 9; 2 Chr. ii. 6, 14). In Solomon's time Huram the Phœnician had the chief care of this as of the larger architectural works. [H. W. P.]

**CASIPH'IA** (**קַסְיָפְיָה**; *ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου*; *Chapri*), a place of uncertain site on the road between Babylon and Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 17). Neither the Caspiae Pylae nor the city *Kasuin*, with which some writers have attempted to identify it, are situated upon this route. (Gesen. *Thes.* 703.)

**CAS'LEU** (**Κασσαῖ**; *Casleu*), 1 Mac. i. 54; iv. 52, 59; 2 Mac. i. 9, 18; x. 5. [**CUSLEU**; **MONTHIS**.]

**CAS'LUIHIM** (**קַסְלִיחִים**; *Κασσαριῖται*; *Chasulim*), a Mizraite people or tribe (Gen. x. 14; 1 Chr. i. 12). In both passages in which this word occurs, it would appear, as the text now stands, as if the Philistines came forth from the Casulim, and not from the Caphtorim, as is elsewhere expressly stated: here therefore there would seem to be a transposition [**CAPHTOR**]. The only clue we have as yet to the position of the Casulim is their place in the list of the sons of Mizraim between the Pathrusim and the Caphtorim, whence it is probable that they were seated in Upper Egypt [**P'ATHROS**; **CAPHTOIR**]. The LXX. seem to identify them with the **קַסְלִיחִים** of Ps. lxxviii. 31 (A. V. "princes"), which some, though not the LXX. in that place, take to be a proper name, and compare with the native civil name of Hieropolis Magna. This would place the Casulim in the Heptanomis [**HASHIMANNIM**]. Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. 31) suggests the identity of the Casulim and the Colchians, who are said to have been an Egyptian colony (Herod. ii. 104; Diod. Sic. i. 28), but this story and the similarity of name (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.) do not seem sufficient to render the supposition a probable one. Gesenius, however, gives it his support (*Thes.* i. c.). Forster conjectures the Casulim to be the inhabitants of Cassiotis, the tract in which is the slight elevation called Mount Casius (Epp. ad Michaelis, p. 16 sq.). Bunsen assumes this to be proved (*Bibelwerk*, p. 26). There is, however, a serious difficulty in the way of this supposition—the nature of the ground, a low littoral tract of rock, covered with shifting and even quick sand, like the neighbouring "Serbian bog," and which we cannot suppose ever to have supported much animal or vegetable life, far less a whole people or tribe. [R. S. P.]

**CASPION** (**Κασπών**; Alex. **Κασπώθ**), 1 Mac. v. 36. [**CASPIOR**.]

**CASPIOR** (**Κασπώρ**; *Cuspor*), one of the fortified cities in the "land of Galad" (1 Mac. v. 26), in which the Jews took refuge from the Ammonites under Timotheus (comp. ver. 6), and which with other cities was taken by Judas Maccabaeus (v. 36). In the latter passage the name is given as **CASPIOR**, and in 2 Mac. xii. 13 as **CASPIS**, if indeed the same place is referred to, which is not quite clear (see Ewald iv. 359 note). [G.]

**CASPIS** (**Κάσπις**; *Casphin*), a strong fortified city—whether east or west of Jordan is not plain—having near it a lake (**λίμνη**) two stadia in breadth. It was taken by Judas Maccabaeus with great slaughter (2 Mac. xii. 13, 16). The parallel history of the 1st Book of Maccabees mentions a city named **CASPIOR** or **CASPHON**, with which Caspis may be identical—but the narratives differ materially. [G.]

**CASSIA** (**קַסְיָה**, **קַסְיָהוֹת**; *κασία*; Gen. **קַסְיָה**, *κασία*; *cassia, stacte*). Cassia is mentioned in Ex. xxx. 24, among the ingredients of the holy oil of anointing; and in Ez. xxvii. 19, as one of the articles of merchandize in the markets of Tyre. In Is. xlv. 8, it is mentioned in connexion with myrrh and aloes as being used to scent garments with.

Cassia is the rind of an aromatic plant somewhat like cinnamon, but not of so fine and sweet a flavour. It is mentioned frequently by ancient writers. (Theophrast. *Hist. Pl.* ix. 5; Plin. xii. 19; Dioscor. i. 12.) Dioscorides mentions a kind of cassia called **καττώ**, a Syriac form of **קַסְיָה**. The root of **קַסְיָה**

is קָרַךְ, to cut or split. The name was given to this plant because of the splitting of its stalks. (Schleiss. *Les. V. T. κασάλα*.) The shrub is said to grow in India and Arabia. It is not the *Laurus cassia* of Malabar; for this is only a wild species of the *Cinnamom Ceylonicum*. קָצִיעוֹת, pl. of קָצִיעָה, is from the root קָצַץ, to abrade the bark, and would seem to be the same plant or bark as קָרַךְ; possibly some preparation of it in a form suitable for scenting garments. [W. D.]

### CASTLE. [FORTIFICATIONS.]

**CASTOR AND POLLUX**, the Dioscuri (Διοσκούροι, Acts xviii. 11). For the mythology of these two heroes, the twin-sons of Jupiter and Leda, we must refer to the *Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.* We have here to do with them only so far as they were connected with seafaring life. They were regarded as the tutelary divinities (Θεοὶ σωτῆρες) of sailors. They appeared in heaven as the constellation of *Gemini*. Immediately on ship-board they were recognised in the phosphoric lights, called by modern Italian sailors the fires of *St. Elmo*, which play about the masts and the sails ("In magna tempestate apparent quasi stellae velo insidentes: adjuvari se tunc periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine," Senec. *Nat. Quaes.* i. 1; comp. *Plin.* ii. 37). Hence the frequent allusions of Roman poets to these divinities in connexion with navigation (see especially Hor. *Carm.* i. 3. 2, "fratres Helenae, lucida sidera," and iv. 8. 31). As the ship mentioned here by St. Luke was from Alexandria, it may be worth while to notice that Castor and Pollux were specially honoured in the neighbouring district of Cyrenaica (*Schol. Pind. Pyth.* v. 6). In Catull. iv. 27, we have distinct mention of a boat dedicated to them. See also *lxxviii. 65*. In art these divinities were sometimes represented simply as stars hovering over a ship, but more frequently as young men on horseback, with conical caps, and stars above them (see the coins of Rhegium, a city of Bruttii, at which St.



Silver coin of Bruttii. Obv.: Heads of Castor and Pollux to right. Rev.: i. Castor and Pollux mounted, advancing to right. In the exergue BPEITION.

Paul touched on the voyage in question, v. 13). Such figures were probably painted or sculptured at the bow of the ship (hence *παράσημον*; see *Dict. of Antiq.* art. *Insigne*). This custom was very frequent in ancient shipbuilding. Herodotus says (iii. 37) that the Phoenicians used to place the figures of deities at the bow of their vessels. Virgil (*Aen.* x. 209) and Ovid (*Trist.* i. 10, 2) supply us with illustrations of the practice; and Cyril of Alexandria (*Cramer's Catenae*, ad l. c.) says that such was always the Alexandrian method of ornamenting each side of the prow. [SHIP.] [J. S. H.]

**CAT** (αἰλῦρος; *catta*). This animal is mentioned only in Bar. vi. 22, as among those which defile the gods of the heathen with impunity. The

etymology of αἰλῦρος given by P'havorinus, παρὰ τὸ ἀλλεῖν τὴν οὐράν, i. e. from moving the tail, agrees with the habit of the cat. Martial (xiii. 69) says—

"Pannonicas nobis nunquam dedit Umbria cattas;"

this being the only mention of *catta* in classical writers. Bochart thinks that by the word צִיִּים, in Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, Jer. l. 39, and Ps. lxxiv. 14, some species of cats are meant; but this is very doubtful. [W. D.]

### CATERPILLAR. [LOCUST.]

**CATHUA** (Καθούα; *Canna*), 1 Esd. v. 30. Apparently answers to GIDDEL in Hebrew text.

**CAVE** (קֶוֶר; סֶחָלֶיִם; *spelunca*; in A. V. Is. ii. 19, *hole*; Jer. vii. 11, *den*; Josh. xiii. 4, *literatim*, *Meurah*; *Maura*, Vulg.). I. The chalky lime-stone of which the rocks of Syria and Palestine chiefly consist presents, as is the case in all limestone formations, a vast number of caverns and natural fissures, many of which have also been artificially enlarged and adapted to various purposes both of shelter and defence. (Page, *Text-Book of Geology*, p. 141; Kitzo, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* p. 72.) This circumstance has also given occasion to the use of so large a number of words as are employed in the Scriptures to denote caves, holes, and fissures, some of them giving names to the towns and places and their neighbourhood. Out of them, besides No. 1., may be selected the following:—

II. קוֹר or קוֹרָה (Ges. p. 458), a *hole*; usually *τρώγλη*, and *caverna*. From this come (a), קוֹרֵי, *dweller in caves*, the name of the Horites of Mount Seir, *Wady Ghwyer*, expelled by the Edomites, probably alluded to by Job, a Tioglodyte race spoken of by Strabo. (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 21; Deut. ii. 12; Job xxx. 6; Strab. i. 42, xvi. 775-776; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 410; Robinson, ii. 69, 157; Stanley, *S. & P.* §§68-71.) [HORITES.] (b) קוֹרָה, *land of caverns* (Ez. xlvii. 16, 18; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 110, 286); *Αβανίτις*, LXX.; *Auran*, Vulg. [HAUKAN.] (c) בֵּית־חֹרֶן, *house of caverns*, the two towns of Beth-horon (Josh. xvi. 3, 5). [BETH-HORON.] (d) חֹרְנִים, *two caverns*, the town Horonaim (Is. xv. 5). [HORONAIM.]

III. חֲתָיִים, *places of refuge in rocks* (Ges. 445) for birds, Cant. ii. 14; *σκέπη*; *foramina petrae*, Obad. 3; *δωλ*; *scissurae petrarum*; A. V. *clefts*.

IV. סֶחָלֶיִם; *τρύμαλα*; *antrum*; A. V. *den*; a ravine through which water flows (Ges. 858), Judg. vi. 2.

The caves of Syria and Palestine are still used, either occasionally or permanently, as habitations; as at *Anab*, near *Szalt*, Ramoth-Gilead (Buckingham, *Travels in Syria*, 62). The shepherds near Hebron leave their villages in the summer to dwell in caves and ruins, in order to be nearer to their flocks and fields (Robinson, i. 212). Almost all the habitations at *Om-kais*, Gadara, are caves (Burckhardt, p. 273). An extensive system of caves exists at *Beit Jibrin*, Eleutheropolis, in Judah, which has served for residence or concealment, though now disused (Robinson, ii. 53); and another between Bethlehem and Hebron (Irby and Mangles, 103).

The most remarkable caves noticed in Scripture

are:—1. That in which Lot dwelt after the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 30). 2. The cave of Machpelah (xxiii. 17). 3. Cave of Makkedah (Josh. x. 16). 4. Cave of Adullam (1 Sam. xxii. 1). 5. Cave of Engedi (xxiv. 3). 6. Obadiah's cave (1 K. xviii. 4). 7. Elijah's cave in Horeb (xix. 9). 8, 9. The rock sepulchres of Lazarus, and of our Lord (John xi. 38; Matt. xxvii. 60). Some of these may be identified, and to others approximate, if not absolutely identical, sites may be assigned. Thus the existing caverns near the S.E. end of the Dead Sea serve fully to justify the mention of a cave as the place of Lot's retirement; as those on the W. side agree both in situation and in name with the caves of Engedi (Lynch, *Narrative*, 234; Robinson, i. 500; Stanley, 296). The cave of Machpelah undoubtedly lies beneath the mosque at Hebron (Robinson, ii. 79; Stanley, 149; Benj. of Tudela, *Early Trav.* 86). The cave of Makkedah can hardly be the one to which tradition has assigned the name (Irby and Mangles, p. 93); for though it is not necessary to suppose that the cave was close to the town of Makkedah, yet the situation of the great caverns both at *Beit Jibrin* and at *Deir Dubbân* in neither case agrees with that of Makkedah as given by Eusebius, eight miles from Eleutheropolis (Reland, 885; Robinson, ii. 23, 53; Stanley, 211). The site assigned by the same ancient authority to Adullam, 10 m. E. of Eleutheropolis, agrees as little with that of the cave believed by tradition to have been David's hiding-place, viz. in the *Wady Khireitân* at the S.E. of Bethlehem, which in some respects agrees with the Scripture narrative better than the neighbourhood of *Deir Dubbân*, assigned to it by Mr. Stanley. (See 1 Sam. xx. 6, and particularly xxii. 3, 4; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 12, §3; Reland, 549; Irby and Mangles, 103; Robinson, i. 482; Stanley, 259.)

The cave in which Obadiah concealed the prophets cannot now be identified, but it was probably in the northern part of the country, in which abundant instances of caves fit for such a purpose might be pointed out.

The sites of the cave of Elijah, as well as of the "cleft" of Moses on Mount Horeb (Ex. xxxiii. 22), are also obviously indeterminate; for though tradition has not only assigned a place for the former on Jebel Mûsa, and consecrated the spot by a chapel, there are caves on the competing summit of Serbâl, to one or other of which it might with equal probability be transferred. (Stanley, 49; Robinson, i. 103; Burckhardt, 608.)

Besides these special caves there is frequent mention in O. T. of caves as places of refuge. Thus the Israelites are said to have taken refuge from the Philistines in "holes" (1 Sam. xiv. 11): to which the name of the scene of Jonathan's conflict, *Mûhmas* (Michmas), sufficiently answers. (Stanley, 204; Rob. i. 440; Irby, 89.) So also in the time of Gideon they had taken refuge from the Midianites in dens and caves and strongholds, such as abound in the mountain region of Manasseh. (Judges vi. 2; Stanley, 341.)

Not only have the caves of Palestine afforded refuge from enemies, but during the earthquakes also, by which the country has been so often visited, the inhabitants have found in them a safe retreat. This was the case in the great convulsion of 1837, when *Safet* was destroyed; and to this mode of retreat the prophet Isaiah probably alludes (Is. ii. 10, 19, 21; Robinson, ii. 422; Stanley, 151).

But Adullam is not the only cave, nor were its

tenants the only instances of banditti making the caves of Palestine their accustomed haunt. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 15, §5) relates the manner in which, by order of Herod, a cave occupied by robbers, or rather insurgents, was attacked by soldiers let down from above in chests and baskets, from which they dragged forth the inmates with hooks, and killed or thrust them down the precipices; or, setting fire to their stores of fuel, destroyed them by suffocation. These caves are said to have been in Galilee, not far from Sepphoris; and are probably the same as those which Josephus himself, in providing for the defence of Galilee, fortified near Grennesuret, which elsewhere he calls the caves of Arbela (*B. J.* i. 16, §2-4, ii. 20, §6; *Vit.* §37). Bacchides, the general of Demetrius, in his expedition against Judæa, encamped at Messaloth, near Arbela, and reduced to submission the occupants of the caves (*Ant.* xii. 11, §1; 1 Mac. ix. 2). Messaloth is probably מִסְלֹת, *steps*, or *terraces* (comp. 2 Chr. ix. 11; Ges. 957.) The Messaloth of the book of Maccabees and the robber-caves of Arbela are thus probably identical, and are the same as the fortified cavern near *Madjdel* (Magdala), called *Kalaat Ibn Maam*, or Pigeon's Castle, mentioned by several travellers. They are said by Burckhardt to be capable of containing 600 men. (Reland, 358, 575; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 331; Irby and Mangles, 91; Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorus*. ii. 231; Robinson, ii. 398; Raumer, 108: comp. also Hos. x. 14.) [BETH-ARBEL.]

Josephus also speaks of the robber inhabitants of Trachonitis, who lived in large caverns, presenting no prominence above ground, but widely extended below (*Ant.* xv. 10, §1). These banditti annoyed much the trade with Damascus, but were put down by Herod. Strabo alludes very distinctly to this in his description of Trachonitis, and describes one of the caverns as capable of holding 4000 men (Strabo, xvi. 756; Raumer, 68; Jolliffe, *Travels in Pal.* i. 197).

Lastly, it was the caves which lie beneath and around so many of the Jewish cities that formed the last hiding-places of the Jewish leaders in the war with the Romans. Josephus himself relates the story of his own concealment in the caves of Jotapata; and after the capture of Jerusalem, John of Gischala, Simon, and many other Jews, endeavoured to conceal themselves in the caverns beneath the city; whilst in some of them great spoil and vast numbers of dead bodies were found of those who had perished during the siege by hunger or from wounds (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 8, §1, vi. 9, §4).

The rock dwellings and temples of Petra are described in a separate article.

Natural cavities in the rock were and are frequently used as cisterns for water, and as places of imprisonment (Is. xxiv. 22; Ez. xxii. 28; Zech. ix. 11) [CISTERN; PRISON]; also as stalls for horses and for granaries (Irby and Mangles, 146). No use, however, of rock caverns more strikingly connects the modern usages of Palestine and the adjacent regions with their ancient history than the employment of them as burial-places. The rocky soil of so large a portion of the Holy Land almost forbids interment, excepting in cavities either natural or hewn from the rock. The dwelling of the demoniac among the tombs is thus explained by the rock caverns abounding near the Sea of Galilee (Jolliffe, i. 36). Accordingly numerous sites are shown in Palestine and adjacent lands of (so-called) sepulchres of saints and heroes of Old and New Test., venerated

both by Christians and Mohammedans (*Early Travels*, p. 36; Stanley, 148). Among these may be mentioned the cave of Machpelah, the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor, of Joseph, and of Rachel, as those for which every probability of identity in site at least may be claimed (Irby and Mangles, 134; Robinson, i. 218, 219, ii. 275-287). More questionable are the sites of the tombs of Elisha, Obadiah, and John the Baptist, at Samaria; of Habakkuk at *Jebâtha* (Gabaatha), Micah near *Keila*, and of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, at Bethel (Stanley, 143, 149; Ireland, 772, 698, 981; Rob. ii. 304). The questions so much debated relating to the tombs in and near Jerusalem and Bethany will be found treated under those heads. But whatever value may belong to the connexion of the names of Judges, Kings, or Prophets, with the very remarkable rock-tombs near Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that the caves bearing these names are sepulchral caverns enlarged and embellished by art. The sides of the valley of Jehoshaphat are studded with caves, many of which are inhabited by Arab families. (Sandys, 188; Maundrell, 446; Robinson, i. 241, 349, 364; Bartlett, *Walks about Jerusalem*, 117.) It is no doubt the vast number of caves throughout the country, together with, perhaps, as Maundrell remarks, the taste for hermit life which prevailed in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, which has placed the sites of so many important events in caves and grottoes; e. g. the birth of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Salutation, the birth of the Baptist and of our Lord, the scene of the Agony, of St. Peter's denial, the composition of the Apostles' Creed, the Transfiguration (Shaw, pt. ii. c. 1; Maundrell, *E. T.* p. 479): and the like causes have created a traditionary cave-site for the altar of Elijah on Mount Carmel, and peopled its sides, as well as those of Mount Tabor, with hermit inhabitants. (1 K. xviii. 19; Irby and Mangles, 60; Ireland, 329; Winer, s. v. *Carmel*; Am. ix. 3; Sir J. Maundeville, *Travels*, 31; Sandys, 203; Maundrell, *E. T.* 478; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* 9; Stanley, 353; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr.* 30, 31; Van Egmont, *Travels*, ii. 5-7.) [H. W. P.]

**CEDAR** (עֵץ; ἄλδος; *cedrus*; from עָצָה, root of עָצָה, *coiled or compressed*, Gesen. p. 148). The term is expressive of a mighty and deeply rooted tree, and is usually understood to apply here to one of the coniferous kind, but not always to that which is commonly known as the Cedar of Lebanon.

The conditions to be fulfilled in order to answer all the descriptions in the Bible of a cedar-tree are that it should be tall (Is. ii. 13), spreading (Ez. xxxi. 3), abundant (1 K. v. 8, 10), fit for beams, pillars, and boards (1 K. vi. 10, 15, vii. 2), masts of ships (Ez. xxvii. 5), and for carved work as images (Is. xlv. 14). To these may be added qualities ascribed to cedar wood by profane writers. Pliny speaks of the cedar of Crete, Africa, and Syria as being most esteemed and imperishable. The same quality is ascribed also to juniper. In Egypt and Syria ships were built of cedar, and in Cyprus a tree was cut down 120 feet long and proportionately thick. The durability of cedar was proved, he says, by the duration of the cedar roof of the temple of Diana at Ephesus which had lasted 400 years. At Utica the beams, made of Numidian cedar, of a temple of Apollo had lasted 1178 years! Vitruvius speaks of the antiseptic properties of the oil of cedar and also of juniper (Plin. H. N. xiii.

5, xvi. 40; Vitruv. ii. 9; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, 2; Sandys, *Travels*, 166, 167).

Not only was cedar timber used by David and Solomon in their buildings (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 K. v. 6, vi. 15, vii. 2), but also in the 2nd Temple rebuilt under Zerubbabel, the timber employed was cedar from Lebanon (Ezr. iii. 7; 1 Esdr. iv. 48, v. 55). Cedar is also said by Josephus to have been used by Herod in the roof of his temple (*E. J.* v. 59 §2). The roof of the Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is said to have been of cedar, and that of the Church of the Virgin at Bethlehem to have been of cedar or cypress. (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 202; Quaresmius, *Eluc. Terr. Sanct.* vi. 12; Per. 2; Tobler, *Bethlehem*, 110, 112.)

Now in some important respects no tree but the cedar (*pinus cedrus*), or its almost equivalent, the *pinus Deodara*,<sup>a</sup> can answer the above conditions. The characteristics of these two trees, of which great numbers are found from Mount Taurus to the Himalayas, are so often interchanged that they are scarcely to be distinguished the one from the other. No tree is at once so lofty, spreading, and umbrageous, and the wood of the *Deodara* at least is extremely durable. The difficulties which are found in reconciling the ancient descriptions with the modern specimens of cedar wood lie, 1. in the fitness of cedar trees for masts of ships (Ez. xxvii. 5); 2. still more in the very general agreement as to the inferior quality of the timber which is usually described as less valuable than the worst sorts of deal. Of authorities quoted by Dr. Royle in his article on the subject in Dr. Kitto's *Cyclopaedia* (art. *Trees*), two only ascribe serviceable qualities to the cedar wood whether grown in England or in specimens brought from the ancient cedar grove on Mount Lebanon. Accordingly, Celsius in his *Hierobotanicon*, has endeavoured to prove that by the cedar of Scripture is meant the *pinus sylvestris* or Scotch fir, and that by "fir" is intended the cypress. Others have supposed that the *Sandarac* tree, the citrus of Pliny, *Calitris quadrivalvis*, or *Thuja articulata*, represents the cedar. The timber of this tree is extremely hard and durable; the roof of the mosque of Cordova, built in the 9th century, is constructed of it, which was formerly supposed from the Spanish name *alerce* to have been made of larch (Cook, *Sketches in Spain*, p. 5, and note; Fergusson, *Handb. of Arch.* i. 456). Besides these trees, the Cephalonian pine, the common yew, *taxus baccata*, and the juniper cedar, *cedrus baccifera*, or *oxycedrus*, each of them possesses qualities which answer to some at least of those ascribed to the cedar. The opinion of Celsius is founded in great measure on the use by the Arabs and Arabic writers of the word عَرَس, *arz*, evidently the equivalent of עָצָה, *eres*, to express the cedar of Lebanon, and also at Aleppo the *pinus sylvestris*, which is abundant both near that city and on Lebanon. A similar argument will apply also to the *Thuja articulata* of Mount Atlas, which is called by the Arabs *el-arz*, a name which led to the mistake as to the material of the Cordova roof from its similarity to the Spanish *alerce* (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, 131, &c., and *Questions*, xc. 169, &c.; Pliny,

<sup>a</sup> The difference between the Lebanon cedar and the *Deodara* consists chiefly in the cones, which in the latter grow in pairs, and upon stalks; the leaves also are longer and more distinctly 3-sided. The wood of both is extremely resinous.

*H. N.*, xiii. 11, 15; Kitto, *Eres, Thnja*; Hay, *West. Barb.* c. iv. 49; Gesen. 148, who rejects the opinion of Celsius; Winer, s. v.).

It may be observed, 1. that unsuccessful experiments on English-grown cedar, or on wood derived from the trees of the ancient cedar grove of Lebanon, do not as yet invalidate all claim of the cedar, whether Lebanon or Deodara cedar, to share in the qualities anciently ascribed to it. Besides the trees which belong to the one grove, known by the name of "the 'cedars,'" groves and green woods of cedar are found in other parts of the range (Buckingham, *Travels among Arabs*, p. 468; *Eng. Cycl.* s. v. *Syria*; Robinson, iii. 593; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 19; London, *Arboretum*, vol. iv. pp. 2406, 2407; Celsius, *Hierobotanicon*, i. 89; Belon, *Obs. de Arboresc. confertif.*, ii. pp. 162, 165, 166). 2. That it has been already shown that the Deodara cedar certainly possesses in a remarkable degree the property of durability, said to be wanting in the Lebanon cedar. But 3. The remains of wood used in the Ninveh palaces were supposed by Layard to be cedar, a supposition confirmed by the inscriptions, which show that the Assyrian kings imported cedar from Lebanon. This wood is now proved by microscopic examination to be yew (Layard, *N. and B.* pp. 356, 357; London, *n. s.* p. 2431).

In speaking therefore of cedar of Lebanon used in building for beams, pillars, or ceiling boards, it is probable that the wood of more than one tree was employed, but under the one name of cedar, and that the trees which furnished the material were besides the *pinus cedrus*, the *cedrus Deodara*, the *Law*, *taxus baccata*, and also the Scotch pine (*pinus sylvestris*). The Sandarac tree (*Thnja articulata*) is said by Van Egmont (*Travels*, ii. 280) to have been found on Lebanon, but no hint of importation of foreign timber is anywhere given in Scripture, or by Josephus, whilst each of the above-named trees grows there in greater or less abundance. The *pinus sylvestris* may have furnished the material of the ship-masts mentioned by Ezekiel; and it may be added, that the LXX. render "masts" in that passage by *ιστοὺς ἐλατίνους*, *nude of fir*, or *like fir*.

But there is another use of cedar wood mentioned in Scripture, viz. in purification (Lev. xiv. 4; Num. xix. 6). The term cedar is applied by Pliny to the lesser cedar, *oxycedrus*, a Phœnician juniper, which is still common on the Lebanon, and whose wood is aromatic. The wood or fruit of this tree was anciently burnt by way of perfume, especially at funerals (Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 1, 5; Or. *Fest.* ii. 558; Hom. *Od.* v. 60). The tree is common in Egypt and Nubia, and also in Arabia, in the Wady Mousa, where the greater cedar is not found. It is obviously likely that the use of the more common tree should be enjoined while the people were still in the wilderness, rather than of the uncommon (Shaw, *Travels*, 464; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 430; Russell, *Nubia*, 425).

The grove of trees known as the Cedars of Lebanon consists of about 400 trees, standing quite alone in a depression of the mountain with no trees near, about 6400 feet above the sea, and 3000 below the summit. About 11 or 12 are very large and old, 25 large, 50 of middle size, and more than 300 younger and smaller ones. The older trees have each several trunks and spread themselves widely round, but most of the others are of cone-like form and do not send out wide lateral branches. In 1550 there were 28 old trees, in 1739 Pococke counted 15, but the number of trunks makes the

operation of counting uncertain. They are regarded with much reverence by the native inhabitants as living records of Solomon's power, and the Maronite patriarch was formerly accustomed to celebrate there the festival of the Transfiguration at an altar of rough stones. Within the last 10 years a chapel has been erected (Robinson, iii. 590, 591; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 140). [H. W. P.]

**CEDRON**, 1. (ἡ Κεδρὼν; Alex. Κεδρώ; *Gedor*), a place fortified by Cenebæus under the orders of king Antiochus (Sidetes), as a station from which to command the roads of Judæa (1 Macc. xv. 39, 41, xvi. 9). It was not far from Jamnia (Jabne), or from Azotus (Ashdod), and had a winter-torrent or wady (χειμάρρους), on the eastward of it, which the army of the Maccabees had to cross before Cenebæus could be attacked (xvi. 5). These conditions are well fulfilled in the modern place *Katra* or *Kâtrah*, which lies on the maritime plain below the river *Rubin*, and three miles south-west of *Akir* (Ekron). Schwarz (119) gives the modern name as *Kudrân*—but this wants confirmation. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 390, note) suggests *Tell-Turnus*, five or six miles further south.

2. In this form is given in the N. T. the name of the brook Kidron (כִּדְרֹן נַחַל = "the black torrent") in the ravine below the eastern wall of Jerusalem (John xviii. 1, only). Beyond it was the garden of Gethsemane. Lachmann, with A D, has *χειμάρρους τοῦ Κεδρὼν*; but the Rec. Text with B has *τῶν Κεδρων*, i. e. "the brook of the cedars" (so too the LXX. in 2 Sam. xv. 23). Other MSS. have the name even so far corrupted as *τοῦ κεδροῦ, cedri*, and *τῶν δένδρων*. In English the name is often erroneously read (like Cephas, Cenchreæ, Chuza, &c.) with a soft C; but it is unnecessary to point out that it has no connexion with "Cedar." [KIDRON.] [G.]




**CEIL'AN** (Κεῖλαν; *Cuso*), sons of Ceilan and Azetas, according to 1 Esd. v. 15, returned with Zorobabel from Babylon. There are no names corresponding to these in the lists of Ezra or Nehemiah.

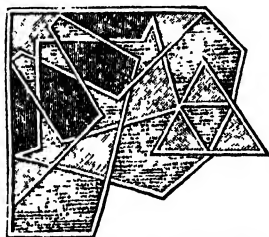
**CEILING** (ἱστῶς, from ἵσθμι; ἐκκοιστδόμησις, 1 K. vi. 9; to cover with rafters, Gesen. 965; Schleusner, *Lec. V. T. κοισστ.*, or ἡ ἱστῶς (Ez. xli. 16), a plank. The descriptions of Scripture (1 K. vi. 9, 15, vii. 3; 2 Chr. iii. 5, 9; Jer. xxii. 14; Hag. i. 4), and of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3, §2—9, xv. 11, §5), show that the ceilings of the Temple and the palaces of the Jewish kings were formed of cedar planks applied to the beams or joints crossing from wall to wall, probably with sunk panels (*φανώματα*), edged and ornamented with gold, and carved with incised or other patterns (*βαθυτέλοις γλυφαῖς*, sometimes painted (Jer. xxii. 14).

It is probable that both Egyptian and Assyrian models were in this as in other branches of architectural construction, followed before the Roman period. [ARCHITECTURE.] The construction and designs of Assyrian ceilings in the more important buildings can only be conjectured (Layard, *Ninveh*, ii. 265, 289), but the proportions in the walls themselves answer in a great degree to those mentioned in Scripture (*Nin. and Bab.* 642; Ferguson, *Handbook of Architecture*, i. 201). Examples, however, are extant, of Egyptian ceilings in stucco painted with devices, of a date much earlier than that of Solomon's Temple. Of these

devices the principal are the guilloche, the chevron, and the scroll. Some are painted in blue with stars, and others bear representations of birds and other emblems (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 290). The excessive use of vermilion and other glaring colours in Roman house-painting, of which Vitruvius at a later date complains (vii. 5), may have been introduced from Egypt, whence also came in all probability the taste for vermilion painting shown in Jehoiakim's palace (Jer. xxii. 14; Am. iii. 15; Wilkinson, i. 19). See also the descriptions given by Athenæus (v. 196) of the tent of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the ship of Philopator (ib. 206), and of the so called sepulchres of the kings of Syria near Tyre, Hasselquist, 165.

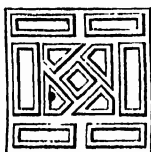
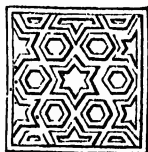
The panel work in ceilings, which has been described, is found in Oriental and North African dwellings of late and modern times. Shaw describes the ceilings of Moorish houses in Barbary as of wainscot, either "very artfully painted, or else thrown into a variety of panels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of the Koran intermixed" (*Travels*,

Blue   
Green   
Red 



Paneled ceiling from house in Cairo. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*.)

p. 208). Mr. Porter describes the ceilings of houses at Damascus as delicately painted, and in the more ancient houses with "arabesques encompassing panels of blue, on which are inscribed verses and chapters of the Koran in Arabic. Also a tomb at Palmyra, with a stone ceiling beautifully paneled and painted (*Damascus*, i. 34, 37, 57, 60, 232; cf. Deut. vi. 9; also Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 37, 38). Many of the rooms in the Palace of the Moors at the Alhambra were ceiled and ornamented with the richest geometrical patterns. These still remain, and restorations of them may be seen at the Alhambra Court of the Crystal Palace. The ancient Egyptians used coloured tiles in their build-



Paneled ceiling from house in Cairo. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*.)

ings (Athen. v. 206; Wilkinson, ii. 287). The like taste is observed by Chardin to have prevailed in

Persia, and he mentions beautiful specimens of mosaic, arabesque, and inlaid wood-work in ceilings at Isfahán, at Koom in the mosque of Fatma, and at Ardevil. These ceilings were constructed on the ground and hoisted to their position by machinery (Chardin, *Voyage*, ii. 434, iv. 126, vii. 387, viii. 40, plate 39; Olearius, p. 241). [H. W. P.]

## CELOSRYIA. [CORLESRYIA.]

**CEN'CHREA** (accurately **CENCHIREAE**, *Κενχρεαί*), the eastern harbour of Corinth (i. e. its harbour on the Saronic Gulf) and the emporium of its trade with the Asiatic shores of the Mediterranean, as Lechaëum (*Λευκαίη*) on the Corinthian Gulf connected it with Italy and the west. A line of walls extended from the citadel of Corinth to Lechaëum, and thus the pass of Cenchreæ was of peculiar military importance in reference to the approach along the Isthmus from Northern Greece to the Moera. [CORINTH.]

St. Paul sailed from Cenchreæ (Acts xviii. 18) on his return to Syria from his second missionary journey; and when he wrote his epistle to the Romans in the course of the third journey, an organised church seems to have been formed here (Rom. xvi. 1. See PHOEBE). The first bishop of this church is said (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46) to have been named Lucius, and to have been appointed by St. Paul.

The distance of Cenchreæ from Corinth was 70 stadia or about nine miles. Pausanias (ii. 3) describes the road as having tombs and a grove of cypresses by the wayside. The modern village of *Kikries* retains the ancient name, which is conjectured by Dr. Sibthorpe to be derived from the millet (*κένγκρι*), which still grows there (Walpole's *Travels*, p. 41). Some traces of the moles of the port are still visible (see Leake's *Moræa*, iii. pp. 233-235). The following coin exhibits the port exactly as it is described by Pausanias, with a temple at the extremity of each mole, and a statue of Neptune on a rock between them. [J. S. H.]



Corinthian Coin of Corinth. On the obverse the head of Antonine; on the reverse the port of Cenchreæ, with a temple at the extremity of each mole, and a statue of Neptune on a rock between them.

**CENDEBE'US** (accurately **CENDEBAEUS**, *Κενδεβαίος*), a general left by Antiochus VII. in command of the sea-board of Palestine (1 Macc. xv. 38 ff.) after the defeat of Tryphon B.C. 138. He fortified Kedron and harassed the Jews for some time, but was afterwards defeated by Judas and John, the sons of Simon Maccabæus, with great loss (1 Macc. xvi. 1-10). [ANTIOCHUS VII.] [B. F. W.]

**CENSER** מְחַטֵּה; מְחַטֵּה; in LXX. mostly *μυστήριον*, but also *ὕλη* and *θυμιαστήριον*; *thuribulum*. The former of the Hebrew words (from *חָמַת*, to seize or lay hold of, especially of fire) seems used generally for any instrument to seize or hold burning coals, or to receive ashes, &c., such as

the appendages of the brazen altar and golden candlestick mentioned in Ex. xxv. 38, xxxvii. 23, in which senses it seems rendered by the LXX. by *θυσιαστήριον*, *θυσιαστήριον*, or perhaps *θυσιαστήριον*. It, however, generally bears the limited meaning which properly belongs to the second word, found only in the later books (e. g. 2 Chr. xvi. 19; Ez. viii. 11), (der. *תבואה*, incense), that, viz. of a small portable vessel of metal fitted to receive burning coals from the altar, and on which the incense for burning was sprinkled by the priest to whose office this exclusively belonged, who bore it in his hand, and with whose personal share in the most solemn ritual duties it was thus in close and vivid connexion (2 Chr. xxvi. 18; Luke i. 9). Thus "Korah and his company" were bidden to take "censers," with which in emulation of Aaron and his sons they had perhaps provided themselves\* (comp. Ez. viii. 11); and Moses tells Aaron to take "the censer" (not *a* as in A. V.), i. e. that of the sanctuary, or that of the High-priest, to stay the plague by atonement. The only distinct precepts regarding the use of the censer are found in Num. iv. 14, where among the vessels of the golden altar, i. e. of incense, "censers" are reckoned; and in Lev. xvi. 12, where we find that the High-priest was to carry it (here also it is "the" not "a censer" that he is ordered to "take") into the most holy place within the veil, where the "incense" was to be "put on the fire," i. e. on the coals in the censer, "before the Lord." This must have been on the Day of Atonement, for then only was that place entered. Solomon prepared "censers of pure gold" as part of the same furniture (1 K. vii. 50; 2 Chr. iv. 22). Possibly their general use may be explained by the imagery of Rev. viii. 3, 4,<sup>b</sup> and may have been to take up coals from the brazen altar, and convey the incense while burning to the "golden altar," or "altar of incense," on which it was to be offered morning and evening (Ex. xxx. 7, 8). So Uziah, when he was intending "to burn incense upon the altar of incense," took "a censer in his hand" (2 Chr. xxvi. 16, 19). The Mishna (Joma, iv. 4) mentions a silver censer which had a handle, and was fetched from some chamber where such utensils were kept (ib. v. 1, and Barthenora's comment); and was used to gather the coals from the altar, which were then transferred to a golden censer. On the great Day of Atonement, however, a golden one of finer standard (Tarnir, v. 5) was used throughout. The word *θυσιαστήριον* rendered "censer" in Hebr. ix. 4 probably means the "altar of incense."<sup>c</sup> [ALTAR.] (In Ugolini, vol. xi. a copious collection of authorities on the subject will be found; Sonneschmid *de Thym. Sanct.* is referred to by Winer, s. v. *Rauchfass.*) [H. H.]

**CENSUS** (*מפקדון*, or *מפקד*, *numbering combined with lustration*, from *מפקד*, *survey in order to purge*, Gesen. 1120; LXX., *ἀριθμός*; N. T.,

*ἀπογραφὴ*; *dimuneratio, descriptio*). I. Moses laid down the law (Ex. xxx. 12, 13) that whenever the people were numbered, an offering of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a shekel should be made by every man above 20 years of age, by way of atonement or propitiation. A previous law had also ordered that the firstborn of man and of beast should be set apart, as well as the first fruits of agricultural produce; the first to be redeemed, and the rest with one exception offered to God (Ex. xiii. 12, 13, xxii. 29). The idea of lustration in connexion with numbering predominated also in the Roman census (*Dict. of Antiq. LUSTRUM*), and among Mohammedan nations at the present day a prejudice exists against numbering their possessions, especially the fruits of the field (Hay, *Western Barbary*, p. 15; Crichton, *Arabia*, ii. 180; see also Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, ii. 72, 73). The instances of numbering recorded in the O. T. are as follows:—

1. Under the express direction of God (Ex. xxxviii. 26), in the 3rd or 4th month after the Exodus during the encampment at Sinai, chiefly for the purpose of raising money for the Tabernacle. The numbers then taken amounted to 603,550 men, which may be presumed to express with greater precision the round numbers of 600,000 who are said to have left Egypt at first (Ex. xii. 37).

2. Again, in the 2nd month of the 2nd year after the Exodus (Num. i. 2, 3). This census was taken for a double purpose (a.) to ascertain the number of fighting men from the age of 20 to 50 (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 12, §4). The total number on this occasion, exclusive of the Levites, amounted at this time also to 603,550 (Num. ii. 32). Josephus says 603,650; each tribe was numbered, and placed under a special leader, the head of the tribe. (b.) To ascertain the amount of the redemption offering due on account of all the firstborn both of persons and cattle. Accordingly the numbers were taken of all the firstborn male persons of the whole nation above one month old, including all of the tribe of Levi of the same age. The Levites, whose numbers amounted to 22,000, were taken in lieu of the firstborn males of the rest of Israel, whose numbers were 22,273, and for the surplus of 273 a money payment of 1365 shekels, or 5 shekels each, was made to Aaron and his sons (Num. iii. 39, 51). If the numbers in our present copies, from which those given by Josephus do not materially differ, be correct, it seems likely that these two numberings were in fact one, but applied to different purposes. We can hardly otherwise account for the identity of numbers even within the few months of interval (Culmet on Num. i. *Pictorial Bible*, *ibid.*). It may be remarked that the system of appointing head men in each tribe as leaders, as well as the care taken in preserving the pedigrees of the families corresponds with the practice of the Arab tribes at the present day (Crichton, *Arabia*, ii. 185, 186; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, 14; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, 88;

\* Gesenius s. v. *מפקדון* seems to prefer the general meaning of "fire-shovel" in this passage; but, from Num. xvi. 17, it was probably the same fashion of thing as that used by Aaron in the priestly function. Nor, as the rebellion was evidently a deliberately concerted movement, is there any difficulty in supposing the amount of preparation suggested in the text.

<sup>b</sup> The word for censer here is *λαβανον*, from the *λαβαν* of Matt. ii. 11; in Rev. v. 8, *φιάλας* is used apparently to mean the same vessel.

<sup>c</sup> This word undeniably bears this sense in Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 8, 3, who gives it similarly the epithet *χρυσόν*; as also in Philo. *de vit. Mos.* p. 668, ed. Paris. It thus becomes = *θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος*, the expression for the same thing in LXX., Ex. xxx. 1, but its simpler meaning is merely that of an "instrument for the *θυμίαμα* (incense)," and thus, either censer, or incense altar. See also 1 Mac. i. 21, 22.

Jahn, *Hist.* Book ii. 8, 11; Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, xiv. 157, 159).

3. Another numbering took place 38 years afterwards, previous to the entrance into Canaan, when the total number, excepting the Levites, amounted to 601,730 males, showing a decrease of 1870. All tribes presented an increase except the following, Reuben, of 2770; Simeon, 37,100; Gad, 5150; Ephraim and Naphtali 8000 each. The tribe of Levi had increased by 727 (Num. xxvi.). The great diminution which took place in the tribe of Simeon may probably be assigned to the plague consequent on the misconduct of Zimri (Calmet, *on Num.* xxv. 9). On the other hand, the chief instances of increase are found in Manasseh of 20,500; Benjamin, 10,200; Asher, 11,800, and Issachar, 9900. None were numbered at this census who had been above 20 years of age at the previous one in the 2nd year, excepting Caleb and Joshua (Num. xxvi. 63-65).

4. The next formal numbering of the whole people was in the reign of David, who in a moment of presumption, contrary to the advice of Joab, gave orders to number the people without requiring the statutable offering of  $\frac{1}{3}$  a shekel. The men of Israel above 20 years of age were 800,000, and of Judah 500,000, total 1,300,000. The book of Chron. gives the numbers of Israel 1,100,000, and of Judah 470,000, total 1,570,000; but informs us that Levi and Benjamin were not numbered (1 Chr. xxi. 6, xxvii. 24). Josephus gives the numbers of Israel and Judah respectively 900,000 and 400,000 (2 Sam. xxiv. 1, 9; and Calmet, *ad loc.*; 1 Chr. xxi. 1, 5, xxvii. 24; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 13, §1).

5. The census of David was completed by Solomon, by causing the foreigners and remnants of the conquered nations resident within Palestine to be numbered. Their number amounted to 153,600, and they were employed in forced labour on his great architectural works (Josh. ix. 27; 1 K. v. 15, ix. 20, 21; 1 Chr. xxii. 2; 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18).

Between this time and the Captivity, mention is made of the numbers of armies under successive kings of Israel and Judah, from which may be gathered with more or less probability, and with due consideration of the circumstances of the times as influencing the numbers of the levies, estimates of the population at the various times mentioned.

6. Rehoboam (B.C. 975-958) collected from Judah and Benjamin 180,000 men to fight against Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 21).

7. Abijam (958-955), with 400,000 men, made war on Jeroboam with 800,000, of whom 500,000 were slain (2 Chr. xiii. 3, 17).

8. Asa (955-914) had an army of 300,000 men from Judah, and 280,000 (Josephus says 250,000) from Benjamin, with which he defeated Zerah the Ethiopian, with an army of 1,000,000 (2 Chr. xiv. 8, 9; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, 1).

9. Jehoshaphat (914-891), besides men in garrisons, had under arms 1,160,000 men, including perhaps subject foreigners (2 Chr. xvii. 14-19; Jahn, *Hist.* v. 37).

10. Amaziah (838-811) had from Judah and Benjamin 300,000, besides 100,000 mercenaries from Israel (2 Chr. xxv. 5, 6).

11. Uzziah (811-759) could bring into the field 307,500 men (307,000, Josephus), well armed, under 2600 officers (2 Chr. xxvi. 11-15; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, §3).

Besides these more general statements, we have

other and partial notices of numbers indicating population. Thus, a. Gideon from 4 tribes collected 32,000 men (Judg. vi. 35, vii. 3). b. Jephthah put to death 42,000 Ephraimites (Judg. xii. 6). The numbers of Ephraim 300 years before were 32,500 (Num. xxvi. 37). c. Of Benjamin 25,000 were slain at the battle of Gibeah, by which slaughter, and that of the inhabitants of its cities, the tribe was reduced to 600 men. Its numbers in the wilderness were 45,600 (Num. xxvi. 41; Judg. xx. 35, 46). d. The number of those who joined David after Saul's death, besides the tribe of Issachar, was 340,922 (1 Chr. xii. 23-38). e. At the time when Jehoshaphat could muster 1,160,000 men, Ahab in Israel could only bring 7000 against the Syrians (1 K. xx. 15). f. The numbers carried captive to Babylon B.C. 599 from Judah, are said (2 K. xxiv. 14, 16) to have been from 8000 to 10,000, by Jeremiah 4600 (Jer. hi. 30).

12. The number of those who returned with Zerubbabel in the first caravan is reckoned at 42,360 (Ezr. ii. 64); but of these perhaps 12,542 belonged to other tribes than Judah and Benjamin. It is thus that the difference between the total (v. 64) and the several details is to be accounted for. The purpose of this census, which does not materially differ from the statement in Nehemiah (Neh. vii.), was to settle with reference to the year of Jubilee the inheritances in the Holy Land, which had been disturbed by the Captivity, and also to ascertain the family genealogies, and ensure, as far as possible, the purity of the Jewish race (Ezr. ii. 59, x. 2, 8, 18, 44; Lev. xxv. 10).

In the second caravan, B.C. 458, the number was 1496. Women and children are in neither case included (Ezr. viii. 1-14).

It was probably for kindred objects that the pedigrees and enumerations which occupy the first 9 chapters of the 1st book of Chronicles, were either composed before the Captivity, or compiled afterwards from existing records by Ezra and others (1 Chr. iv. 28, 32, 39, v. 9, vi. 57, 81, vii. 28, ix. 2). In the course of these we meet with notices of the numbers of the tribes, but at what periods is uncertain. Thus Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh are set down at 44,760 (v. 18), Issachar at 87,000 (vii. 5), Benjamin 59,434 (vii. 7, 9, 11), Asher 26,000 (vii. 40). Besides there are to be reckoned priests, Levites, and residents at Jerusalem from the tribes of Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh (ix. 3).

Throughout all these accounts two points are clear. 1. That great pains were taken to ascertain and register the numbers of the Jewish people at various times for the reasons mentioned above. 2. That the numbers given in some cases can with difficulty be reconciled with other numbers of no very distant date, as well as with the presumed capacity of the country for supporting population. Thus the entire male population above 20 years of age, excepting Levi and Benjamin, at David's census, is given as 1,300,000 or 1,570,000 (2 Sam. xxiv. 1; 1 Chr. xxi.), strangers 153,600, total 1,453,600 or 1,723,000. These numbers (the excepted tribes being borne in mind) represent a population of not less than 4 times this amount, or at least, 5,814,000, of whom not less than 2,000,000 belonged to Judah alone (2 Sam. xxiv. 9). About 100 years after Jehoshaphat was able to gather from Judah and Benjamin (including subject foreigners) an army of 1,160,000 besides garrisons, representing a population of 4,640,000. Fifty years later,

Amaziah could only raise 300,000 from the same 2 tribes, and 27 years after this, Uzziah had 307,500 men and 2600 officers. Whether the number of the foreigners subject to Jehoshaphat constitutes the difference at these periods must remain uncertain.

To compare these estimates with the probable capacity of the country, the whole area of Palestine, including the trans-Jordanic tribes, so far as it is possible to ascertain their limits, may be set down as not exceeding 11,000 square miles; Judah and Benjamin at 3135, and Galilee at 930 sq. miles. The population, making allowance for the excepted tribes, would thus be not less than 530 to the square mile. Now the population of Belgium in 1850 was 4,426,202, or at the rate of 388 to the sq. mile, the area being about 11,400 sq. miles. The area of the kingdom of Saxony is 5752 sq. miles, and its population in 1852 was 1,987,832, or an average of 345½, but in some districts 500, to the sq. mile. The counties of Yorkshire, Westmoreland (the least populous county in England), and Lancashire, whose united area is 8642 sq. miles, contained in 1852 a population of 3,850,215, or rather more than 445 to the sq. mile; while the county of Lancashire alone gave 1064 persons, the West Riding of Yorkshire 496, and Warwickshire 539 to the sq. mile. The island of Barbadoes contains about 166 sq. miles, and in 1850 contained a population of 145,000, or 873 to the sq. mile. The population of Malta in 1849 was 115,864, or 1182 to the sq. mile. The two last instances, therefore, alone supply an average superior to that ascribed to Palestine in the time of David, while the average of Judah and Benjamin in the time of Jehoshaphat, would seem, with the exception mentioned above, to give 1480 to the sq. mile, a population exceeded only, in England, by the county of Middlesex (6683), and approached by that of Lancashire (1064).

But while, on the one hand, great doubt rests on the genuineness of numerical expressions in O. T. it must be considered on the other, that the readings on which our version is founded, give with trifling variations the same results as those presented by the LXX. and by Josephus (Jahn, v. 36; Winer, *Zahlen*; Glasse, *Phil. Sac. de causis corruptionis*, i. §23, vol. ii. p. 189).

In the list of cities occupied by the tribe of Judah, including Simeon, are found 123 "with their villages," and by Benjamin 26. Of one city, Ai, situate in Benjamin, which like many, if not all the others, was walled, we know that the population, probably exclusive of children, was 12,000, whilst of Gibeon it is said that it was larger than Ai (Josh. viii. 25, 29, x. 2, xv. 21-62, xviii. 21, 28, xix. 1-9). If these "cities" may be taken as samples of the rest, it is clear that Southern Palestine, at least, was very populous before the entrance of the people of Israel.

But Josephus, in his accounts (1.) of the population of Galilee in his own time, and (2.) of the numbers congregated at Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, shows a large population inhabiting Palestine. He says there were many cities in Galilee, besides villages, of which the least, whether cities or villages is not quite certain, had not less than 15,000 inhabitants (*B. J.* iii. 3, §2, 4; comp. *Tac. Hist.* v. 8). After the defeat of Cestius, A.D. 66, before the formal outbreak of the war, a census taken at Jerusalem by the priests, of the numbers assembled there for the Passover, founded

on the number of lambs sacrificed, compared with the probable number of persons partaking, gave 2,700,000 persons, besides foreigners and those who were excluded by ceremonial defilement (see *Tac. Hist.* v. 12). In the siege itself 1,100,000 perished, and during the war 97,000 were made captives. Besides these many deserted to the Romans, and were dismissed by them (*B. J.* vi. 8, 9, 3). These numbers, on any supposition of foreign influx (*δυσφύλον ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπιχθόνιον*) imply a large native population; and 63 years later, in the insurrection of Barchochebas, Dion Cassius says that 50 fortified towns and 980 villages were destroyed, and 580,000 persons were slain in war, besides a countless multitude who perished by famine, fire, and disease, so that Palestine became almost depopulated (*Dion Cass.* lix. 14).

Lastly, there are abundant traces throughout the whole of Palestine of a much higher rate of fertility in former as compared with present times, a fertility remarked by profane writers, and of which the present neglected state of cultivation affords no test. This combined with the positive divine promises of populousness, increases the probability of at least approximate correctness in the foregoing estimate of population (*Tac. Hist.* v. 6; *Amm. Marc.* xiv. 8; *Joseph. B. J.* iii. 3; *St. Jerome*, on *Ezek.* xx., and Rabbinical authorities in *Ireland* c. xxvi.; *Shaw, Travels*, ii. pt. 2, c. 1, 336, 340, and 275; *Hasselquist, Travels*, 120, 127, 130; *Stanley, S. & Pal.* 120, 374; *Kitto, Phys. Geogr.* 33; *Ratiner, Palestina*, 8, 80, 83, App. ix. *Comp. Gen.* xiii. 16, xlii. 17; *Num.* xxiii. 10; 1 *K.* iv. 20; *Acts* vii. 20).

II. In N. T., *St. Luke*, in his account of the "taxing," says, a decree went out from Augustus ἀπογραφῆσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτῇ ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου, and in the Acts alludes to a disturbance raised by Judas of Galilee in the days of the "taxing" (*Luke* ii. 1; *Acts* v. 37).

The Roman census under the Republic consisted, so far as the present purpose is concerned, in an enrolment of persons and property by tribes and households. Every paterfamilias was required to appear before the Censors, and give his own name and his father's; if married, that of his wife, and the number and ages of his children: after this an account and valuation of his property, on which a tax was then imposed. By the lists thus obtained every man's position in the state was regulated. After these duties had been performed, a *lustrum*, or solemn purification of the people followed, but not always immediately (*Dict. of Antiq.* CENSUS, LUSTRUM; *Dionys.* iv. 15, 22; *Cic. de Legg.* iii. 3; *Dig.* 50, tit. 15; *Cod. ii.* tit. 48; *Clinton, Fast. Holl.* iii. p. 457, c. 10).

The census was taken, more or less regularly, in the provinces, under the republic, by provincial censors, and the tribute regulated at their discretion (*Cic. Verr.* ii. lib. ii. 53, 56), but no complete census was made before the time of Augustus, who carried out 3 general inspections of this kind, *vis.*, (1.) B.C. 28; (2.) B.C. 8; (3.) A.D. 14; and a partial one, A.D. 4. The reason of the partial extent of this last was that he feared disturbances out of Italy, and also that he might not appear as an exactor. Of the returns made, Augustus himself kept an accurate account (*brevarium*), like a private man of his property (*Dion Cass.* liv. 35, lv. 13; *Suet. Aug.* 27, 101; *Tac. Ann.* i. 11; *Tab. Ancyra.* ap. *Tac.* ii. 188, Ernesti).

A special assessment of Gaul under commissioners sent for the purpose is mentioned in the time of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* i. 31, ii. 6; Liv. *Ep.* 134, 136).

The difficulties which arise in the passage from St. Luke are discussed under CYRENIUS. [H. W. P.]

CENTURION. [ARMY.]

CEPHAS. [PETER.]

CE'RAS (Κηράς; *Curiae*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [KEROS.]

CE'TAB (Κητάβ; *Cetha*), 1 Esd. v. 30. There is no name corresponding with this in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

CHA'BRIS (Ἀβρίς; Alex. Χαβρίς; Vulg. omits), the son of Githoniel (δ τοῦ Γ.), one of the three "rulers" (ἄρχοντες), or "ancients" (πρεσβύτεροι) of Bethulia, in the time of Judith (Jud. vi. 15, viii. 10, x. 6).

CHA'DIAS. "They of Chadias (of Χαδιασά) and Ammidoi," according to 1 Esd. v. 20, returned from Babylon with Zerobabel. There are no corresponding names in Ezra and Nehemiah.

CHAFF (חֶשֶׁךְ, חֶשֶׁךְ, חֶשֶׁךְ; Chald. עָר; χυός, ἄχυρον; *stipula, pulvis, favilla*). The Heb. words rendered *chaff* in A. V. do not seem to have precisely the same meaning: חֶשֶׁךְ = *dry grass, hay*; and occurs twice only in O. T., viz., Is. v. 24, xxxiii. 11. The root חֶשֶׁךְ is not used. Probably the Sanscrit *kaksh* = *hay* is the same word. (Bopp. *Gloss.* p. 41.)

חֶשֶׁךְ or חֶשֶׁךְ is chaff separated by winnowing from the grain—the husk of the wheat. The carrying away of chaff by the wind is an ordinary scriptural image of the destruction of the wicked, and of their powerlessness to resist God's judgments (Is. xvii. 13; Hos. xiii. 3; Zeph. ii. 2). The root of the word is חֶשֶׁךְ, *to press out, as of milk*; whence its second meaning, *to separate*.

חֶשֶׁךְ is rendered *straw* in Ex. v. 7, 10, 11, &c., and *stubble* in Job xxi. 18. In Ex. v. 12, we read חֶשֶׁךְ לֶחֶם, *stubble for straw*; so that it is not the same as *stubble*. It means *straw cut into short portions*, in which state it was mixed with the mud of which bricks were made to give it consistency. In 1 K. iv. 28, mention is made of a mixed fodder for horses and camels of barley and חֶשֶׁךְ, such as the Arabs call *tīm* to this day. The derivation of the word is doubtful. Gesenius was of opinion that חֶשֶׁךְ was for חֶבֶרֶךְ, from root חֶבֶר, *to build*, in reference to edifices of bricks made with straw. Hoediger prefers to connect it with חֶרֶץ, which properly implies a separation and division of parts, and is thence transferred to the mental power of discernment; so that חֶשֶׁךְ signifies properly anything cut into small parts (Ges. *Thes.* 1492).

The Chaldaic word עָר occurs but once, in Dan.

ii. 35. It is connected with the Syr. حَذَر, and Arab. عوار, i. e. a straw or small bit of chaff flying into and injuring the eye. [W. D.]

CHAIN. Chains were used, 1. as badges of office; 2. for ornament; 3. for confining prisoners.

The gold chain (חֶבֶרֶךְ) placed about Joseph's neck (Gen. xli. 42), and that promised to Daniel (Dan. v. 7, named חֶבֶרֶךְ), are instances of the first use. In Egypt it was one of the *insignia* of a judge, who wore an image of truth attached to it (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 26); it was also worn by the prime minister. In Persia it was considered not only as a mark of royal favour (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, §27), but a token of investiture (Dan. i. c.; Morier's *Second Journey*, p. 93). In Ez. xvi. 11, the chain is mentioned as the symbol of sovereignty. 2. Chains for ornamental purposes were worn by men as well as women in many countries both of Europe and Asia (Wilkinson, *ibid.* 375), and probably this was the case among the Hebrews (Prov. i. 9). The necklace (קֶרֶן) consisted of pearls, corals, &c., threaded on a string; the beads were called חֶבֶרֶךְ, from חֶרֶץ, *to perforate* (Cant. i. 10, A. V. "chains," where "of gold" are interpolated). Besides the necklace, other chains were worn (Jud. x. 4) hanging down as far as the waist, or even lower. Some were adorned with pieces of metal, shaped in the form of the moon, named חֶבֶרֶךְ (μήνισκος, LXX.; *lunulac*, Vulg.; *round tires like the moon*, A. V.; Is. iii. 18); a similar ornament, the *hilāl*, still exists in Egypt (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, App. A.). The Midianites adorned the necks of their camels with it (Judg. viii. 21, 26); the Arabs still use a similar ornament (Wellsted, i. 301). To other chains were suspended various tinkets—as scent-bottles, חֶבֶרֶךְ (tablets or houses of the souls, A. V., Is. iii. 20), and mirrors, חֶבֶרֶךְ (Is. iii. 23). *Step-chains*, חֶבֶרֶךְ (tinkling ornaments, A. V.), were attached to the ankle-rings, which shortened the step and produced a mincing gait (Is. iii. 16, 18). 3. The means adopted for confining prisoners among the Jews were fetters similar to our handcuffs חֶבֶרֶךְ (lit. *two brasses*, as though made in halves), fastened on the wrists and ankles, and attached to each other by a chain (Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Sam. iii. 34; 2 K. xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 7). Among the Romans, the prisoner was handcuffed to one, and occasionally to two guards—the handcuff on the one being attached to that on the other by a chain (Acts xii. 6, 7, xxi. 33; *Dict. of Ant.*, art. CATENA). [W. L. B.]

CHALCEDONY (χαλκηδών; *calcedonius*) occurs only in Rev. xxi. 19, being the precious stone with which the third foundation of the wall of the New Jerusalem is garnished. According to Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 8, §15), chalcedony is a gem resembling the Callais or turquoise, which some have judged to be a kind of carbuncle or ruby. Solmasius differs from those who make the colour of chalcedony to be like that of the carbuncle, and says that they confound τὸν καρχηδόνιον λίθον, which is a species of carbuncle, with τῇ χαλκηδονίῳ; but confesses that it is by no means clear what stone the ancients called *chalcedonius*. Pignelion on Rev. (xxi. 19) says that this stone has the colour of a pallid lamp, shines in the open air, but is dark in a house, cannot be cut, and has powers of attraction. The etymology of the word is not

less doubtful than its meaning. Some derive it from *χαλκός*, from a belief that it rings like brass when struck. Others have derived it from *Χαλκηδών*, as though from a locality where it is found; and others from *Καρχηδών*. See Braun, *de Vesi. Heb.* ii. c. ii. p. 525. [W. D.]

CHALCOL, 1 K. iv. 31. [CALCOL.]

CHALDEA, more correctly CHALDAEA (𐤠𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍; ἡ Χαλδαία; *Chaldaea*) is properly only the most southern portion of Babylonia. It is used, however, in our version for the Hebrew ethnic appellation *Casdim* (or "Chaldeans"), under which term the inhabitants of the entire country are designated; and it will therefore here be taken in this extended sense. The origin of the term is very doubtful. *Casdim* has been derived by some from Chesed (צֶשֶׁד), the son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22); but if Ur was already a city "of the *Casdim*" before Abraham quitted it (Gen. xi. 28), the name of *Casdim* cannot possibly have been derived from his nephew. On the other hand the term *Chaldaea* has been connected with the city *Kiltadha* (Chilmad of Ezekiel, xvii. 23). This is possibly correct. At any rate in searching for an etymology it should be borne in mind that *Kaldi* or *Kaldai*, not *Casdim*, is the native form.

1. *Extent and boundaries*.—The tract of country viewed in Scripture as the land of the Chaldeans is that vast alluvial plain which has been formed by the deposits of the Euphrates and the Tigris—at least so far as it lies to the west of the latter stream. The country to the east is Elam or Susiana; but the entire tract between the rivers, as well as the low country on the Arabian side of the Euphrates, which is cultivable by irrigation from that stream, must be considered as comprised within the Chaldaea of which Nebuchadnezzar was king. This extraordinary flat, unbroken except by the works of man, extends, in a direction nearly N.E. and S.W., a distance of 400 miles along the course of the rivers, and is on the average about 100 miles in width. A line drawn from Hit on the Euphrates to Tekrit on the Tigris, may be considered to mark its northern limits; the eastern boundary is the Tigris itself; the southern the Persian Gulf; on the west its boundary is somewhat ill-defined, and in fact would vary according to the degree of skill and industry devoted to the regulation of the waters and the extension of works for irrigation. In the most flourishing times of the Chaldean empire the water seems to have been brought to the extreme limit of the alluvium, a canal having been cut along the edge of the tertiary formation on the Arabian side throughout its entire extent, running at an average distance from the Euphrates of about 30 miles.

2. *General character of the country*.—The general aspect of the country is thus described by a modern traveller, who well contrasts its condition now with the appearance which it must have presented in ancient times. "In former days," he says, "the vast plains of Babylon were nourished by a complicated system of canals and water-courses, which spread over the surface of the country like a net-work. The wants of a teeming population were supplied by a rich soil, not less bountiful than that on the banks of the Egyptian Nile. Like islands rising from a golden sea of waving corn, stood frequent groves of palm-trees and pleasant gardens, affording to the idler or tin-

veller their grateful and highly-valued shade. Crowds of passengers hurried along the dusty roads to and from the busy city. The land was rich in corn and wine. How changed is the aspect of that region at the present day! Long lines of mounds, it is true, mark the courses of those main arteries which formerly diffused life and vegetation along their banks, but their channels are now bereft of moisture and choked with drifted sand; the smaller offshoots are wholly effaced. 'A drought is upon her waters,' says the prophet, 'and they shall be dried up!' All that remains of that ancient civilisation—that 'glory of kingdoms,'—the praise of the whole earth,—is recognisable in the numerous mouldering heaps of brick and rubbish which overspread the surface of the plain. Instead of the luxuriant fields, the groves and gardens, nothing now meets the eye but an arid waste—the dense population of former times is vanished, and no man dwells there." (Loftus's *Chaldaea*, pp. 14-5.) The cause of the change is to be found in the neglect of man. "There is no physical reason," the same writer observes, "why Babylonia should not be as beautiful and as thickly inhabited as in days of yore; a little care and labour bestowed on the ancient canals would again restore the fertility and population which it originally possessed." The prosperity and fertility of the country depend entirely on the regulation of the waters. Carefully and properly applied and husbanded, they are sufficient to make the entire plain a garden. Left to themselves, they desert the river courses to accumulate in lakes and marshes, leaving large districts waterless, and others most scantily supplied, while they overwhelm tracts formerly under cultivation, which become covered with a forest of reeds, and during the summer heats breed a pestilential miasma. This is the present condition of the greater part of Babylonia under Turkish rule; the evil is said to be advancing; and the whole country threatens to become broken in a short time either marsh or desert.

3. *Divisions*.—In a country so uniform and so devoid of natural features as this, political divisions could be only accidental or arbitrary. Few are found of any importance. The true Chaldaea, as has been already noticed, is always in the geographers a distinct region, being the most southern portion of Babylonia, lying chiefly (if not solely) on the right bank of the Euphrates (Strab. xvi. 1, §6; Ptol. v. 20). Babylonia above this, is separated into two districts, called respectively *Anoradua* and *Awanitis*. The former is the name of the central territory round Babylon itself; the latter is applied to the regions towards the north, where Babylonia borders on Assyria (Ptol. v. 20).

4. *Cities*.—Babylonia was celebrated at all times for the number and antiquity of its cities. "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar," are the first towns mentioned in Scripture (Gen. x. 10). The "vast number of great cities" which the country possessed, was noted by Herodotus (i. 178), and the whole region is in fact studded with huge mounds, each mound marking beyond a doubt the site of a considerable town. The most important of those which have been identified are Borsippa (*Birs-Nimrud*), Sippara or Sepharvaim (*Mosab*), Cutha (*Ibrahim*), Calneh (*Niffer*), Erech (*Warka*), Ur (*Mugheir*), Chilmad (*Kiltadha*), Larachin (*Senkereh*), Is (*Hit*), Duraba (*Ak-kerkef*); but besides these there were a multitude of others, the sites of which have not been determined, as the Accad of Genesis (x. 10); the Turedon of

Abydenus (Fr. 8); *Asbi*, *Rulesi*, &c., towns mentioned in the inscriptions. Two of these places—Ur and Borsippa—are particularly noticed in the following article [CHALDEANS]. Of the rest Erech, Larnacha, and Calneh, were in early times of the most consequence; while Cutha, Sippawa, and Tereclou attained their celebrity at a comparatively recent epoch.

5. *Canals*.—One of the most remarkable features of ancient Babylonia was, as has been already observed, its network of canals. A more particular account will now be given of the chief of these. Three principal canals carried off the waters of the Euphrates towards the Tigris, above Babylon. These were, 1. The original "Royal River," or *Ar-Mulcha* of Berosus, which left the Euphrates at *Perisabor* or *Anbar*, and followed the line of the modern *Saklawijeh* canal, passing by *Akkerkuf*, and entering the Tigris a little below Baghdad; 2. the *Nahr Malcha* of the Arabs, which branched off at *Ridhwanijeh*, and ran across to the site of Seleucia; and 3. the *Nahr Kutha*, which starting from the Euphrates about 12 miles above *Mosail*, passed through Cutha, and fell into the Tigris 20 miles below the site of Seleucia. On the other side of the stream, a large canal, perhaps the most important of all, leaving the Euphrates at *Hiti*, where the alluvial plain commences, skirted the deposit on the west along its entire extent, and fell into the Persian Gulf at the head of the *Hubian* creek, about 20 miles west of the *Sht-el-Arab*; while a second main artery (the *Pallacopas* of Arrian) branched from the Euphrates nearly at *Mosail*, and ran into a great lake, in the neighbourhood of Borsippa, whence the lands to the south-west of Babylon were irrigated. From these and other similar channels, numerous branches were carried out, from which further cross cuts were made, until at length every field was duly supplied with the precious fluid.

6. *Sea of Nodjef*, *Chaldaean marshes*, &c.—Chaldea contains one natural feature deserving of special description—the "great inland freshwater sea of *Nodjef*" (Loftus, p. 45). This sheet of water, which does not owe its origin to the inundations, but is a permanent lake of considerable depth, surrounded by cliffs of a reddish sandstone in places 40 feet high, extends in a south-easterly direction a distance of 40 miles from about lat.  $31^{\circ} 53'$  long.  $44^{\circ}$  to lat.  $31^{\circ} 26'$ , long.  $44^{\circ} 35'$ . Its greatest width is 35 miles. It lies thus on the right bank of the Euphrates, from which it is distant (at the nearest point) about 20 miles, and receives from it a certain quantity of water at the time of the inundation, which flows through it, and is carried back to the Euphrates at *Samawa*, by a natural river course known as the *Sht-el-Atchan*. Above and below the Sea of *Nodjef*, from the *Birs-Ninnrud* to *Kufa*, and from the south-eastern extremity of the Sea to *Samawa*, extend the famous Chaldaean marshes (Strab. xvi. 1, §12; Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 22), where Alexander was nearly lost, but these are entirely distinct from the sea itself, depending on the state of the *Hindijeh* canal, and disappearing altogether when that is effectually closed.

7. *Productions*.—The extraordinary fertility of the Chaldaean soil has been noticed by various writers. It is said to be the only country in the world where wheat grows wild. Berosus noticed this production (Fr. 1, §2), and also the spontaneous growth of barley, sesame, ochrys, palms,

apples, and many kinds of shelled fruit. Herodotus declared (i. 193) that grain commonly returned 200-fold to the sower, and occasionally 300-fold. Strabo made nearly the same assertion (xvi. 1, §14); and Pliny said (*H. N.* xviii. 17), that the wheat was cut twice, and afterwards was good keep for beasts. The palm was undoubtedly one of the principal objects of cultivation. According to Strabo it furnished the natives with bread, wine, vinegar, honey, porridge, and ropes; with a fuel equal to charcoal, and with a means of fattening cattle and sheep. A Persian poem celebrated its 360 uses (Strab. xvi. 1, 14). Herodotus says (i. 193) that the whole of the flat country was planted with palms, and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 5) observes that from the point reached by Julian's army to the shores of the Persian Gulf was one continuous forest of verdure. At present palms are almost confined to the vicinity of the rivers, and even there do not grow thickly except about the villages on their banks. The soil is rich, but there is little cultivation, the inhabitants subsisting chiefly upon dates. More than half the country is left dry and waste from the want of a proper system of irrigation; while the remaining half is to a great extent covered with marshes owing to the same neglect. Thus it is at once true that "the sea has come up upon Babylon and she is covered with the waves thereof" (Jer. li. 42); that she is made "a possession for the bitter, and pools of water" (Is. xiv. 23); and also that "a drought is upon her waters, and they are dried up" (Jer. l. 38), that she is "wholly desolate"—"the hindmost of the nations, a wilderness a dry land, and a desert" (Is. 12, 13). (See Loftus's *Chaldaea and Susiana*; Layard's *Ninveh and Bab.* chs. xxi.—xxiv.; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. Essay ix.; and Mr. Taylor's *Paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv.) [G. H.]

CHALDEANS, or CHALDEES (כְּשִׁימִי; *Χαλδαῖοι*; *Chaldæi*), appear in Scripture, until the time of the captivity, as the people of the country which has Babylon for its capital, and which is itself termed *Shinar* (שִׁנְאָר); but in the book of Daniel, while this meaning is still found (v. 30, and ix. 1), a new sense shows itself. The Chaldeans are classed with the magicians and astronomers; and evidently form a sort of priest class, who have a peculiar "tongue" and "learning" (i. 4), and are consulted by the king on religious subjects. The same variety appears in profane writers. Berosus, the native historian, himself a Chaldaean in the narrower sense (Athen. *Or. ad. Gr.* 58), uses the term only in the wider; while Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and the later writers almost universally employ it to signify a sect or portion of the people, whom they regard either as priests or as philosophers. With this view, however, is joined another, which but ill harmonises with it; namely, that the Chaldeans are the inhabitants of a particular part of Babylonia, viz., the country bordering on the Persian Gulf and on Arabia (Strab. xvi. 1, §6; Ptol. v. 20). By help of the inscriptions recently discovered in the country, these discrepancies and apparent contradictions are explicable.

It appears that the Chaldeans (*Kaldai* or *Kaldi*) were in the earliest times merely one out of the many Cushite tribes inhabiting the great alluvial plain known afterwards as Chaldea or Babylonia. Their special seat was probably that southern por-

tion of the country which is found to have so late retained the name of Chaldean. Here was Ur "of the Chaldees," the modern *Mughair*, which lies south of the Euphrates, near its junction with the *Shat-el-Hie*. Hence would readily come those "three bands of Chaldeans" who were instruments, simultaneously with the *Sabians*, in the affliction of Job (Job i. 15-17). In process of time, as the *Kaldi* grew in power, their name gradually prevailed over that of the other tribes inhabiting the country; and by the era of the Jewish captivity it had begun to be used generally for all the inhabitants of Babylonia. We may suspect that when the name is applied by Berosus to the dynasties which preceded the Assyrian, it is by way of *prolepsis*. The dynasty of Nabopolassar, however, was (it is probable) really Chaldaean, and this greatly helped to establish the wider use of the appellation. It had thus come by this time to have two senses, both ethnic: in the one it was the special appellation of a particular race to whom it had belonged from the remotest times, in the other it designated the nation at large in which this race was predominant. We have still to trace its transference from an ethnic to a mere class sense—from the name of a people to that of a priest caste or sect of philosophers.

It has been observed above that the *Kaldi* proper were a Cushite race. This is proved by the remains of their language, which closely resembles the *Gulla* or ancient language of Ethiopia. Now it appears by the inscriptions that while both in Assyria and in later Babylonia, the Semitic type of speech prevailed for civil purposes, the ancient Cushite dialect was retained, as a learned language, for scientific and religious literature. This is no doubt the "learning" and the "tongue" to which reference is made in the book of Daniel (i. 4). It became gradually inaccessible to the great mass of the people, who were Semitized, by means (chiefly) of Assyrian influence. But it was the Chaldaean learning, in the old Chaldaean or Cushite language. Hence all who studied it, whatever their origin or race were, on account of their knowledge, termed Chaldeans. In this sense Daniel himself, the "master of the Chaldeans" (Dan. v. 11), would no doubt have been reckoned among them; and so we find Seleucus, a Greek, called a Chaldaean by Strabo (xvi. 1, §6). It may be doubted whether the Chaldeans at any time were all priests, though no doubt priests were required to be Chaldeans. They were really the learned class, who by their acquaintance with the language of science had become its depositaries. They were priests, magicians, or astronomers, as their preference for one or other of those occupations inclined them; and in the last of the three capacities they probably effected discoveries of great importance.

According to Strabo, who well distinguishes (xvi. 1, §6) between the learned Chaldeans and the mere race descended from the ancient *Kaldi*, which continued to predominate in the country bordering upon Arabia and the Gulf, there were two chief seats of Chaldaean learning, Borsippa, and Ur or Orchœ. To these we may add from Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 26) two others, Babylon, and Sippara or Sepharvaim. The Chaldeans (it would appear) congregated into bodies, forming what we may perhaps call universities, and pursuing the studies, in which they engaged, together. They probably mixed up to some extent astrology with their astronomy, even in the earlier times, but they certainly made great advances in astronomical science, to which

their serene sky, transparent atmosphere, and regular horizon specially invited them. The observations, covering a space of 1903 years, which Callisthenes sent to Aristotle from Babylon (*Simplic. ad Arist. de Coel.* ii. p. 123), indicate at once the antiquity of such knowledge in the country, and the care with which it had been preserved by the learned class. In later times they seem certainly to have degenerated into mere fortune-tellers (*Cic. de Div.* i. 1; *Aul. Gell.* i. 9; *Juv.* vi. 552, x. 94, &c.); but this reproach is not justly levelled against the Chaldeans of the empire, and indeed it was but partially deserved so late as the reign of Augustus (see Strab. xvi. 1, §6). [G. R.]

#### CHALDEES. [CHALDEANS.]

**CHALK STONES** (כִּלְכִּיָּם; *lapides cineris*) occurs only in Is. xlvii. 9, and signifies literally *stones of lime*. כִּלְ is from an unused root, כִּל, to *boil up*, in reference to the heating of lime when slaked. [W. D.]

**CHAMELEON** (חָמָל; *χамαιλέον*; *chamaeleon*), probably a species of large lizard, called חָמָל on account of its great strength. (In Lev. xi. 30, it is enumerated among the creeping things that are unclean.) It is said to destroy serpents, and was called by the Greeks *δφίωνικος*, by the Arabians *guaril*. The true chameleon was probably the חֲמָלָה of Lev. xi. 30. [MOLE.] [W. D.]

**CHAMOIS** (חֲמֹשׁ; *καμηλοπάρδαλις*; *camelopardalis*), a species of deer or antelope, called חֲמֹשׁ from its habit of leaping, from root חָמַר, to *leap* (*Ges. Thes.* 420). Bochart (*Hier.* ii. 273-279) has shown that the rendering of the LXX. and Vulg. is an error. Luther has not been more happy in translating it *alcea*, elk, which only inhabits northern countries. There are several species of antelope in Western Asia. The חֲמֹשׁ is classed among beasts that may be eaten in Deut. xiv. 5. [W. D.]

**CHANAAN** (Χαναάν), the manner in which the word CANAAN is spelt in the A. V. of the Apocrypha and N. T. (comp. Charran for Haran, &c.) Jud. v. 3, 9, 10; Bar. iii. 22; Sus. 56; 1 Macc. ix. 37; Acts vii. 11, xiii. 19.

CHANAANITE for CANAANITE, Jud. v. 16.

**CHANNUNE'US** (Χαννονεύς; *Chanmaeus*), 1 Esd. viii. 48. This answers to Menari, if to anything, in the parallel list of Ezra (viii. 19).

**CHAPITER.** 1. כְּתִירָת, in pl. כְּתִירֹת, from כָּתַר, to *surround*; *κεφάλαια*; *capitellum*. 2. צֶפֶס, from צָפַץ, to *draw out* (*Ges.* 912-914); *ἀκεφαλαί*; *capita*. The upper member of a pillar—the same word which is now in use in the slightly different form of "capital"—also possibly a roll moulding at the top of a building or work of art, as in the case (1) of the pillars of the Tabernacle and Temple, and of the two pillars called especially Jachin and Boaz; and (2) of the lavers belonging to the Temple (*Ex.* xxxviii. 17; 1 K. vii. 27, 31, 38). As to the form and dimensions of the former, see TABERNACLE, TEMPLE, BOAZ, and of the latter, LAVER. 3. The word רֹאשׁ, *rosh* = head, is also occasionally rendered "Chapter," as in the description of the tabernacle, *Ex.* xxxvi. 38, xxxviii.

17, 19, 28; but in the account of the temple it is translated "top," as 1 K. vii. 16, &c. [H. W. P.]

**CHARAATHALAR** (Χαρααθάλαν; Alex. Χαρα αθαλάρ; *Carnellum et Careth*), 1 Esd. v. 35. The names "Cherub, Addan, and Immer," in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah, are here changed to "Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar."

**CHAR'ACA** (εἰς τὸν Χάρακα (? Χάραξ); *Characai*), a place mentioned only in 2 Mac. xii. 17, and there so obscurely that nothing can be certainly inferred as to its position. It was on the east of Jordan, being inhabited by the Jews called "Tubieni," or of "Tobie" [TOB], who were in Gilead (comp. 1 Mac. v. 9, 13); and it was 750 stadia from the city Caspin; but where the latter place was situated, or in which direction Charax was with regard to it, there is no clue. Ewald (iv. 359, note) places it to the extreme east, and identifies it with RAPHON. The only name now known on the east of Jordan which reveals Charax is *Karak*, the ancient Kir-Moab, on the S.E. of the Dead Sea, which in post-biblical times was called *Χαρδμωβα*, and *Μαβουχάραξ* (see the quotations in Reiland, 705). The Syriac Peschito has כרכן, *Carca*, which suggests KARKOR (Judg. vii. 10). [G.]

**CHAR'ASHIM, THE VALLEY OF** (חַרְאֲשִׁים; Alex. ἡ γὰρ ἀσάρι; *Charashim*), a place mentioned twice;—1 Chr. iv. 14, as having been founded or settled by Jash, a man of the tribe of Judah and family of Othniel; and Neh. xi. 35, as being re-inhabited by Benjamites after the Captivity. In this passage it is rendered "valley of craftsmen." Its mention by Nehemiah with Lod (Lydda), Nebailat, &c. fixes its position as in the swelling ground at the back of the plain of Sharon, east of Jaffa. The Talmud (as quoted by Schwarz, p. 135) reports the valley of Charashim to consist of Lod and Ono, which lay therein. Whether Jash the son of Senuiah is the same person as the son of Senuiah will be best examined under the name JOAB. [G.]

**CHAR'CHAMIS** (Χαρκαμύς; Alex. Χαλχαμύς; *Charcamis*), 1 Esd. i. 25. [CARCHAMIS.]

**CHARCH'EMISH** (כַּרְכֶּמִּישׁ; LXX. omits; *Charcamis*), 2 Chr. xxxv. 20. [CARCH'EMISH.]

**CHAR'CUS** (Βαρκούε; *Barcus*), 1 Esd. v. 32 (corrupted from BARKOS, the corresponding name in the parallel lists of Ezra and Nehemiah—possibly by a change of ב into כ. But it does not appear whence the translators of the A. V. got their reading of the name. In the edition of 1611 it is "Chareus.")

**CHA'REA** (Χαρεία; *Carco*), 1 Esd. v. 32; [HARMIA.]

**CHARGER** (1. חָרָץ, from a root signifying hollowness; *τροβαλον, κοτύλη*; *acetabulum* 2. חֲרָצִים; *ψυκτήρ*; *phictis*; only found Ezr. i. 9) a shallow vessel for receiving water or blood, also for presenting offerings of fine flour with oil (Num. vii. 79; *Gen. Thea*. 22). The "chargers" mentioned in Numbers are said to have been of silver, and to have weighed each 130 shekels, or 65 oz. (Hussey, *Anc. Weights*, c. ix. p. 190).

2. The daughter of Herodius brought the head

of St. John Baptist in a charger, ἐν πίνακι (Matt. xiv. 8); probably a trencher or platter, as Hom. *Od.* i. 141.

δαιτρός δὲ κρειών πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας παντοίων.

Comp. Luke i. 63. *πίνακιδιον*, a writing-tablet. [BASIN.] [H. W. P.]

**CHARIOT**. 1. רֶכֶב, from רָכַב, *to ride*; *ἄρμα*; *currus*: sometimes including the horses (2 Sam. viii. 4, x. 18). 2. רֶכֶב, a chariot or horse (Ps. civ. 3). 3. מֶרֶכַב, m. from same root as (1) a chariot, litter, or seat (Lev. xv. 9, Cant. iii. 10). 4. מֶרֶכְבָּה, f. 5. עֶגְלָה, from עָגַל, *roll* (Ps. xli. 10, *thepeds*; *scutum*). 6. מִפְרִיץ, Cant. iii. 9; *pupeion*; *ferculum*. (Between 1-4 no difference of signification.) A vehicle used either for warlike or peaceful purposes, but most commonly the former. Of the latter use the following only are probable instances as regards the Jews, 1 K. xviii. 44, and as regards other nations, Gen. xli. 43, xli. 29; 2 K. v. 9; Acts viii. 28.

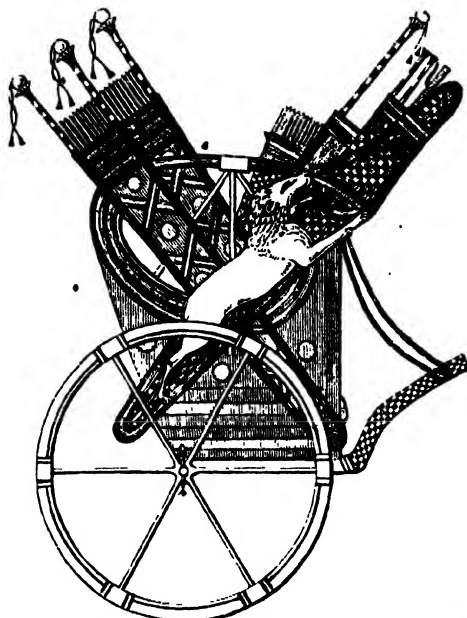
The earliest mention of chariots in Scripture is in Egypt, where Joseph, as a mark of distinction, was placed in Pharaoh's second chariot (Gen. xli. 43), and later when he went in his own chariot to meet his father on his entrance into Egypt from Canaan (xli. 29). In the funeral procession of Jacob chariots also formed a part, possibly by way of escort or as a guard of honour (l. 9). The next mention of Egyptian chariots is for a warlike purpose (Ex. xiv. 7). In this point of view chariots among some nations of antiquity, as elephants among others, may be regarded as filling the place of heavy artillery in modern times, so that the military power of a nation might be estimated by the number of its chariots. Thus Pharaoh in pursuing Israel took with him 600 chariots. The Canaanites of the valleys of Palestine were enabled to resist the Israelites successfully in consequence of the number of their chariots of iron, i. e. perhaps armed with iron scythes (Gen. s. r.; Josh. xvii. 18; Judg. i. 19). Jabin, king of Canaan, had 900 chariots (Judg. iv. 3). The Philistines in Saul's time had 30,000, a number which seems excessive (1 Sam. xiii. 5; but comp. LXX. and Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 6, §1). David took from Hadadezer king of Zobah 1000 chariots (2 Sam. viii. 4), and from the Syrians a little later 700 (x. 18), who in order to recover their ground collected 32,000 chariots (1 Chr. xix. 7). Up to this time the Israelites possessed few or no chariots, partly no doubt in consequence of the theocratic prohibition against multiplying horses, for fear of intercourse with Egypt, and the regal despotism implied in the possession of them (Deut. xvii. 16; 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12). But to some extent David (2 Sam. viii. 4), and in a much greater degree Solomon, broke through the prohibition from seeing the necessity of placing his kingdom, under its altered circumstances, on a footing of military equality or superiority towards other nations. He raised, therefore, and maintained a force of 1400 chariots (1 K. x. 25) by taxation on certain cities agreeably to Eastern custom in such matters (1 K. ix. 19, x. 25; Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, 9). The chariots themselves and also the horses were imported chiefly from Egypt, and the cost of each chariot was 600 shekels of silver, and of each horse 150 (1 K. x. 29). [SHEKEL.] From this time chariots were regarded as among

the most important arms of war, though the supplies of them and of horses appear to have been still mainly drawn from Egypt (1 K. xvii. 34; 2 K.

(2 Sam. viii. and 2 K. vi. 14, 15), Persia (Is. xxii. 6), and lastly Antiochus Eupator is said to have had 300 chariots armed with scythes (2 Mac. xiii. 2).

In the N. T., the only mention made of a chariot except in Rev. ix. 9, is in the case of the Ethiopian or Abyssinian eunuch of Queen Candace, who is described as sitting in his chariot reading (Acts viii. 28, 29, 38).

Jewish chariots were no doubt imitated from Egyptian models, if not actually imported from Egypt. The following description of Egyptian chariots is taken from Sir G. Wilkinson. They appear to have come into use not earlier than the 18th dynasty (B.C. 1530). The war chariot, from which the chariot used in peace did not essentially differ, was extremely simple in its construction. It consisted, as appears both from Egyptian paintings and reliefs, as well as from an actual specimen preserved at Florence, of a nearly semicircular wooden frame with straightened sides, resting posteriorly on the axle-tree of a pair of wheels, and supporting a rail of wood or ivory attached to the frame by leathern thongs and one wooden upright in front. The floor of the car was made of rope network, intended to give a more springy footing to the occupants. The car was mounted from the back, which was open, and the sides were strengthened and ornamented with leather and metal binding. Attached to the off or right-hand side, and crossing each other diagonally were the bow-case, and inclining backwards, the quiver and spear-case. If two persons were in the chariot a second bow-case was added. The wheels, of which there were 2, had 6 spokes: those of peace chariots had sometimes 4, fastened to the axle by a linch-pin secured by a thong. There were no traces; but the horses, which were often of different colours, wore only a breast-band and girths which were attached to the



An Egyptian war-chariot, with bow-cases and complete furniture. (Wilkinson.)

ix. 16, 21, xiii. 7, 14, xviii. 24, xxiii. 30; Is. xxi. 1). The prophets also allude frequently to chariots as typical of power, Ps. xx. 7, civ. 3; Jer. ii. 21; Zech. vi. 1.

Chariots also of other nations are mentioned, as of Assyria (2 K. xix. 23; Ez. xiii. 24), Syria

(2 Sam. viii. and 2 K. vi. 14, 15), Persia (Is. xxii. 6), and lastly Antiochus Eupator is said to have had 300 chariots armed with scythes (2 Mac. xiii. 2).



Egyptian princes in their chariot. (Wilkinson.)

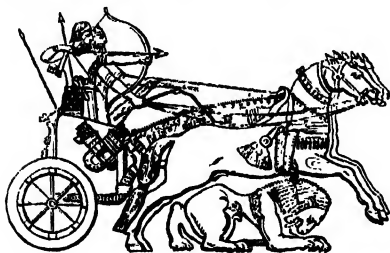
saddle, together with head furniture consisting of cheek pieces, throat-lash, head stall and straps across the forehead and nose. A bearing-rein was fastened to a ring or hook in front of the saddle, and the driving-reins passed through other rings

on each side of both horses. From the central point of the saddle rose a short stem of metal, ending in a knob, whether for use or mere ornament is not certain. The driver stood on the off-side, and in discharging his arrow hung his

whip from the wrist. In some instances the king is represented alone in his chariot with the reins fastened round his body, thus using his weapons with his hands at liberty. Most commonly 2 persons, and sometimes 3 rode in the chariot, of whom the third was employed to carry the state umbrella (2 K. ix. 20, 24; 1 K. xxii. 34; Acts viii. 38). A second chariot usually accompanied the king to battle to be used in case of necessity (2 Chr. xxv. 34).

On peaceable occasions the Egyptian gentleman sometimes drove alone in his chariot attended by servants on foot. The horses wore housings to protect them from heat and insects. For royal personages and women of rank an umbrella was carried by a bearer, or fixed upright in the chariot. Sometimes mules were driven instead of horses, and in travelling sometimes oxen, but for travelling purposes the sides of the chariot appear to have been closed. One instance occurs of a 4-wheeled car, which, like the *τερδικυκλος ἄμαξα* (Herod. ii. 63), was used for religious purposes. [CART.] The processes of manufacture of chariots and harness are fully illustrated by existing sculptures, in which also are represented the chariots used by neighbouring nations (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. p. 368, 386; ii. p. 75, 76, 2nd Ed.).

The earlier Assyrian war chariot and harness did not differ essentially from the Egyptian. Two or three persons stood in the car, but the driver is sometimes represented as standing on the near side, whilst a 3rd warrior in the chariot held a shield to protect the archer in discharging his arrow. The car appears to have had closed sides. The war chariot wheels had 6 spokes; the state or peace chariot 8 or more, and a 3rd person in state-processions carried the royal umbrella. A 3rd horse, like the Greek *παρόρος*, was generally attached (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 350).

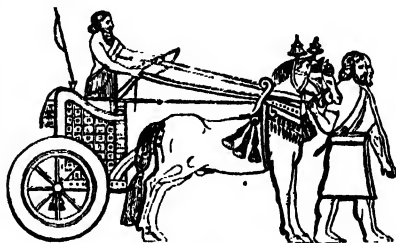


Assyrian chariot.

In later times the 3rd horse was laid aside, the wheels were made higher, and had 8 spokes; and the front of the car, to which the quiver was removed from its former side position, was made square instead of round. The cars were more highly ornamented, panelled, and inlaid with valuable woods and metals, and painted. The embroidered housings in which in earlier times the horses were clothed, were laid aside, and plumes and tassels used to decorate their necks and foreheads. (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 353, 356; *Nineveh and Babylon*, 341, 587, 603, 618; *Mon. of Nin.* 2nd series, pl. 24; Ez. xxvii. 30).

The Persian art, as appears from the sculpture at Persepolis, and also at Koyunjik, shows great similarity to the Assyrian; but the procession represented at the former place contains a chariot or car with wheels of 12 spokes, while from the sculptures at the latter, it appears that the Elamites, or

Persians, besides chariots containing 2 persons which were sometimes drawn by 4 horses, used a kind of cart drawn by a single mule or more, consisting of a stage on high wheels capable of holding 5 or 6 persons, of whom the driver sat on a low stool, with his legs hanging on each side of the pole. (Xenoph. *Cyrop.* iv. 3, 1, and 2, §22; Is. xxii. 6; Ez. xxiii. 24; Niebuhr, *Voyage*, ii. 105; Chardin, *Voyage*, viii. 257. Pl. lix.; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* 447-449; Olearius, *Travels*, p. 302.)



Persian chariot.

Chariots armed with scythes (*ἄμαξα δρεπανόφορα*, Xen. *Anab.* i. 7, §10) may perhaps be intended by the "chariots of iron" of the Canaanites; they are mentioned as part of the equipment of Antiochus (2 Mac. xiii. 2), and of Darius (Diod. Sic. xvii. 53; Appian, *Syr.* 32). Xenophon mentions a Persian chariot with 4 poles and 8 horses (*Cyrop.* vi. 4).

Among the parts of wheeled-carriages mentioned in A. V. are, 1. the Wheels, *אֲרוֹנִים, ἄροες, rotae*; also *גְּלִילִים; τροχοί, rōtae*. 2. Spokes, *רָדִים, radii*. 3. Naves, *בִּיָּים, modiolii*. 4. Felloes, *אֲרָסִים; ψῆτοι; opsiles*. 5. Axles, *רִדּוֹת; χεῖρες; axes*. To put the horses to the carriage, *אָסַף; εὐξῆαι; junxere*; and once (Mic. i. 13), *רָחַם*.

The Persian custom of sacrificing horses to the Sun (Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, 12), seems to have led to offerings of chariots and horses for the same object among the Jewish monarchs who fell into idolatry (Ez. viii. 17; 2 K. xxiii. 11; P. della Valle, xv. ii. p. 255; Winer, *Wagen*). [H. W. P.]

**CHARMIS** (*Χαρμῖς*; Alex. *Χαρμῖς*; *Charmis*), son of Melchiel, one of the three "ancients" (*πρεσβύτεροι*), or "rulers" (*ἄρχοντες*) of Bethulia (Jud. vi. 15, viii. 10, x. 6).

**CHAR'AN** (*Χαρράν*; *Charan*), Acts vii. 2, 4. [HARAN.]

**CHASE.** [HUNTING.]

**CHAS'EBÁ** (*Χασεβά*; *Chasébi*), a name among the list of the "Servants of the Temple" (1 Esd. v. 31), which has nothing corresponding to it in Ezra and Nehemiah, and is probably a mere corruption of that succeeding it—GAZERA.

**CHIEBAR** (*כִּיבָר; Xoḥbār; Chobar*), a river in the "land of the Chaldeans" (Ez. i. 3), on the banks of which some of the Jews were located at the time of the captivity, and where Ezekiel saw his earlier visions (Ez. i. 1, iii. 15, 23, &c.). It is commonly regarded as identical with the Habor (*חֲבֹר*), or river of Gozan, to which some portion of the Israelites were removed by the Assyrians

(2 K. xvii. 6). But this is a mere conjecture, resting wholly upon the similarity of name; which after all is not very close. It is perhaps better to suppose the two streams distinct, more especially if we regard the Habor as the ancient 'Αβόρρας (modern *Khabor*), which fell into the Euphrates at Ciresium; for in the Old Testament the name of Chaldaea is never extended so far northwards. The Chelbar of Ezekiel must be looked for in Babylonia. It is a name which might properly have been given to any great stream (comp. צַבְרָה, *great*). Perhaps the view, which finds some support in Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 26), and is adopted by Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 8) and Cellarius (*Geograph.* c. 22), that the Chelbar of Ezekiel is the *Nahr Malcha* or Royal Canal of Nebuchadnezzar—the greatest of all the cuttings in Mesopotamia—may be regarded as best deserving acceptance. In that case we may suppose the Jewish captives to have been employed in the excavation of the channel. That Chaldaea, not upper Mesopotamia, was the scene of Ezekiel's preaching, is indicated by the tradition which places his tomb at *Keftil* (Loftus's *Chaldaea*, p. 35). [1. R.]

**CHEBEL** (חֶבֶל), one of the singular topographical terms in which the ancient Hebrew language abounded, and which give so much force and precision to its records. The ordinary meaning of the word *Chebel* is a "rope" or "cord;" and in this sense it frequently occurs both literally (as Josh. ii. 15, "cord;" 1 K. xxx. 31, "ropes;" Is. xxxiii. 23, "tacklings;" Am. vii. 17, "line" and metaphorically (as Eccl. xii. 6; Is. v. 18; Hos. xi. 4). From this it has passed—with a curious correspondence to our own modes of speech—to denote a body of men, a "band" (as in Ps. cxix. 61). In 1 Sam. x. 5, 10, our word "string" would not be inappropriate to the circumstances—"a string of prophets coming down from the high place." Further it is found in other metaphorical senses, arising out of its original meaning (as Job xviii. 10; Ps. xviii. 4; Jer. xiii. 21). From the idea of a measuring-line (Mic. ii. 5), it has come to mean a "portion" or "allotment" (as 1 Chr. xvi. 18; Ps. cv. 11; Ex. xlvii. 13). It is the word used in the familiar passage "the lines" are fallen unto me in pleasant places" (Ps. xvi. 6). But in its topographical sense, as meaning a "tract" or "district," we find it always attached to the region of Argob, which is invariably designated by this, and by no other term (Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14; 1 K. iv. 13). It has been already shown how exactly applicable it is to the circumstances of the case. [Argob.] But in addition to the observations there made, the reader should be referred to the report of the latest traveller in those interesting regions, who abundantly confirms the statements of his predecessors as to the abrupt definiteness of the boundary of the district. (Mr. C. C. Graham, in *Cambridge Essays*, 1858.) No clue is afforded us to the reason of this definite localization of the term *Chebel*; but a comparison of the fact that Argob was taken possession of by Manasseh—a part of the great tribe of Joseph—with the use of this word by that tribe, and by Joshua in his retort, in the very early and characteristic fragment, Josh. xvii. 5, 14 (A. V. "portion"), prompts the suggestion that it may have been a provincialism in use amongst that large

and independent part of Israel. Should this be thought untenable, its application to the "rocky shore" of Argob may be illustrated and justified by its use (Zeph. ii. 5-7; A. V. "coast") for the "coast line" of the Mediterranean along Philistia. In connexion with the sea-shore it is also employed in Josh. xix. 29.

The words used for *Chebel* in the older versions are σχολινισμα, περιμετρον, περιχωρον; *regio*, *funiculus*. [G.]

**CHEDORLAOMER** (כְּדֻרְלָאוֹמֶר; Χεδωρλαομορ; *Chudorlahomor*), a king of Elam, in the time of Abraham, who with three other chiefs made war upon the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar, and reduced them to servitude. For twelve years he retained his hold over them; in the thirteenth they rebelled; in the next year, however, he and his allies marched upon their country, and after defeating many neighbouring tribes, encountered the five kings of the plain in the vale of Siddim. He completely routed them; slew the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and carried away much spoil, together with the family of Lot. Chedorlaomer seems to have perished in the rescue, which was effected by Abraham upon hearing of the captivity of his nephew (Gen. xiv. 17). According to Gesenius, the meaning of the word may be "handful of sheaves, from كَدْر, *handful* and لَوּ, *sheaf*;" but this is unsatisfactory. The name of a king is found upon the bricks recently discovered in Chaldaea, which is read *Kudur-mupula*. This man has been supposed to be identical with Chedorlaomer, and the opinion is confirmed by the fact that he is further distinguished by a title which may be translated "Ravager of the west." "As however one type alone of his legends has been discovered," says Col. Rawlinson, "it is impossible to pronounce at present on the identification. The second element in the name 'Chedorlaomer' is of course distinct from that in 'Kudur-mupula.' Its substitution may be thus accounted for. In the names of Babylonian kings the latter portion is often dropped. Thus *Shalmaneser* becomes *Shalman* in Hosea; *Merodach-baladan* becomes *Merodach*, &c. *Kudur-mupula* might therefore become known as *Kudur* simply. The epithet 'el Ahmar,' الأحمر, which means the

Red, may afterwards have been added to the name, and may have been corrupted into Laomer, which, as the orthography now stands, has no apparent meaning. *Kedar-el-Ahmar*, or 'Kedar the Red,' is in fact a famous hero in Arabian tradition, and his history bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the Scripture narrative of Chedorlaomer. It is also very possible that the second element in the name of Chedorlaomer, whatever be its true form, may be a Semitic translation of the original Hamite term *mupula*." "Chedorlaomer may have been the leader of certain immigrant Chaldean Elamites who founded the great Chaldean empire of Berosus in the early part of the 20th century B.C., while Amraphel and Arioch, the Hamite kings of Shinar and Ellasar, who fought under his banner in the Syrian war as subordinate chiefs, and Tidal, who led a contingent of Median Scythians belonging to the old population, may have been the local governors who

\* The use of the word in this sense in our own idiomatic expression—"hard lines"—will not be forgotten. Other correspondences between *Chebel* as applied to

measurement, and our own words "rod," and "chain," and also "cord," as applied in the provinces and colonies, to solid measure of wood, &c., are obvious

had submitted to his power when he invaded Chaldean" (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 436, 446). [S. L.]

**CHEESE** is mentioned only three times in the Bible, and on each occasion under a different name in the Hebrew: (1.) **בִּינָה**, from **בָּנָה**, to *curdle* (Job x. 10), referred to, not historically, but by way of illustration: (2.) **חֶרֶץ**, from **חָרַץ**, to *cut* (*τροφαλίδες τοῦ γάλακτος*, LXX.; *formellae casei*, Vulg., 1 Sam. xvii. 18); the Chaldee and Syriac give **נִבְנָה**; Hesychius explains *τροφαλίδες* as *τμήματα τοῦ ἀπαλοῦ τυροῦ*: (3.) **שֶׁפֹת בָּקָר**, from **שָׁפַת**, to *scrape* (*Σαφὸς βοῶν*, LXX.; *cheese of kine*, A. V. 2 Sam. xvii. 29: the Vulgate, following Theodotion's rendering, *γαλαθηνὰ μωσχάρια*, gives *pingues vitulos*, guided by the position of the words after "sheep"; the Targum and other Jewish authorities, however, identify the substance with those mentioned above). It is difficult to decide how far these terms correspond with our notion of *cheese*; for they simply express various degrees of coagulation. It may be observed that cheese is not at the present day common among the Bedouin Arabs, butter being decidedly preferred; but there is a substance, closely corresponding to those mentioned in 1 Sam. xvii.; 2 Sam. xvii., consisting of coagulated buttermilk, which is dried until it becomes quite hard, and is then ground: the Arabs eat it mixed with butter (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, i. 60). In reference to this subject, it is noticeable that the ancients seem generally to have used either butter or cheese, but not both: thus the Greeks had in reality but one expression for the two, for *βοῦτυρον* = *βοῦς*, *τυρός*, "cheese of kine:" the Romans used cheese exclusively, while all nomad tribes preferred butter. The distinction between cheese proper, and coagulated milk, seems to be referred to in Pliny, xi. 96. [W. L. B.]

**CHE' LAL** (**כֶּלֶל**; *Χαλήλ*; *Chalul*), Ezr. x. 30.

**CHELO'AS** (*Χελκίας*, i. e. **חֶלְקִיָּה**, the portion of the Lord, HILKIAH; *Helcias*), the father of Susanna (*Hist. of Sus.* 2, 29, 63.). Tradition (Hippol. in *Susann.* i. 689, ed. Migne) represents him as the brother of Jeremiah, and identical with the priest who found the copy of the law in the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 8). [B. F. W.]

**CHEL'LIANS, THE** (Jud. ii. 23). [CHELIANS.]

**CHEL'LUH** (**כֶּלְחָה**, Keri, **כֶּלְחוּ**; *Χελκία*; *Chelias*), Ezr. x. 35.

**CHEL'LUS** (*Χελλούς*; Alex. *Χελούς*; Vulg. omits), named amongst the places beyond (i. e. on the west of) Jordan to which Nabuchodonosor sent his summons (Jud. i. 9). Except its mention with "Kades" there is no clue to its situation. Reland (*Pal.* 717) conjectures that it may be *Chalutza*, **חֶלְצָה**, a place which, under the altered form of *Elusai*, was well known to the Roman and Greek geographers. With this agrees the subsequent mention of the "land of the Chellians" (*τῆς Χελλαιῶν, terra Cellon*), "by the wilderness," to the south of whom were the children of Ishmael (Jud. ii. 23). [G.]

**CHEL'LOD** (*Χελεσθός*; Alex. *Χελεσθός*; Vulg. omits). "Many nations of the sons of Chelod" were among those who obeyed the summons of Nabuchodonosor to his war with Arphaxad (Jud. i.

6). The word is apparently corrupt. Simois suggests *Χάλων*, perh. Ctesiphon. Ewald conjectures it to be a nickname for the Syrians, "sons of the moles" **חֶלְר** (*Gesch.* iv. 543).

**CHEL'LUB** (**כֶּלְלֹב**). 1. A man among the descendants of Judah, described as the brother of Shuah and the father of Mechir. (In the LXX. the name is given as Caleb, *Χαλέβ*, the father of Ascha; the daughter of the well-known Caleb was Achsah; Vulg. *Caleb*.)

2. (*δὲ Χελούβ*, *Chelub*). Ezri the son of Chelub was the overseer of those who "did the work of the field for tillage of the ground," one of David's officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 26).

**CHEL'UBAI** (**כֶּלְיָבִי**; *δὲ Χαλέβ*; *Caleb*), the son of Hezron, of one of the chief families of Judah. The name occurs in 1 Chr. ii. 9 only, and from a comparison of this passage with ii. 18 and 42, it would appear to be but another form of the name Caleb. It is worth noting that, while in this passage Jerahmeel is stated to be a brother of Chelubai, it appears from 1 Sam. xxvii. 10 that the Jerahmeelites were placed on the "south of Judah," where also were the possessions of the house of Caleb (Judg. i. 15; 1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxx.

14). In the Syriac Vers. the name is **ܫܠܚܒ**, *Salci*; probably a transcriber's error for **ܫܠܚܒ**, *Celubi* (Burrington, i. 209). [G.]

**CHEMOSH** (**כִּמּוֹשׁ**; *Χαμός*; *Chamos*), the national deity of the Moabites (Num. xxi. 29; Jer. xlviii. 7, 13, 46). In Judg. xi. 24, he also appears as the god of the Ammonites: he must not, however, be identified with Molech. Solomon introduced, and Josiah abolished, the worship of Chemosh at Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13). With regard to the meaning of the name, and the position which Chemosh held in mythology, we have nothing to record beyond doubtful and discordant conjectures. Jerome (*Comm.* in Is. xv. 2) identifies him with Baal-Peor; others with Baal-Zebub, on etymological grounds; others, as Gesenius (*Thesaur.* 693), with Mair, or the god of war, on similar grounds; and others (Beyer ad *Schlem*, p. 323) with Saturn, as the star of ill omen, Chemosh having been worshipped, according to a Jewish tradition, under the form of a black star. Jerome (on Is. xv.) notices Dibon as the chief seat of his worship. [W. L. B.]

**CHENA'ANAH** (**כְּנַעְנָה**; *Χανανή*; *Chanannah*; according to Gesen. fem. of CANAAN. 1. Son of Bilhan, son of Jediel, son of Benjamin, head of a Benjamite house (1 Chr. vii. 10), probably of the family of the Belaites. [BELA.]

2. Father, or ancestor, of Zedekiah, the false prophet who made him horns of iron, and encouraged Ahab to go up against Ramoth-Gilead, and smote Micajah on the cheek (1 K. xxii. 11, 24; 2 Chr. xviii. 10, 23). He may be the same as the preceding. [A. C. H.]

**CHEN'ANI** (**כְּנַנִּי**; *Χανανί*; Alex. *Χανανί*; et *Chanani*), one of the Levites who assisted at the solemn purification of the people under Ezra (Neh. ix. 4 only). By the LXX. the word *Bani* (**בְּנֵי**) preceding is read as if meaning "sons"—"sons of Chenani." The Vulgate and A. V. adhering to the Masoretic pointing, insert "and."

**CHENANIAH** (חנניה; *Χωνεβια, Χωνεβιας*; *Chonenias*), chief of the Levites, when David carried the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 22, xvi. 29). In 1 Chr. xv. 27, his name is written חנניה.

**CHE'PHAR-HAAM'MONAI** (כפר העמון; *Καφαρὰ καὶ Κεφὶρὰ καὶ Ἰμαμὼν*; Alex. *Καφηραμουν*; *Villa Emma*), a place mentioned among the towns of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 24). No trace of it has yet been discovered, but in its name is doubtless preserved the memory of an incursion of the Ammonites up the long ravines which lead from the Jordan valley to the highlands of Benjamin. [G.]

**CHEPHIRAH** (כִּפְרָה), with the definite article, except in the later books,—“the hamlet;” *Χεφειρά, Κεφειρά*; *Caphira, Caphara*, one of the four cities of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17), and named afterwards among the towns of Benjamin, with Ramah, Beeroth, and Mizpeh (xviii. 26). The men of Chephirah returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29). The Samaritan Version, at Gen. xlii. 3, renders Hai (Ai) by *Cephrah*, כִּפְרָה; but this cannot be Chephirah, since both Ai and it are mentioned together in Josh. ix. (comp. 3 with 17), and in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah already quoted. And indeed Dr. Robinson seems to have discovered it under the scarcely altered name of *Kefir*, in the mountain-country on the western confines of Benjamin, about 2 miles west of *Yalo* (Ajalon) (Rob. iii. 146). [CAPIRA.]

**CHE'ERAN** (כָּרַן; *Χαρῶν*; *Charon*), one of the sons of Dishon (so A. V., but Hebrew is Dishan), the Horite “duke” (Gen. xxvi. 26; 1 Chr. i. 41). No name corresponding with this has yet been discovered amongst the tribes of Arabia.

**CHE'REAS** (Χαρίας; *Chareas*), a brother of Timotheus, the leader of the Ammonites against Judas Macc. (1 Macc. v. 6), who held *Gazara* (Jazar, 1 Macc. v. 8), where he was slain on the capture of the fortress by the Jews (2 Macc. x. 32, 37.). [B. F. W.]

**CHE'RETHIMS** (כִּרְתִּים), Ez. xxv. 16. The plural form of the word elsewhere rendered *CHE-RETHITES*; which see. The Hebrew word occurs again in Zeph. ii. 5; A. V. “Cherethites.” In these passages the LXX. render Cietans, and the Vulgate by Palestinai and Philistines (*Κηρες*; Alex. *κπρας σιδωνος*; *Palaestini, Philistini*).

**CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES** (כִּרְתִּי וּפְלִתִי; *Χερεθι καὶ Φελεθι*; *Σωματοφύλακες*, Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, §4; *Cereth et Phelthi*), the life-guards of King David (2 Sam. xviii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7, 23; 1 K. i. 38, 44; 1 Chr. xviii. 17). These titles are commonly said to signify “executioners and couriers” (*ἑγχεφοροι*) from כִּרְת, *to slay*, and פִּלַת, *to run*. It is plain that these royal guards were employed as executioners (2 K. xi. 4), and as couriers (1 K. xiv. 27). Similarly Potiphar was captain of the guard of Pharaoh, and also chief of the executioners (Gen. xxxvii. 36), as was Arioch, Nebuchadnezzar's officer (Dan. ii. 14). In the latter part of David's reign the Cherethites and Pelethites were commanded by Benaiah (2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 23, xxiii. 23). But it has been conjectured that

the royal body-guards may have been foreign mercenaries, like the Pope's Swiss guards. They are connected with the Gittites, a foreign tribe (2 Sam. xv. 18); and the Cherethites are mentioned as a nation (1 Sam. xxx. 14), dwelling apparently on the coast, and therefore probably Philistines, of which name Pelethites may be only another form. [R. W. B.]

**CHE'RITH, THE BROOK** (נַחַל כְּרִית; *Χερυθὶς ποταμὸς*; *torrens Carith*), the torrent-bed or wady—to use the modern Arabic word which exactly answers to the Hebrew *Nahal*—in (not “by,” as the translators of the A. V. were driven to say by their use of the word “brook”) which Elijah hid himself during the early part of the three years' drought (1 K. xvii. 3, 5). No further mention of it is found in the Bible, and by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §2) it is spoken of merely as *Χερυθὸς ῥις*.

The position of the Cherith has been much disputed. The words of the passage unfortunately give no clue to it:—“get thee hence (i. e. apparently from the spot where the interview with Ahab had taken place, and which may or may not be Samaria), and turn thy face eastward (מִזְרָחָה), and hide thee in the torrent Crith, which is facing (עַל פְּנֵי) the Jordan.” The expression “facing the Jordan,” which occurs also in verse 5, seems simply to indicate that the stream in question ran into that river and not into either the Mediterranean or the Dead Sea. Josephus, as we have seen, does not name the torrent, and he says that Elijah went, not “eastward,” but towards the south—*εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη*. Eusebius and Jerome on the other hand (*Onomasticon*, Chorath) place the Cherith beyond Jordan, where also Schwarz (51) would identify it in a *Wady Alius*, opposite Beth-Jean. This is the *Wady el-Yabis* (Jabesh), which Benj. Tudela says is a corruption of *וַאֲדַר אֶלְיָא* (ii. 408; Asher). The only tradition on the subject is one mentioned by Mainus Sanutus in 1321; that it ran by Phasaelus, Herod's city in the Jordan valley. This would make it the *Am Fusuil* which falls from the mountains of Ephraim into the *Uhôr*, south of *Kurn Sûrtabeh*, and about 15 miles above Jericho. This view is supported by Bachiene, and in our own time by Van de Velde (ii. 310). The spring of the brook is concealed under high cliffs and under the shade of a dense jungle (V. de Velde, *Memoir*, 339). Dr. Robinson on the other hand would find the name in the *Wady Kelt* (كَلْت), behind Jericho. The two names are however so essentially unlike,—not so much in the change of the *Cuph* to *Kuph*, and *Kesh* to *Lim*, both of which are conceivable, as in the removal of the accent from the end in *Crith* to the beginning in *Kelt*,—that this identification is difficult to receive, especially in the absence of any topographical grounds. (See the same doubt expressed by Winar, *Cherith*.)

The argument from probability is in favour of the Cherith being on the east of Jordan, of which Elijah was a native, and where he would be more out of Ahab's reach than in any of the recesses of the mountains of Ephraim or Benjamin. With increased knowledge of that part of the country, the name may possibly be discovered there. [G.]

**CHERUB** (כְּרֻב; *Χερούβ; Χαρούβ; Cherub*), apparently a place in Babylonia from which some persons of doubtful extraction returned to Judaea

with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). In the parallel list of 1 Esdr. v. this name, with the next, Adnan, seems to be corrupted to CHARAATH-ALAN.

CHER'UB, CHER'UBIM (כְּרֻב, plur.

כְּרֻבִים, or, as mostly in Pentateuch, כְּרָבִים, χερούβ, χερουβίμ). The symbolical figure called was a composite creature-form, which finds

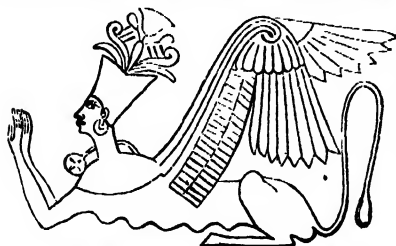


Fig. 1. The winged female sphinx. (Wilkinson.)

parallel in the religious insignia of Assyria, Egypt, and Persia, e. g. the sphinx, the winged bulls and lions of Nineveh, &c., a general prevalence which



Fig. 2. An Egyptian winged animal. (Wilkinson.)

prevents the necessity of our regarding it as a mere adoption from the Egyptian ritual. In such forms (comp. the Chimæra of Greek and the Griffin of north-eastern fables) every imaginative people has sought to embody its notions either of the attributes of Divine essence, or of the vast powers of nature which transcend that of man. In the various legends of Hercules the bull and the lion constantly appear as forms of hostile and evil power; and some of the Persian sculptures apparently represent evil genii under similar quasi-cherubic forms. The Hebrew idea seems to limit the number of the cherubim. A pair (Ex. xxv. 18, &c.) were placed on the mercy-seat of the ark; a pair of colossal size<sup>a</sup> overshadowed it in Solomon's Temple with the canopy of their contiguously extended wings. Ezekiel, i. 4-14, speaks of four,<sup>b</sup> and similarly the apocalyptic *ῥῶα* (Rev. iv. 6) are four. So at the front or east of Eden were posted "the cherubim," as though the whole of some recognised number. They utter no voice, though one is "heard from above them," nor have dealings with men save to awe and repel. A "man clothed in linen" is introduced as a medium of communication between

them and the prophet, whereas for a similar office one of the Seraphim personally officiates; and these latter also "cry one to another." The cherubim are placed beneath the actual presence of Jehovah, whose moving throne they appear to draw (Gen. iii. 24; Ezr. i. 5, 25, 26, x. 1, 2, 6, 7; Is. vi. 2, 3, 6). The expression, however, "the chariot" (מִרְכָּבָה) of the cherubim" (1 Chr. xxviii. 18) does not imply wheels, but the whole apparatus of ark and cherubim is probably so called in reference to its being carried on staves, and the words "chariot" and "cherubim" are in apposition. So a sedan might be called a "carriage," and מִרְכָּב is used for the body of a litter. See, however, Dorjén, *De cherub. Sanct.* (ap. Ugolini, vol. viii.), where the opposite opinion is ably supported. The glory symbolising that presence which eye cannot see rests or rides on them, or one of them, thence dismounts to the temple threshold, and then departs and mounts again (Ezr. x. 4, 18; comp. ix. 3; Ps. xviii. 10). There is in them an entire absence of human sympathy, and even on the mercy-seat they probably appeared not merely as admiring and wondering (1 Pet. i. 12), but as guardians of the covenant and avengers of its breach. A single figure there would have suggested an idol, which two, especially when represented regarding something greater than themselves, could not do. They thus became subordinate, like the supporters to a shield, and are repeated, as it were the distinctive badges of divine heraldry,—the mark, carved or wrought, everywhere on the house and furniture of God (Ex. xxv. 20; 1 K. vi. 29, 35, vii. 29, 36).

Those on the ark were to be placed with wings stretched forth, one at each end of the mercy-seat, and to be made "of the mercy-seat," which Abrahanel (Spencer, *de leg. Heb. ritual.* iii. diss. v.) and others interpret of the same mass of gold with it, viz. wrought by hammering, not cast and then joined on. This seems doubtful, but from the word מִכְשֶׁתֶּת, the solidity of the metal may perhaps be inferred. They are called χερουβίμ θεῶν (Heb. ix. 5), as on them the glory, when visible, rested;

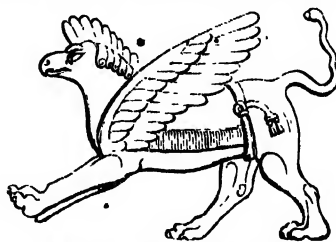


Fig. 3. Assyrian Griffin. (Layard, ii 45b.)

but, whether thus visibly symbolized or not, a perpetual presence of God is attributed to the Holy of Holies. They were anointed with the holy oil, like the ark itself, and the other sacred furniture. Their wings were to be stretched upwards, and their faces

<sup>a</sup> It is perhaps questionable whether the smaller cherubim on the mercy-seat were there in Solomon's temple, as well as the colossal overshadowing ones. That they were on the ark when brought from Shiloh to the battle seems most likely; and it is hardly consistent with the reverential awe shown in the treatment of the ark, even by the enemy, to suppose that

they could have been lost in the course of its wanderings (see ARK OF COVENANT); still, the presence of the two pairs together seems hardly consistent and appropriate.

<sup>b</sup> The number four was one of those which were sacred among the Jews, like seven, and forty (Bähr, *De Symbol.*).

"towards each other and towards the mercy-seat." It is remarkable that with such precise directions as to their position, attitude and material, nothing save that they were winged, is said concerning their shape.



Fig. 4. Assyrian winged bull. (Lagarde, *Nin. and Bab.*, 276.)

Was this shape already familiar, or kept designedly mysterious? From the fact that cherubim were blazoned on the doors, walls, curtains, &c., of the house, and from the detailed description of shapes by Ezekiel, the latter notion might be thought absurd. But if the text of Ezekiel, and the carvings, &c., of the temple had made them popular, Josephus could not possibly have said (*Ant.* viii. 3, §3) *τὰς δὲ χερουβείμ οὐδὲς ὁμοίαν τινος ἔχειν οὐδ' εἰκόσαι δύναται*. It is also remarkable that Ez. i. speaks of them as "living creatures" (*חַיִּים, חַיִּים*), under mere animal forms. Into which description in ch. x. 14, the remarkable expression, "the face of a cherub," is introduced, and the prophet concludes by a reference

\* The "cherubim, lions, and oxen," which ornamented certain utensils in the temple (1 K. vii. 29), are probably all to be viewed as cherubic insignia, the former of composite form, the latter of simple.

† Schoetgen, *Hor. Hebr. ad Apoc.* iv. 3, quotes Pirke, *Rab. Eliezer*, "Ad quatuor pedes (throni) sunt quatuor animalia quorum unum quodque quatuor facies et tot alas habet. Quando Deus loquitur ab oriente tunc id fit inter duos cherubinos facie hominis, quando Deus loquitur a meridie, tunc id fit inter duos cherubinos facie leonis," &c.

\* Bähr, *Symbolik*, vol. i. p. 313-4 (whose entire remarks on this subject are valuable and often profound), inclines to think that the precise form varied within certain limits; e. g. the cherubic figure might have one, two, or four faces, two or four feet, one or two pair of wings, and might have the bovine or leonine type as its basis; the imagery being modified to suit the prominently intended attribute, and the

to his former vision, and an identification of those creatures with the cherubim—(v. 20) "I knew that they were cherubim." On the whole it seems likely that the word "cherub" meant not only the composite creature-form, of which the man, lion, ox, and eagle were the elements, but, further, some peculiar and mystical form, which Ezekiel, being a priest, would know and recognise as "the face of a cherub," *κατ' εἶδος*; but which was kept secret from all others; and such probably were those on the ark, which, when it was moved, was always covered [ARK OF COVENANT], though those on the hangings and panels might be of the popular device.\* What this peculiar cherubic form was is perhaps an impenetrable mystery. It was probably believed popularly to be something of the bovine type (though in Ps. cvi. 20 the notion appears to be marked as degraded): so Spencer (*de leg. Hebr. rit.* iii. diss. 5. 4. 2) thinks that the ox was the *forma principum*, and quotes Grotius on Ex. xxv. 18; Bochart, *Hierozoic.* p. 87, ed. 1690. Hence the "golden calf." The symbolism of the visions of Ezekiel is more complex than that of the earlier Scriptures, and he certainly means that each composite creature-form had four faces so as to look four ways at once, was four-sided<sup>†</sup> and four-winged, so as to move with instant rapidity in every direction without turning, whereas the Mosaic idea was probably single-faced, and with but one pair of wings. Ezekiel adds also the imagery of the wheels—a mechanical to the previous animal forms. This might typify inanimate nature revolving in a fixed course, informed by the spiritual power of God. The additional symbol of being "full of eyes" is one of obvious meaning.

This mysterious form might well be the symbol of Him whom none could behold and live. For as symbols of Divine attributes, e. g. omnipotence and omniscience, not as representations of actual beings (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 241), the cherubim should be regarded.<sup>‡</sup> Philo indeed assigns a varied signification to the cherubim: in one place he makes them allegories of the beneficent and avenging energies of God; in another, of the two hemispheres of the then astronomical system, one of which supported the planets and the other the fixed stars; elsewhere, of power and goodness simply. They are symbolical in Gen. iii. 24, just as the serpent is a symbol in iii. 1-14, though functions and actions are attributed to each. When such symbolical forms have become conventional, the next step is to literalise them as concrete shapes of real beings. The *Gen* of Rev. iv. 6-8 are related both to the cherubim and to

highest forms of creature-being expressing best the highest attributes of the Creator. Thus he thinks the human form might indicate spirituality (p. 340). (Comp. Grot. on Exod. xxv. 18, and Heb. ix. 5.) Some useful hints as to the connexion of cherubic with other mythological forms may be found in Kreuzer, *Symbol.* i. 441, 540.

† In Ex. xxviii. 14, 16, the Tyrian king is addressed as the "anointing cherub that covereth." This seems a mistake in the A. V., arising from a confusion of *מְשִׁיחַ*, which means "stretched out" (Vulg. *cherub extensus*), from *מָשַׁח*, Aram. *to extend*, with some word from *מָשַׁח*, *to anoint*. The notion is borrowed no doubt from the "extended" attitude of the cherubim of the sanctuary, "covering" the ark, &c., with their wings. So the king should have been the guardian of the law.

the semphim of prophecy, combining the symbols of both. They are not stern and unsympathising like the former, but invite the seer to "come and see;" nor like the latter do they cover their face (Is. vi. 2) from the presence of deity, or use their wings to speed on his errands, but, in a state of rest and praise, act as the *choregi* of the heavenly host. And here, too, symbolism ever sliding into realism, these have been diversely construed, e. g. as the four evangelists, four archangels, &c.

Many etymological sources for the word כְּרֻב have been proposed. The two best worth noticing, and between which it is difficult to choose are, (1) the Syriac כְּרֻב, *great, strong* (Gesen. s. v.; comp. Philo de profugis, p. 465). The fact that all the symbols embody various forms of strength, the lion among wild, and the ox among tame beasts, the eagle among birds, the man as supreme over all nature, is in favour of this; (2) the Syriac כְּרֻב, *to plough*, i. e. *to cut*

into; hence Arab. كَرْب, *sculpt*; and here a doubt occurs whether in the active or passive sense, "that which ploughs" = the ox (comp. כֶּקֶר, "ox," from same word in Arab. "to plough"), which brings us to the *forma praeicipua* of Spencer; or, that which is carved = an image. In favour of the latter is the fact that כְּרֻב is rabbinical for "image" generically (Simonis, Bouget, and Pagninus, *Lex. s. v.*), perhaps as the only image known to the law, all others being deemed forbidden, but possibly also as containing the true germ of meaning.<sup>8</sup> Besides these two wisdom or intelligence has been given by high authority as the true meaning of the name (Jerome on Is. vi. 2); so Philo de Vit. Mos. 688—ὡς δ' αὖ ἐλ-  
ληνες εἰποῖεν ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή; and Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 240—ἰθὺς δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν χερουβὶμ δηλοῦν αἰσθησιν πολλήν.

Though the exact form of the cherubim is uncertain, they must have borne a general resemblance to the composite religious figures found upon the

monuments of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. The first two figures are winged creatures from the Egyptian monuments. The next three are taken from Assyrian sculptures. No. 5



Fig. 5. Assyrian sphinx. (Layard, ii. 248.)

represents the griffin of Northern fable, as we see from the griffin found as an ornament in Scythian tombs, but drawn by Grecian artists. In the sacred boats or arks of the Egyptians,



Fig. 6. A Grecian griffin.

there are sometimes found two figures with extended wings, which remind us of the description of the cherubim "covering the mercy-seat with

<sup>8</sup> The griffin of Northern fable watching the gold in the wilderness has (see above) been compared with the cherub, both as regards his composite form, and his function as the guardian of a treasure. The "watchful dragon" of the Hesperides seems perhaps a fabulous reflex of the same, where possibly the "serpent" (δράκων) may, by a change not uncommon in myth, have taken the place of the "cherubim." The dragon and the bull have their place also in the legend of the golden fleece. There is a very near resem-

blance too between the names γρηϋ- (with ε affirmative) and כְּרֻב; and possibly an affinity between γρηϋ- and the Greek forms γρηϋω, γρηϋω, γρηϋα, γλαφύρος (cf. Germ. *graben*), all related to carving, as between כְּרֻב and the Syriac and Arab. words signifying *carved, sculpted*, &c., as above. We have another form of the same root probably in *εἰρηβίς*, the block or tablet on which the laws were engraved.

their wings, and their faces [looking] one to another" (Ex. xxv. 20). [H. H.]

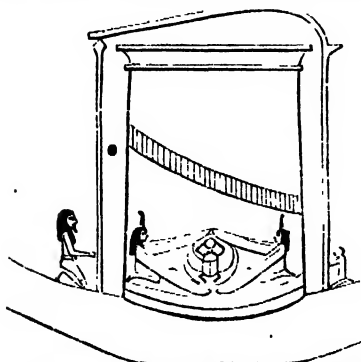


Fig. 7. A sacred Egyptian boat or ark, with two figures perhaps resembling cherubim. (Wilkinson.)

**CHE'SALON** (כֶּסֶלֹן; Χασάλων; *Cheston*), a

place named as one of the landmarks on the west part of the north boundary of Judah, apparently situated on the shoulder (A. V. "side") of Mount Jearim (Josh. xv. 10). The name does not, however, reappear in the list of towns of Judah later in the same chapter. Mount Jearim, the "Mount of Forests," has not necessarily any connexion with Kirjath Jearim, though the two were evidently, from their proximity in this statement of the boundary, not far apart. Chesalon was the next landmark to Bethshemesh, and it is quite in accordance with this that Dr. Robinson has observed a modern village named *Kesla*, about six miles to the N.E. of *Am-shems*, on the western mountains of Judah (Rob. ii. 30 note; iii. 154). Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, mention a 'Chalon, but they differ as to its situation, the former placing it in Benjamin the latter in Judah: both agree that it was a very large village in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The meaning of the name is thought by Professor Stanley, like Chesulloth, to have reference to its situation on the "loins" of the mountain. [G.]

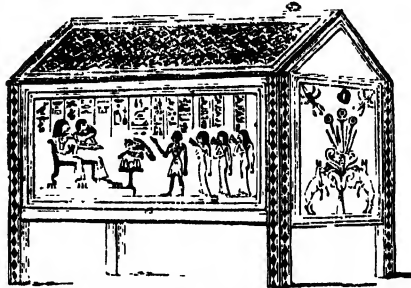
**CHE'SED** (כֶּסֶד; Χαΐδδ; *Cased*), fourth son of Nahor (Gen. xxi. 22). [CHALDEA, p. 292.]

**CHE'SIL** (כֶּסִּיל; Βαιθήλα; Alex. Χασέλ; *Cesil*), a town in the extreme south of Palestine, named with Hormah and Ziklag (Josh. xv. 30). The name does not occur again, but in the list of towns given out of Judah to Simeon, the name **BETHUL** occurs in place of it (ix. 4), as if the one were identical with, or a corruption of, the other. This is confirmed by the reading of 1 Chr. iv. 30, **BETHUEL**—by that of the LXX. as given above, and by the mention in 1 Sam. xxx. 27 of a Bethel among the cities of the extreme south. In this case we can only conclude that כֶּסִּיל was an early variation of כֶּסֶלֹן. [G.]

**CHEST.** By this word are translated in the A. V. two distinct Hebrew terms: 1. אָרֹן or אֲרֹן, from אָרַן to gather; *κισσός*; *guzophylacium*.

\* Possibly referring to the village now *Beit Iksa*, between Jerusalem and *Nebi Samoil*, and therefore in Benjamin.

This is invariably used for the Ark of the Covenant, and, with two exceptions, for that only. It is instructive to be reminded that there is no connexion whatever between this word and that for the "ark" of Noah, and for the "ark" in which Moses was hid among the flags (both אֲרֹכָה, *Tubah*). The two exceptions alluded to are (a) the "coffin" in which the bones of Joseph were carried from Egypt (Gen. l. 26; rendered in the Targ. Ps. Jon. by γλῶσσο-κομος—comp. John xii. 6—in Hebrew letters: the reading of the whole passage is very singular); and (b) the "chest" in which Jehoiada the priest collected the alms for the repairs of the Temple (2 K. xii. 9, 10; 2 Chr. xxiv. 8-11). Of the former the following wood-cut is probably a near representation. 2. צְנִיִּים, "chests," from צָנַן, to hoard (Ex. xxvii. 24 only): A. V. "chests," [G.]



Egyptian chest or box from Thebes (Wilkinson)

**CHESTNUT-TREE** (עֵץ מֶלֶךְ; πλάτανος; *platanus*), a tree mentioned in Gen. xxx. 37, as one of those from which Jacob took rods and pilled them to set before the flocks; and in Ez. xxxi. 8, as one of the trees to which the Assyrian empire in its strength and beauty is likened. These are the only two passages in which the word occurs. The authority for the rendering of the "A. V. is doubtful; and *plane-tree* (*Platanus orientalis* of Linnaeus) would probably be nearer the truth, for the plane is of common growth in Palestine. (See Cels. *Hiarob.* i. 513.) Moreover the etymology of the word connects it with עָרַם, "to be naked," and with

Arab. عرِمَ, "to strip off bark"—the shedding of its bark yearly being characteristic of the plane-tree. (See Hiller in *Hierophyt.* i. 402.) [W. D.]

**CHESUL/LOTH** (with the definite article, הַכֶּסֶלֹת; Χασαλόθ; *Cusaloth*), one of the towns of Issachar, meaning in Hebrew "the loins," and therefore, perhaps, deriving its name from its situation on the slope of some mountain (Josh. xix. 18. See the quotation from Jarchi in Kim's *Joshua*, 338). From its position in the lists it appears to be between Jezreel and Shunem (*Solum*), and, therefore, not far enough north to be the *Iksdi* mentioned by Robinson (ii. 332) or the place noted by Eusebius and Jerome under *Achaseluth*, *Ἀχασέλωθ*, in the *Onomasticon*. [G.]

**CHE'ZIB** (כֶּזִּיב; Sam. Cod. כִּזְבָּה; Sam. Vers. כִּזְבָּה; Χασζι; Vulg. translating, *quo nato parere ultra cessavit*, and comp. a similar translation by Aquila, in *Jer. Qu. Hebr.*), a name which occurs but

once (Gen. xxxviii. 5). Judah was at Chezib when the Canaanitess Bathsheba bore his third son Shelah. The other places named in this remarkable narrative are all in the low country of Judah, and, therefore, in the absence of any specification of the position of Chezib, we may adopt the opinion of the interpreters, ancient and modern, who identify it with ACHZIB (אֲחִזִּיב). It is also probably identical with CHOZEBA.

[G.]

**CHID'ON** (חִידוֹן; LXX. Vat. omits; Alex. *Xeídon*; *Chidon*), the name which in 1 Chr. xlii. 9 is given to the threshing-floor at which the accident to the ark, on its transport from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, took place, and the death of Uzzah. In the parallel account in 2 Sam. vi. the name is given as Nachon. The word Chidon signifies a "javelin;" Nachon, "prepared" or "firm." Whether there were really two distinct names for the same spot, or whether the one is simply a corruption or alteration of the other is quite uncertain (see Gen. Thes. 683; Simonis, *Onom.* 339-40). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, §2) has *Xeídon*. The Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.* on 1 Chr. xi. 9) was that Chidon acquired its name from being the spot on which Joshua stood when he stretched out the weapon of that name (A. V. "spear") towards Ai (Josh. viii. 18). But this is irreconcilable with all our ideas of the topography of the locality. [G.]

**CHILDREN** (בָּנִים; *tékna, παῖδα; liberi, filii*. From the root בָּנָה, *to build*, are derived both בֶּן, *son*, as in Ben-hanan, &c., and בַּת, *daughter*, as in Bath-sheba. The Chald. also בַּר, *son*, occurs in O. T., and appears in N. T. in such words as Barnabas, but which in plur. בָּרִים, Ezr. vi. 18, resembles more the Hebr. Cognate words are the Arabic *Bent*, *sons*, in the sense of descendants, and *Benát*, *daughters*, Ges. pp. 215, 236; Shaw, *Travels*, Pr. p. 8). The blessing of offspring, but especially, and sometimes exclusively, of the male sex is highly valued among all Eastern nations, while the absence is regarded as one of the severest punishments (Her. i. 136; Strab. xv. 733; Gen. xvi. 2, xxix. 31, xxx. 1, 14; Deut. vii. 14; 1 Sam. i. 6, ii. 5, iv. 20; 2 Sam. vi. 23, xviii. 18; 2 K. iv. 14; Is. xlvii. 9; Jer. xx. 15; Hos. ix. 14; Esth. v. 11; Ps. cxxvii. 3, 5; Eccl. vi. 3; Drusus, *Prov. Ben-Sivas*, ap. Cr. Sac. viii. 1887; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 208, 240; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. 163; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* 67; Chardin, *Voy.* vii. 446; Russell, *Nubia*, 343). Childbirth is in the East usually, but not always, attended with little difficulty, and accomplished with little or no assistance (Gen. xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 28; Ex. i. 19; 1 Sam. iv. 19, 20; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 96; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 425; Lady M. W. Montagu, *Letters*, ii. 217, 219, 222). As soon as the child was born, and the umbilical cord cut, it was washed in a bath, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling clothes. Arab mothers sometimes rub their children with earth or sand (Ex. xvi. 4; Job xxxviii. 9; Luke ii. 7; Burckhardt, *l. c.*). On the 8th day the rite of circumcision in the case of a boy, was performed, and a name given, sometimes, but not usually, the same as that of the father, and generally conveying some special meaning. Among Mohammedans, circumcision is most commonly delayed till the 5th, 6th, or even the 14th year (Gen. xxi. 4, xxix. 32, 33, xxx.

6, 24; Lev. xii. 3; Is. vii. 14, viii. 3. Luke i. 59, ii. 21, and Lightfoot, *ad loc.*; Spencer, *de Legg. Hebr.* v. p. 62; Strab. xvii. p. 824; Her. ii. 36, 104; Burckhardt, *ibid.* i. 96; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 87; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. 158; Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 70). [CIRCUMCISION.] After the birth of a male child the mother was considered unclean for 7-33 days; if the child were a female, for double that period 14-66 days. At the end of the time she was to make an offering of purification of a lamb as a burnt-offering, and a pigeon or turtle-dove as a sin-offering, or in case of poverty, two doves or pigeons, one as a burnt-offering, the other as a sin-offering (Lev. xii. 1-3; Luke ii. 22). The period of nursing appears to have been sometimes prolonged to 3 years (Is. xlix. 15; 2 Macc. vii. 27; comp. Livingstone, *Travels*, c. vi. p. 126; but Burckhardt leads to a different conclusion). The Mohammedan law enjoins mothers to suckle their children for 2 full years if possible (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. p. 83; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. p. 161). Nurses were employed in cases of necessity (Ex. ii. 9; Gen. xxiv. 59, xxxv. 8; 2 Sam. iv. 4; 2 K. xi. 2; 2 Chr. xxii. 11). The time of weaning was an occasion of rejoicing (Gen. xxi. 8). Arab children wear little or no clothing for 4 or 5 years: the young of both sexes are usually carried by the mothers on the hip or the shoulder, a custom to which allusion is made by Isaiah (Is. xlii. 22, lxxi. 12; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 83). Both boys and girls in their early years, boys probably till their 5th year, were under the care of the women (Prov. xxxi. 1; Herod. i. 136; Strab. xv. 733; Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 24). Afterwards the boys were taken by the father under his charge. Those in wealthy families had tutors or governors (בְּרִיָּה, *paidagōgos*) who were sometimes eunuchs (Num. xi. 12; 2 K. x. 1, 5; Is. xlix. 23; Gal. iii. 24; Esth. ii. 7; Joseph. *Vit.* 76; Lane, *M. E. i.* 83). Daughters usually remained in the women's apartments till marriage, or, among the poorer classes, were employed in household work (Lev. xii. 9; Num. xii. 14; 1 Sam. ix. 11; Prov. xxxi. 19, 23; Eccles. vii. 25, xlii. 9; 2 Macc. iii. 19). The example, however, and authority of the mother were carefully upheld to children of both sexes (Deut. xxi. 20; Prov. x. 1, xv. 20; 1 K. ii. 19).

The firstborn male children were regarded as devoted to God, and were to be redeemed by an offering (Ex. xiii. 13; Num. xviii. 15; Luke ii. 22). Children devoted by special vow, as Samuel was, appear to have been brought up from very early years in a school or place of education near the tabernacle or temple (1 Sam. i. 24, 28). [EDUCATION.]

The authority of parents, especially the father, over children was very great, as was also the reverence enjoined by the law to be paid to parents. The disobedient child, the striker or reviler of a parent, was liable to capital punishment, though not at the independent will of the parent. Children were liable to be taken as slaves in case of non-payment of debt, and were expected to perform menial offices for them, such as washing the feet, and to maintain them in poverty and old age. How this last obligation was evaded, see CORBAN. The like obedience is enjoined by the Gospel (Gen. xxxviii. 24; Lev. xxi. 9; Num. xii. 14; Deut. xxiv. 16; 1 K. ii. 19; 2 K. xiv. 6, iv. 1; Is. i. 1; Neh. v. 5; Job xxiv. 9; Prov. x. 1, xv. 20, xxii.

3; Drusus, *Quest. Hebr.* ii. 63, ap. Cr. Sac. viii. 1547; Col. iii. 20; Eph. vi. 1; 1 Tim. i. 9; comp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 609; and Servius, *ad loc.*; Aristoph. *Ran.* 146; Plato, *Phaedo*, 144; *do Log.* ix.).

The legal age was 12, or even earlier in the case of a female, and 13 for a male (Maimon. *de Pros.* c. v.; Grotius and Calmet on *John* ix. 21).

The inheritance was divided equally between all the sons except the eldest, who received a double portion (Deut. xxi. 17; Gen. xxv. 31, xlix. 3; 1 Ch. v. 1, 2; Judg. xi. 2, 7). Daughters had by right no portion in the inheritance; but if a man had no son, his inheritance passed to his daughters, but they were forbidden to marry out of their father's tribe (Num. xxvii. 1, 8, xxxvi. 2, 8).

The term *sons* was applied also to the disciples and followers of the teachers of the various sects which arose after the Captivity. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on *John* xiii. 33; Luke xi. 45; *John* xvi. 16.) [See SECTS, SCHOOLS, and SCHOOLS OF PROPHETS.] [H. W. P.]

CHIL'EAB. [ARIGAIL; DANIEL.]

CHIL'ON (כִּילִ'ון; Χελών; Alex. Χελών; *Chelion*), the son of Elimelech and Naomi, and husband of Orpah (Ruth i. 2-5, iv. 9). He is described as "an Ephrathite (? Ephraimite) of Bethlehem-judah."

CHIL'MAD (כִּלְמַד; Χαμάν; *Chelmad*), a place or country mentioned in conjunction with Sheba and Asshur (Ez. xxvii. 23). The only name bearing any similarity to it is Charmande, a town near the Euphrates between the Mascas and the Babylonian frontier (Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, §10). As however no other writer notices this place, it is highly improbable that it was of sufficient importance to rank with Sheba and Asshur. Hitzig (*Comment.* on *Ez.* i. c.) proposes to alter the punctuation to כִּלְמַד with the sense "A-shur was as thy pupil in commerce." [W. L. B.]

CHIM'HAM (כִּמְחָם—but see below; Χαμαμ; Alex. Χαραμ; Jos. Ἀχίμαρος; *Chamaam*), a follower, and probably a son (Josh. Ant. vii. 11, §4; and comp. 1 K. ii. 7) of Barzillai the Gileadite, who returned from beyond Jordan with David (2 Sam. xix. 37, 38, 40). David appears to have bestowed on him a possession at Bethlehem, on which, in later times, an inn or *Khan* (כִּנְיָן) was standing, well-known as the starting point for travellers from Jerusalem to Egypt (Jer. xli. 17). There is some uncertainty about the name, possibly from its not being that of a Hebrew. In 2 Sam. xix. 40, it is in the Hebrew text Chimhan, כִּמְחָן; and in the *Chetib* of Jer. xli. 17, Chemôham, כִּמְחָם. [G.]

CHIN'NERETH (accurately Cinnereth, כִּנְרֶת; Κενερέθ; Alex. Κενερέθ; *Cenereth*), a fortified city in the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35 only), of which no trace is found in later writers, and no remains by travellers. Whether it gave its name to, or received it from, the lake, which was possibly adjacent, is quite uncertain. By S. Jerome Cinnereth was identified with the later Tiberias. This may have been from some tradition then existing: the only corroboration which we can find for it is the mention in Joshua of Hammath

as near it, which was possibly the *Hammath* or Emmaus, near the shore of the lake a little south of Tiberias. This is denied by Reland (161), on the ground that Capernaum is said by St. Matt. (iv. 13) to have been on the very borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, and that Zebulun was to the south of Naphtali. But St. Matthew's expression will hardly bear this strict interpretation. The town, or the lake, appears to have given its name (slightly altered) to a district—"all Cinneroth" (1 K. xv. 20). [G.]

CHIN'NERETH, SEA OF (כִּנְרֶת; ἡ θάλασσα Κενερέθ; *mare Cenereth*, Num. xxiv. 11; Josh. xiii. 27), the inland sea, which is most familiarly known to us as the "lake of Gennesareth." This is evident from the mode in which it is mentioned in various passages in the Pentateuch and Joshua—as being at the end of Jordan opposite to the "Sea of the Arabah," i. e. the Dead Sea; as having the Arabah or Ghor below it, &c. (Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xi. 2, xii. 3). In the two former of these passages the word "sea" is omitted; in the two latter it is in a plural form—"Chinneroth" (acc. Cinnaroth כִּנְרֹת; and כִּנְרֹת, Cinnroth). The word is by some derived from Cinnor (κινύρα, *cithara*, a "harp"), as if in allusion to the oval shape of the lake. But this, to say the least, is doubtful. It seems more likely that Cinnereth was an ancient Canaanite name existing long prior to the Israelite conquest, and, like other names, adopted by the Israelites into their language. The subsequent name "Gennesar" was derived from "Cinnereth" by a change of letters of a kind frequent enough in the East. [GENNESARETH.] [G.]

CHIOS (Χίος). The position of this island in reference to the neighbouring islands and coasts could hardly be better described than in the detailed account of St. Paul's return voyage from Troas to Caesarea (Acts xx. xxi.). Having come from Assos to Mitylene in Lesbos (xx. 14), he arrived the next day over against Chios (v. 15), the next day at Samos and tarried at Trogyllium (v. 16); and the following day at Miletus (v. 17): thence he went by Cos and Rhodes to Patara (xxi. 1). [MITYLENE, SAMOS.] With this it is worth while to compare the account of Herod's voyage to join Marcus Agrippa in the Black Sea. We are told (Joseph. Ant. xvi. 2, §2) that after passing by Rhodes and Cos, he was detained some time by north winds at Chios, and sailed on to Mitylene, when the winds became more favourable. It appears that during this stay at Chios Herod gave very liberal sums towards the restoration of some public works which had suffered in the Mithridatic war. This island does not appear to have any other association with the Jews: nor is it specially mentioned in connexion with the first spread of Christianity by the Apostles. When St. Paul was there, on the occasion referred to, he did not land, but only passed the night at anchor. At that time Chios enjoyed the privilege of freedom (Plin. v. 38), and it is not certain that it ever was politically a part of the province of Asia, though it is separated from the mainland only by a strait of 5 miles. Its length is about 32 miles, and in breadth it varies from 8 to 18. Its outline is mountainous and bold; and it has always been celebrated for its beauty and fruitfulness. In recent times it has been too well known, under its modern name of

[J. S. H.]

CHIS'LON (פסלון; Χασλών; Chasclon),

Canaan among the tribes (Num. xxxiv. 21).

[G.]

the decks of their vessels (Ez. xxvii. 6, בַּת-אֲשֵׁרִים)

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[W. L. B.]

**CHIUN (פִּיּוּן).**

[H. A.]

part of Palestine. It is probably the same place as

**CHORA'SHAN** (چوراشان) - 1000000 - 1000000

## CHORA'SHAI

Y 2

\* Hengstenberg (*Hist. of Bal.*) explains this expression as = *from the side of Cyprus, i. e. from that island as a rendezvous.*

his friends in which he sent presents of the plunder taken from the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 30). The towns named in this catalogue are all south of Hebron, and Chorashan may, therefore, be identical with ASHAN of Nimcon. This is, however, quite uncertain, and the name has not been discovered.

[G.]

**CHORAZ'ZIN** (Χοραζιν, Χοραζεῖν, Χοροζαῖν; *Corozain*), one of the cities in which our Lord's mighty works were done, but named only in His denunciation (Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13). It was known to St. Jerome, who describes it (*Comm. in Esai.* ix. 1) as on the shore of the lake, two miles from Capernaum. St. Willibald (about A.D. 750) visited the various places along the lake in the following order—Tiberias, Magdalen, Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin. Dr. Robinson's conclusion is that *Khu Minjeh* being Capernaum, *Et-Tubighah* is Bethsaida, and *Tell Ilam* Chorazin, but the question is enveloped in great obscurity. The origin of the name is also very uncertain. Origen writes the name as *χώρα Ζιν*, i. e. the district of Zin; but this appears to be only conjecture, and has no support from MSS. A place of this name is mentioned in the Talmud (see Reland, 722) as famous for wheat, which is still grown in large quantities in this neighbourhood.

[G.]

**CHOZE'BA** (חֲזֵבָה; *Χωζεβδ*; *virī mendacii*).

The "sons of Choze'ba" are named (1 Chr. iv. 22) amongst the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah. The name does not reappear, but it is sufficiently like *CHIZIN* (and especially the reading of the Samaritan Codex of that name) to suggest that the two refer to the same place, that, namely, elsewhere called *ACHZIB*, at which place Shelah was born. (The Vulgate version of this passage is worth notice.)

[G.]

**CHRIST.** [JESUS.]

**CHRONICLES**, First and Second Books of (in Heb. *דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים*; *verba dierum*, as Jerome translates it, and *sermones dierum*, as Hilar. Pictav. in Wolf, but rather *acta dierum*; journals, or diaries, i. e. the record of the daily occurrences), the name originally given to the record made by the appointed historiographers in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In the LXX. these books are called *Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον* and *δευτέρον*, which is understood, after Jerome's explanation, as meaning that they are supplementary to the books of Kings. The Vulgate retains both the Hebrew and Greek name in Latin characters, *Dabre jammim*, or *hajamim*, and *Paralipomenou*. Jerome tells us (*ad Dominion. et Regatium*), that in his time they formed only one book in the Hebrew MSS., but had been divided by the Christian churches using the LXX. for convenience, on account of their length. In his Ep. to Paulinus, he thus further explains the name *Paralipomenon*, and enlarges the book. "*Paralipomenon liber, id est Instrum. Vet. epitome, tantus ac talis est, ut absque illo si quis scientiam scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, seipsum irrideat. Per singula quinque nomina juncturasque verborum, et præter-*

*missæ in Regum libris tanguntur historiæ, et innumerabiles explicuntur Evangelii quaestiones.*" The name *Chronica*, or *Chronicorum liber*, which is given in some copies of the Vulgate, and from whence we derive our English name of "Chronicles," seems to be taken from Jerome's saying in his *prologus Galeatus*, "*Dibre hajamim, i. e. verba dierum: quod significantius Chronicorum totius divinae historiae possumus appellare.*" It was possibly suggested to him by his having translated the *Chronica* of Eusebius into Latin. Later Latin writers have given them the name of *Ephemeridum libri*. The constant tradition of the Jews, in which they have been followed by the great mass of Christian commentators, is that these books were for the most part compiled by Ezra;\* and the one genealogy, that of Zerubbabel, which comes down to a later time,<sup>b</sup> is no objection to this statement, without recurring to the strange notion broached by the old commentators, and even sanctioned by Dr. Davidson (in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopaedia* "Chronicles"), that the knowledge of these genealogies was communicated to Ezra by inspiration. In fact, the internal evidence as to the time when the book of Chronicles was compiled, seems to tally remarkably with the tradition concerning its authorship. Notwithstanding this agreement however, the authenticity of *Chronicles* has been vehemently impugned by De Wette and other German critics,<sup>c</sup> whose arguments have been successfully refuted by Dahler, Keil, Movers, and others. It has been clearly shown that the attack was grounded not upon any real marks of spuriousness in the books themselves, but solely upon the desire of the critics in question to remove a witness whose evidence was 'atal to their favourite theory as to the post-Babylonian origin of the books of Moses. If the accounts in the books of Chronicles of the courses of priests and Levites, and the ordinances of divine service as arranged by David, and restored by Hezekiah and Josiah, are genuine, it necessarily follows that the Levitical law as set forth in the Pentateuch, was not invented after the return from the captivity. Hence the successful vindication of the authenticity of Chronicles has a very important bearing upon many of the very gravest theological questions. As regards the plan of the book, of which the book of Ezra is a continuation, forming one work, it becomes apparent immediately we consider it as the compilation of Ezra, or some one nearly contemporary with him. One of the greatest difficulties connected with the captivity and the return must have been the maintenance of that genealogical distribution of the lands which yet was a vital point of the Jewish economy. Accordingly it appears to have been one to which both Ezra and Nehemiah gave their earnest attention, as David, Hezekiah, and other kings, had done before them. Another difficulty intimately connected with the former was the maintenance of the temple services at Jerusalem. This could only be effected by the residence of the priests and Levites in Jerusalem in the order of their courses; and this residence was only practicable in case of the payment of the appointed tithes, first-fruits, and other offerings. Immediately these ceased the priests and

\* As far as 1 Chr. xxi. 2, says the *Data Bathra*, as explained by R. Gedaliah, and by Buxtorf. See Wolf, *Bib. Hebr.* vol. ii. p. 32.

<sup>b</sup> For an explanation of Zerubbabel's genealogy in 1 Chr. iii., see *Geneal. of our Lord*, by Lord A. Hervey, p. 97, seq. But even if this explanation is not ac-

cepted, there is no difficulty. The hand which added Neh. xii. 10, 11, 22, 23, might equally have added 1 Chr. iii. 22-24.

<sup>c</sup> Keil says that Spinoza led the way, by suggesting that they were compiled after Judas Maccabeus (p. 9).

Levites were obliged to disperse to their own villages to obtain a livelihood, and the temple services were neglected. But then again the registers of the Levitical genealogies were necessary, in order that it might be known who were entitled to such and such allowances, as porters, as singers, as priests, and so on; because all these offices went by families; and again the payment of the tithes, first-fruits, &c., was dependent upon the different families of Israel being established each in his inheritance. Obviously therefore one of the most pressing wants of the Jewish community after their return from Babylon would be trustworthy genealogical records, and if there were any such in existence, the arrangement and publication of them would be one of the greatest services a person in Ezra's situation could confer. But further, not only had Zerubbabel (Ezr. iii. v. vi.), and after him Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr. ii. viii.; Neh. vii. viii.) laboured most earnestly in the teeth of immense difficulties, to restore the temple and the public worship of God there to the condition it had been in under the kings of Judah; but it appears clearly from their policy, and from the language of the contemporary prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, that they had it much at heart to re-infuse something of national life and spirit into the heart of the people, and to make them feel that they were still the inheritors of God's covenanted mercies, and that the captivity had only temporarily interrupted, not dried up, the stream of God's favour to their nation. Now nothing could more effectually aid these pious and patriotic designs than setting before the people a compendious history of the kingdom of David, which should embrace a full account of its prosperity, should trace the sins which led to its overthrow, but should carry the thread through the period of the captivity, and continue it as it were unbroken on the other side; and those passages in their former history would be especially important which exhibited their greatest and best kings as engaged in building or restoring the temple, in reforming all corruptions in religion, and zealously regulating the services of the house of God. As regards the kingdom of Israel or Samaria, seeing it had utterly and hopelessly passed away, and that the existing inhabitants were among the bitterest "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," it would naturally engage very little of the compiler's attention. These considerations explain exactly the plan and scope of that historical work which consists of the two books of Chronicles and the book of Ezra. For after having in the first eight chapters given the genealogical divisions and settlements of the various tribes, the compiler marks distinctly his own age and his own purpose, by informing us in ch. ix. 1 of the disturbance of those settlements by the Babylonish captivity, and, in the following verses, of the partial restoration of them at the return from Babylon (2-24); and that this list refers to the families who had returned from Babylon is clear, not only from the context, but from its insertion, Neh. xi. 3-22,<sup>4</sup> with additional matter evidently extracted from the public archives, and relating to times subsequent to the return from Babylon, extending to Neh. xii. 27, where Nehemiah's narrative is again resumed in continuance with Neh. xi. 2. Having thus shown the re-establishment of the returned families, each in their

own inheritance according to the houses of their fathers, the compiler proceeds to the other part of his plan, which is to give a continuous history of the kingdom of Judah from David to his own times, introduced by the closing scene of Saul's life (ch. x.), which introduction is itself prefaced by a genealogy of the house of Saul (ix. 35-44), extracted from the genealogical tables drawn up in the reign of king Hezekiah, as is at once manifest by counting the 13 or 14 generations, from Jonathan to the sons of Azel inclusive, exactly corresponding to the 14 from David to Hezekiah inclusive. This part of the plan extends from 1 Chr. ix. 35 to the end of the book of Ezra: 1 Chr. xv.-xvii. xxii.-xxix.; 2 Chr. xiii.-xv. xxiv. xxvi. xxix.-xxxi. and xxxv. are among the passages wholly or in part peculiar to the books of Chronicles, which mark the purpose of the compiler, and are especially suited to the age and the work of Ezra. Many Chaldaisms in the language of these books, the resemblance of the style of Chron. to that of Ezra, which is, in parts, avowedly Ezra's composition, the reckoning by Darics (1 Chr. xxix. 7) as most explain אַרְרַכְנִים, as well as the breaking off of the narrative in the lifetime of Ezra, are among other valid arguments by which the authorship, or rather compilation of 1 and 2 Chr. and Ezra is vindicated to Ezra. As regards the materials used by him, and the sources of his information, they are not difficult to discover. The genealogies are obviously transcribed from some register, in which were preserved the genealogies of the tribes and families drawn up at different times. This appears from the very different ages at which different genealogies terminate, indicating of course the particular reign when each was drawn up. Thus e.g. the genealogy of the descendants of Sheshan (1 Chr. ii. 34-41) was drawn up in Hezekiah's reign, since, including Zabad, who lived in David's time, and Azariah in the time of Joash, it ends with a generation contemporary with Hezekiah [AZARIAH, No. 13]. The line of the high-priests (1 Chr. vi. 1-15) must have been drawn up during the captivity; that in 50-53, in the time of David or Solomon; those of Heman and Asaph in the same chapter in the time of David; that of the sons of Azel (1 Chr. viii. 38) in the time of Hezekiah; that of the sons of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 10-24) in the time of Ezra, and so on.

The same wide divergence in the age of other materials embodied in the books of Chronicles is also apparent. Thus the information in 1 Chr. i. concerning the kings of Edom before the reign of Saul, was obviously compiled from very ancient sources. The same may be said of the incident of the slaughter of the sons of Ephraim by the Gittites, 1 Chr. vii. 21, viii. 13, and of the account of the sons of Shela, and their dominion in Moab, 1 Chr. iv. 21, 22. The curious details concerning the Reubenites and Gadites in 1 Chr. v. must have been drawn from contemporary documents, embodied probably in the genealogical records of Jotham and Jehoash, while other records used by the compiler are as late as after the return from Babylon, such as 1 Chr. ix. 2 sqq.; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 20 sqq.; and others, as Ezr. ii. and iv. 6-23, are as late as the time of Artaxerxes and Nehemiah. Hence it is further manifest that the books of Chronicles and Ezra, though put into their present form by one hand, contain in fact extracts from the writings of many different writers, which were

<sup>4</sup> Compare also 1 Chr. ix. 19, with Ezr. ii. 42, Neh. vii. 45.

*estant at the time the compilation was made.* For the full account of the reign of David, he made copious extracts from the books of Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer (1 Chr. xxix. 29). For the reign of Solomon he copied from "the book of Nathan," from "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," and from "the visions of Iddo the seer" (2 Chr. ix. 29). Another work of Iddo called "the story (or interpretation, *Midrash*, מִדְרָשׁ) of the prophet Iddo," supplied an account of the acts, and the ways, and sayings of king Abijah (xiii. 22); while yet another book of Iddo concerning genealogies, with the book of the prophet Shemaiah, contained the acts of king Rehoboam (xii. 15). For later times the "Book of the kings of Israel and Judah" is repeatedly cited (2 Chr. xxv. 26, xxvii. 7, xxxii. 32, xxxiii. 18, &c.), and "the sayings of the seers," or rather of Chozai (xxxiii. 19); and for the reigns of Uzziah and Hezekiah "the vision of the prophet Isaiah" (xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32). In other cases where no reference is made to any book as containing further information, it is probable that the whole account of such reigns is transcribed. Besides the above named works, there was also the public national record called סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, mentioned in Neh. xii. 23, from which doubtless the present books took their name, and from which the genealogies and other matters in them were probably derived, and which are alluded to as having existed as early as the reign of David, 1 Chr. xxvii. 24. These "Chronicles of David," דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְדָוִד, are probably the same as the דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, above referred to, as written by Samuel, Nathan, and Gad. From this time the affairs of each king's reign were regularly recorded in a book called at first סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, "the book of the acts of Solomon" (1 K. xi. 41), by the name of the king, as before of David, but afterwards in both kingdoms by the general name of הַיָּמִים ד', as in the constantly recurring formula,—“Now the rest of the acts (דְּבָרֵי) of Rehoboam, Abijah, &c.; Jeroboam, Nadab, &c., are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah” or “of Israel” (1 K. xiv. 28, xv. 7, &c.)? And this continues to the end of Jehoiakim's reign, as appears by 2 K. xxiv. 5; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 8. And it was doubtless from this common source that the passages in the Books of Samuel and Kings identical with the Books of Chronicles were derived. All these several works have perished, but the most important matters in them have been providentially preserved to us in the Chronicles.

As regards the closing chapter of 2 Chr. subsequent to v. 8, and the 1st ch. of Ezra, a comparison of them with the narrative of 2 K. xxiv. xxv., will lead to the conclusion that while the writer of the narrative in *Kings* lived in Judah, and died under the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, the writer of the chapter in *Chronicles* lived at Babylon, and survived till the commencement at least of the Persian dynasty. For this last writer gives no details of the reigns of Jehoiachin, or Zedekiah, or the events in Judah subsequent to the burning of the temple; but, only dwelling on the moral lessons connected with the destruction of Jerusalem, passes on quickly to relate the return from captivity. Moreover, he seems to speak as one who had long been a subject of Nebuchadnezzar, calling him

simply “King Nebuchadnezzar;” and by the repeated use of the expression “*brought him, or these, to Babylon*,” rather encourages the idea that the writer was there himself. The first chapter of Ezra strongly confirms this view, for we have copious details, not likely to be known except to one at Babylon, of the decree, the presents made to the captives, the bringing out of the sacred vessels, the very name of the Chaldee treasurer, the number and weight of the vessels, and the Chaldee name of Zerubbabel, and in this chapter the writer speaks throughout of the captives *going up* to Jerusalem, and Sheshbazzar *taking* them up (הֶעֱלָה, as opposed to הֵבִיא). But with this clue we may advance a little further, and ask, who was there at Babylon, a prophet, as the writer of sacred annals must be, an author, a subject of Nebuchadnezzar and his sons, and yet who survived to see the Persian dynasty, to whom we can with probability assign this narrative? Surely the answer will be Daniel. Who so likely to dwell on the sacred vessels taken by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. v. 2, 23); who so likely to refer to the prophecy of Jeremiah (Dan. ix. 2); who so likely to bewail the stubbornness of the people, and their rejection of the prophets (Dan. ix. 5-8); who so likely to possess the text of Cyrus's decree to know and record the name of the treasurer (Dan. i. 3, 11); and to name Zerubbabel by his Chaldee name (Dan. i. 7)? Add to this, that Ezra i. exactly supplies the unaccountable gap between Dan. ix. and x. [EZRA], and we may conclude with some confidence that as Jeremiah wrote the closing portion of the Book of Kings, so did Daniel write the corresponding portion in Chronicles, and down to the end of Ezr. i. Ezra perhaps brought this with him from Babylon, and made use of it to carry on the Jewish history from the point where the old Chronicles failed him. As regards the TEXT of the Chronicles it is in parts very corrupt, and has the appearance of having been copied from MSS. which were partly effaced by age or injury. Jerome (*Præf. ad Paral.*) speaks of the Greek text as being hopelessly confused in his days, and assigns this as a reason why he made a new translation from the Hebrew. However, in several of the differences between the text of Chronicles and the parallel passages in the other books,\* the Chronicles preserve the purest and truest reading, as e.g. 2 Chr. ix. 25, compared with 1 K. iv. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 11 compared with 2 Sam. xxiii. 8; xxi. 12 comp. with 2 Sam. xxiv. 13; 2 Chr. xxvi. 1, 3, 8, &c. comp. with 2 K. xv. 1, 6, &c. As regards the LANGUAGE of these books, as of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the later prophets, it has a marked Chaldee colouring, and Gesenius says of them, that “as literary works, they are decidedly inferior to those of older date” (*Introd. to Heb. Gramm.*). The chief Chaldaisms are the use of certain words not found in old Hebrew, as הֶעֱלָה, זָמַן, סוֹף, &c., or of words in a different sense, as אָמַר, שָׁנָה, &c., or of a different orthography, as דָּוִיד for דָּוִד, רֶב, &c., and the interchange of נ and מ at the end and at the beginning of words, and other peculiarities pointed out by Gesenius and others. For further information see C. F.

\* For a careful comparison of the text of 1 Chr. xi. with 2 Sam. v. and xxiii., see Dr. Kennicott's dissertation.

Keil, *Apolog. Versuch ü. d. Bücher d. Chronik*; C. F. Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen ü. d. Bibl. Chronik*; Wolf's *Biblioth. Hebr.*; Kittó's *Bibl. Cyclop.* CHRONICLES, and other works cited by the abovenamed writers. [A. C. H.]

**CHRONOLOGY.** 1. INTRODUCTION.—The object of this article is to indicate the present state of biblical chronology. By this term we understand the technical and historical chronology of the Jews and their ancestors from the earliest time to the close of the New Testament Canon. The technical division must be discussed in some detail, the historical only as far as the return from Babylon, the disputed matters of the period following that event being separately treated in other articles.

The character of the inquiry may be made clearer by some remarks on the general nature of the subject. Formerly too great an exactness was hoped for in the determination of Hebrew chronology. Where the materials were not definite enough to fix a date within a few years, it was expected that the very day could be ascertained. Hence arose great unsoundness and variety of results, which ultimately produced a general feeling of distrust. At present critics are rather prone to run into this latter extreme and to treat this subject as altogether vague and uncertain. The truth, as might be expected, lies between these two extreme judgments. The character of the records whence we draw our information forbids us to hope for a complete system. The Bible does not give a complete history of the times to which it refers: in its historical portions it deals with special and detached periods. The chronological information is, therefore, not absolutely continuous, although often, with the evident purpose of forming a kind of connexion between these different portions, it has a more continuous character than might have been

with his speaking of the duration of Saul's reign, as to which the Hebrew Scriptures are silent. Of the latter class are such statements as Jephthah's of the 300 years that the Israelites had held the country of the Amorites before his days, and the indications of time afforded by the growth of a tribe or family, and changes in national character and habits, which indications, from their requiring careful study and acute criticism, have been greatly neglected. The evidence of the genealogies without numbers is weakened not so much by designed alteration, of which the presence of the Second Cainan in two lists affords the only positive instances, but by the abundant indications they show of the carelessness of copyists. Their very nature also renders them guides to which we cannot trust since it appears that they may be in any case broken without being technically imperfect. Even were this not the case, it must be proved before they can be made the grounds of chronological calculation, that the length of man's life and the time of manhood were always what they now are, and even then the result could only be approximative, and when the steps were few, very uncertain. This inquiry therefore demands the greatest caution and judgment.

2. TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.—The technical part of Hebrew chronology presents great difficulties. The biblical information is almost wholly inferential, although in many cases the inferences to be drawn are of a very positive nature, not always absolutely but in their historical application. For instance, although the particular nature of each year of the common kind—for there appear to have been two years—cannot be fixed, yet the general or average character of all can be determined with a great approach to exactness. In this part we may use with more than ordinary confidence the evidence of the earlier Rabbinical commentators, who, in such matters, could scarcely be ill-informed. They lived near to the times at which all the Jewish observances connected with the calendar were strictly kept in the country for which they were framed, and it has not been shown that they had any motive for misrepresentation. We can, however, make no good use of our materials if we do not ascertain what character to expect in Hebrew technical chronology. There is no reason to look for any great change, either in the way of advance or decline, although it seems probable that the patriarchal division of time was somewhat ruder than that established in connexion with the Law, and that, after the time of Moses until the establishment of the kingdom, but little attention was paid to science. In our endeavour to ascertain how much scientific knowledge the patriarchs and Israelites are likely to have had, we must not expect either the accuracy of modern science or the inaccuracy of modern ignorance. As to scientific knowledge connected with chronology, particularly that of astronomy, the cases of the Egyptians and the Chaldees will assist us to form a judgment with respect to the Hebrews. These last, however, we must remember, had not the same advantage of being wholly settled, nor the same inducements of national religions connected with the heavenly bodies. The Arabs of the desert, from somewhat before the time of Mohammad—that is, as far as our knowledge of them in this respect extends—to the present day, afford the best parallel. We do not find them to have been a mathematical people or one given to chronological computation depending on astronomy, but to have regulated their

part of the subject depends, so far as the Bible is concerned, almost wholly upon inference. It might be supposed that the accuracy of the information would compensate in some degree for its scantiness and occasional want of continuity. This was, doubtless, originally the case, but it has suffered by designed alteration and by the carelessness of copyists. It is, therefore, of the highest moment to ascertain, as far as possible, what are the indications of alterations by design, and the character of the data in which they occur, and also what class of data have been shown to have suffered through the carelessness of copyists. Designed alteration of numbers has only been detected in the two genealogical lists of Abraham's ancestors in Genesis, in which the character of the differences of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, is such as to indicate separate alteration by design of two out of the three records. The object of these alterations must have been either to shorten or to lengthen the chronology. With the same purpose alterations may have been made in the prominent detached large numbers in the Old Testament, and even in the smaller numbers, when forming part of a series, or, in either case, in the accompanying words determining the historical place of these numbers. Hence there is great value in independent evidence in the New Testament and in incidental evidence in the Old. Of the former class are St. Paul's mentions of the period of the Judges, and of that from the promise to Abraham until the Exile, especially considered in connexion

calendars by observation alone. It might have been expected that their observations would, from their constant recurrence, have acquired an extraordinary delicacy and gradually given place to computations; but such we do not find to have been the case, and these observations are not now more accurate than would be the earlier ones of any series of the kind. The same characteristics appear to have been those of the scientific knowledge and practice of the Hebrews. We have no reason for supposing that they had attained, either by discovery or by the instruction of foreigners, even in individual cases, to a high knowledge of mathematics or accuracy of chronological computation at any period of their history. In these particulars it is probable that they were always far below the Egyptians and the Chaldees. But there is sufficient evidence that they were not inattentive observers of the heavens in the allusions to stars and constellations as well-known objects. We may therefore expect, in the case of the Hebrews, that wherever observation could take the place of computation it would be employed, and that its accuracy would not be of more than a moderate degree. If, for instance, a new moon were to be observed at any town, it would be known within two days when it might be first seen, and one of the clearest-sighted men of the place would ascend to an eminence to look for it. This would be done throughout a period of centuries without any close average for computation being obtained, since the observations would not be kept on record. So also of the risings of stars and of the times of the equinoxes. These probable conclusions as to the importance of observation and its degree of accuracy must be kept in view in examining this section.

Before noticing the divisions of time we must speak of genealogies and generations.

It is commonly supposed that the genealogies given in the Bible are mostly continuous. When, however, we come to examine them closely, we find that many are broken without being in consequence technically defective as Hebrew genealogies. A modern pedigree thus broken would be defective, but the principle of these genealogies must have been different. A notable instance is that of the genealogy of our Saviour given by St. Matthew. In this genealogy Joiam is immediately followed by Ozias, as if his son—Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah being omitted (Matt. i. 8). That this is not an accidental omission of a copyist is evident from the specification of the number of generations from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonish Captivity, and from the Babylonish Captivity to Christ, in each case fourteen generations. Probably these missing names were purposely left out to make the number for the interval equal to that of the other intervals, such an omission being obvious and not liable to cause error. In Ezia's genealogy (Ezr. vii. 1-5) there is a similar omission, which in so famous a line can scarcely be attributed to the carelessness of a copyist. There are also examples of a man being called the son of a remote ancestor in a statement of a genealogical form, as the following: "Shebuel the son of Gershon [Gershom], the son of Moses" (1 Chr. xxvi. 24), where a contemporary of David is placed in the same relation to Gershom the son of Moses, as the latter is to Moses himself. That these are not exceptional instances is evident from the occurrence of examples of the same kind in historical narratives. Thus Jehu is called "the

son of Nimshi" (1 K. xix. 16; 2 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. xxii. 7), as well as "the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi" (1 K. ix. 2, 14). In the same manner Laban is called "the son of Nahor" (Gen. xxix. 5), whereas he was his grandson, being the son of Bethuel (xxviii. 2, 5, comp. xxii. 20-23). We cannot, therefore, venture to use the Hebrew genealogical lists to compute intervals of time except where we can prove each descent to be immediate. But even if we can do this we have still to be sure that we can determine the average length of each generation. (*Historical Chronology*.) Ideler remarks that Moses, like Herodotus, reckons by generations. (*Handbuch*, i. p. 506.) Certainly in the Pentateuch generations are connected with chronology by the length of each in a series being indicated, but this is not the manner of Herodotus, who reckons by generations, assuming an average of three to a century (ii. 142). There is no use of a generation as a division of time, in the Pentateuch, unless, with some, we suppose that יָדָוּ in Gen. xv. 16 is so used: those, however, who hold this opinion make it an interval of a hundred years, since it would, if a period of time, seem to be the fourth part of the 400 years of verse 13: most probably, however, the meaning is that some of the fourth generation should come forth from Egypt. [GENEALOGY; GENERATION.]

We have now to speak of the divisions of time, commencing with the least. There is no evidence that the ancient Hebrews had any such division smaller than an hour:—

*Hour*.—The hour is supposed to be mentioned in Daniel (iii. 6, 15, iv. 16, 30 A. V. 19, 33, v. 5), but in no one of these cases is a definite period of time clearly intended by שָׁעָה, שְׁעָה, שְׁעִיתָא, Chald., the word employed. The Egyptians divided the day and night into hours like ourselves from at least B.C. cir. 1200. (See Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aeg.* i. p. 130.) It is therefore not improbable that the Israelites were acquainted with the hour from an early period. The "sun-dial of Ahaz" whatever instrument, fixed or movable, it may have been, implies a division of the kind. In the N. T. we find the same system as the modern, the hours being reckoned from the beginning of the Jewish night and day. [HOURS.]

*Day*.—For the civil day of 24 hours we find in one place (Dan. viii. 14) the term עֶרֶב וּבֹקֶר, "evening-morning," LXX. *νυχθήμερον* (also in 2 Cor. xi. 25 A. V. "a night and a day"). Whatever may be the proper meaning of this Hebrew term, it cannot be doubted here to signify "nights and days." The common word for day as distinguished from night is also used for the civil day, or else both day and night are mentioned to avoid vagueness, as in the case of Jonah's "three days and three nights" (Jon. ii. 1, A. V. i. 17; comp. Matt. xii. 40). The civil day was divided into light and natural day, the periods of darkness and light (Gen. i. 5). It commenced with night, which stands first in the special term given above. The night, לַיְלָה, and therefore the civil day, is generally held to have begun at sunset. Ideler, however, while admitting that this point of time was that of the commencement of the civil day among all other nations known to us which followed a lunar reckoning, objects to the opinion that this was the case with the Jews. He argues in favour of the beginning of deep night,

reasoning that, for instance, in the ordaining of the Day of Atonement, on the 10th of the 7th month, it is said "in the ninth [day] of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate (*lit. rest*) your Sabbath"—(Lev. xxiii. 32), where, if the civil day began at sunset, it would have been said that they should commence the observance on the evening of the 10th day, or merely on the 10th day, supposing the word evening, ערב, to mean the later part of our afternoon. He cites, as probably supporting this view, the expression בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים, "between the two evenings" used of the time of offering the passover and the daily evening-sacrifice (Ex. xii. 6; Num. ix. 3, xxviii. 4); for the Pharisees, whom the present Jews follow, took it to be the time between the 9th and 11th hours of the day, or our 3 and 5 P. M., although the Samaritans and Karaites supposed it to be the time between sunset and full darkness, particularly on account of the phrase בָּבוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ, "when the sun is setting," used in a parallel passage (Deut. xvi. 6) (see *Handbuch*, i. pp. 482-484). These passages and expressions may, however, be not unreasonably held to support the common opinion that the civil day began at sunset. The term "between the two evenings" can scarcely be supposed to have originally indicated a long period; a special short period, though scarcely a point, the time of sunset, is shown to correspond to it. This is a natural division between the late afternoon when the sun is low, and the evening when his light has not wholly disappeared, the two evenings into which the natural evening would be cut by the commencement of the civil day if it began at sunset. There is no difficulty in the command that the observance of so solemn a day as that of atonement should commence a little before the true beginning of the civil day that due preparation might be made for the sacrifices. In Judaea, where the duration of twilight is very short at all times, the most natural division would be at sunset. The natural day, יוֹם, probably was held to commence at sunrise, morning-twilight being included in the last watch of the night, according to the old as well as the later division; some, however, made the morning-watch part of the day. Four natural periods, smaller than the civil day, are mentioned. These are ערב, evening, and בקר, morning, of which there is frequent mention, and the less usual צִהְרִים, "the two lights," as though "double light," noon, and לַיְלָה, חצות, or חצי, "half the night," midnight. No one of these with a people not given to astronomy seems to indicate a point of time, but all to designate periods, evening and morning being, however, much longer than noon and midnight. The night was divided into watches (אֲשֵׁמֶרֶת). In the O. T. but two are expressly mentioned, and we have to infer the existence of a third, the first watch of the night. The middle watch (הַשְּׁמֶרֶת הַתְּיֻכָּה) occurs in

Judg. vii. 19, where the connexion of watches with military affairs is evident—"And Gideon and the hundred men that [were] with him went down unto the extremity of the camp at the beginning of the middle watch; [and] they had but set the watchmen הַשְּׁמֶרֶת; and the morning-watch (אֲשֵׁמֶרֶת הַבֹּקֶר) is mentioned in Ex. xiv. 24 and 1 Sam. xi. 11; in the former case in the account of the passage of the Red Sea, in the latter, in that of Saul's surprise of the Ammonites when he relieved Jabez-gilead. Some Rabbins hold that there were four watches (*Handbuch*, i. p. 486). In the N. T. four night-watches are mentioned, which were probably adopted from the Romans as a modification of the old system. All four occur together in Mark xiii. 35. δὴ, the late watch; μεσονύκτιον, midnight; ἀλεκτροποδιά, the cock-crowing; and πρωί, the early watch. [DAY, NIGHT, WATCHES OF NIGHT.]

**Week** (שָׁבֻעַ, a hebdomada).—The Hebrew week was a period of seven days ending with the Sabbath; therefore it could not have been a division of the month, which was lunar, without intercalation. But there was no such intercalation since the Sabbath was to be every seventh day, its name is used for week,<sup>a</sup> and weeks are counted on without any additional day or days. The mention together of Sabbaths and new moons proves nothing but that the two observances were similar, the one closing the week, the other commencing the month. The week, whether a period of seven days, or a quarter of the month, was of common use in antiquity. The Egyptians, however, were without it,<sup>c</sup> dividing their month of 30 days into decades as did the Athenians. The Hebrew week therefore cannot have been adopted from Egypt; probably both it and the Sabbath were used and observed by the patriarchs. [WEEK; SABBATH.]

**Month** (חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים, חֹדֶשׁ יָרֵחַ).—The months by which the time is measured in the account of the Flood would seem to be of 30 days each, probably forming a year of 360 days, for the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 10th months are mentioned (Gen. viii. 13, vii. 11, viii. 14, 4, 5). Ideler contests this, arguing that as the water first began to sink after 150 days (and then had been 15 cubits above all high mountains), it must have sunk for some days ere the Ark could have rested on Ararat, so that the second date must be more than 150 days later than the first (*Handbuch*, i. pp. 69, 70, 478, 479). This argument depends upon the meaning of "high mountains," and upon the height of those—"the mountains of Ararat" (viii. 4), on which the Ark rested, questions connected with that of the universality of the Flood. [FLOOD.] On the other hand it must be urged that the exact correspondence of the interval to five months of 30 days each, and the use of a year of 360 days, a fact strangely ignored by Ideler, in prophetic passages of both Testaments, are of no slight weight. That the months from the giving of the Law until the time

<sup>a</sup> In Lam. ii. 19, ראשֵׁת אֲשֵׁמֶרֶת, of course, refers to, without absolutely designating, the first watch.

<sup>b</sup> Ideler corrects Gesenius (*Handwort.* s. v. שָׁבֻעַ), for affirming that the usual meaning, "sabbath," is satisfactory in Lev. xxiii. 15. In the *Thea.* (s. v.), Rüdiger, possibly on the authority of Gesenius, admits

that the signification is perhaps "week." Ideler's argument seems however unanswerable (*Handbuch*, i. p. 481, note 1).

<sup>c</sup> The passage of Dion Cassius (xxxvii. 19), in itself ambiguous, is of no value against the strong negative evidence of the monuments. (See Lepsius, *Chronologie der Äg.* i. pp. 131-133.)

of the Second Temple, when we have certain knowledge of their character, were always lunar, appears from the command to keep new-moons, and from the unlikelihood of a change in the calendar. These lunar months have been supposed to have been always alternately of 29 and 30 days. Their average length would of course be a lunation, or a little ( $44'$ ) above 29½ days, and therefore they would in general be alternately of 29 and 30 days, but it is possible that occasionally months might occur of 28 and 31 days, if, as is highly probable, the commencement of each was strictly determined by observation: that observation was employed for this purpose is distinctly affirmed in the Babylonian Talmud of the practice of the time at which it was written, when, however, a month was not allowed to be less than 29, or more than 30 days in length. The first day of the month is called חֹדֶשׁ, "new moon;" LXX. *νεομηνία*, from the root חָדַשׁ: "it was new" (as to the primary sense of which, see MONTH), and in speaking of the first day of a month this word was sometimes used with the addition of a number for the whole expression, "in such a month on the first day," as בַּיּוֹם הָזֶה . . . בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי. "On the third new-moon . . . on that day," badly rendered by the LXX. *Τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τοῦ πρώτου . . . τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ* (Ex. xix. 1): hence the word came to signify month, though then it was sometimes qualified as יָמִים. The new-moon was kept as a sacred festival. [FESTIVALS.] In the Pentateuch and Josh., Judg., and Ruth, we find but one month mentioned by a special name, the rest being called according to their order. The month with a special name is the first, which is called חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב (LXX. *μῆς πρῶτος*), "the month of ears of corn," or "Abib," that is the month in which the ears of corn became full or ripe, and on the 16th day of which, the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, ripe ears, אֲבִיב, were to be offered (Lev. ii. 14; comp. xxiii. 10, 11, 14). This undoubted derivation shows how monstrous is the idea that Abib comes from the Egyptian Epiphi. In 1 K. three other names of months occur, Zif, זִיף, or זִי, the second, Ethanim, אֵתָנִים, the seventh, and Bul, בּוּל, the eighth. These names appear, like that of Abib, to be connected with the phenomena of a tropical year. No other names are found in any book prior to the captivity, but in the books written after the return the later nomenclature still in use appears. This is evidently of Babylonian origin, as the Jews themselves affirm. [MONTHS.]

*Year (שָׁנָה).*—It has been supposed, on account of the dates in the narrative of the Flood, as already mentioned, that in Noah's time there was a year of 360 days. These dates might indeed be explained in accordance with a year of 365 days. The evidence of the prophetic Scriptures is however conclusive as to the knowledge of a year of the former length. The time times and an half of Dan. (vii. 25, xii. 7), where time means year (see xi. 13), cannot be doubted to be equivalent expressions to the 42 months and 1260 days of Rev. (xi. 2, 3, xii. 6) for  $360 \times 3\frac{1}{2} = 1260$ ; and  $30 \times 42 = 1260$ . We have also the testimony of ancient writers that such a year was known to some nations, so that it is almost certain that the year of Noah was of this

length.—The characteristics of the year instituted at the Exodus can be clearly determined, though we cannot absolutely fix those of any single year. There can be no doubt that it was essentially tropical, since certain observances connected with the produce of the land were fixed to particular days. It is equally clear that the months were lunar, each commencing with a new moon. It would appear therefore that there must have been some mode of adjustment. To ascertain what this was, it is necessary first to decide when the year commenced. On the 16th day of the month Abib, as already mentioned, ripe ears of corn were to be offered as first-fruits of the harvest (Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 10, 11). The reaping of the barley commenced the harvest (2 Sam. xxi. 9), the wheat following (Ruth ii. 23). Josephus expressly says that the offering was of barley (*Ant. iii. 10, §5*). It is therefore necessary to find when the barley becomes ripe in Palestine. According to the observation of travellers the barley is ripe, in the warmest parts of the country, in the first days of April. The barley-harvest therefore commences about half a month after the vernal equinox, so that the year would begin at about that tropical point were it not divided into lunar months. We may conclude that the nearest new moon about or after the equinox, but not much before, was chosen as the commencement of the year. Ideler, whom we have thus far followed, as to this year, concludes that the right new moon was chosen through observation of the forwardness of the barley-crops in the warmer districts of the country (*Umdbuch*, i. p. 490). There is however this difficulty, that the different times of barley-harvest in various parts would have been liable to cause confusion. It seems, therefore, not unlikely that the Hebrews adopted the surer means of determining their new year's day by observations of heliacal risings or similar stellar phenomena known to mark the right time before the barley-harvest. Certainly the ancient Egyptians and the Arabs made use of such means. The method of intercalation can only have been that which obtained after the Captivity—the addition of a thirteenth month, whenever the twelfth ended too long before the equinox for the first-fruits of the harvest to be offered in the middle of the month following, and the similar offerings at the times appointed. This method would be in accordance with the permission granted to postpone the celebration of the Passover in the case of any one who was either legally unclean or journeying at a distance, for a whole month to the 14th day of the second month (Num. ix. 9-13), of which permission we find Hezekiah to have availed himself for both the reasons allowed, because the priests were not sufficiently sanctified and the people were not collected (2 Chr. xxx. 1-3, 15). The later Jews had two beginnings to the year, or, as it is commonly but somewhat inaccurately said, two years. At the time of the Second Temple (as Ideler admits) these two beginnings obtained, the seventh month of the civil reckoning being Abib, the first of the sacred. Hence it has been held that the institution at the time of the Exodus was merely a change of commencement, and not the introduction of a new year; and also that from this time there were the two beginnings. The former opinion is at present purely hypothetical, and has been too much mixed up with the latter, for which, on the contrary, there is some evidence. The strongest point in this evidence, although strangely unnoticed by Ideler as such, is the cir-

cumstance that the sabbatical and jubilee years commenced in the seventh month, and doubtless on its first day. That the jubilee year commenced in this month is distinctly stated, since its solemn proclamation was on the 10th day of the seventh month, the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxv. 9, 10); and as this year immediately followed a sabbatical year, the latter must have commenced in the same manner. As however these were whole years, it must be supposed that they began 'on the first day of the month, the Day of Atonement standing in the same relation to their beginning, and perhaps to the civil beginning of the year, as did the Passover to the sacred beginning. It is perfectly clear that this would be the most convenient, if not the necessary, commencement of single years of total cessation from the labours of the field, since each year so commencing would comprise the whole round of these occupations in a regular order from seed-time to harvest, and from harvest to vintage and gathering of fruit. This is indeed plain from the injunction as to both Sabbatical and Jubilee years apart from the mention of the Day of Atonement, unless we suppose, and this would be very unwarrantable, that the injunction follows the order of the seasons of agriculture, but that the observance did not. It might seem, at first sight, that the seventh month was chosen, as itself of a kind of sabbatical character; but this does not explain the fact that Sabbatical and Jubilee years were natural years, nor would the seventh of twelve months be analogous to every seventh year. We can therefore come to no other conclusion but that for the purposes of agriculture the year was held to begin with the seventh month, while the months were still reckoned from the sacred commencement in Abib. There are two expressions used with respect to the time of the celebration of the Feast of Ingathering on the 15th day of the seventh month, one of which leads to the conclusion at which we have just arrived, while the other is in accordance with it. The first of these speaks of this feast as **בִּצְאוֹת הַשָּׁנָה**, "in the going out" or end "of the year" (Ex. xxiii. 16), and the second, as **תְּקִיפַת הַשָּׁנָה**, "[at] the change of the year" (Ex. xxiv. 22), a vague expression, as far as we can understand it, but one fully consistent with the idea of the turning-point of a natural year. By the term **תְּקִיפַת הַשָּׁנָה** the Rabbinus denote the commencement of each of the four seasons into which their year is divided (*Handbuch*, i. pp. 550, 551). Evidence corroborative of our conclusion is also afforded by the similar distinctive character of the first and seventh months in the calendar with respect to their observances. The one was distinguished by the Feast of Unleavened Bread from the 15th to the 21st inclusive; the other, by that of Tabernacles, from the 15th to the 22nd. There is besides this some evidence in the special sanctification, above that of the ordinary new moon, of the first day of the seventh month, which in the blowing of trumpets bears a resemblance to the celebration of the commencement of the jubilee year on the Day of Atonement. On these grounds we hold that there were two beginnings to the year from the time of the Exodus. [YEAR.]

**Seasons.**—The ancient Hebrews do not appear to have divided their year into fixed seasons. We find mention of the natural seasons, **קִי**, "summer," and **חֹרֶף**, "winter," which are used for the whole

year in the expression **קִי וְחֹרֶף** (Ps. lxxiv. 17; Zech. xiv. 8; and perhaps Gen. vii. 22). The former of these properly means the time of cutting fruits, and the latter, that of gathering fruits; the one referring to the early fruit season, the other to the late one. Their true significations are therefore rather summer and autumn than summer and winter. There can be no doubt, however, that they came to signify the two grand divisions of the year, both from their use together as the two seasons, and from the mention of "the winter house," **בֵּית הַחֹרֶף**, and "the summer house," **בֵּית הַקִּי** (Am. iii. 15). The latter evidence is the stronger, since the winter is the time in Palestine when a palace or house of different construction would be needed to the light summer pavilion, and in the only passage besides that referred to in which the winter-house is mentioned, we read that Jehoiakim "sat in the winter-house in the ninth month:" that is, almost at mid-winter: "and [there was a fire] on the hearth burning before him" (Jer. xxxi. 22). It is probable, however, that **חֹרֶף**, when used without reference to the year, as in Job xxix. 4, has its original signification. The phrase **קָרָה וְחֹם**, "cold and heat," in Gen. viii. 22, is still more general, and cannot be held to indicate more than the great alternations of temperature, which, like those of day and night, were promised not to cease. (Comp. Ideler, *Handbuch*, i. p. 494.) There are two agricultural seasons of a more special character than the preceding in their ordinary use. These are **זֶמַן**, "seed-time," and **קִצְרִי**, "harvest." Ideler (*loc. cit.*) makes these equal to the foregoing seasons when similarly used together; but he has not proved this, and the passage he quotes (Gen. i. c.) cannot be held to afford any evidence of the kind, until some other two terms in it are proved to be strictly correspondent. [SEASONS.]

**Festivals and holy days.**—Besides the sabbaths and new moons, there were four great festivals and a fast in the ancient Hebrew year, the Feast of the Passover, that of Weeks, that of Trumpets, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles. The Feast of the Passover, **פֶּסַח**, was properly only the time of the sacrifice and eating of the paschal lamb, that is, the evening, **בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים**, "between the two evenings" (Lev. xxiii. 5)—a phrase previously considered—of the 14th day of the first month, and the night following,—the Feast of Unleavened Bread, **חַג הַמַּצּוֹת**, commencing on the morning of the 15th day of the month, and lasting seven days until the 21st inclusive. The 15th and 21st days of the month were sabbaths, that is, holy days. [PASSOVER.] The Feast of Weeks, **חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת**, or Pentecost, was kept at the close of seven weeks, counted from the day inclusive following the 16th of the 1st month. Hence its name means the feast of seven weeks, as indeed it is called in Tob. (ἀγία εβδομαδίων, ii. 1). As the ears of barley as first-fruits of the harvest were offered on the 16th day of the 1st month, so on this day thanksgiving was paid for the blessing of the harvest, and first-fruits of wheat offered as well as of fruits: hence the names **חַג הַקִּצְרִי**, Feast of Harvest, and **יוֹם הַבְּכֵרִים**, Day of First-fruits.—The Feast of

Trumpets, יום תרועה (lit. of the sound of the trumpet), also called זכרון תרועה, "a great sabbath of celebration by the sound of the trumpet," was the 1st day of the 7th month, the civil commencement of the year. The Day of Atonement, יום הכיפורים, was the 10th day of the 7th month. It was a sabbath, that is a holy day, and also a fast, the only one in the Hebrew year before the Babylonish Captivity. Upon this day the high-priest made an offering of atonement for the nation. This annual solemn rite seems more appropriate to the commencement than to the middle of the year; and the time of its celebration thus affords some evidence in favour of the theory of a double beginning.—The Feast of Tabernacles, חג הסוכות, was kept in the 7th month, from the 15th to the 22nd days inclusive. Its chief days were the first and last, which were sabbaths. Its name was taken from the people dwelling in tabernacles, to commemorate the Exodus. It was otherwise called חג האסיף, "the feast of gathering," because it was also instituted as a time of thanksgiving for the end of the gathering of fruit and of the vintage. The small number and simplicity of these primitive Hebrew festivals and holy days is especially worthy of note. It is also observable that they are not of an astronomical character; and that when they are connected with nature, it is as directing the gratitude of the people to Him who, in giving good things, leaves not Himself without witness. In later times many holy days were added. Of these the most worthy of remembrance are the Feast of Purim, or "Lots," commemorating the deliverance of the Jews from Haman's plot, the Feast of the Dedication, recording the cleansing and re-dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus, and fasts on the anniversaries of great national misfortunes connected with the Babylonish Captivity. These last were doubtless instituted during that period (comp. Zech. vii. 1-5). [FESTIVALS, &c.]

*Sabbatical and Jubilee Years.*—The sabbatical year, שנת השמיטה, "the fallow year" or possibly "year of remission," or שמיטה alone, also called a "sabbath," and a "great sabbath," was an institution of strictly the same character as the sabbath,—a year of rest, like the day of rest. It has not been sufficiently noticed that as the day has a side of physical necessity with reference to man, so the year has a side of physical necessity with reference to the earth. Every seventh year appears to be a very suitable time for the recurrence of a fallow year, on agricultural grounds. Besides the rest from the labours of the field and vineyard, there was in this year to be remission, temporary or absolute, of debts and obligations among the people. The sabbatical year must have commenced at the civil beginning of the year, with the 7th month, as we have already shown. Although doubtless held to commence with the 1st of the month, its beginning appears to have been kept at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 10), while that of the jubilee year was kept on the Day of Atonement. This institution seems to have been greatly neglected. This was prophesied by Moses, who speaks of the desolation of the land as an enjoying the sabbaths which had not been kept (Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, 43). The seventy years' captivity is also spoken of in 2 Chr. (xxxvi. 21) as

an enjoying sabbath; but this may be on account of the number being sabbatical, as ten times seven, which indeed seems to be indicated in the passage. After the lapse of seven sabbatical periods, or forty-nine years, a year of jubilee was to be kept, immediately following the last sabbatical year. This was called שנת היובל, "the year of the trumpet," or יובל alone, the latter word meaning either the sound of the trumpet or the instrument itself, because the commencement of the year was announced on the Day of Atonement by sound of trumpet. It was similar to the sabbatical year in its character, although doubtless yet more important. In the jubilee year debts were to be remitted, and lands were to be restored to their former owners. It is obvious from the words of the law (Lev. xxv. 8-11) that this year followed every seventh sabbatical year, so that the opinion that it was always identical with a sabbatical year is untenable. There is a further question as to the length of each jubilee period, if we may use the term, some holding that it had a duration of 50, but others of 49 years. The latter opinion does not depend upon the supposition that the seventh sabbatical year was the jubilee, since the jubilee might be the first year of the next seven years after. That such was the case is rendered most probable by the analogy of the weekly sabbath, and the custom of the Jews in the first and second centuries B.C.; although it must be noted that, according to Maimonides, the jubilee period was of 50 years, the 51st year commencing a new period, and that the same writer mentions that the Jews had a tradition that after the destruction of the first Temple only sabbatical years, and no jubilee years, were observed. (Ideler, *Handbuch*, i. pp. 503, 504.) The testimony of Josephus does not seem to us at all conclusive, although Ideler (*l. c.*) holds it to be so; for the expression τὰρα νενθηκοστή μὲν ἔστιν ἔτη τὰ τὰρα (Ant. iii. 12, §3) cannot be held to prove absolutely that the jubilee year was not the first year of a sabbatical period instead of standing between two such periods. It is important to ascertain when the first sabbatical year ought to have been kept; whether the sabbatical and jubilee periods seem to have been continuous; what positive record there is of any sabbatical or jubilee years having been kept; and what indications there are of a reckoning by such years of either kind. 1. It can scarcely be contested that the first sabbatical year to be kept after the Israelites had entered Canaan would be about the fourteenth. (Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities*, bk. iii. cap. 9: and infr. *Historical Chronology*.) It is possible that it might have been somewhat earlier or later; but the narrative will not admit of much latitude. 2. It is clear that any sabbatical and jubilee years kept from the time of Joshua until the destruction of the first Temple, would have been reckoned from the first one, but it may be questioned if any kept after the return would be counted in the same manner; from the nature of the institutions, it is rather to be supposed that the reckoning, in the second case, would be from the first cultivation of the country after its re-occupation. The recorded sabbatical years do not enable us to test this supposition, because we do not know exactly the year of return, or that of the first cultivation of the country. The recorded dates of sabbatical years would make that next after the return to commence in B.C. 528, and be current in B.C. 527, which would make the first year of the period B.C. 534-3, which would not improbably be

the first year of cultivation: but in the case of so short a period this cannot be regarded as evidence of much weight. 3. There is no positive record of any jubilee year having been kept at any time. The dates of three sabbatical years have however been preserved. These were current B.C. 163, 135, and 37, and therefore commenced in each case about three months earlier than the beginning of these Julian years. (Jos. Ant. xii. 9, §5; xiii. 8, §1; xiv. 16, §2; xv. 1, §2; B. J. i. 2, §4; and 1 Macc. vi. 49, 53.) 4. There are some chronological indications in the O. T. that may not unreasonably be supposed to be connected with the sabbatical system. The prophet Ezekiel dates his first prophecy of those in the book "in the thirtieth year," &c., "which [was] the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity" (i. 2); thus apparently dating in the former case from a better known era than that of Jehoiachin's captivity, which he employs in later places, without however in general again describing it. This date of the 30th year has been variously explained: some, with Usner, suppose that the era is the 18th year of Josiah, when the book of the Law was found, and a great passover celebrated. (See Hävernick, *Commentar über Ezech.* pp. 12, 13.) This year of Josiah would certainly be the first of the reckoning, and might be used as a kind of reformation-*era*, not unlike the *era* of Simon the Maccabee. [*Eras.*] Others suppose that the thirtieth year of the prophet's life is meant; but this seems very unlikely. Others again, including Scaliger (*De Emendatione Temporum*, pp. 79, 218, ed. 1583) and Rosenmüller (*Schol. ad loc.*), hold that the date is from the commencement of the reign of Nabopolassar. There is no record of an *era* of Nabopolassar; that king had been dead some years; and we have no instance in the O. T. of the use of a foreign *era*. The evidence therefore is in favour of Josiah's 18th year. There seems to be another reference to this date in the same book, where the time of the iniquity of Judah is said to be 40 years; for the final captivity of Judah (Jer. li. 30) was in the 40th year of this reckoning. In the same place the time of the iniquity of Israel is said to be 390 years, which sum, added to the date of the captivity of this part of the nation in the A. V. B.C. 721, goes back to B.C. 1111 (Ex. iv. 5, 6). This result leads to the indication of possible jubilee dates, for the interval between B.C. 1111 and B.C. 623-2 is 488-9 years, within two years of ten jubilee periods; and it must be remembered that the seventy weeks of the prophet Daniel seem to indicate the use of such a great cycle. In the latter case, however, as in that of the seventy years' captivity, it is probable that the year of 360 days is used, so that the agreement is not absolute. (*Year.*) It remains to be asked whether the accounts of Josiah's reformation present any indications of celebrations connected with the sabbatical system. The finding of the book of the Law might seem to point to its being specially required for some public service. Such a service was the great reading of the Law to the whole congregation at the Feast of Tabernacles in every sabbatical year (Deut. xxxi. 10-13). The finding of the book was certainly followed by a public reading, apparently in the first month, by the king to the whole people of Judah and Jerusalem, and afterwards a solemn passover was kept. Of the latter celebration it is said in Kings, "Surely there was not holden such a passover from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor

of the kings of Judah" (2 K. xxiii. 22); and, in Chronicles, "There was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept" (2 Chr. xxxv. 18). The mention of Samuel is remarkable, since in his time the earlier supposed date falls. It may be objected that the passover is nowhere connected with the sabbatical reckoning, but these passovers can surely have been greater in sacrifices than at least one in Solomon's reign, nor is it likely that they are mentioned as characterized by greater zeal than any others whatever; so that we are almost driven to the idea of some relation to chronology. This result would place the Exodus in the middle of the 17th century B.C., a time for which we believe there is a preponderance of evidence (*Historical Chronology*). [SABBATICAL YEAR; JUBILEE.]

*Eras.*—There are indications of several historical *eras* having been used by the ancient Hebrews, but our information is so scanty that we are generally unable to come to positive conclusions. Some of these possible *eras* may be no more than dates employed by writers, and not national *eras*; others, however, can scarcely have been used in this special or individual manner from their referring to events of the highest importance to the whole people.

1. The Exodus is used as an *era* in 1 K. vi. 1, in giving the date of the foundation of Solomon's Temple. This is the only positive instance of the occurrence of this *era*, for we cannot agree with Ideler that it is certainly employed in the Pentateuch. He refers to Ex. xix. 1, and Num. xxiii. 38 (*Handbuch*, i. p. 507). Here, as elsewhere in the same part of the Bible, the beginning of the Exodus-year—not, of course, the actual date of the Exodus (*Regnal years*, &c.)—is used as the point whence time is counted; but during the interval of which it formed the natural commencement it cannot be shown to be an *era*, though it may have been, any more than the beginning of a sovereign's reign is one.

2. The foundation of Solomon's temple is conjectured by Ideler to have been an *era*. The passages to which he refers (1 K. ix. 10; 2 Chr. viii. 1), merely speak of occurrences subsequent to the interval of 20 yrs. occupied in the building of the temple and the king's house, both being distinctly specified; so that his reading—"Zwanzig Jahre, nachdem Salomo das Haus des Herrn erbaute"—leaves out half the statement and so makes it incorrect (*Handb.* l. c.). It is elsewhere stated that the building of the temple occupied 7 yrs. (1 K. vi. 37, 38), and that of Solomon's house 13 (vii. 1), making up the interval of 20 yrs.

3. The *era* once used by Ezekiel, and commencing in Josiah's 18th year, we have previously discussed, concluding that it was most probably connected with the sabbatical system (*Sabbatical and Jubilee Years*).

4. The *era* of Jehoiachin's captivity is constantly used by Ezekiel. The earliest date is the 5th year (i. 2) and the latest, the 27th (xxix. 17). The prophet generally gives the date without applying any distinctive term to the *era*. He speaks, however, of "the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity" (i. 2), and "the twelfth year of our captivity" (xxiii. 21), the latter of which expressions may explain his constant use of the *era*. The same *era* is necessarily employed, though not as such, where the advancement of Jehoiachin in the 37th year of his captivity is mentioned (2 K. xxv.

27; Jer. lii. 31). We have no proof that it was used except by those to whose captivity it referred. Its 1st year was current B.C. 596, commencing in the spring of that year.

5. The beginning of the seventy years' captivity does not appear to have been used as an era (*Historical Chronology*).

6. The return from Babylon does not appear to be employed as an era: it is, however, reckoned from in Ezra (iii. 1, 8), as is the Exodus in the Pentateuch.

7. The era of the Seleucidae is used in the first and second books of Maccabees.

8. The liberation of the Jews from the Syrian yoke in the 1st year of Simon the Maccabee is stated to have been commemorated by an era used in contracts and agreements (1 Macc. xiii. 41). The yrs. 1, 2, and 3 on the coins ascribed to Simon [MONEY; SIEKEL] are probably of this era, although it is related that the right of coining money with his own stamp was not conceded to him until somewhat later than its beginning (xv. 6), for it may be reasonably supposed, either that Antiochus VII. confirmed privileges before granted by his brother Demetrius II. (comp. xv. 5), or that he gave his sanction to money already issued (*Enc. Brit.*, 8th ed., *Numismatics*, pp. 379, 380).

*Regnal Years.*—By the Hebrews regnal years appear to have been counted from the beginning of the year, not from the day of the king's accession. Thus, if a king came to the throne in the last month of one year, reigned for the whole of the next year, and died in the 1st month of the 3rd year, we might have dates in his 1st, 2nd, and 3rd yrs., although he governed for no more than 13 or 14 months. Any dates in the year of his accession before that event, or in the year of his death, after it, would be assigned to the last year of his predecessor and the 1st of his successor. The same principle would apply to reckoning from eras or important events, but the whole stated lengths of reigns or intervals would not be affected by it.

III. HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.—The historical part of Hebrew chronology is not less difficult than the technical. The information in the Bible is indeed direct rather than inferential, although there is very important evidence of the latter kind, but the present state of the numbers makes absolute certainty in many cases impossible. If, for instance, the Hebrew and LXX. differ as to a particular number we cannot in general positively determine that the original form of the number has been preserved, when we have decided, and this we are not always able to do, which of the present forms has a preponderance of evidence in its favour. In addition to this difficulty there are several gaps in the series of smaller numbers which we have no means of supplying with exactness. When therefore we can compare several of these smaller numbers with a larger number, or with independent evidence, we are frequently prevented from putting a conclusive test by the deficiencies in the first series. The frequent occurrence of round numbers is a matter of minor importance, for, although when we have no other evidence, it manifestly precludes our arriving at positive accuracy, the variation of a few years is not to be balanced against great differences apparently not to be positively resolved, as those of the primeaval numbers in the Hebrew, LXX. and Samaritan Pentateuch. Lately some have laid great stress upon the frequent occurrence of the number 40, alleging that it and 70 are

vague terms equivalent to "many," so that "40 yrs." or "70 yrs." would mean no more than "many yrs." *Prima facie* this idea would seem reasonable, but on a further examination it will be seen that the details of some periods of 40 yrs. are given, and show that the number is not indefinite where it would at first especially seem to be so. Thus the 40 years in the wilderness can be divided into three periods: 1. from the Exodus to the sending out of the spies was about one year and a quarter (1 yr. 1 + x (27) months, Num. ix. 1, x. 11; comp. ver. 29, showing it was this year, and xiii. 20 proving that the search ended somewhat after midsummer); 2. the time of search 40 days (Num. xiii. 25); 3. the time of the wandering until the brook Zered was crossed 38 yrs. (Deut. ii. 14); making altogether almost 39½ yrs. This perfectly accords with the date yr. 40. 11 d. 1 of the address of Moses after the conquest of Sihon and Og (Deut. i. 3, 4), which was subsequent to the crossing of the brook Zered. So again David's reign of 40 yrs. is divided into 7 yrs. 6 m. in Hebron, and 33 in Jerusalem (2 Sam. ii. 11, v. 5; 1 Chr. iii. 4, but 1 K. ii. 11, 7 yrs., omitting the months, and 33). This therefore cannot be an indefinite number as some might conjecture from its following Saul's 40 yrs. and preceding Solomon's. The last two reigns again could not have been much more or less from the circumstances of the history. The occurrence of some round numbers therefore does not warrant our supposing the constant use of vague ones. In discussing the technical part of the subject we have laid some stress upon the opinions of the earlier Rabbinical commentators: in this part we place no reliance upon them. As to divisions of time connected with religious observances they could scarcely be far wrong, in historical chronology they could hardly be expected to be right, having a very small knowledge of foreign sources. In fact, by comparing their later dates with the chronology of the time astronomically fixed, we find so extraordinary a departure from correctness that we must abandon the idea of their having held any additional facts handed down by tradition, and serving to guide them to a true system of chronology. There are, however, important foreign materials to aid us in the determination of Hebrew chronology. In addition to the literary evidence that has been long used by chronologists, the comparatively recent decipherment of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions has afforded us valuable additional evidence from contemporary monuments.

*Biblical data.*—It will be best to examine the biblical information under the main periods into which it may be separated, beginning with the earliest.

A. First Period, from Adam to Abram's departure from Haran.—All the numerical data in the Bible for the chronology of this interval are comprised in two genealogical lists in Genesis, the first from Adam to Noah and his sons (Gen. v. : *ad fin.*), and the second from Shem to Abram (xi. 10-26), and in certain passages in the same book (vil. 6, 11, viii. 13, ix. 28, 29, xi. 32, xii. 4). The Masoretic Hebrew text, the LXX., and the Samaritan Pentateuch greatly differ, as may be seen by the following table, which we take from the *Genesis of the Earth and of Man* (p. 90), adding nothing essential but a various reading, and the age of Abram when he left Haran, but also including in parentheses numbers not stated but obtained by

	Age of each when the next was born.			Years of each after the next was born.			Total length of the life of each.		
	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.
Adam .. .. .	230	130		700	800		930	..	..
Seth .. .. .	205	105		707	807		912	..	..
Enos .. .. .	190	90		715	815		905	..	..
Cainan .. .. .	170	70		740	840		910	..	..
Mahalacliel .. .. .	165	65		730	830		895	..	..
Jared .. .. .	162	..	62	800	..	785	962	..	847
Enoch .. .. .	165	65		200	300		365	..	..
Methuselah .. .. .	187	..	67	(782)	782	653	969	..	720
	167			802					
Lamech .. .. .	188	182	53	565	595	600	753	777	653
Noah .. .. .	502	..	..	448	..	..	950	..	..
Shem .. .. .	100	..	..	500	..	..	600	..	..
	2264	1658	1309	This was "two years after the Flood."					
	2244								
Arphaxud .. .. .	135	85	..	400	403	303	(535)	(438)	438
Cainan .. .. .	130	..	..	330			(460)		
Salah .. .. .	130	30	..	330	403	303	(460)	(433)	433
Eber .. .. .	134	34	..	270	430	..	(404)	(464)	404
Peleg .. .. .	130	30	..	200	..	109	(339)	(230)	239
Reu .. .. .	132	32	..	207	..	107	(339)	(239)	239
Serug .. .. .	130	30	..	200	..	100	(330)	(230)	230
Nahor .. .. .	79	29	..	129	119	69	(298)	(148)	148
	179								
Terah .. .. .	70	..	..	(135)	(135)	(75)	205	..	145
Abrium leaves Haran ..	75	..	..						
	1145	365	1015						
	1245								

computation from others, and making some alterations consequently necessary. The advantage of the system of this table is the clear manner in which it shows the differences and agreements of the three versions of the data. The dots indicate numbers agreeing with the LXX.

The number of generations in the LXX. is one in excess of the Heb. and Sam. on account of the "Second Cainan," whom the best chronologists are agreed in rejecting as spurious. He is found in the present text of the LXX. in both Gen. and 1 Chr. and in the present text of St. Luke's Gospel. Josephus, Philo, and the earlier Christian writers appear however to have known nothing of him, and it is therefore probable either that he was first introduced by a copyist into the Gospel and thence into the LXX., or else that he was found in some odd. of the LXX. and thence introduced into the Gospel, and afterwards into all other copies of the LXX. [CAINAN.] Before considering the variations of the numbers it is important to notice that "as two of the three sources must have been corrupted, we may reasonably doubt whether any one of them be preserved in its genuine state" (*Genesis of the Earth*, &c., p. 92)—a check upon our confidence that has strangely escaped chronologists in general. The variations are the result of design not accident, as is evident from the years before the birth of a son and the residues agreeing in their sums in almost all cases in the antediluvian generations, the exceptions, save one, being apparently the result of necessity that lives should not overlap the date of the Flood (comp. Clinton, *Firsti Hellen.* i. p. 285). We have no clue to the date or dates of the alterations beyond that we can trace the LXX. form to the First century of the Christian

era, if not higher,<sup>d</sup> and the Heb. to the Fourth century: if the Sam. numbers be as old as the text, we can assign them a higher antiquity than what is known as to the Heb. The little acquaintance most of the early Christian writers had with Hebrew makes it impossible to decide on their evidence, that the variation did not exist when they wrote: the testimony of Josephus is here of more weight, but in his present text it shows contradiction, though preponderating in favour of the LXX. numbers. A comparison of the lists would lead us to suppose, on internal evidence, that they had first two forms, and that the third version of them originated from these two. This supposed later version of the lists would seem to be the Sam., which certainly is less internally consistent, on the supposition of the original correctness of the numbers, than the other two. The cause of the alterations is most uncertain. It has indeed been conjectured that the Jews shortened the chronology in order that an ancient prophecy that the Messiah should come in the sixth millenary of the world's age might not be known to be fulfilled in the advent of our Lord. The reason may be sufficient in itself, but it does not rest upon sufficient evidence. It is, however, worthy of remark, that in the apostolic age there were hot discussions respecting genealogies (Tit. iii. 9), which would seem to indicate that great importance was attached to them, perhaps also that the differences or some difference then existed. The different proportions of the generations and lives in the LXX. and Heb. have

<sup>d</sup> The earliest supposed indication of the LXX. numbers is in the passage of Polyhistor (ap. Euseb. *Præp.* ix. 21, p. 422) giving the same as the computation of Demetrius; but we cannot place reliance on the correctness of a single fragmentary text.

been asserted to afford an argument in favour of the former. At a later period, however, when we find instances of longevity recorded in all versions, the time of marriage is not different from what it is at the present day, although there are some long generations. A stronger argument for the LXX., if the unity of the human race be admitted, is found in the long period required from the Flood to the Dispersion and the establishment of kingdoms: this supposition would, however, require that the patriarchal generations should be either exceptional or represent periods: for the former of these hypotheses we shall see there is some ground in the similar case of certain generations, just alluded to, from Abraham downwards. With respect to probability of accuracy arising from the state of the text, the Heb. certainly has the advantage. There is every reason to think that the Rabbins have been scrupulous in the extreme in making alterations: the LXX., on the other hand, shows signs of a carelessness that would almost permit change, and we have the probable interpolation of the Second Cainan. If, however, we consider the Sam. form of the lists as sprung from the other two, the LXX. would seem to be earlier than the Heb., since it is more probable that the antediluvian generations would have been shortened to a general agreement with the Heb., than that the postdiluvian would have been lengthened to suit the LXX.; for it is obviously most likely that a sufficient number of years having been deducted from the earlier generations, the operation was not carried on with the later. It is noticeable that the stated sums in the postdiluvian generations in the Sam. generally agree with the computed sums of the Heb. and not with those of the LXX., which would be explained by the theory of an adaptation of one of these two to the other, although it would not give us reason for supposing either form to be the earlier. It is an ancient conjecture that the term year was of old applied to periods short of true years. There is some plausibility in this theory, at first sight, but the account of the Deluge seems fatal to its adoption. The only passage that might be alleged in its support is that in which 120 years is mentioned as if the term of man's life after the great increase of wickedness before the Deluge, compared with the lives assigned to the antediluvian patriarchs, but this from the context seems rather to mean a period of probation before the catastrophe (Gen. vi. 3). A question has been raised whether the generations and numbers may not be independent, the original generations in Gen. having been as those in 1 Chr. simply names, and the numbers having been added, perhaps on traditional authority, by the Jews (comp. *Genesis of the Earth*, &c., pp. 92-94). If we suppose that a period was thus portioned out then the character of Hebrew genealogies as not of necessity absolutely continuous might somewhat lessen the numbers assigned to individuals. Some have supposed that the numbers were originally cyclical, an idea perhaps originating in the notion of the distribution of a space of time to a certain number of generations. This particular theory can however scarcely be reconciled with the historical character of the names. Turning to the evidence of ancient history and tradition, we find the numbers of the LXX. confirmed rather than those of the Heb. The history and civilization of Egypt and Assyria with Babylonia reach to a time earlier than, in the first case, and about as early as, in the second, the Heb. date of the Flood. Moreover the concurrent evidence

of antiquity carries the origin of gentile civilization to the Noachian races. The question of the unity of the species does not therefore affect this argument (MAN), whence the numbers of the LXX. up to the Deluge would seem to be correct, for an accidental agreement can scarcely be admitted. If correct, are we therefore to suppose them original, that is, of the original text whence the LXX. version was made? This appears to be a necessary consequence of their correctness, since the translators were probably not sufficiently acquainted with external sources to obtain numbers either actually or approximatively true, even if they externally existed, and had they had this knowledge it is scarcely likely that they would have used it in the manner supposed. On the whole, therefore, we are inclined to prefer the LXX. numbers after the Deluge, and, as consistent with them, and probably of the same authority, those before the Deluge also. It remains for us to ascertain what appears to be the best form of each of the three versions, and to state the intervals thus obtained. In the LXX. antediluvian generations, that of Methuselah is 187 or 167 yrs.: the former seems to be undoubtedly the true number, since the latter would make this patriarch, if the subsequent generations be correct, to survive the Flood 14 years. In the postdiluvian numbers of the LXX. we must, as previously shown, reject the Second Cainan from the preponderance of evidence against its genuineness. [CAINAN.] Of the two forms of Nahor's generation in the LXX. we must prefer 79, as more consistent with the numbers near it, and as also found in the Sam. An important correction of the next generation has been suggested in all the lists. According to them it would appear that Terah was 70 yrs. old at Abram's birth. "Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran" (Gen. xi. 26). It is afterwards said that Terah went from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran and died there at the age of 205 yrs. (145 Sam.) (vv. 31, 32), and the departure of Abram from Haran to Canaan is then narrated (comp. Acts vii. 4), his age being stated to have been at that time 75 yrs. (vii. 1-5). Usher therefore conjectures that Terah was 130 yrs. old at Abram's birth (205—75=130) and supposes the latter not to have been the eldest son but mentioned first on account of his eminence, as is Shem in several places (v. 32, vi. 10, vii. 13, ix. 18, x. 1), who yet appears to have been the third son of Noah and certainly not the eldest (x. 21, and arrangement of chap.). There is, however, a serious objection in the way of this supposition. It seems scarcely probable that if Abram had been born to his father at the age of 130 years, he should have asked in wonder "Shall [a child] be born unto him that is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?" (Gen. xvii. 17.) Thus to suit a single number, that of Terah's age at his death, where the Sam. does not agree with the Heb. and LXX., a hypothesis is adopted that at least strains the consistency of the narrative. We should rather suppose the number might have been changed by a copyist, and take the 145 yrs. of the Sam.—It has been generally supposed that the Dispersion took place in the days of Peleg, on account of what is said in Gen. x. as to him: [of the two sons of Eber] "the name of one [was] Peleg ( $\text{פֶּלֶג}$ , division), for in his days was the earth divided" ( $\text{וַיִּפְּרֹץ}$ , 25) It cannot be positively affirmed that the "Dispersion"

spoken of in Gen. xi. is here meant, since a physical catastrophe might be intended, although the former is perhaps the more natural inference. The event, whatever it was, must have happened at Peleg's birth, rather than, as some have supposed, at a later time in his life, for the easterns have always given names to children at birth, as may be noticed in the cases of Jacob and his sons.—We should therefore consider the following as the best forms of the numbers according to the three sources.

	LXX.	Heb.	Sam.
Creation -----	0	0	0
Flood (occupying chief part of this year) -----	2262	1656	1207
Birth of Peleg -----	401	101	401
Departure of Abram from Haran -----	616	966	616
	2870	2623	2224

B. Second Period, from Abram's departure from Haran to the Exodus.—The length of this period is stated by St. Paul as 430 years from the promise to Abraham to the giving of the Law (Gal. iii. 17), the first event being held to be that recorded in Gen. xii. 1-5. The same number of years is given in Ex., where the Heb. reads—"Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt [was] four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt" (xii. 40, 41). Here the LXX. and Sam. add after "in Egypt" the words "and in Canaan," while the Alex. and other MSS. of the former also add after "the children of Israel" the words "and their fathers." It seems most reasonable to regard both these additions as glosses; if they are excluded, the passage appears to make the duration of the sojourn in Egypt 430 years, but this is not an absolutely certain conclusion. The "sojourning" might well include the period after the promise to Abraham while that patriarch and his descendants "sojourned in the land of promise as [in] a strange country" (Heb. xi. 9), for it is not positively said "the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt," but we may read "who dwelt in Egypt." As for the very day of close being that of commencement it might refer either to Abraham's entrance, or to the time of the promise. A third passage, occurring in the same essential form in both Testaments, and therefore especially satisfactory as to its textual accuracy, throws light upon the explanation we have offered of this last, since it is impossible to understand it except upon analogical principles. It is the divine declaration to Abraham of the future history of his children:—"Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land [that is] not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance" (Gen. xv. 13, 14; comp. Acts vii. 6, 7). The four hundred years cannot be held to be the period of oppression without a denial of the historical character of the narrative of that time, but can only be supposed to mean the time from this declaration to the Exodus. This reading, which in the A. V. requires no more than a slight change in the punctuation, if it suppose an unusual construction in Hebrew, is perfectly admissible according to the principles of Semitic grammar, and might be used in Arabic. It is also noticeable that after the citation given above the events of the

whole sojourn are repeated, showing that this was the period spoken of, and perhaps, therefore, the period defined (15, 16). The meaning of the "fourth generation" here mentioned has been previously considered. It cannot, therefore, be held that the statement of St. Paul that from the promise to Abraham until the Exodus was 430 years is irreconcilable with the two other statements of the same kind. In order to arrive at as certain a conclusion as may be attainable we must examine the evidence we have for the details of this interval. First, however, it will be necessary to form a distinct opinion as to the length of life of the patriarchs of this age. The biblical narrative plainly ascribes to them lives far longer than what is held to be the present extreme limit, and we must therefore carefully consider the evidence upon which the general correctness of the numbers rests, and any independent evidence as to the length of life at this time. The statements in the Bible regarding longevity may be separated into two classes, those given in genealogical lists and those interwoven with the relation of events. To the former class virtually belong all the statements relating to the longevity of the patriarchs before Abraham, to the latter nearly all relating to that of Abraham and his descendants. In the case of the one we cannot arrive at certainty as to the original form of the text, as already shown, but the other rests upon a very different kind of evidence. The statements as to the length of the lives of Abraham and his nearer descendants, and some of his later, are so closely interwoven with the historical narrative, not alone in form, but in sense, that their general truth and its cannot be separated. Abraham's age at the birth of Isaac is a great fact in his history, equally attested in the Old Testament and in the New. Again, the longevity ascribed to Jacob is confirmed by the question of Pharaoh, and the patriarch's remarkable answer, in which he makes his then age of 130 years less than the years of his ancestors (Gen. xlvii. 9), a minute point of agreement with the other chronological statements to be especially noted. At a later time the age of Moses is attested by various statements in the Pentateuch, and in the N. T. on St. Stephen's authority, though it is to be observed that the mention of his having retained his strength to the end of his 120 years (Deut. xxxiv. 7), is perhaps indicative of an unusual longevity. In the earlier part of the period following, we notice similar instances in the case of Joshua, and, inferentially, in that of Othniel. Nothing in the Bible could be cited against this evidence, except it be the common explanation of Ps. xc. (esp. vs. 10), combined with its ascription to Moses (*title*). The title cannot, analogically, be considered a very sure guide, but the style and contents seem to us to support it. It may be questioned, however, whether the general shortness of man's life forms the subject of this psalm. A shortness of life is lamented as the result of God's anger, and inferentially, as under his wrath, and prayer is made for a happier condition. Nothing could be more applicable to the shortening of life in the desert in order that none who were twenty years old and upwards at the Exodus should enter the Land of Promise. With these the ordinary term of life would be threescore years and ten, or fourscore years. If, therefore, we ascribe the psalm to Moses we cannot be certain that it gives the average of long life at his time independently of the peculiar circumstances of the wan-

dering in the desert. Thus it is evident that the two classes of statements in the Bible bearing on longevity stand upon a very different basis. It must be observed that all the supposed famous modern instances of great longevity, as those of Parr, Jackson, and the old Countess of Desmond, have utterly broken down on examination, and that the registers of this country *prove* no greater extreme than about 110 years. We have recently had the good fortune to discover some independent contemporary evidence bearing upon this matter. There is an Egyptian hieratic papyrus in the Bibliothèque at Paris bearing a moral discourse by one P'tah-hotp, apparently eldest son of Assa (B.C. cir. 1910-1860), the fifth king of the Fifteenth Dynasty, which was of Shepherds [EGYPT]. At the conclusion P'tah-hotp thus speaks of himself:—"I have become an elder on the earth (or in the land); I have traversed a hundred and ten years of life by the gift of the king and the approval of the elders, fulfilling my duty towards the king in the place of favour (or blessing)."—*Facsimile d'un Papyrus Égyptien*, par E. Prisse d'Avennes, pl. xix., lines 7, 8). The natural inferences from this passage are that P'tah-hotp wrote in the full possession of his mental faculties at the age of 110 years, and that his father was still reigning at the time, and, therefore, had attained the age of about 130 years, or more. The analogy of all other documents of the kind known to us does not permit a different conclusion. That P'tah-hotp was the son of Assa is probable from inscriptions in tombs at Memphis; that he was a king's eldest son is expressly stated by himself (*Facsimile*, &c., pl. v., lines 6, 7). Yet he had not succeeded his father at the time of his writing, nor does he mention that sovereign as dead. The reigns assigned by Manetho to the Shepherd-Kings of this dynasty seem indicative of a greater age than that of the Egyptian sovereigns (Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, 2nd ed., pp. 114, 136). It has been suggested to us by Mr. Goodwin that 110 years may be a vague term, meaning "a very long life;" it seems to be so used in papyri of a later time (B.C. cir. 1200). We rarely thus employ the term centenarian, more commonly employing sexagenarian and octogenarian, and this term is therefore indicative of a greater longevity than ours among the Egyptians. If the 110 years of P'tah-hotp be vague, we must still suppose him to have attained to an extreme old age during his father's lifetime, so that we can scarcely reduce the numbers 110 and about 130 more than ten years respectively. This Egyptian document is of the time of the Fifteenth Dynasty, and of so realistic and circumstantial a character in its historical bearings that the facts it states admit of no dispute. Other records tend to confirm the inferences we have here drawn. It seems, however, probable, that such instances of longevity were exceptional, and perhaps more usual among the foreign settlers in Egypt than the natives, and we have no ground for considering that the length of generations was then generally different from what it now is. For these reasons we find no difficulty in accepting the statements as to the longevity of Abraham and certain of his descendants,

\* Bunsen reckons Abraham's yr. 75 as 1, and yr. 100 as 25, and makes the sum of this interval from the numbers 215 (*Egypt's Place*, i. p. 180). This is inaccurate, since if 75 = 1, then 100 = 26, and the interval is 216.

† Bunsen ridicules Dr. Baumgarten of Kiel for sup-

and can go on to examine the details of the period under consideration as made out from evidence requiring this admission. The narrative affords the following data which we place under two periods—1. that from Abram's leaving Haran to Jacob's entering Egypt, and 2. that from Jacob's entering Egypt to the Exodus.

1. Age of Abram on leaving Haran	75 yrs.
— at Isaac's birth	100
Age of Isaac at Jacob's birth	60
Age of Jacob on entering Egypt	130
	216 or 215 yrs.*
2. Age of Levi on entering Egypt	ent. 45
Residue of his life	92
Oppression after the death of Jacob's sons (Ex. i. 6, 7, seqq.).	
Age of Moses at Exodus	80
	172
Age of Joseph in the same year	39
Residue of his life	71
Age of Moses at Exodus	80
	151

These data make up about 387 or 388 years, to which it is reasonable to make some addition, since it appears that all Joseph's generation died before the oppression commenced, and it is probable that it had begun some time before the birth of Moses. The sum we thus obtain cannot be far different from 430 years, a period for the whole sojourn that these data must thus be held to confirm. The genealogies relating to the time of the dwelling in Egypt, if continuous, which there is much reason to suppose some to be, are not repugnant to this scheme; but on the other hand, one alone of them, that of Joshua, in 1 Chr. (vii. 23, 25, 26, 27) if a *succession*, can be reconciled with the opinion that dates the 430 years from Jacob's entering into Egypt. The historical evidence should be carefully weighed. Its chief point is the increase of the Israelites from the few souls who went with Jacob into Egypt, and Joseph and his sons, to the six hundred thousand men who came out at the Exodus. At the former date the following are enumerated—"besides Jacob's sons' wives," Jacob, his twelve sons and one daughter (13), his fifty-one grandsons and one granddaughter (52), and his four great-grandsons, making, with the patriarch himself, seventy souls (Gen. xli. 8-27). The generation to which children would be born about this date may thus be held to have been of at least 51 pairs,† since all are males except one, who most probably married a cousin. This computation takes no account of polygamy, which was certainly practised at the time by the Hebrews. This first generation must, except there were at the time other female grandchildren of Jacob besides the one mentioned (comp. Gen. xlii. 7), have taken foreign wives, and it is reasonable to suppose the same to have been constantly done afterwards, though probably in a less degree. We cannot therefore found our calculation solely on these 51 pairs, but must allow for polygamy and foreign marriages. These admissions

posing a residue of 56 pairs from 70 souls. "This remainder of 56 pair out of 70 souls puts us very much in mind of Falstaff's mode of reckoning" (*Egypt's Place*, i. p. 178). Had the critic read Gen. xlii. he would not have made this extraordinary mistake, and allowed only three wives to 67 men.

being made, and the especial blessing which attended the people borne in mind, the interval of about 215 years does not seem too short for the increase. On the whole, we have no hesitation in accepting the 430 years as the length of the interval from Abram's leaving Haran to the Exodus.

C. Third Period, from the Exodus to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple.—There is but one passage from which we obtain the length of this period as a whole. It is that in which the Foundation of the Temple is dated in the 480th (Heb.), or 440th (LXX.) year after the Exodus, in the 4th yr. 2nd m. of Solomon's reign (1 K. vi. 1). Subtracting from 480 or 440 yrs. the first three yrs. of Solomon and the 40 of David, we obtain  $(480 - 43 =)$  437 or  $(440 - 43 =)$  397 yrs. These results we have first to compare with the detached numbers. These are as follows:—A. From Exodus to death of Moses, 40 yrs. B. Leadership of Joshua, 7+ $x$  yrs. C. Interval between Joshua's death and the First Servitude  $x$  yrs. D. Servitude and rule of Judges until Eli's death, 430 yrs. E. Period from Eli's death to Saul's accession, 20+ $x$  yrs. F. Saul's reign, 40 yrs. G. David's reign, 40 yrs. H. Solomon's reign to Foundation of Temple, 3 yrs. Sum,  $3x + 580$  yrs. It is possible to obtain approximately the length of the three wanting numbers. Joshua's age at the Exodus was 20 or 20+ $x$  yrs. (Num. xiv. 29, 30), and at his death, 110; therefore the utmost length of his rule must be  $(110 - 20 + 40 =)$  50 yrs. After Joshua there is the time of the Elders who overlived him, then a period of disobedience and idolatry, a servitude of 8 yrs., deliverance by Othniel the son of Kenaz, the nephew of Caleb, and rest for 40 yrs. until Othniel's death. The duration of Joshua's government is limited by the circumstance that Caleb's lot was apporportioned to him in the 7th year of the occupation, and therefore of Joshua's rule, when he was 85 yrs. old, and that he conquered the lot after Joshua's death. Caleb cannot be supposed to have been a very old man on taking his portion, and it is unlikely that he would have waited long before attacking the heathen who held it, to say nothing of the portion being his claimed reward for not having feared the Anakim who dwelt there, a reward promised him of the Lord by Moses and claimed of Joshua, who alone of his fellow-spies had shown the same faith and courage (Num. xiv. 24; Deut. i. 36; Josh. xiv. 6 *ad fin.*, xv. 13-19; Judg. i. 9-15, 20). If we suppose that Caleb set out to conquer his lot about 7 years after its apportionment, then Joshua's rule would be about 13 yrs., and he would have been a little older than Caleb. The interval between Joshua's death and the First Servitude is limited by the history of Othniel. He was already a warrior when Caleb conquered his lot; he lived to deliver Israel from the Mesopotamian oppressor, and died at the end of the subsequent 40 yrs. of rest. Supposing Othniel to have been 30 yrs. old when Caleb set out, and 110 yrs. at his death, 32 yrs. would remain for the interval in question. The rule of Joshua may be therefore reckoned to have been about 13 yrs., and the subsequent interval to the First Servitude about 32 yrs., altogether 47 yrs. These numbers cannot be considered exact; but they can hardly be far wrong, more especially the sum. The residue of Samuel's judgeship after the 20 yrs. from Eli's death until the solemn fast and victory at Mizpeh, can scarcely have much exceeded 20 yrs. Samuel must have been still young at the time of Eli's death, and he died very near the close of Saul's reign (1 Sam.

xxv. 1, xxviii. 3). If he were 10 yrs. old at the former date, and judged for 20 yrs. after the victory at Mizpeh, he would have been near 90 yrs. old  $(10? + 20 + 20? + 38?)$  at his death, which appears to have been a long period of life at that time. If we thus suppose the three uncertain intervals, the residue of Joshua's rule, the time after his death to the First Servitude, and Samuel's rule after the victory at Mizpeh to have been respectively 6, 32, and 20 yrs., the sum of the whole period will be  $(580 + 58 =)$  638 yrs. Two independent large numbers seem to confirm this result. One is in St. Paul's address at Antioch of Pisidia, where, after speaking of the Exodus and the 40 yrs. in the desert, he adds: "And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, he divided their land unto them by lot. And after that he gave [unto them] judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they desired a king" (Acts xiii. 19, 20, 21). This interval of 450 yrs. may be variously explained, as commencing with Othniel's deliverance and ending with Eli's death, a period which the numbers of the earlier books of the Bible, if added together, make 422 yrs., or as commencing with the First Servitude, 8 yrs. more, 430 yrs., or with Joshua's death, which would raise these numbers by about 30 yrs., or again it may be held to end at Saul's accession, which would raise the numbers given respectively by about 40 yrs. However explained, this sum of 450 yrs. supports the authority of the smaller numbers as forming an essentially correct measure of the period. The other large number occurs in Jephthah's message to the king of the Children of Ammon, where the period during which Israel had held the land of the Amorites from the first conquest either up to the beginning of the Servitude from which they were about to be freed, or up to the very time, is given as 300 yrs. (Judg. xi. 26). The smaller numbers, with the addition of 38 yrs. for two uncertain periods, would make these intervals respectively 346 and 364 yrs. Here, therefore, there appears to be another agreement with the smaller numbers, although it does not amount to a positive agreement, since the meaning might be either three centuries, as a vague sum, or about 300 yrs. So far as the evidence of the numbers goes, we must decide in favour of the longer interval from the Exodus to the building of the First Temple, in preference to the period of 480 or 440 yrs. The evidence of the genealogies has been held by some to sustain a different conclusion. These lists, as they now stand, would, if of continuous generations, be decidedly in favour of an interval of about 300, 400, or even 500 years, some being much shorter than others. It is, however, impossible to reduce them to consistency with each other without arbitrarily altering some, and the result with those who have followed them as the safest guides has been the adoption of the shortest of the numbers just given, about 300 yrs.\* The evidence of the genealogies may therefore be considered as probably leading to the rejection of all numerical statements, but as perhaps less inconsistent with that of 480 or 440 yrs. than with the rest. We have already shown (*Technical Chronology*) what strong reasons there are against using the

\* Both Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, i. pp. 176, 7) and Lepsius (*Chron. d. Aeg.* i. p. 369) suppose the genealogy of Shual the son of Uziah the Levite (1 Chr. vi. 22-24, comp. 33-38) to be that of Saul the king of Israel, an almost unaccountable mistake.

Hebrew genealogies to measure time. We prefer to hold to the evidence of the numbers, and to take as the most satisfactory the interval of about 638 yrs. from the Exodus to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple.

D. Fourth Period, from the Foundation of Solomon's Temple to its Destruction.—We have now reached a period in which the differences of chronologies are no longer to be measured by centuries but by tens of years and even single years, and towards the close of which accuracy is attainable. The most important numbers in the Bible are generally stated more than once, and several means are afforded by which their accuracy can be tested. The principal of these tests are the statements of kings' ages at their accessions, the double dating of the accessions of kings of Judah in the reigns of kings of Israel and the converse, and the double reckoning by the years of kings of Judah and of Nebuchadnezzar. Of these tests the most valuable is the second, which extends through the greater part of the period under consideration, and prevents our making any very serious error in computing its length. The mentions of kings of Egypt and Assyria contemporary with Hebrew sovereigns are also of importance, and are likely to be more so, when, as we may expect, the chronological places of all these contemporaries are more nearly determined. All records therefore tending to fix the chronologies of Egypt and Assyria, as well as of Babylon, are of great value from their bearing on Hebrew chronology. At present the most important of such records is Ptolemy's Canon, from which no sound chronologist will venture to deviate. If all the Biblical evidence is carefully collected and compared it will be found that some small and great inconsistencies necessitate certain changes of the numbers. The amount of the former class has however been much exaggerated, since several supposed inconsistencies depend upon the non-recognition of the mode of reckoning regnal years, from the commencement of the year and not from the day of the king's accession. The greater difficulties and some of the smaller cannot be resolved without the supposition that numbers have been altered by copyists. In these cases our only resource is to propose an emendation. We must never take refuge in the idea of an interregnum, since it is a much more violent hypothesis, considering the facts of the history, than the conjectural change of a number. Two interregnums have however been supposed, one of 11 yrs. between Jeroboam II. and Zachariah, and the other, of 9 yrs. between Pekah and Hoshea. The former supposition might seem to receive some support from the words of the prophet Hosea (x. 3, 7, and perhaps 15), which however may as well imply a lax government, and the great power of the Israelite princes and captains, as an absolute anarchy, and we must remember the improbability of a powerful sovereign not having been at once succeeded by his son, and of the people having been content

to remain for some years without a king. It is still more unlikely that in Hoshea's case a king's murderer should have been able to take his place after an interval of 9 yrs. We prefer in both cases to suppose a longer reign of the earlier of the two kings between whom the interregnums are conjectured. With the exception of these two interregnums, we would accept the computation of the interval we are now considering given in the margin of the A. V. It must be added, that the date of the conclusion of this period there given B.C. 588\* must be corrected to 586. The received chronology as to its intervals cannot indeed be held to be beyond question in the time before Josiah's accession up to the Foundation of the Temple, but we cannot at present attain any better positive result than that we have accepted. The whole period may therefore be held to be of about 425 yrs., that of the undivided kingdom 120 yrs., that of the kingdom of Judah about 388 yrs., and that of the kingdom of Israel about 255 yrs. It is scarcely possible that these numbers can be more than a very few years wrong, if at all. (For a fuller treatment of the chronology of the kings, see ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF, and JUDAH, KINGDOM OF.)

E. Fifth Period, from the Destruction of Solomon's Temple to the Return from the Babylonish Captivity.—The determination of the length of this period depends upon the date of the return to Palestine. The decree of Cyrus leading to that event was made in the 1st year of his reign, doubtless at Babylon (Ezr. i. 1), B.C. 538, but it does not seem certain that the Jews at once returned. So great a migration must have occupied much time, and about two or three yrs. would not seem too long an interval for its complete accomplishment after the promulgation of the decree. Two numbers, held by some to be identical, must here be considered. One is the period of 70 yrs., during which the tyranny of Babylon over Palestine and the East generally was to last, prophesied by Jeremiah (xxv.), and the other, the 70 yrs. captivity (xxix. 10; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21; Dan. ix. 2). The commencement of the former period is plainly the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar and 4th of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxv. 1), when the successes of the king of Babylon began (xli. 2), and the miseries of Jerusalem (xxv. 29)<sup>f</sup> and the conclusion, the fall of Babylon (ver. 26). Ptolemy's Canon counts from the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Cyrus 66 yrs., a number sufficiently near to the round sum of 70, which may indeed, if the yrs. be of 360 days (*Year*) represent at the utmost no more than about 69 tropical yrs. The famous 70 years of captivity would seem to be the same period as this, since it was to terminate with the return of the captives (Jer. xxix. 10). The two passages in Zech., which speak of such an interval as one of desolation (i. 12), and during which fasts connected with the last captivity had been kept (vii. 5), are not irreconcilable with this explanation: a famous

<sup>f</sup> In the book of Daniel (i. 1) the 3rd year of Jehoiakim is given instead of the 4th, which may be accounted for by the circumstance that the Babylonian year commenced earlier than the Hebrew, so that Nebuchadnezzar's 1st would commence in Jehoiakim's 3rd, and be current in his 4th. In other books of the Bible the years of Babylonian kings seem to be generally Hebrew current years. Two other difficulties may be noticed. The 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar in Jer. lii. 29 seems to be for the 19th. The

difficulty of the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, 12g. 25d. (Jer.), or 27 (2 K.), falling according to the rendering of the A. V. in the 1st year of Evil-Merodach (Jer. lii. 31; 2 K. xxv. 27), may be explained, as Dr. Hincks suggests, either by supposing the Heb., "in the year when he was king," to mean that he reigned but one year instead of two, as in the canon, or that Evil-Merodach is not the Iluadadmus of the canon (*Journ. Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1856).

past period might be spoken of, as the moderns speak of the Thirty Years War. These two passages are; it must be noticed, of different dates, the first of the 2nd year of Darius Hystaspis, the second of the 4th year.—This period we consider to be of  $48+x$  yrs., the doubtful number being the time of the reign of Cyrus before the return to Jerusalem, probably a space of about two or three years.

*Principal systems of Biblical Chronology.*—Upon the data we have considered three principal systems of Biblical Chronology have been founded, which may be termed the Long System, the Short, and the Rabbinical. There is a fourth, which, although an offshoot in part of the last, can scarcely be termed biblical, inasmuch as it depends for the most part upon theories, not only independent of, but repugnant to the Bible: this last is at present peculiar to Baron Bunsen. Before noticing these systems it is desirable to point out some characteristics of those who have supported them, which may serve to aid our judgment in seeing how far they are trustworthy guides. All, or almost all, have erred on the side of claiming for their results a greater accuracy than the nature of the evidence upon which they rested rendered possible. Another failing of these chronologers is a tendency to accept, through a kind of false analogy, long or short numbers and computations for intervals, rather accounting as they have adopted the long or the short reckoning of the patriarchal genealogies than on a consideration of special evidence. It is as though they were resolved to make the sum as great or as small as possible. The Rabbinists have in their chronology afforded the strongest example of this error, having so shortened the intervals, as even egregiously to throw out the dates of the time of the Persian

rule. The German school is here an exception, for it has generally fallen into an opposite extreme and required a far greater time than any derivable from the Biblical numbers for the earlier ages, while taking the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, and so has put two portions of its chronology in violent contrast. We do not lay much stress upon the opinions of the early Christian writers, or even Josephus: their method was uncritical, and they accepted the numbers best known to them without any feeling of doubt. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the moderns.

The principal advocates of the Long Chronology are Jackson, Hales, and Des-Vignoles. They take the LXX. for the patriarchal generations, and adopt the long interval from the Exodus to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple. The Short Chronology has had a multitude of illustrious supporters owing to its having been from Jerome's time the recognised system of the West. Ussher may be considered as its most able advocate. He follows the Heb. in the patriarchal generations, and takes the 480 yrs. from the Exodus to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple. The Rabbinical Chronology has lately come into much notice from its partial reception, chiefly by the German school. It accepts the biblical numbers, but makes the most arbitrary corrections. For the date of the Exodus it has been virtually accepted by Bunsen, Lepsius, and Lord A. Hervey. The system of Bunsen we have been compelled to constitute a fourth class of itself. For the time before the Exodus he discards all biblical chronological data, and reasons altogether, as it appears to us, on philological considerations. The following table exhibits the principal dates according to five writers.

	Hales.	Jackson.	Ussher.	Petavius.	Bunsen.
	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
Creation . . . . .	5411	5426	4004	3083	(Adam) cir. 20,000
Flood . . . . .	3155	3170	2348	2327	(Noah) cir. 10,000
Abram leaves Haran . . . . .	2078	2023	1921	1961	
Exodus . . . . .	1648	1593	1491	1531	1320
Foundation of Solomon's Temple . . . . .	1027	1014	1012	1012	1004
Destruction of " " . . . . .	586	586	588	589	586

The principal disagreements of these chronologers, besides those already indicated, must be noticed. In the post-diluvian period Hales rejects the Second Cainan and reckons Terah's age at Abram's birth 130 instead of 70 years; Jackson accepts the Second Cainan and does not make any change in the second case; Ussher and Petavius follow the Heb., but the former alters the generation of Terah, while the latter does not. Bunsen requires "for the Noachian period about ten millennia before our era and for the beginning of our race another ten thousand years, or very little more" (*Outlines*, vol. ii. p. 12). These conclusions necessitate the abandonment of all belief in the historical character of the biblical account of the times before Abraham. We cannot here discuss the grounds upon which they seem to be founded: it may be stated, however, that these grounds may be considered to be wholly philological. The writer does indeed speak of "facts and traditions:" his facts, however, as far as we can perceive, are the results of a theory of language, and tradition is, from its nature, no guide in chronology. How far language can be taken as a guide is a very hard

question. It is, however, certain that no Semitic scholar has accepted Bunsen's theory. For the time from the Exodus to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple, Ussher alone takes the 480 yrs.; the rest, except Bunsen, adopt longer periods according to their explanations of the other numbers of this interval; but Bunsen calculates by generations. We have already seen the great risk that is run in adopting Hebrew genealogies for the measure of time, both generally and in this case. The period of the kings, from the foundation of Solomon's Temple, is very nearly the same in the computations of Jackson, Ussher, and Petavius: Hales lengthens it by supposing an interregnum of 11 yrs. after the death of Amaziah; Bunsen shortens it by reducing the reign of Manasseh from 55 to 45 yrs. The former theory is improbable and uncritical, the latter is merely the result of a supposed necessity, which we shall see has not been proved to exist; it is thus needless, and in its form as uncritical as the other.

*Probable determination of dates and intervals.*—Having thus gone over the biblical data, it only re-

mainly for us to state what we believe to be the most satisfactory scheme of chronology, derived from a comparison of these with foreign data. We shall endeavour to establish on independent evidence, either exactly or approximatively, certain main dates, and shall be content if the numbers we have previously obtained for the intervals between them do not greatly disagree with those thus afforded.

#### 1. Date of the Destruction of Solomon's Temple.

—The Temple was destroyed in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 5th month of the Jewish year (Jer. li. 12, 13; 2 K. xxv. 8, 9). In Ptolemy's Canon, this year is current in the proleptic Julian year, B.C. 586, and the 5th month may be considered as about equal to August of that year.

#### 2. Synchronism of Josiah and Pharaoh Necho.

The death of Josiah can be clearly shown on biblical evidence to have taken place in the 22nd year before that in which the temple was destroyed, that is, in the Jewish year from the spring of B.C. 608 to the spring of 607. Necho's 1st year is proved by the Apis-tablets to have been most probably the Egyptian vague year, Jan. B.C. 609-8, but possibly B.C. 610-9. The expedition in opposing which Josiah fell, cannot be reasonably dated earlier than Necho's 2nd year, B.C. 609-8 or 608-7. It is important to notice that no earlier date of the destruction of the temple than B.C. 586 can be reconciled with the chronology of Necho's reign. We have thus B.C. 608-7 for the last year of Josiah, and 638-7 for that of his accession, the former date falling within the time indicated by the chronology of Necho's reign.

#### 3. Synchronism of Hezekiah and Tirhakah.

Tirhakah is mentioned as an opponent of Sennacherib shortly before the miraculous destruction of his army in, according to the present text, the 14th year of Hezekiah. It has been lately proved from the Apis-tablets that the 1st year of Tirhakah's reign over Egypt was the vague year current in B.C. 689. The 14th year of Hezekiah, according to the received chronology is B.C. 713, and, if we correct it two yrs. on account of the lowering of the date of the destruction of the Temple, B.C. 711. If (Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. i. p. 479, n. 1) we hold that the expedition dated in Hezekiah's 14th year was different from that which ended in the destruction of the Assyrian army, we must still place the latter event before B.C. 695. There is, therefore, a *prima facie* discrepancy of at least 6 yrs. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. p. cxcvi.) unhesitatingly reduces the reign of Manasseh from 55 to 45 yrs. Lepsius (*Ägyptische Buch*, p. 104) more critically takes the 35 yrs. of the LXX. as the true duration. Were an alteration demanded, it would seem best to make Manasseh's computation of his reign commence with his father's illness in preference to taking the conjectural number 45 or the very short one 35. The evidence of the chronology of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings is, however, we think, conclusive in favour of the sum of 55. In the Bible we are told that Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria in the 4th year of Hezekiah, and that it was taken in the 6th year of that king (2 K. xviii. 9, 10). The Assyrian inscriptions indicate the taking of the city by Sargon in his 1st or 2nd year, whence we must suppose either that he completed the enterprise of Shalmaneser, to whom the capture is not expressly ascribed in the Scriptures, or that he took the credit of an event which happened just before

his accession. The 1st year of Sargon is shown by the inscriptions to have been exactly or nearly equal to the 1st of Merodach-Baladan, Mardocempadus: therefore it was current B.C. 721 or 720, and the 2nd year, 720 or 719. This would place Hezekiah's accession B.C. 726, 725, or 724, the 3rd being the very date the Hebrew numbers give. Again, Merodach-Baladan sent messengers to Hezekiah immediately after his sickness, and therefore in about his 15th year B.C. 710. According to Ptolemy's Canon, Mardocempadus reigned 721-710, and, according to Berossus, seized the regal power for 6 months before Elibus, the Belibus of the Canon, and therefore in about 703, this being, no doubt, a second reign. Here the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the earlier dates of Hezekiah. Thus far the chronological data of Egypt and Assyria appear to clash in a manner that seems at first sight to present a hopeless knot, but not on this account to be rashly cut. An examination of the facts of the history has afforded Dr. Hincks what we believe to be the true explanation. Tirhakah, he observes, is not explicitly termed Pharaoh or king of Egypt in the Bible, but king of Cush or Ethiopia, from which it might be inferred that at the time of Sennacherib's disastrous invasion he had not assumed the crown of Egypt. The Assyrian inscriptions of Sennacherib mention kings of Egypt and a contemporary king of Ethiopia in alliance with them. The history of Egypt at the time, obtained by a comparison of the evidence of Herodotus and others with that of Manetho's lists, would lead to the same or a similar conclusion, which appears to be remarkably confirmed by the prophecies of Isaiah. We hold, therefore, as most probable, that, at the time of Sennacherib's disastrous expedition, Tirhakah was king of Ethiopia in alliance with the king or kings of Egypt. It only remains to ascertain what evidence there is for the date of this expedition. First it must be noted that the warlike operations of Sennacherib recorded in the Bible have been conjectured, as already mentioned, to be those of two expeditions. The fine paid by Hezekiah is recorded in the inscriptions as a result of an expedition of Sennacherib's 3rd year, which, by a comparison of Ptolemy's Canon with Berossus, must be dated B.C. 700, which would fall so near the close of the reign of the king of Judah, if no alteration be made, that the supposed second expedition, of which there would naturally be no record in the Assyrian annals on account of its calamitous end, could not be placed much later. The biblical account would, however, be most reasonably explained by the supposition that the two expeditions were but two campaigns of the same war, a war but temporarily interrupted by Hezekiah's submission. Since the first expedition fell in B.C. 700, we have not to suppose that the reign of Tirhakah in Ethiopia commenced more than 11 yrs. at the utmost before his accession in Egypt, a supposition which, on the whole, is far preferable to the dislocating attempts that have been made to lower the reign of Hezekiah. This would, however, necessitate a substitution of a later date in the place of the 14th year of Hezekiah for the first expedition. (See especially Dr. Hincks's paper "On the Rectifications of Sacred and Profane Chronology, which the newly-discovered Apis-steles render necessary," in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1858; and Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. pp. 478-480). The synchronisms of Hoshea and Shalmaneser,

Pekah and Tiglath-Pileser, Menahem and Pul, have not yet been approximatively determined on double evidence.

4. *Synchronism of Rehoboam and Shishak.*—The biblical evidence for this synchronism is as follows: Rehoboam appears to have come to the throne about 249 yrs. before the accession of Hezekiah, and therefore B.C. cir. 973. The invasion of Shishak took place in his 5th year, by this computation, 969. Shishak was already on the throne when Jeroboam fled to him from Solomon. This event happened during the building of Millo, &c., when Jeroboam was head of the workmen of the house of Joseph (1 K. xi. 26-40, see esp. ver. 29). The building of Millo and repairing of the breaches of the city of David was after the building of the house of Pharaoh's daughter, that was constructed about the same time as Solomon's house, the completion of which is dated in his 23rd year (1 K. vi. 1, 37, 38, vii. 1; 2 Chr. viii. 1). This building is recorded after the occurrences of the 24th year of Solomon, for Pharaoh's daughter remained in Jerusalem until the king had ended building his own house, and the temple, and the wall of Jerusalem round about (1 K. iii. 1), and Millo was built after the removal of the queen (ix. 24); therefore, as Jeroboam was concerned in this building of Millo and repairing the breaches, and was met "at that time" (xi. 29) by Ahijah, and in consequence had to flee from the country, the 24th or 25th year is the most probable date. Thus Shishak appears to have come to the throne at least 21 or 22 yrs. before his expedition against Rehoboam. An inscription at the quarries of Silsilis in Upper Egypt records the cutting of stone in the 22nd year of Sheshonk I., or Shishak for constructions in the chief temple of Thebes, where we now find a record of his conquest of Judah (Champollion, *Lettres*, pp. 190, 191). On these grounds we may place the accession of Shishak B.C. cir. 990. The evidence of Manetho's lists, compared with the monuments, would place this event within a few years of this date, for they do not allow us to put it much before or after B.C. 1000, an approach to correctness which at this period is very valuable. It is not possible here to discuss this evidence in detail.

5. *Exodus.*—Arguments founded on independent evidence afford the best means of deciding which is the most probable computation from Biblical evidence of the date of the Exodus. A comparison of the Hebrew calendar with the Egyptian has led the writer to the following result:—The civil commencement of the Hebrew year was with the new-moon nearest to the autumnal equinox; and at the approximative date of the Exodus obtained by the long reckoning, we find that the Egyptian vague year commenced at or about that point of time. This approximative date, therefore, falls about the time at which the vague year and the Hebrew year, as dated from the autumnal equinox, nearly or exactly coincided in their commencements. It may be reasonably supposed that the Israelites in the time of the oppression had made use of the vague year as the common year of the country, which indeed is rendered highly probable by the circumstance that they had mostly adopted the Egyptian religion (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ez. xx. 7, 8), the celebrations of which were kept according to this year. When, therefore, the festivals of the Law rendered a year virtually tropical necessary, of the kind either restored or instituted at the Exodus, it seems most probable

that the current vague year was fixed under Moses. If this supposition be correct, we should expect to find that the 14th day of Abib, on which tell the full-moon of the Passover of the Exodus, corresponds to the 14th day of a Phamenoth, in a vague year commencing about the autumnal equinox. It has been ascertained by computation that a full moon fell on the 14th day of Phamenoth, on Thursday, April 21st, in the year B.C. 1652.\* A full moon would not fall on the same day of the vague year at a shorter interval than 25 yrs. before or after this date, while the triple coincidence of the new moon, vague year, and autumnal equinox could not recur in less than 1500 vague years (*Enc. Brit.* 8th ed. *Egypt*, p. 458). The date thus obtained is but 4 yrs. earlier than Hales's, and the interval from it to that of the Foundation of Solomon's Temple, B.C. cir. 1010, would be about 642 yrs. or 4 yrs. in excess of that previously obtained from the numerical statements in the Bible. It must be borne in mind that the inferences from the celebration of great passovers also led us to about the same time. In later articles we shall show the manner in which the history of Egypt agrees with this conclusion. [EGYPT; EXODUS, TIME.] Setting aside Usher's preference for the 480 yrs., as resting upon evidence far less strong than the longer computation, we must mention the principal reasons urged by Bunsen and Lepsius in support of the Rabbinical date. The reckoning by the genealogies, upon which this date rests, we have already shown to be unsafe. Several points of historical evidence are, however, brought forward by these writers as leading to or confirming this date. Of these the most important is the supposed account of the Exodus given by Manetho, the Egyptian historian, placing the event at about the same time as the Rabbinical date. This narrative, however, is, on the testimony of Josephus, who has preserved it to us, wholly devoid of authority, being, according to Manetho's own showing, a record of uncertain antiquity, and of an unknown writer, and not put of the Egyptian annals. An indication of date has also been supposed in the mention that the name of one of the treasure-cities built for Pharaoh by the Israelites during the oppression, was Rameses (Ex. i. 11), probably the same place as the Rameses elsewhere mentioned, the chief town of a tract so called. [RAMESSES.] This name is the same as that of certain well-known kings of Egypt of the period to which by this scheme the Exodus would be referred. If the story given by Manetho be founded on a true tradition the great oppressor would have been Rameses II., second king of the 19th dynasty, whose reign is variously assigned to the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. It is further urged that the first king Rameses of the Egyptian monuments and Manetho's lists is the grandfather of this king, Rameses I., who was the last sovereign of the 18th dynasty, and reigned at the utmost about 60 yrs. before his grandson. It must, however, be observed, that there is great reason for taking the lower dates of both kings, which would make the reign of the second after the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, and that in this case both Manetho's statement must be of course set aside, as placing the Exodus in the reign of this king's son, and the order of the Biblical narrative must be transposed that

\* T was calculated for the writer at the Royal Observatory, through the kindness of the Astronomer-Royal.—*Horæ Arg.* p. 217.

the building of Raameses should not fall before the accession of Raameses I. The argument that there was no king Raameses before Raameses I. is obviously weak as a negative one, more especially as the names of very many kings of Egypt, particularly those of the period to which we assign the Exodus, are wanting. It loses almost all its force when we find that a son of Aahmes, Amosis, the head of the 18th dynasty, variously assigned to the 17th and 16th centuries B.C. bore the name of Raameses, which name from its meaning (son of Ra or the sun, the god of Heliopolis, one of the eight great gods of Egypt) would almost necessarily be a not very uncommon one, and Raameses might therefore have been named from an earlier king or prince bearing the name long before Raameses I. The history of Egypt presents great difficulties to the reception of the theory together with the Biblical narrative, difficulties so great that we think they could only be removed by abandoning a belief in the historical character of that narrative: if so, it is obviously futile to found an argument upon a minute point, the occurrence of a single name. The historical difficulties on the Hebrew side in the period after the Exodus are not less serious, and have induced Bunsen to antedate Moses' war beyond Jordan, and to compress Joshua's rule into the 40 yrs. in the wilderness (*Bibelwerk*, pp. cccxxviii, ix), and so, we venture to think, to forfeit his right to reason on the details of the narrative relating to the earlier period. This compression arises from the want of space for the Judges. The chronology of events so obtained is also open to the objection brought against the longer schemes, that the Israelites could not have been in Palestine during the campaigns in the East of the Pharaohs of the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties, since it does not seem possible to throw those of Raameses III. earlier than Bunsen's date of the beginning of the conquest of western Palestine by the Hebrews. This question, involving that of the policies and relation of Egypt and the Hebrews, will be discussed in later articles. [EGYPT; EXODUS, THE.] We therefore take B.C. 1652 as the most satisfactory date of the Exodus (see Duke of Northumberland's paper in Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* i. pp. 77-81; Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, i. pp. cccxi-cxxii, cccxiii, seqq.; Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, i. pp. 314, seqq.)

6. *Date of the Commencement of the 430 year of Sojourn.*—We have already given our reasons for holding the 430 years of Sojourn to have commenced when Abraham entered Palestine, and that it does not seem certain that the Exodus was the anniversary of the day of arrival. It is reasonable, however, to hold that the interval was of 430 complete years or a little more, commencing about the time of the vernal equinox, B.C. 2082, or nearer the beginning of that proleptic Julian year. Before this date we cannot attempt to obtain anything beyond an approximate chronology.

7. *Date of the Dispersion.*—Taking the LXX. numbers as most probable, the Dispersion, if coincident with the birth of Peleg, must be placed B.C. cir. 2698, or, if we accept Usher's correction of the age of Terah at the birth of Abraham, cir. 2758.<sup>b</sup> We do not give round numbers, since doing so might needlessly enlarge the limits of error.

8. *Date of the Flood.*—The Flood, as ending

about 401 yrs. before the birth of Peleg, would be placed B.C. cir. 3099 or 3159. The year preceding, or the 402nd, was that mainly occupied by the catastrophe. It is most reasonable to suppose the Noachian colonists to have begun to spread about three centuries after the Flood. If the Division at Peleg's birth be really the same as the Dispersion after the building of the Tower, this supposed interval would not be necessarily to be lengthened, for the text of the account of the building of the Tower does not absolutely prove that all Noah's descendants were concerned in it, and therefore some may have previously taken their departure from the primeval settlement. The chronology of Egypt, derived from the monuments and Manetho, is held by some to indicate for the foundation of its first kingdom a much earlier period than would be consistent with this scheme of approximative biblical dates. The evidence of the monuments, however, does not seem to us to carry back this event earlier than the later part of the 28th century B.C. The Assyrians and Babylonians have not been proved, on satisfactory grounds, to have reckoned back to so remote a time; but the evidence of their monuments, and the fragments of their history preserved by ancient writers, as in the case of the Egyptians, cannot be reconciled with the short interval preferred by Usher. As far as we can learn, no independent historical evidence points to an earlier period than the middle of the 28th century B.C. as the time of the foundation of kingdoms, although the chronology of Egypt reaches to about this period, while that of Babylon and other states does not greatly fall short of the same antiquity.

9. *Date of the Creation of Adam.*—The numbers given by the LXX. for the antediluvian patriarchs would place the creation of Adam 2262 yrs. before the end of the Flood, or B.C. cir. 5361 or 5421. [R. S. P.]

**CHRYsolITE** (*χρυσολίθος*), the precious stone which garnished the seventh foundation of the New Jerusalem in St. John's vision. According to Schleusner, a gem of golden hue, or rather of yellow streaked with green and white. (See Plin. xxvii. 9; Isidor. *Orig.* xvi. 14.) It seems to have been a species of topaz. [W. D.]

**CHRYsOPRASUS** (*χρυσόπρασος*; *chryso-prasus*), an Indian translucent gem, so called as resembling in colour the juice of the leek (*πράσον*), with golden spots (*χρυσός*)—a species of beryl, supposed to be possessed of healing power in diseases of the eyes. The word occurs only once (in Rev. xxi. 20), where it is the tenth of the precious stones with which the walls of the new Jerusalem were garnished. Its spotted character may be inferred from the name given to it by Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. c. 8), *pardulios*, from its resembling the leopard-skin (see Braun, *de Vest. Sac. Heb.* ii. c. 9, p. 509). [W. D.]

**CHUB** (כֻּב; *Albes*; *Chub*), a word occurring only once in the Heb., the name of a people in alliance with Egypt in the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Ez. xxx. 5). "Cush, and Phut, and Lud, and all the mingled people (כְּנָעַנִים), and Chub, and the children of the land of the covenant, shall fall

<sup>b</sup> Abraham is said to have been 75 years old when he left Uaran (Gen. xii. 4), but this does not necessarily imply that he had done more than enter upon

his 75th year. (Comp. the case of Noah, vii. 6, 11, 13.) All the dates, therefore, before B.C. 2082, might have to be lowered one year.

by the sword with them" (i. e. no doubt the Egyptians: see ver. 4). The first three of these names or designations are of African peoples, unless, but this is improbable, the Shemite *Lud* be intended by the third (see, however, xxvii. 10, xxxviii. 5; Is. lvi. 19; Jer. xvi. 9); the fourth is of a people on the Egyptian frontier; and the sixth probably applies to the remnant of the Jews who had fled into Egypt (comp. Dan. xi. 28, 30, 32, especially the last, where the covenant is not qualified as "holy"), which was prophesied to perish for the most part by the sword and otherwise in that country (Jer. xlii. 16, 17, 22, xlv. 12, 13, 14, 27, 28). This fifth name is therefore that of a country or people in alliance with Egypt, and probably of northern Africa, or of the lands near Egypt to the south. Some have proposed to recognise Chub in the names of various African places *Kobé*, a port on the Indian Ocean (Ptol. iv. 7, §10), *Xobát* or *Xobád* in Mauritania (iv. 2, §9), and *Kábiaw* or *Kábiou* in the Marotic nome in Egypt (iv. 5)—conjectures which are of no value except as showing the existence of similar names where we might expect this to have had its place. Others, however, think the present Heb. text corrupt in this word. It has been therefore proposed to read *כנני* for *Nubia*, as the Arab. vers. has "the people the Noobeh," whence it might be supposed that at least one copy of the LXX. had *n* as the first letter: one Heb. MS. indeed reads *כנני* (Cod. 409, ap. de Rossi). The Arab. vers. is, however, of very slight weight, and although *כנני* might be the ancient Egyptian form or pronunciation of *כנני*, as Winer observes (s. v.), yet we have no authority of this kind for applying it to Nubia, or rather the Nubae, the countries held by whom from Strabo's time to our own are by the Egyptian inscriptions included in Keesh or Kesh, that is, Cush: the Nubae, however, may not in the prophet's days have been settled in any part of the territory which has taken from them its name. Far better, on the score of probability, is the emendation which Hitzig proposes, *כנני* (*Decript der Kritik*, p. 129). The Lubim, doubtless the Mizraite Lehabim of Gen. x. 13; 1 Chr. i. 11, are mentioned as serving with Cushim in the army of Shishak (2 Chr. xii. 2, 3), and in that of Zerah (xvi. 8, comp. xiv. 9), who was most probably also a king of Egypt, and certainly the leader of an Egyptian army [*CUSH*; *ZEKRAH*]. Nahum speaks of them as helpers of Thebes, together with Put (Phut), while Cush and Egypt were her strength (iii. 8, 9); and Daniel mentions the Lubim and Cushim as submitting to or courting a conqueror of Egypt (xi. 43). The Lubim might therefore well occur among the peoples suffering in the fall of Egypt. There is, however, this objection, that we have no instance of the supposed form *כנני*, the noun being always given in the plural—*לַחֲבִימִים*. In the absence of better evidence we prefer the reading of the present Heb. text, against which little can be urged but that the word occurs nowhere else, although we should rather expect a well-known name in such a passage. [R. S. P.]

**CHUN** (*כֻּנִּי*; *ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν πόλεων*; Joseph. *Μάχωνι*; *Chun*. The words of the LXX. look as if they had read Berothai, a word very like which—*בִּרְתַּי*—they frequently render by *ἐκλεκτός*, 1 Chr. xviii. 8. [ΒΕΡΟΘΗΑΙ.]

## CHUSH'AN - RISHATHA'IM

(כֻּשָׁן רִישַׁתַּאִיִּם)

*כֻּשָׁן רִישַׁתַּאִיִּם*; *Χουσαρσθαίμ*; *Chusan Rasathaim*) the king of Mesopotamia who oppressed Israel during eight years in the generation immediately following Joshua (Judg. iii. 8). The seat of his dominion was probably the region between the Euphrates and the *Khabour*, to which the name of Mesopotamia always attached in a special way. In the early cuneiform inscriptions this country appears to be quite distinct from Assyria; it is inhabited by a people called *Nūri*, who are divided into a vast number of petty tribes and offer but little resistance to the Assyrian armies. No centralised monarchy is found, but as none of the *Assyrian* historical inscriptions date earlier than about B.C. 1100, which is some centuries later than the time of Chushan, it is of course quite possible that a very different condition of things may have existed in his day. In the weak and divided state of Western Asia at this time, it was easy for a brave and skilful chief to build up rapidly a vast power, which was apt to crumble away almost as quickly. The case of Solomon is an instance. Chushan-Rishathaim's yoke was broken from the neck of the people of Israel at the end of eight years by Othniel, Caleb's nephew (Judg. iii. 10), and nothing more is heard of Mesopotamia as an aggressive power. The rise of the Assyrian empire, about B.C. 1270, would naturally reduce the bordering nations to insignificance. [G. R.]

**CHU'SI** (*Χούσι*; Alex. *Χουσεί*; Vulg. omits), a place named only in Judith vii. 18, as near Ekrebel, and upon the brook Mochmur. It was doubtless in central Palestine, but all the names appear to be very corrupt, and are not recognisable.

**CHU'ZA** (properly CHUZAS), *Χουζάς*, the *ἐπίτροπος*, or house-steward of Herod (Antipas), whose wife Johanna (*Ἰωάννα*, *יוֹחָנָה*), having been healed by our Lord either of possession by an evil spirit or of a disease, became attached to that body of women who accompanied Him on his journeyings (Luke viii. 3); and, together with Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother [?] of James, having come early to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, to bring spices and ointments to complete the burial, brought word to the apostles that the Lord was risen (Luke xxiv. 10). [H. A.]

**CIO'CAR** (*כִּיּוֹכָר*). [JORDAN; TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS.]

**CILIC'IA** (*Κιλικία*), a maritime province in the S.E. of Asia Minor, bordering on Pamphylia in the W., Lycônia and Cappadocia in the N., and Syria in the E. Lofty mountain chains separate it from these provinces, Mons Amanus from Syria, and Antitaurus from Cappadocia: these barriers can be surmounted only by a few difficult passes; the former by the *Portae Amanides* at the head of the valley of the Pinarus, the latter by the *Portae Ciliciae* near the sources of the Cydnus; towards the S. however an outlet was afforded between the Sinus Issicus and the spurs of Amanus for a road, which afterwards crossed the *Portae Syriae* in the direction of Antioch.\* The sea-coast is rock-bound in the W., low and shelving in the E.; the chief rivers, Sarus, Cydnus, and Calycadnus, were in-

\* Hence the close connexion which existed between Syria and Cilicia, as indicated in Acts xv. 23, 41; Gal. i. 21.

accessible to vessels of any size from sand-bars formed at their mouths. The western portion of the province is intersected with the ridges of Antitaurus, and was denominated Trachaea, *rough*, in contradistinction to Pedias, the *level* district in the E. The latter portion was remarkable for its beauty and fertility, as well as for its luxurious climate: hence it became a favourite residence of the Greeks after its incorporation into the Macedonian empire, and its capital TABSUS was elevated into the seat of a celebrated school of philosophy. The connexion between the Jews and Cilicia dates from the time when it became part of the Syrian kingdom. Antiochus the Great is said to have introduced 2000 families of the Jews into Asia Minor, many of whom probably settled in Cilicia (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §4). In the Apostolic age they were still there in considerable numbers (Acts vi. 9). Cilician mercenaries, probably from Trachaea, served in the body-guard of Alexander Jannæus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, §5; *B. J.* i. 4, §3). Josephus identified Cilicia with the Tarshish of Gen. x. 4; *Θαρσός δὲ Θαρρεῖς, οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Κιλικία* (*Ant.* i. 6, §1). Cilicia was from its geographical position the high road between Syria and the West; it was also the native country of St. Paul; hence it was visited by him, firstly, soon after his conversion (*Gal.* i. 21; *Acts* iv. 30), on which occasion he probably founded the church there; and again in his second apostolic journey, when he entered it on the side of Syria, and crossed Antitaurus by the Pylæ Cilicæ into Lycania (*Acts* xv. 41). [W. L. B.]

**CINNAMON** (קִנְמון, קִנְמוֹן; *κιννάμωμον*; *cinnamomum*), a well-known aromatic substance, the rind of the *Laurus cinnamomum*, called *Korunk-gauhr* in Ceylon. It is mentioned in Ex. xxx. 23 as one of the component parts of the holy anointing oil, which Moses was commanded to prepare—in Prov. vii. 17 as a perfume for the bed—and in Cant. iv. 14 as one of the plants of the garden which is the image of the spouse. In Rev. xviii. 13 it is enumerated among the merchandize of the great Babylon. "It was imported into Judæa by the Phœnicians or by the Arabians, and is now found in Sumatra, Borneo, China, &c., but chiefly, and of the best quality, in the S.W. part of Ceylon, where the soil is light and sandy, and the atmosphere moist with the prevalent southern winds. The stem and boughs of the cinnamon-tree are surrounded by a double rind, the exterior being whitish or grey, and almost inodorous and tasteless; but the inner one, which consists properly of two closely connected rinds, furnishes, if dried in the sun, that much-valued brown cinnamon which is imported to us in the shape of fine thin barks, eight or ten of which rolled one into the other form sometimes a quill. It is this inner rind which is called in Ex. xxx. 23, קִנְמֹן-בְּשֵׁל, "spicy cinnamon" (*Kalisch ad loc.*). From the coarser pieces oil of cinnamon is obtained, and a finer kind of oil is also got by boiling the ripe fruit of the tree. This last is used in the composition of incense, and diffuses a most delightful scent when burning.

Herodotus (iii. 111) ascribes to the Greek word *κιννάμωμον* a Phœnician, i. e. a Semitic origin. His words are: *ὀνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορεῖν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφια, τὰ ἥμετε ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλεῖσθαι*.

The meaning of the Heb. root קִנְּ is doubtful.

The Arab. قَم = *to smell offensively like rancid nut-oil*. Gesenius suggests that the word might have had the notion of lifting up or standing upright, like קָנָה, קָנָן, קָנָן, and so be identical with קָנָה, *canna, calamus*, which the cinnamon-rind resembles in form when prepared for the market, and has hence been called in the later Latin *canella*, in Italian *canella*, and in French *cannelle*. Gesenius (*Thez.* 1223) corrects his former derivation of the word (in *Lex. Man.*) from קָנָה, as being contrary to grammatical analogy. [W. L.]

**CIN'NEROTH, ALL** (בְּלִי בִּנְרוֹת; *πάσας την Χερσερῆθ*; *unirsam Ceneroth*), a district named with the "land of Naphtali" and other northern places as having been laid waste by Benhadad king of Damascus, the ally of Aśa king of Judah (1 K. xv. 20). It probably took its name from the adjacent city or lake of the same name (in other passages of the A. V. spelt CHIN'NEROTH); and was possibly the small enclosed district north of Tiberias, and by the side of the lake, afterwards known as "the plain of Genesareth." The expression "All Cin'neroth" is unusual and may be compared with "All Bithron,"—probably, like this, a district and not a town. [G.]

**CIRAMA.** The people of Cirama (*ἐκ Κυραμῶς; Gramas*) and Gabdes came up with Zuiobabel from Babylon (1 Esdr. v. 20). [RAMAH.]

**CIRCUMCISION** (מִלִּינָה; *περιτομή*; *circumcisio*) was peculiarly, though not exclusively, a Jewish rite. It was enjoined upon Abraham, the father of the nation, by God, at the institution, and as the token, of the Covenant, which assured to him and his descendants the promise of the Messiah (*Gen.* xvii.). It was thus made a necessary condition of Jewish nationality. Every male child was to be circumcised when eight days old (*Lev.* xii. 3) on pain of death; a penalty which, in the case of Moses, appears to have been demanded of the father, when the Lord "sought to kill him" because his son was uncircumcised (*Ex.* iv. 24-26). If the eighth day were a Sabbath the rite was not postponed (*John* vii. 22, 23). Slaves, whether home-born or purchased, were circumcised (*Gen.* xvii. 12, 13); and foreigners must have their males circumcised before they could be allowed to partake of the passover (*Ex.* xii. 48), or become Jewish citizens (*Jud.* xiv. 10. See also *Esth.* viii. 17, where for Heb. מִיתֵי־מִלִּינָה, "became Jews," the LXX. have *περιτέμοντο καὶ ἰουδαῖζον*). The operation, which was performed with a sharp instrument (*Ex.* iv. 25; *Josh.* v. 2 [KNIFE]), was a painful one, at least to grown persons (*Gen.* xxxiv. 25; *Josh.* v. 8). It seems to have been customary to name a child when it was circumcised (*Luke* i. 59).

Various explanations have been given of the fact, that, though the Israelites practised circumcision in Egypt, they neglected it entirely during their journeying in the wilderness (*Josh.* v. 5). The most satisfactory account of the matter appears to be, that the nation, while bearing the punishment of disobedience in its forty years' wandering, was regarded as under a temporary rejection by God, and was therefore prohibited from using the sign of the Covenant. This agrees with the mention of their disobedience and its punishment, which immediately follows in the passage

in Joshua (v. 6), and with the words (v. 9) "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." The "reproach of Egypt" was the threatened taunt of their former masters that God had brought them into the wilderness to slay them (Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13-16; Deut. ix. 28), which, so long as they remained uncircumcised and wanderers in the desert for their sin, was in danger of falling upon them. (Other views of the passage are given and discussed in Keil's *Commentary on Joshua*, in Clark's *Theol. Libr.* 129, &c.)

The use of circumcision by other nations besides the Jews is to be gathered almost entirely from sources extraneous to the Bible. The rite has been found to prevail extensively both in ancient and modern times; and among some nations, as, for instance, the Abyssinians, Nubians, modern Egyptians, and Hottentots, a similar custom is said to be practised by both sexes (see the *Penny Cyclopædia*, article *Circumcision*). The biblical notice of the rite describes it as distinctively Jewish; so that in the N. T. "the circumcision" (*ἡ περιτομή*) and the uncircumcision (*ἡ ἀκροβυστία*) are frequently used as synonyms for the Jews and the Gentiles. Circumcision certainly belonged to the Jews as it did to no other people, by virtue of its divine institution, of the religious privileges which were attached to it, and of the strict regulations which enforced its observance. Moreover, the O. T. history incidentally discloses the fact that many, if not all, of the nations with whom they came in contact were uncircumcised. One tribe of the Canaanites, the Hivites, were so, as appears from the story of Hamor and Shechem (Gen. xxxiv.). To the Philistines the epithet "uncircumcised" is constantly applied (Judg. xiv. 3, &c. Hence the force of the narrative, 1 Sam. xviii. 25-27). From the great unwillingness of Zipporah to allow her son to be circumcised (Ex. iv. 25) it would seem that the Midianites, though descended from Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), did not practise the rite. The expression "lying uncircumcised," or "lying with the uncircumcised," as used by Ezekiel (c. xxxii.) of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and others, does not necessarily affirm anything either way, as to the actual practice of circumcision by those nations. The origin of the custom amongst one large section of those Gentiles who follow it, is to be found in the biblical record of the circumcision of Ishmael (Gen. xvii. 25). Josephus relates that the Arabians circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, was circumcised at that age (*Ant.* i. 12, §2; see Lane's *Mod. Eg.* ch. ii.). Though Mohammed did not enjoin circumcision in the Koran, he was circumcised himself, according to the custom of his country; and circumcision is now as common amongst the Mohammedans as amongst the Jews.

Another passage in the Bible has been thought by some to speak of certain Gentile nations as circumcised. In Jer. ix. 25, 26 (Heb. 24, 25) the expression בְּרִמּוֹתָם בְּמִטְרָאָם, v. 24) which is translated in the A. V. "all them which are circumcised with the uncircumcised," is rendered by Michaelis and Ewald "all the uncircumcised circumcised ones," and the passage understood to describe the Egyptians, Jews, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites, as alike circumcised in flesh and uncircumcised in heart. But, whatever meaning be assigned to the particular expression (Hosenmüller agrees with the A. V.; Maurer suggests "circumcised in fore-

skin"), the next verse makes a plain distinction between two classes, of which all the Gentiles (בְּלֹא-הַגִּיטִּים), including surely the Egyptians and others just named, was one, and the house of Israel the other; the former being uncircumcised both in flesh and heart, the latter, though possessing the outward rite yet destitute of the corresponding state of heart, and therefore to be visited as though uncircumcised. The difficulty that then arises, viz., that the Egyptians are called uncircumcised, whereas Herodotus and others state that they were circumcised, has been obviated by supposing those statements to refer only to the priests, and those initiated into the mysteries, so that the nation generally might still be spoken of as uncircumcised (Herod. ii. 36, 37, 104; and Wesseling and Bähr *in loc.*). The testimony of Herodotus must be received with caution, especially as he asserts (ii. 104) that the Syrians in Palestine confessed to having received circumcision from the Egyptians. If he means the Jews, the assertion, though it has been ably defended (see Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.*, i. 5, §iv.) cannot be reconciled with Gen. xvii.; John vii. 22. If other Syrian tribes are intended, we have the contradiction of Josephus, who writes, "It is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised" (*Ant.* viii. 10, §3. See Whiston's note there). Of the other nations mentioned by Jeremiah, the Moabites and Ammonites were descended from Lot, who had left Abraham before he received the rite of circumcision; and the Edomites cannot be shown to have been circumcised until they were compelled to be so by Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, §1). The subject is fully discussed by Michaelis (*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, iv. 3, clxxxiv.-clxxxvi.).

The process of restoring a circumcised person to his natural condition by a surgical operation was sometimes undergone (Celsus, *de Re Medica*, vii. 25). Some of the Jews in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, wishing to assimilate themselves to the heathen around them, built a gymnasium (*γυμνασιον*) at Jerusalem, and that they might not be known to be Jews when they appeared naked in the games, "made themselves uncircumcised" (1 Macc. i. 15, ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας; *seccrunt sibi præputia*; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. §5, 1, τὴν τῶν αἰδῶν περιτομὴν ἐκικαλῶσθαι, κ.τ.λ.). Against having recourse to this practice, from an excessive anti-Judaistic tendency, St. Paul cautions the Corinthians in the words "Was any one called being circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised" (μὴ ἐπιστάσθω, 1 Cor. vii. 18). See the Essay of Grödelck, *De Judæis præputium*, &c., in Schottgen's *Hor. Hebr.* ii.

The attitude which Christianity, at its introduction, assumed towards circumcision was one of absolute hostility, so far as the necessity of the rite to salvation, or its possession of any religious or moral worth were concerned (Acts xv.; Gal. v. 2). But while the Apostles resolutely forbade its imposition by authority on the Gentiles, they made no objection to its practice, as a mere matter of feeling or expediency. St. Paul, who would by no means consent to the demand for Titus, who was a Greek, to be circumcised (Gal. ii. 3-5), on another occasion had Timothy circumcised to conciliate the Jews, and that he might preach to them with more effect as being one of themselves (Acts xvi. 3). The Abyssinian Christians still practise circumcision as a national custom. In accordance

with the spirit of Christianity, those who ascribed efficacy to the mere outward rite, are spoken of in the N. T. almost with contempt as "the concision" or "amputation" (*τὴν κατὰ σάρκα*); while the claim to be the true circumcision is vindicated for Christians themselves (Phil. iii. 2, 3). An ethical idea is attached to circumcision even in the O. T., where uncircumcised lips (Ex. vi. 12, 30), or ears (Jer. vi. 10), or hearts (Lev. xvi. 41) are spoken of, *i. e.*, either stammering or dull, closed as it were with a foreskin (Gesen. *Heb. Lex.* s. v. *לִּפְתָּי*), or rather rebellious and unholly (Deut. xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4), because circumcision was the symbol of purity (see Is. lii. 1). Thus the fruit of a tree is called uncircumcised, or in other words unclean (Lev. xix. 23). In the N. T. the ethical and spiritual idea of purity and holiness is fully developed (Col. ii. 11, 13; Rom. ii. 28, 29). [T. T. P.]

CIS (Rec. T. Kfs; Lachm. with ABCD, Kels; Cis), Acts xiii. 21. [KISH, 1.]

CYSAI (*Κύσας*; Cis), Esth. xi. 2. [KISH, 2.]

CISTERN (*בֵּר*, from *בָּרַב*, *dig* or *bore*, Gesen.

176; usually *λάκκος*; *cisterna* or *lucus*), a receptacle for water, either conducted from an external spring, or proceeding from rain-fall.

The dryness of the summer months between May and September, in Syria, and the scarcity of springs in many parts of the country, make it necessary to collect in reservoirs and cisterns the rain-water, of which abundance falls in the intermediate period (Shaw, *Travels*, 335; S. Jerome, quoted by Harmer, i. 148; Robinson, i. 430; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of H. L.*, 302, 303). Thus the cistern is essentially distinguished from the living spring *אֵין*, *Ain*; but from the well *בֵּר*, *Beer*, only in the fact that *Beer* is almost always used to denote a place ordinarily containing water rising on the spot, while *בֵּר*, *Bôr*, is often used for a dry pit, or one that may be left dry at pleasure (Stanley, *N. & P.*, 512, 514). [AIN.] The larger sort of public tanks or reservoirs, in Arabic, *Birkah*, Hebr. *Berechah*, are usually called in A. V. "pool," while for the smaller and more private it is convenient to reserve the name cistern.

Both birkehs and cisterns are frequent throughout the whole of Syria and Palestine, and for the construction of them the rocky nature of the ground affords peculiar facilities either in original excavation, or by enlargement of natural cavities. Dr. Robinson remarks that the inhabitants of all the hill country of Judah and Benjamin are in the habit of collecting water during the rainy season in tanks and cisterns, in the cities and fields, and along the high roads, for the sustenance of themselves and their flocks, and for the comfort of the passing traveller. Many of these are obviously antique, and exist along ancient roads now deserted. On the long forgotten way from Jericho to Bethel, "broken cisterns" of high antiquity are found at regular intervals. Jerusalem, described by Strabo as well supplied with water, in a dry neighbourhood (xvi. p. 760), depends mainly for this upon its cisterns, of which almost every private house possesses one or more, excavated in the rock on which the city is built. The following are the dimensions of 4, belonging to the house in which Dr. R. re-

sided. (1.) 15 ft.  $\times$  8  $\times$  12 deep. (2.) 8  $\times$  4  $\times$  15. (3.) 10  $\times$  10  $\times$  15. (4.) 30  $\times$  30  $\times$  20. The cisterns have usually a round opening at the top, sometimes built up with stonework above and furnished with a curb and a wheel for the bucket (Eccl. xii. 6), so that they have externally much the appearance of an ordinary well. The water is conducted into them from the roofs of the houses during the rainy season, and with care remains sweet during the whole summer and autumn. In this manner most of the larger houses and public buildings are supplied (Rob., i. 324, 5). Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 4, §4) describes the abundant provision for water supply in the towers and fortresses of Jerusalem, a supply which has contributed greatly to its capacity for defence, while the dryness of the neighbourhood, verifying Strabo's expression *τὴν κόλασιν χάραν ἔχον λυτράν καὶ ἄνυδρον*, has in all cases hindered the operations of besiegers. Thus Hezekiah stopped the supply of water outside the city in anticipation of the attack of Sennacherib (2 Chr. xxxii. 3, 4). The progress of Antiochus Sidetes, B.C. 134, was at first retarded by want of water, though this want was afterwards unexpectedly relieved (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8 §2; Clinton, iii. p. 331). Josephus also imputes to divine interposition the supply of water with which the army of Titus was furnished after suffering from want of it (*B. J.* v. 9, §4). The crusaders also during the siege A.D. 1099, were harassed by extreme want of water while the besieged were fully supplied (Matth. Paris, *Hist.* pp. 46, 49, ed. Wat.). The defence of Masada by Joseph, brother of Herod, against Antigonus, was enabled to be prolonged, owing to an unexpected replenishing of the cisterns by a shower of rain (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 15, §2), and in a subsequent passage he describes the cisterns and reservoirs, by which that fortress was plentifully supplied with water, as he had previously done in the case of Jerusalem and Machærus (*B. J.* iv. 4, §4, iv. 6, §2, vii. 8, §3). Benjamin of Tudela says very little water is found at Jerusalem, but the inhabitants drink rain-water, which they collect in their houses (*Early Trav.*, 84).

Burckhardt mentions cisterns belonging to private houses, among other places, at Serعين near Aleppo (*Syria*, p. 121), El Bara, in the Orontes valley (p. 132), Dhami and Misema in the Lejah (pp. 110, 112, 118), Tiberias (p. 331), Kerak in Moab (p. 377), Mount Tabor (p. 334). Of some at Hableh, near Gilgal, the dimensions are given by Robinson:—(1.) 7 ft.  $\times$  5  $\times$  3 deep. (2.) Nearly the same as (1). (3.) 12  $\times$  9  $\times$  8. They have one or two steps to descend into them, as is the case with one near Gaza, now disused, described by Sandys as "a mighty cistern, filled only by the rain-water, and descended into by stairs of stone" (Sandys, p. 150; Robinson, ii. 39). Of those at Hableh, some were covered with flat stones resting on arches, some entirely open, and all evidently ancient (Robinson, iii. 137).

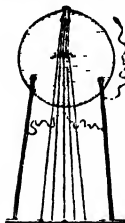
Empty cisterns were sometimes used as prisons and places of confinement. Joseph was cast into a "pit," *בֵּר* (Gen. xxxvii. 22), and his "dungeon" in Egypt is called by the same name (xli. 14). Jeremiah was thrown into a miry though empty cistern, whose depth is indicated by the cords used to let him down (Jer. xxxviii. 6). To this prison tradition has assigned a locality near the gate called Herod's gate (Hasselquist, 140; Mandell, *Early Trav.*, 448). Vitruvius (viii. 7) describes the method in use in his day for constructing water tanks, but

the native rock of Palestine usually super-seded the necessity of more art in this work than is sufficient to excavate a basin of the required dimensions.

The city of Alexandria is supplied with water contained in arched cisterns supported by pillars, extending under a great part of the old city (Van Egmont, *Travels*, ii. 134). [POOL; WELL.] [H. W. P.]

**CITHIERN** (= cithara, *κίθαρα*, 1 Macc. iv. 54), a musical instrument most probably of Greek origin, employed by the Chaldeans at balls and routs, and introduced by the Hebrews into Palestine on their return thither after the Babylonian captivity. The cithern was of the guitar species, and was known at a later period as the *Cithern*, under which name it is mentioned by the old dramatists as having constituted part of the furniture of a barber's shop. Of the same species is the *Cithern* or *Zither* of Southern Germany, Tyrol, and Switzerland.

With respect to the shape of the Cithern or Cithara mentioned in the Apocrypha, the opinion of the learned is divided: according to some it resembled in form the Greek delta Δ, others represent it as a half-moon, and others again like the modern guitar. In many eastern countries it is still in use with strings, varying in number from three to twenty-four. Under the name of *Konthir*, the traveller Niebuhr describes it as a wooden-plate or dish, with



cithern.

a hole beneath and a piece of skin stretched above like a drum. Two sticks, joined after the manner of a fan, pass through the skin at the end, and where the two sticks stand apart, they are connected by a transversal piece of wood. From the upper end of this wooden triangle to the point below are fastened five chords, which at a little distance above their junction, pass over a bridge, like the strings of a violin. The chords are made to vibrate by means of a leather thong fastened to one of the lateral sticks of the triangle. In Mendelssohn's edition of the Psalms, representations are given of the several musical instruments met with in the sacred Books, and *Konthir* or *Kothros* is described by the accompanying figure.

The Cithara, if it be not the same with, resembles very closely the instruments mentioned in the book of Psalms, under the denominations of *קִנּוֹר*, *קִנֹּר*, respectively rendered in the A.V. "harp," "psaltery," "organ." In Chaldee, Cithara is translated *קִתְרוֹר*, the *Keri* for *קִתְרוֹר* (Dan. iii. 5). In the A. V., *קִתְרוֹר* is rendered "harp," and the same word is employed instead of *Cithern* (1 Macc. iv. 54) in Robert Barker's edition of the *English Bible*, London, 1615. Gesenius considers Cithara as the same with harp; but Luther translates *κίθαρα* by *mit Pfeifen*, "with pipes." (See *Bibl. to Mendelssohn's Psalms*, 2nd Pref.; Niebuhr, *Travels*; Fürst's *Concordance*. Gesenius on the word *קִתְרוֹר*.) [D. W. M.]

**CITIES** (1. *עָרִים*, plur. of both *עָר*, *Ar*, and also *עִיר*, *Ir*, from *עָרַר*, to keep watch—Ges. 1004, 5; once (Judg. x. 4) in plur. *עָרִים*, for the sake

of a play with the same word, plur. of *עִיר*, a young ass; *πόλεις*; *civitates*, or *urbes*. 2. *קִרְיָה*, *Kirjath*; once in dual, *קִרְיָתַיִם*, *Kirjathaim* (Num. xxxii. 37), from *קָרַר*, approach as an enemy,

prefixed as a name to many names of towns on both sides of the Jordan existing before the conquest, as *Kirjath-Arba*, probably the most ancient name for city, but seldom used in prose as a general name for town (Ges. 1236; Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §80).

The classification of the human race into dwellers in towns and nomadic wanderers (Gen. iv. 20, 22) seems to be intimated by the etymological sense of both words, *Ar*, or *Ir*, and *Kirjath*, i.e. as places of security against an enemy, distinguished from the unwall'd village or hamlet, whose resistance is more easily overcome by the marauding tribes of the desert. This distinction is found actually existing in countries, as Persia and Arabia, in which the tent-dwellers are found, like the Rechabites, almost side by side with the dwellers in cities, sometimes even sojourning within them, but not amalgamated with the inhabitants, and in general making the desert their home, and, unlike the Rechabites, robbery their undisputed occupation (Judg. v. 7; Jer. xxxv. 9, 11; Fraser, *Persia*, 366, 380; Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, 147-156; Burekhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 157; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 335; Porter, *Pamascus*, ii. 96, 181, 188; Vaux, *Nineveh and Persopolis*, c. ii. note A; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 272; *Nin. & Bab.* 141). [VILLAGES.]

The earliest notice in Scripture of city-building is of Enoch by Cain, in the land of his "exile" (*נִדָּח*, *Nod*, Gen. iv. 17). After the confusion of tongues, the descendants of Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar, and Asshur, a branch from the same stock, built Nineveh, Rehoboth-by-the-river, Calah, and Resen, the last being "a great city." A subsequent passage mentions Sidon, Gaza, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Lasha, as cities of the Canaanites, but without implying for them antiquity equal to that of Nineveh and the rest (Gen. x. 10-12, 19, xi. 3, 9, xxxvi. 37). Sir H. Rawlinson supposes, 1. that the expedition of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv.) was prior to the building of Babylon or Nineveh, indicating a migration or conquest from Persia or Assyria; 2. that by Nimrod is to be understood, not an individual, but a name denoting the "settlers" in the Assyrian plain; and 3. that the names Rehoboth, Calah, &c., when first mentioned, only denoted sites of buildings afterwards erected. He supposes that Nineveh was built about 1250 B.C., and Calah about a century later, while Babylon appears to have existed in the 15th century B.C. If this be correct, we must infer that the places then attacked, Sodom, Gomorrah, &c., were cities of higher antiquity than Nineveh or Babylon, inasmuch as when they were destroyed a few years later, they were cities in every sense of the term. The name *Kirjathaim*, "double-city" (Ges. 1236), indicates an existing city, and not only a site. It may be added that the remains of civic buildings existing in Moab are evidently very ancient, if not, in some cases, the same as those erected by the aboriginal Emims and Rephaim. (See also the name Avith, "ruins," Ges. 1000; Gen. xix. 1, 29, xxxvi. 35; Is. xxiii. 13; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 508; Layard,

*Nin. & Bab.* 532; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 309, ii. 196; Rawlinson, *Outlines of Assy. Hist.* 4, 5.) But though it appears probable that, whatever dates may be assigned to the building of Babylon or Nineveh in their later condition, they were in fact rebuilt at those epochs, and not founded for the first time, and that towns in some form or other may have occupied the sites of the later Nineveh or Calah; it is quite clear that cities existed in Syria prior to the time of Abraham, who himself came from "Ur," the "city" of the Chaldeans (*Gen.* 55; Rawlinson, 4).

The earliest description of a city, properly so called, is that of Sodom (*Gen.* xix. 1-22); but it is certain that from very early times cities existed on the sites of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Damascus. The last, said to be the oldest city in the world, must from its unrivalled situation have always commanded a congregated population; Hebron is said to have been built seven years before Zaan (Tavis) in Egypt, and is thus the only Syrian town which presents the elements of a date for its foundation (*Num.* xiii. 22; Stanley, *S. & P.* 409; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §4; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Exp. of St. Paul*, i. 94, 96).

But there can be no doubt that, whatever date may be given to Egyptian civilization, there were inhabited cities in Egypt long before this (*Gen.* xii. 14, 15; Martineau, *East. Life*, i. 151; Wilkinson, i. 307; *Dict. of Geog. art. Tanis*). The name, however, of Hebron, Kirjath-Arba, indicates its existence at least as early as the time of Abraham, as the city, or fortified place of Aiba, an aboriginal province of Southern Palestine (*Gen.* xxiii. 2; *Josh.* xv. 15). The "tower of Eder," near Bethlehem, or "of flocks" מִגְדַּל עֵדֶר, indicates a position fortified against marauders (*Gen.* xxxv. 21). Whether "the city of Shalem" be a site or an existing town cannot be determined, but there can be no doubt that the situation of Shechem is as well identified in the present day, as its importance as a fortified place is plain from the Scripture narrative (*Gen.* xxiii. 18, xxiv. 20, 26; Robinson, ii. 287). On the whole it seems plain that the Canaanite, who was "in the land" before the coming of Abraham, had already built cities of more or less importance, which had been largely increased by the time of the return from Egypt.

Even before the time of Abraham there were cities in Egypt (*Gen.* xii. 14, 15; *Num.* xiii. 22; Wilkinson, i. 4, 5). The Israelites, during their sojourn there, were employed in building or fortifying the "treasure cities" of Pithom (Abnaseh) and Raames (*Ex.* i. 11; Herod. ii. 158; Winer, *Geseuits*, s. cv.; Robinson, i. 54, 55); but their pastoral habits make it unlikely that they should build, still less fortify, cities of their own in Goshen (*Gen.* xli. 34, xlvii. 1-11).

Meanwhile the settled inhabitants of Syria on both sides of the Jordan had grown in power and in number of "fenced cities." In the kingdom of Sihon are many names of cities preserved to the present day; and in the kingdom of Og, in Bashan, were 60 "great cities with walls and brazen bars," besides unvalled villages, and also 23 cities in Gilead, which were occupied and perhaps partly rebuilt or fortified by the tribes on the east of Jordan (*Num.* xxi. 21, 32, 33, 35, xxxii. 1-3, 24, 42; *Deut.* iii. 4, 5, 14; *Josh.* xi. xiii.; 1 K. iv. 13; 1 Chr. ii. 22; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 311, 457; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 195, 196, 206, 259, 275).

On the west of Jordan, whilst 31 "royal" cities are enumerated (*Josh.* xii.), in the district assigned to Judah 125 "cities" with villages are reckoned (*Josh.* xv.); in Benjamin 26; to Simeon 17; Zabulou 12; Issachar 16; Asher 22; Naphtali 19; Dan 17 (*Josh.* xviii. xix.). But from some of these the possessors were not expelled till a late period, and Jerusalem itself was not captured till the time of David (2 Sam. v. 6-9).

From this time the Hebrews became a city-dwelling and agricultural rather than a pastoral people. David enlarged Jerusalem, and Solomon, besides embellishing his capital, also built or rebuilt Tadmor, Palmyra, Gezer, Beth-horon, Hazor, and Megiddo, besides store-cities (2 Sam. v. 7, 9, 10; 1 K. ix. 15-18; 2 Chr. viii. 6). To Solomon also is ascribed by eastern tradition the building of Psepolis (Chardin, *Voyage*, viii. 390; Mandelslo, i. p. 4; Kurân, c. xxxviii.).

The works of Jeroboam at Shechem (1 K. xii. 25; *Judg.* ix. 45), of Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 5-10), of Baasha at Rama, interrupted by Assa (1 K. xv. 17, 22), of Omri at Samaria (xvi. 24), the rebuilding of Jericho in the time of Ahab (xvi. 34), the works of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 12), of Jotham (2 Chr. xxvii. 4), the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and later still, the works of Herod and his family, belong to their respective articles.

Collections of houses in Syria for social habitation may be classed under three heads:—1. cities; 2. towns with citadels or towers for resort and defence; 3. unvalled villages. The cities may be assumed to have been in almost all cases "fenced cities," i. e. possessing a wall with towers and gates (*Lev.* xxv. 29; *Deut.* ix. 1; *Josh.* ii. 15, vi. 20; 1 Sam. xxii. 7; 1 K. iv. 13; 2 K. vi. 26, vii. 3, xviii. 8, 13; *Acts* ix. 25); and that as a mark of conquest was to break down a portion, at least, of the city-wall of the captured place, so the first care of the defenders, as of the Jews after their return from captivity, was to rebuild the fortifications (2 K. ix. 13, 22; 2 Chr. xxvi. 2, 6, xxxiii. 14; *Neh.* iii. iv. vi. vii.; 1 Mac. iv. 60, 61, x. 45; *Xen. Hell.* ii. 2, §15).

But around the city, especially in peaceable times, lay undefended suburbs (מִבְּרֵית, *μετρωπολις*, *suburbana*, 1 Chr. vi. 57, et seqq.; *Num.* xxxv. 1-5, *Josh.* xxi.), to which the privileges of the city extended. The city thus became the citadel, while the population overflowed into the suburbs (1 Mac. xi. 61). The absence of walls as indicating security in peaceable times, combined with populousness, as was the case in the flourishing period of Egypt, is illustrated by the prophet Zechariah (ii. 4; 1 K. iv. 25; Martineau, *East. Life*, i. 306).

According to Eastern custom, special cities were appointed to furnish special supplies for the service of the state; cities of store, for chariots, for horsemen, for building purposes, for provision for the royal table. Special governors for these and their surrounding districts were appointed by David and by Solomon (1 K. iv. 7, ix. 19; 1 Chr. xxvii. 25; 2 Chr. xvii. 12, xxi. 3; 1 Mac. x. 39; *Xen. Anab.* i. 4, §10). To this practice our Lord alludes in his parable of the pounds, and it agrees with the theory of Hindoo government, which was to be conducted by lords of single townships, of 10, 100, or 1000 towns (*Luke* xix. 17, 19; Elphinstone, *India*, c. ii. i. 39, and *App.* v. p. 485).

To the Levites 48 cities were assigned, distributed throughout the country, together with a certain amount of suburban ground, and out of these 48,

13 were specially reserved for the family of Aaron, 9 in Judah and 4 in Benjamin, and 6 as refuge cities (Josh. xxi. 13, 42), but after the division of the kingdoms the Levites in Israel left their cities and resorted to Judah and Jerusalem (2 Chr. xi. 13, 14).

The internal government of Jewish cities was vested before the captivity in a council of elders with judges, who were required to be priests: Josephus says seven judges with two Levites as officers, *ἐννέα* (Deut. xxi. 5, 19, xvi. 18, xix. 17; Ruth iv. 2; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, §14). Under the kings a president or governor appears to have been appointed (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xviii. 25); and judges were sent out on circuit, who referred matters of doubt to a council composed of priests, Levites, and elders, at Jerusalem (1 Chr. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29; 2 Chr. xix. 5, 8, 10, 11). After the captivity Ezia made similar arrangements for the appointment of judges (Ezr. vii. 25). In the time of Josephus there appear to have been councils in the provincial towns, with presidents in each, under the directions of the great council at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 9, §4; *B. J.* ii. 21, §3; Vit. 12, 13, 27, 34, 57, 61, 68, 74). [SANHEDRIM.]

In many Eastern cities much space is occupied by gardens, and thus the size of the city is much increased (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, ii. 172, 239; Conybeare and Howson, i. 96; *Eöthen*, 240). The vast extent of Nineveh and of Babylon may thus be in part accounted for (Diod. ii. 70; Quint. Curt. v. i. 26; Jou. iv. 11; Chardin, *Voy.* vii. 273, 284; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 153; P. della Valle, ii. 33). In most Oriental cities the streets are extremely narrow, seldom allowing more than two loaded camels, or one camel and two foot passengers, to pass each other, though it is clear that some of the streets of Nineveh must have been wide enough for chariots to pass each other (Nah. ii. 4; Olearius, *Trav.* 294, 309; Buckhardt, *Trav. in Arabia*, i. 188; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, 330; Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, i. 141). The word for streets used by Nahum—*רחובות*, from *רחב*, *broad*,

*πλατεῖαι*—is used also of streets or broad places in Jerusalem (Prov. i. 20; Jer. v. 1, xxii. 4; *Ant.* iii. 2) and it may be remarked that the *πλατεῖαι* into which the sick were brought to receive the shadow of St. Peter (Acts v. 15) were more likely to be the ordinary streets than the special *pinæe* of the city. It seems likely that the immense concourse which resorted to Jerusalem at the feasts would induce wider streets than in other cities. Herod built in Antioch a wide street paved with stone, and having covered ways on each side. Agrippa II. paved Jerusalem with white stone (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, §2, 3, xx. 9, §7). The Straight street of Damascus is still clearly defined and recognizable (Irby and Mangles, v. 86; Robinson, iii. 454, 455).

In building Caesarea, Josephus says that Herod was careful to carry out the drainage effectually (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 19, §6); we cannot determine whether the internal commerce of Jewish cities was carried on as now by means of bazars, but we read of the bakers' street (Jer. xxxvii. 21), and Josephus speaks of the wool market, the hardware market, a place of blacksmiths' shops, and the clothes market, at Jerusalem (*B. J.* v. 81).

The open spaces (*πλατεῖαι*) near the gates of towns were in ancient times, as they are still, used as places of assembly by the elders, of holding courts

by kings and judges, and of general resort by citizens (Gen. xxii. 10; Ruth iv. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 2, xviii. 24; 2 K. vii. 1, 3, 20; 2 Chr. xviii. 9, xxxii. 6; Neh. viii. 13; Job xxix. 7; Jer. xvi. 19; Matt. vi. 5; Luke xiii. 26). They were also used as places of public exposure by way of punishment (Jer. xx. 2; Am. v. 10).

Prisons were under the kingly government, within the royal precinct (Gen. xxxix. 20; 1 K. xxi. 27, Jer. xxxii. 2; Neh. iii. 25; Acts xxi. 34, xxiii. 35).

Great pains were taken to supply both Jerusalem and other cities with water, both by tanks and cisterns for rain-water, and by reservoirs supplied by aqueducts from distant springs. Such was the fountain of Gihon, the aqueduct of Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 30; Is. xxii. 9), and of Solomon (Ecc. ii. 6), of which last water is still conveyed from near Bethlehem to Jerusalem (Maudrell, *Early Trav.* 457; Robinson, i. 347, 8). Josephus also mentions an attempt made by Pilate to bring water to Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, 2). [CONDUIT.]

Burial-places, except in special cases, were outside the city (Num. xix. 11, 16; Matt. viii. 28; Luke vii. 12; John xix. 41; Heb. xiii. 12). [H. W. P.]

### CITIES OF REFUGE עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט from

*מִקְלָט*, contracted, Gesen. 1216; *πόλεις τῶν φυγαδευτηρίων, φυγαδευτήρια, φυγαδεῖα; oppida in fugitivorum auxilia, praesidia, separata; urbes fugitivorum*. Six Levitical cities specially chosen for refuge to the involuntary homicide until released from banishment by the death of the high-priest (Num. xxxv. 6, 13, 15; Josh. xx. 2, 7, 9). [BLOOD, AVENGER OF.] There were three on each side of Jordan. 1. KEDESH, in Naphtali, *Κεδεσ*, about twenty miles E.S.E. from Tyre, twelve S.S.W. from *Bunias* (1 Chr. vi. 76; Robinson, ii. 439; Benj. of Tudela, *Early Trav.* 89). 2. SHECHEM, in Mount Ephraim, *Nábulus* (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. vi. 67; 2 Chr. x. 1; Robinson, ii. 287, 288). 3. HEBRON, in Judah, *el-Khâfil*. The two last were royal cities, and the latter sacerdotal also, inhabited by David, and fortified by Rehoboam (Josh. xxi. 13; 2 Sam. v. 5; 1 Chr. vi. 55, xxix. 27; 2 Chr. xi. 10; Robinson, i. 213, ii. 89). 4. On the E. side of Jordan—BEZER, in the tribe of Reuben, in the plains of Moab, said in the Gemara to be opposite to Hebron, perhaps *Bosor*, but the site has not yet been found (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 36; 1 Mac. v. 26; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §4; Ireland, 662). 5. RAMOTH-GILEAD, in the tribe of Gad, supposed to be on or near the site of *es-Salt* (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xxi. 38; 1 K. xvii. 3; Ireland, iii. p. 966). 6. GOLAN, in Bashan, in the half-tribe of Manasseh, a town whose site has not been ascertained, but which doubtless gave its name to the district of Gilonitis, *Jaulan* (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xxi. 27; 1 Chr. vi. 71; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §4; Ireland, p. 815; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 251, 254; Burekhardt, *Syria*, p. 286).

The Gemara notices that the cities on each side of the Jordan were nearly opposite each other, in accordance with the direction to divide the land into three parts (Deut. xix. 2; Ireland, iii. p. 662). Maimonides says all the 48 Levitical cities had the privilege of asylum, but that the six refuge-cities were required to receive and lodge the homicide gratuitously (Calmet *On Num.* xxv.).

Most of the Rabbinical refinements on the Law are stated under BLOOD, REVENGER OF. To them may be added the following. If the homicide committed a fresh act of manslaughter, he was to flee to another city; but if he were a Levite, to wander from city to city. An idea prevailed that when the Messiah came three more cities would be added; a misinterpretation, as it seems, of Deut. xix. 8, 9 (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor.* cli. 208). The altar at Jerusalem, and, to some extent also, the city itself, possessed the privilege of asylum under similar restrictions; a privilege claimed, as regards the former, successfully by Adonijah and in vain by Joab; accorded, as regards the city, to Shimai, but forfeited by him (1 K. i. 53, ii. 28, 33, 36, 46).

The directions respecting the refuge-cities present some difficulties in interpretation. The Levitical cities were to have a space of 1000 cubits (about 583 yards) beyond the city wall for pasture and other purposes. Presently after, 2000 cubits are ordered to be the suburb limit (Num. xxxv. 4, 5). The solution of the difficulty may be, either the 2000 cubits are to be added to the 1000 as "fields of the suburbs" (Lev. xxv. 34), as appears to have been the case in the gift to Caleb, which excluded the city of Hebron, but included the "fields and villages of the city" (Josh. xxi. 11, 12, Patrick.), or that the additional 2000 cubits were a special gift to the refuge-cities, whilst the other Levitical cities had only 1000 cubits for suburb. Calmet supposes the line of 2000 cubits to be measured parallel, and the 1000 perpendicular to the city wall; an explanation, however, which supposes all the cities to be of the same size (Calmet *On Numbers*, xxxv.).

The right of asylum possessed by many Greek and Roman towns, especially Ephesus, was in process of time much abused, and was curtailed by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 60, 63). It was granted, under certain limitations, to churches by Christian emperors (Cod. i. tit. 12; Gibbon, c. xx. iii. 35, Smith). Hence came the right of sanctuary possessed by so many churches in the middle ages (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, c. ix. pt. 1, vol. iii. 302, 11th ed.). [H. W. P.]

**CITIMIS** (Κιτιμοί, Alex. Κιτιμοί; *Cetes*), 1 Macc. viii. 5. [CHITIM.]

**CITIZENSHIP** (πολιτεία *politiká*). The use of this term in Scripture has exclusive reference to the usages of the Roman empire; in the Hebrew commonwealth, which was framed on a basis of religious, rather than of political privileges and distinctions, the idea of the commonwealth was merged in that of the congregation, to which every Hebrew, and even strangers under certain restrictions, were admitted. [CONGREGATION; STRANGERS.] The privilege of Roman citizenship was widely extended under the emperors; it was originally acquired in various ways, as by purchase (Acts xxii. 28; Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 36; Dion. Cass. ix. 17), by military services (Cic. *pro Balb.* 22; Suet. *Aug.* 47), by favour (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 47), or by manumission. The right once obtained descended to a man's children (Acts xxii. 28). The Jews had rendered signal services to Julius Caesar in the Egyptian war (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 8, §1, 2), and it is not improbable that many obtained the freedom of the city on that ground; certain it is that great numbers of Jews, who were Roman citizens, were scattered over Greece and Asia Minor (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §13, 14). Among the privileges attached to citizenship, we may note that a man could not be bound or imprisoned without a formal trial (Acts xxii. 29), still less be scourged (Acts xvi. 37; Cic. *in Verr.* v. 63, 66); the simple assertion of citizenship was sufficient to deter a magistrate from such a step (Acts xxii. 25; Cic. *in Verr.* v. 62), as any infringement of the privilege was visited with severe punishment. A Jew could only plead exemption from such treatment before a Roman magistrate; he was still liable to it from Jewish authorities (2 Cor. xi. 24; Seld. *de Syn.* ii. 15, §11). Another privilege attaching to citizenship was the appeal from a provincial tribunal to the emperor at Rome (Acts xxv. 11). [W. L. B.]

#### CITRON. [APPLE TREE.]

**CLAUDA** (Κλαύδη, Acts xxvii. 16; called Gaudos by Mela and Pliny, Κλαύδος by Ptolemy, and Κλαυδία in the *Stadionum Maris Magni*: it is still called *Claudia-nesa*, or *Gaudonesi*, by the Greeks, which the Italians have corrupted into *Gozzo*). This small island, unimportant in itself and in its history, is of very great geographical importance in reference to the removal of some of the difficulties connected with St. Paul's shipwreck at Melita. The position of Claudia is nearly due W. of Cape Matala on the S. coast of Crete [FAIR HAVENS], and nearly due S. of PHOENICE. (See Ptol. iii. 17, §1; *Stadionum*, p. 496; *Ed. Gail.*) The ship was seized by the gale a little after passing Cape Matala, when on her way from Fair Havens to Phoenice (Acts xxvii. 12-17). The storm came down from the island (κατ' αὐτῆς, v. 14), and there was danger lest the ship should be driven into the African Syrtis (v. 17). It is added that she was driven to Claudia and ran under the lee of it (v. 16). We see at once that this is in harmony with, and confirmatory of, the arguments derivable from all the other geographical circumstances of the case (as well as from the etymology of the word Euroclydon or Euro-Aquilo), which lead us to the conclusion that the gale came from the N.E., or rather E.N.E. Under the lee of Claudia there would be smooth water, advantage of which was taken for the purpose of getting the boat on board, and making preparations for riding out the gale. [SHIP.] (Smith, *Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 2nd ed. pp. 92, 98, 233.) • [J. S. H.]

**CLAUDIA** (Κλαυδία), a Christian female mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 21, as saluting Timotheus. There is reason for supposing that this Claudia was a British maiden, daughter of king Cogidubnus, an ally of Rome (Tacit. *Agricol.* 14), who took the name of his imperial patron, Tiberius Claudius. She appears to have become the wife of Pudens, who is mentioned in the same verse. (See Martial, lib. iv. Epigr. 13.) This Pudens, we gather from an inscription found at Chichester, and now in the gardens at Goodwood, was at one time in close connexion with king Cogidubnus, and gave an area for a temple of Neptune and Minerva, which was built by that king's authority. And Claudia is said in Martial (xi. 53) to have been *opulens Britannis edita*. Moreover, she is there also called *Rufina*. Now Pomponia, wife of the late commander in Britain, Aulus Plautius, under whom Claudia's father was received into alliance, belonged to a house of which the Rufi were one of the chief branches. If she herself were a Rufa, and Claudia her protégée, the latter might well be called Rufina; and we know that Pomponia was tried as *superstitiois externae rei* in the year 57, Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 32: so that there are many

circumstances concurrent, tending to give verisimilitude to the conjecture. See Archdeacon Williams's pamphlet, "On Pudens and Claudia;"—an article in the Quarterly Review for July, 1858, entitled "The Romans at Colchester;"—and an Excursus in Alford's Greek Testament, vol. iii. prolegg. p. 104, in which the contents of the two works first mentioned are embodied in a summary form. [H. A.]

**CLAUDIUS** (Κλαύδιος; in full, Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus), fourth Roman emperor, successor of Caius Caligula, reigned from 41 to 54 A.D. He was son of Nero Drusus, was born in Lyons Aug. 1, B.C. 9 or 10, and lived private and unknown till the day of his being called to the throne, January 24, A.D. 41. He was nominated to the supreme power mainly through the influence of Herod Agrippa the First (Jos. Ant. xix. 2, §1, 3, 4; Suet. Claud. 10); and when on the throne he proved himself not ungrateful to him: for he enlarged the territory of Agrippa by adding to it Judaea, Samaria, and some districts of Lebanon, and appointed his brother Herod to the kingdom of Chalcis (Joseph. Ant. xix. 5, §6; Dion Cassius, lx. 8), giving to this latter also, after his brother's death, the presidency over the temple at Jerusalem (Joseph. Ant. xx. 1, §3). In Claudius's reign there were several famines, arising from unfavourable harvests (Dion Cass. lx. 11; Euseb. Chron. Armen. i. 269, 271; Tacit. Ann. xii. 13), and one such occurred in Palestine and Syria (Acts xi. 28-30) under the procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (Joseph. Ant. xx. 2, §6, and 5, §2), which perhaps lasted some years. Claudius was induced by a tumult of the Jews in Rome, to expel them from the city (Suet. Claud. 25; Judeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulsi; cf. Acts xviii. 2). It is probable that Suetonius here refers to some open dissension between Jews and Christians, but when it, and the consequent edict, took place, is very uncertain. Orosius (Hist. vii. 6) fixes it in the 9th year of Claudius, A.D. 49 or 50; referring to Josephus, who, however, says nothing about it. Pearson (Annal. Paul. p. 22) thinks the 12th year more probable (A.D. 52 or 53). As Auger remarks (*de ratione temporum in Actis App.* p. 117), the edict of expulsion would hardly be published as long as Herod Agrippa was at Rome, i.e. before the year 49. Claudius, after a weak and foolish reign (*non principem se, sed ministrum egit*, Sueton. 29), was poisoned by his fourth wife Agrippina, the mother of Nero (Tacit. Ann. xii. 66, 7; Suet. Claud. 44, 5; Joseph. Ant. xx. 8, §1; B. J. ii. 12, §8), October 13, A.D. 54. [H. A.]

#### CLAUDIUS LYSIAS. [LYSIAS.]

**CLAY** (ἄργιλος; *argilos*; *lunus* or *lutum*), a sedimentary earth, tough and plastic, arising from the disintegration of felspar and similar minerals, and always containing silica and alumina combined in variable proportions. As the sediment of water remaining in pits or in streets, the word is used frequently in O. T. (e.g. Is. lvii. 20; Jer. xxxviii. 4; Ps. xviii. 42), and in N. T. (ἄργιλος, John ix. 6), a mixture of sand or dust with spittle. It is also found in the sense of potter's clay (Is. xli. 25). The alluvial soils of Palestine would no doubt supply material for pottery, a manufacture which we know was, as it still is, carried on in the country (Jer. xvii. 2, 6), but our knowledge on the subject is so small as to afford little or no means of determining, and the clay of Palestine, like that of Egypt, is prob-

ably more loam than clay (Birch, *Hist. of Pottery*, i. 55, 152). [POTTERY.] The word most commonly used for "potter's clay" is *ῥῆτι* (Ex. i. 14; Job iv. 19; Is. xxix. 16; Jer. xviii. 4, &c.). Bituminous shale, convertible into clay, is said to exist largely at the source of the Jordan, and near the Dead Sea. The great seat of the pottery of the present day in Palestine is Gaza, where are made the vessels in dark blue clay so frequently met with.

The use of clay in brick-making is described elsewhere. [BRICKS.]

Another use of clay was in sealing (Job xxxviii. 14). The bricks of Assyria and Egypt are most commonly found stamped either with a die or with marks made by the fingers of the maker. Wine jars in Egypt were sometimes sealed with clay; mummy pits were sealed with the same substance, and remains of clay are still found adhering to the stone door-jambs. Our Lord's tomb may have been thus sealed (Matt. xxvii. 66), as also the earthen vessel containing the evidences of Jeremiah's purchase (Jer. xxxii. 14). So also in Assyria at Kouyunjik pieces of fine clay have been found bearing impressions of seals with Assyrian, Egyptian, and Phœnician devices. The seal used for public documents was rolled on the moist clay, and the tablet was then placed in the fire and baked. The practice of sealing doors with clay to facilitate detection in case of malpractice is still common in the East (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 45, 48, ii. 364; Layard, *N. & B.* 153, 158, 608; Herod. ii. 38; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 376. [BRICKS; POTTERY; SEALS.] [H. W. P.]

**CLEMENT** (Κλήμης, Phil. iv. 3), a fellow-labourer of St. Paul, when he was at Philippi (for so the text implies). It was generally believed in the ancient church, that this Clement was identical with the Bishop of Rome, who afterwards became so celebrated. Whether this was so, it is impossible to say. The practice of supposing N. T. characters to be identical with persons who were afterwards known by the same names, was too frequent, and the name Clements too common, for us to be able to pronounce on the question. The identity is asserted in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4; Origen, vol. i. p. 262, ed. Lommatsch; and Jerome, *Scriptur. Eccl.* p. 176, a. Chrysostom does not mention it. [H. A.]

**CLEOPAS** (Κλεόπας), one of the two disciples who were going to Emmaus on the day of the resurrection, when Jesus Himself drew near and talked with them (Luke xxiv. 18). Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* makes him a native of Emmaus. It is a question whether this Cleopas is to be considered as identical with CLEOPHAS (accus. CLOPAS) or Alphaeus in John xix. 25. [ALPHAÆUS.] Their identity was assumed by the later fathers and church historians. But Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 11) writes the name of Alphaeus, Joseph's brother, CLOPAS, not Cleopas. And Chrysostom and Theodoret, on the Epistle to the Galatians, call James the Just the son of Clopas. Besides which, CLOPAS, or Alphaeus, is an Aramaic name, whereas Cleopas is a Greek name, probably contracted from Κλεόπατρος, as *Ἀντίπας* from *Ἀντιπατρος*. Again, as we find the wife and children of Cleopas constantly with the family of Joseph at the time of our Lord's ministry, it is probable that he himself was dead before that time. On the whole then, it seems safer to doubt the identity of Cleopas with

Cleopas. Of the further history of Cleopas, nothing is known. [H. A.]

CLEOPATRA (Κλεοπάτρα), the name of numerous Egyptian princesses derived from the daughter of Antiochus III., who married Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, B.C. 193.

1. "The wife of Ptolemy" (Esth. xi. 1) was probably the granddaughter of Antiochus, and wife of Ptol. VI. Philometor. [PTOL. PHILOMETOR.]

2. A daughter of Ptol. VI., Philometor and Cleopatra (1), who was married first to Alexander Balas B.C. 150 (1 Macc. x. 58), and afterwards given by her father to Demetrius Nicator when he invaded Syria (1 Macc. xi. 12; Joseph. Ant. xiii. 4, §7). During the captivity of Demetrius in Parthia [DEMETRIUS] Cleopatra married his brother Antiochus VII. Sidetes, and was probably privy to the murder of Demetrius on his return to Syria B.C. 125 (App. Syr. 68; yet see Joseph. Ant. xiii. 9, §3; Just. xxxix. 1). She afterwards murdered Seleucus, her eldest son by Demetrius (App. Syr. 69); and at length was herself poisoned B.C. 120 by a draught which she had prepared for her second son Antiochus VIII., because he was unwilling to gratify the ambitious designs which she formed when she raised him to the throne (Justin. xxix. 2). [B. F. W.]

CLEOPHAS. [CLEOPAS; ALPHAEUS.]

CLOTHING. [DRESS.]

CLOUD (ענן). The word עָנָן, so rendered in a few places, properly means "vapours," the less dense form of cloud which rises higher, and is often absorbed without falling in rain; Arab.

نَشَاءَ and نَشَاءُ. The word עָנָן, sometimes rendered "cloud," means merely "darkness," and is applied also to "a thicket" (Jer. iv. 29). The shelter given, and refreshment of rain promised, by clouds, give them their peculiar prominence in Oriental imagery, and the individual cloud in that ordinarily cloudless region becomes well defined and is dwelt upon like the individual tree in the bare landscape (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 140). Similarly, when a cloud appears, rain is ordinarily apprehended, and thus the "cloud without rain" becomes a proverb for the man of promise without performance (Prov. xxi. 15; Is. xviii. 4, xxv. 5; Jude 12; comp. Prov. xxv. 14). The cloud is of course a figure of transitoriness (Job xxx. 15; Hos. vi. 4), and of whatever intercepts divine favour or human supplication (Lam. ii. 1, iii. 44). Being the least substantial of visible forms, undefined in shape, and unrestrained in position, it is the one amongst material things which suggests most easily spiritual being. Hence it is, so to speak, the recognised machinery by which supernatural appearances are introduced (Is. xix. 1; Ez. i. 4; Rev. i. 7, and *passim*), or the veil between things visible and invisible; but, more especially, a mysterious or supernatural cloud is the symbolical seat of the Divine presence itself—the phenomenon of deity vouchsafed by Jehovah to the prophet, the priest, the king, or the people. Sometimes thick darkness, sometimes intense luminousness, often, apparently, and especially by night, an actual fire (as in the descent of Jehovah on Sinai, Ex. xix. 18) is attributed to this glory-cloud (Deut. iv. 11; Exod. xl. 35, xxxiii. 29, 23; 2 Sam. xxii. 12, 13). Such a bright cloud, at any rate at times, visited and rested

on the Mercy Seat (Ex. xliv. 42, 43; 1 K. viii. 11; 2 Chr. v. 14; Ez. xlvi. 4) and was by later writers named Shekinah. For the curious questions which the Rabbis and others have raised concerning it, e.g. whether its light was created or not, whether the actual "light" created on the "first day" (Gen. i. 3), or an emanation therefrom, Buxtorf's history of the Ark, chap. xi-xiv. (*Olydini*, vol. vii.), may be consulted. [H. H.]

CLOUD, PILLAR OF (עמוד הענן). This was the active form of the symbolical glory-cloud, betokening God's presence to lead His chosen host, or to inquire and visit offences, as the luminous cloud of the sanctuary exhibited the same under an aspect of repose. The cloud, which became a pillar when the host moved, seems to have rested at other times on the tabernacle, whence God is said to have "come down in the pillar" (Num. xii. 5; so Exod. xxxiii. 9, 10). It preceded the host, apparently resting on the ark which led the way (Ex. xiii. 21, xl. 36, &c.; Num. ix. 15-23, x. 34). So by night the cloud on the tabernacle became fire, and the guiding pillar a pillar of fire. A remarkable passage in Curtius (v. 2, §7), descriptive of Alexander's army on the march, mentions a beacon hoisted on a pole from head-quarters as the signal for marching; *observabatur ignis nocturnus, fumus interdiu*. This was probably an adoption of an eastern custom. Similarly the Persians used as a conspicuous signal, an image of the sun enclosed in crystal (ib. iii. 3, §9). Caravans are still known to use such beacons of fire and smoke; the cloudlessness and often stillness of the sky giving the smoke great density of volume, and boldness of outline. [H. H.]

CNIDUS (Κνιδος) is mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 23, as one of the Greek cities which contained Jewish residents in the second century before the Christian era, and in Acts xxvii. 7, as a harbour which was passed by St. Paul after leaving Myra, and before running under the lee of Crete. It was a city of great consequence, situated at the extreme S.W. of the peninsula of Asia Minor [CARIA], on a promontory now called *Cape Crio*, which projects between the islands of Cos and Rhodes (see Acts xxi. 1). *Cape Crio* is in fact an island, so joined by an artificial causeway to the mainland, as to form two harbours, one on the N., the other on the S. The latter was the larger, and its moles were noble constructions. All the remains of Cnidus show that it must have been a city of great magnificence. Few ancient cities have received such ample illustration from travels and engravings. We may refer to Beaufort's *Karamanir*, Hamilton's *Researches*, and Texier's *Asie Mineure*, also Laborde, Leake, and Clarke, with the Drawings in the *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the Dilettanti Society, and the English *Admiralty Charts*, Nos. 1533, 1604. [J. S. H.]

COAL. In A. V. this word represents no less than five different Heb. words. 1. The first and most frequently used is *Gacheleth*, חָמֶלֶת (*chamelet*, *chamelet*; *pruna, curbo*), a live ember, burning fuel, as distinguished from *חֶמֶד* (Prov. xxvi. 21). It is written more fully in Ez. x. 2, *חֶמֶלֶת אֵשׁ*, and in Ez. i. 13, *חֶמֶלֶת אֵשׁ בְּקִרְוֹת*.

In 2 Sam. xxii. 9, 13, "coals of fire" are put metaphorically for the lightnings proceeding from God

(Ps. xviii. 8, 12, 13, cxi. 10).

In Prov. xcv. 22 we have the proverbial expression, "Thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head," which has been adopted by St. Paul in Rom. xii. 20, and by which is metaphorically expressed the burning shame and confusion which men must feel when their evil is requited by good. In Ps. cxx. 4, "coals" = burning brands of wood (not "juniper," but broom), to which the false tongue is compared (James iii. 6).

In 2 Sam. xiv. 7 the quenching of the live coal is used to indicate the threatened destruction of the single remaining branch of the family of the widow of Tekoah suborned by Joab; just as Lucian (*Tim.* §3) uses the word *ζάπυρον* in the same connexion.

The root of *חֶלֶב* is *חָלַב*, which is possibly the

same in meaning as the Arab. *حَلَبَ*, to light a fire, with the change of *ב* into *ב*.

2. *Pecham*, *חֶפֶץ* (*ἄσχαρα, ἀνθραξ; carbo, prunus*). In Prov. xxvi. 21, this word clearly signifies fuel not yet lighted, as contrasted with the burning fuel to which it is to be added; but in Is. xiv. 12, and *liv.* 16, it means fuel lighted, having reference in both cases to smiths' work. It is

derived from *חָפַץ*; Arab. *حَفِץ*, to be very black.

The fuel meant in the above passages is probably charcoal, and not coal in our sense of the word.

3. *Rezepeh*, or *Rizepah*, *רֶצֶפָה* (*ἄνθραξ; calculus* in Is. vi. 6; but in 1 K. xix. 6, *רֶצֶפָה*, is rendered by the LXX. *ἐγκρυφίας δαυρίτης*, and by the Vulg. *prunis subcinericius*). In the narrative of Elijah's miraculous meal the word is used to describe the mode in which the cake was baked, viz. on a hot stone, as is still usual in the East. Comp.

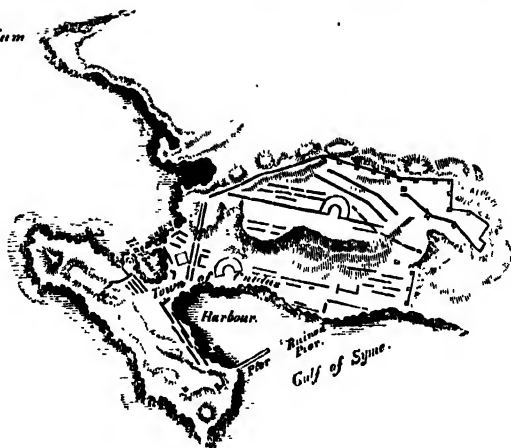
the Arab. *رَضْف*, a hot stone on which flesh is laid.

*רֶצֶפָה*, in Is. vi. 6, is rendered in A. V. "a live coal," but properly means "a hot stone." The root is *רָצַף*, to lay stones together as a pavement.

4. *שֶׁשֶׁף*, in Hab. iii. 5, is rendered in A. V. "burning coals," and in the margin "burning diseases." The former meaning is supported by Cant. viii. 6, the latter by Deut. xxxii. 24. According to the Rabbinical writers, *שֶׁשֶׁף* = *שֶׁשֶׁף, prunis*.

5. *Shechor*.—In Lam. iv. 8, *שֶׁשֶׁף מַשְׁחֹר* is rendered in A. V. "their visage is blacker than a coal," or in the marg. "darker than blackness." *שֶׁשֶׁף* is found but this once, and signifies to be black,

Pr Triapium



Plan of Coelestria and Chart of the adjoining coast

from root *שָׁחַף*. The LXX. render it by *ασβλία*, the Vulg. by *carbones*. In other forms the word is frequent, and Shiloh is a usual name for the Nile. [SIMON.] [W. D.]

## COAT. [DRESS.]

COCK (*ἀλέκτωρ; gallus*), the well-known domestic bird mentioned only in the N. T. in connexion with the denial of our Lord by St. Peter, but indirectly in the word *ἀλεκτοροφωνία* in Mark xiii. 35. The time indicated seems to have been about three in the morning, and was known to the Hebrews as *לַיְלַת הַבֶּקָר*, and to the Latins as *gallicinium*. Some persons have supposed that by *ἀλέκτωρ* in the N. T. is meant the sounding of the Roman trumpets to mark the watches of the night, for the reason that cocks were not permitted to be kept at Jerusalem on account of the holiness of the place; but this fact is doubtful, and the explanation is fanciful and far-fetched. [W. D.]

## COCKATRICE. See צִמְעָנִי, under ADDER.

In Is. xiv. 29, the form of the word is *צִמְעָנִי*.

COCKLE (*שֶׁשֶׁף; βάτος; spinus*), a weed, named only in Job xxxi. 40, and probably identical with the *σῖδρα* of Matt. xiii. 30. Celsius (*Herobot.* ii. 199) would identify it with the Aconite, but Gesenius questions this (*Jesaja*, i. 230, ii. 364). The root of the word is *שָׁחַף*, to stink. [W. D.]

COELESYRIA (*Κολη Συρία; Coelestria*), "the hollow Syria," was (strictly speaking) the name given by the Greeks, after the time of Alexander, to the remarkable valley or hollow (*καίλα*) which intervenes between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, stretching from lat. 33° 20' to 34° 40', a distance of nearly a hundred miles. As applied to this region the word is strikingly descriptive. Diodorus the geographer well observes upon this, in the lines—

"Ἦν Κολην ἐνέουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν  
Μίσσην καὶ χαμαλὴν ὁρῶν δύο πρῶτες ἔχουσιν.  
Ptolemy, 699-800.

A modern traveller says, more particularly—  
"We finally looked down on the vast green and  
Z 2

red valley—green from its yet unripe corn, red from its vineyards not yet verdant—which divides the range of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; the former reaching its highest point in the snowy crest to the north, behind which lie the Cedars; the latter, in the still more snowy crest of Hermon—the culmination of the range being thus in the one at the northern, in the other at the southern extremity of the valley which they bound. The view of this great valley is chiefly remarkable as being *exactly to the eye what it is on maps*—the ‘hol-low’ between the two mountain ranges of Syria. A screen through which the Leontes (*Litány*) breaks out closes the south end of the plain. There is a similar screen at the north end, but too remote to be visible” (Stanley’s *Palestine*, p. 407). The plain gradually rises towards its centre, near which, but a little on the southern declivity, stand the ruins of *Baalbek* or *Helipolis*. In the immediate neighbourhood of Baalbek rise the two streams of the Orontes (*Nahr-el-Asy*) and the Litany, which flowing in opposite directions, to the N.W. and the S.E., give freshness and fertility to the tract enclosed between the mountain-ranges.

The term *Coele-Syria* was also used in a much wider sense. In the first place it was extended so as to include the inhabited tract to the east of the Anti-Libanus range, between it and the desert, in which stood the great city of Damascus; and then it was further carried on upon that side of Jordan, through Trachonitis and Perna, to Idumaea and the borders of Egypt (Strab. xvi. §21; Polyb. v. 80, §3; Jos. *Ant.* i. 11, §5). Ptolemy (v. 15) and Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §2) even place Scythopolis in *Coele-Syria*, though it was upon the west side of Jordan; but they seem to limit its extent southwards to about lat. 31° 30', or the country of the Ammonites (Ptol. v. 15; Joseph. i. 11). Ptolemy distinctly includes in it the Damascus country.

None of the divisions of Syria (*Aram*) in the Jewish Scriptures appear to correspond with the *Coele-Syria* of the Greeks; for there are no grounds for supposing, with Calmet (*Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Coelesyria*), that “*Syria of Zebah*” is *Coele-Syria*. *Coele-Syria* seems to have been included under the name of “*Syria of Damascus*” (כְּסִינְיָא דְּדַמַּשְׁקָא), and to have formed a portion of that kingdom. [ARAM.] The only distinct reference to the region, as a separate tract of country, which the Jewish Scriptures contain, is probably that in Amos (i. 5), where “the inhabitants of the plain of *Aven*” (כְּסִינְיָא דְּאֵבֶן, *Bikath-Aven*) are threatened, in conjunction with those of Damascus. *Bikath* is exactly such a plain as *Coele-Syria* (Stanley’s *Palestine*, Append. p. 484), and the expression *Bikath-Aven*, “the plain of Idols,” would be well applied to the tract immediately around the great sanctuary of Baalbek. [AVEN.] In the Apocryphal Books there is frequent mention of *Coele-Syria* in a somewhat vague sense, nearly as an equivalent for Syria (1 Esd. ii. 17, 24, 27, iv. 48, vi. 29, vii. 1, viii. 67; 1 Macc. x. 69; 2 Macc. iii. 5, 8, iv. 4, viii. 8, x. 11). In all these cases the word is given in A. V. as *CELOSRYIA*. [G. R.]

**COFFER** (כֶּסֶף, probably from כָּסַף, *to be mored*; θάμα; *capsellus*), a moveable box hanging from the side of a cart (1 Sam. vi. 8, 11, 15). This word is found nowhere else, and in each of the above examples has the definite article, as if of some special significance. [H. W. P.]

### COFFIN. [BURIAL.]

**CO'TA** (Χωλᾶ, Alex. Κωλᾶ), a place named with Chobai (Jud. xv. 4, only), the position or real name of which has not been ascertained. Simonis (*Onom.* N. T. 170) suggests *Abel-mecholuh*.

**COLHO'ZEH** (כֹּלְחֹזֶה; Χολεζή; *Cholhoza*), a man of the tribe of Judah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 15, xi. 5).

**COLLIUS** (Κώλιος, Alex. Κώλιος; *Colnis*), 1 Esdr. ix. 23. [KELAIAN.]

**COLLAR.** For the proper sense of this term, as it occurs in Judg. vii. 26, see EARRINGS. The expression כֶּמֶר (as the collar) in Job xxx. 18, is better read as כֶּמֶר (comp. Job xxxiii. 6), in which case the sense would be “it bindeth me as my coat,” referring to the close fit of the *ecthoneth*. The כֶּ, literally the “mouth,” as a part of a garment, refers to the orifice for the head and neck, but we question whether it would be applied to any other robe than the sacerdotal ephod (Ex. xxxix. 23; 1s. cxxlii. 2). The authority of the LXX. (ὡς περὶ περιστόμιον), of the Vulg. (*quasi capitis*), and of Gresenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1088), must however be cited in favour of the ordinary rendering. [W. L. B.]

**COLONY**, a designation of Philippi, the celebrated city of Macedonia, in Acts xvi. 12. After the battle of Actium, Augustus assigned to his veterans those parts of Italy which had espoused the cause of Antony, and transported many of the expelled inhabitants to Philippi, Pyrrhæum, and other cities (Dion. Cass. li. 4). In this way Philippi was made a Roman colony with the “*Jus Italicum*” (comp. Dig. 50, tit. 15, s. 8), and accordingly we find it described as a “*colonia*” both in inscriptions and upon the coins of Augustus. (Orelli, *Inscr.* 512, 3658, 3746, 4064; Rasche, vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 1120.) On the “*Jus Italicum*,” see *Dict. of Ant.*, arts. *COLONIA* and *LATINITAS*.

**COLOS'SE** (more properly **COLOS'SAE**, Κολοσσαί, Col. i. 2; but the preponderance of MS. authority is in favour of Κολασσαί, *Colassæ*, a form used by the Byzantine writers, and which perhaps represents the provincial mode of pronouncing the name. On coins and inscriptions, and in classical writers we find Κολοσσαί. See Elliott, *ad loc.*) A city in the upper part of the basin of the Maeander, on one of its affluents named the Lycus. Hierapolis and Laodicea were in its immediate neighbourhood (Col. ii. 1, iv. 13, 15, 16; see Rev. i. 11, iii. 14). Colossæ fell, as these other two cities rose, in importance. Herodotus (vii. 30) and Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, §8) speak of it as a city of considerable consequence. Strabo (xii. p. 576) describes it as only a πόλις, not a πόλις; yet elsewhere (p. 578) he implies that it had some mercantile importance; and Pliny, in St. Paul's time, describes it (v. 41) as one of the “*celeberrima oppida*” of its district. Colossæ was situated close to the great road which led from Ephesus to the Euphrates. Hence our impulse would be to conclude that St. Paul passed this way, and founded or confirmed the Colossian Church on his third missionary journey (Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1). He might also easily have visited Colossæ during the prolonged stay at Ephesus, which immediately followed. The most competent commentators, however, agree in thinking that Col. ii. 1, proves that

St. Paul had never been there, when the Epistle was written. Theodoret's argument that he must have visited Colossae on the journey just referred to, because he is said to have gone through the whole region of Phrygia, may be proved fallacious from geographical considerations: Colossae, though ethnologically in Phrygia (Herod. *l. c.*, Xen. *l. c.*), was at this period politically in the province of Asia (see Rev. *l. c.*). That the Apostle hoped to visit the place on being delivered from his Roman imprisonment is clear from Philemon 22 (compare Phil. ii. 24). Philemon and his slave Onesimus were dwellers in Colossae. So also were Archippus and Epaphras. From Col. i. 7, iv. 12, it has been naturally concluded that the latter Christian was the founder of the Colossian Church (see Alford's *Prolegomena to G. Test.* vol. iii. p. 35). [EPAPHRAS.] The worship of angels mentioned by the Apostle (Col. ii. 18) curiously reappears in Christian times in connexion with one of the topographical features of the place. A church in honour of the archangel Michael was erected at the entrance of a chasm in consequence of a legend connected with an inundation (Hartley's *Researches in Greece*, p. 52), and there is good reason for identifying this chasm with one which is mentioned by Herodotus. This kind of superstition is mentioned by Theodoret as subsisting in his time; also by the Byzantine writer Nicetas Choniates, who was a native of this place, and who says that Colossae and Chonae were the same. The neighbourhood (visited by Pococke) was explored by Mr. Arundell (*Seven Churches*, p. 158; *Asia Minor*, ii. p. 160); but Mr. Hamilton was the first to determine the actual site of the ancient city, which appears to be at some little distance from the modern village of Chonas (*Researches in A. M.* i. p. 508). [J. S. H.]

**COLOSSIANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE,** was written by the Apostle St. Paul during his first captivity at Rome (Acts xxviii. 16), and apparently in that portion of it (Col. iv. 3, 4) when the Apostle's imprisonment had not assumed the more severe character which seems to be reflected in the Epistle to the Philippians (ch. i. 20, 21, 30, ii. 27), and which not improbably succeeded the death of Burrus in A.D. 62 (Clinton, *Fristi Rom.* i. 44), and the decline of the influence of Seneca.

This important and profound epistle was addressed to the Christians of the once large and influential, but now smaller and declining, city of Colossae, and was delivered to them by Tychicus, whom the Apostle had sent both to them (ch. iv. 7, 8) and to the church of Ephesus (ch. vi. 21), to inquire into their state and to administer exhortation and comfort. The epistle seems to have been called forth by the information St. Paul had received from Epaphras (ch. iv. 12; Philem. 23) and from Onesimus, both of whom appear to have been natives of Colossae, and the former of whom was, if not the special founder, yet certainly one of the very earliest preachers of the gospel in that city. The main object of the epistle is not merely, as in the case of the Epistle to Philippians, to exhort and to confirm, nor as in that to the Ephesians, to set forth the great features of the church of the chosen in Christ, but is especially designed to warn the Colossians against a spirit of semi-Judaistic and semi-Oriental philosophy which was corrupting the simplicity of their belief, and was noticeably tending to obscure the eternal glory and dignity of Christ.

This main design is thus carried out in detail.

After his usual salutation (ch. i. 1-3) the Apostle returns thanks to God for the faith of the Colossians, the spirit of love they had shown, and the progress which the Gospel had made among them, as preached by Epaphras (ch. i. 3-8). This leads him to pray without ceasing that they may be fruitful in good works, and especially thankful to the Father, who gave them an inheritance with His saints, and translated them into the kingdom of His Son—*His Son, the image of the invisible God*, the first-born before every creature, the Creator of all things earthly and heavenly, the Head of the church, He in whom all things consist, and by whom all things have been reconciled to the eternal Father (ch. i. 9-20). This reconciliation, the Apostle reminds them, was exemplified in their own cases: they were once alienated, but now so reconciled as to be presented holy and blameless before God, if only they continued firm in the faith, and were not moved from the hope of which the Gospel was the source and origin (ch. i. 21-24). Of this Gospel the Apostle declares himself the minister; the mystery of salvation was that for which he toiled and for which he suffered (ch. i. 24-29). And his sufferings were not only for the church at large, but for them and others whom he had not personally visited,—even that they might come to the full knowledge of Christ, and might not fall victims to plausible sophistries: they were to walk in Christ and to be built on Him (ch. ii. 1-7). Especially were they to be careful that no philosophy was to lead them from Him in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead, who was the head of all spiritual powers, and who had quickened them, forgiven them, and in His death had triumphed over all the hosts of darkness (ch. ii. 8-15). Surely with such spiritual privileges they were not to be judged in the matter of mere ceremonial observances, or beguiled into creature-worship. Christ was the head of the body; if they were truly united to Him, to what need were bodily austerities (ch. ii. 16-23). They were, then, to mind things above—spiritual things, not carnal ordinances, for their life was hidden with Christ (ch. iii. 1-4): they were to mortify their members and the evil principles in which they once walked; the old man was to be put off, and the new man put on, in which all are one in Christ (ch. iii. 5-12). Furthermore, they were to give heed to special duties; they were to be forgiving and loving, as was Christ. In the consciousness of His abiding word were they to sing; in His name were they to be thankful (ch. iii. 13-17). Wives and husbands, children and parents, were all to perform their duties; servants were to be faithful, masters to be just (ch. iii. 18-iv. 1).

In the last chapter the Apostle gives further special precepts, strikingly similar to those given to his Ephesian converts. They were to pray for the Apostle and for his success in preaching the Gospel, they were to walk circumspectly, and to be ready to give a seasonable answer to all who questioned them (ch. iv. 2-7). Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, and Onesimus would tell them all the state of the Apostle (ch. iv. 7-9): Aristarchus and others sent them friendly greetings (ch. iv. 10-14). With an injunction to interchange this letter with that sent to the neighbouring church of Laodicea (ch. iv. 16), a special message to Archippus (ch. iv. 17), and an autograph salutation, this short but striking epistle comes to its close.

With regard to its genuineness and authenticity, it is satisfactory to be able to say with distinctness

that there are no grounds for doubt. The external testimonies (Just. M. *Trypho*, p. 311 b; Theophil. *ad Autol.* ii. p. 100, ed. Col. 1688; Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii. 14, 1; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 325, iv. p. 588, al., ed. Potter; Tertull. *de Praescr.* ch. 7; *de Resurr.* ch. 23; Origen, *contra Cels.* v. 8) are explicit, and the internal arguments, founded on the style, balance of sentences, positions of adverbs, uses of the relative pronoun, participial anacolutha,—unusually strong and well defined. It is not right to suppress the fact that Mayerhoff (*der Brief an die Kol.* Berl. 1838) and Baur (*der Apostel Paulus*, p. 417) have deliberately rejected this epistle as claiming to be a production of St. Paul. The first of these critics, however, has been briefly, but, as it would seem, completely answered, by Meyer (*Comment.* p. 7); and to the second, in his subjective and anti-historical attempt to make individual writings of the N. T. mere theosophistic productions of a later Gnosticism, the intelligent and critical reader will naturally yield but little credence. It is indeed remarkable that the strongly marked peculiarity of style, the nerve and force of the arguments, and the originality that appears in every paragraph should not have made both these writers pause in their ill-considered attack on this epistle.

A few special points demand from us a brief notice.

1. The opinion that this epistle and those to the Ephesians and to Philemon were written during the Apostle's imprisonment at Caesarea (Acts xxi. 27–xxvi. 32), i. e. between Pentecost A.D. 58 and the autumn of A.D. 60, has been recently advocated by several writers of ability, and stated with such cogency and clearness by Meyer (*Einkl. z. Ephes.* p. 15, sq.), as to deserve some consideration. It will be found, however, to rest on ingeniously urged plausibilities; whereas, to go no further than the present epistle, the notices of the Apostle's imprisonment in ch. iv. 3, 4, 11, certainly seem historically inconsistent with the nature of the imprisonment at Caesarea. The permission of Felix (Acts xxiv. 23) can scarcely be strained into any degree of liberty to teach or preach the Gospel, while the facts recorded of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome (Acts xxviii. 23, 31) are such as to harmonise admirably with the freedom in this respect which our present epistle represents to have been accorded both to the Apostle and his companions; see ch. iv. 11, and comp. De Wette, *Einkl. z. Coloss.* p. 12, 13; Wieseler, *Chronol.* p. 420.

2. The nature of the erroneous teaching condemned in this epistle has been very differently estimated. Three opinions only seem to deserve any serious consideration; (a) that these erroneous teachers were adherents of Neo-Platonism, or of some forms of Occidental philosophy; (b) that they leaned to Essene doctrines and practices; (c) that they advocated that admixture of Christianity, Judaism, and Oriental philosophy which afterwards became consolidated into Gnosticism. Of these (a) has but little in its favour, except the somewhat vague term *φαισσοφία* (ch. ii. 8), which, however, it seems arbitrary to restrict to Grecian philosophy; (b) is much more plausible as far as the usages alluded to, but seems inconsistent both with the exclusive nature and circumscribed localities of Essene teaching; (c) on the contrary is in accordance with the Gentile nature of the church of Colossae (ch. i. 21), with its very locality—speculative and superstitious Phrygia—and with that tendency to associate Judaical observances (ch. ii. 16) with

more purely theosophistic speculations (ch. ii. 18), which became afterwards so conspicuous in developed Gnosticism. The portions in our analysis of the epistle marked in italics serve to show how deeply these perverted opinions were felt by the Apostle to strike at the doctrine of the eternal God-head of Christ.

3. The striking similarity between many portions of this epistle and of that to the Ephesians has given rise to much speculation, both as to the reason of this studied similarity, and as to the priority of order in respect to composition. These points cannot here be discussed at length, but must be somewhat briefly dismissed with the simple expression of an opinion that the similarity may reasonably be accounted for, (1) by the proximity in time at which the two epistles were written; (2) by the high probability that in two cities of Asia within a moderate distance from one another, there would be many doctinal prejudices, and many social relations, that would call forth and need precisely the same language of warning and exhortation. The priority in composition must remain a matter for a reasonable difference of opinion. To us the shorter and perhaps more vividly expressed Epistle to the Colossians seems to have been first written, and to have suggested the more comprehensive, more systematic, but less individualizing, epistle to the church of Ephesus.

For further information the student is directed to Davidson's *Introduction*, ii. 394, sq.; Alford, *Prolegom.* to *N. T.* iii. 53, sq.; and the introduction to the excellent Commentary of Meyer.

The editions of this epistle are very numerous. Of the older commentaries those of Davenant, *Expos. Ep. Pauli ad Col.*, ed. 3; Suicer, in *Ep. Pauli ad Col. Comment.*, Tig. 1699, may be specified; and of modern commentaries, those of Bähr (Bas. 1833), Olshausen (Königsb. 1840), Huther (Hamb. 1841, a very good exegetical commentary), De Wette (Leipz. 1847), Meyer (Gött. 1848); and in our own country those of Eadie (Glasg. 1856), Alford (Lond. 1857), and Ellicott (Lond. 1858). [C. J. E.]

**COLOURS.** The terms relative to colour, occurring in the Bible, may be arranged in two classes, the first including those applied to the description of natural objects, the second those artificial mixtures which were employed in dyeing or painting. In an advanced state of art, such a distinction can hardly be said to exist; all the hues of nature have been successfully imitated by the artist: but among the Jews, who fell even below their contemporaries in the cultivation of the fine arts, and to whom painting was unknown until a late period, the knowledge of artificial colours was very restricted. Dyeing was the object to which the colours known to them were applied: so exclusively indeed were the ideas of the Jews limited to this application of colour, that the name of the dye was transferred without any addition to the material to which it was applied. The Jews were not however by any means insensible to the influence of colour: they attached definite ideas to the various tints, according to the use made of them in robes and vestments: and the subject exercises an important influence on the interpretation of certain portions of Scripture.

1. The natural colours noticed in the Bible are white, black, red, yellow, and green. It will be observed that only three of the *prismatic* colours are represented in this list; blue, indigo, violet, and orange are omitted. Of the three, *yellow* is very seldom noticed; it was apparently regarded as

a shade of green, for the same term *greenish* (ירקני) is applied to gold (Ps. lxxviii. 13), and to the leprous spot (Lev. xiii. 49), and very probably the *golden* (זהב) or *yellow* hue of the leprous hair (Lev. xiii. 30-32) differed little from the *greenish* spot on the garments (Lev. xiii. 49). *Green* is frequently noticed, but an examination of the passages, in which it occurs, will show that the reference is seldom to colour. The Hebrew terms are *raavan* (רענן) and *yarak* (יָרַק); the first of these applies to what is *vigorous* and *flourishing*; hence it is metaphorically employed as an image of prosperity (Job xv. 32; Ps. xxxvii. 35, lii. 8, xcii. 14; Jer. xi. 16, xvii. 8; Dan. iv. 4; Hos. iv. 8); it is invariably employed wherever the expression "*green tree*" is used in connexion with idolatrous sacrifices, as though with the view of conveying the idea of the *outspreading* branches, which served as a canopy to the worshippers (Deut. vii. 2; 2 K. xvi. 4); elsewhere it is used of that which is *fresh*, as oil (Ps. xcii. 10), and newly plucked boughs (Cant. i. 16). The other term, *yarak*, has the radical signification of *putting forth leaves, sprouting* (Gesén. *Thesaur.* p. 632): it is used indiscriminately for all productions of the earth fit for food (Gen. i. 30, ix. 3; Ex. x. 15; Num. xlii. 4; Is. xv. 6; cf. *χλωρός*, Rev. viii. 7, ix. 4), and again for all kinds of garden herbs (Deut. xi. 10; 1 K. xxi. 2; 2 K. xix. 26; Prov. xv. 17; Is. xxxvii. 27; contrast the restricted application of *our greens*); when applied to grass, it means specifically the *young, fresh grass* (נֶשֶׁק, Ps. xxxvii. 2), which springs up in the desert (Job xxxix. 8). Elsewhere it describes the sickly yellowish hue of mildewed corn (Deut. xxviii. 22; 1 K. viii. 37; 2 Chr. vi. 28; Am. iv. 9; Hag. ii. 17); and lastly, it is used for the entire absence of colour produced by fear (Jer. xxx. 6; compare *χλωρός*, II. x. 376); hence *χλωρός* (Rev. vi. 8) describes the ghastly, livid hue of death. In other passages "*green*" is erroneously used in the A. V. for *white* (Gen. xxx. 37; Esth. i. 6), *young* (Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 14), *moist* (Judg. xvi. 7, 8), *supple* (Job viii. 16), and *unripe* (Cant. ii. 13). Thus it may be said that *green* is never used in the Bible to convey the impression of proper colour.

The only fundamental colour of which the Hebrews appear to have had a clear conception was *red*; and even this is not very often noticed. They had therefore no scientific knowledge of colours, and we cannot but think that the attempt to explain such passages as Rev. iv. 3 by the rules of philosophical truth, must fail (see Hengstenberg, *Comm.* in loc.). Instead of assuming that the emerald represents *green*, the jasper *yellow*, and the sardine *red*, the idea intended to be conveyed by these images may be simply that of *pure, brilliant, transparent light*. The emerald, for instance, was chiefly prized by the ancients for its *glittering, scintillating* qualities (*αγλαΐα*, Orpheus *de lap.* p. 608), whence perhaps it derived its name (*σμάραγδος*, from *μαρμαρίζω*). The jasper is characterised by St. John himself (Rev. xxi. 11) as being crystal-clear (*κρυσταλλίνον*), and not as having a certain hue. The sardine may be compared with the amber of Ex. i. 4, 27, or the burnished brass of Dan. x. 6, or again the fine brass, "as if burning in a furnace," of Rev. i. 15, each conveying the impression of the colour of fire in a state of pure incandescence. Similarly the

beryl, or rather the *chrysolite* (the Hebrew *Thursia*) may be selected by Daniel (x. 6) on account of its transparency. An exception may be made perhaps in regard to the sulphure, in as far as its hue answers to the deep blue of the firmament (Ex. xxiv. 10; cf. Ex. i. 26, x. 1), but even in this case the pellucidity (לָבָנָה, omitted in A. V., Ex. xxiv. 10) or polish of the stone (compare Lam. iv. 7) forms an important, if not the main, element in the comparison. The highest development of colour in the mind of the Hebrew evidently was *light*, and hence the predominance given to *white* as its representative (compare the connexion between *λευκός* and *lux*). This feeling appears both in the more numerous allusions to it than to any other colour—in the variety of terms by which they discriminated the shades from a *pale, dull tint* (הָהָה, *blackish*, Lev. xiii. 21 ff.) up to the most brilliant splendour (וָהָר, Ex. viii. 2; Dan. xii. 3)—and in the comparisons by which they sought to heighten their ideas of it, an instance of which occurs in the three accounts of the Transfiguration, where the countenance and robes are described as like "the sun" and "the light" (Matt. xvii. 2), "shining, exceeding white as snow" (Mark ix. 3), "glistening" (Luke ix. 29). Snow is used eleven times in a similar way; the sun five times; wool four times; milk once. In some instances the point of the comparison is not so obvious, e.g. in Job xxxviii. 14 "they stand as a garment" in reference to the *white* colour of the Hebrew dress, and in Ps. lxxviii. 13, where the glancing lines of the dove's plumage suggested an image of the brilliant effect of the *white* holiday costume. Next to *white, black*, or rather *dark*, holds the most prominent place, not only as its opposite, but also as representing the complexion of the Orientals. There were various shades of it, including the *brown* of the Nile water (whence its name *Sihor*)—the *reddish* tint of early dawn, to which the complexion of the bride is likened (Cant. vi. 10), as well as the *tawny* hue produced by a flight of locusts (Joel ii. 2)—and the darkness of blackness itself (Lam. iv. 8). As before, we have various heightening images, such as the tents of Kedar, a flock of goats, the raven (Cant. i. 5, iv. 1, v. 11) and sackcloth (Rev. vi. 12). *Red* was also a colour of which the Hebrews had a vivid conception; this may be attributed partly to the prevalence of that colour in the outward aspect of the countries and peoples with which they were familiar, as attested by the name Edom, and by the words *adamah* (earth), and *adam* (man), so termed either as being formed out of the red earth, or as being red in comparison with the fair colour of the Assyrians, and the black of the Ethiopians. Red was regarded as an element of personal beauty: comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 12; Cant. ii. 1, where the lily is the *red* one for which Syria was famed (Psal. xxi. 11); Cant. iv. 3, vi. 7, where the complexion is compared to the red fruit of the pomegranate; and Lam. iv. 7, where the hue of the skin is redder than coral (A. V. "rubies") contrasting with the white of the garments before noticed. The three colours, white, black and red were sometimes internixed in animals, and gave rise to the terms, *צִוְרוֹן*, "dappled" (A. V. "white"), probably white and red (Judg. v. 10); *עֶרֶב*, "ringstruck," either with white bands on the legs, or white-footed; *נֶקֶד*, "speckled," and *מִקְלָה*,

"spotted," white and black; and lustly רָבָה, "piebald" (A. V. "grisdled"), the spots being larger than in the two former (Gen. xxx. 32, 35, xxxi. 10); the latter term is used of a horse (Zech. vi. 3, 6) with a symbolical meaning: Hengstenberg (*Christol.* in loc.) considers the colour itself to be unmeaning, and that the prophet has added the term strong (A. V. "bay") by way of explanation; Hitzig (*Comm.* in loc.) explains it, in a peculiar manner, of the complexion of the Egyptians. It remains for us now to notice the various terms applied to these three colours.

1. WHITE. The most common term is לָבָן, which is applied to such objects as milk (Gen. xlix. 12), manna (Ex. xvi. 31), snow (Is. i. 18), horses (Zech. i. 8), raiment (Eccl. ix. 8); and a cognate word expresses the colour of the moon (Is. xxiv. 23). חָזָק, dazzling white is applied to the complexion (Cant. v. 10); חָנִיף, a term of a later age, to snow (Dan. vii. 9 only), and to the paleness of shame (Is. xxix. 22, חָנִיף; שֵׁיב, to the hair alone. Another class of terms arises from the textures of a naturally white colour, as שֹׁשֶׁבִּי and צִיָּב. These words appear to have been originally of foreign origin, but were connected by the Hebrews with roots in their own language descriptive of a white colour (Ges. *Thesaur.* pp. 190, 1384). The terms were without doubt primarily applied to the material; but the idea of colour is also prominent, particularly in the description of the curtains of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1), and the priests' vestments (Ex. xxviii. 6). שֹׁשֶׁבִּי is also applied to white marble (Esth. i. 6; Cant. v. 15); and a cognate word, שִׁישׁ, to the lily (Cant. ii. 16). In addition to these we meet with חָנִיף (*βύσσος*, Esth. i. 6, viii. 15), and צִיָּב (*αἰθραός*; A. V. "green," Esth. i. 6), also descriptive of white textures.

White was symbolical of innocence: hence the raiment of angels (Mark xvi. 5; John xx. 12), and of glorified saints (Rev. xix. 8, 14), is so described. It was also symbolical of joy (Eccl. ix. 8); and, lustily, of victory (Zech. vi. 3; Rev. vi. 2). In the Revelations the term λευκός is applied exclusively to what belongs to Jesus Christ (Wordsworth's *Apoc* p. 105).

2. BLACK. The shades of this colour are expressed in the terms שָׁחֹךְ, applied to the hair (Lev. xiii. 31; Cant. v. 11); the complexion (Cant. i. v.), particularly when affected with disease (Job xxx. 30); horses (Zech. vi. 2, 6): שָׁחֹךְ, lit. scorched (*φαῖδς*; A. V. "brown," Gen. xxx. 32), applied to sheep; the word expresses the colour produced by influence of the sun's rays: דָּוָר, lit. to be dirty, applied to a complexion blackened by sorrow or disease (Job xxx. 30); mourner's robes (Jer. viii. 21, xiv. 2; compare *sordidae vestes*); a clouded sky (1 K. xviii. 45); night (Mic. iii. 6; Jer. iv. 28; Joel ii. 10, iii. 15); a turbid brook (whence possibly *KEDRON*), particularly when rendered so by melted snow (Job vi. 16). Black, as being the opposite to white, is symbolical of evil (Zech. vi. 2, 6; Rev. vi. 5).

3. RED. דָּמָם is applied to blood (2 K. iii. 22); a garment sprinkled with blood (Is. lxi. 2); a heifer (Num. xix. 2); pottage made of lentiles (Gen. xxv. 30); a horse (Zech. i. 8, vi. 2); wine (Prov. xxiii.

31); the complexion (Gen. xxv. 25; Cant. v. 10; Lam. iv. 7). דָּמָם is a slight degree of red, reddish, and is applied to a leprous spot (Lev. xiii. 19, xiv. 37). פָּרֶזֶ, lit. fox-coloured, bay, is applied to a horse (A. V. "speckled;" Zech. i. 8), and to a species of vine bearing a purple grape (Is. v. 2, xvi. 8); the translation "bay" in Zech. vi. 3, A. V. is incorrect. The corresponding term in Greek is *πορφύρεος*, lit. red as fire. This colour was symbolical of bloodshed (Zech. vi. 2; Rev. vi. 4, xii. 3).

II. ARTIFICIAL COLOURS. The art of extracting dyes, and of applying them to various textures, appears to have been known at a very early period. We read of scarlet thread at the time of Sarah's birth (Gen. xxxviii. 28); of blue and purple at the time of the Exodus (Ex. xxvi. 1). There is however no evidence to show that the Jews themselves were at that period acquainted with the art: the profession of the dyer is not noticed in the Bible, though it is referred to in the Talmud. They were probably indebted both to the Egyptians and the Phœnicians; to the latter for the dyes, and to the former for the mode of applying them. The purple dyes which they chiefly used were extracted by the Phœnicians (Ex. xxvii. 16; Plin. ix. 60), and in certain districts of Asia Minor (Hom. *Il.* iv. 141), especially Thyatira (Acts xvi. 14). It does not appear that these particular colours were used in Egypt, the Egyptian colours being produced from various metallic and earthy substances (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 301). On the other hand, there was a remarkable similarity in the mode of dyeing in Egypt and Palestine, inasmuch as the colour was applied to the raw material, previous to the processes of spinning and weaving (Ex. xxv. 25, xxxix. 3; Wilkinson, iii. 125). The dyes consisted of purples, light and dark (the latter being the "blue" of the A. V.), and crimson (*scarlet*, A. V.); vermilion was introduced at a late period.

1. PURPLE (פָּרֶזֶ; Chaldee form, נִנְיָא, Dan. v. 7, 16; *πορφύρα*; *purpura*). This colour was obtained from the secretion of a species of shell-fish (Plin. ix. 60), the *Murex tricolor* of Linnaeus, which was found in various parts of the Mediterranean Sea (hence called *πορφύρα θαλασσία*, 1 Macc. iv. 23), particularly on the coasts of Phœnicia (Strab. vii. 157), Africa (Strab. xvii. 835), Laconia (Hor. *Od.* ii. 18, 7), and Asia Minor. [ELISHAH.] The derivation of the Hebrew name is uncertain: it has been connected with the Sanscrit *rdgaman*, "tinged with red;" and again with *arghamāna*, "costly" (Hitzig, *Comment. in Dan.* v. 7). Gesenius, however (*Thesaur.* p. 1263), considers it highly improbable that a colour so peculiar to the shores of the Mediterranean should be described by a word of any other than Semitic origin, and connects it with the root דָּרַךְ, to heap up or overlay with colour. The colouring matter was contained in a small vessel in the throat of the fish; and as the quantity amounted to only a single drop in each animal, the value of the dye was proportionately high: sometimes, however, the whole fish was crushed (Plin. ix. 60). It is difficult to state with precision the tint described under the Hebrew name. The Greek equivalent was, we know, applied with great latitude, not only to all colours extracted from the shell-fish, but even to other brilliant colours: thus, in John xii. 2, *ὑμῶν πορφύρεον* = *καλὸς κοκκινῶν*, in Matt. xxvii. 28 (cf

Plin. ix. 62). The same may be said of the Latin *purpureus*. The Hebrew term seems to be applied in a similarly broad sense in Cant. vii. 5, where it either = *black* (compare v. 11), or, still better, *shining* with oil. Generally speaking, however, the tint must be considered as having been defined by the distinction between the purple *proper*, and the other purple dye (A. V. "blue"), which was produced from another species of shell-fish. The latter was undoubtedly a dark violet tint, while the former had a light reddish tinge. Robes of a purple colour were worn by kings (Judg. viii. 26), and by the highest officers, civil and religious; thus Mordecai (Esth. viii. 15), Daniel (A. V. "scarlet," Dan. v. 7, 16, 29), and Andronicus, the deputy of Antiochus (2 Macc. iv. 38), were invested with purple in token of the offices they held (cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, §8); so also Jonathan, as high-priest (1 Macc. x. 20, 64, xi. 58). They were also worn by the wealthy and luxurious (Jer. x. 9; *Ez.* xxvii. 7; Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xvii. 4, xviii. 16). A similar value was attached to purple robes both by the Greeks (Hom. *Od.* ix. 225; Herod. ix. 22; Strab. xiv. 648), and by the Romans (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 495; Hor. *Ep.* 12, 21; Suet. *Cues.* 43; *Nero*, 32). Of the use of this and the other dyes in the textures of the tabernacle, we shall presently speak.

2. BLUE (חֹבֶלֶת; *δακτυλος, δακτυλινος, δολοπόρφυρος*, Num. iv. 7; *hyacinthus, hyacinthinus*). This dye was procured from a species of shell-fish found on the coast of Phœnicia, and called by the Hebrews *Chilzon* (Targ. *Pseudo-Jon.*, in Deut. xxxiii. 19), and by modern naturalists *Haliæ lunithus*. The Hebrew name is derived, according to Gesenius (*Theaur.* p. 1502), from a root signifying to *unshell*; but according to Hitzig (*Comment.* in Ez. xliii. 6), from חָלַל, in the sense of *dulled, blunted*, as opposed to the brilliant hue of the proper purple. The tint is best explained by the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §7) and Philo that it was emblematic of the sky, in which case it represents not the light blue of our northern climate, but the deep dark hue of the eastern sky (*ἀέρος δὲ σέμβολον δακύνθος, μέλας γὰρ οὗτος φύσει*, Phil. *Opp.* i. 530). The term adopted by the LXX. is applied by classical writers to a colour approaching to black (Hom. *Od.* vi. 231, xliii. 158; Theoc. *Id.* 10, 28): the flower, whence the name was borrowed, being, as is well known, not the modern *hyacinth*, but of a dusky red colour (*ferrugineus*, Virg. *Georg.* iv. 183; *oculeatis lumen hyacinthus*, Colum. ix. 4, 4). The A. V. has rightly described the tint in Esth. i. 6 (margin) as *violet*; the ordinary term *blue* is incorrect: the Lutheran translation is still more incorrect in giving it *gelbe Seide* (yellow silk), and occasionally simply *Seide* (Ez. xliii. 6). This colour was used in the same way as purple. Princes and nobles (Ez. xliii. 6; Eccles. xl. 4), and the idols of Babylon (Jer. x. 9), were clothed in robes of this tint: the riband and the fringe of the Hebrew dress was ordered to be of this colour (Num. xv. 38): it was used in the tapestries of the Persians (Esth. i. 6). The effect of the colour is well described in Ez. xliii. 12, where such robes are termed מְבֹרָשׁ מְבֹרָשׁ, *robes of perfection*, i. e. gorgeous robes. We may remark, in conclusion, that the LXX. treats the term חֹבֶלֶת (A. V. "badger") as indicative of colour, and has translated it *δακτυλινος, iunithinus* (Ez. xxv. 5).

3. SCARLET (CRIMSON, Is. i. 18; Jer. iv. 30). The terms by which this colour is expressed in Hebrew vary; sometimes שָׁנִי simply is used, as in Gen. xxxviii. 28-30; sometimes שָׁנִי חֹבֶלֶת, as in Ex. xxv. 4; and sometimes חֹבֶלֶת שָׁנִי simply, as in Is. i. 18. The word צְרִימָלִי (A. V. "crimson;" 2 Chr. ii. 7, 14, iii. 14) was introduced at a late period, probably from Armenia, to express the same colour. The first of these terms (derived from שָׁנִי, to *shine*) expresses the *brilliance* of the colour; the second, חֹבֶלֶת, the *worm*, or grub, whence the dye was procured, and which gave name to the colour occasionally without any addition, just as *vermillion* is derived from *vermiculus*. The LXX. generally renders it *κόκκινον*, occasionally with the addition of such terms as *κεκλωσμένον* (Ez. xxvi. 1), or *διανεγισμένον* (Ez. xxviii. 8): the Vulgate has it generally *coccineum*, occasionally *coccus distictus* (Ez. xlviii. 8), apparently following the erroneous interpretation of Aquila and Symmachus, who render it *βιβαφος, double-dyed* (Ez. xxv. 4), as though from שָׁנִי, to *repeat*. The process of double-dyeing was however peculiar to the Tyrian purples (Plin. ix. 39). The dye was produced from an insect, somewhat resembling the cochineal, which is found in considerable quantities in Armenia and other eastern countries. The Arabian name of the insect is *kermes* (whence *crimson*): the Linnæan name is *Coccus ilicis*. It frequents the boughs of a species of *ilac*: on these it lays its eggs in groups, which become covered with a kind of down, so that they present the appearance of vegetable galls or excrescences from the tree itself, and are described as such by Pliny, xvi. 12. The dye is procured from the female grub alone, which, when alive, is about the size of a kernel of a cherry and of a dark amaranth colour, but when dead shrivels up to the size of a grain of wheat, and is covered with a bluish mould (Parrot's *Journey to Ararat*, p. 114). The general character of the colour is expressed by the Hebrew term צְרִימָלִי (Is. lxi. 1), lit. *sharp*, and hence dazzling (compare the expression *חרמלם דָּבָר*), and in the Greek *λαμπρά* (Luke xlii. 11), compared with *κοκκινῇ* (Matt. xxvii. 28). The tint produced was *crimson* rather than scarlet. The only natural object to which it is applied in Scripture is the lips, which are compared to a scarlet thread (Cant. iv. 3). Josephus considered it as symbolical of fire (*Ant.* iii. 7, §7; cf. Phil. i. 536). Scarlet threads were selected as distinguishing marks from their brilliancy (Gen. xxxviii. 28; Josh. ii. 18, 21); and hence the colour is expressive of what is *excessive* or *glaring* (Is. i. 18). Scarlet robes were worn by the luxurious (2 Sam. i. 24; Prov. xxxi. 21; Jer. iv. 30; Lam. iv. 5; Rev. xvii. 4, xviii. 12, 16); it was also the appropriate hue of a warrior's dress from its similarity to blood (Nah. ii. 3; cf. Is. ix. 5), and was especially worn by officers in the Roman army (Plin. xii. 3; Matt. xxvii. 28).

The three colours above described, purple, blue, and scarlet, together with white, were employed in the textures used for the curtains of the tabernacle and for the sacred vestments of the priests. The four were used in combination in the outer curtains, the veil, the entrance curtain (Ez. xxvi. 1, 31, 36), and the gate of the court (Ez. xxvii. 16); as also in the high priest's ephod, girdle and breast-

plate (Ex. xxviii. 5, 6, 8, 15). The three first, to the exclusion of white, were used in the pomegranates about the hem of the high-priest's robe (Ex. xxviii. 33). The loops of the curtains (Ex. xxvi. 4), the lace of the high-priest's breastplate, the robe of the ephod, and the lace on his mitre were exclusively of blue (Ex. xxviii. 28, 31, 37). Cloths for wrapping the sacred utensils were either blue (Num. iv. 6), scarlet (8), or purple (13). Scarlet thread was specified in connexion with the rites of cleansing the leper (Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 51), and of burning the red heifer (Num. xix. 6), apparently for the purpose of binding the hyssop to the cedar wood. The hangings for the court (Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxviii. 9), the coats, mitres, bouquets, and breeches of the priests were white (Ex. xxxix. 27, 28). The application of these colours to the service of the tabernacle has led writers both in ancient and modern times to attach some symbolical meaning to them: reference has already been made to the statements of Philo and Josephus on this subject: the words of the latter are as follow: ἡ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἀποσημαίνει εὐκεία, διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνείσθαι τὸ λίνον· ἡ τε πορφύρα τὴν θάλασσαν, τῇ πεφοινίχθαι τοῦ κόχλου τῷ ὡματι τὸν δὲ ἀέρα βούλεται δηλοῦν δ' ὀκείαντες· καὶ δ' φοινίξ δ' ἀν εἰς τεκμήριον τοῦ πυρός, *Ant.* iii. 7, §7. The subject has been followed up with a great variety of interpretations, more or less probable. Without entering into a disquisition on these, we will remark that it is unnecessary to assume that the colours were originally selected with such a view; their beauty and costliness is a sufficient explanation of the selection.

4. VERMILION (ὤψ; μίλος; *sinopsis*). This was a pigment used in fresco paintings, either for drawing figures of idols on the walls of temples (*Ex.* xxiii. 14), for colouring the idols themselves (*Wisd.* xiii. 14), or for decorating the walls and beams of houses (*Jer.* xxii. 14). The Greek term μίλος is applied both to *minium*, red lead, and *rubrica*, red ochre; the Latin *sinopsis* describes the best kind of ochre, which came from Sinope. Vermilion was a favourite colour among the Assyrians (*Ex.* xxiii. 14), as is still attested by the sculptures of Nimroud and Khorsabad (*Layard*, ii. 303). [W. L. B.]

COMMERCE (1. ἡμέτις, *Gesen.* p. 946; ἐμπορία; *negotiatio*; from ἡμέτις, a merchant, from ἡμέτις, travel, *Ex.* xxvii. 15; A. V., *merchandise*, *traffic*: 2. ἡμέτις, *Gesen.* p. 1289; *Ex.* xxvi. 12, τὰ ὀπάρχοντα; *negotiations*; in xxviii. 5, 16, 18, ἐμπορία, *negotiatio*, from ἡμέτις, travel).

From the time that men began to live in cities, trade, in some shape, must have been carried on to supply the town-dwellers with necessaries (see Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* i. 469), but it is also clear that international trade must have existed and affected to some extent even the pastoral nomade races, for we find that Abraham was rich, not only in cattle, but in silver, gold, and gold and silver plate and ornaments (*Gen.* xiii. 2, xxiv. 22, 58); and further, that gold and silver in a manufactured state, and silver, not improbably in coin, were in use both among the settled inhabitants of Palestine and the pastoral tribes of Syria at that date (*Gen.* xx. 16, xxiii. 16, xxxviii. 18; *Job* xlii. 11), to whom those metals must in all probability have been imported from other countries (*Hosey, Anc. Weights*, c. xii. 3 p.

193; *Kitto, Phys. Hist. of Pal.*, p. 109, 110; *Herod.* i. 215).

Among trading nations mentioned in Scripture, Egypt holds in very early times a prominent position, though her external trade was carried on, not by her own citizens, but by foreigners, chiefly of the nomade races (Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* i. 468, ii. 371, 372). It was an Ishmaelite caravan, laden with spices, which carried Joseph into Egypt, and the account shows that slaves formed sometimes a part of the merchandize imported (*Gen.* xxxvii. 25, xxxix. 1; *Job* vi. 19). From Egypt it is likely that at all times, but especially in times of general scarcity, corn would be exported, which was paid for by the non-exporting nations in silver, which was always weighed (*Gen.* xli. 57, xlii. 3, 25, 35, xliiii. 11, 12, 21). These caravans also brought the precious stones as well as the spices of India into Egypt (*Ex.* xxv. 3, 7; *Wilkinson, Anc. Eg.* ii. 235, 237). Intercourse with Tyre does not appear to have taken place till a later period, and thus, though it cannot be determined whether the purple in which the Egyptian woollen and linen cloths were dyed was brought by land from Phoenicia, it is certain that coloured cloths had long been made and dyed in Egypt, and the use, at least, of them adopted by the Hebrews for the tabernacle as early as the time of Moses (*Ex.* xxv. 4, 5; Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* i. 352; *Herod.* i. 1). The pasture-ground of Shechem appears from the story of Joseph to have lain in the way of these caravan journeys (*Gen.* xxvii. 14, 25; *Saalschütz, Hebr. Arch.* 15, l. 159).

At the same period it is clear that trade was carried on between Babylon and the Syrian cities, and also that gold and silver ornaments were common among the Syrian and Arabian races; a trade which was obviously carried on by land-carriage (*Num.* xxxi. 50; *Josh.* vii. 21; *Judg.* v. 30, viii. 24; *Job* vi. 19).

Until the time of Solomon the Hebrew nation may be said to have had no foreign trade. Foreign trade was indeed contemplated by the Law, and strict rules for morality in commercial dealings were laid down by it (*Deut.* xxviii. 12, xxv. 13-16; *Lev.* xix. 35, 36), and the tribes near the sea and the Phœnician territory appear to have engaged to some extent in maritime affairs (*Gen.* xlix. 13; *Deut.* xxxiii. 18; *Judg.* v. 17), but the spirit of the Law was more in favour of agriculture and against foreign trade (*Deut.* xvii. 16, 17; *Lev.* xxv.; *Joseph. c. Apion.* i. 12). Solomon, however, organized an extensive trade with foreign countries, but chiefly, at least so far as the more distant nations were concerned, of an import character. He imported linen yarn, horses, and chariots from Egypt. Of the horses some appear to have been resold to Syrian and Canaanite princes. For all these he paid in gold, which was imported by sea from India and Arabia by his fleets in conjunction with the Phœnicians (Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* i. 334; 1 K. x. 22-29; *Gesen.* p. 1202). It was by Phœnicians also that the cedar and other timber for his great architectural works was brought by sea to Joppa, whilst Solomon found the provisions necessary for the workmen in Mount Lebanon (1 K. v. 8, 9; 2 Chr. ii. 16).

The united fleets used to sail into the Indian Ocean every three years from Elath and Esiongeber, ports on the Arabian gulf of the Red Sea, which David had probably gained from Edom, and brought back gold, silver, ivory, sandal-wood, ebony, precious stones, apes, and peacocks. Some

of these may have come from India and Ceylon, and some from the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the E. coast of Africa (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 K. ix. 26, x. 11, 22; 2 Chr. viii. 17; Her. iii. 114; Livingstone, *Travels*, p. 637, 662).

But the trade which Solomon took so much pains to encourage was not a maritime trade only. He built, or more probably fortified, Baalbec and Palmyra; the latter at least expressly as a caravan station for the land-commerce with eastern and south-eastern Asia (1 K. ix. 18).

After his death the maritime trade declined, and an attempt made by Jehoshaphat to revive it proved unsuccessful (1 K. xxii. 48, 49) [TAISHIM, OPHIR]. We know, however, that Phœnicia was supplied from Judæa with wheat, honey, oil, and balm (1 K. v. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17; Acts xii. 20; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 21, §2; *Vit.* 13), whilst Tyrian dealers brought fish and other merchandise to Jerusalem at the time of the return from captivity (Neh. xiii. 16), as well as timber for the rebuilding of the temple, which then, as in Solomon's time, was brought by sea to Joppa (Ezr. iii. 7). Oil was exported to Egypt (Hos. xii. 1), and fine linen and ornamental girdles of domestic manufacture were sold to the merchants (Prov. xxxi. 24).

The successive invasions to which Palestine was subjected, involving both large abstraction of treasure by invaders and heavy imposts on the inhabitants to purchase immunity or to satisfy demands for tribute must have impoverished the country from time to time (under Rehoboam, 1 K. xiv. 26; Asa, xv. 18; Josiah, 2 K. xii. 18; Amaziah, xiv. 13; Ahaz, xvi. 8; Hezekiah, xviii. 15-16; Jehohaz and Jehoakim, xxiii. 33, 35; Jehoiachin, xxiv. 13), but it is also clear, as the denunciations of the prophets bear witness, that much wealth must somewhere have existed in the country, and much foreign merchandise have been imported; so much so that, in the language of Ezekiel, Jerusalem appears as the rival of Tyre, and through its port, Joppa, to have carried on trade with foreign countries (Is. ii. 6, 16, iii. 11, 23; Hos. xii. 7; Ez. xxi. 2; Jonah i. 3; Heeren, *As. Nat.* i. p. 328).

Under the Maccabees Joppa was fortified (1 Mac. xiv. 34), and later still Caesarea was built and made a port by Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, §6; Acts xxvii. 2). Joppa became afterwards a haunt for pirates, and was taken by Cestius; afterwards by Vespasian, and destroyed by him (Strab. xvi. p. 758; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 18, §10, iii. 9, §1).

The internal trade of the Jews, as well as the external, was much promoted, as was the case also in Egypt, by the festivals, which brought large numbers of persons to Jerusalem, and caused great outlay in victims for sacrifices and in incense (1 K. viii. 63; Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* ii. 363).

The places of public market were, then as now, chiefly the open spaces near the gates, to which goods were brought for sale by those who came from the outside (Neh. xiii. 15, 16; Zeph. i. 10).

The traders in later times were allowed to intrude into the temple, in the outer courts of which victims were publicly sold for the sacrifices (Zech. xiv. 21; Matt. xxi. 12; John ii. 14).

In the matter of buying and selling great stress is laid by the Law on fairness in dealing. Just weights and balances are stringently ordered (Lev. xix. 35, 36; Deut. xxv. 13-16). Kidnapping slaves is forbidden under the severest penalty (Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7). Trade in swine was for-

bidden by the Jewish doctors (Surenhus. *Mischn. de damn.* c. 7, vol. iv. 60; Lightfoot, *H. H. on Matth.* viii. 33; Winer, *Handel*; Nalischütz, *Arch. Hebr.* c. 15, 16).

CONAN'IAH (כֹּנַנְיָהוּ; *Xonenas*; Alex. *Xoxenas*; *Chonenias*), one of the chiefs (שָׂרֵי) of the Levites in the time of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 9). The same name is elsewhere given in the A. V. CONONIAH.

CONCUBINE. פְּלִנְיָה appears to have been included under the general conjugal sense of the word נִשְׂתָּה, which in its limited sense is rendered "wife." The positions of these two among the early Jews cannot be referred to the standard of our own age and country; that of concubine being less degraded, as that of wife was, especially owing to the sanction of polygamy, less honourable than among ourselves. The natural desire of offspring was, in the Jew, consecrated into a religious hope, which tended to redeem concubinage from the debasement into which the grosser motives for its adoption might have brought it. The whole question must be viewed from the point which touches the interests of propagation, in virtue of which even a slave concubine who had many children would become a most important person in a family, especially where a wife was barren. Such was the true source of the concubinage of Nachor, Abrahah, and Jacob, which indeed, in the two latter cases, lost the nature which it has in our eyes, through the process, analogous to adoption, by which the offspring was regarded as that of the wife herself. From all this it follows that, save in so far as the latter was generally a slave, the difference between wife and concubine was less marked, owing to the absence of moral stigma, than among us. We must therefore beware of regarding as essential to the relation of concubinage, what really pertained to that of bondage.

The concubine's condition was a definite one, and quite independent of the fact of there being another woman having the rights of wife towards the same man. The difference probably lay in the absence of the right of the *libellus divoritii*, without which the wife could not be repudiated, and in some particulars of treatment and consideration of which we are ignorant; also in her condition and rights on the death of her lord, rather than in the absence of nuptial ceremonies and dowry, which were non-essential; yet it is so probable that these last did not pertain to the concubine, that the assertion of the Gemara (*Hierosol. Chetiboth*, v.) to that effect, though controverted, may be received. The doctrine that a concubine also could not be dismissed without a formal divorce is of later origin—not that such dismissals were more frequent, probably, than those of wives—and negatived by the silence of Ex. xxi., and Deut. xxi. regarding it. From this it seems to follow that a concubine could not become a wife to the same man, nor *vicio versâ*, unless in the improbable case of a wife divorced returning as a concubine. With regard to the children of wife and concubine, there was no such difference as our illegitimacy implies; the latter were a supplementary family to the former, their names occur in the patriarchal genealogies (Gen. xxii. 24; 1 Chr. i. 32), and their position and provision, save in the case of defect of those former (in which case they might probably succeed to

landed estate or other chief hostage), would depend on the father's will (Gen. xxv. 6). The state of concubinage is assumed and provided for by the law of Moses. A concubine would generally be either (1) a Hebrew girl bought of her father, i. e. a slave, which alone the Rabbins regard as a lawful connexion (Maimon. *Halach-Melakin*, iv.), at least for a private person; (2), a gentile captive taken in war; (3), a foreign slave bought, or (4) a Canaanitish woman, bond or free. The rights of (1) and (2) were protected by law (Ex. xxi. 7; Deut. xxi. 10), but (3) was unrecognised, and (4) prohibited. Free Hebrew women also might become concubines. So Gideon's concubine seems to have been of a family of rank and influence in Shechem, and such was probably the state of the Levite's concubine (Judg. xx.). The ravages of war among the male sex, or the impoverishment of families might often induce this condition. The case (1) was not a hard lot. The passage in Ex. xxi. is somewhat obscure, and seems to mean, in brief, as follows:—A man who bought a Hebrew girl as concubine for himself might not treat her as a mere Hebrew slave, to be sent "out" (i. e. in the seventh, v. 2), but might, if she displeased him, dismiss her to her father on redemption, i. e. repayment probably of a part of what he paid for her. If he had taken her for a concubine for his son, and the son then married another woman, the concubine's position and rights were secured, or, if she were refused these, she became free without redemption. Further, from the provision in the case of such a concubine given by a man to his son, that she should be dealt with "after the manner of daughters," we see that the servile merged in the connubial relation, and that her children must have been free. Yet some degree of contempt attached to the "handmaid's son" (עַבְד־בֶּן) used reproachfully to the son of a concubine merely in Judg. ix. 18; see also Ps. cxvi. 16. The provisions relating to (2) are merciful and considerate to a rare degree, but overlaid by the Rabbis with distorting comments.

In the books of Samuel and Kings the concubines mentioned belong to the king, and their condition and number cease to be a guide to the general practice. A new king stepped into the rights of his predecessor, and by Solomon's time the custom had approximated to that of a Persian harem (2 Sam. xii. 8, xvi. 21; 1 K. ii. 22). To seize on royal concubines for his use was thus an usurper's first act. Such was probably the intent of Abner's act (2 Sam. iii. 7), and similarly the request on behalf of Adonijah was construed (1 K. ii. 21-24). For fuller information Selden's treatises *de Uxore Hebraea* and *de Jure Natur. et Gent.* v. 7, 8, and especially that *de Successionibus*, cap. iii., may with some caution (since he leans somewhat easily to rabbinical tradition) be consulted; also the treatises *Sotah*, *Kidushim*, and *Chetuboth* in the Gemara Hierosol., and that entitled *Sanhadrin* in the Gemara Babyl. The essential portions of all these are collected in Ugolini, vol. xxx. *de Uxore Hebraea*. [H. H.]

**CONDUIT** (מִנְיָן); ὑδραγωγός; *aqueductus*; a trench or watercourse, from מִנְיָן, to ascend, German, p. 1022).

1. Although no notice is given either by Scripture or by Josephus of any connexion between the pools

of Solomon beyond Bethlehem and a supply of water for Jerusalem, it seems unlikely that so large a work as the pools should be constructed merely for irrigating his gardens (Eccl. ii. 6), and tradition, both oral and as represented by Talmudical writers, ascribes to Solomon the formation of the original aqueduct by which water was brought to Jerusalem (Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 458; Hasselquist, *Trav.* 146; Lightfoot, *Descr. Temp.* c. xxiii. vol. i. 612; Robinson, i. 265). Pontius Pilate applied the sacred treasure of the Corban to the work of bringing water by an aqueduct from a distance, Josephus says of 300 or 400 stadia (*B. J.* ii. 9, §4), but elsewhere 200 stadia, a distance which would fairly correspond with the length of the existing aqueduct with all its turns and windings (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §2; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 501). His application of the money in this manner gave rise to a serious disturbance. Whether his work was a new one or a reparation of Solomon's original aqueduct cannot be determined, but it seems more than probable that the ancient work would have been destroyed in some of the various sieges since Solomon's time. The aqueduct, though much injured, and not serviceable for water beyond Bethlehem, still exists: the water is conveyed from the fountains which supply the pools about two miles S. of Bethlehem. The watercourse then passes from the pools in a N.E. direction, and winding round the hill of Bethlehem on the S. side, is carried sometimes above and sometimes below the surface of the ground, partly in earthen pipes and partly in a channel about one foot square of rough stones laid in cement, till it approaches Jerusalem. There it crosses the valley of Hinnom at the S.W. side of the city on a bridge of nine arches at a point above the pool called *Birket-es-Sultan*, then returns S.E. and E. along the side of the valley and under the wall, and continuing its course along the east side is finally conducted to the Haam. It was repaired by Sultan Mohammed Ibn-Kalaün of Egypt about A.D. 1300 (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 498; Raumer, *Pal.* p. 280; Robinson, i. 265-267, 347, 476, iii. 247).

2. Among the works of Hezekiah he is said to have stopped the "upper watercourse of Gihon," and brought it down straight to the W. side of the city of David (2 Chr. xxxii. 30). The direction of this watercourse of course depends on the site of Gihon. Dr. Robinson identifies this with the large pool called *Birket-es-Mamilla* at the head of the valley of Hinnom on the S.W. side of Jerusalem, and considers the lately-discovered subterranean conduit within the city to be a branch from Hezekiah's watercourse (Rob. iii. 243-4, i. 327; Ges. pp. 616, 1395). Mr. Williams, on the other hand, places Gihon on the N. side, not far from the tombs of the kings, and supposes the watercourse to have brought water in a S. direction to the temple, whence it flowed ultimately into the Pool of Siloam, or Lower Pool. One argument which recommends this view is found in the account of the interview between the emissaries of Sennacherib and the officers of Hezekiah, which took place "by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field" (2 K. xviii. 17), whose site seems to be indicated by the "fuller's monument" mentioned by Josephus as at the N.E. side of the city, and by the once well-known site called the Camp of the Assyrians (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, §2, 7, §3, and 12, §2). [*Gihon*; *JERUSALEM*.] [H. W. P.]

**CONEY** (צִנְצִי; *δαύπους, χοιρογρύλλιος*, v. l. *λαγώς*; *Choerogryllus, herimacensis, lepusculus*); a gregarious animal of the class Pachydermata, which is found in Palestine, living in the caves and clefts of the rocks, and has been erroneously identified with the Rabbit or Coney. Its scientific name is *Hyrax Syriacus*. The צִנְצִי is mentioned four times in the O. T. In Lev. xi. 5 and in Deut. xiv. 7 it is declared to be unclean, because it chews the cud, but does not divide the hoof. In Is. civ. 18 we are told "the rocks are a refuge for the coney," and in Prov. xxx. 26 that "the coney are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks." The *Hyrax* satisfies



*Hyrax Syriacus.* (From a specimen in the British Museum.)

exactly the expressions in the two last passages; and its being reckoned among the ruminating animals is no difficulty, the hare being also erroneously placed by the sacred writers in the same class, because the action of its jaws resembles that of the ruminating animals. Its colour is grey or brown on the back, white on the belly; it is like the alpine marmot, scarcely of the size of the domestic cat, having long hair, a very short tail, and round ears. It is very common in Syria, especially on the ridges of Lebanon, and is found also in Arabia Petraea, Upper Egypt, Abyssinia and Palestine (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 28 sq.). The

Arabs call the צִנְצִי *wabr*; but among the southern Arabs we find the term ثفن, *thofun* = *sháphán* (Fresnel in *Asiatic Journ.* June, 1838, p. 514). The Amharic name is *aschkhókh*, under which name the *Hyrax* is described by Bruce, who also gives a figure of it, and mentions the fact that the Arabs also called it غنم بني اسرائيل, sheep of the children of Israel. The *Hyrax* is mentioned by Robinson (iii. 387), as occurring in the sides of the chasm of the Litany opposite to *Belit*. He says that it is seen coming out of the clefts of the rocks in winter at midday; in summer only towards evening. The derivation of צִנְצִי from the unused root, צָנַץ, to hide, chiefly in the earth, is obvious. [W. D.]

**CONGREGATION** (עֲדָתָא, קִהְלָה, from קָהַל, to call = *convocation*; *συναγωγή; ἐκκλησία*, in Deut. xvii. 16, xxii. 1; *congregatio, ecclesia, coetus*). This term describes the Hebrew people in its collective capacity under its peculiar aspect as a holy community, held together by religious rather than political bonds. Sometimes it is used in a broad sense as inclusive of foreign settlers (Ex. xii. 19); but more properly, as exclusively appropriate to the Hebrew element of the population (Num. xv. 15); in each case it expresses the idea of the Roman

*Civitas* or the *ἑθνικὴ πολιτεία*. Every circumcised Hebrew (עֲרֵב; *αὐτόχθων*; *indigena*; A. V. "home-born, born in the land," the term specially descriptive of the Israelite in opposition to the non-Israelite, Ex. xii. 19; Lev. xvi. 29; Num. ix. 14) was a member of the congregation, and took part in its proceedings, probably from the time that he bore arms. It is important, however, to observe that he acquired no political rights in his individual capacity, but only as a member of a *house*; for the basis of the Hebrew polity was the house, whence was formed in an ascending scale the *family* or collection of houses, the *tribe* or collection of families, and the *congregation* or collection of tribes. Strangers (עֲרֵב) settled in the land, if circumcised, were with certain exceptions (Deut. xxiii. 1 ff.) admitted to the privilege of citizenship, and are spoken of as members of the congregation in its more extended application (Ex. xii. 19; Num. ix. 14, xv. 15); it appears doubtful however whether they were represented in the congregation in its corporate capacity as a deliberative body, as they were not strictly speaking members of any house; their position probably resembled that of the *πρόξενοι* at Athens. The congregation occupied an important position under the Theocracy, as the *comitia* or national parliament, invested with legislative and judicial powers. In this capacity it acted through a system of patriarchal representation, each house, family, and tribe being represented by its head or father. These delegates were named עֲלֵיזָבִית, זָבִית (προβύτεροι; *seniores*; "elders"); צִנְצִי (ἀρχοντες; *principes*; "princes"); and sometimes עֲלֵיזָבִית (ἐκκληῖται; *qui vocabantur*, Num. xvi. 2; A. V. "known", "famous"). The number of these representatives being inconveniently large for ordinary business, a further selection was made by Moses of 70, who formed a species of standing committee (Num. xi. 16). Occasionally indeed the whole body of the people was assembled, the mode of summoning being by the sound of the two silver trumpets, and the place of meeting the door of the tabernacle, hence usually called the tabernacle of the congregation (מִדְבָּר, lit. *place of meeting*) (Num. x. 3); the occasions of such general assemblies were solemn religious services (Ex. xii. 47; Num. xxv. 6; Joel ii. 15), or to receive new commitments (Ex. xix. 7, 8; Lev. viii. 4). The elders were summoned by the call of one trumpet (Num. x. 4), at the command of the supreme governor or the high priest; they represented the whole congregation on various occasions of public interest (Ex. iii. 16, xii. 21, xvii. 5, xxiv. 1); they acted as a court of judicature in capital offences (Num. xv. 32, xxxv. 12), and were charged with the execution of the sentence (Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35); they joined in certain of the sacrifices (Lev. iv. 14, 15); and they exercised the usual rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace and concluding treaties (Josh. ix. 15). The people were strictly bound by the acts of their representatives, even in cases where they disapproved of them (Josh. ix. 18). After the occupation of the land of Canaan, the congregation was assembled only on matters of the highest importance. The delegates were summoned by messengers (2 Chr. xxx. 6) to such places as might be appointed, most frequently to Mizpeh (Judg. x. 17, xi. 11, xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, x. 17; 1 Macc.

iii. 46); they came attended each with his band of retainers, so that the number assembled was very considerable (Judg. xx. 2 ff.). On one occasion we hear of the congregation being assembled for judicial purposes (Judg. xi.); on other occasions for religious festivals (2 Chr. xxx. 5, xxxiv. 29); on others for the election of kings, as Saul (1 Sam. x. 17), David (2 Sam. v. 1), Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 20), Jotham (2 K. xi. 19), Josiah (2 K. xxi. 24), Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 30), and Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 1). In the later periods of Jewish history the congregation was represented by the Sanhedrim; and the term *συναγωγή*, which in the LXX. is applied exclusively to the congregation itself (for the place of meeting *מִקְדָּשׁ* is invariably rendered *ἡ συναγωγή τοῦ ναβουρίου*, *tabernaculum testinonii*, the word *מִקְדָּשׁ* being considered = *עֲדוּת*), was transferred to the places of worship established by the Jews, wherever a certain number of families were collected. [W. L. B.]

### CONIAH. [JECONIAH.]

CONONIAH (כֹּנַנְיָהוּ; *Κωνενίας*; Alex. *Χωνενίας*; *Chonenias*), a Levite, ruler (נָדָב) of the offerings and tithes in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 12, 13). [See CONANIAH.]

### CONSECRATION. [PRIEST.]

CONVOCATION (מִקְרָא, from *קָרָא*, *vocare*; comp. Num. x. 2; Is. i. 13). This term is applied invariably to meetings of a religious character, in contradistinction to *congregation*, in which political and legal matters were occasionally settled. Hence it is connected with *קָדֵשׁ*, *holy*, and is applied only to the Sabbath and the great annual festivals of the Jews (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 2 ff.; Num. xxviii. 18 ff., xxix. 1 ff.). With one exception (Is. i. 13), the word is peculiar to the Pentateuch. The LXX. treats it as an adjective = *καθῆρτός*, *ἐκκλητικός*; but there can be no doubt that the A. V. is correct in its rendering. [W. L. B.]

COOKING. As meat did not form an article of ordinary diet among the Jews, the art of cooking was not carried to any perfection. The difficulty of preserving it from putrefaction necessitated the immediate consumption of an animal, and hence few were slaughtered except for purposes of hospitality or festivity. The proceedings on such occasions appear to have been as follow:—On the arrival of a guest the animal, either a kid, lamb, or calf was killed (Gen. xviii. 7; Luke xv. 23), its throat being cut so that the blood might be poured out (Lev. vii. 26); it was then flayed and was ready either for roasting (צֶלֶה) or boiling (בִּישַׁל): in the former case the animal was preserved entire (Ex. xii. 46), and roasted either over a fire (Ex. xii. 8) of wood (Is. xiv. 16), or perhaps, as the mention of fire implies another method, in an oven, consisting simply of a hole dug in the earth, well heated, and covered up (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 240); the Paschal lamb was roasted by the first of these methods (Ex. xii. 8, 9; 2 Chr. xxxv. 13). Boiling, however, was the more usual method of cooking, both in the case of sacrifices, other than the Paschal lamb (Lev. viii. 31), and for domestic use (Ex. xvi. 23), so much so that *בִּישַׁל* = to cook generally, including even

roasting (Deut. xvi. 7). In this case the animal was cut up, the right shoulder being first taken off (hence the priest's joint, Lev. vii. 32), and the other joints in succession; the flesh was separated from the bones, and minced, and the bones themselves were broken up (Mic. iii. 3); the whole mass was then thrown into a caldron (Ex. xxiv. 4, 5) filled with water (Ex. xii. 9), or, as we may infer from Ex. xxiii. 19, occasionally with milk, as is still usual among the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 63), the prohibition "not to seethe a kid in his mother's milk" having reference apparently to some heathen practice connected with the offering of the first-fruits (Ex. l. c.; xxxiv. 26), which rendered the kid so prepared unclean food (Deut. xiv. 21). The caldron was boiled over a wood fire (Ex. xxiv. 10); the scum which rose to the surface was from time to time removed, otherwise the meat would turn out loathsome (6); salt or spices were thrown in to season it (10); and when sufficiently boiled, the meat and the broth (סֵנֶר; *σώμς*, LXX.; *jus*, Vulg.) were served up separately (Judg. vi. 19), the broth being used with unleavened bread, and butter (Gen. xviii. 8) as a sauce for dipping morsels of bread into (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 63). Sometimes the meat was so highly spiced that its flavour could hardly be distinguished; such dishes were called *מִטְעָמִים* (Gen. xxvii. 4; Prov. xxiii. 3). There is a striking similarity in the culinary operations of the Hebrews and Egyptians (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt*. ii. pp. 374 ff.). Vegetables were usually boiled, and served up as pottage (Gen. xxv. 29; 2 K. iv. 38). Fish was also cooked (ἰχθύος ὀστροῦ μέσος; *piscis assi*; Luke xiv. 42), probably broiled. The cooking was in early times performed by the mistresses of the household (Gen. xviii. 6); professional cooks (טְבָחִים) were afterwards employed (1 Sam. viii. 13, ix. 23). The utensils required were—*בִּירִיט* (*χυτρόποδες*; *chytropodes*), a cooking range, having places for two or more pots, probably of earthenware (Lev. xi. 35); *פִּיר* (*λέβης*, *lebes*), a caldron (1 Sam. ii. 14); *מִזְלֵג* (*κρεάγχα*; *fuscinda*), a large fork or flesh-hook; *סִיר* (*λέβης*; *olla*), a wide open, metal vessel, resembling a fish-kettle, adapted to be used as a wash-pot (Ps. lx. 8), or to eat from (Ex. xvi. 3); *פָּרֹר*, *דִּיר*, *קַלְחָת*, pots probably of earthenware and high, but how differing from each other does not appear; and, lastly, *צֶלֶחַת*, or *צֶלֶחֻיחַ*, dishes (2 K. ii. 20, xxi. 13; Prov. xix. 24, A. V. "bosom"). [W. L. B.]

CO'OS (Rec. Text, *ἐς ἡν δὴ*; Lachm. with ABC, K<sup>ω</sup>, Acts xxi. 1. [C<sup>os</sup>.]

COPPER (נְחָשֶׁת). This word in the A. V. is always rendered "brass," except in Ex. viii. 27. See BRASS. This metal is usually found as pyrites (sulphuret of copper and iron), malachite (carb. of copper), or in the state of oxide, and occasionally in a native state, principally in the New World. It was almost exclusively used by the ancients for common purposes; for which its elastic and ductile nature rendered it practically available. It is a question whether in the earliest times iron was known (μέλας ὁ οὐκ ἔσκα σίδηρος, Hes. *Opp. et Dies*. 149; Luc. r. v. 1285, sq.). In India, however,

its manufacture has been practised from a very ancient date by a process exceedingly simple, and possibly a similar one was employed by the ancient Egyptians (Napier, *Anc. Workers in Metal*, 137). There is no certain mention of iron in the Scriptures; and, from the allusion to it as known to Tubalcain (Gen. iv. 22), some have ventured to doubt whether in that place כְּרֹזֶה means iron (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 242).

We read in the Bible חָדָשׁ copper, possessed in countless abundance (2 Chr. iv. 18), and used for every kind of instrument; as chains (Judg. xvi. 21), *pillars* (1 K. vii. 15-21), lavers, the great one being called "the copper sea" (2 K. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. xviii. 8), and the other temple vessels. These were made in the foundry, with the assistance of Hiram, a Phœnician (1 K. vii. 13), although the Jews were not ignorant of metallurgy (Ez. xxii. 18; Deut. iv. 20, &c.), and appear to have worked their own mines (Deut. viii. 9; Is. li. 1). We read also of copper mirrors (Ez. xxxviii. 8; Job xxxvii. 18), since the metal is susceptible of brilliant polish (2 Chr. iv. 16); and even of copper arms, as helmets, spears, &c. (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6, 38; 2 Sam. xxi. 16). The expression "bow of steel," in Job xx. 24, Ps. xviii. 34, should be rendered "bow of copper," since the term for steel is כְּרֹזֶה or כְּרֹזֶה כְּרֹזֶה (northern iron). They could hardly have applied copper to these purposes without possessing some judicious system of alloys, or perhaps some forgotten secret for rendering the metal harder and more elastic than we can make it.

It has been maintained that the cutting-tools of the Egyptians, with which they worked the granite and porphyry of their monuments, were made of bronze, in which copper was a chief ingredient. The arguments on this point are found in Wilkinson, iii. 249, &c., but they are not conclusive. There seems no reason why the art of making iron and excellent steel, which has been for ages practised in India, may not have been equally known to the Egyptians. The quickness with which iron decomposes will fully account for the non-discovery of any remains of steel or iron implements. For analyses of the bronze tools and articles found in Egypt and Assyria, see Napier, 88.

The only place in the A. V. where "copper" is mentioned is Ezr. viii. 27, "two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold" (cf. 1 Esd. viii. 57; σκεύη χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος, διάφορα, ἐπιθιμητὰ ἐν χρυσίῳ; *aeris fulgentis*; "vases of Corinthian brass," Syr.; "ex orichalco," Jun.), perhaps similar to those of "bright brass" in 1 K. vii. 45; Dan. x. 6. They may have been of orichalcum, like the Persian or Indian vases found among the treasures of Darius (Aristot. *de Mirab. Auscult.*). There were two kinds of this metal, one *natural* (Serv. *ad Aen.* xii. 87), which Pliny (*H. N.* xxiv. 2, 2) says had long been extinct in his time, but which Chardin alludes to as found in Sumatra under the name Calmbac (Rosenm. *l. c.*); the other *artificial* (identified by some with *ηλεκτρον*, whence the mistaken spelling *aurichalcum*), which Bochart (*Hieroz.* vi. ch. 16, p. 871, nq.) considers to be the Hebrew כְּרֹזֶה, a word compounded (he says) of כְּרֹזֶה (copper), and Chald. כְּרֹזֶה (? gold, Ez. i. 4, 27, viii. 2); *ηλεκτρον*, LXX.; *electrum*, Vulg. (ἀλλόττυον χρυσίον, Hesych.; to which Suid. adds, *μεμιγμένον ὑδάτι*

καὶ λιθίῳ). On this substance see Pausan. v. 12; Plin. xxxiii. 4, § 23. Gesenius considers the *χαλκολίβανον* of Rev. i. 15 to be *χαλκὸς λιπαρὸς* = כְּרֹזֶה; he differs from Bochart, and argues that it means merely "smooth or polished brass."

In Ez. xxvii. 13 the importation of copper vessels to the markets of Tyre by merchants of Javan, Tubal, and Meshech is alluded to. Probably these were the Moschi, &c., who worked the copper-mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus.

In 2 Tim. iv. 14 *χαλκὸς* is rendered "copper-smith," but the term is perfectly general, and is used even for workers in iron (Od. ix. 391); *χαλκὸς, πᾶς τεχνίτης, καὶ ὁ ἀργυροκόπος καὶ ὁ χρυσόχοος* (Hesych.).

"Copper" is used for money, Ez. xvi. 36 (A. V. "filthiness"); *ἐξέχεας τὸν χαλκόν σου, LXX.*; effusum est *aes tuum*, Vulg.; and in N. T. (*χαλκοῦς, τούτο ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου ἐλεγον*, Hesych.). [K. W. F.]

**CORAL** (תִּרְזָא; *μετίωρα, ῥαμόδ, ascelasa, sericum*). The word occurs twice in A. V., viz. Job xxviii. 18, and Ez. xxvii. 16, and it is explained by the Rabbins to signify *red coral*. This meaning accords well enough with the etymology of the word (root תִּרְזָא, *to be high*), because of the resemblance of the growth of coral to that of a tree. Roediger prefers to understand *black coral*, assuming that תִּרְזָא is red coral (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1113). He also suggests a connexion with the Sanscrit *ramya* = *pleasant*, just as the Sanscrit for pearl, *ratna* = *pleasant*. Coral was in higher esteem formerly as a precious substance than now, probably because the means of obtaining it in a fine state were not so efficacious as those now practised. The coral brought by the merchants of Syria to Tyre must have come from the Indian seas, by the Euphrates and Damascus (comp. Plin. xxii. 2). [W. D.]

**CORBAN** (קֶרֶבֶן; *δῶρον; oblatio*; in N. T. *κορβᾶν* expl. by *δῶρον*, and in Vulg. *domum*: used only in Lev. and Numb., except in Ez. xx. 28, xl. 43), an offering to God of any sort, bloody or bloodless, but particularly in fulfilment of a vow. The law laid down rules for vows, 1. affirmative; 2. negative. By the former, persons, animals, and property might be devoted to God, but with certain limitations, they were redeemable by money payments. By the latter, persons interdicted themselves, or were interdicted by their parents from the use of certain things lawful in themselves, as wine, either for a limited or an unlimited period (Lev. xxvii.; Numb. xxx.; Judg. xlii. 7; Jer. xxxv.; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 4. § 4; *B. J.* ii. 15, § 1; Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 23, 24). Upon these rules the traditionists enlarged, and laid down that a man might interdict himself by vow, not only from using for himself, but from giving to another, or receiving from him some particular object whether of food or any other kind whatsoever. The thing thus interdicted was considered as Corban, and the form of interdiction was virtually to this effect:—"I forbid myself to touch or be concerned in any way with the thing forbidden, as if it were devoted by law," i. e. "let it be Corban." So far did they carry the principle that they even held as binding the incomplete exclamations of anger, and called them קֶרֶבֶן, *hurdles*. A person might thus exempt

himself from assisting or receiving assistance from some particular person or persons, as parents in distress; and in short from any inconvenient obligation under plea of corban, though by a legal fiction he was allowed to suspend the restriction in certain cases. It was with practices of this sort that our Lord found fault (*Matt. xv. 5*; *Mark vi. 11*), as annulling the spirit of the law.

Theophrastus, quoted by Josephus, notices the system, miscalling it a Phœnician custom, but in naming the word corban identifies it with Judaism. Josephus calls the treasury in which offerings for the temple or its services were deposited, *κορβανός*, as in *Matt. xxvii. 6*. Origen's account of the corban-system is that children sometimes refused assistance to parents on the ground that they had already contributed to the poor fund, from which they alleged their parents might be relieved (*Joseph. B. J. ii. 9. §4*; *Ap. i. 22*; *Mishna, Surenhus. de Votis, i. 4, ii. 2*; *Cappellus, Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. on Matt. xv. 6*; *Jahn, Arch. Bibl. v. §392, 394*). [ALMS; VOWS; OFFERINGS.] [H. W. P.]

CORBE (*Κορβή*; *Choruba*), 1 Esdr. v. 12. This name apparently answers to ZACCAI in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

CORD (*חֵבֶל*, *חֵבֶל*, *חֵבֶל*). Of the various purposes to which cord, including under that term rope, and twisted thongs, was applied, the following are especially worthy of notice. (1.) For fastening a tent, in which sense *חֵבֶל* is more particularly used (*e. g.* *Ex. xxxv. 18, xxxix. 40*; *Is. liv. 2*). As the text supplied a favourite image of the human body, the cords which held it in its place represented the principle of life (*Job iv. 21*, "Are not their tent-cords (A. V. "excellency," torn away?" *Ecc. xii. 6*). (2.) For leading or binding animals, as a halter or rein (*Ps. cxviii. 27*; *Hos. xi. 4*), whence to "loosen the cord" (*Job xxx. 11*) = to free from authority. (3.) For yoking them either to a cart (*Is. v. 18*) or a plough (*Job xxxix. 10*). (4.) For binding prisoners, more particularly *עֵבֶת* (*Judg. xv. 13*; *Ps. ii. 3, cxxix. 4*; *Ez. iii. 25*), whence the metaphorical expression "bands of love" (*Hos. xi. 4*). (5.) For bow-strings (*Ps. xi. 2*), made of catgut; such are spoken of in *Judg. xvi. 7* (*חֵבֶל יָרֵחַ*), A. V. "green withs;" but more properly *νευπάλ* *νευπάλ*, fresh or moist bow-strings). (6.) For the ropes or "tacklings" of a vessel (*Is. xxxiii. 23*). (7.) For measuring ground, the full expression being *חֵבֶל מִדָּה* (*2 Sam. viii. 2*; *Ps. lxxviii. 55*; *Am. vii. 17*; *Zech. ii. 1*); hence to "cast a cord," = to assign a property (*Mic. ii. 5*), and cord or line became an expression for an inheritance (*Josh. xvii. 14, xix. 9*; *Ps. xvi. 6*; *Ez. xlvii. 13*), and even for any defined district (*e. g.* the line, or tract, of *Argob*, *Deut. iii. 4*). [CHEBUL.] (8.) For fishing and snaring [FISHING, FOWLING, HUNTING]. (9.) For attaching articles of dress; as the *υρακάν* chains (*עֵבֶת*), which were rather twisted cords, worn by the high-priests (*Ex. xxviii. 14, 22, 24, xxxix. 13, 17*). (10.) For fastening awnings (*Ezth. i. 6*). (11.) For attaching to a plummet. The line and plummet are emblematic of a regular rule (*2 K. xxi. 13*; *Is. xxviii. 17*); hence to destroy by line and plummet (*Is. xxxiv. 11*; *Lam. ii. 8*; *Am. vii. 7*) has been

understood as = regular, systematic destruction (*an normam et libellam*, *Gesen. Thesaur. p. 125*): it may however be referred to the carpenter's level, which can only be used on a flat surface (*comp. Theuin, Comm. in 2 K. xxi. 13*). (12.) For drawing water out of a well, or raising heavy weights (*Josh. ii. 15*; *Jer. xxxviii. 8, 13*). To place a rope on the head (*1 K. xx. 31*) in place of the ordinary head-dress was a sign of abject submission. The materials of which cord was made varied according to the strength required; the strongest rope was probably made of strips of camel hide as still used by the Bedouins for drawing water (*Burekhardt's Notes, i. 46*); the Egyptians twisted these strips together into thongs for sandals and other purposes (*Wilkinson, Anc. Egypt. iii. 145*). The finer sorts were made of flax (*Is. xix. 9*). The fibre of the date-palm was also used (*Wilkinson, iii. 210*); and probably reeds and rushes of various kinds, as implied in the origin of the word *σχοινίον* (*Plin. xix. 9*), which is generally used by the LXX. *καβλ* = *חֵבֶל*, and more particularly in the word *καβλόν* (*Job xli. 2*) which primarily means a reed; in the Talmud (*Eruvin, fol. 58*) bulrushes, osier, and flax are enumerated as the materials of which rope was made; in the Mishna (*Sotah. i. §6*) the *חבל מצר* is explained as *funis vimineus seu satignus*. In the N. T. the term *σχοινία* is applied to the whip which our Saviour made (*John ii. 15*), and to the ropes of a ship (*Acts xxvii. 32*). Alford understands it in the former passage of the rushes on which the cattle were littered; but the ordinary roping cords seems more consistent with the use of the term elsewhere. [W. L. B.]

COR'E (*Κορέ*, N. T. *δ Κ.*; *Core*), *Eccles. xlv. 18*; *Jude 11*. [KORAH, 1.]

CORIANDEE (*ῥῖ*; *κόριον*; *coriandrum*).

The plant called *Coriandrum sativum* is found in Egypt, Persia, and India (*Plin. xx. 82*), and has a round tall stalk; it bears umbelliferous white or reddish flowers, from which arise globular, greyish, spicy seed-corns, marked with fine striae. It is much cultivated in the south of Europe, as its seeds are used by confectioners and druggists. The Cuthuginians called it *γολδ* = *ῥῖ* (*Dioscorid. iii. 64*).

The etymology is uncertain, though it is not impossible that the stunted appearance of the seed-vessels may have suggested a name derived from *ῥῖ*, *to cut* (*Ges.*). It is mentioned twice in the Bible (*Ex. xvi. 31*; *Num. xi. 7*). In both passages the manna is likened to coriander-seed as to form, and in the former passage as to colour also. [W. D.]

CORINTH (*Κόρινθος*). This city is alike remarkable for its distinctive geographical position, its eminence in Greek and Roman history, and its close connexion with the early spread of Christianity.

Geographically its situation was so marked, that the name of its *Isthmus* has been given to every narrow neck of land between two seas. Thus it was "the bridge of the sea" (*Pind. Nem. vi. 44*) and "the gate of the Peloponnesus," (*Xen. Ages. 2*). No invading army could enter the Morea by land except by this way, and, without forcing some of the defences which have been raised from one sea to the other at various intervals between the great Persian war and the recent struggles of the Turks with the modern Greeks, or with the Venetians. But, besides this, the site of Corinth is distinguished by

another conspicuous physical feature—viz. the *Acrocorinthus*, a vast citadel of rock, which rises abruptly to the height of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, and the summit of which is so extensive that it once contained a whole town. The view from this eminence is one of the most celebrated in the world. Besides the mountains of the Morea, it embraces those on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, with the snowy heights of Parnassus conspicuous above the rest. To the east is the Saronic gulf, with its islands, and the hills round Athens, the Acropolis itself being distinctly visible at a distance of 45 miles. Immediately below the Acrocorinthus, to the north, was the city of Corinth, on a table-land descending in terraces to the low plain, which lies between Cenchreae, the harbour on the Saronic, and Lechaëum, the harbour on the Corinthian gulf.

The situation of Corinth, and the possession of these eastern and western harbours, are the secrets of her history. The earliest passage in her progress to eminence was probably Phœnician. But at the most remote period of which we have any sure record we find the Greeks established here in a position of wealth (Hom. *Il.* ii. 570; Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 4), and military strength (Thucyd. i. 13). Some of the earliest efforts of Greek ship-building are connected with Corinth; and her colonies to the westward were among the first and most flourishing sent out from Greece. So too in the latest passages of Greek history, in the struggles with Macedonia and Rome, Corinth held a conspicuous place. After the battle of Chæroneia (B.C. 338) the Macedonian kings placed a garrison in the Acrocorinthus. After the battle of Cynoscephalæ (B.C. 197) it was occupied by a Roman garrison. Corinth, however, was constituted the head of the Achaean league. Here the Roman ambassadors were maltreated; and the consequence was the utter ruin and destruction of the city.

It is not the true Greek Corinth with which we have to do in the life of St. Paul, but the Corinth which was rebuilt and established as a Roman colony. The distinction between the two must be carefully remembered. A period of a hundred years intervened, during which the place was almost utterly desolate. The merchants of the Isthmus retired to Delos. The presidency of the Isthmian games was given to the people of Sicyon. Corinth seemed blotted from the map; till Julius Cæsar refounded the city, which thenceforth was called *Colonia Julia Corinthus*. The new city was hardly less distinguished than the old, and it acquired a fresh importance as the metropolis of the Roman province of ACHAIA. We find GALLIO, brother of the philosopher Seneca, exercising the functions of proconsul here (Achaia was a senatorial province) during St. Paul's first residence at Corinth, in the reign of Claudius.

This residence continued for a year and six months, and the circumstances, which occurred during the course of it, are related at some length (Acts xviii. 1-18). St. Paul had recently passed through Macedonia. He came to Corinth from Athens; shortly after his arrival Silas and Timotheus came from Macedonia and rejoined him; and about this time the two epistles to the Thessalonians were written (probably A.D. 52 or 53). It was at Corinth that the apostle first became acquainted with Aquila and Priscilla,—and shortly after his departure Apollos came to this city from Ephesus (Acts xviii. 27).

Corinth was a place of great mental activity, as well as of commercial and manufacturing enterprise. Its wealth was so celebrated as to be proverbial; so were the vice and profligacy of its inhabitants. The worship of Venus here was attended with shameful licentiousness. All these points are indirectly illustrated by passages in the two epistles to the Corinthians, which were written (probably A.D. 57) the first from Ephesus, the second from Macedonia, shortly before the second visit to Corinth, which is briefly stated (Acts xx. 3) to have lasted three months. During this visit (probably A.D. 58) the epistle to the Romans was written. From the three epistles last mentioned, compared with Acts xxiv. 17, we gather that St. Paul was much occupied at this time with a collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem.

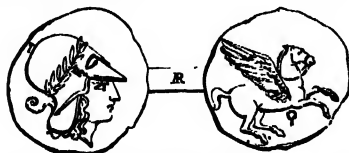
There are good reasons for believing that when St. Paul was at Ephesus (A.D. 57) he wrote to the Corinthians an epistle which has not been preserved (see below, p. 355, b); and it is almost certain that about the same time a short visit was paid to Corinth, of which no account is given in the Acts.

It has been well observed that the great number of Latin names of persons mentioned in the epistle to the Romans is in harmony with what we know of the colonial origin of a large part of the population of Corinth. From Acts xviii. we may conclude that there were many Jewish converts in the Corinthian church, though it would appear (1 Cor. xii. 2) that the Gentiles predominated. On the other hand it is evident from the whole tenor of both epistles that the Judaising element was very strong at Corinth. Party-spirit also was extremely prevalent, the names of Paul, Peter, and Apollos being used as the watchwords of restless factions. Among the eminent Christians who lived at Corinth were Stephanas (1 Cor. i. 16, xvi. 15, 17), Crispus (Acts xviii. 8; 1 Cor. i. 14), Caius (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14), and Erastus (Rom. xvi. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 20). The epistles of Clement to the Corinthians are among the most interesting of the post-apostolic writings. Corinth is still an episcopal see. The cathedral church of St. Nicolas, "a very mean place for such an ecclesiastical dignity," used in Turkish times to be in the Acrocorinthus. The city has now shrunk to a wretched village, on the old site, and bearing the old name, which, however, is often corrupted into *Gortho*.

Pausanias, in describing the antiquities of Corinth as they existed in his day, distinguishes clearly between those which belonged to the old Greek city, and those which were of Roman origin. Two relics of Roman work are still to be seen, one a heap of brick-work which may have been part of the baths erected by Hadrian, the other the remains of an amphitheatre with subterranean arrangements for gladiators. Far more interesting are the ruins of the ancient Greek temple,—the "old columns, which have looked down on the rise, the prosperity and the desolation of two [in fact, three] successive Corinthians." At the time of Wheeler's visit in 1876 twelve columns were standing: before 1795 they were reduced to five; and further injury has very recently been inflicted by an earthquake. It is believed that this temple is the oldest of which any remains are left in Greece. The fountain of Peirene, "full of sweet and clear water," as it is described by Strabo, is still to be seen in the Acrocorinthus, as well as the fountains in the lower city, of which it was supposed by him and Pausanias to be the source. The walls on the Acrocorinthus

were in part erected by the Venetians, who held Corinth for twenty-five years in the 17th century. This city and its neighbourhood have been described by many travellers, but we must especially refer to Leake's *Morea*, iii. 229-304 (London, 1830), and his *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 392 (London, 1846), Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. p. 514 (Gotha, 1851-1852); Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 42-61 (London, 1858). There are four German monographs on the subject, Wilckens, *Rerum Corinthiacarum specimen ad illustrationem utriusque Epistolae Paulinae*, Bremen, 1747; Walch, *Antiquitates Corinthiacae*, Jena, 1761; Wagner, *Rerum Corinthiacarum specimen*, Darmstadt, 1824; Bøtt, *Corinthiorum Commercii et Mercaturae Historiæ particula*, Berlin, 1844.

This article would be incomplete without some notice of the *Posidonium*, or sanctuary of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmian games, from which St. Paul borrows some of his most striking imagery in 1 Cor. and other epistles. This sanctuary was a short distance to the N.E. of Corinth, at the narrowest part of the Isthmus, near the harbour of Schoenus (now *Kalamáki*) on the Saronic gulf. The wall of the inclosure can still be traced. It is of an irregular shape, determined by the form of a natural platform at the edge of a ravine. The fortifications of the Isthmus followed this ravine and abutted at the east upon the inclosure of the sanctuary, which thus served a military as well as a religious purpose. The exact site of the temple is doubtful, and none of the objects of interest remain, which Pausanias describes as seen by him within the inclosure; but to the south are the remains of the stadium, where the foot-races were run (1 Cor. iv. 24): to the east are those of the theatre, which was probably the scene of the pugilistic contests (ib. 26): and abundant on the shore are the small green pine-trees (*τευκαί*) which gave the fading wreath (ib. 25) to the victors in the games. An inscription found here in 1876 (now removed to Verona) affords a valuable illustration of the interest taken in these games in Roman times (Boeckh, No. 1104). The French map of the Morea does not include the Isthmus; so that, till recently, Col. Leake's sketch (reproduced by Curtius) has been the only trustworthy representation of the scene of the Isthmian games. But the ground has been more minutely examined by Mr. Clark, who gives us a more exact plan. In the immediate neighbourhood of this sanctuary are the traces of the canal, which was begun and discontinued by Nero about the time of St. Paul's first visit to Corinth. [J. S. H.]



Draught of Corinth (Attic talent) Obv. Head of Minerva, to right. Rev., Pegasus, to right; below, P.

**CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO**  
THE. was written by the Apostle St. Paul toward the close of his nearly three-year stay at Ephesus (Acts xix. 10, xx. 31; see the subscription in B and in Copt. Vers.), which we learn from 1 Cor. xvi. 8, probably terminated with the Pentecost of A.D. 57 or 58. Some supposed allusions to the

passover in ch. v. 7, 8, have led recent critics (see Meyer *in loc.*), not without a show of probability, to fix upon Easter as the *exact* time of composition. The bearers were probably (according to the common subscription) Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who had been recently sent to the Apostle, and who, in the conclusion of this epistle (ch. xvi. 17), are especially commended to the honourable regard of the church of Corinth.

This varied and highly characteristic letter was addressed not to any party, but to the whole body of the large (Acts xviii. 8, 10) Judæo-Gentile (Acts xviii. 4) church of Corinth, and appears to have been called forth, 1st, by the information the Apostle had received from members of the household of Chloe (ch. i. 11), of the divisions that were existing among them, which were of so grave a nature as to have already induced the Apostle to desire Timothy to visit Corinth (ch. iv. 17) after his journey to Macedonia (Acts xiv. 22); 2dly, by the information he had received of a grievous case of incest (ch. v. 1), and of the defective state of the Corinthian converts, not only in regard of general habits (ch. vi. 1, sq.) and church discipline (ch. xi. 20, sq.), but, as it would also seem, of doctrine (ch. xv.); 3dly, by the inquiries that had been specially addressed to St. Paul by the church of Corinth on several matters relating to Christian practice.

The contents of this epistle are thus extremely varied, and in the present article almost preclude a more specific analysis than we here subjoin. The Apostle opens with his usual salutation and with an expression of thankfulness for their general state of Christian progress (ch. i. 1-9). He then at once passes on to the lamentable divisions there were among them, and incidentally justifies his own conduct and mode of preaching (ch. i. 10, iv. 18), concluding with a notice of the mission of Timothy, and of an intended authoritative visit on his own part (ch. iv. 17-21). The Apostle next deals with the case of incest that had taken place among them, and had provoked no censure (ch. v. 1-8), noticing, as he passes, some previous remarks he had made upon not keeping company with fornicators (ch. v. 9-13). He then comments on their evil practice of litigation before heathen tribunals (ch. vi. 1-8), and again reverts to the plague-spot in Corinthian life, fornication and uncleanness (ch. vi. 9-20). The last subject naturally paves the way for his answers to their inquiries about marriage (ch. vii. 1-24), and about the celibacy of virgins and widows (ch. vii. 25-40). The Apostle next makes a transition to the subject of the lawfulness of eating things sacrificed to idols, and Christian freedom generally (ch. viii.), which leads, not unnaturally, to a digression on the manner in which he waved his Apostolic privileges, and performed his Apostolic duties (ch. ix.). He then reverts to and concludes the subject of the use of things offered to idols (ch. x.-xi. 1), and passes onward to reprove his converts for their behaviour in the assemblies of the church, both in respect to women prophesying and praying with uncovered heads (ch. xi. 2-16), and also their great irregularities in the celebration of the Lord's Supper (ch. xi. 17-34). Then follow full and minute instructions on the exercise of spiritual gifts (ch. xii.-xiv.), in which is included the noble panegyric of charity (ch. xiii.), and further a defence of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, about which doubts and difficulties appear to have arisen in this unhappily divided church (ch. xv.). The

epistle closes with some directions concerning the contributions for the saints at Jerusalem (ch. xvi. 1-4), brief notices of his own intended movements (ch. xvi. 5-9), commendation to them of Timothy and others (ch. xvi. 10-18), greetings from the churches (ch. xvi. 19, 20), and an autograph salutation and benediction (ch. xvi. 21-24).

With regard to the *genuineness and authenticity* of this epistle no doubt has ever been entertained. The external evidences (Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* ch. 47, 49; Polycarp, *ad Phl.* ch. 11; Ignat. *ad Eph.* ch. 2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii. 11. 9, iv. 27. 3; Athenag. *de Resurr.* p. 61, ed. Col.; Clem. Alex. *Pedag.* i. 33; Tertull. *de Praescr.* ch. 33) are extremely distinct, and the character of the composition such, that if any critic should hereafter be bold enough to question the correctness of the ascription, he must be prepared to extend it to all the epistles that bear the name of the great Apostle. The baseless assumption of Bolten and Bertholdt that this epistle is a translation of an Aramaic original requires no refutation. See further testimonies in Lardner, *Credibility*, ii. 36, sq. 8vo, and Davidson, *Introduction*, ii. 253, sq.

Two special points deserve separate consideration :

1. *The state of parties at Corinth at the time of the Apostle's writing.* On this much has been written, and it does not seem too much to say, more ingenuity displayed than sound and sober criticism. The few facts supplied to us by the Acts of the Apostles, and the notices in the epistle, appear to be as follows:—The Corinthian church was planted by the Apostle himself (1 Cor. iii. 6), in his second missionary journey, after his departure from Athens (Acts xviii. 1, sq.). He abode in the city a year and a half (ch. xviii. 11), at first in the house of Aquila and Priscilla (ch. xviii. 3), and afterwards, apparently to mark emphatically the factious nature of the conduct of the Jews, in the house of the proselyte Justus. A short time after the Apostle had left the city the eloquent Jew of Alexandria, Apollos, after having received, when at Ephesus, more exact instruction in the Gospel from Aquila and Priscilla, went to Corinth (Acts xix. 1), where he preached, as we may perhaps infer from St. Paul's comments on his own mode of preaching, in a manner marked by unusual eloquence and persuasiveness (comp. ch. ii. 1, 4). There is, however, no reason for concluding that the *substance* of the teaching was in any respect different from that of St. Paul; for see ch. i. 18, xvi. 12. This circumstance of the visit of Apollos, owing to the sensuous and carnal spirit which marked the church of Corinth, appears to have formed the commencement of a gradual division into two parties, the followers of St. Paul, and the followers of Apollos (comp. ch. iv. 6). These divisions, however, were to be multiplied; for, as it would seem, shortly after the departure of Apollos, Judaizing teachers, supplied probably with letters of commendation (2 Cor. iii. 1) from the church of Jerusalem, appear to have come to Corinth and to have preached the Gospel in a spirit of direct antagonism to St. Paul *personally*, in every way seeking to depress his claims to be considered an Apostle (1 Cor. xi. 2), and to exalt those of the Twelve, and perhaps especially of St. Peter (ch. i. 12). To this third party, which appears to have been characterized by a spirit of excessive bitterness and faction, we may perhaps add a fourth that, under the name of "the followers of Christ" (ch. i. 12), sought at first to separate themselves from the factious adherence to

particular teachers, but eventually were driven by antagonism into positions equally sectarian and inimical to the unity of the church. At this momentous period, before parties had become consolidated, and had distinctly withdrawn from communion with one another, the Apostle writes; and in the outset of the epistle (ch. i. iv. 21) we have his noble and impassioned protest against this fourfold rending of the robe of Christ. This spirit of division appears, by the good providence of God, to have eventually yielded to His Apostle's rebuke, as it is noticeable that Clement of Rome, in his epistle to this church (ch. 47), alludes to these evils as long past, and as but slight compared to those which existed in his own time. For further information, beside that contained in the writings of Neander, Davidson, Conybeare and Howson, and others, the student may be referred to the special treatises of Schenkel, *de Eccl. Cor.* (Basel, 1838), Kniewel, *Eccl. Cor. Dissensiones* (Gedan. 1841), Becker, *Parteihungen in die Gemeinde z. Kor.* (Altona, 1841), Rübiger, *Ent. Untersuch.* (Bresl. 1847); but he cannot be too emphatically warned against that tendency to construct a definite history out of the fewest possible facts, that marks most of these discussions.

2. *The number of epistles written by St. Paul to the Corinthian church.* This will probably remain a subject of controversy to the end of time. On the one side we have the *à priori* objections that an epistle of St. Paul should have ever been lost to the church of Christ; on the other we have certain expressions which seem inexplicable on any other hypothesis. As it seems our duty here to express an opinion, we may briefly say that the well known words, *ἔγραφα βρῆν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, μὴ συναγαμίγνυσθαι πόροις* (ch. v. 9), do certainly seem to point to some former epistolary communication to the church of Corinth—not from linguistic, but from simple exegetical considerations: for it does seem impossible either to refer the definite *μὴ συναγαμίγν.* κ. τ. λ. to what has preceded in ver. 2 or ver. 6, or to conceive that the words refer to the command which the Apostle is now giving for the first time. The whole context seems in favour of a former command given to the Corinthians, but interpreted by them so literally as here to require further explanation. It is not right to suppress the fact that the Greek commentators are of the contrary opinion, nor must we overlook the objection that no notice has been taken of the lost epistle by any writers of antiquity. Against this last objection it may perhaps be urged that the letter might have been so short, and so distinctly occupied with *specific* directions to this particular church, as never to have gained circulation beyond it. Our present epistles, it should be remembered, are not addressed *exclusively* to the Christians at Corinth (see 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1). A special treatise on this subject (in opposition, however, to the view here taken), and the number of St. Paul's journeys to Corinth, has been written by Müller, *de Tribus Pauli Itin.*, &c. (Basil, 1831).

The apocryphal letter of the church of Corinth to St. Paul, and St. Paul's answer, existing in Armenian, are worthless productions that deserve no consideration, but may be alluded to only as perhaps affording some *slight* evidence of an early belief that the Apostle had written to his converts more than twice. The original Armenian, with a translation, will be found in Aucher, *Arm. Grammar*, p. 143-161.

The editions of these epistles have been somewhat numerous. Among the best are those of Billhoth (Leipz. 1833), Rückert (Leipz. 1836), Olshausen (Konigsb. 1840), De Wette (Leipz. 1845), Oslander (Stuttg. 1847), Meyer (1845), and in our own country, Peile (Lond. 1848), Alford (Lond. 1856), and Stanley (Lond. 1858). [C. J. E.]

**CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO**  
**THE** was written a few months subsequently to the first, in the same year,—and thus, if the dates assigned to the former epistle be correct, about the autumn of A.D. 57 or 58, a short time previous to the Apostle's three months' stay in Achaia (Acts xx. 3). The place whence it was written was clearly not Ephesus (see ch. i. 8), but Macedonia (ch. vii. 5, viii. 1, ix. 2), whither the Apostle went by way of Troas (ch. ii. 12), after waiting a short time in the latter place for the return of Titus (ch. ii. 13). The Vatican MS., the bulk of later MSS., and the old Syr. version, assign Philippi as the exact place whence it was written; but for this assertion we have no certain grounds to rely on: that the bearers, however, were Titus and his associates (Luke?) is apparently substantiated by ch. viii. 23, ix. 3, 5.

The epistle was occasioned by the information which the Apostle had received from Titus, and also, as it would certainly seem probable, from Timothy, of the reception of the first epistle. It has indeed recently been doubted by Neander, De Wette, and others, whether Timothy, who had been definitely sent to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17) by way of Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), really reached his destination (comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 10); and it has been urged that the mission of Timothy would hardly have been left unnoticed in 2 Cor. xii. 17, 18 (see Rückert, *Comm.* p. 409). To this, however, it has been replied, apparently convincingly, that as Timothy is an associate in writing the epistle, any notice of his own mission in the third person would have seemed inappropriate. His visit was assumed as a fact, and as one that naturally made him an associate with the Apostle in writing to the church he had so lately visited.

It is more difficult to assign the precise reason for the mission of Titus. That he brought back tidings of the reception which St. Paul's first epistle had met with seems perfectly clear (ch. vii. 6, sq.), but whether he was specially sent to ascertain this, or whether to convey fresh directions, cannot be ascertained. There is a show of plausibility in the supposition of Bleek (*Stud. u. Krit.* for 1830, p. 625), followed more recently by Neander (*Pfanz. u. Leit.* p. 437), that the Apostle had made Titus the bearer of a letter couched in terms of decided severity, now lost, to which he is to be supposed to refer in ch. ii. 3 (compared with ver. 4, 9), vii. 8, 11, sq.; but, as has been justly urged (see Meyer, *Einkl.* p. 3), there is quite enough of severity in the first epistle (consider ch. iv. 18-21, v. 2, sq., vi. 5-8, xi. 17) to call forth the Apostle's affectionate anxiety. If it be desirable to hazard a conjecture on this mission of Titus, it would seem most natural to suppose that the return of Timothy and the intelligence he conveyed might have been such as to make the Apostle feel the necessity of at once despatching to the contentious church one of his immediate followers, with instructions to support and strengthen the effect of the epistle, and to bring back the most recent tidings of the spirit that was prevailing at Corinth.

These tidings, as it would seem from our present epistle, were mainly favourable; the better part of the church were returning back to their spiritual allegiance to their founder (ch. i. 13, 14, vii. 9, 15, 16), but there was still a faction, possibly of the Judaizing members (comp. ch. xi. 22), that were sharpened into even a more keen animosity against the Apostle personally (ch. x. 1, 10), and more strenuously denied his claim to Apostleship.

The contents of this epistle are thus very varied, but may perhaps be roughly divided into three parts:—1st, the Apostle's account of the character of his spiritual labours, accompanied with notices of his affectionate feelings towards his converts (ch. i. vii.); 2ndly, directions about the collections (ch. viii., ix.); 3rdly, defence of his own Apostolical character (ch. x.—xiii. 10). A close analysis is scarcely compatible with the limits of the present article, as in no one of the Apostle's epistles are the changes more rapid and frequent. Now he thanks God for their general state (ch. i. 3, sq.); now he glances to his purposed visit (ch. i. 15, sq.); now he alludes to the special directions in the first letter (ch. ii. 3, sq.); again he returns to his own plans (ch. ii. 12, sq.), pleads his own Apostolic dignity (ch. iii. 1, sq.), dwells long upon the spirit and nature of his own labours (ch. iv. 1, sq.), his own hopes (ch. v. 1, sq.), and his own sufferings (ch. vi. 1, sq.), returning again to more specific declarations of his love towards his children in the faith (ch. vi. 11, sq.), and a yet further declaration of his views and feelings with regard to them (ch. vii.). Then again, in the matter of the alms, he stirs up their liberality by alluding to the conduct of the churches of Macedonia (ch. viii. 1, sq.), their spiritual progress (ver. 7), the example of Christ (ver. 9), and passes on to speak more fully of the present mission of Titus and his associates (ver. 18, sq.), and to reiterate his exhortations to liberality (ch. ix. 1, sq.). In the third portion he passes into language of severity and reproof; he gravely warns those who presume to hold lightly his Apostolical authority (ch. x. 1, sq.); he puts strongly forward his Apostolical dignity (ch. xi. 5, sq.); he illustrates his forbearance (ver. 8, sq.); he makes honest boast of his labours (ver. 23, sq.); he declares the revelations vouchsafed to him (ch. xii. 1, sq.); he again returns to the nature of his dealings with his converts (ver. 12, sq.), and concludes with grave and reiterated warning (ch. xiii. 1, sq.), brief greetings, and a doxology (ver. 11-14).

The genuineness and authenticity is supported by the most decided external testimony (Ireneus, *Haer.* iii. 7. 1, iv. 28. 3; Athenagoras, *de Resurr.* p. 61, ed. Col.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 94, iv. 101; Tertull. *de Pudicit.* ch. 18), and by internal evidence of such a kind that what has been said on this point in respect of the first epistle is here even still more applicable. The only doubts that modern pseudo criticism has been able to bring forward relate to the unity of the epistle, but are not such as seem to deserve serious consideration (see Meyer, *Einkl.* p. 7).

The principal historical difficulty connected with the epistle relates to the number of visits made by the Apostle to the church of Corinth. The words of this epistle (ch. xii. 14, xiii. 1, 2) seem distinctly to imply that St. Paul had visited Corinth twice before the time at which he now writes. St. Luke, however, only mentions one visit prior to that time (Acts xviii. 1, sq.); for the visit recorded in Acts xx. 2, 3, is confessedly subsequent. If with Grotius

and others we assume that in ch. xii. 14 *τρίτον* belongs to *ἐτοίμας ἔχω*, and not to *ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, we still have in ch. xii. 1 the definite words *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι*, which seem totally to preclude any other meaning than this—that the Apostle had visited them *twice* before, and was now on the eve of going a second time. The ordinary subterfuge that *ἔρχομαι* is here equivalent to *ἐτοίμας ἔχω ἐλθεῖν* (so actually A, the Arabic [Erp.], and the Coptic versions) is grammatically indefensible, and would never have been thought of if the narrative of the Acts had not seemed to require it. We must assume then that the Apostle made a visit to Corinth which St. Luke was not moved to record, and which, from its probably short duration, might easily have been omitted in a narrative that is more a general history of the church in the lives of its chief teachers, than a chronicle of annalistic detail. So Chrysostom and his followers, Oecumenius and Theophylact, and in recent times, Müller (*de Tribus Pauli Itin.* Basil, 1831), Anger (*Rot. Temp.* p. 70, sq.), Wieseler (*Chronol.* p. 239), and the majority of modern critics. It has formed a further subject of question whether, on this supposition, the visit to Corinth is to be regarded only as the return there from a somewhat lengthened excursion during the 18-month stay at that city (Anger), or whether it is to be referred to the period of the 3-year residence at Ephesus. The latter has most supporters, and seems certainly most natural; see Wieseler, *Chronol.* l. c., and Meyer, *Einfleit.* p. 6.

The commentaries on this epistle are somewhat numerous, and the same as those mentioned in the article on the former epistle. No portion of the Apostle's writings deserves more careful study, as placing before us the striking power of Christian rhetoric, which distinguished its great and inspired author. [C. J. E.]

**CORMORANT**, the representative in A. V. of two distinct Hebrew words, *קָמָח* and *שָׁלָךְ*. For the former see Is. xxv. 11, and Zeph. ii. 14, where the marginal reading is "pelican," and the Vulg. has *oncoratus*, and this no doubt is the correct rendering [PELICAN]. *שָׁלָךְ* (*καρπύκτης*, *mergulus*) is found in the catalogues of unclean birds in Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 17; and is probably correctly translated *cormorant*. The etymology of the word, from *שָׁלַךְ*, *to throw, to cast down*, suits the plunging habits of the cormorant in catching its prey; and no doubt there is reference to the same characteristic in the Greek name *καρπύκτης*. The scientific name of the cormorant is *Pelecanus bassanus*, Linn. It belongs to the family *Colymbidae* of the order *Avifores*. [W. D.]

**CORN** (יֵרֵךְ). The most common kinds were wheat, *חֵטָה*; barley, *שְׂעֹרָה*; spelt (A. V., Ex. ix. 32; and Is. xxviii. 25, "rie;" Ex. ix. 9, "fitches") *בָּשֶׂמֶת* (or in plur. form *בָּשֶׂמִּים*); and millet, *דָּתָן*: oats are mentioned only by rabbinical writers. The

\* This seems the general word for corn as it grows. An ear is *שֶׁבֶלֶת*; standing corn is *קָמָח*; the word for grain in its final state as fit for food is *בָּר*, apparently from the same word, *בָּר*, *pure*: comp. *עָר* the Arab. *بر*, *wheat*, and *بر*, *pure*, i. e. as sifted.

doubtful word *יֵרֵךְ*, rendered "principal," as an epithet of wheat, in the A. V. of Is. xxviii. 25, is probably not distinctive of any species of grain (see Gesen. *sub voc.*). Corn crops are still reckoned at twentyfold what was sown, and were anciently much more. "Seven ears on one stalk" (Gen. xii. 32) is no unusual phenomenon in Egypt at this day. The many-eared stalk is also common in the wheat of Palestine, and it is of course of the bearded kind. The "heap of wheat set about with lilies" (which probably grew in the field together with it) may allude to a custom of so decorating the sheaves (Cant. vii. 2). Wheat (see 2 Sam. iv. 6) was stored in the house for domestic purposes—the "midst of the house" meaning the part more retired than the common chamber where the guests were accommodated. It is at present often kept in a dry well, and perhaps the "ground corn" of 2 Sam. xvii. 19, was meant to imply that the well was so used. From Solomon's time (2 Chr. ii. 10, 15), i. e. as agriculture became developed under a settled government, Palestine was a corn-exporting country, and her grains were largely taken by her commercial neighbour Tyre (Ex. xxvii. 17; comp. Amos viii. 5). "Plenty of corn" was part of Jacob's blessing (Gen. xxvii. 28; comp. Ps. lxx. 13). The "store-houses" mentioned 2 Chr. xxxii. 28 as built by Hezekiah, were, perhaps, the consequence of the havoc made by the Assyrian armies (comp. 2 K. xix. 29), without such protection the country in its exhausted state would have been at the mercy of the desert marauders.

Grain crops were liable to *יֵרֵךְ*, "mildew," and *שָׁרִיף*, "blasting" (see 1 K. viii. 37), as well as of course to fire by accident or malice (Ex. xxii. 6; Judg. xv. 5); see further under AGRICULTURE. Some good general remarks will be found in Sualschutz, *Archäol. der Hebr.* [H. H.]

**CORNELIUS** (*Κορνήλιος*), a Roman centurion of the Italian cohort stationed in Caesarea (Acts x. i. &c.), a man full of good works and alms-deeds, who was admonished in a vision by an angel to send for St. Peter from Joppa, to tell him words whereby he and his house should be saved. Meantime the apostle had himself been prepared by a symbolical vision for the admission of the Gentiles into the Church of Christ. On his arriving at the house of Cornelius, and while he was explaining to them the vision which he had seen in reference to this mission, the Holy Ghost fell on the Gentiles present, and thus anticipated the reply to the question, which might still have proved a difficult one for the Apostle, whether they were to be baptised as *Gentiles* into the Christian Church. They were so baptised, and thus Cornelius became the first-fruit of the Gentile world to Christ. Tradition has been busy with his life and acts. According to Jerome (*Adv. Jovin.* l. p. 301), he built a Christian Church at Caesarea; but later tradition makes him Bishop of Scamandios (Scria?), and ascribes to him the working of a great miracle (*Menology. Græc.* l. p. 129). [H. A.]

*שָׁרִיף* (from *שָׁרַף*, *to break*) means "grist." "Parched corn," useful for provisions, as not needing cookery, is *קָלִי* and *קָלִיָּה*; comp. the Arab. *قلى*, *to fry*. "Pounded wheat," *רִיפּוֹת*, 2 Sam. xvii. 19, Prov. xxvii. 22.

**CORNER.** The **פִּנָּה**, or "corner," i. e. of the field, was not allowed (Lev. xix. 9) to be wholly reaped. It formed a right of the poor to carry off what was so left, and this was a part of the maintenance from the soil to which that class were entitled. Similarly the gleanings of fields and fruit trees (GLEANING), and the taking a sheaf accidentally left on the ground, were secured to the poor and the stranger by law (xxiii. 22; Deut. xxiv. 19-21). These seem to us, amidst the sharply defined legal rights of which alone civilisation is cognizant, loose and inadequate provisions for the relief of the poor. But custom and common law had probably ensured their observance (Job xxiv. 10) previously to the Mosaic enactment, and continued for a long but indefinite time to give practical force to the statute. Nor were the "poor," to whom appertained the right, the vague class of sufferers whom we understand by the term. On the principles of the Mosaic polity every Hebrew family had a hold on a certain fixed estate, and could by no ordinary and casual calamity be wholly beggared. Hence its indigent members had the claims of kindred on the "corners," &c., of the field which their landed brethren reaped. Similarly the "stranger" was a recognised dependent; "within thy gates" being his expressive description, as sharing, though not by any tie of blood, the domestic claim. There was thus a further security for the maintenance of the right in its definite and ascertainable character. Neither do we, in the earlier period of the Hebrew polity, closely detailed as its social features are, discover any general traces of agrarian distress and the unsafe condition of the country which results from it—such, for instance, as is proved by the banishment of the Herodian period. David, a popular leader (1 Sam. xviii. 30, xvi. 11), could only muster from four to six hundred men out of all Judah, though "every one that was in distress, in debt, and every one that was discontented" came unto him (1 Sam. xxi. 2, xxv. 13). Further, the position of the Levites, who had themselves a similar claim on the produce of the land, but no possession in its soil, would secure their influence as expounders, teachers, and in part administrators of the law, in favour of such a claim. In the later period of the prophets their constant complaints concerning the defrauding the poor (Is. x. 2; Amos v. 11, viii. 6) seem to show that such laws had lost their practical force. Still later, under the Scribes, minute legislation fixed one-sixtieth as the portion of a field which was to be left for the legal "corner;" but provided also (which seems hardly consistent) that two fields should not be so joined as to leave one corner only where two should fairly be reckoned. The proportion being thus fixed, all the grain might be reaped, and enough to satisfy the regulation subsequently separated from the whole crop. This "corner" was, like the gleanings, tithe-free. Certain fruit trees, *e. g.* nuts, pomegranates, vines and olives, were deemed liable to the law of the corner. Maimonides indeed lays down the principle (*Constitutiones de donis puperum*, cap. ii. 1) that whatever crop or growth is fit for food, is kept, and gathered all at once, and carried into store,

\* The two latter passages, speaking of "taking burdens of wheat from the poor," and of "selling the refuse (מִשְׁכָּת) of the wheat," i. e. perhaps the gleanings, seem to point to some special evasion of the harvest laws.

is liable to that law. A Gentile holding land in Palestine was not deemed liable to the obligation. As regards Jews an evasion seems to have been sanctioned as follows:—Whatever field was consecrated to the Temple and its services, was held exempt from the claim of the poor, an owner might thus consecrate it while the crop was on it, and then redeem it, when in the sheaf, to his own use. Thus the poor would lose the right to the "corner." This reminds us of the "Corban" (Mark vii. 11). For further information, see under AGRICULTURE.

The treatise *Peah*, in the Mishna, may likewise be consulted, especially chap. I. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, II. iv. 7, also the above-quoted treatise of Maimonides. [H. H.]

**CORNER-STONE** (פִּנָּה אֲבֵן; λίθος γωνιαίος, or ἀκρογωνιαίος; lapis angularis; also פִּנָּה רִאשִׁית, Ps. cxviii. 22; κεφαλὴ γωνίας; *caput anguli*), a quoins or corner-stone, of great importance in binding together the sides of a building. Some of the corner-stones in the ancient work of the temple foundations are 17 or 19 feet long, and 7½ feet thick (Robinson, i. 286). Corner-stones are usually laid sideways and endways alternately, so that the end of one appears above or below the side-face of the next. At Nineveh the corners are sometimes formed of one angular stone (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 254). The expression in Ps. cxviii. 22 is by some understood to mean the coping or ridge, "coign of vantage," of a building, but as in any put a corner-stone must of necessity be of great importance, the phrase "corner-stone" is sometimes used to denote any principal person, as the princes of Egypt (Is. xix. 13), and is thus applied both to our Lord, who, having been once rejected, was afterwards set in the place of the highest honour (Is. xxviii. 16; Matt. xxi. 42; 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7; Grotius on Ps. cxviii. and Eph. ii. 20; Harmer, *Obs.* ii. 356). [H. W. P.]

**CORNET** (*Shophar*, שׁוֹפָר; σάλπιγξ; *buccina*), a loud sounding instrument, made of the horn of a ram or of a chamois, (sometimes of an ox) and used by the ancient Hebrews for signals, for announcing the יוֹבֵל, "Jubilee" (Lev. xxv. 9), for proclaiming the new year (Mishna, *Rosh Hash-shanah*, iii. and iv.), for the purposes of war (Jer. iv. 5, 19, comp. Job xxxix. 25), as well as for the sentinels placed at the watch-towers to give notice of the approach of an enemy (Ez. xxxiii. 4, 5). שׁוֹפָר is generally rendered in the A. V. "trumpet," but "cornet" (the more correct translation) is used in 2 Chr. xv. 14; Ps. xcviii. 6; Hos. v. 8; and 1 Chr. xv. 28. It seems probable that in the two last instances the authors of the A. V. would also have preferred "trumpet," but for the difficulty of finding different English names in the same passage for two things so nearly resembling each other in meaning as שׁוֹפָר, *buccina*, and Chatzót-zerah, חַצְצֹרֶה, *tuba*. "Cornet" is also employed in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, for the Chaldean noun קֶרֶן, *Keren* (literally a horn).

Oriental scholars for the most part consider *Shophar* and *Keren* to be one and the same musical instrument; but some biblical critics regard *Shophar* and *Chatzót-zerah* as belonging to the species of *Keren*, the general term for a horn. (Joel Brill,

in preface to Mendelssohn's version of the Psalms.) Jahn distinguishes *Keren*, "the horn or crooked trumpet," from *Chatzótzerah*, the straight trumpet, an instrument a cubit in length, hollow throughout, and at the larger extremity so shaped as to resemble the mouth of a short bill" (*Archæology*, xcv. 4, 5); but the generally received opinion is, that *Keren* is the crooked horn, and *Shophar* the long and straight one.

The silver trumpets (חֲצֹצְרוֹת כֶּסֶף), which Moses was charged to furnish for the Israelites, were to be used for the following purposes: for the calling together of the assembly, for the journeying of the camps, for sounding the alarm of war, and for celebrating the sacrifices on festivals and new moons (Num. x. 1-10). The divine command through Moses was restricted to two trumpets only; and these were to be sounded by the sons of Aaron, the anointed priests of the sanctuary, and not by laymen. It should seem, however, that at a later period an impression prevailed, that "whilst the trumpets were suffered to be sounded only by the priests within the sanctuary, they might be used by others, not of the priesthood, without the sacred edifice." (Conrad Iken's *Antiquitates Hebraicæ*, par. i. sec. vii. "Sacerdotum cum instrumentis ipsorum.") In the age of Solomon the "silver trumpets" were increased in number to 120 (2 Chr. v. 12); and, independently of the objects for which they had been first introduced, they were now employed in the orchestra of the temple as an accompaniment to songs of thanksgiving and praise.

*Yobel*, יוֹבֵל, used sometimes for the "year of Jubile," שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, comp. Lev. xxv. 13, 15, with xav. 28, 30), generally denotes the institution of Jubile, but in some instances it is spoken of as a musical instrument, resembling in its object, if not in its shape, the *Keren* and the *Shophar*. Gesenius pronounces *Yobel* to be "an onomatopoeic word, signifying jubilation or a joyful sound, and hence applied to the sound of a trumpet signal, like תְּרוּעָה" ("alarm," Num. x. 5); and Dr. Munk is of opinion that "le mot YOBEL n'est qu'une épithète" (*Palestine*, 456 a, note). Still it is difficult to divest *Yobel* of the meaning of a sounding instrument in the following instances: "When the trumpet (הַיּוֹבֵל) soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount" (Ex. xix. 13); "And it shall come to pass that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn" (הַיּוֹבֵל בְּקֶרֶן יוֹבֵל Josh. vi. 5); "And let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns" (שֹׁפָרוֹת יוֹבֵלִים Josh. vi. 6).

The sounding of the cornet (תְּקִיעַת שׁוֹפָר) was the distinguishing ritual feature of the festival appointed by Moses to be held on the first day of the seventh month under the denomination of "a day of blowing trumpets" (יוֹם תְּרוּעָה) Num. xxix. 1), or "a memorial of blowing of trumpets" (זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה Lev. xxiii. 24); and that rite is still observed by the Jews in their celebration of the same festival, which they now call "the day of memorial" (יוֹם הַזִּכְרוֹן), and also "New Year" (רֵאשִׁית הַשָּׁנָה). "Some commentators," says Ro-

senmüller, "have made this festival refer to the preservation of Isaac (Gen. xxii.), whence it is sometimes called by the Jews, 'the Binding of Isaac' (עֲקֻרַת יִצְחָק). But it is more probable that the name of the festival is derived from the usual kind of trumpets (ram's horns) then in use, and that the object of the festival was the celebration of the new year and the exhortation to thanksgivings for the blessings experienced in the year just finished. The use of cornets by the priests in all the cities of the land, not in Jerusalem only (where two silver trumpets were added, whilst the Levites chanted the 81st Psalm), was a suitable means for that object." (Rosenmüller, *Das alte und neue Morgenland*, vol. ii., No. 337, on Lev. xxiii. 24).

Although the festival of the first day of the seventh month is denominated by the Mishna "New Year;" and notwithstanding that it was observed as such by the Hebrews in the age of the second temple, there is no reason whatever to believe that it had such a name or character in the times of Moses. The Pentateuch fixes the vernal equinox (the period of the institution of the Passover), as the commencement of the Jewish year; but for more than twenty centuries the Jews have dated their new year from the autumnal equinox, which takes place about the season when the festival of "the day of sounding the cornet" is held. Rabbinical tradition represents this festival as the anniversary of the creation of the world, but the statement receives no support whatever from Scripture. On the contrary, Moses expressly declares that the month אֲבִיב (the Moon of the Spring) is to be regarded by the Hebrews as the first month of the year:—"This month shall be unto you the beginning (רֵאשִׁית) of months; it shall be the first (רֵאשִׁית) month of the year to you" (Ex. xii. 2). (Munk, *Palestine*, 184 b.).

The intention of the appointment of the festival of "the Sounding of the Cornet," as well as the duties of the sacred institution, appear to be set forth in the words of the prophet, "Sound the Cornet (שׁוֹפָר) in Zion, sanctify the fast, proclaim the solemn assembly" (Joel ii. 15). Agreeably to the order in which this passage runs, the institution of "the festival of Sounding the Cornet," seems to be the prelude and preparation for the awful Day of Atonement. The Divine command for that fast is connected with that for "the day of Sounding the Cornet" by the conjunctive particle וְ.

"Likewise on the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of Atonement" (Lev. xxiii. 27). Here וְ (likewise) unites the festival of "the day of Sounding the Cornet" with the solemnity of the day of Atonement precisely as the same particle connects the "festival of Tabernacles" with the observance of the ceremonial of "the fruit of the Hadar tree, the palm branches," &c. (Lev. xxiii. 34-40). The word "solemn assembly" (עֲצֻרָה) in the verse from Joel quoted above, applies to the festival "Eighth day of Solemn Assembly" (שְׁמִינִי עֲצֻרָה) (Lev. xxiii. 36), the closing rite of the festive cycle of *Tishri* (see *Religious Discourses* of Rev. Professor Marks, vol. i. pp. 291-2).

Besides the use of the cornet on the festival of "blowing the trumpets," it is also sounded in the synagogue at the close of the service for the day of

atonement, and, amongst the Jews who adopt the ritual of the *Seph urdim*, on the seventh day of the feast of Tabernacles, known by the post-biblical denomination of "the Great Hosannah" (הושענא רבה).

The sounds emitted from the cornet in modern times are exceedingly harsh, although they produce a solemn effect. Gesenius derives the name שופר from שפר = Arab. *شفر* "to be bright, clear"

(compare שפרה, Ps. xvi. 6). [D. W. M.]

**COS** (*Kōs*, now *Stanchio* or *Stanko*). This small island has several interesting points of connexion with the Jews. It is specified, in the edict which resulted from the communications of Simon Maccabaeus with Rome, as one of the places which contained Jewish residents (1 Macc. xv. 23). Josephus, quoting Strabo, mentions that the Jews had a great amount of treasure stored there during the Mithridatic war (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, §2). From the same source we learn that Julius Caesar issued an edict in favour of the Jews of Cos (*ibid.* 10, §15). Herod the Great conferred many favours on the island (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21, §11); and an inscription in Böckh (No. 2502) associates it with Herod the tetrarch. St. Paul, on the return from his third Missionary Journey, passed the night here, after sailing from MILETUS. The next day he went on to RHODES (Acts xxi. 1). The proximity of Cos to these two important places, and to CNIDUS, and its position at the entrance to the Archipelago from the east, made it an island of considerable consequence. It was celebrated for its light woven fabrics, and for its wines,—also for a temple of Aesculapius, to which a school of physicians was attached, and which was virtually, from its votive models, a museum of anatomy and pathology. The emperor Claudius bestowed upon Cos the privilege of a free state (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 61). The chief town (of the same name) was on the N.E. near a promontory called Scandarium; and perhaps it is to the town that reference is made in the Acts (i. c.). There is a monograph on Cos by Küster (*De Co Insula*, Halle, 1833), and a very useful paper on the subject by Col. Lenke (in the *Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Literature*, vol. i., second series). An account of the island will be found in Clarke's *Travels*, vol. ii., pt. i., pp. 196-213, and vol. ii., pt. ii., pp. 321-333; but the best description is in Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Iulicarnassus, u. s. w.* (Halle, 1852) with which his *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln* should be compared, vol. ii. (1843), pp. 86-92, vol. iii. (1845), pp. 126-139. [J. S. H.]



Tetradrachm of Cos (Phoenician talent). Obv. Head of young Hercules to right. Rev. *KOSION* crab and bow in case, all within dotted square.

**CO'SAM** (*Koradu*; *Cosam*, a name that occurs nowhere else either in the O. T. or N. T., and is of doubtful etymology), son of Elmodan, and

fifth before Zorobabel, in the line of Joseph the husband of Mary, Luke iii. 28. [GENEALOGIES OF CHRIST.] [A. C. H.]

**COTTON** (כֹּפֶּס; *κάπνασος*, τὰ *καπνάσωα*,

Esth. i. 6, where the Vulg. has *carbasini coloris*, as if a colour,\* not a material (so in A. V. "green"), were intended). There is a doubt whether under שֶׁשׁ, *Shesh*, in the earlier and בָּזָז, *Bätz*, in the later books of the O. T. rendered in the A. V. by "white linen," "fine linen," &c., cotton may have been included as well. Both *Shesh* and *Bätz* are said by Gesen. (s. v.) to be from roots signifying originally mere whiteness; a sense said also to inhere in the word כֹּפֶּס (perhaps Arab. *abyad*, أبيض, "white"),

used sometimes instead of, and sometimes together with *Shesh* to mean the fabric. In Ez. xxvii. 7, 16, שֶׁשׁ, *Shesh* is mentioned as imported into Tyre from Egypt, and *Bätz* as from Syria. Each is found in turn coupled with אַרְבָּנָן (*purpura*), in the sense of "purple and fine linen," i. e. the most showy and costly apparel (comp. Prov. xxxi. 22 with Esth. viii. 15). The dress of the Egyptian priests, at any rate in their ministrations, was without doubt of linen (Herod. ii. 37), in spite of Pliny's assertion (xix. 1, 2) that they preferred cotton. Yet cotton garments for the worship of the temples is said to be mentioned in the Rosetta stone (Wilkinson, *A. E.* iii. 117). The same with the Jewish ephod and other priestly attire, in which we cannot suppose any carelessness to have prevailed. If, however, a Jew happened to have a piece of cotton cloth, he probably would not be deterred by any scruple about the *heterogenea* of Deut. xxii. 11 from wearing that and linen together. There is, however, no word for the cotton plant (like שִׁטְהָה for flax) in the Hebrew, nor any reason to suppose that there was any early knowledge of the fabric.

The Egyptian mummy swathings also, many of which are said to remain as good as when fresh from the loom, are decided, after much controversy and minute analysis, to have been of linen, and not cotton. The very difficulty of deciding, however, shows how easily even scientific observers may mistake, and, much more, how impossible it would have been for ancient popular writers to avoid confusion. Even Greek naturalists sometimes clearly include "cotton" under *λίνον*. The same appears to be true of *δδόνη*, *δδονιον*, and the whole class of words signifying white textile vegetable fabrics. The proper Oriental name for the article כֹּפֶּס (said to occur with slight variation in Sansk. and other Oriental languages<sup>b</sup>) is rendered "green" in the A. V. of Esth. i. 6, but Grecised in the LXX. by *καπνάσωα*. From the same word, with which either their Alexandrian or Parthian intercourse might familiarise them, the Latins borrowed *carbasus*, completely current in poetical use in the golden and

\* So כֹּפֶּס, "white" in A. V. *ibid.*, is probably not a colour, but a stuff, possibly silk: comp. Arab.

حريز, *hareer*, "silk." The כֹּפֶּס, "sheets," marg.

"shirts," of A. V. Judg. xiv. 13, 18, and "fine linen," Is. iii. 23, is perhaps a form of the same word as *κόδιον*, Mark xiv. 51.

<sup>b</sup> *Kurpass* or *kurpasum* is the Sansk. *Kupas* in Hindee means the cotton rose or pod with seed, which in the Bengalee is *kapasee*, and in the Bombay dialect, *kappos*.

silver period of Latinity, for sails, awnings, &c. Varro knew of tree-wool on the authority of Ctesias contemporary with Herodotus. The Greeks, through the commercial consequences of Alexander's conquests, must have known of cotton cloth, and more or less of the plant. Amasis<sup>2</sup> indeed (about B.C. 540) sent as a present from Egypt a *corset κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ καὶ ἐρίσσι ἀπὸ ἐξυλοῦ* (Herod. iii. 47), which Pliny says was still existing in his time in a temple in Rhodes, and that the minuteness of its fibre had provoked the experiments of the curious. Cotton was manufactured and worn extensively in Egypt, but extant monuments give no proof of its growth, as in the case of flax, in that country (Wilkinson, ib. p. 116-139, and plate No. 356); indeed had it been a general product we could scarcely have missed finding some trace of it on the monumental details of ancient Egyptian arts, trades, &c.; but, especially, when Pliny (A.D. 115) asserts that cotton was then grown in Egypt, a statement confirmed by Julius Pollux (a century later), we can hardly resist the inference that, at least as a curiosity and as an experiment, some plantations existed there. This is the more likely since we find the cotton-tree (*gossypium arboreum*, less usual than, and distinct from, the cotton *plant*, *goss. herbac.*) is mentioned still by Pliny as the *only remarkable* tree of the adjacent Ethiopia; and since Arabia, on its other side, appears to have known cotton<sup>4</sup> from time immemorial to grow it in abundance, and in parts to be highly favourable to that product. In India, however, we have the earliest records of the use of cotton for dress; of which, including the starching of it, some curious traces are found as early as 800 B.C., in the Institutes of Manu; also (it is said, on the authority of Prof. Wilson) in the *Rig Veda*, 105, v. 8. For these and some other curious antiquities of the subject, see Royle's *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India*, pp. 117-122.

Cotton is *now* both grown and manufactured in various parts of Syria and Palestine, and, owing probably to its being less conductive of heat, seems preferred for turbans and shirts to linen; but there is no proof that, till they came in contact with Persia, the Hebrews generally knew of it as a distinct fabric from linen, whilst the negative proof of language and the probabilities of fact offer a strong presumption that, if they obtained it at all in commerce, they confounded it with linen under the terms *Shesh* or *Bätz*. The greater cleanness and durability of linen probably established its superiority over cotton for sepulchral purposes in the N. T. period, by which time the latter must have been commonly known, and thus there is no reason for assigning cotton as the material of the *ὀθόνια* and *ἐνράδια* of which we read. For the whole subject, see Yates's *Texturinum Antiquorum*, pt. i. chap. vi. and app. D. [H. H.]

## COUCH. [BED.]

<sup>2</sup> So Burekhardt (*Trav. Nub.* App. iii. p. 515, note) mentions "a species of cuirass made of quilted cotton" as still worn by certain tribes adjacent to the Nile.

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<sup>4</sup> Arab. *Coton*, قطن, means: 1. any annual; 2. anything between two leaves; 3. the well-known "cotton" plant. This evolving of the special from the general sense seems to indicate that the name "cotton" is originally Arabic; though it may be true that the plant is indigenous in India.

COUNCIL. 1. (*συνέδριον*) the great council of the Sanhedrim, which sat at Jerusalem. [SANHEDRIM.] 2. (*συνέδρια*, Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9) the lesser courts, of which there were two at Jerusalem, and one in each town of Palestine. The constitution of these courts is a doubtful point; according to Talmudical writers the number of judges was twenty-three in places where there was a population of 120, and three where the population fell below that number (Mishn. *Sanhedr.* 1, §6). Josephus, however, gives a different account: he states that the court, as constituted by Moses (Dent. xvi. 18; comp. *Ant.* iv. 8, §14), consisted of seven judges, each of whom had two Levites as assessors; accordingly in the reform which he carried out in Galilee, he appointed seven judges for the trial of minor offences (*B. J.*, ii. 20, §5). The statement of Josephus is generally accepted as correct; but it should be noticed that these courts were not always in existence; they may have been instituted by himself on what he conceived to be the true Mosaic model; a supposition which is rendered probable by his further institution of a council of Seventy, which served as a court for capital offences, altogether independent of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem (*Vit.* §14; *B. J.*, ii. 20, §5). The existence of local courts, however constituted, is clearly implied in the passages quoted from the N. T.; and perhaps the *judgment* (Matt. v. 21) applies to them. 3. *συμβούλιον* (Acts xxv. 12), a kind of jury or privy council, consisting of a certain number of assessors (*consilarii*, Suet. *Tib.* 33, 55), who assisted Roman governors in the administration of justice and other public matters. [W. L. B.]

COURT, an open enclosure, applied in the A. V. most commonly to the enclosures of the Tabernacle and the Temple. The Hebrew word invariably used for the former is *Chatzer*, חצר, from a root, צרץ, to surround (Ges. 512). (See, amongst others, Ex. xxvii. 9, to xl. 33; Lev. vi. 16; Num. iii. 26, &c.) The same word is also most frequently used for the "courts" of the Temple, as 1 K. vi. 36, vii. 8, xxiii. 12; 1 Chr. xxiii. 5; Ps. xcii. 13, &c. In 2 Chr. iv. 9 and vi. 13, however, a different word is employed, apparently, for the same places—*Azarah*, אצרה, from a root of similar meaning to the above. This word also occurs in Ezek. xliii. 14, 17, 20, xlv. 19 (A. V. "settle"), but perhaps with a different force. *Chatzer* also designates the court of a prison (Neh. iii. 25; Jer. xxxi. 2, &c.), of a private house (2 Sam. xvii. 18), and of a palace (2 K. ix. 4; Esth. i. 5, &c.). In Amos vii. 13, where the Hebrew word is *Belh*=a "house," our translators, anxious to use a term applicable specially to a king's residence, have put "court." [HOUSE; TABERNACLE; TEMPLE.]

The word *Chatzer* is very often employed for the enclosures of the villages of Palestine, and under the form of *Hazer* or *Hazor* frequently occurs in the names of places in the A. V. [HAZER; VIL-LAGE.] [G.]

COU'THA (*Κουθά; Phusa*), 1 Esdr. v. 32 There is no name corresponding with this in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

COVENANT (כּוּנָח; διαθήκη; once, Wisd. i. 16, συνθήκη; in O. T. *fordis*, *pactum*—often interchangeably, Gen. ix. xvii.; Num. xxi. in Apoc. *testamentum*, but *sacramentum*, 2 Esd. ii. 7; *ἡμην-*

siones. Wisd. i. 16; in N. T. *testamentum* [absque *foedere*, Rom. i. 31; Gr. *συνθετός*]). The Hebrew word is derived by Gesenius from the root *כָּרַת*, *i. q.* *כָּרַת*, "he cut," and taken to mean primarily "a cutting," with reference to the custom of cutting or dividing animals in two, and passing between the parts in ratifying a covenant (Gen. xv.; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19). Hence the expression "to cut a covenant" (*כָּרַת בְּרִית*, Gen. xv. 18, or simply *כָּרַת*, with *בְּרִית* understood, 1 Sam. xi. 2) is of frequent occurrence. (Comp. *δρακία τέμνειν, τέμνειν σπονδάς, iocere, ferire, percutere foedus*.) Professor Lee suggests (*Heb. Lex. s. v.* *בְּרִית*) that the proper signification of the word is *an eating together*, or *banquet*, from the meaning "to eat," which the root *כָּרַת* sometimes bears, because among the Orientals to eat together amounts almost to a covenant of friendship. This view is supported by Gen. xxxi. 46, where Jacob and Laban eat together on the heap of stones which they have set up in ratifying the covenant between them. It affords also a satisfactory explanation of the expression "a covenant of salt" (*בְּרִית מֶלַח*, *διαθήκη ἁλός*, Num. xviii. 19, 2 Chr. xiii. 5), when the Eastern idea of eating salt together is remembered. If, however, the other derivation of *בְּרִית* be adopted, this expression may be explained by supposing salt to have been eaten or offered with accompanying sacrifices on occasion of very solemn covenants, or it may be regarded as figurative, denoting, either, from the use of salt in sacrifice (Lev. ii. 13, Mark ix. 49), the sacredness, or, from the preserving qualities of salt, the perpetuity, of the covenant.

In the N. T. the word *διαθήκη* is frequently, though by no means uniformly, translated *testament* in the English Authorised Version, whence the two divisions of the Bible have received their common English names. This translation is perhaps due to the Vulgate, which having adopted *testamentum* as the equivalent for *διαθήκη* in the Apoc., uses it always as such in the N. T. (see above). There seems, however, to be no necessity for the introduction of a new word conveying a new idea. The LXX. having rendered *בְּרִית* (which never means *will* or *testament*, but always *covenant* or *agreement*) by *διαθήκη* consistently throughout the O. T., the N. T. writers, in adopting that word, may naturally be supposed to intend to convey to their readers, most of them familiar with the Greek O. T., the same idea. Moreover, in the majority of cases the same thing which has been called a "covenant" in the O. T. is referred to in the N. T. (e. g. 2 Cor. iii. 14: Heb. vii., ix.; Rev. xi. 19); while in the same context the same word and thing in the Greek are in the English sometimes represented by "covenant," and sometimes by "testament" (Heb. vii. 22, viii. 8-13, ix. 15). In the confessedly difficult passage, Heb. ix. 16, 17, the word *διαθήκη* has been thought by many commentators absolutely to require the meaning of *will* or *testament*. On the other side, however, it may be alleged, that in relation to what has just been said as to the usual meaning of the word in N. T., the word occurs twice in the context, where its meaning must necessarily be the same as the translation of *בְּרִית*, and in the unquestionable sense of *covenant* (cf. *διαθήκη καὶνή*, Heb. ix. 15, with the same expression in

viii. 8; and *διαθήκη*, ix. 16, 17, with ver. 20, and Ex. xxiv. 8). If this sense of *διαθήκη* be retained, we may either render *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*, "over, or in the case of, dead sacrifices," or *ὁ διαθεμένος*, "the mediating sacrifice" (Scholefield's *Hints for an improved Translation of the N. T.*), or (with Elrard and others) restrict the statement of ver. 16 to the O. T. idea of a covenant between man and God, in which man, as guilty, must always be represented by a sacrifice with which he was so completely identified, that in its person he (*ὁ διαθεμένος*, the human covenanter) actually died (cf. Matt. xxvi. 28).

In its Biblical meaning of a compact or agreement between two parties, the word is used—  
1. *Improperly*, of a covenant between God and man. Man not being in any way in the position of an independent covenanting party, the phrase is evidently used by way of accommodation. Strictly speaking, such a covenant is quite unconditional, and amounts to a promise (Gal. iii. 15 ff., where *ἐπαγγελία* and *διαθήκη* are used almost as synonymous) or act of mere favour (Ps. lxxxix. 28, where *חֶסֶד* stands in parallelism with *בְּרִית*) on God's part. Thus the assurance given by God after the Flood, that a like judgment should not be repeated, and that the recurrence of the seasons, and of day and night, should not cease, is called a covenant (Gen. ix.; Jer. xxxiii. 20). Generally, however, the form of a covenant is maintained, by the benefits which God engages to bestow being made by him dependent upon the fulfilment of certain conditions which he imposes on man. Thus the covenant with Abraham was conditioned by circumcision (Acts vii. 8), the omission of which was declared tantamount to a breach of the covenant (Gen. xvii.); the covenant of the priesthood, by zeal for God, his honour and service (Num. xxi. 12, 13; Deut. xxxiii. 9; Neh. xiii. 29; Mal. ii. 4, 5); the covenant of Sinai, by the observance of the ten commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28; Lev. xxvi. 15), which are therefore called "Jehovah's covenant" (Deut. iv. 13), a name which was extended to all the books of Moses, if not to the whole body of Jewish canonical Scriptures (2 Cor. iii. 13, 14). This last-mentioned covenant, which was renewed at different periods of Jewish history (Deut. xxix.; Josh. xxiv.; 2 Chr. xv. xxiii. xxix. xxxiv.; Ezer. x.; Neh. ix. x.), is one of the two principal covenants between God and man. They are distinguished as old and new (Jer. xxxi. 31-34; Heb. viii. 8-13, x. 16), with reference to the order, not their institution but of their actual development (Gal. iii. 17); and also as being the instruments respectively of bondage and freedom (Gal. iv. 24). The latter of these covenants appears to be represented in Gal. iii. under a twofold aspect, as being a covenant between the First and Second Persons of the blessed Trinity (ver. 16 and ver. 20, as explained by Scholefield, Ellicott, &c.), and also a covenant, conditioned by faith in Christ, between God and man. (See Bp. Hopkins's *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 299-398, and *Witsius on the Covenants*, for the theology of the subject.) Consistently with this representation of God's dealings with man under the form of a covenant, such covenant is said to be confirmed in conformity to human custom by an oath (Deut. iv. 31; Ps. lxxxix. 3), to be sanctioned by curses to fall upon the unfaithful (Deut. xxix. 21), and to be accompanied by a sign (*תּוֹט*), such as the rainbow (Gen. ix.), circumcision (Gen. xvii.), or the Sabbath (Ex. xxi. 16, 17).

2. *Properly*, of a covenant between man and man, *i. e.* a solemn compact or agreement, either between

tribes or nations (1 Sam. xi. 1; Josh. ix. 6, 15), or between individuals (Gen. xxi. 44), by which each party bound himself to fulfil certain conditions, and was assured of receiving certain advantages. In making such a covenant God was solemnly invoked as witness (Gen. xxi. 50), whence the expression "a covenant of Jehovah" (בְּרִית יְהוָה, 1 Sam. xx. 8, comp. Ez. xvii. 19), and an oath was sworn (Gen. xxi. 31); and accordingly a breach of covenant was regarded as a very heinous sin (Ez. xvii. 12-20). A sign (אוֹת) or witness (עֵד) of the covenant was sometimes framed, such as a gift (Gen. xxi. 30), or a pillar, or heap of stones erected (Gen. xxxi. 52). The marriage compact is called "the covenant of God," Πῶν. ii. 17 (see Mal. ii. 14). The word covenant came to be applied to a sure ordinance, such as that of the shew-bread (Lev. xxiv. 8); and is used figuratively in such expressions as a covenant with death (Is. xxviii. 18), or with the wild beasts (Hos. ii. 18). The phrases אֲנָשֵׁי בְרִית, בְּעָלֵי בְרִית, "lords or men of one's covenant," are employed to denote confederacy (Gen. xiv. 13, Ob. 7). [T. T. P.]

**COW.** The Heb. words עֵזְרָה, בָּקָר, and שׁוֹר have been treated under BULL. The A. V. renders by "cow," both בָּקָר, in Ez. iv. 15, and שׁוֹר in Lev. xxii. 28; Num. xviii. 17, where the feminine gender is required by the sense. In Job xxi. 10 and Is. xi. 7, the A. V. has "cow" as the rendering of פָּרָה, the fem. form of פָּר, "a bullock." [W. D.]

**COZ** (קֹיץ; Κωέ; Cos), a man among the descendants of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 8).

**COZBI** (צִבְיָה; Χασβί; Jos. Χασβία; Corbi), a Midianite woman, daughter of Zur, one of the chiefs of the nation (Num. xxv. 15, 18).

**CRANE** (סוּס, סוּסִים). The word occurs only twice in A. V. in Is. xxxviii. 14, and Jer. viii. 7, where the proper rendering seems to be *swallow*. The former passage implies that the bird called סוּס had a plaintive voice, the latter that it was of migratory habits. The northern Italians call the swallow *zisilla* and use the verb *zisillare* = τριτοβίλει, ψιτοβίλει. [SWALLOW.] [W. D.]

**CRA'TES** (Κράτης; Vulg. translates *praefatus* est), governor of the Cyprians (δ ἐπὶ τῶν Κ.), who was left in charge of the "castle" (τῆς ἀκροπόλεως) of Jerusalem (?), during the absence of Nostatus, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. iv. 29).

#### CREDITOR. [LOAN.]

**CRESCENS** (Κρησενς, 2 Tim. iv. 10), an assistant of St. Paul, said to have been one of the seventy disciples. According to the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and many of the fathers, he preached the Gospel in Galatia, which perhaps is only a conjecture built on the "Crescens to Galatia" of 2 Tim. iv. 10. Later tradition (Sophronius) makes him preach in Gaul (Galatia, see Theodoret on 2 Tim. i. c.), and found the Church at Vienne. [H. A.]

**CRETE** (Κρήνη; *Creta*), the modern *Candia*. This large island, which closes in the Greek Archipelago on the S., extends through a distance of 140 miles between its extreme points of Cape SALMONE (Acts xxvii. 7) on the E., and Cape Crimmetopon beyond PHOENICK or Phoenix (ib. 12) on the W. The breadth is comparatively small, the narrowest

part (called an isthmus by Strabo, x. p. 475) being near Phoenix. Though extremely bold and mountainous, this island has very fruitful valleys, and in early times it was celebrated for its hundred cities (Virg. *Aen.* iii. 106). Crete has a conspicuous position in the mythology and earliest history of Greece, but a comparatively unimportant one in its later history. It was reduced (B.C. 67) by the Romans under Metellus, hence called Creticus, and united in one province with Cyrenaica, which was at no great distance (Strabo, x. 475) on the opposite coast of Africa [CYRENE]. It is possible that in Tit. iii. 1, there may be an implied reference to a turbulent condition of the Cretan part of the province, especially as regarded the Jewish residents.

It seems likely that a very early acquaintance took place between the Cretans and the Jews. The story in Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2), that the Jews were themselves of Cretan origin, may be accounted for by supposing a confusion between the Philistines and the Jews, and by identifying the Cherethites of 1 Sam. xxx. 14; 2 Sam. viii. 18; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5, with Cretan emigrants. In the two last of these passages they are expressly called Κρήτες by the LXX., and in Zeph. ii. 6, we have the word Κρήτη. Whatever conclusion we may arrive at on this point, there is no doubt that Jews were settled in the island in considerable numbers during the period between the death of Alexander the Great and the final destruction of Jerusalem. Gortyna seems to have been their chief residence; for it is specially mentioned (1 Macc. xv. 23) in the letters written by the Romans on behalf of the Jews, when Simon Maccabaeus renewed the treaty which his brother Judas had made with Rome. [GORTYNA.] See 1 Macc. x. 67. At a later period Josephus says (*Ant.* xvii. 12, §1, *B. J.* ii. 7, §1) that the Pseudo-Alexander, Herod's supposed son, imposed upon the Jews of Crete, when on his way to Italy. And later still, Philo (*Leg. ad Cai.* §30) makes the Jewish envoys say to Caligula that all the more noted islands of the Mediterranean, including Crete, were full of Jews. Thus the special mention of Cretans (Acts ii. 11) among those who were in Jerusalem at the great Pentecost is just what we should expect.

No notice is given in the Acts of any more direct evangelisation of Crete; and no absolute proof can be adduced that St. Paul was ever there before his voyage from Caesarea to Puteoli; though it is quite possible that he may have visited the island in the course of his residences at Corinth and Ephesus. For the speculations which have been made in reference to this point, we must refer to what is written in the articles on TITUS, and TITUS, EPISTLE TO.

The circumstances of St. Paul's recorded visit were briefly as follows. The wind being contrary when he was off CNIDUS (Acts xxvii. 7), the ship was forced to run down to Cape Salmon, and thence under the lee of Crete to FAIR HAVENS, which was near a city called LASAEA (v. 8). Thence, after some delay, an attempt was made, on the wind becoming favourable, to reach Phoenix for the purpose of wintering there (v. 12); but a sudden gale from the N.E. [WINDS] coming down from the high ground of Crete (κατ' ἀντήν), in the neighbourhood of Mount Ida, drove the ship to the little island of CLAUDIA (vv. 13-16), whence she drifted to Malta. It is impossible to say how far this short stay at Fair Havens may have afforded opportunities for preaching the Gospel at Lasaea or elsewhere.

The next point of connexion between St. Paul and this island is found in the epistle to Titus. It is evident from Tit. i. 5, that the Apostle himself was here at no long interval of time before he wrote the letter. We believe this to have been between the first and second imprisonments. In the course of the letter (Tit. i. 12) St. Paul adduces from Epimenides, a Cretan sage and poet (*θεῖος ἀνὴρ*, Plat. *Lagg.* i. 642), a quotation in which the vices of his countrymen are described in dark colours. The truth of what is said by Epimenides is abundantly confirmed by the passages collected (iv. 10) in Meursius's great work on Crete (Meursii *Opera*, Florence, 1744, vol. iii.). He has also a chapter (iv. 4) on the early Christian history of the island. Titus was much honoured here during the middle ages. The cathedral of Megilo-Castron was dedicated to him: and his name was the watchword of the Cretans, when they fought against the Venetians, who themselves seem to have placed him above St. Mark in Candia, when they became masters of the island. See Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, i. pp. 6, 175 (London, 1837). In addition to this valuable work, we must refer to Hoeck's *Kreta* (Göttingen, 1829), and to some papers translated from the Italian, and published by Mr. E. Falkener in the second volume of the *Museum of Classic Antiquities* (London, 1856). [J. S. H.]

#### CRIMSON. [COLOURS.]

CRISPUS (*Κρίσπος*; found also in the Talmudists under the forms *כריספוס* and *כריספוס*), ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth (Acts xviii. 8); baptized with his family by St. Paul (1 Cor. i. 14). According to tradition, he became afterwards Bishop of Aegina (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46). [H. A.]

**CROSS** (*σταυρός, σκόλοψ*). Except the Latin *crux* there was no word definitively and invariably applied to this instrument of punishment. The Greek word *σταυρός* is derived from *σταῦρος*, and properly, like *σκόλοψ*, means merely a stake (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 11; *Il.* xxiv. 453). Hence Eusebius defines *σταυροί* to be *ὁρθὰ καὶ ἀποξυμμένα ξύλα*, and Hesych. *οἱ καταπεπηγότες σκόλοποι, χάρακες*. The Greeks use the word to translate both *pilus* and *crux*; e. g. *σταυρὸν προσδεῖν* in Dion. Cass. (xlix. 22) is exactly equivalent to the Latin *ad pilum deligere*. In Livy even *crux* means a mere stake (*in tres sustolli cruces*, xxviii. 29), just as *vice versa* the Fathers use *σκόλοψ*, and even *stipes* (*de stipe pendens*) of a cross proper. (In consequence of this vagueness of meaning, impaling (Herod. ix. 76) is sometimes spoken of, loosely, as a kind of crucifixion, and *ἀνασκολοπιεῖν* is nearly equivalent to *ἀνασταυροῦν*; *alii per obsceca stipitem egerunt, alii brachia patibulo explicuerunt*, Sen. *Consol. ad Marc.* xx.; and *Ep.* xiv.). Other words occasionally applied to the cross are *patibulum* and *furca*, pieces of wood in the shape of Π (or Y) and Δ respectively (*Dig.* 48, tit. 13; *Plaut. Mil. Gl.* ii. 47; and in Sall. fr. ap. Non. iv. 355, *patibulo eminus affligebatur* seems clearly to imply crucifixion). After the abolition of this mode of death by Constantine, Trebonianus substituted *furcā figendos* for *crucifigendos*, wherever the word occurred. More generally the cross is called *arbor infelix* (Liv. i. 26; Sen. *Ep.* 101), or *ignum infelix* (Cic. *pro Rab.* 3); and in Greek *ξύλον* (Dent. xxi. 22). The Fathers in controversy used to quote the words *ὁ Κόσμος ἑβασιλευσεν*

(*ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου*), from Ps. xlv. 10, or Ps. xcvi., as a prophecy of the cross; but these words are *adulterina et Christianā devotione addita*; though GENEBRARDUS thought them a prophetic addition of the LXX., and Agellinus conjectures that they read *ξύ* for *ἥ* (Schleusner's *Thes.*). The Hebrews had no word for a cross more definite than *עֵץ*, "wood" (Gen. xl. 19, &c.), and so they called the transverse beams *עֵץ וְעֵץ*, "warp and woof" (Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. iv.), like *ξύλον διδύμον*, LXX. *Crux* is the root of *crucio*, and is often used proverbially for what is most painful (as *sumum jus, summa crux*, Colum. i. 7; *querere in nullo crucem*, Ter. *Phorm.* iii. 3, 11), and as a nickname for villains (*Quid ais, crux?* *Plaut. Pen.* ii. 5, 17). Harer terms are *Υκρίον* (Euseb. viii. 8), *σάβις* (?), and *Gabalus* (Varro ap. Non. ii. 373; Martinius ap. Capitol. *Maecr.* 11). This last word is derived from *בבל*, "to complete."

As the emblem of a slave's death and a murderer's punishment, the cross was naturally looked upon with the profoundest horror, and closely connected "with the ideas of pain, of guilt, and of ignominy" (Gibbon, ii. 153); *Nomen ipsum crucis absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus*, (Cic. *pro Rab.* 5). But after the celebrated vision of Constantine (Euseb. l'. *Const.* i. 27-30), he ordered his friends to make a cross of gold and gems, such as he had seen, and "the towering eagles resigned the flags unto the cross" (Pearson), and "the tree of cursing and shame" "sat upon the sceptres and was engraved and signed on the foreheads of kings" (Jer. Taylor, *Life of Christ*, iii. xv. 1). The new standards —

"In quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata refulget,  
Aut longis solidæ ex auro præfertur ab hastis,"

(Prudent. in *Symon.* ii. 464, sq.)

were called by the name *Labarum*, and may be

seen engraved in Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 312, No. 36), or represented on the coins of Constantine the Great and his nearer successors. The *Labarum* is described in Euseb. (*V. Constant.* i. 25), and, besides the pendent cross, supported the celebrated emblem of Christ (Gibbon, ii. 154; *Transversâ X litterâ, summo capite circumflexo*, Caecil.), which was also inscribed on the shields and helmets of the legions: —

"Christus purpureum gemmanti tectus in auro  
Signabat labarum; clypeorum insignia Christus  
Scripserat, ardebat summis  
crux addita cristæ."

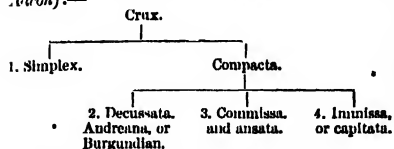
(Prudent. l. c.)

Nay, the *σμβολον σωτηριον* was even more prominently honoured; for Jerome says, *Regum purpuras et ardentis diadematum gemmas patibuli Salvatoris pictura condecorat* (*Ep. ad Loetam.*).



The Labarum.  
(From a Coin in the British Museum.)

We may tabulate thus the various descriptions of *crucis* (Lips. de *Cruce*, i.; Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*):—



1. The *crux simplex*, or mere stake "of one single piece without transom," was probably the original of the rest. Sometimes it was merely driven through the man's chest, but at other times it was driven longitudinally, *διὰ ῥάχματος καὶ νότου* (Hesych. s. v. *σκόλοψ*), coming out at the mouth (Sen. *Ep.* xiv.), a method of punishment called *ἀνασκιρδύλλεσις*, or *inflicio*. The *afflicio* consisted merely of tying the criminal to the stake (*ad patulum deligare*, Liv. xxvi. 13), from which he hung by his arms; the process is described in the little poem of Ausonius, *Cupido crucifixus*. Trees were naturally convenient for this purpose, and we read of their being applied to such use in the Martyrologies. Tertullian too tells us (*Apol.* viii. 16) that to punish the priests of Saturn, Tiberius in *cisdem arboribus, obumbratricibus scelerum, votivis crucibus explicuit* (cf. Tac. *German.* xii., *Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt*). How far the expression "accursed tree" is applicable under this head is examined under the word *CRUCIFIXION*.

2. The *crux decussata* is called St. Andrew's cross, although on no good grounds, since, according to some, he was killed with the sword; and Hippolytus says that he was crucified upright, *ad arborem olivæ*. It is in the shape of the Greek letter X (Jerome, in *Ser.* xxxi.; *X littera et in figurâ crucem, et in numero decem demonstrat*, Isidor. *Orig.* i. 3). Hence Just. Mart. (*Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 200) quotes Plato's expression, *ἐχέλασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πάντι*, with reference to the cross. The Fathers, with their usual luxuriant imagination, discover types of this kind of cross in Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons, *χέρουσιν ἐνθλαγμέναις* (cf. Tert. *de Baptismo*, viii.); in the anointing of priests "decussatively" (Sir T. Browne, *Garden of Cyrus*); for the rabbis say that kings were anointed in *formâ coronæ, sacerdotes autem* *בצורת צלב*, i. e. *ad formam X Graecorum* (Schoettgen's *Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* iv. ad f.); and in the crossing of the hands over the head of the goat on the day of expiation (Targ. *Jonath. ad Lev.* xvi. 21, &c.).

3. The *crux commissa*, or St. Anthony's cross (so called from being embroidered on that saint's cope, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred Art*, i. xxxv.), was in the shape of a T. Hence Lucian, in his amusing *Δίκη φωνηέντων*, jocosely derives *σταυρός* from *τάυ* (*ἀπὸ τούτου . . καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ ποιητῇ τὴν ποιητὴν ἐπιωνυμίαν συνεθεῖν*), and makes mankind accuse it bitterly for suggesting to tyrants the instrument of torture (*Jud. Vocal.* 12). This shape is often alluded to as "the mystical Tau" (*Garden of Cyrus*; *nostra autem T species crucis*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 22; Jer. in *Ezech.* ix., &c.). As that letter happens to stand for 300, opportunity was given for more elaborate trifling; thus the 300 cubits of the ark are considered typical (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi.; S. Paulin. *Ep.* ii.); and even Abraham's 318 servants (!); since 318 is represented by *תת*, they deduced *τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν*

*ἐν τοῖς δύοις γράμμασιν καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ τὸν σταυρὸν* (Barnab. *Ep.* ix.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi.; Ambros. *Prod. in l. i. de Fide*; Pearson (art. iv.) on the *Croci*, in whose notes these passages are quoted).

A variety of this cross (the *crux ansata*, "crosses with circles on their heads") is found "in the sculptures from Khorsabad and the ivories from Nimrod. M. Lajard (*Observations sur la Croix ansée*) refers it to the Assyrian symbol of divinity, the winged figure in a circle; but Egyptian antiquaries quite reject the theory" (Lajard's *Nineveh*, ii. 213, note). In the Egyptian sculptures, a similar object, called a *crux ansata*, is constantly borne by divinities, and is variously called "the key of the Nile" (Dr. Young in *Encycl. Britan.*), "the character of Venus," and more correctly (as by Lacroze) "the emblem of life." Indeed this was the old explanation (*ἐρμηνευθεῖσαν σημάδι τάντην γραφὴν Ζωὴ ἐπερχομένη*, Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 15; so too Kullnius (ii. 29), who says it was one of the "*ἱερατικὰ καὶ σωφροσύνης litteræ*"). "The Egyptians thereby expressed the powers and motion of the spirit of the world, and the diffusion thereof upon the celestial and elemental nature" (Sir T. Browne, *Hard. of Cyrus*). This too was the signification given to it by the Christian converts in the army of Theodosius, when they remarked it on the temple of Serapis, according to the story mentioned in Suidas. The same symbol has been also found among the Copts, and (perhaps accidentally) among the Indians and Persians.

4. The *crux inmissa* (or Latin cross) differed from the former by the projection of the *δέρυ ὕψλλον* (or *stipes*) above the *κέρας ἐγκάρσιον*, or *patibulum* (Euseb. *de V. Constant.* i. 31). That this was the kind of cross on which our Lord died is obvious (among other reasons) from the mention of the "title," as placed *above* our Lord's head, and from the almost unanimous tradition; it is repeatedly found on the coins and columns of Constantine. Hence ancient and modern imagination has been chiefly tasked to find symbols for this sort of cross, and has been eminently successful. They find it typified, for instance, in the attitude of Moses during the battle of Rephidim (*Ex.* xvii. 12), saying that he was bidden by the Spirit, *ἵνα ποιῇσθαι τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν* (Barnab. *Ep.* 12; Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 89; *habitus crucis*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 18). Firmic. Maternus (*de Error.* xxi.) says (from the Talmudists?) that Moses made a cross of his rod, *ut facilius impetraret quod nunquid postulare, crucem sibi fecit ex virgâ*. He also fantastically applies to the cross expressions in Hab. iii. 3-5; Is. i. 6, &c. Other supposed types are Jacob's ladder (*Jer. Com. in Ps.* xci.; *Dominus inimi scilicet Christus crucifixus ostenditur*, August. *Serm. de Temp.* lxxix.); the paschal lamb, pierced by transverse spits (*σχηματισόμενον δυοῖς τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ διπλάται*, Just. M. *Dial. c. Tryph.* xl.); and "the Hebrew Tenupha, or ceremony of their oblations waved by the priest into the four quarters of the world after the form of a cross" (Vitrina, *Obs. Sacr.* ii. 9; Schoettgen, l. c.). A truer type (John iii. 14) is the elevation (מַלְאָכִי, Chald.) of the fiery serpent (*Num.* xxi. 8, 9). For some strange applications of texts to this figure see Cypr. *Textim.* ii. xx. sq. In Matt. v. 18, *ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν κεφαλὰ* is also made to represent a cross (1 *ἐστὶ τὸ ὄρθον ἔλλαν καὶ κεφαλὰ τὸ πλάγιον*, Theophyl. in *loc.*, &c.). To the four *ἄκρα* of the cross they also applied the *ὑψος* καὶ

*βάθος καὶ πλάτος καὶ μήκος* of Eph. iii. 18 (as Greg. Nys. and Aug. *Ep.* 120); and another of their fancies was that there was a mystical significance in this *δέντρο τετραπλευρὸν* (Nonn. *In Joh.* xix. 18), because it pointed to the four corners of the world (*Quotidius aule plugas quadratus colligit orbis*, Sedul. iii.). In all nature the sacred sign was found to be indispensable (*κατανοήσατε πάντα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰ ἔνευ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου διακεῖται*, Just. M. *Apol.* i. 73), especially in such things as involve dignity, energy, or deliverance; as the actions of digging, ploughing, &c., the human face, the antennae of a ship in full sail, &c. *Acos quando volant ad aethera signum crucis assumunt. Homo natans, vel orans, formā crucis visitor* (Jer. in *Marc.* xi.). *Signa ipsa et cantabra et vexilla quod aliud quam inauratae cruces sunt?* (Min. Fel. *Oct.* xxix.). Similar analogies are repeated in Firm. Maten. *de Errore*, xxi.; Tert. *adv. Nat.* i. 12; *Apol.* 16; *de Coron.* Mil. iii., and, in answer to the sneers of those to whom the cross was "foolishness," were considered sufficient proof that *signo crucis aut ratio naturalis nitiunt vestra religio formatur* (Min. Fel., &c.). The types adduced from Scripture were valuable to silence the difficulties of the Jews, to whom, in consequence of Deut. xxi. 22 (*ἐκτενάρματος ὁ σταυρούμενος*), the cross was an especial "stumbling-block" (Tert. *adv. Jud.* ix.). Many such fancies (e.g. the harmlessness of cruciform flowers, the southern cross, &c.) are collected in *Communications with the Unseen World*.

Besides the four *ἄκρα* (or *opices*, Tert.) of the cross, was a fifth (*πῆγμα*), projecting out of the central stem, on which the body of the sufferer rested (*ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχονῆται οὐ σταυρούμενοι*, Just. M. *Tryph.* xci., who (*more suo*) compares it to the horn of a rhinoceros; *scutillus ercesus*, Tert. *adv. Nat.* i. 12; *ubi requiescit quai clavis affigitur*, Iren. *adv. Haeres.* i. 12). This was to prevent the weight of the body from tearing away the hands, since it was impossible that it "should rest upon nothing but four great wounds" (Jer. Taylor, *Life of Christ*, iii. xv. 2, who erroneously quotes the *δέντρο τετραπλευρὸν* of Nonnus). This projection is probably alluded to in the famous lines of Macceus (ap. Sen. *Ep.* 101):—

"Vita dum superest bene est;  
Hanc mihi vel acule  
Si sedeam cruce, sustine."

Ruhkopf (*ad loc.*) so explains it, and it is not so probable that it refers to *ἀνασκινδύλεσις* as Lipsius thinks (*de Cruce*, i. 6). Whether there was also a *ὑποπόδιον* or support to the feet (as we see in pictures), is doubtful. Gregory of Tours mentions it; but he is the earliest authority, and has no weight (G. J. Voss. *Harm. Philon.* ii. 7. 28).

An inscription, *titulus* or *elogium* (*ἐπιγραφή*, Luke xxiii.; *αἵτια*, Matt. xxvii.; ἡ *ἐπιγραφή* τῆς *αἵτιας*, Mark; *τίτλος*, John xix.; *Qui causam poenite indicavit*, Suet. *Cal.* 32; *πινὰξ*, Euseb.; *γράμματα τῆν αἵτιαν τῆς θανάσεως δηλοῦντα*, Dion Cass.

liv. 3; *πτύχλιον ἐπιγράμματι ἔχον*, Hesych. ΠΙΥ) was generally placed above the person's head, and briefly expressed his guilt, as *ὁδὸς ἐστίν Ἀττάλος ὁ Χριστιανός* (Euseb. v. 1), *Inipie locutus parvulus* (Suet. *Dom.* x.), and generally was carried before the criminal (*præcedente titulo*, Suet.). It was covered with white gypsum, and the letters were black; hence Sozomen calls it *λευκώμα*

(*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1), and Nicphorus a *λευκή σάνις* (*H. Eccl.* viii. 29). But Nicquetus (*Vit. Sanct. Crucis*, i. 6) says it was white with red letters.

A common tradition assigns the perpetual shiver of the aspen to the fact of the cross having been formed of its wood. Lipsius, however (*de Cruce*, iii. 18), thinks it was of oak, which was strong enough, and common in Judea. Few will attach any consequence to his other reason, that the relics appear to be of oak. The legend to which he alludes,

"Pec crucis est cedrus, corpus tenet alta compressus,  
Palma manus retinet, titulo lætatur oliva,"

hardly needs refutation. It must not be overlooked that crosses must have been of the meanest and readiest materials, because they were used in such marvellous numbers. Thus we are told that Alexander Jannæus crucified 800 Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 14, §2); and Varus 2000 (*id.* xvii. 10, §10); and Hadrian 500 a-day; and Titus so many that *χωρὸς τε ἐνελεῖτο τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώματιν* (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 28, where Ireland rightly notices the strange retribution, "so that they who had nothing but 'crucily' in their mouth, were therewith paid home in their own bodies." Sir T. Browne, *Vulg. Err.* v. 21). In Sicily, Augustus crucified 600 (Oros. vi. 18).

It is a question whether tying or binding to the cross was the more common method. In favour of the first are the expressions *ligare* and *delegare*; the description in Ausonius, *Cypido Crucif*; the Egyptian custom (Xen. *Ephes.* iv. 2); the mention by Pliny (xviii. 11) of *spiritum e cruce* among magical implements; and the allusion to crucifixion noted by the fathers in John xix. 24 (Theophyl. *ad loc.* and Tert. *Tunc Ictus ut altero cinquitur omni cruce astringitur*). On the other side we have the expression *προσηλῶσθαι*, and numberless authorities (Sen. *de Vit. Beata*, xix.; Artemidor. *Oneirocr.*, in several passages; Apul. *Met.* iii. 60; Plaut. *Motel.* ii. 1, 13, *et passim*). That our Lord was *nailed*, according to prophecy, is certain (John xx. 25, 27, &c.; Zechar. xii. 10; Ps. xxii. 16: *Foderunt manus meas et pedes, quare propitia atrocitas crucis*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 19, &c.; *ῥυξάν*, LXX.; although the Jews vainly endeavour to maintain that here *ῥῶξ*, "like a lion," is the true reading. Sixt. Senensis *Bibl. Sanct.* viii. 5, p. 640). It is, however, extremely probable that both methods were used at once: thus in Lucan (vi. 547, sq.) we have mention both of *nodos nocentes* and of *insectum munibus chalybeis*; and Hilary (*de Trin.* x.) mentions together *colligatum finium vincula* and *aductorum clarorum vulnera*. We may add that in the crucifixion (as it is sometimes called, Tert. *adv. Marc.* i. 1. cf. Manil. *de Androm.* v.) of Prometheus, Æschylus, besides the nails, speaks of a *μασχαλιστήρ* (*Prom.* 79). When either method was used alone, the tying was considered more painful (as we find in the Martyrologies), since it was a *diuturnus cruciatus*.

It is doubtful whether three or four nails were employed. The passage in Plaut. *Motel.* ii. 1, 13, is, as Lipsius (*de Cruce*, ii. 9) shows, indecisive. Nonnus speaks of the two feet (*δυσποκρέτες*) being fastened with one nail (*ἑξῆς γόμφῳ*), and Greg. Naz. (*de Christ. pat.*) calls the cross a *ξύλον τρισηλὸν*; hence on gold and silver crosses the nails were represented by one ruby or carbuncle at each extremity (Mrs. Jameson, l. c.). In the "invention" of the cross, Socrates (*H. E.* i. 17) only

mentions the hand-nails; and that only two were found is argued by Winer (*s. v. Kreuzigung*) from the *τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ* (instead of *τοὺς μὲν*) in Theodor. *H. E.* i. 17. Romish writers, however, generally follow Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Mart.* vi.) in maintaining four, which may also be implied by the plural in *Cypr. de Passione* (*clavis . . . pedes teretibus*), who also mentions three more, used to nail on the title. Cyprian is a very good authority, because he had often been a witness of executions. There is a monograph on the subject by Corn. Curtius (*de clavis dominicis*, Antw. 1670). What has been said sufficiently disproves the calumny against the Albigenses in the following very curious passage of Lucas Tudensis (*ii. contra Albige.*): *Albigensis primi pincerunt imaginem crucifixi uno clavo simul utrumque pedem configente, et virginem Mariam Monoculam (!); utrumque in derisionem: sed postea prior figura retenta est, et irreposita in vulgarem funam.* (Quoted by Jor. Taylor, *l. c.*) On the supposed fate of the nails, see Theodor. *H. E.* i. 17. Constantine fastened ours as a *φουλακτήριον* on his horse's bridle, and one (Zotarius says *some*) on the head of the statue which he intended to be the palladium of Constantinople, and which the people used to surround with lighted torches (Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 1, 3, and notes). The *clavis pedis dexteri* is shown at Trèves (Lips. ii. 9, note).

The story of the so-called "invention of the cross," A.D. 326, is too famous to be altogether passed over. Besides Socrates and Theodoret, it is mentioned by Rufinus, Sozomen, Paulinus, Sulp. Severus, and Chrysostom, so that Tillemont (*Mém. Ecc.* vii.) says that *nothing can be more certain*; but, even if the story were not so intrinsically absurd (for among other reasons it was a law among the Jews that the cross was to be burnt. Othonis *Laz. Rab. scr. Supplicia*), it would require far more probable evidence to outweigh the silence of Eusebius. It clearly was to the interest of the Church of Rome to maintain the belief, and invent the story of its miraculous multiplication, because the sale of the relics was extremely profitable. The story itself is too familiar to need repeating. To this day the supposed title, or rather fragments of it, are shown to the people once a year in the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome. On the capture of the true cross by Chosroes II., and its rescue by Hermelinus, with even the seals of the case unbroken, and the subsequent sale of a large fragment to Louis IX., see Gibbon, iv. 326, vi. 66. Those sufficiently interested in the annals of ridiculous imposture may see further accounts in Baronius (*Ann. Ecc.* A.D. 326, No. 42-50), Jortin, and Schmidt (*Problem. de Crucis Dominicæ Inventione*, Helmst. 1724); and on the fate of the true cross a paper read by Lord Mahon before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 1831 (cited by Dean Milman).

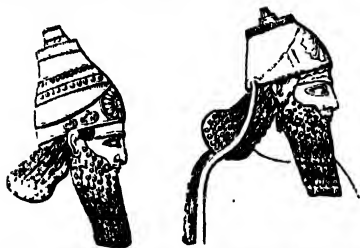
It was not till the 6th century that the emblem of the cross became the *image* of the crucifix. As a symbol the use of it was frequent in the early Church (*frontem crucis signaculo terimus*, Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* iii.). It was not till the 2nd century that any particular efficacy was attached to it (*Cypr. Testim.* ii. 21, 22; *Lact. Inst.* iv. 27, &c.; Mosheim, ii. 4, 5). On its subsequent worship (*latria*) by the Church of Rome, see Jer. Taylor's *Diss. from Popery*, i. ii. 7, 12; and on the use of the sign in our Church, Hooker's *Ecc. Pol.* v. 65. Some

suppose an allusion to the custom in Ez. ix. 4 (*Poli, Synops. ad loc.*; Gesen. s. v., 17; *signum spec. cruciforme*, Sixt. Sen. ii. p. 120).

Besides the noble monograph of Lipsius *de Cruce* (from which we have largely borrowed, and whose wealth of erudition has supplied every succeeding writer on the subject with abundant authorities), there are works by Salmasius (*de Cruce*, Epp. 3); Kippingius (*de Cruce et Cruciaris*, Brein. 1671); Rosius (*de Cruce triumphante et gloriosa*, Antwerp, 1617); Gretser (*de Cruce Christi*); and Bartholinus (*Hypomnemata de Cruce*); very much may also be gleaned from the learned notes of Bishop Pearson (*On the Creed*, art. iv.). Other authorities are cited or alluded to in the article itself. [CRUCIFIXION.] [F. W. F.]

**CROWN** (קִרְבַּן). This ornament, which is both ancient and universal, probably originated from the fillets used to prevent the hair from being dishevelled by the wind. Such fillets are still common, and they may be seen on the sculptures of Persepolis, Nineveh, and Egypt; they gradually developed into turbans (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7, §7), which by the addition of ornamental or precious materials assumed the dignity of mitres or crowns. The use of them as ornaments probably was suggested by the natural custom of encircling the head with flowers in token of joy and triumph. ("Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds," Wisd. 1. 8; 3 Macc. vii. 16; Jnd. xv. 13, and the classical writers, *passim*; Winer *s. v. Krönze*). The first crown was said to have been woven for Pandora by the Graces (comp. *στέφανος Χαρίτων*, Prov. iv. 9 = *στέφανος τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων*, Lex. Cyr.). According to Phercydes, Saturn was the first to wear a crown; Diodorus says that Jupiter was first crowned by the gods after the conquest of the Titans. Pliny, Harpocration, &c., ascribe its earliest use to Bacchus, who gave to Ariadne a crown of gold and Indian gems, and assumed the laurel after his conquest of India. Leo Aegyptius attributes the invention to Isis, whose wrath was cereal. These and other legends are collected by Tortullian from the elaborate treatise on crowns by Claud. Saturninus (*præcristianismus is hæc materid commentator*). Another tradition says that Nimrod was the first to wear a crown, the shape of which was suggested to him by a cloud (Eutychius Alexandr. *Ann.* i. p. 63). Tertullian in his tract *De Cor. Militis* (c. vii. sq.) argues against them as unmanly and idolatrous. He is, however, singularly unsuccessful in trying to disprove the countenance given to them in Scripture, where they are constantly mentioned. He says *Quis . . . episcopus invenitur coronatus?* (chap. 9). But both the ordinary priests and the high-priest wore them. The common mitre (מִטְרָה, *kitharis*, Ex. xxviii. 37, xxix. 6, &c. *טַבִּיטָא*, Jos. *στέφανος* δ *οἱ ἱερεῖς φοροῦσι*, Hesych.) was a *πίλος ἄκανθος*, forming a sort of linen *tauca* or crown (*στέφανη*), Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7. The *מִטְרָה* (Βυσσίνη τιάρα) of the high-priest (used also of a regal crown, Ex. xxi. 26) was much more splendid (Ex. xxviii. 36; Lev. viii. 9; "an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desire of the eyes," Ecclus. xlv. 12; "the holy crown," Lev. viii. 9, so called from the Tetragrammaton inscribed on it, *Sopranes de re Vest. Jud.*, p. 441). It had a second fillet of blue lace (*ἐξ ὀκλίθου τετα-*

κιλμένος, the colour being chosen as a type of heaven), and over it a golden diadem (קֶטֶן, Ex. xxix. 6), "on which blossomed a golden calyx like the flower of the *וֹסְקָמוֹס*" (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 6). The gold band (קֶטֶן, LXX. *πέταλον*, Orig. *ἱαστήριον*, *Das Stirnblatt*, Luther) was tied behind with blue lace (embroidered with flowers), and being two fingers broad, bore the inscription (not in bas-relief as Abarbanel says) "Holiness to the Lord." (Comp. Rev. xvii. 5; Braunsius *de Vest. Sacerd.* ii. 22; Maimon. *de Apparatu Templi*, ix. 1; Rehm. *Antiq.* ii. 10; Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* p. 85; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* v. 5, §7; Philo, *de Vit. Mosii*, iii. 519.) Some suppose that Josephus is describing a later crown given by Alexander the Great to Jaddua. (Jennings' *Jew. Ant.* p. 158.) The use of the crown by priests and in religious services was universal, and perhaps the badge belonged at first "rather to the *pontificalis* than the *regalia*." Thus Q. Fabius Pictor says that the first crown was used by Janus *when sacrificing*. "A striped head-dress and queue," or "a short wig, on which a band was fastened, ornamented with an asp, the symbol of royalty," was used by the kings of Egypt in religious ceremonies (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 354, fig. 13). The crown worn by the kings of Assyria was "a high mitre . . . frequently adorned with flowers, &c., and arranged in bands of linen or silk. Originally there was only one band, but afterwards there were two, and the ornaments were richer" (Layard, ii. 320, and the illustrations in Jahn, *Arch.* Germ. ed. Part i. vol. ii. tab. ix. 4 and 8).



Crowns worn by Assyrian kings. (From Nimroud and Kouyunjik.)

There are several words in Scripture for a crown besides those mentioned; as *קֶטֶן*, the head-dress of bridegrooms, Is. lxi. 10, *מִטְרָא*, LXX.; Bar. v. 2; Ez. xxiv. 17 (*τρίχωμα*), and of women, Is. iii. 20 (*ἐμπλοκίον?*); *תִּיָּוִי*, a head-dress of great splendour (Is. xxviii. 5); *קֶטֶן*, a wreath of flowers; (*στεφάνος*) Prov. i. 9, iv. 9: such wreaths were used on festal occasions (Is. xxviii. 1). *הִתְקַנֵּף*, a common tiara or turban, Job xxix. 14; Is. iii. 23 (but LXX. *διπλοῖς, θρίστρον*). The words *קֶטֶן*, *כֶּתֶר*, and *כִּרְמָלִים*, are spoken of under *DIADEM*. The general word is *מִטְרָא*, and we must attach to it the notion of a costly *turban* irradiated with pearls and gems of priceless value, which often form *agrettes* for fathers, as in the crowns of modern Asiatic sovereigns. Such was probably the crown, which with its precious stones weighed (or rather "was worth") a talent, taken by David from the king of Ammon at Rabbah, and

used as the state crown of Judah (2 Sam. xii. 30). Some groundlessly suppose that being too heavy to wear, it was *suspended* over his head. The royal crown was sometimes buried with the king (Schickard. *Jus Reg.* vi. 19, p. 421). Idolatrous nations also "made crowns for the head of their gods" (Ep. Jer. 9).

The Jews boast that three crowns were given to them, *כֶּתֶר תּוֹרָה*, the crown of the Law, *כֶּתֶר מַלְכוּת*, the crown of priesthood, and *כֶּתֶר שֵׁם טוֹב*, the royal crown, better than all which is the crown of a good name (Carpzov. *Apparat. Critic.* p. 60; Othonis *Lex. Talm.* s. v. *Corona*).

*Στέφανος* is used in the N. T. for every kind of crown; but *στέμμα* only once (Acts xiv. 13) for the garlands used with victims. In the Byzantine Court the latter word was confined to the *imperial* crown (Du Fresnoy, *Gloss. Græc.* p. 1442). The use of funeral crowns is not mentioned in the Bible.

In Rev. xii. 3, xix. 12, allusion is made to "*many* crowns" worn in token of extended dominion. Thus the kings of Egypt used to be crowned with the "*pschent*" or *united* crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (Wilk., *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 351 sq.; comp. Layard, ii. 320); and Ptolemy Philometor wore *two* diadems, one for Europe and one for Asia. Similarly the three crowns of the Papal tiara mark various accessions of power: the first corona was added to the mitra by Alexander III., in 1159; the second by Boniface VIII., in 1303; and the third by Urban V., in 1362.

The laurel, pine, or parsley crowns given to victors in the great games of Greece are finely alluded to by St. Paul (1 Cor. ix. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 5, &c.). They are said to have originated in the laurel-wreath assumed by Apollo on conquering the Python (Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 7, 15). "Crown" is often used figuratively in the Bible (Prov. xii. 4, xvii. 6; Is. xxviii. 5; Phil. iv. 1, &c.). The term is also applied to the rims of altars, tables, &c. (Ex. xxv. 25, &c.; Deut. xxii. 8, *ποτήσεις στεφάνην τῷ δώματι σου*. *Projectura coronarum*, Vitr. ii. 8; *Angusti muri corona*, Q. Curt. ix. 4, 30). The ancients as well as the moderns had a *coïn* called "a crown" (*τὸν στεφάνον οὐν ὀφείλετε*, 1 Macc. xiii. 39, x. 29, A. V. "Crown-tax," v. Suid. s. v. *στεφανικὸν τέλεσμα*). [*DIADEM.*]

The chief writers on crowns are Gaschalius (*de Coronis libri x.*) and Meursius (*de Coronâ, Hespine.* 1671). For others, see Fabricius, *Bibl. Ant.* xiv. 13. [F. W. F.]

**CROWN OF THORNS** (*στεφάνος ἐξ ἀκανθῶν*, Matt. xxvii. 29). Our Lord was crowned with thorns in mockery by the Roman soldiers. The object seems to have been insult, and not the infliction of pain as has generally been supposed. The *Ithamnus* or *Spina Christi*, although abundant in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, cannot be the plant intended, because its thorns are so strong and large that it could not have been woven (*πλέσσεται*) into a wreath. The large-leaved acanthus (bear's-foot) is totally unsuited for the purpose. Had the acacia been intended, as some suppose, the phrase would have been *ἐξ ἀκανθήων*. Obviously some small flexible thorny shrub is meant; perhaps *cappures spinosæ* (Reland's *Palestin.* ii. 523). Hasselquist (*Travels*, p. 260) says that the thorn used was the Arabian *Nabk*. "It was very suitable for their purpose, as it has many sharp thorns

which inflict painful wounds; and its flexible, pliant, and round branches might easily be plaited in the form of a crown." It also resembles the rich dark green of the triumphal ivy-wreath, which would give additional pungency to its ironical purpose (Rosenmüller, *Botany of Script.* p. 202, Eng. ed.). On the Empress Helena's supposed discovery of the crown of thorns, and its subsequent fate, see Gibbon, ii. 306, vi. 66, ed. Milman. [F. W. F.]

**CRUCIFIXION** (*σταυρῶν, ἀνασταυρῶν, ἐκκολοπιεῖν, προσηλῶν* (and, less properly, *ἀνασκηδουλεύειν*); *cruci* or *patibulo* *officere, suffigere*, or simply *figere* (Tert. de Pat. iii.), *cruciare* (Auson.) *ad patium alligare, crucem alicui statuere, in crucem agere, tollere*, &c.: the sufferer was called *crucifixus*). The variety of the phrases shews the extreme commonness of the punishment, the invention of which is traditionally ascribed to Semiramis. It was in use among the Egyptians (as in the case of Inarus, Thuc. i. 30; Gen. xl. 19), the Carthaginians (as in the case of Hanno, &c., Val. Max. ii. 7; Sil. Ital. ii. 344). The Persians (Polycrates, &c. Herod. iii. 125, iv. 43; Esth. vii. 10, *σταυρωθήτω ἐπ' αὐτόν*, LXX. v. 14), the Assyrians (Diod. Sic. ii. 1), Scythians (id. ii. 44), Indians (id. ii. 18), (Wiener, s. v. *Kreuzigung*), Germans (possibly Tac. Germ. 12), and very frequent from the earliest times (*crucis suspensio*, Liv. i. 26) among the Greeks and Romans. Cicero, however, refers it, not (as Livy) to the early kings, but to Tarquinius Superbus (*pro Rub.* 4); Aurel. Victor calls it *Vetus veterrimumque (an teterr.) patibulorum supplicium*. Both *κρεμῶν* and *suspendere* (Ov. *Ibis*, 299) refer to death by crucifixion; thus in speaking of Alexander's crucifixion of 2000 Tyrians, *ἀνεκράμασεν* in Diod. Sic. answers to the *Crucibus affixus*, Q. Curt. iv. 4.

Whether this mode of execution was known to the ancient Jews is a matter of dispute, on which Wiener quotes a monograph by Bornitius. It is asserted to have been so by Baronius (*Annal.* i. xxiv.), Sigonius (*de Rep. Hebr.* vi. 8), &c., who are refuted by Casaubon (c. *Baron. Exerc.* xvi.; Carpzov. *Apparat. Crit.* p. 591). The Hebrew words said to allude to it are *תליה* (sometimes with the addition of *עץ העץ*; hence the Jews in polemics call our Lord *תלי*, and Christians *עובדי תלי*, "worshippers of the crucified") and *קצץ*, both of which in A. V. are generally rendered "to hang" (2 Sam. xviii. 10; Deut. xxi. 22; Num. xxv. 4; Job xxvi. 7); for which *σταυρῶν* occurs in the LXX. (Esth. vii. 10), and *crucifixionem* in the Vulg. (2 Sam. xxi. 6, 9). The Jewish account of the matter (in Maimonides and the Rabbis) is, that the exposure of the body tied to a stake by its hands (which might loosely be called crucifixion), took place after death (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. in Matth.* xxvii. 31; Othonis *Lex. Rab. s. v. Supplicia*; Reland, *Ant.* ii. 6; Sir T. Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, v. 21). Even the placing of a head on a single upright pole has been called crucifixion. This custom of crucifixion after death (which seems to be implied in Deut. xxi. 22, 23), was by no means rare; men were first killed in mercy (Suet. *Cæsar*; Herod. iii. 125; Plut. *Cleom.* 38). According to a strange story in Pliny (xxxvi. 15, §24), it was adopted by Tarquin, as a post mortem disgrace, to prevent the prevalence of suicide. It seems on the whole that the Rabbis are correct in asserting that this exposure is in-

tended in Scripture, since the Mosaic capital punishments were four (viz. the sword, Ex. xxi., strangling, fire, Lev. xx., and stoning, Deut. xxi.). Philo indeed says (*De leg. spec.*) that Moses adopted crucifixion as a murderer's punishment, because it was the worst he could discover; but the passage in Deut. (xli. 23) does not prove his assertion. Probably therefore the Jews borrowed it from the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6, §2; *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, §6; *Vit.* 75, &c.), although there may have been a few isolated instances of it before (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14, §2).

It was unanimously considered the most horrible form of death, worse even than burning, since the "cross" preceded "burning" in the law-books (Lips. de *Cruc.* ii. 1). Hence it is called *crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium* (Cic. *Verr.* v. 68), *extrema poena* (Apucl. de *Aur. Asin.* x.), *summum supplicium* (Paul. *Sent.* v. tit. xxi., &c.); and to a Jew it would acquire factitious horror from the curse in Deut. xxi. 23. Among the Romans also the degradation was a part of the infliction, since it was especially a *servile supplicium* (Tac. *H.* iv. 11; Juv. vi. 218; *Hor. Sat.* i. 3, 8, &c.; *Plaut. passim*), so that even a freedman ceased to dread it (Cic. *pro Rab.* 5); or if applied to freemen, only in the case of the vilest criminals, thieves, &c. (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, §10; *Bell. Jud.* v. 11, §1; Paul. *Sent.* v. tit. xxiii.; Lamprid. *Alex. Lex.* 23). Indeed exemption from it was the privilege of every Roman citizen by the *jus civitatis* (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1, 3). Our Lord was condemned to it by the popular cry of the Jews (Matt. xxvii. 23, as often happened to the early Christians) on the charge of sedition against Caesar (Luke xxiii. 2), although the Sanhedrin had previously condemned him on the totally distinct charge of blasphemy. Hundreds of Jews were crucified on this charge, as by Florus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14, §9) and Varus, who crucified 2000 at once (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §10).

We now purpose briefly to sketch the steps of the punishment, omitting only such parts of it as have been already detailed under *CROSS*.

The scarlet robe, crown of thorns, and other insults to which our Lord was subjected were illegal, and arose from the spontaneous petulance of the brutal soldiery. But the punishment properly commenced with scourging, after the criminal had been stripped; hence in the common form of sentence we find "summove, licitor, despolia, verbera," &c. (Liv. i. 26). For this there are a host of authorities, Liv. xxvi. 13; Q. Curt. vii. 11; Luc. de *Piscat.* 2; Jer. *Comment. ad Matt.* xxvii. 26, &c. It was inflicted not with the comparatively mild *virgae*, but the more terrible *flagellum* (Hor. *Sat.* i. 3; 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25), which was not used by the Jews (Deut. xxv. 3). Into these scourges the soldiers often stuck nails, pieces of bone, &c. to heighten the pain (the *μάστιγι ἀσπαργαλωτή* mentioned by Athenæus, &c.; *flagrum pecuinis ossibus catenatum*, Apul.), which was often so intense that the sufferer died under it (Ulp. de *Poenis*, l. viii.). The scourging generally took place at a column, and the one to which our Lord was bound was seen by Jerome, Prudentius, Gregory of Tours, &c., and is still shown at several churches among the relics. In our Lord's case, however, this infliction seems neither to have been the legal scourging after the sentence (Val. Max. i. 7; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* v. 28, ii. 14, §9), nor yet the examination by torture

(Acts xxii. 24), but rather a scourging *before* the sentence, to excite pity and procure immunity from further punishment (Luke xxiii. 22; John xix. 1); and if this view be correct, the *φραγάσας* in Matt. xxvii. 26 is retrospective, as so great an anguish could hardly have been endured *twice* (see Poli *Synopsis*, *ad loc.*). How severe it was is indicated in prophecy (Ps. xxv. 15; Is. l. 6). Vossius considers that it was partly legal, partly tuitive (*Harm. Pass.* v. 13).

The criminal carried his own cross, or at any rate a part of it (Plut. *de iis qui sero*, &c. 9; Artemid. *Oneirocr.* ii. 61; John xix. 17, *Patibulum ferat per urbem, debile affigatur cruci*, Plant. *Carbonar.*). Hence the term *Furcifer*,—cross-bearer. This was prefigured by Isaac carrying the wood in Gen. xxii. 6, where even the Jews notice the parallel; and to this the fathers fantastically applied the expression in Is. ix. 6, "the government shall be upon his shoulder." They were sometimes scourged and goaded on the way (Plant. *Mostel.* i. 1, 52). "In some old figures we see our Lord described with a table appendent to the fringe of his garment, set full of nails and pointed iron" (Jer. Taylor, *Life of Christ*, iii. xv. 2. *Herodibus ligno quod intuleris*. Cyp. *de Pas.* p. 50). [SIMON OF CYRENE.]

The place of execution was outside the city ("post urbem," Cic. *Vorr.* v. 66; "extra portam," Plant. *Mil.* ii. 4, 6; 1 K. xxi. 13; Acts vii. 58; Heb. xiii. 12; and in camps, "extra vallum"), often in some public road (Quinct. *Decl.* 275) or other conspicuous place like the Campus Martius (Cic. *pro Rubrio*), or some spot set apart for the purpose (Tac. *Ann.* xv.). This might sometimes be a hill (Val. Max. vi.); it is however merely tradition to call Golgotha a hill: in the Evangelists it is called *τόπος* [CALVARY]. Arrived at the place of execution, the sufferer was stripped naked (Artemid. *Oneirocr.* ii. 58), the dress being the perquisite of the soldiers (Matt. xxvii. 35; Dig. xlviii. 20, 6); possibly not even a cloth round the loins was allowed him; at least among the Jews the rule was "that a man should be stoned naked," where what follows shows that "naked" must *not* be taken in its restricted sense. The cross was then driven into the ground, so that the feet of the condemned were a foot or two above the earth (in pictures of the crucifixion the cross is generally much too large and high), and he was lifted upon it (*agere, excurrere, tollere, ascendere in crucem*; Prudent. *πεπλ στέφ.* Plant. *Mostel.* "Crucifixus." Id. *Broch.* 2, 3, 128. *ἀνέγον. ἦγον. ἦγον εἰς ἄκρον τέλος*, Greg. Naz.), or else stretched upon it on the ground, and then lifted with it, to which there seems to be an allusion in a lost prophecy quoted by Barnabas (*Ep.* 12), *ἐταν ἔλλον κλιθῆ καὶ ἀναστῆ* (Pearson on *Creed*, Acts iv.). The former method was the commoner, for we often read (as in Esth. vii. 10, &c.) of the cross being erected beforehand, in terrorem. Before the nailing or binding took place (for which see *CROSS*), a medicated cup was given out of kindness to confuse the senses and deaden the pangs of the sufferer (Prov. xxxi. 6), usually of *οἶνος ἐσμπυμσμένος* or *λελιθανωμένος*, as among the Jews (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xxvii.), because mirth was soporific. Our Lord refused it that his senses might be clear (Matt. xxvii. 34; Mark xv. 21. Maimon. *S. Mubel.* xlii.). St. Matt. calls it *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς* (ϣ'Π), an expression used in reference to Ps. lxx. 21, but not strictly accurate. This

mercifully intended draught must not be confounded with the spongel of vinegar (or *pascet*, the common drink of Roman soldiers, Spart. *Hebr.*; Plant. *Mil.* Gl. iii. 2, 23), which was put on a hyssop-stalk and offered to our Lord in mocking and contemptuous pity (Matt. xxvii. 48; Luke xxiii. 36); this He tasted to allay the agonies of thirst (John xix. 29).

Our Lord was crucified between two "thieves" or "malefactors" (then so common in Palestine, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, &c.), according to prophecy (Is. liii. 12); and was watched according to custom by a party of four soldiers (John xix. 23) with their centurion (*κουστωδία*, Matt. xxvii. 66; *miles qui cruce assurabat*, Petr. *Sat.* iii. 6; Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 38), whose express office was to prevent the surreption of the body. This was necessary from the lingering character of the death, which sometimes did not supervene even for three days, and was at last the result of gradual benumbing and starvation (Euseb. viii. 8; Sen. *Prov.* 3). But for this guard, the persons might have been taken down and recovered, as was actually done in the case of a friend of Josephus, though only one survived out of *thrice* to which the same *θεραπεία ἐπιμελεστέρα* was applied (*Vit.* 75). Among the Convulsionnaires in the reign of Louis XV. women were repeatedly crucified, and even remain on the cross three hours; we are told of one who underwent it 23 times (Encycl. Metr. s. r. *Cross*); the pain consisted almost entirely in the *wailing*, and not more than a basinful of blood was lost. Still we cannot believe from the Martyrologies that Victorinus (crucified head-downwards) lived three days, or Timotheus and Mania nine days. Fracture of the legs (*Plant. Poen.* iv. 2, 64) was especially adopted by the Jews to hasten death (John xix. 31), and it was a mitigation of the punishment, as observed by Origen. But the unusual rapidity of our Lord's death was due to the depth of His previous agonies (which appears from his inability to bear his own cross far) and to his mental anguish (Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* vi. 3; *De pass. Messie*), or may be sufficiently accounted for simply from peculiarities of constitution. There is no need to explain the "giving up the ghost" as a miracle (Heb. v. 7?), or say with Cyprinus, *Preterito cunctis officio, spiritum sponte dimisit* (*ado. Donet.*). Still less can the common cavil of infidelity be thought noteworthy, since had our Lord been in a swoon the piercing of his petardium (proved by the appearance of lymph and blood) would have ensured death. (See Eschenbach *Opusc. Med. de Servatore non apparenter sed vere mortuo*, and Gruner *de morte Christi non synoptici*, quoted by Jahn in the *Arch. Bibl.*) Pilate expressly satisfied himself of the actual death by questioning the centurion (Mark xv. 44); and the omission of the breaking of the legs in this case was the fulfilment of a type (Ex. xii. 46). Other modes of hastening death were by lighting fires under the cross (hence the nicknames *Saumentii* and *Senaxii*, Tert. *Apolog.* 50), or letting loose wild beasts on the crucified (Suet. *Nor.* 49).

Generally the body was suffered to rot on the cross (Cic. *Tusc.* Q. i. 43; Sil. Ital. viii. 486), by the action of sun and rain (Herod. iii. 12), or to be devoured by birds and beasts (Apu. *de Aur. Asin.* 6; Hor. *Ep.* i. 16, 48; Juv. xiv. 77). Sepulture was generally therefore forbidden, though it might be granted as a special favour or on grand occasions (Ulp. l. ix. *De off. Pasconis*). But in consequence of Dent. xxi. 22, 23, an express national exception

was made in favour of the Jews (Matt. xxvii. 58; cf. Joseph. *Jud.* iv. 5, §2).

Having thus traced the whole process of crucifixion, it only remains to speak of the manner of death, and the kind of physical suffering endured, which we shall very briefly abridge from the treatise of the physician Richter (in Jahn's *Arch. Bibl.*). These are, 1. The unnatural position and violent tension of the body, which cause a painful sensation from the least motion. 2. The nails being driven through parts of the hands and feet which are full of nerves and tendons (and yet at a distance from the heart), create the most exquisite anguish. 3. The exposure of so many wounds and lacerations brings on inflammation, which tends to become gangrene, and every moment increases the poignancy of suffering. 4. In the distended parts of the body more blood flows through the arteries than can be carried back into the veins: hence too much blood finds its way from the aorta into the head and stomach, and the blood-vessels of the head become pressed and swollen. The general obstruction of circulation which ensues causes an intense excitement, exertion, and anxiety, more intolerable than death itself. 5. The inexpressible misery of gradually increasing and lingering anguish. To all which we may add, 6. Burning and raging thirst.

This accursed and awful mode of punishment was happily abolished by Constantine (Sozom. i. 8), probably towards the end of his reign (see Lips. *de Cruce*, iii. 15), although it is curious that we have no more definite account of the matter. "An edict so honourable to Christianity," says Gibbon, "deserved a place in the Theodosian code, instead of the indirect mention of it which seems to result from the comparison of the 5th and 18th titles of the 9th book" (ii. 154, note).

An explanation of the other circumstances attending the crucifixion belongs rather to a commentary than a dictionary. On the types, and prophecies of it, besides those adduced, see Cyp. *Testim.* ii. 20. On the resurrection of the saints, see Lightfoot *ad Matt.* xxvii. 52 (there is a monograph by Gebauer—*Dissert. de Resur. sanctorum cum Christo*). On other concomitant prodigies, see Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr. et Talmud.* vi. 3, 8. [DARKNESS; CROSS.] The chief authorities are quoted in the article, and the ancient ones are derived in part from Lipsius; of whose most interesting treatise, *De Cruce*, an enlarged and revised edition, with notes, would be very acceptable. On the points in which our Lord's crucifixion differed from the ordinary Jewish customs see Othman *Lev. Rabbinicum*, s. v. *Supplicia*; Bynæus *de Morte J. Christi*; Vossius, *Harm. Passionis*; Canzov, *Apparat. Crit.* p. 591, sq. &c. [F.W.F.]

CRUSE, a word employed in the A. V., apparently without any special intention, to translate three distinct Hebrew words.

1. *Tzappachath*, צַפְחָת (from צָפַץ, a root with the idea of width; comp. *ampulla*, from *amplus*). Some clue to the nature of this vessel is perhaps afforded by its mention as being full of water at the head of Saul when on his night expedition after David (1 Sam. xxi. 11, 12, 16), and also of Elijah (1 K. xix. 6). In a similar case in the present day this would be a globular vessel of blue porous clay—the ordinary Gaza pottery—about 9 inches diameter, with a neck of about 3 inches long, a small handle below the neck, and opposite the handle a straight spout, with an orifice about the size of a

straw, through which the water is drunk or sucked. The form is common also in Spain, and will be familiar to many from pictures of Spanish life. A similar globular vessel probably contained the oil of the widow of Zarephath (1 K. xvii. 12, 14, 16). For the "box" or "horn" in which the consecrated oil was carried on special occasions see Oil.

2. The noise which these vessels make when emptied through the neck is suggestive of the second term, *Bakbook*, בִּבְכוּק, probably like the Greek *bombulos*, βόμβυλος, an onomatopoeitic word. This is found but twice—a "cruse of honey," 1 K. xiv. 3; and an "earthen bottle," Jer. xix. 1.

3. Apparently very different from both these is the other term, *Tzelachah*, צִלְחָה (found also in the forms צִלְחִית and צִלְחָה, from a root צָלַח), signifying to sprinkle; or perhaps from צָלַל, to ring, the root of the word for cymbal. This was probably a flat metal saucer of the form still common in the East. It occurs 2 K. ii. 20, "cruse;" xxi. 13, "dish;" 2 Chr. xxxv. 13, "pans;" also Prov. xix. 24, xxvi. 15, where the figure is obscured by the choice of the word "bosom." [G.]

CRYSTAL (יְבוֹנִית, יָקָר; θαλος, κρύσταλλος; *vitrum, cristallus*). The word יְבוֹנִית is translated "crystal" in Job xxviii. 17, where some precious substance is meant. It comes from the root יָבַן, to be pure, and probably signifies glass of the purest and most precious kind. It occurs only in this passage. [GLASS.]

יָקָר is rendered "crystal" in Ez. i. 22, but in other passages of the O. T. "ice and frost." It is derived from יָקַר, to make smooth, to make bald. The word κρύσταλλος, in Rev. iv. 6, xvii. 1, means ice (Hesych. κρύσταλλος τὸ πενήγος ὕδωρ ὑπὸ κρύου). But it also has a second meaning, and signifies a mineral substance clear and transparent like ice, and is so used by St. John. [W. D.]

CUBIT. [MEASURES.]

CUCKOO; A. V. CUCKOW (שֶׁקֶץ; λάρος; *larus*), a bird found in the list of unclean birds in Lev. xi. 16 and Deut. xiv. 15. Referring it to the root שָׁקַץ, to make thin, Gesenius considers that the sea-gull is meant, because of the smallness of its body in comparison with its apparent size and spread of wing. Bochart suggests the bird called by the Greeks *λέπφος*. This is a light sea-bird of the petrel kind, the character of which agrees with the etymology of שָׁקַץ. (Suidas: Κέφφος εἶδος ὀρνέου δευτέρου [ὁ λεγόμενος λάρος] ἐστὶ δὲ κοῦφον καὶ ἐπιπλεον τοῖς κύμασιν.) Κέφφος is the rendering of the Græco-Venician version in Lev. [W. D.]

CUCUMBERS are named twice in the A. V., and once in the Apocrypha, where ἐν σικυηράτῃ is translated "in a garden of cucumbers." In Num. xi. 5 cucumbers are mentioned among the vegetable products of Egypt, which the mixed multitude regretted, when in the wilderness. The Hebrew word is סִיקְוִים (σικυνοί or σίκυες, *cucumeres*), which is the plural form of סִיקָה. The Talmudists have מִשְׁקָה, and the Phoenicians 2 B 2

had the word *Κουσίμελαο* (Diosc. iv. 152), which is probably *קִשְׁמֵ מִצְרַיִם* "cucumber of Egypt" = *σίκυς ἑgyptios*. The same name for cucumber exists in all the cognate languages. For an account of the cucumbers of Syria and Egypt, see Forskål, *Flora Aegypt.* p. 169; Celsii, *Herobot.* ii. 249. The root of the word is *קִשְׁ*, which seems to contain the notion of hardness and heaviness.

From the same root comes *מִקְשֶׁה*, a garden of cucumbers, which occurs in Is. i. 8. The LXX. render *מִקְשֶׁה* by *σικυθ-πατον*, and the Vulg. by *cucumerarium*. The plant referred to is the *cucumis chate* of Linnaeus. It is abundant in Egypt, where it grows and ripens rapidly. [W. D.]

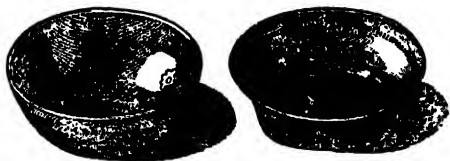
**CUMMIN** (צִמְן; *κυμίνον*; *cuminum*), one of the cultivated plants of Palestine, mentioned by Isaiah (xxviii. 25, 27) as not being threshed in the ordinary way in which wheat was threshed, but with a reel; and again by our Saviour as one of the crops of which the Scribes and Pharisees paid tithes. It is an umbelliferous plant something like fennel (*Cuminum sativum*, Linn.). The seeds have a bitterish warm taste with an aromatic flavour. It was used in conjunction with salt as a sauce (Plin. xix. 8). The Maltese are said to grow cummin at the present day, and to thresh it in the manner described by Isaiah. [W. D.]

**CUP.** The chief words rendered "cup" in the A. V. are, 1. *כִּיץ*; *ποτήριον*; *cilix*; 2. *קִישֶׁת*, only in plural; *σπονδεία*; *crateres*; 3. *בִּכְיֶע*; *Κόδυ*; *scyphus*; see also further words *BARIN* and *BOWL*. The cups of the Jews, whether of metal or earthenware, were possibly borrowed, in point of shape and design, from Egypt and from the Phœnicians, who were celebrated in that branch of workmanship (II. xliii. 743; *Ol.* iv. 615, 618). Egyptian cups were of various shapes, either having handles or without them. In Solomon's time all his drinking-vessels were of gold, none of silver (1 K. x. 21). Babylon is compared to a golden cup (Jer. li. 7).

Assyrian cups from Khorsabad and Nimroud may be seen figured in Layard (*Nin.* ii. 303, 304; *Nin. and Bab.* 186, 190, 192), some perhaps of Phœnician workmanship, from which source both Solomon and the Assyrian monarch possibly derived both their workmen and the works themselves. The cups and other vessels brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar may thus have been of Phœnician origin (Dan. v. 2).

Of the bas-reliefs at Persepolis many figures are represented bearing cups or vases which may fairly be taken as types of the vessels of that sort described in the book of Esther (*Esth.* i. 7; Niebuhr,

*Voyage*, ii. 106; Charlin, *Voyages*, viii. p. 268; Pl. lviii.). The great laver, or "sea," was made with a rim like the rim of a cup (*Côs*), "with flowers of lilies" (1 K. vii. 26), a form which the Persepolitan cups resemble (Jahn, *Arch.* §144). The common form of modern Oriental cups is represented in the accompanying drawing:—



Modern Egyptian drinking-cups, one-fifth of the real size. (Lane.)

The use of gold and silver cups was introduced into Greece after the time of Alexander (Athen. vi. 229, 30; xi. 446, 465; Birch, *Anc. Pott.*, ii. 109). The cups of the N. T., *ποτήρια*, were often no doubt formed on Greek and Roman models. They were sometimes of gold (Rev. xvii. 4). *Dict. of Antiq.* art. PATERA. [H. W. P.]

**CUP-BEARER** (מִשְׁכֵּה; *οἰνοχόος*; *pin-cerna*), an officer of high rank with Egyptian, Persian, Assyrian, as well as Jewish monarchs. The chief cupbearer, or butler, to the king of Egypt was the means of raising Joseph to his high position (Gen. xl. 1-21, xli. 9). Nab-shakeh, who was sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah, appears from his name to have filled a like office in the Assyrian court (2 K. xviii. 17; Ges. p. 1225), and it seems probable, from his association with Nab-sais, chief of the eunuchs (רַב־בָּקָרִים), and from Eastern custom in general, that he was, like him, an eunuch (Ges. p. 973). Herod the Great had an establishment of eunuchs, of whom one was a cupbearer (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 8, 1). Nehemiah was cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Persia (Neh. i. 11, ii. 1). Cupbearers are mentioned among the attendants of Solomon (1 K. x. 5; comp. Layard, *Nin.* ii. 324, 326). [H. W. P.]

**CURTAINS.** The Hebrew terms translated in the A. V. by this word are three:

1. *Yerecth*, יִרְעָתָה; the ten "curtains" of fine linen, &c., each 28 cubits long and 4 wide, and also the eleven of goats' hair, which covered the Tabernacle of Moses (Ex. xxvi. 1-13; xxxvi. 8-17). The charge of these curtains and of the other textile fabrics of the Tabernacle was laid on the Gershonites (Num. iv. 25). Having this definite meaning, the word came to be used as a synonym for the Tabernacle—its transitoriness and slightness; and is so employed in the sublime speech of David, 2 Sam. vii. 2 (where "curtains" should be "the curtain"), and 1 Chr. xvii. 1. In a few later instances the word bears the more general meaning of the sides of a tent; as in the beautiful figure of Is. liv. 2 (where "habitations" should be "tabernacles," מִשְׁכְּנוֹת), poetic word for "tents"; Jer. iv. 20, x. 20 (here "tabernacle" and "tent" are both one word, מִשְׁכָּה = tent); Ps. civ. 2 (where "stretch," מִנֵּן, is the word usually employed for extending a tent). Also specially of nomadic people, Jer. xlix. 29; Hab. iii. 7; Cant. i. 5 (of the black hair-cloth of which the tents of the real Bedouen are still composed).



Assyrian cup with handle. (Layard, ii. 304.)



Assyrian drinking-cup. (Layard, ii. 304.)

2. *Masac*, מַסַּח; the "hanging" for the doorway of the tabernacle. Ex. xxvi. 36, 7, xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 37, xxxix. 38, xl. 5; Num. iii. 25, iv. 25; and also for the gate of the court round the tabernacle. Ex. xxvii. 16, xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 18, xxxix. 40, xl. 33; Num. iii. 26, iv. 26. Amongst these the rendering "curtain" occurs but once, Num. iii. 26; while "hanging" is shared equally between *Masac* and a very different word—*Kelai*, קַלַּי. The idea in the root of *Masac* seems to be of shielding or protecting (סָכַר; Gen. 951). If this be so, the *Masac* may have been not a curtain or veil, but an awning to shade the entrances—a thing unusual and common in the fierce sun of the East (see one figured in Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 184). But the nature of this and the other textile fabrics of the tabernacle will be best examined under TABERNACLE.

Besides "curtain" and "hanging" *Masac* is rendered "covering" in Ex. xxxv. 12, xxxix. 34, xl. 21; Num. iv. 5; 2 Sam. xvii. 19; Ps. cv. 39; Is. xlii. 8.

3. *Dôh*, דָּוָה. There is nothing to guide us to the meaning of this word. It is found but once (Is. xl. 22), in a passage founded on the metaphor of a tent.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ; *Xousi*; *Aethiopia*, and *Chusi*), a Benjaminite mentioned only in the title to Ps. vii. There is every reason to believe this title to be of great antiquity (*Exegeta*, Psalmen, 9). Cush was probably a follower of Saul, the head of his tribe, and had sought the friendship of David for the purpose of "rewarding evil to him who was at peace with him"—an act in which no Oriental of ancient or modern times would see any shame, but, if successful, the reverse. Happily, however, we may gather from verse 15 that he had not succeeded.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ; *Xous*; *Chus* (Gen. x. 6, 7, 8; 1 Chr. i. 8, 9, 10); *Aithoria*, *Aithiores*, *Aethiopia*; *Cushite* כּוּשִׁי, *Aithio*, *Aethiops*; pl. כּוּשִׁים, fem. כּוּשִׁית), the name of a son of Ham, apparently the eldest, and of a territory or territories occupied by his descendants. 1. In the genealogy of Noah's children Cush seems to be an individual, for it is said "Cush begat Nimrod" (Gen. x. 8; 1 Chr. i. 10). If the name be older than his time he may have been called after a country allotted to him. The following descendants of Cush are enumerated:—his sons, Selm, Havilah, Sabtah or Sabti, Raamah, and Sabtechah or Sabtecha; his grandsons, the sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan; and Nimrod, who, as mentioned after the rest, seems to have been a remoter descendant than they, the text not necessarily proving him to have been a son. The only direct geographical information given in this passage is with reference to Nimrod, the beginning of whose kingdom was in Babylonia, and who afterwards went, according to the reading which we prefer, into Assyria, and founded Nineveh and other cities. The reasons for our preference are, (1.) that if we read "Out of that land went forth Asshur," instead of "he went forth [into] Asshur," i. e. Assyria, there is no account given but of the "beginning" of Nimrod's kingdom; and (2.) that Asshur the patriarch would seem here to be quite out of place in the genealogy.

2. Cush as a country appears to be African in all

passages except Gen. ii. 13. We may thus distinguish a primeval and a post-diluvian Cush. The former was encompassed by Gihon, the second river of Paradise: it would seem therefore to have been somewhere to the northward of Assyria. It is possible that Cush is in this case a name of a period later than that to which the history relates, but it seems more probable that it was of the earliest age, and that the African Cush was named from this older country. Most ancient nations thus connected their own lands with Paradise, or with primeval seats. In this manner the future Paradise of the Egyptians was a sacred Egypt watered by a sacred Nile; the Arabs have told of the terrestrial Paradise of Sheddad the son of 'Ad, as sometimes seen in their deserts; the Greeks located the all-destroying floods of Ogyges and Deucalion in Greece; and the Mexicans seem to have placed a similar deluge in America; all carrying with them their traditions and fixing them in the territories where they established themselves. The Cushan mentioned in Hab. (iii. 7) has been thought to be an Asiatic post-diluvian Cush, but it is most reasonable to hold that Cushan-rishathaim is here intended (CUSHAN). In the ancient Egyptian inscriptions Ethiopia above Egypt is termed Kesh or Kesh, and this territory probably perfectly corresponds to the African Cush of the Bible. The Cushites however had clearly a wider extension, like the Ethiopians of the Greeks, but apparently with a more definite ethnic relation. The settlements of the sons and descendants of Cush mentioned in Gen. x. may be traced from Mevoe to Babylon, and probably on to Nineveh. We have not above the African Cush, but Seba appears to correspond to Mevoe, other sons of Cush are to be traced in Arabia (ARABIA, RAAMAH, &c.), and Nimrod reigned in Babylonia, and seems to have extended his rule over Assyria. Thus the Cushites appear to have spread along tracts extending from the higher Nile to the Euphrates and Tigris. Philological and ethnological data lead to the same conclusion. There are strong reasons for deriving the non-Semitic primitive language of Babylonia, variously called by scholars Cushite and Sythic, from an ante-Semitic dialect of Ethiopia, and for supposing two streams of migration from Africa into Asia in very remote periods; the one of Nigritions through the present Malayan region, the other and later one, of Cushites, "from Ethiopia properly so called, through Arabia, Babylonia, and Persia, to Western India" (*Genesis of the Earth*, &c., pp. 214, 5). Sir H. Rawlinson has brought forward remarkable evidence tending to trace the early Babylonians to Ethiopia; particularly the similarity of their mode of writing to the Egyptian,\* and the indication in the traditions of Babylonia and Assyria of "a connexion in very early times between Ethiopia, Southern Arabia, and the cities on the Lower Euphrates," the Cushite name of Nimrod himself as a deified hero, being the same as that by which Merod is called in the Assyrian inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. pp. 442, 3). History affords many traces of this relation of Babylonia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. Zerah the Cushite (A. V. "Ethiopian") who was defeated by Asa, was most probably a king of Egypt, certainly the leader of an Egyptian

\* Ideographic writing seems characteristic of Turanian nations; at least such alone have kept to it, partly or wholly, in spite of their after knowledge of phonetic characters.

army: the dynasty then ruling (the 22nd) bears names that have caused it to be supposed to have had a Babylonian or Assyrian origin, as Sheshonk, Shishak, Sheshak; Niamurt, Nimrod; Tekrut, Teklut, Tighlath. The early spread of the Mizraites illustrates that of the Cushites [CAPITOR]: it may be considered as a part of one great system of migrations. On these grounds we suppose that these Hamite races, very soon after their arrival in Africa, began to spread to the east, to the north, and to the west; the Cushites establishing settlements along the southern Arabian coast, on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf and in Babylonia, and thence onwards to the Indus, and probably northward to Nineveh; and the Mizraites spreading along the south and east shores of the Mediterranean, on part of the north shore, and in the great islands. These must have been sea-faring peoples, not wholly unlike the modern Malays, who have similarly spread on the shores of the Indian Ocean. They may be always traced where very massive architectural remains are seen, where the native language is partly Tamiar and partly Semitic, and where the native religion is partly cosmic or high-nature worship, and partly fetishism or low nature-worship. These indications do not fail in any settlement of Cushites or Mizraites with which we are well acquainted. [ETHIOPIA.] [R. S. P.]

**CUSH'AN** (כּוּשָׁאן; *Aithiopes*; *Aethiopia*, Hab. iii. 7), possibly the same as Cushan-lishathaim (A. V. Chushan-) king of Mesopotamia (Judg. iii. 8, 10). The order of events alluded to by the prophet seems to favour this supposition. First he appears to refer to former acts of Divine favour (ver. 2); he then speaks of the wonders at the giving of the Law, "God came from Tennan, and the Holy One from mount Paran"; and he adds, "I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction: [and] the tent-curtains of the land of Midian did tremble," as though referring to the fear of the enemies of Israel at the manifestations of God's favour for His people. Cushan-lishathaim, the first recorded oppressor of the days of the Judges, may have been already reigning at the time of the entrance into Palestine. The Midianites, certainly allied with the Moabites at that time, feared the Israelites and plotted against them (Num. xxi., xlii., xlv., xlv.). and it is noticeable that Balaam was sent for from Aram (xxiii. 7), perhaps the Aram-naharum of the oppressor. Hulakkuk afterwards alludes to the crossing of Jordan or the Red Sea, or both (ver. 8-10, 15), to the standing still of the sun and moon (11), and apparently to the destruction of the Canaanites (12, 13, 14). There is far less reason for the supposition that Cushan here stands for an Asiatic Cush. [CHUSHAN KISHATHAIM.] [R. S. P.]

**CUSH'I** (כּוּשִׁי; *Xousi*; *Cushi*), a name occurring more than once in the O. T. 1. One of the ancestors of Jehudi, a man about the court of king Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxv. 14). 2. Father of Zephaniah the Prophet (Zeph. i. 1). 3. (With the article, הַכּוּשִׁי, i. e. "the Cushite," the Ethiopian; *δ Χουσι*; *Cushi*) a man apparently attached to Job's person, but unknown and unaccounted to the king, as may be inferred from his not being recognised by the watchman, and also from the abrupt manner in which he breaks his evil tidings to David, unlike Ahimanaz who was well aware of the effect they were sure to produce. That Cushi was a foreigner—as we should infer from his name

—is also slightly corroborated by his ignorance of the ground in the Jordan valley—"the way of the 'Ciccar'" — by knowing which Ahimanaz was enabled to entrain him (2 Sam. xviii. 21, 22, 23, 31, 32). Ewald, however, conjectures that a mode of running is here referred to, peculiar to Ahimanaz, and by which he was recognised a long distance off by the watchman.

**CUTHAH or CUTH** (כּוּתָּה; *Xouthā*, *Xouth*; Joseph. *Χούθος*; *Cuthi*), one of the countries whence Shalmaneser introduced colonists into Samaria (2 K. xvii. 24, 30); these, intermingling with the remnant of the ten tribes, were the progenitors of the Samaritans, who were called Cuthaeans by the Jews, and are so described in the Chaldee and Talmud (*οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Χουθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Σαμαριτῆαι*, Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14, §3). The position of Cuthah is undecided; Josephus speaks of a river of that name in Persia, and fixes the residence of the Cuthaeans in the interior of Persia and Media (*Ant.* ix. 14, §3, x. 9, §7). Two localities have been proposed, each of which corresponds in part, but neither wholly, with Josephus' account. For the one we depend on the statements of Arabian geographers, who speak of a district and town named Kutha, between the Tigris and Euphrates, after which one of the canals (the fourth in Xen. *Anab.* i. 7) was named; the town existed in the time of Abulfeida, and its site has been identified with the ruins of *Taribah* immediately adjacent to Babylon (Ainsworth's *Assyria*, p. 165; Knobel, *Ullerkufel*, p. 252); the canal may be the river to which Josephus refers. The other locality corresponds with the statement that the Cuthaeans came from the interior of Persia and Media. They have been identified with the Cossaei, a warlike tribe, who occupied the mountain ranges dividing those two countries, and whose lawless habits made them a terror even to the Persian emperors (Strab. xi. 524, xvi. 714). They were never wholly subdued until Alexander's expedition; and it therefore appears doubtful whether Shalmaneser could have gained sufficient authority over them to effect the removal of any considerable number; their habits would have made such a step highly expedient, if practicable. The connexion between the Samaritans and the Sidonians, as stated in their letter to Alexander the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §6, xii. 5, §5), and between the Sidonians and the Cuthaeans as expressed in the version of the Chaldee Paraphrast Pseudo-Jonathan in Gen. x. 19, who substitutes כּוּתָּאִים for כּוּשִׁי, and in the Targum, 1 Chr. i. 13, where a similar change is made, is without doubt to be referred to the traditional belief that the original seat of the Phoenicians was on the shores of the Persian Gulf (Her. i. 1). [W. L. B.]

**CUTTING OFF FROM THE PEOPLE.** [EXCOMMUNICATION.]

**CUTTINGS [IN THE FLESH]** (שְׂמִיטָה, *s. f.* שְׂמִיטָה, *s. m.*, both from שָׁטַח (Buxtorf), שָׁטַח (Gesen. p. 1395), *cut*: 2. נִדְרוֹת, from נָדַד, *inure* (Gesen. p. 264); *ενορμίδες*; *incisurae*: 3. קַעֲקָע, *s.*, from קָעַץ, *engrave* (Gesen. p. 1208); *γρομμῆματα*, *stigmata*). The prohibition (Lev. xix. 28) against marks or cuttings in the flesh for the dead must be taken in connexion with the parallel passages (Lev. xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1), in which shav-

ing the head with the same view is equally forbidden. But it appears from Jer. xvi. 6, 7, that some outward manifestation of grief in this way was not wholly forbidden, or was at least tolerated. The ground, therefore, of the prohibition must be sought elsewhere, and will be found in the superstitious or inhuman practices prevailing among heathen nations. A notion apparently existed that self-inflicted baldness or mutilation had a propitiatory efficacy in respect of the nunes of the dead, perhaps as representing, in a modified degree, the solemnity of human or animal sacrifices. Herodotus (iv. 71) describes the Scythian usage in the case of a deceased king, for whose obsequies not fewer than six human victims, besides offerings of animals and other effects, were considered necessary. An extreme case of funereal bloodshed is represented on the occasion of the burial of Patroclus, when four horses, two dogs, and twelve Trojan captives are offered up (*Il.* xxiii. 171, 176). Together with human or animal sacrifices at funerals, and after these had gone out of use, the minor propitiatory acts of self-laceration and depilation continued in use (*Il.* xxiii. 141; *Od.* iv. 197; *Virg. Aen.* iii. 67, with Servius ad loc. xii. 805; Eurip. *Alc.* 425; Seneca, *Hippol.* v. 1176, 1193). Plutarch says that some barbarians mutilate themselves (*De Consul. ad Apollon.* p. 113, vol. vi. Reiske). He also says that Solon, by the advice of Epimenides, curtailed the Athenian practice in this respect (*Solon.* 12-21, vol. i. p. 184, 194). Cicero quotes a law of the twelve tables to the same effect; "mulieres genus ne radunto" (*De Leg.* ii. 23).

Such being the ancient heathen practice it is not surprising that the Law should forbid similar practices in every case in which they might be used or misconstrued in a propitiatory sense. "Ye shall not make cuttings for (*propter*) the dead" (צַדִּיקִים) (Lev. xix. 28; Ges. 731; Spencer *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. xix. 404, 405).

But the practice of self-mutilation as an act of worship belonged also to heathen religious ceremonies not funereal. The priests of Baal, a Syrian and also an Assyrian deity, cut themselves with knives to propitiate the god "after their manner" (1 K. xviii. 28). Herodotus says the Carians, who resided in Europe, cut their foreheads with knives at festivals of Isis; in this respect exceeding the Egyptians, who beat themselves on these occasions (*Herod.* ii. 61). This shows that the practice was not then at least an Egyptian one. Lucian, speaking of the Syrian priestly attendants of this mock deity, says, that using violent gestures they cut their arms and tongues with swords (Lucian, *Asinus*, c. 37, vol. ii. 102, Amst.; *de Dea Syr.* ii. 658, 681; comp. *Ez.* viii. 14). Similar practices in the worship of Bellona are mentioned by Lucan (*Phars.* i. 580), and alluded to by Aelius Lampridius (*Comm.* p. 209), by Tertullian (*Apol.* 9), and Lactantius (*Div. Instit.* i. c. 21, 29, Paris). Herodotus, speaking of means used for allaying a storm, uses the words *ἐντομα ποιεῦντες*, which may mean cutting the flesh, but more probably offering human sacrifices (*Herod.* vii. 191, ii. 119, with Schweighauser's note; see also *Virg. Aen.* ii. 116; *Lucr.* i. 85).

The prohibition, therefore, is directed against practices prevailing not among the Egyptians whom the Israelites were leaving, but among the Syrians, to whom they were about to become neighbours (Selden, *de Diis Syris*, *Syn.* ii. c. 1).

Practices of self-mutilation, whether propitiatory or simply funereal, i. e. expressive of highly excited feeling, are mentioned of the modern Persians on the occasion of the celebration of the death of Hossayn, at which a man is paraded in the character of the saint, with points of lances thrust into his flesh. At funerals also in general the women tear their hair and faces. The Chalcidians express grief by tearing the flesh of their foreheads, arms, and breasts. The Mexicans and Peruvians offered human sacrifices both at funerals and festivals. The Gossyens of India, a class of Brahminical friars, endeavour in some cases to extort alms by gashing their limbs with knives. Among the native negro African tribes also the practice appears to prevail of offering human sacrifices at the death of chiefs (Chardin, *Voyages*, vi. 482, ix. 58, 490; Olearius, *Travels*, p. 237; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 59; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 53, 63; *Pem.* i. 86; Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, i. 116; Strab. xv. 711, et seq.; Niebuhr, *Voyages*, ii. 54; Livingstone, *Travels*, p. 318, 588; *Col. Ch. Chron.* no. cxxxi. 179; Muratori, *Anecd.* iv. 99, 100).

But there is another usage contemplated more remotely by the prohibition, viz., that of printing marks (στίγματα), tattooing, to indicate allegiance to a deity, in the same manner as soldiers and slaves bore tattooed marks to indicate allegiance or adscription. This is evidently alluded to in the Revelation of St. John (xiii. 16, xix. 20, xvii. 5), *χάρagma ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων*, and, though in a contrary direction, by Ezekiel (ix. 4), by St. Paul (*Gal.* vi. 17), in the Revelation (vii. 3), and perhaps by Isaiah (xlv. 5) and Zechariah (xiii. 6). Lucian, speaking of the priests of the Syrian deity, says, *στίχονται πάντες, οὐ μὲν ἐς καρπὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐς ἀσκήνας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι σιγματοφόροι* (*de Dea Syr.* ii. p. 684). A tradition, mentioned by Jerome, was current among the Jews, that king Jehoiaquin bore on his body marks of this kind which were discovered after his death (Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. xx. 410). Philo, quoted by Spencer, describes the marks of tattooing impressed on those who submitted to the process in their besotted love for idol-worship, as being made by branding (*στίθῃσι πενρωμένῃσι*, Philo, *de Monarch.* i. 819; Spencer, 416). The Arabs, both men and women, are in the habit of tattooing their faces, and other parts of the body, and the members of Brahminical sects in India are distinguished by marks on the forehead, often erroneously supposed by Europeans to be marks of caste (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* 58; *Voyages*, i. 242; Wellsted, *Arabia*, ii. 206, 445; Olearius, *Travels*, 299; Elphinstone, *India*, i. 195). [I. W. P.]

CY'AMON (Κυάμων; *Uchum*), a place named only in Judith vii. 3, as lying in the plain (αὐλῶν, A. V. "valley") over against (ἀπέναντι) Esdrelon. If by "Esdrelon" we may understand Jezreel this description answers to the situation of the modern village Tell Kātūnān, on the eastern slopes of Cumel, on a conspicuous position overlooking the Kishon and the great plain (Rob. iii. 114; Van de Velde, i. 330). The place was known to Eusebius (Καμυανὰ) and Jerome (*imana*), and is mentioned by them in the Onomasticon. They identify it with CY'AMON, the burial-place of Jair the Gileadite. Robinson suggests its identity with JOKNEAM. [G.]

CYMBAL, CYMBALS (צִמְבָּל or צִמְבָּלִים). a percussive musical instrument, from צִמְבָּל, to

*tinkle* (comp. *his two ears shall tinkle*, תִּצְלֶלְהֶם, 1 Sam. iii. 11, and a *fish-spear*, צֶלֶל, Job xii. 7); possibly so called from its tinkling sound. The three instruments which appear to have been most in common use amongst the Hebrews were *Nobel*, נָבֵל, *Cinnor*, כִּנּוֹר, and *Tizlzel*, צִלְצֵל. Two kinds of cymbals are mentioned in Ps. cl. 5, צִלְצֵלִי שְׁמַע, "loud cymbals," *cymbala benesomantia*, or *castagnettes*, and תְּרִמְנָה, צִלְצֵלִי, "high-sounding cymbals," *cymbala jubilatiois*. The former consisted of four small plates of brass or of some other hard metal; two plates were attached to each hand of the performer, and were smote together to produce a loud noise. The latter consisted of two larger plates, one held in each hand, and struck together as an accompaniment to other instruments. Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, the renowned conductors of the music of the sanctuary, employed the "loud cymbals" possibly to beat time, and to give the signal to the choir when it was to take part in the sacred chant. Lewis says—but he does not support his statement by any authority—that "there was allowed but one cymbal to be in choir at once." The use of cymbals was not necessarily restricted to the worship of the Temple or to sacred occasions: they were employed for military purposes, as also by the Hebrew women as a musical accompaniment to their national dances. The "loud cymbals" are the same with מִצְלִיתִים, A. V. "cymbals," performed on by the band which accompanied David when he brought up the ark of God from Kirjath-Jearim (1 Chr. xiii. 8).

Both kinds of cymbals are still common in the East in military music, and Niebuhr often refers to them in his travels. "Il y a chez les Orientaux," says Munk, "deux espèces: l'une se compose de deux petits morceaux de bois ou de fer creux et ronds qu'on tient entre les doigts et qui sont connus sous le nom de castagnettes; l'autre est composée de deux demi-sphères creusées en métal." Laupe has written a copious dissertation on ancient cymbals, and his work may be consulted with advantage by those who desire fuller information on the subject.

The cymbals used in modern orchestras and military bands, and which are called in Italian *piatti*, are two metal plates of the size and shape of saucers, one of which is fixed, and the other is held by the performer in his left hand. These resemble very closely the "high-sounding cymbals" of old, and they are used in a similar manner to mark the rhythm, especially in music of a loud and grand character. They are generally played by the person who performs on the large *side drum* (also an instrument of pure percussion); and whilst he holds one cymbal in his left hand, he strikes it against the other which is fixed to the drum, his right hand remaining free to wield the drumstick, as the large drum is only struck on one side and with one stick. In practice the drum and the cymbals are struck simultaneously, and an effect of percussion is thus produced which powerfully marks the time.

The noun *metzillath*, מִצְלִית, found in Zech. xiv. 20, is regarded by some critics as expressive of certain musical instruments known in the age of the second Temple, and probably introduced by the Israelites on their return from Babylon. The A. V. renders the word "bells," supposing it to be derived from

צֶלֶל. The most generally received opinion, however, is, that they were concave pieces or plates of brass which the people of Palestine and Syria attached to horses by way of ornament. (See Mendelssohn's Preface to Book of Psalms; Kimchi, *Comment. in loc.*; Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae*, Lond. 1724, 176-7; Forkel, *Geschichte d. Musik*; Jalm, *Archaeology*, American ed., cap. v. §96, 2; Munk, *Palestine*, 456; Esendier, *Diction. of Music*, i. 112.) [D. W. M.]

**CYPRESS** (תְּרֵמָה; LXX. omits; *ilex*). Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 269, 70) defends the rendering of the Vulg. in Is. xlv. 14, but the etymology of the word from תְּרֵמָה, *to be hard* (as in Latin we get *robur*, an oak) equally well suits the cypress. Van de Velde describes the cypresses of Lebanon, and there is great probability that the tree mentioned by Isaiah with the cedar and the oak is identical with the *κυπάρισσος* of Eccles. xxiv. 13, l. 10. The evergreen cypress (*cup. sempervirens* of Linnaeus) is a large coniferous tree very common in Palestine. Its wood is fragrant, very compact and heavy. It hardly ever rots, and was much used by the ancients in making the statues of their gods. Porocke has observed that the cypress is the only tree which grows towards the summits of Lebanon, and that at a considerable altitude its form is modified, so as to resemble a small oak. [CEDAR.] [W. D.]

**CYPRUS** (Κύπρος). This island was in early times in close commercial connexion with Phœnicia; and there is little doubt that it is referred to in such passages of the O. T. as Ez. xxvii. 6. [CHITIM.] Josephus makes this identification in the most express terms (Χέθιμα . . . Κύπρος αὐτὴ νῦν καλεῖται; *Ant.* i. 6, §1; so Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. 25). Possibly Jews may have settled in Cyprus before the time of Alexander. Soon after his time they were numerous in the island, as is distinctly implied in 1 Macc. xv. 23. The first notice of it in the N. T. is in Acts iv. 36, where it is mentioned as the native place of Barnabas. In Acts xi. 19, 20 it appears prominently in connexion with the earliest spreading of Christianity, first as receiving an impulse among its Jewish population from the persecution which drove the disciples from Jerusalem, at the death of Stephen, and then as furnishing disciples who preached the gospel to Gentiles at Antioch. Thus when Paul was sent with Barnabas from Antioch on his first missionary journey, Cyprus was the first scene of their labours (Acts xiii. 4-13). Again when Paul and Barnabas separated and took different routes, the latter went to his native island, taking with him his relative Munk, who had also been there on the previous occasion (Acts xv. 39). Another Christian of Cyprus, Mnason, called "an old disciple," and therefore probably an early convert, is mentioned Acts xxi. 16. The other notices of the island are purely geographical. On St. Paul's return from the third missionary journey, they "sighted" Cyprus, and sailed to the southward of it on the voyage from Patara to Tyre (ib. 3). At the commencement of the voyage to Rome, they sailed to the northward of it, on leaving Sidon, in order to be under the lee of the land (Acts xxvii. 4), and also in order to obtain the advantage of the current, which sets northerly along the coast of Phœnicia, and westerly with considerable force along Cilicia.

All the notices of Cyprus contained in ancient writers are diligently collected in the great work of Meuschen (*Meuschen Opera*, vol. iii. Flor. 1744). Situated in the extreme eastern corner of the Mediterranean, with the range of Lebanon on the east, and that of Taurus on the north, distinctly visible, it never became a thoroughly Greek island. Its religious rites were half Oriental [*Παφίος*], and its political history has almost always been associated with Asia and Africa. Cyprus was a rich and productive island. Its fruits and flowers were famous. The mountains also produced metals, especially copper. This circumstance gives us an interesting link between this island and Judaea. The copper mines were at one time famed to Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, §5), and there is a Cyprian inscription (Boeckh, No. 2628) which seems to refer to one of the Herods. The history of Cyprus is briefly as follows:—After being subject to the Egyptian king Amasis (Herod. ii. 182) it became a part of the Persian empire (ib. iii. 19, 91), and furnished ships against Greece in the expedition of Xerxes (ib. vii. 90). For a time it was subject to Greek influence, but again became tributary to Persia. After the battle of Issus, it joined Alexander, and after his death fell to the share of Ptolemy. In a desperate sea-fight off SALAMIS at the east end of Cyprus (B.C. 306) the victory was won by Demetrius Poliorcetes,—but the island was recovered by his rival, and afterwards it remained in the power of the Ptolemies, and was regarded as one of their most cherished possessions. It became a Roman province (B.C. 58) under circumstances discreditable to Rome.



Copper Coin of Cyprus, under Emp. Claudius.

Obv. [CL]AVDIVS. CAESAR. Head of Emp. to left. Rev. ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΙΝΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΑΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ.

At first its administration was joined with that of Cilicia, but after the battle of Actium it was separately governed. In the first division it was made an imperial province (Dion Cass. liii. 12). From this passage and from Strabo (xiv. p. 683) it has been supposed by some, as by Baronius, that St. Luke used the word *ἀρχαῖος* (*proconsul*), because the island was still connected with Cilicia, by others, as by Grotius and Hammond, that the evangelist employs the word in a loose and general manner. But, in fact, Dion Cassius himself distinctly tells us (ib. and liv. 4) that the emperor afterwards made this island a senatorial province; so that St. Luke's language is in the strictest sense correct. Further confirmation is supplied by coins and inscriptions, which mention other *proconsuls* of Cyprus not very remote from the time of *SENIUS PAULUS*. The governor appears to have resided at Paphos on the west of the island. Under the Roman empire a road connected the two towns of Paphos and Salamis, as appears from the Peut. Table. One of the most remarkable events in this part of the history of Cyprus was a terrible insur-

rection of the Jews in the reign of Trajan, which led to a massacre, first of the Greek inhabitants, and then of the insurgents themselves (Millman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 111, 112). In the 9th century Cyprus fell into the power of the Saracens. In the 12th it was in the hands of the Crusaders, under our king Richard I. Materials for the description of Cyprus are supplied by Pococke and Von Hammer. But see especially Engel's *Kypros*, Berlin, 1843, and Ross's *Reisen nach Kös, Halkiarmassus, Rhodos, u. der Insel Cypern*, Halle, 1852. [J. S. H.]

CYRENE (*Κυρήνη*), the principal city of that part of northern Africa, which was anciently called Cyrenaica, and also (from its five chief cities) Pentapolitana. This district was that wide projecting portion of the coast (corresponding to the modern Tripoli), which was separated from the territory of Carthage on the one hand, and that of Egypt on the other. Its surface is a table-land descending by terraces to the sea; and it was celebrated for its climate and fertility. It is observable that the expression used in Acts ii. 10, "the parts of Libya about (*κατὰ*) Cyrene," exactly corresponds with a phrase used by Dion Cassius (*Αἰβών ἡ περὶ Κυρήνην*, liii. 12), and also with the language of Josephus (*ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη*; *Ant.* xvi. 6, §1). [LIBYA.]

The points to be noticed in reference to Cyrene as connected with the N. T. are these,—that, though on the African coast, it was a Greek city; that the Jews were settled there in large numbers, and that under the Romans it was politically connected with Crete, from which it is separated by no great space of sea. The Greek colonisation of this part of Africa under Battus began as early as B.C. 631; and it became celebrated not only for its commerce, but for its physicians, philosophers, and poets. After the death of Alexander the Great, it became a dependency of Egypt. It is in this period that we find the Jews established there with great privileges. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, introduced them, because he thought they would contribute to the security of the place (Joseph. c. *Apion*. ii. 4); they became a prominent and influential class of the community (*Ant.* xiv. 7, §2); and they afterwards received much consideration from the Romans (xvi. 6, §5). See 1 Macc. xv. 23. We learn from Josephus (*Life*, 76) that soon after the Jewish war they rose against the Roman power. Another insurrection in the reign of Trajan led to great disasters, and to the beginning of the decay which was completed under the Mohammedans. It was in the year B.C. 75 that the territory of Cyrene (having previously been left to the Romans as a legacy by Apion, son of Ptolemy Physcon), was reduced to the form of a province. On the conquest of Crete (B.C. 67) the two were united in one province, and together frequently called Cretan-Cyrene. Under Constantine they were again separated. [CRETE.]

The notices above given of the numbers and position of the Jews in Cyrene (confirmed by Philo, who speaks of the diffusion of the Jews *ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰβών κατὰβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας*, *adv. Flacc.* p. 523) prepare us for the frequent mention of the place in the N. T. in connexion with Christianity. Simon, who bore our Saviour's cross (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26) was a native of Cyrene. Jewish dwellers in Cyrenaica were in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts ii. 10). They even gave their name to one of the synagogues in Jerusalem (ib. vi. 9).

Christian converts from Cyrene were among those who contributed actively to the formation of the first Gentile church at Antioch (ib. xi. 20), and among those who are specially mentioned as labouring at Antioch when Barnabas and Saul were sent on their missionary journey is Lucius of Cyrene (ib. xiii. 1), traditionally said to have been the first bishop of his native district. Other traditions connect Mark with the first establishment of Christianity in this part of Africa.

The antiquities of Cyrene have been illustrated in a series of recent works. See Della Cella, *Vaggio di Tripoli*, &c. Genoa, 1819; Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque*, &c. Paris, 1827-1829; Trige, *Res Cyrenenses*, Hafn. 1848; Beechey, *Expedition to explore the north coast of Africa*, &c. London, 1828; Barth, *Wanderungen durch das Punische u. Kyrenäische Küstenland*, Berlin, 1849; Hamilton, *Wanderings in North Africa*, London, 1856. [J. S. H.]



Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Cyrene.  
Obv. Seated sphinx plant. Rev. KYPA, Head of bearded  
Jupiter Ammon to the right

**CYRENENUS** (*Κυρήνιος*, Luke ii. 2), the literal English rendering in the A. V. of the Greek name, which is itself the Greek form of the Roman name **QUIRINUS** (not Quirinus; see Meyer, *in loc.*: Sueton. *Tiber.* 49; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 30, iii. 48). The full name is Publius Sulpicius Quirinus. He was consul A.U.C. 742, B.C. 12, and made governor of Syria after the banishment of Archelaus in A.D. 6 (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §5). He was sent to make an enrolment of property in Syria, and made accordingly, both there and in Judaea, a census or *ἀπογραφὴ* (Joseph. *l. c.*, and xviii. 1, §1). But this census seems in Luke (ii. 2) to be identified with one which took place at the time of the birth of Christ, when Sensus Saturninus was governor of Syria. Hence has arisen a considerable difficulty, which has been variously solved, either by supposing some corruption in the text of St. Luke (a supposition which is not countenanced by any external critical evidence), or by giving some unusual sense to his words, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς πρῶτῃ ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρήνιου*. Many commentators and chronologists, e.g. Perizonius, Usher, Petavins, Storr, Tholuck, Wieseler, would render this, "was made before Q. was governor of Syria," by a usage otherwise confined to St. John among the Evangelists. But this is very improbable, both in itself and because thus there would have been no adequate ground for inserting the notice.

An unexpected light has been thrown on the matter lately, which renders it only necessary to refer to summaries and criticisms of the various hypotheses, such as that in Wiener, art. Quirinius.

A. W. Zumpt, of Berlin, the nephew of the distinguished grammarian, in his *Commentatio de Syria Romanorum provincia a Caesare Augusto ad T. Vespasianum*, has shown it to be probable that

## CYRENENUS

Quirinus was twice governor of Syria. This he supports by the following considerations:—

In 9 B.C. Sensus Saturninus succeeded M. Titius in the province of Syria, and governed it three years. He was succeeded by T. Quintilius Varus (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 5, §2), who, as it appears, remained governor up to the end of 4 B.C. Thenceforward we lose sight of him till he is appointed to the command in Germany, in which he lost his life in A.D. 7. We also lose sight of the governors of Syria till the appointment of P. Sulpicius Quirinus, in A.D. 6. Now from the maxim acted on by Augustus (Dion. *Cass.* lii. 23), that none should hold an imperial province for less than three or more than five years, Varus cannot have been governor of Syria during the twelve years from B.C. 6 to A.D. 6. Who then were the missing governors? One of them has been found, L. Volusius Saturninus, whose name occurs as "legatus Syriæ" on a coin of Antioch, A.D. 4 or 5. But his proconsulate will not fill the whole time, and one or two governors must be supplied between Varus, ending 4 B.C., and Volusius, 4 or 5 A.D.

Just at that interval falls the census, of which it is said in Luke ii. 2, that it *πρῶτῃ ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρήνιου*. Could Quirinus have been governor at any such time? From Jan. to Aug. B.C. 12 he was consul. Soon after that he triumphed over the Homonadenses (*novæ expugnatæ per Ciliciam Homonadensium castris insignia triumphæ adeptus*, Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48). Now Zumpt applies the exhaustive process to the provinces which could by any possibility have been under Quirinus at this time, and eliminates from the inquiry Asia,—Pontus and Bithynia,—and Galatia. Cilicia only remains. But at this time, as he shows, that province had been reduced by successive diminutions, had been separated (Dion. *Cass.* lv. 4) from Cyprus, and—as is shown by the history of the misconduct of Piso soon afterwards, who was charged with having, as ex-governor of Syria, attempted *repelere provinciam armis* (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 12), because he had attacked Cleanderis, a fort in Cilicia (ib. ii. 78-80)—attached to the province of Syria. This Zumpt also confirms by the accounts in Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 41, xii. 55) of the Cilicæ, a seditious tribe of Cilicia aspera, who on two occasions were repressed by troops sent by the governors of Syria.

Quirinus then appears to have been governor of Syria at some time during this interval. But at what time? We find him in the East (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48), as *datus rector C. Caesaris Armenicum obtinenti*; and this cannot have been during his well-known governorship of Syria, which began in A.D. 6; for Caius Caesar died in A.D. 4. Zumpt, by arguments too long to be reproduced here, but very striking and satisfactory, fixes the time of his first governorship at from B.C. 4 to B.C. 1, when he was succeeded by M. Lollius.

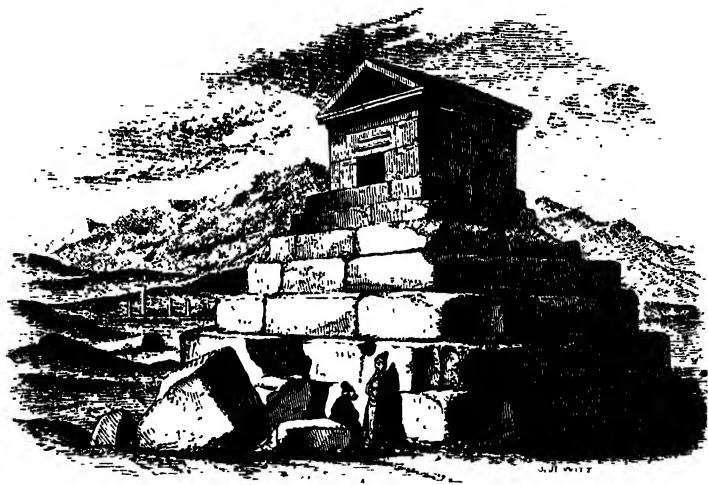
It is true this does not quite remove our difficulty. But it brings it within such narrow limits, that any slight error in calculation, or even the latitude allowed by the words *πρῶτῃ ἐγένετο*, might well cover it.

In the passage of Tacitus referred to more than once (*Ann.* iii. 48), we learn that in A.D. 21, Tiberius asked of the Senate the honour of a public funeral for Quirinus. The historian describes, however, his memory as not being popular for other reasons (see *Ann.* iii. 22), and because of his "*sordida et pæcopolens senectus*."

For the controversy respecting the census under Quirinus, as it stood before Zumpt's discovery, see Winter, *nt. supra*: Greswell, vol. i. *Dissertation* vii.; Browne's *Ordo Sacclorum*, *Appendix* ii. 40 ff.; and Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, 109 ff. [H. A.]

**CYRUS** (כורש, or כורש, i.e. *Curesh*; *Kōpos*; probably from the root contained in the Pers. *kahr*, the sun; Sans. *sāra*: so Plut. *Artax.* c. 1; cf. Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.), the founder of the Persian empire (cf. Dan. vi. 28, x. 1, 13; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22, 23), was, according to the common legend (Herod. i. 107; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, 1), the son of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, the last king of Media, and Cambyses a Persian of the royal family of the Achæmenidae. In consequence of a dream, Astyages, it is said, designed the death of his infant grandson, but the child was spared by those whom he charged with the commission of the crime (Herod. i. 109 ff.), and Cyrus grew up in obscurity under the name of Agadates (Strab. xv. 729). His real parentage was discovered by the impetuous spirit which he displayed while yet a boy (Herod. i. 114), and when he grew up to manhood his courage and genius placed him at the head of the Persians. The

tyranny of Astyages had at that time alienated a large faction of the Medes, and Cyrus headed a revolt which ended in the defeat and capture of the Median king B.C. 559, near Pasargadae (*Murgh-Aub*, Strab. xv. 730). After consolidating the empire which he thus gained, Cyrus entered on that career of conquest which has made him the hero of the east. In B.C. 546 (?) he defeated Croesus, and the kingdom of Lydia was the prize of his success. While his general Harpagus was engaged in completing the reduction of Asia Minor, Cyrus turned his arms against the Babylonians. Babylon fell before his army, and the ancient dominions of Assyria were added to his empire (B.C. 538). The conquest of Babylon opened the way for greater designs. It is probable that Cyrus planned an invasion of Egypt; and there are traces of campaigns in Central Asia, in which he appears to have attempted to extend his power to the Indus (Ctes. *Pers.* cc. 5 ff.). Afterwards he attacked the Massagetae, and according to Herodotus (i. 214; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 2, 1) he fell in a battle against them B.C. 529 (Clinton, *F. H.* vol. ii. 301 ff.). His tomb is still shown at Pasargadae (*Arr. Exp.* Al. vi. 29), the scene of his first decisive victory (Rawlinson, Herod. i. p. 351).



Tomb of Cyrus at Murgh-Aub, the ancient Pasargadae.

It is impossible to insist upon the details of the outline thus sketched. In the time of Herodotus Cyrus was already regarded as the national hero of Persia, and his history had received various popular embellishments (Herod. i. 95; cf. iii. 18, 160; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, 1). In the next century Xenophon chose him as the hero of his romance, and fact and fiction became thenceforth hopelessly confused in classical writers. But in the absence of authentic details of his actions, the empire which he left is the best record of his power and plans. Like an Oriental Alexander he aimed at universal dominion; and the influence of Persia, like that of

Greece, survived the dynasty from which it sprung. In every aspect the reign of Cyrus marks an epoch in universal history. The fall of Sardis and Babylon was the starting-point of European life; and it is a singular coincidence that the beginning of Grecian art and philosophy, and the foundation of the Roman constitution synchronize with the triumph of the Arian race in the east (cf. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass.* p. 232).

But while the position which Cyrus occupied with regard to the nations of the world is strikingly significant, the personal relations to God's people, with which he is invested in the Scriptures, are full of a more peculiar interest.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In an inscription he is described as "Son of Cambyses, the powerful king" (Col. Rawlinson, on Herod. i. 107).

<sup>b</sup> It seems unnecessary to enter into the question of the identity of the Cyrus of Scripture and profane history, though the opinion of the Duke of Manchester

that the Cyrus of Herodotus is the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible has found advocates in Germany (Prescol, s. v. *Cyrus* in *Herzog's Encyclop.*). It is impossible that the great conqueror of Isaiah can be merely a satrap of Xerxes.

Hitherto the great kings, with whom the Jews had been brought into contact, had been open oppressors or seductive allies; but Cyrus was a generous liberator and a just guardian of their rights. An inspired prophet (Is. xlv. 28) recognised in him "a shepherd" of the Lord, an "anointed" king (Is. xlv. 1; *ἡ ἀγιωσύνη*, *Messiah*; *τῷ χριστῷ μου*; *Christo meo*); and the title seemed to later writers to invest him with the dignity of being in some sense a type of 'Christ himself' (Hieron. *Comm. in Is.* xlv. 1). His successes are connected in the prophecy with their religious issue; and if that appear to be a partial view of history which represents the restoration of a poor remnant of captive Israelites to their own land as the final cause of his victories (Is. xlv. 28-xlv. 4), it may be answered that the permanent efforts which Persia has wrought upon the world can be better traced through the Jewish people than through any other channel. The laws, the literature, the religion, the very ruins of the material grandeur of Persia have passed away; and still it is possible to distinguish the effects which they produced in preparing the Jews for the fulfilment of their last mission. In this respect also the parallel, which has been already hinted, holds good. Cyrus stands out clearly as the representative of the east, as Alexander afterwards of the west. The one led to the development of the idea of order, and the other to that of independence. Ecclesiastically the first crisis was signalled by the consolidation of a Church; the second by the distinction of sects. The one found its outward embodiment in "the great Synagogue;" the other in the dynasty of the Asmonaeans.

The edict of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the Temple (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22-3; Ezr. i. 1-4, iii. 7, iv. 3, v. 13, 17, vi. 3) was in fact the beginning of Judaism; and the great changes by which the nation was transformed into a church are clearly marked.

1. The lesson of the kingdom was completed by the captivity. The sway of a temporal prince was at length felt to be at best only a faint image of that Messianic kingdom to which the prophets pointed. The royal power had led to apostasy in Israel, and to idolatry in Judah; and men looked for some other outward form in which the law might be visibly realized. Dependence on Persia excluded the hope of absolute political freedom and offered a sure guarantee for the liberty of religious organization.

2. The captivity which was the punishment of idolatry was also the limit of that sin. Thenceforth the Jews apprehended fully the spiritual nature of their faith, and held it fast through persecution. At the same time wider views were opened to them of the unseen world. The powers of good and evil were recognised in their action in the material world, and in this way some preparation was made for the crowning doctrine of Christianity.

3. The organization of the outward Church was connected with the purifying of doctrine, and served as the form in which the truth might be realised by the mass. Prayer—public and private—assumed a new importance. The prophetic work came to an end. The Scriptures were collected. The "law was fenced" by an oral tradition. Synagogues were erected, and schools formed. Scribes shared the respect of priests, if they did not supersede them in popular regard.

4. Above all, the bond by which "the people of God" was held together was at length felt to

be religious and not local, nor even primarily national. The Jews were incorporated in different nations, and still looked to Jerusalem as the centre of their faith. The boundaries of Canaan were passed; and the beginnings of a Spiritual dispensation were already made when the "Dispersion" was established among the kingdoms of the earth (comp. Niebuhr's *Gesch. Assyris und Babyls*, 224 ff.; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, iv. 60 ff.; Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, i. 13 ff.). [DISPERSION OF THE JEWS.] [B. F. W.]

## D

DAB'AREH (דַּבְּרֵה; Δεβρεδ; Alex. Δεβρεθ;

*Dibereth*), Josh. xxi. 28. This name is incorrectly spelt in the A. V., and should be DABERATH; which see.

DAB'BASHIETH (דַּבְּשִׁיֶּת; Βαυδάβα; Alex.

Δαβδσθα; *Debbaseth*), a town on the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 11 only).

DABERATH (with the art. in Josh. דַּבְּרֵת הַ;

Δαβρωθ; Alex. Δαβρεθ; in Chron. by double copying, *τὴν Δεβερί καὶ τὴν Δαβρόν*; *Dibereth*), a town on the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 12) named as next to Chisloth-Tabor. In the list of Levitical cities however in 1 Chr. vi. 72, and in Josh. xxi. 28 (where the name in the original is the same, though in the A. V. "Dabareh"), it is stated as belonging to Issachar. It is no doubt the Dabaritta (Δαβριττων κώμη) mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 21, §3). Under the name of *Debrieth* it still lies at the western foot of Tabor (ii. 350). A tradition mentioned by Van de Velde (ii. 374) makes this the scene of the miracle on the lunatic child performed by our Lord after His descent from the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 14). But this event probably took place far away. [i.]

DA'BRIA, one of the five swift scribes who recorded the visions of Elisha (2 Esd. xiv. 24; comp. 37, 42).

DACO'BI (Δακοῦβ; Alex. Δακουβί; *Accubi*), 1 Esd. v. 28, [AKKUB.]

DADDEUS, or SADDEUS (1 Esd. viii. 45, 46), a name which answers to the Greek Δαδδαῖος, or Δαδδαῖος, which is itself a corruption of Iddo (Ezr. viii. 17), arising out of the preceding word דָּד. [IDDO.] [B. F. W.]

DA'GON (דָּגוֹן, Δάγων, a diminutive of דָּג, a fish, used in a sense of endearment: cf. *Gesen. Thes. s. v.*), apparently the masculine (1 Sam. v. 3, 4; Sanchun. p. 28; *Movers, Phoeniz.* i. 144) relative of Atargatis [ATARGATIS], was the national god of the Philistines. The most famous temples of Dagon were at Gaza (Judg. xvi. 21-30) and Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 5, 6; 1 Chr. x. 10). The latter temple was destroyed by Jonathan in the Maccabean wars (1 Macc. x. 83, 4, xi. 4; *Joseph. Ant.* xiii. 4, §5). Traces of the worship of Dagon likewise appear in the names Caphar-Dagon (near Jamnia), and Beth-Dagon in Judah (Josh. xv. 41) and Asher (Josh. xix. 27). [BETH-DAGON.] Dagon

was represented with the face and hands of a man and the tail of a fish (1 Sam. v. 5).



Fish-god. From Khorsabad (Layard.)

In the Babylonian mythology the name Dagon, Odakon ('*Ὠδάκων*') is applied to a fish-like being who "rose from the waters of the Red Sea (Berosus, in Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assyrs.* p. 477) as one of the great benefactors of men." Niebuhr appears to identify this being with the Phœnician god, but Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, i. 523 ff.) regards them as wholly distinct. It may have been from a confusion with the Babylonian deity that the Phœnician Dagon has been compared with *Zēds āpōrtius*, the author of agriculture (Philo Bybl. ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* i. 10; Saatchon, p. 32), as if the name were connected with *זֶדֶד*, corn (*זירור*, Philo).



Fish-god. From Nimroud. (Layard.)

The fish-like form was a natural emblem of fruitfulness, and as such was likely to be adopted by



Fish-god on gems in British Museum. (Layard.)

seafaring tribes in the representation of their gods. Various kinds of fish were, as is well known, objects of general worship among the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 72; Strab. xvii. p. 812). [B. F. W.]

**DAISAN** (*Δαϊσάν*; Alex. *Δεσάν*; *Desanon*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [REZIN; by the commonly repeated change of R, 7, to D, 7.]

**DALAI'AH** (*דַּלַּיָא*; *Δαλαΐα*; *Dalaia*). The sixth son of Elioenai, a descendant of the royal family of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 24).

**DALMANUTHA** (*Δαλμανουθά*). In Matt. xv. 39 it is said that Jesus "came into the borders of Magdala," while in Mark viii. 10 we read that He "came into the regions (*εἰς τὰ μέρη*) of Dalmanutha." From this we may conclude that Dalmanutha was a town on the west side of the Sea of Galilee near Magdala. The latter stood close upon the shore, at the southern end of the little plain of Gennesaret. [MAGDALA.] Immediately south of it a precipitous hill juts out into the sea. Beyond this, about a mile from Magdala, a narrow glen breaks down from the west. At its mouth are some cultivated fields and gardens, amid which, just by the beach, are several copious fountains, surrounded by heavy ancient walls, and the ruins of a village. The place is called '*Ain-el-Bairideh*,' "the cold Fountain." Here in all probability is the site of the long lost Dalmanutha. [J. L. P.]

**DALMA'TIA** (*Δαλματία*), a mountainous district on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, extending from the river Naro in the S. to the Savus in the N. It formed a portion of the Roman province of Illyricum subsequently to Tiberius' expedition, A.D. 9. St. Paul sent Titus there (2 Tim. iv. 10); he himself had preached the Gospel in its immediate neighbourhood (Rom. xv. 19), for the boundaries of Illyricum and Dalmatia were not well defined, and the two names were, at the time St. Paul wrote, almost identical. [W. L. B.]

**DAL'PHON** (*דַּלְפֹּן*; *Δελφών*, some MSS. *καὶ δελφών*; *Delphon*), the second of the ten sons of Haman; killed by the Jews on the 13th of Adar (Esth. ix. 7).

**DAM'ARIS** (*Δάμαρις*), an Athenian woman converted to Christianity by St. Paul's preaching (Acts xvii. 34). Chrysostom (*de Sacerdotio*, iv. 7), and others held her to have been the wife of Dionysius the Areopagite, but apparently for no other reason than that she is mentioned together with him in this passage. Grotius and Hemsterhuis think the name should be *Δάμαλις*, which is frequently found as a woman's name; but the permutation of λ and ρ was not uncommon both in pronunciation and writing. We have *κρίβανος* and *ελίβανος*, *θεγκόλος* and *λεγκόλος*, *βοτκόλος* and *αγκικόρος*, from the obsolete *κόρος* or *κόλως*, *curo*, *colo* (Lobeck on Phrynichus, p. 652). [H. A.]

**DAMAS'CUS** (*דַּמָּשְׁק*; *Δαμασκός*; *Damascus*) is one of the most ancient, and has at all times been one of the most important, of the cities of Syria. It is situated in a plain of vast size and of extreme fertility, which lies east of the great chain of Anti-Libanus, on the edge of the desert. This fertile plain, which is nearly circular, and about 30 miles in diameter, is due to the river *Barada*, which is probably the "*Abana*" of Scripture. This stream, rising high up on the western flank of Anti-Libanus, forces its way through the chain, running

for some time among the mountains, till suddenly it bursts through a narrow cleft upon the open country east of the hills, and diffuses fertility far and wide. [ABANA.] "From the edge of the mountain-range," says a modern traveller, "you look down on the plain of Damascus. It is here seen in its widest and fullest perfection, with the visible explanation of the whole secret of its great and enduring charm, that which it must have had when it was the solitary seat of civilisation in Syria, and which it will have as long as the world lasts. The river is visible at the bottom, with its green banks, rushing through the cleft; it bursts forth, and as if in a moment scatters over the plain, through a circle of 30 miles, the same verdure which had hitherto been confined to its single channel. . . . Far and wide in front extends the level plain, its horizon bare, its lines of surrounding hills bare, all bare far away on the road to Palmyra and Bagdad. In the midst of this plain lies at your feet the vast lake or island of deep verdure, walnuts and apricots waving above, corn and grass below; and in the midst of this mass of foliage rises, striking out its white arms of streets hither and thither, and its white minarets above the trees which embosom them, the city of Damascus. On the right towers the snowy height of Hermon, overlooking the whole scene. Close behind are the sterile limestone mountains—so that you stand literally between the living and the dead" (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 410). Another writer mentions among the produce of the plain in question "walnuts, pomegranates, figs, plums, apricots, citrons, pears, and apples" (Addison's *Dan. and Palmyra*, ii. 92). Olive-trees are also a principal feature of the scene. Besides the main stream of the *Barada*, which runs directly through the town, supplying its public cisterns, latrines, and fountains, a number of branches are given off to the right and to the left, which irrigate the meadows and corn-fields, turning what would otherwise be a desert into a garden. The various streams reunite, but greatly weakened in volume, at a little distance beyond the town; and the *Barada* flows on towards the east in a single channel for about 15 miles, when it separates, and pours its waters into two small and shallow lakes, which lie upon the verge of the desert. Two other streams, the *Wady Helbon* upon the north, and the *Araj* upon the south, which flows direct from Hermon, increase the fertility of the Damascene plain, and contend for the honour of representing the "Pharpar" of Scripture. [PHARPAR.]

According to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6) Damascus was founded by Uz, the son of Aram, and grandson of Shem. It is first mentioned in Scripture in connexion with Abraham, whose steward was a native of the place (*Gen.* xv. 2). We may gather from the name of this person, as well as from the statement of Josephus, which connects the city with the Arameans, that it was a Semitic settlement. According to a tradition preserved in the native writer, Nicolaus, Abraham stayed for some time at Damascus, after leaving Charran and before entering the promised land, and during his stay was king of the place. "Abraham's name was," he says, "even in his own day familiar in the mouths of the Damascenes, and a village was shown where he dwelt, which was called after him" (*Fr.* 30). This last circumstance would seem however to conflict with the notion of Abraham having been king, since in that case he would have dwelt in the capital. Nothing more is known of Damascus until the time of

David, when "the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Hahadezer, king of Zobah," with whom David was at war (2 Sam. viii. 5; 1 Chr. xviii. 5). On this occasion David "slew of the Syrians 22,000 men;" and in consequence of this victory became completely master of the whole territory, which he garrisoned with Israelites. "David put garrisons in Syria of Damascus; and the Syrians became servants to David, and brought gifts" (2 Sam. viii. 6). Nicolaus of Damascus said that the name of the king who reigned at this time, was Hadad; and he ascribes to him a dominion, not only over Damascus, but over "all Syria except Phoenicia" (*Fr.* 31). He noticed his *attack* upon David; and related that many battles were fought between them, the last, wherein he suffered defeat, being "*upon the Euphrates*." According to this writer Hadad the first was succeeded by a son, who took the same name, as did his descendants for ten generations. But this is irreconcilable with Scripture. It appears that in the reign of Solomon, a certain Rezon, who had been a subject of Hahadezer, king of Zobah, and had escaped when David conquered Zobah, made himself master of Damascus, and established his own rule there (1 K. xi. 23-5). He was "an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon . . . and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Syria." Afterwards the family of Hadad appears to have recovered the throne, and a Benhadad, who is probably Hadad III. of Nicolaus, a grandson of the antagonist of David, is found in league with Baasha, king of Israel, against Asa (1 K. xv. 19; 2 Chr. xvi. 3), and afterwards in league with Asa against Baasha (1 K. xv. 20). He made a successful invasion of the Israelite territory in the reign of that king; and in the reign of Omri he not only captured a number of Israelite cities which he added to his own dominions, but even seems to have exercised a species of lordship over Samaria itself, in which he acquired the right of "making himself streets" (1 K. xx. 34; comp. Nic. D. *Fr.* 31, *ad fin.*). He was succeeded by his son, Hadad IV. (the Benhadad II. of Scripture, and the Ben-Idri of the Assyrian inscriptions), who came at the head of thirty-two subject kings against Ahab, and laid siege to Samaria (1 K. xv. 1). The attack was unsuccessful; and was followed by wars, in which victory declared itself unmistakably on the side of the Israelites; and at last Benhadad was taken prisoner, and forced to submit to a treaty whereby he gave up all that his father had gained, and submitted in his turn to the suzerainty of Ahab (*ib.* xx. 13-34). The terms of the treaty were perhaps not observed. At any rate three years afterwards war broke out afresh, through the claim of Ahab to the city of Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 1-4). The defeat and death of Ahab at that place (*ib.* 15-37) seems to have enabled the Syrians of Damascus to resume the offensive. Their bands ravaged the lands of Israel during the reign of Jehoram; and they even undertook at this time a second siege of Samaria, which was frustrated miraculously (2 K. vi. 24, vii. 6-7). After this, we do not hear of any more attempts against the Israelite capital. The cuneiform inscriptions show that towards the close of his reign Benhadad was exposed to the assaults of a great conqueror, who was bent on extending the dominion of Assyria over Syria and Palestine. Three several attacks appear to have been made by this prince upon Benhadad, who, though he had the support of the Phoenicians, the Hittites, and the Hamathites, was

unable to offer any effectual opposition to the Assyrian arms. His troops were worsted in several engagements, and in one of them he lost as many as 20,000 men. It may have been these circumstances which encouraged Hazael, the servant of Benhadad, to murder him, and seize the throne, which Elisha had declared would certainly one day be his (2 K. viii. 15). He may have thought that the Syrians would willingly acquiesce in the removal of a ruler under whom they had suffered so many disasters. The change of rulers was not at first productive of any advantage to the Syrians. Shortly after the accession of Hazael (about B.C. 884), he was in his turn attacked by the Assyrians, who defeated him with great loss amid the fastnesses of Anti-Libanus. However, in his other wars he was more fortunate. He repulsed an attack on Ramoth-Gilead, made by Ahaziah king of Judah and Jehoram king of Israel in conjunction (2 K. viii. 28-9); ravaged the whole Israelite territory east of Jordan (ib. x. 32-3); besieged and took Gath (ib. xii. 17; comp. Am. vi. 2); threatened Jerusalem, which only escaped by paying a heavy ransom (2 K. xii. 18); and established a species of suzerainty over Israel, which he maintained to the day of his death, and handed down to Benhadad, his son (2 K. xiii. 3-7, and 22). This prince in the earlier part of his reign had the same good fortune as his father. Like him, he "oppressed Israel," and added various cities of the Israelites to his own dominion (2 K. xiii. 25); but at last a deliverer appeared (verse 5), and Joash, the son of Jehoiada, "beat Hazael thrice, and recovered the cities of Israel" (verse 25). In the next reign still further advantages were gained by the Israelites. Jehoahaz II. (ab. B.C. 836) is said to have "recovered Damascus" (ib. xiv. 28), and though this may not mean that he captured the city, it at least implies that he obtained a certain influence over it. The mention of this circumstance is followed by a long pause, during which we hear nothing of the Syrians, and must therefore conclude that their relations with the Israelites continued peaceable. When they reappear nearly a century later (ab. B.C. 742) it is as allies of Israel against Judah (2 K. xv. 37). We may suspect that the chief cause of the union now established between two powers which had been so long hostile, was the necessity of combining to resist the Assyrians, who at the time were steadily pursuing a policy of encroachment in this quarter. Scripture mentions the invasions of Pul (2 K. xv. 19; 1 Chr. v. 26), and Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xv. 29; 1 Chr. v. 26); and there is reason to believe that almost every Assyrian monarch of the period made war in this direction. It seems to have been during a pause in the struggle that Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, resolved conjointly to attack Jerusalem, intending to depose Ahaz and set up as king a creature of their own (Is. vii. 1-6; 2 K. xvi. 5). Ahaz may have been already suspected of a friendly feeling towards Assyria, or the object may simply have been to consolidate a power capable of effectually opposing the arms of that country. In either case the attempt signally failed, and only brought about more rapidly the evil against which the two kings wished to guard. Jerusalem successfully maintained itself against the combined attack; but Elath, which had been formerly built by Azariah, king of Judah, in territory regarded as Syrian (2 K. xiv. 22), having been taken and retained by Rezin (ib. xvi. 6)—Ahaz was

induced to throw himself into the arms of Tiglath-Pileser, to ask aid from him, and to accept voluntarily the position of an Assyrian feudatory (ib. xvi. 7-8). The aid sought was given, with the important result, that Rezin was slain, the kingdom of Damascus brought to an end, and the city itself destroyed—the inhabitants being carried captive into Assyria (ibid. verse 9; comp. Is. vii. 8 and Am. i. 5).

It was long before Damascus recovered from this serious blow. As Isaiah and Amos had prophesied in the day of her prosperity, that Damascus should be "taken away from being a city and be a ruinous heap" (Is. xvii. 1), that "a fire should be sent into the house of Hazael, which should devour the palaces of Benhadad" (Am. i. 4); so Jeremiah, writing about B.C. 600, declares "Damascus is *waxed feeble* and turneth herself to flee, and fear hath seized on her; anguish and sorrows have taken her, as a woman in travail. How is the city of praise *not left*, the city of my joy!" (Jer. xlix. 24-5). We do not know at what time Damascus was rebuilt; but Strabo says that it was the most famous place in Syria during the Persian period (xvi. 2, §19); and we find that before the battle of Issus it was selected by Darius as the city to which he should send for better security the greater part of his treasures and valuables (Arr. *Exp. Al.* ii. 11). Shortly after the battle of Issus it was taken by Parmenio (ibid.); and from this time it continued to be a place of some importance under the Greeks; becoming however decidedly second to Antioch, which was raised up as a rival to it by the Seleucids. From the monarchs of this house it passed to the Romans, who became masters of it in the war between Pompey and Mithridates (*Mos. Choren.* i. 14; comp. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 2, §3; and App. *Bell. Mithr.* p. 244). At the time of the Gospel history, and of the apostle Paul, it formed a part of the kingdom of Aretas (2 Cor. xi. 32), an Arabian prince, who like the princes of the house of Herod, held his kingdom under the Romans (Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 11, §9). A little later it was reckoned to Decapolis (Plin. *II. N.* v. 16), after which it became a part of the province known as Phœnicia Libanensis (Hierocl. *Synecd.* p. 717). It grew in magnificence under the Greek emperors, and when taken by the Mahometan Arabs in A.D. 634, was one of the first cities of the eastern world. It is not necessary to trace its subsequent glories under the Caliphs, the Sarracens, and the Turks. It may however be noticed that there has scarcely been an interruption to its prosperity, and that it is still a city of 150,000 inhabitants.

Damascus has always been a great centre for trade. The difficulties and dangers of the mountain passes to the west of Anti-Libanus made the line of traffic between Egypt and Upper Syria follow the circuitous route by Damascus rather than the direct one through Coele-Syria, while the trade of Tyre with Assyria and the East generally, passed naturally through Damascus on its way to Palmyra and the Euphrates. Ezekiel, speaking of Tyre, says, "Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool." It would appear from this that Damascus took manufactured goods from the Phœnicians, and supplied them in exchange with wool and wine. The former would be produced in abundance in Coele-Syria and the valleys of the Anti-Libanus range, while the latter seems to have

been grown in the vicinity of *Helbon*, a village still famous for the produce of its vines, 10 or 12 miles from Damascus to the north-west (*Geograph. Jour.* vol. xxvi. p. 44). But the passage trade of Damascus has probably been at all times more important than its direct commerce. Its merchants must have profited largely by the caravans which continually passed through it on their way to distant countries. It is uncertain whether in early times it had any important manufactures of its own. According to some expositors, the passage in Amos iii. 12, which we translate "in Damascus on a couch" (שֹׁכֵן בִּדְמָשְׁקִי), means really "on the *damask* couch," which would indicate that the Syrian city had become famous for a textile fabric as early as the eighth century B.C. There is no doubt that such a fabric gave rise to our own word, which has its counterpart in Arabic as well as in most of the languages of modern Europe; but it is questionable whether either this, or the peculiar method of working in steel, which has impressed itself in a similar way upon the speech of the world, was invented by the Damascenes before the Mahometan era. In ancient times they were probably rather a consuming than a producing people, as the passage in Ezekiel clearly indicates.

Certain localities in Damascus are shown as the site of those Scriptural events which especially interest us in its history. A "long wide thoroughfare"—leading direct from one of the gates to the Castle or palace of the Pasha—is "called by the guides 'Straight'" (Acts ix. 11); but the natives know it among themselves, as "the Street of Bazzars" (Stanley, p. 412). The house of Judas is shown, but it is not in the street "Straight" (Pococke, ii. 119). That of Ananias is also pointed out. The scene of the conversion is confidently said to be "an open green spot, surrounded by trees," and used as the Christian burial-ground; but this spot is on the eastern side of the city, whereas St. Paul must have approached from the south or west. Again it appears to be certain that "four distinct spots have been pointed out at different times" (Stanley, p. 412) as the place where the "great light suddenly shined from heaven" (Acts ix. 8); so that little confidence can be placed in any of them. The point of the walls at which St. Paul was let down by a basket (Acts ix. 25; 2 Cor. xi. 33) is also shown; and, as this locality is free from objection, it may be accepted, if we think that the tradition, which has been so faithless or so uncertain in other cases, has any value here.

In the vicinity of Damascus certain places are shown, traditionally connected with the prophet Elisha; but these local legends are necessarily even more doubtful than those which have reference to the comparatively recent age of the Apostles.

(See Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*; Maundrell's *Journey to Damascus*; Addison's *Damascus and Palmyra*; Pococke's *Travels*; and especially Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, and his account of

\* Gesenius has pointed out a slight difference between the two derivations; the verb being active in the latter and passive in the former (*Thes.* 336). This is quite in keeping with the uncertainty which attends many of these ancient paronomastic derivations (compare *Abel*, BENJAMIN, and others).

\* The frequent variations in the LXX. forbid absolute reliance on these numbers; and, in addition, it should not be overlooked that the census in Num.

the country round Damascus in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxvi.) [G. R.]

DAN. 1. (דָּן; Δάν; Joseph. Δάν, θεόκτιστον ἄν τις ἐποίησεν κατὰ τὴν ἑλλ. γλώτταν; Dan). The fifth son of Jacob, and the first of Bilhah, Rachel's maid (Gen. xxx. 6). The origin of the name is given in the exclamation of Rachel—"God hath judged me" (דָּן, *dananni*) . . . and given me a son," therefore she called his name Dan," i. e. "judge." In the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16) this play on the name is repeated—"Dan shall judge" (דָּן, *yalin*) his people." Dan was own brother to Naphtali; and as the son of Rachel's maid, in a closer relation with Rachel's sons, Joseph and Benjamin, than with the other members of the family. It may be noticed that there is a close affinity between his name and that of DINAH, the only daughter of Jacob whose name is preserved.

The records of Dan are unusually meagre. Of the patriarch himself no personal history is, unfortunately, preserved. Only one son is attributed to him (Gen. xlii. 23); but it may be observed that "Hushim" is a plural form, as if the name, not of an individual, but of a family; and it is remarkable—whether as indicating that some of the descendants of Dan are omitted in these lists, or from other causes—that when the people were numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, this was, with the exception of Judah, the most numerous of all the tribes, containing 62,700 men able to serve. The position of Dan during the march through the desert was on the north side of the tabernacle (Num. ii. 25). Here, with his brother Naphtali, and Asher, the son of Zilpah, before him, was his station, the hindmost of the long procession (ii. 31, x. 25).

The names of the "captain" (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe at this time, and of the "ruler" (the Hebrew word is the same as before, who was one of the spies (xiii. 12), are preserved. So also is the name of one who played a prominent part at that time, "Abihah the son of Abihamah, of the tribe of Dan," associated with Bezaleel in the design and construction of the fittings of the tabernacle (Exod. xxxi. 6, &c.). The numbers of this tribe were not subject to the violent fluctuations which increased or diminished some of its brethren (comp. the figures given in Num. i. and xvi.), and it arrived at the threshold of the Promised Land, and passed the ordeal of the rites of Baal-peor (Num. xxv.) with an increase of 1700 on the earlier census. The remaining notices of the tribe before the passage of the Jordan are unimportant. It furnished a "prince" (*Nasi*, as before) to the apportionment of the land; and it was appointed to stand on Mount Ebal, still in company with Naphtali (but opposite to the other related tribes), at the ceremony of blessing and cursing (Deut. xxvii. 13). After this nothing is heard of Dan till the specification of the inheritance allotted to him (Josh. xix. 48). He was the last of the tribes to receive his portion, and that portion, according to the record of Joshua—strange as it appears in the face of the numbers just quoted—was the smallest of the

1. is of fighting men, that of xxvi. of the "children of Reuben," &c., and therefore probably without that limitation.

\* This one word is rendered in the A. V. by "prince," "ruler," "captain," "chief," and "governor."

twelve.<sup>4</sup> But notwithstanding its smallness it had eminent natural advantages. On the north and east it was completely embraced by its two brother-tribes Ephraim and Benjamin, while on the south-east and south it joined Judah, and was thus surrounded by the three most powerful states of the whole confederacy. Of the towns enumerated as forming "the 'border' of its inheritance," the most easterly which can now be identified are Ajalon, Zorah (Zareah), and Ir-Shemesh (or Beth-shemesh; which see). These places are on the slopes of the lower ranges of hills by which the highlands of Benjamin and Judah descend to the broad maritime plain, that plain which on the S. bore the distinctive name of "the Shefelah," and more to the N., of "Sharon." From Japho—afterwards Joppa, and now *Yafa*—on the north, to Ekron and Gath-rimmon on the south—a length of at least 14 miles—that noble tract, one of the most fertile in the whole of Palestine, was allotted to this tribe. By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22, and 3, §1) this is extended to Ashdod on the south, and Dor, at the foot of Carmel, on the north, so as to embrace the whole, or nearly the whole, of the great plain. But this rich district, the corn-field and the garden of the whole south of Palestine (Stanley, *S. and P.* 258), which was the richest prize of Phœnician conquest many centuries later,<sup>5</sup> and which even in the now degenerate state of the country is enormously productive, was too valuable to be given up without a struggle by its original possessors. The Amorites accordingly "forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down into the valley" (*Judg.* i. 34)—forced them up from the corn-fields of the plain, with their deep black soil, to the villages whose ruins still crown the hills that skirt the lowland. True, the help of the great tribe so closely connected with Dan was not wanting at this juncture, and "the hand of the children of Joseph," i. e. Ephraim, "prevailed against the Amorites" for the time. But the same thing soon occurred again, and in the glimpse with which we are afterwards favoured into the interior of the tribe, in the history of its great hero, the Philistines have taken the place of the Amorites, and with the same result. Although Samson "comes down" to the "vineyards of Timnath" and the valley of Sorek, yet it is from Mahaneh-Dan—the fortified camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol, behind Kirjath-jearim—that he descends, and it is to that natural fastness, the residence of his father, that he "goes up" again after his encounter, and that he is at last borne to his family sepulchre, the burying-place of Manoah (*Judg.* xiv. 1, 5, 19, xiii. 25, xvi. 4; comp. xviii. 12, xvi. 31).

These considerations enable us to understand how it happened that long after the partition of the land "and the inheritance of the Danites had not fallen to them among the tribes of Israel" (*Judg.* xviii. 1).

<sup>4</sup> The enumeration of the tribes in this record is in the order of their topographical position, from S. to N. It is remarkable that Dan is named after Naphtali and Asher, as if already associated with the northern position afterwards occupied by the city Dan. This is also the case in *Judg.* i. 34, and 1 Chr. xii. 35. The writer is not aware that any explanation has been offered of this apparent anomaly.

<sup>5</sup> See the inscription of king Esmonazar, as interpreted by Stanley (*S. & P.* 278, 258).

<sup>6</sup> Ewald ascribes it to their being engaged in commerce (*Dichter*, i. 130): This may have been the case with Asher, but can hardly, for the reasons ad-

They perhaps furnish a reason for the absence of Dan from the great gathering of the tribes against Sisera (*Judg.* v. 17). They also explain the warlike and independent character of the tribe betokened in the name of their head-quarters, as just quoted—Mahaneh-Dan, "the camp, or host, of Dan"—in the fact specially insisted on and reiterated (*xviii.* 11, 16, 17) of the complete equipment of their 600 warriors\* "appointed with weapons of war,"—and the lawless freebooting style of their behaviour to Micah. There is something very characteristic in the whole of that most fresh and interesting story preserved to us in *Judg.* xviii.—a narrative without a parallel for the vivid glance it affords into the manners of that distant time—characteristic of boldness and sagacity, with a vein of grim sardonic humour, but undeformed by any unnecessary bloodshed.

In the "security" and "quiet" (*Judg.* xviii. 7, 10) of their rich northern possession the Danites enjoyed the leisure and repose which had been denied them in their original seat. But of the fate of the city to which they gave "the name of their father" (*Josh.* xix. 47), we know scarcely anything. The strong religious feeling which made the Danites so anxious to ask counsel of God from Micah's Levite at the commencement of their expedition (*Judg.* xviii. 5), and afterwards take him away with them to be "a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel," may have pointed out their settlement to the notice of Jeroboam as a fit place for his northern sanctuary. But beyond the exceedingly obscure notice in *Judg.* xviii. 30, we have no information<sup>7</sup> on this subject. From 2 Chr. ii. 14 it would appear that the Danites had not kept their purity of lineage, but had intermarried with the Phœnicians of the country. (See an elaboration of this in Blunt, *Coincidences*, Pt. II. iv.)

In the time of David Dan still kept its place among the tribes (1 Chr. xii. 35). Asher is omitted, but the "prince of the tribe of Dan" is mentioned in the list of 1 Chr. xxvii. 22. But from this time forward the name as applied to the tribe vanishes; it is kept alive only by the northern city. In the genealogies of 1 Chr. ii. to xii. Dan is omitted entirely, which is remarkable when the great fame of Samson and the warlike character of the tribe are considered, and can only be accounted for by supposing that its genealogies had perished. It is perhaps allowable to suppose that little care would be taken to preserve the records of a tribe which had left its original seat near the head-quarters of the nation, and given its name to a distant city notorious only as the seat of a rival and a forbidden worship. Lastly, Dan is omitted from the list of those who were sealed by the Angel in the vision of St. John (*Rev.* vii. 5-7).

The mention of this tribe in the "blessings" of Jacob and Moses must not be overlooked, but it is

vanced above, have been so with Dan. The "ships" of Deborah's song are probably only a bold figure, in allusion to Joppa.

\* The complete appointment of these warriors is perhaps a more certain sign of the tribe being practised in war, when we recollect that it was the Philistine policy to deprive of their arms those whom they had conquered (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 19-21, and perhaps also Samson's rude weapon, the jaw-bone).

<sup>7</sup> For "the captivity of the land," *יָמִין*, Ewald proposes to read "of the ark," *יָרִיב*; that is, till the time of Samuel (1 Sam. iv. 11), *Gesch.* ii. pt. 2. 233.

difficult to extract any satisfactory meaning from them. Herder's interpretation as given by Prof. Stanley will fitly close this notice.

"It is doubtful whether the delineation of Dan in Jacob's blessing relates to the original settlement on the western outskirts of Judah, or to the northern outpost. Herder's explanation will apply almost equally to both. 'Dan,' the judge, 'shall judge his people'; he the son of the concubine no less than the sons of Leah; he the frontier tribe no less than those in the places of honour shall be 'as one of the tribes of Israel.' 'Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path,' that is of the invading enemy by the north or by the west, 'that biteth the heels of the horse,' the indigenous serpent biting the foreign horse unknown to Israelite warfare, 'so that his rider shall fall backwards.' And his war-cry as from the frontier fortresses shall be 'For Thy salvation, O Lord, I have waited!' In the blessing of Moses the southern Dan is lost sight of. The northern Dan alone appears, with the same characteristics though under a different image; 'a lion's whelp' in the far north, as Judah in the far south: 'he shall leap from Bashan'—from the slopes of Hermon, where he is couched watching for his prey."

2. (דָּן; *Adv*; Joseph. τὸ *Advov*; *Dan*.) The well-known city, so familiar as the most northern landmark of Palestine, in the common expression "from Dan even to Beersheba." The name of the place was originally LAISH or LESHEM (Josh. xix. 47). Its inhabitants lived "after the manner of the Zidonians," i. e. engaged in commerce, and without defence. But it is nowhere said that they were Phœnicians, though it may perhaps be inferred from the parentage of Huram—his mother "of the daughters of Dan," his father "a man of Tyre" (2 Chr. ii. 14). Living thus "quiet and secure," they fell an easy prey to the active and practised freebooters of the Danites. They countered upon their new acquisition the name of their own tribe, "after the name of their father who was born unto Israel" (Judg. xviii. 29; Josh. xix. 47), and Laish became Dan.

The locality of the town is specified with some minuteness. It was "far from Zidon," and "in the valley (עֲמֶק, *Emek*) that is by (בְּ) Beth-rhob," but as this latter place has not been identified with certainty, the position of Dan must be ascertained by other means.

The graven image which the wandering Danites had stolen from Micah they set up in their new home, and a line of priests was established, which, though belonging to the tribe of Levi and even descended from Moses,<sup>k</sup> was not of the family of Aaron, and therefore not belonging to the regular priesthood. To the form of this image and the nature of the idolatry we have no clue, nor to the relation, if any, which existed between it and the cult-worship afterwards instituted there by Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 29, 30). The latter is alluded to by Amos (viii. 14) in a passage which possibly preserves

a formula of invocation or adjuration in use among the worshippers; but the passage is very obscure.

After the establishment of the Danites at Dan it became the acknowledged extremity of the country, and the formula "from Dan even to Beersheba" is frequent throughout the historical books (Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. iii. 10, xvii. 11, xxiv. 2, 15; 1 K. iv. 25). In the later records the form is reversed, and becomes "from Beersheba even to Dan" (1 Chr. xxi. 2; 2 Chr. xxx. 5).

Dan was, with other northern cities, laid waste by Benhadad (1 K. xv. 20; 2 Chr. xvi. 4), and this is the last mention of the place.

Various considerations would incline to the suspicion that Dan was a holy place of note from a far earlier date than its conquest by the Danites. These are:—(1.) the extreme reluctance of the Orientals—to initiate a sanctuary, or to adopt for worship any place which had not enjoyed a reputation for holiness from pre-historic times. (2.) The correspondence of Dan with Beersheba in connexion with the life of Abraham—the origin of Beersheba also being, as has been noticed, enveloped in some diversity of statement. (3.) More particularly its incidental mention in the very clear and circumstantial narrative of Gen. xiv. 14, as if well known even at that very early period. Its mention in Dent. xxxiv. 1 is also before the events related in Judg. xviii., though still many centuries later than the time of Abraham. But the subject is very difficult, and we can hardly hope to arrive at more than conjecture upon it.

With regard to Gen. xiv. 14 three explanations suggest themselves. 1. That another place of the same name is intended. (See Kalisch, *ad loc.* for an ingenious suggestion of Dan-jaan; another is disposed of by Prof. Stanley, *S. & P.* 400.) Against this may be put the belief of Josephus (comp. *Ant.* i. 10, §1, with v. 3, §1) and of Jerome (*Onomast.* Laish, comp. with *Quest. Hebr. in Genesim*, xiv. 14), who both unhappily identify the Dan of the Danites, near Panens, with the Dan of Abraham. 2. That it is a prophetic anticipation by the sacred historian of a name which was not to exist till centuries later, just as Samson has been held to be alluded to in the blessing of Dan by Jacob. 3. That the passage originally contained an older name, as Laish; and that when that was superseded by Dan, the new name was inserted in the MSS. This last is Ewald's (*Gesch.* i. 73), and of the three is the most feasible, especially when we consider the characteristic, genuine air of the story in Judges, which fixes the origin of the name so circumstantially. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 3, §1) speaks positively of the situation of Laish as "not far from Mount Libanus and the springs of the lesser Jordan, near (*κατὰ*) the great plain of the city of Sidon" (compare also *Ant.* viii. 8, §4); and this, as just said, he identifies with the Dan in Gen. xiv. 14 (*Ant.* i.

<sup>k</sup> According to Jewish tradition, Jacob's blessing on Dan is a prophetic allusion to Samson, the great "Judge" of the tribe; and the ejaculation with which it closes was that actually uttered by Samson when brought into the temple at Gaza. (See the Targum Ps. Jonathan on Gen. xlix. 16, 17; and the quotations in Kalisch's *Genesis ad loc.*) Modern critics likewise see an allusion to Samson in the terms of the

blessing, which they presume on that account to have been written after the days of the Judges (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 92). Jerome's observations (*Qu. in Gen.*) on this passage are very interesting.

<sup>k</sup> Moses is doubtless the genuine reading of the name, which, by the insertion of an N, was changed by the Jews into Manasach, as it stands in the A. V. of Judg. xviii. 30. [MANASSEH, 5.]

10, §1). In consonance with this are the notices of St. Jerome, who derives the word "Jordan" from the names of its two sources. Dan, the westernmost and the smaller of the two, he places at four miles from Pāneas on the road to Tyre. In perfect agreement with this is the position of *Tell el-Kadi*, a mound from the foot of which gushes out "one of the largest fountains in the world," the main source of the Jordai (Rob. iii. 390-3; Stanley, 394, 5). The Tell itself, rising from the plain by somewhat steep terraces, has its long, level top strewn with ruins, and is very probably the site of the town and citadel of Dan. The spring is called *el Teddān*, possibly a corruption of Dan (Rob. iii. 392), and the stream from the spring *Nahr ed Dhan* (Wilson, ii. 173), while the name, *Tell el Kadi*, "the Judge's mound," agrees in signification with the ancient name.<sup>1</sup> Both Dr. Robinson and Prof. Stanley give the exact agreement of the spot with the requirements of the story in Judg. xviii.—"a good land and a large, where there is no want of anything that is on the earth" (Rob. 399; Stanley, as above). [G.]

DAN-JA'AN (דַּן יָאָן; Δανιδαν καὶ Οὐδάν; Alex. Δανιδαν καὶ Ιουδάν; Dan silvestriū), a place named only in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 as one of the points visited by Joab in taking the census of the people. It occurs between Gilead and Zidon—and therefore may have been somewhere in the direction of Dan (Laish), at the sources of the Jordan. The reading of the Alex. LXX. and of the Vulg. was evidently דַּן יָאָן, *Dan-jaar*, the nearest translation of which is "Dan in the wood." This reading is approved by Gesenius, and agrees with the character of the country about *Tell el-Kadi*. Fürst (*Handb. d. bibl. Arch.*, 303) compares Dan-jaar with Baal-jaar, a Phœnician divinity whose name is found on coins. Thénius suggests that Jaan was originally Laish, the *י* having fallen away, and *יא* having been substituted for *י* (*Exeg. Hdbuch*, on *Sam.* 257).<sup>2</sup> There seems no reason for doubting that the well known Dan is intended. We have no record of any other Dan in the north, and even if this were not the case, Dan, as the accepted northern limit of the nation, was too important a place to escape mention in such a list as that in the text. Dr. Schultz, the late Prussian Consul at Jerusalem, discovered an ancient site called *Daniam* or *Danyal*, in the mountains above *Khan-en-Nakbra*, south of Tyre, which he proposes to identify with Dan-jaar (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 306), but this requires confirmation. [G.]

DANCE. As emotions of joy and sorrow universally express themselves in movements and gestures of the body, efforts have been made among all nations, but especially among those of the south and east, in proportion as they seem to be more demonstrative, to reduce to measure and to strengthen by unison the more pleasurable—those of joy. The dance is spoken of in Holy Scripture universally as symbolical of some rejoicing, and is

often coupled for the sake of contrast with mourning, as in Eccles. iii. 4, "a time to mourn and a time to dance" (comp. Ps. xxx. 11; Matt. xi. 17). In the earlier period it is found combined with some song or *refrain* (Ex. xv. 20, xxxii. 18, 19; 1 Sam. xxi. 11); and with the *hān*, or tambourine (A. V. "timbral"), more especially in those impulsive outbursts of popular feeling which cannot find sufficient vent in voice or in gesture singly.<sup>3</sup> Nor is there any more strongly popular element traceable in the religion of the ancient Jews than the opportunity so given to a prophet or prophetess to kindle enthusiasm for Jehovah on momentous crises of national joy, and thus root the theocracy in their deepest feelings, more especially in those of the women, themselves most easily stirred, and most capable of exciting others. The dance was regarded even by the Romans as the worship of the body, and thus had a place amongst sacred things: "Sane ut in religionibus saltaretur," says Servius ad Virg. *Bucol.* v. 73, "haec ratio est, quod nullam majores nostri partem corpore esse voluerunt, quae non sentiet religionem." A similar sentiment is conveyed in Ps. xxxv. 10,—“All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee?” So the "tongue" is the best member among many, the "glory" (Ps. lvii. 8) of the whole frame of flesh, every part of which is to have a share in the praises of God. Similarly among the Greeks is ascribed by Athenaeus to Socrates the following fragment—

οἱ δὲ χάροις κάλλιστα θεοῦ τιμῶσιν ἄριστοι ἐν πολέμῳ.

who also praises among styles of dancing τὸ εὐγενές καὶ ἀνδρῶδες (Athen. xiv. 627; comp. Arr. Alex. iv. 11).

Dancing formed a part of the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians, and was also common in private entertainments. Many representations of dances both of men and women are found in the Egyptian paintings. The "feast unto the Lord," which Moses proposed to Pharaoh to hold, was really a dance (27; see below).

Plato certainly (*Leg.* vii. 6) reckons dancing (*δρχησις*) as part of gymnastics (*γυμναστική*). So far was the feeling of the purest period of antiquity from attaching the notion of effeminacy to dancing, that the ideas of this and of warlike exercise are mutually interwoven, and their terms almost correspond as synonyms (Hom. *Il.* xvi. 617; comp. Creuzer, *Symb.* ii. 367, iv. 474; and see especially Lucian *de Salt.*, *passim*). Women, however, among the Hebrews made the dance their special means of expressing their feelings; and when their husbands or friends returned from a battle on behalf of life and home, felt that they too ought to have some share in the event, and found that share in the dance of triumph welcoming them back. The "eating and drinking and dancing" of the Amalekites is recorded, as is the people's "rising up to play" (Psalms, including a revelling dance), with a tacit censure; the one seems to mark the lower civilization of the

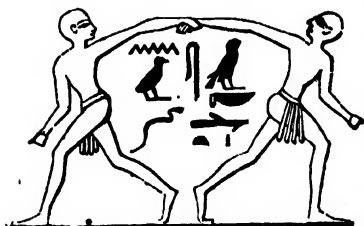
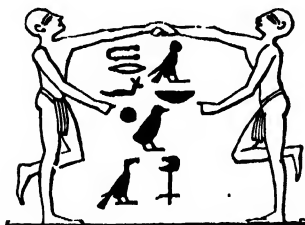
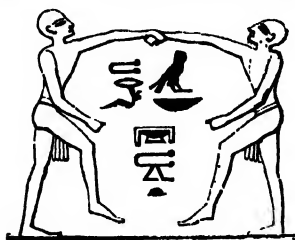
<sup>1</sup> This agreement in meaning of the modern name with the ancient is so rare, that little dependence can be placed on it. Indeed, Stanley (*S. & P.* 394 note) has shown grounds for at least questioning it. The modern names, when representatives of the ancient, generally agree in sound, though often disagreeing in meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Not a bad specimen of the wild and gratuitous suggestions which sometimes occur even in these, generally, careful Manuals.

<sup>3</sup> The proper word for this combination is *πῆλ* (Judg. xvi. 25; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. vi. 5, 21; 1 Chr. xiii. 8, xv. 29; Jer. xxx. 19), though it also includes other scenes.

<sup>4</sup> Among Romans of a late period the sentiment had expired. "Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit" (Cic. *pro Mur.* 14). Perhaps, however, the standard of morals would rather lead us to expect that drunkenness was common than that dancing was rare.

Amalekites, the other the looseness of conduct into which idolatry led the Israelites (Ex. xxxii. 8; 1 Cor. x. 7; 1 Sam. xxx. 16). So among the Bedouins, native dances of men are mentioned (Lynch, *Dead Sea*, 295; Stanley, 56, 466), and are probably an ancient custom. The Hebrews, however, save in such moments of temptation, seem to have left dancing to the women. But more especially on such occasions of triumph, any woman whose nearness of kin to the champion of the moment gave her a public character among her own sex, seems to have felt that it was her



Egyptian dances. (Wilkinson.)

part to lead such a demonstration of triumph, or of welcome; so Miriam (Ex. xv. 20) and so Jephthah's daughter (Judg. xi. 34), and similarly there no doubt was, though none is mentioned, a chorus and dance of women led by Deborah, as the song of the men by Barak (comp. Judg. v. 1 with Ex. xv. 1, 20). Similarly, too, Judith (xv. 12, 13) leads her own song and dance of triumph over Holofernes. There was no such leader of the choir mentioned in the case of David and Saul. Hence whereas Miriam "answered" the entire chorus in Ex. xv. 21, the women in the latter case "answered one another as they played"

<sup>d</sup> The *תוף* was clearly the women's instrument. See the allotment of the other different instruments to men in 1 Chr. xv. 16-21, and xvi. 6, 42; comp. also the *תופות* of Ps. lxxviii. 25.

<sup>e</sup> Some commentators have been at pains to point

(1 Sam. xviii. 7), that "answer" embodying the sentiment of the occasion, and forming the burden of the song. The "coming out" of the women to do this (Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; comp. "went out," Ex. xv. 20) is also a feature worthy of note, and implies the object of meeting, attending upon, and conducting home. So Jephthah's daughter met her father, the "women of all the cities" came to meet and celebrate Saul and David, and their host, but Miriam in the same way "goes out" before "Jehovah" the "man of war," whose presence seems implied. This marks the peculiarity of David's conduct, when, on the return of the Ark of God from its long sojourn among strangers and borderers, he (2 Sam. vi. 5-22) was himself *choragus*; and here too the women, with their timbrels<sup>d</sup> (see especially v. 5, 19, 20, 22), took an important share. This fact brings out more markedly the feelings of Saul's daughter Michal, keeping aloof from the occasion, and "looking through a window" at the scene. She should, in accordance with the examples of Miriam, &c., have herself led the female choir, and so come out to meet the Ark, and her lord. She stays with the "household" (ver. 20), and "comes out to meet" him with reproaches, perhaps feeling that his zeal was a rebuke to her apathy. It was before "the handmaids," i. e. in leading that choir which she should have led, that he had "uncovered" himself; an unkingly exposure as she thought it, which the dance rendered necessary<sup>e</sup>—the wearing merely the ephod or linen tunic. The occasion was meant to be popularly viewed in connexion with David's subjugation of various enemies and accession to the throne of Israel (see 1 Chr. xii. 23—xiii. 8); he accordingly thinks only of the honour of God who had so advanced him, and in that forgets self (comp. Müller, *de Davide ant. Arc.* Ugolini, xxxii.). From the mention of "damsels," "timbrels," and "dances" (Ps. lxxviii. 25, cxlix. 3, cl. 4), as elements of religious worship, it may perhaps be inferred that David's feeling led him to incorporate in its rites that popular mode of festive celebration. This does not seem to have survived him, for as Saalschütz remarks (*Archaeol. der Hebr.* vol. i. p. 299), in the mention of religious revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah, no notice of them occurs; and this, although the "words," the "writing," and the "commandment of David" on such subjects, are distinctly alluded to (2 Chr. xxix. 30, xxxv. 4, 15). It is possible that the banishing of this popular element, which found its vent no doubt in the idolatrous rites of Baal and Astarte (as it certainly did in those of the golden-calf, Ex. xxxii. 19), made those efforts take a less firm hold on the people than they might have done; and that David's more comprehensive scheme might have retained some ties of feeling which were thus lost. On the other hand was doubtless the peril of the loose morality which commonly attended festive dances at heathen shrines. Certainly in later Judaism the dance was included among some religious festivities, e. g. the feast of Tabernacles (Mishna, *Succah*, v. 3, 4), where, however, the performers were men. This was, probably, a mere following the example of David in the letter. Also

out that it was *not* the act of dancing, but the dress divested of upper robes which was the subject of remark. But clearly the "dancing with all his might" could hardly be done in the dignified costume of royalty: every Hebrew would see that the one implied the other. Comp. Ex. xxxii. 6, 25

in the earlier period of the Judges the dances of the virgins in Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19-23) were certainly part of a religious festivity. It seems also from this last instance clear, and from the others probable, that such dances were performed by maidens apart from men, which gives an additional point to the reproach of Michal. What the fashion or figure of the dance was is a doubtful question; nor is it likely to have lacked such variety as would adapt it to the various occasions of its use. The word **חַנּוּךְ** means to move in a ring, or round; whence in **ל. xlii. 4** we find **הַמֶּחֶלֶחֶן**, meaning a festive crowd, apparently as dancing in a ring. So **חַנּוּךְ**, whence **מְחֻלָּה**, means to turn. In modern Oriental dances a woman leads off the dance, the others then follow her with exact imitation of her artistic and graceful attitudes. A parallelism of movement is also incident to it (Schulzschütz, *ib.* p. 301). Possibly Miriam so led her countrywomen. The same writer thinks that in Cant. vi. 13, the words **מְחֻלַּת הַמְּחַנְּנִים** (A. V. "company of two armies") imply two rows of dancing girls, and that the address in the singular number, "return, return," and again in vii. 1 applies to the movements of the individual performer in a kind of *contre-danse*. The interpretation, however, does not remove the obscurities of the passage.

Dancing also had its place among merely festive amusements apart from any religious character (Jer. xxxi. 4, 13; Lam. v. 15; Mark vi. 22, Luke xv. 25). The accomplishments exhibited by Herodias's daughter seem, however, to show that Dean Treuch's remark on the last-named passage that the dancers were of course *not* the guests but hired performers is hardly to be received with strictness; although the tendency of luxury in the east has no doubt been to reduce the estimation in which the pastime, as shared in, is there held. (Children, of course, always did and always will dance (Job xxi. 11; Matt. xi. 17; Luke vii. 32). Whilst in their "dancing dervishes" the Turks seem to have adopted into their system the enthusiastic raptures, at once martial and sacred, which (*e.g.* in the Roman *Sali*) seem indigenous in many southern and eastern races from the earliest times. For further remarks Spencer, *de Saltut. vet. Hebr.*, may be consulted (Ugolini, xxx.); and, for the Greek and Roman dances, see *Dict. of Ant. SATURATIO*. [H. H.]

**DANCE.** By this word is rendered in the A. V. the Hebrew term *Machol*, **מְחֻלָּה**, a musical instrument of percussion, supposed to have been used by the Hebrews at an early period of their history. Some modern lexicographers, who regard *Machol* as synonymous with *Rakkod*, **רָקֹד** (Eccl. iii. 4), restrict its meaning to the exercise or amusement of dancing. But according to many scholars, it also signifies a musical instrument used for accompanying the dance, and which the Hebrews therefore called by the same name as the dance itself. The Septuagint generally renders *Machol* **χορδός**, "dancing;" occasionally, however, it gives a different meaning, as in Ps. xxx. 11 (Heb. Bible, ver. 12), where it is translated **χαρὰ**, "joy," and in Jer. xxxi. 4 and 14, where it is rendered **סעודת**, "assembly." The Semitic versions of the O. T. almost invariably interpret the word as a musical instrument.

On the joyous occasion when the Israelites escape from their Egyptian pursuers, and reach the Arabian

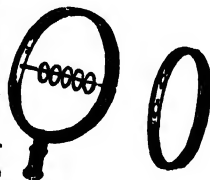
shore of the Red Sea in safety, Miriam is represented as going forth striking the **תָּמָר**, and followed by her sisters in faith, who join in "with timbrels and dances" (Ex. xv. 20). Here the sense of the passage seems to be, agreeably to the Auth. Vers., that the Hebrew women came forth to dance, and to accompany their dance by a performance on timbrels; and this is the view adopted by the majority of the Latin and English commentators. Parkhurst and Adam Clark do not share this opinion. According to the former, *Machol* is "some fistular wind-instrument of music, with holes, as a flute, pipe, or *flûte*, from **חָל**, to make a hole or opening;" and the latter says, "I know no place in the Bible where *Machol* and *Machulath* mean *dance* of any kind; they constantly signify some kind of pipe." The Targumists very frequently render *Machol* as a musical instrument. In Ex. xv. 20, Onkelos gives for *Machulath* the Aramaic word **מְחֻלָּה**, which is precisely the same employed by him in Gen. xxxi. 27 for *Cinnôr* (A. V. "harp"). The Arabic version has for *Machol* in most places **طبل**, pl. **طبول**, translated by Freytag, in his Arabic Lexicon, "a drum with either one or two faces;" and the word **ובמחלות** (Judg. xi. 34, A. V.

"and with dances") is rendered by **غناء**, "songs."

Gesenius, Fürst, and others, adopt for the most part the Septuagint rendering; but Rosenmüller, in his commentary on Ex. xv. 20, observes that, on comparing the passages in Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; and Jer. xxxi. 4, and assigning a rational exegesis to their contexts, *Machol* must mean in these instances some musical instrument, probably of the flute kind, and principally played on by women.

In the grand Hallelujah Psalm (cl.) which closes that magnificent collection, the sacred poet exhorts mankind to praise Jehovah in His sanctuary with all kinds of music; and amongst the instruments mentioned at the 3rd, 4th, and 5th verses is found *Machol*, which cannot here be consistently rendered in the sense of dancing. Joel Bill, whose second preface (**הקדמה שנייה**) to Mendelssohn's Psalms contains the best tentative extant on the musical instruments mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, remarks: "It is evident from the passage, 'Praise Him with the *Tof* and the *Machol*,' that *Machol* must mean here some musical instrument, and this is the opinion of the majority of scholars." Mendelssohn derives *Machol* from **חלול**, "hollow," on account of its shape; and the author of *Shilte Haggyborim* denominates it **סימסרם**, which he probably intends for *κίθαρα*.

The musical instrument used as an accompaniment to dancing is generally believed to have been made of metal, open like a ring; it had many small bells attached to its border, and was played at weddings and merry-makings by women, who accompanied it with the voice. According to the author of *Shilte Haggyborim*, the *Machol* had tinkling metal plates fastened on



Musical Instruments. Dance. (Mendelssohn.)

wires, at intervals, within the circle that formed the instrument, like the modern tambourine; according to others, a similar instrument, also formed of a circular piece of metal or wood, but furnished with a handle, which the performer might so manage as to set in motion several rings strung on a metal bar, passing from one side of the instrument to the other, the waving of which produced a loud, merry sound.

Some modern critics consider *Machalath* the same with *Machol*. Gesenius, however, translates the latter "dancing," whilst the former he renders "a stringed instrument," from the root מַחֲלָה, *Aethiopic* ማለ, "to sing." [D. W. M.]

**DANIEL** (דָּנִיֵּאל, Dan. i. 6, 7, 8, &c.; Ezr. viii. 2; Neh. x. 6; 1 Chr. iii. 1; and דָּנִיֵּאל, Ezr. xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3), the name of three (or four) persons in the Old Testament.

1. The second son of David (Δαμιῆλ, *Alex. Δαβούλα*), "born unto him in Hebron," "of Abigail the Carmelitess" (1 Chr. iii. 1). In the parallel passage, 2 Sam. iii. 3, he is called Chilcub (כִּילְכֻב, i. e. like his father(?); Δαβούλα). For the Jewish explanation of the origin of the two names see Patrick; Bochart, *Hierozoic*, ii. 55, p. 663.

2. The fourth of "the greater prophets" (cf. Matt. xxiv. 15, προφῆται). Nothing is known of the parentage or family of Daniel. He appears, however, to have been of royal or noble descent (Dan. i. 3; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 10, §1), and to have possessed considerable personal endowments (Dan. i. 4). He was taken to Babylon in "the third year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 604)," and trained for the king's service with his three companions. Like Joseph in earlier times, he gained the favour of his guardian, and was divinely supported in his resolve to abstain from the "king's meat" for fear of defilement (Dan. i. 8-16). At the close of his three years' discipline (Dan. i. 5, 18), Daniel had an opportunity of exercising his peculiar gift (Dan. i. 17) of interpreting dreams, on the occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's decree against the Magi (Dan. ii. 14 ff.). In consequence of his success he was made "ruler of the whole province of Babylon," and "chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon" (ii. 48). He afterwards interpreted the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar (iv. 8-27), and the handwriting on the wall which disturbed the feast of Belshazzar (v. 10-28), though he no longer held his official position among the magi (Dan. v. 7, 8, 12), and probably lived at Susa (Dan. vii. 2; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 12, §7; Bochart, *Géogr. Sacr.* iii. 14). At the accession of Darius [DARIUS] he was made first of the "three presidents" of the empire (cf. 1 Esdr. iii. 9), and was delivered from the lions' den, into which he had been cast for his faithfulness to the rites of his faith (vi. 10-23; cf. Bel & Dr. 29-42). At the accession of Cyrus he still retained his prosperity (vi. 28; cf. i. 21; Bel

& Dr. 2); though he does not appear to have remained at Babylon (cf. Dan. i. 21), and in "the third year of Cyrus" (B.C. 534) he saw his last recorded vision on the banks of the Tigris (x. 1, 4). According to the Mahomedan tradition Daniel returned to Judaea, held the government of Syria, and finally died at Susa (Rosenmüller, *Schol.* p. 5, n.), where his tomb is still shown, and is visited by crowds of pilgrims. In the prophecies of Ezekiel mention is made of Daniel as a pattern of righteousness (xiv. 14, 20) and wisdom (xxviii. 3); and since Daniel was still young at that time (c. B.C. 588-584), some have thought that another prophet of the name must have lived at some earlier time (Bleek), perhaps during the captivity of Nineveh (Ewald, *Die Propheten*, ii. 560), whose fame was transferred to his later namesake. Hitzig imagines (*Vorbemerk.* §3) that the Daniel of Ezekiel was purely a mythical personage, whose prototype is to be sought in Melchizedek, and that the character was borrowed by the author of the book of Daniel as suited to his design. These suppositions are favoured by no internal probability, and are unsupported by any direct evidence. The order of the names "Noah, Daniel, and Job" (Ezr. xiv. 14) seems to suggest the idea that they represent the first and last historic types of righteousness before the law and under it, combined with the ideal type (cf. Delitzsch, p. 271). On the other hand the narrative in Dan. i. 11, implies that Daniel was conspicuously distinguished for purity and knowledge at a very early age (cf. *Hist. Sus.* 45), and he may have been nearly forty years old at the time of Ezekiel's prophecy.

Allusion has been made already to the comparison which may be instituted between Daniel and Joseph, who stand at the beginning and the close of the divine history of the Jews, as representatives of the true God in heathen courts (Auberlen, *Daniel*, p. 32, 3). In this respect the position of Daniel must have exercised a powerful influence upon the form of the revelations conveyed through him. And in turn the authority which he enjoyed renders the course of the exile and the return clearly intelligible. By station, by education, and by character, he was peculiarly fitted to fulfil the work assigned to him. He was not only a resident in a foreign land, like Jeremiah or Ezekiel, but the minister of a foreign empire, and of successive dynasties (Dan. ii. 48; vi. 28). His political experience would naturally qualify him to give distinct expression to the characteristics of nations in themselves, and not only in their relation to God's people. His intellectual advantages were as remarkable as his civil dignity. Like the great Lawgiver who was "trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," the great seer was trained in the secrets of Chaldean wisdom, and placed at the head of the school of the Magi (Dan. ii. 48). He was thus enabled to preserve whatever was true in the traditional teaching of the East, and to cast his revelations into

\* This date has given rise to many objections, because the fourth year of Jehoiakim is identified with the first of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxv. 1). Various solutions have been proposed (cf. Kell, *Ezra*, §133, 2); but the text of Daniel itself suggests the true explanation. The second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (ii. 1) falls after the completion of the three years' training of Daniel which commenced with his captivity (i. 1, 5); and this is a clear indication that the expedition mentioned in i. 1, was undertaken in the last year of the reign of Nabu-

palassar, while as yet Nebuchadnezzar was not properly king. But some further difficulties remain, which appear, however, to have been satisfactorily removed by Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assur's*, 86 ff.). The date in Jer. xlv. 2, is not that of the battle of Carchemish, but of the warning of the prophet; and the threats and promises in Jer. xxv. are consistent with the notion of a previous subjection of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar, which may have been accomplished without resistance (cf. Niebuhr, a. a. O. § 368 ff.).

a form suited to their special character. But though engaged in the service of a heathen prince and familiar with Oriental learning, Daniel was from the first distinguished by his strict observance of the Mosaic law (i. 8-16; cf. vi. 10, 11). In this way the third outward condition for his work was satisfied, and at the close of the exile he offered a pattern of holiness for the instruction of the Dispersion of after times. (Cf. Auberlen, *Daniel*, 24, &c.)

The exact meaning of the name is disputed. The full form (דָּנִיֵּאל) is probably more correct, and in this the *yod* appears to be not merely formative, but a pronominal suffix (as צְהִיֵּאל, *so that the sense will be God is my Judge* (C. B. Michaelis ap. Rosenmüller, *Schol.* §1). Others interpret the word *the Judge of God*, and the use of a *yod* formative is justified by the parallel of Melchizelek, &c. (Hitzig, §2). This interpretation is favoured by the Chaldaean name, Belteshazzar (בֶּלְשַׁצְצָר, i. 7, i. e. *the prince of Bel*; *Theod.* LXX.; *Balthazar*; *Vulg.* Baltassar), which was given to Daniel at Babylon (Dan. i. 7), and contains a clear reference to his former name. Hitzig's interpretation ("Pala tschigara = *Ernährer und Verzehrer*") has nothing to recommend it. Such changes have been common at all times; and for the simple assumption of a foreign name compare Gen. xli. 45; Ez. i. 11, v. 14 (Sheshbazzar).

Various apocryphal fragments attributed to Daniel are collected by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 1124), but it is surprising that his name in later times seems to have been obscured (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* 92). Cf. Epiph. *Vit. Dom.* ii. p. 243, ed. Petav.; *Vit. Dan.* ap. Fabric.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11.

3. A descendant of Ithamar, who returned with Ezra to Judaea in the time of "Artaxerxes." [ARTAXERXES.] (Ezr. viii. 2.)

4. A priest who sealed the covenant drawn up by Nehemiah B.C. 445 (Neh. x. 6). He is probably the same as (3); and is confounded with the prophet in the apocryphal addenda to Daniel: Dan. xiv. 1 (*LXX.*, not *Theotot.*). [B. F. W.]

**DANIEL, THE BOOK OF**, is the earliest example of apocalyptic literature, and in a great degree the model, according to which all later apocalypses were constructed. In this aspect it stands at the head of a series of writings in which the deepest thoughts of the Jewish people found expression after the close of the prophetic era. The book of Enoch [ENOCH], the Jewish Sibyllines, and the fourth book of Ezra [2 ESDRAS], carry out with varied success and in different directions, the great outlines of universal history which it contains; and the "Revelation" of Daniel received at last its just completion in the Revelation of St. John. Without an inspired type it is difficult to conceive how the later writings could have been framed; and whatever judgment be formed as to the composition of the book, there can be no doubt that it exercised a greater influence upon the early Christian Church than any other writing of the Old Testament, while in the Gospels it is specially distinguished by the emphatic quotation of the Lord (Matt. xxiv. 15, *ὁ ἄγγελος διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου*. . . *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω*. . .).

1. In studying the book of Daniel it is of the utmost importance to recognise its apocalyptic character. It is at once an end and a beginning, the last form of prophecy and the first "philosophy of history." The nation is widened into the world:

the restored kingdom of Judah into a universal kingdom of God. To the old prophets Daniel stands, in some sense, as a commentator (Dan. ix. 2-19): to succeeding generations, as the herald of immediate deliverance. The form, the style, and the point of sight of prophecy, are relinquished upon the verge of a new period in the existence of God's people, and fresh instruction is given to them suited to their new fortunes. The change is not abrupt and absolute, but yet it is distinctly felt. The eye and not the ear is the organ of the Seer: visions and not words are revealed to him. His utterance is clothed in a complete and artificial shape, illustrated by symbolic imagery and pointed by a specific purpose. The divine counsels are made known to him by the ministry of angels (vii. 16, viii. 16, ix. 21), and not by "the Word of the Lord." The seer takes his stand in the future rather than in the present, while the prophet seized on the elements of good and evil which he saw working around him and traced them to their final issue. The one looked forward from the present to the great "age to come;" the other looked backward from "the last days" to the trials in which he is still placed. In prophecy the form and the essence, the human and divine were inseparably interwoven; in revelation the two elements can be contemplated apart, each in its greatest vigour,—the most consummate art, and the most striking predictions. The Babylonian exile supplied the outward training and the inward necessity for this last form of divine teaching; and the prophetic visions of Ezekiel form the connecting link between the characteristic types of revelation and prophecy. (Cf. Lüke, *Versuch*, i. 17 ff.; Hitzig, *Daniel*, *Vorbem.* §9; Hilgenfeld, *Die Jud. Apok.*, i. ff.) [DANIEL.]

2. The language of the book, no less than its general form, belongs to an era of transition. Like the book of Ezra, Daniel is composed partly in the vernacular Aramaic (Chaldee), and partly in the sacred Hebrew. The introduction (i.—ii. 4 a) is written in Hebrew. On the occasion of the "Syriac" (אַרַמִּית, *συριακή* *syriace*, i. e. Aramaic) answer of the Chaldeans, the language changes to Aramaic, and this is retained till the close of the seventh chapter (ii. 4 b—vii.). The personal introduction of Daniel as the writer of the text (viii. 1) is marked by the resumption of the Hebrew, which continues to the close of the book (viii.—xii.). The character of the Hebrew bears the closest affinity to that of Ezekiel and Habakkuk, or in other words to those prophets who lived nearest to the assumed age of Daniel; but it is less marked by peculiar forms and corruptions than that of Ezekiel. The Aramaic, like that of Ezra, is also of an earlier form (cf. Maurer, *Comm. in Dan.* 87) than exists in any other Chaldaic document, but as the Targums—the next most ancient specimens of the language—were not committed to writing till about the Christian era, this fact cannot be insisted on as a proof of remote antiquity. It is, however, worthy of notice that J. D. Michaelis affirmed, on purely linguistic grounds, that the book was no late compilation, though he questioned the authenticity of some part of it (c. iii.—vii.; cf. Keil, *Lehr. d. Einl.* §135, n. 4). In addition to these two great elements—Aramaic and Hebrew—the book of Daniel contains traces of other languages which indicate the peculiar position of the writer. The use of Greek technical terms (cf. §10) marks a period when commerce had already united Persia and Greece; and the occurrence of peculiar words which

admit of an explanation by reference to Arian and not to Semitic roots (Delitzsch, p. 274) is almost inexplicable on the supposition that the prophecies are a Palestinian forgery of the Maccabean age.

3. The book is generally divided into two nearly equal parts. The first of these (i.—vi.) contains chiefly historical incidents, while the second (vii.—xii.) is entirely apocalyptic. This division is further supported by the fact that the details of the two sections are arranged in order of time, and that the commencement of the second section falls earlier than the close of the first, as if the writer himself wished to mark the division of subject. But on the other hand this division takes no account of the difference of language, nor of the change of person at the beginning of c. viii. And though the first section is mainly historical, yet the vision of c. vii. finds its true foundation and counterpart in c. ii. From these circumstances it seems better to divide the book (Auberlen, pp. 36 ff.) into three parts. The first chapter forms an introduction. The next six chapters (ii.—vii.) give a general view of the progressive history of the powers of the world, and of the principles of the divine government as seen in events of the life of Daniel. The remainder of the book (viii.—xii.) traces in minutest detail the fortunes of the people of God, as typical of the fortunes of the Church in all ages. The second section is distinguished by a remarkable symmetry. It opens with a view of the great kingdoms of the earth revealed to a heathen sovereign, to whom they appeared in their outward unity and splendour, and yet devoid of any true life (a metal colossus); it closes with a view of the same powers as seen by a prophet of God, to whom they were displayed in their distinct characters, as instinct with life, though of a lower nature, and displaying it with a terrible energy of action (*Onpfa*, four beasts). The image under which the manifestation of God's kingdom is foreshown corresponds exactly with this twofold exhibition of the worldly powers. "A stone cut without hands," "becoming a great mountain and filling the whole earth" (Dan. ii. 34, 35)—a rock and not a metal—is contrasted with the finite proportions of a statue moulded by man's art, as "the Son of man," the representative of humanity, is the true Lord of that lower creation (Gen. i. 30) which symbolizes the spirit of mere earthly dominions (Dan. vii. 13, 14). The intermediate chapters (iii.—vi.) exhibit a similar correspondence, while setting forth the action of God among men. The deliverance of the friends of Daniel from the punishment to which they were condemned for refusing to perform an idolatrous act at the command of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iii.), answers to the deliverance of Daniel from that to which he was exposed by continuing to serve his God in spite of the edict of Darius (ch. vi.); and in the same way the degradation, the repentance, and the restoration of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv.) forms a striking contrast to the sacrilegious pride and death of Belshazzar (ch. v. 22-31). The arrangement of the last section (viii.—xii.) is not equally distinct, though it offers traces of a similar disposition. The description of the progress of the Grecian power in c. viii. is further developed in the last vision (x.—xii.), while the

last chapter appears to carry on the revelation to the first coming of Messiah, in answer to the prayer of Daniel.

4. The position which the book of Daniel occupies in the Hebrew Canon seems at first sight remarkable. It is placed among the Holy writings (*Kethuvim*, *ḥolydypapha*) between Esther and Ezra, or immediately before Esther (cf. Hody, *De Bibl. text.* p. 644, 5), and not among the prophets. This collocation, however, is a natural consequence of the right apprehension of the different functions of the prophet and seer. It is not, indeed, certain at what time the triple division of the Scriptures which is preserved in the Hebrew Bibles was first made; but the characteristics of the classes show that it was not based on the supposed outward authority, but on the inward composition of the books [CANON]. Daniel, as the truth has been well stated, had the spirit but not the work of a prophet; and as his work was a new one, so was it carried out in a style of which the Old Testament offers no other example. His Apocalypse is as distinct from the prophetic writings as the Apocalypse of St. John from the Apostolic epistles. The heathen count is to the one seer what the isle of Patmos is to the other, a place of exile and isolation, where he stands alone with his God, and is not like the prophet active in the midst of a struggling nation (Auberlen, 34).<sup>b</sup>

5. The unity of the book in its present form, notwithstanding the difference of language, is generally acknowledged (De Wette, *Eind.* §256; Hitzig, §4).<sup>c</sup> Still there is a remarkable difference in its internal character. In the first seven chapters Daniel is spoken of *historically* (i. 8-21, ii. 14-49, iv. 8-27, v. 13-29, vi. 2-28, vii. 1, 2): in the last five he appears *personally* as the writer (vii. 15-28, viii. 1-ix. 22, x. 1-19, xii. 5). This peculiarity, however, is not without some precedents in the writings of the earlier prophets (*e. g.* Is. vii. 3, xx. 2), and the seventh chapter prepares the way for the change; for while Daniel is there spoken of in the third person (vii. 1, 2), the substance of the chapter is given in his words, in the first person (vii. 2, 15, 28). The cause of the difference of person is commonly supposed to lie in the nature of the case. The prophet narrates symbolic and representative events historically, for the event is its own witness; but revelations and visions need the personal attestation of those to whom they are communicated. It is, however, more probable that the peculiarity arose from the manner in which the book assumed its final shape (§11).

6. Allusion has been made already to the influence which the book exercised upon the Christian Church. Apart from the general type of Apocalyptic composition which the Apostolic writers derived from Daniel (2 Thess. ii.; *Rev. passim*; cf. Matt. xxvi. 64, xxi. 44?), the New Testament incidentally acknowledges each of the characteristic elements of the book, its miracles (Heb. xi. 33, 34), its predictions (Matt. xxiv. 15), and its doctrine of angels (Luke i. 19, 26). At a still earlier time the same influence may be traced in the Apocrypha. The book of Baruch [BARUCH] exhibits so many coincidences with Daniel, that by some

<sup>b</sup> The Jewish doctors of later times were divided as to the degree of the inspiration of Daniel. Abarbanel maintained against Maimonides that he was endowed with the highest prophetic power (*Pharise. Cod. Pseudep.* V. T. i. 897, n.).

<sup>c</sup> Eichhorn attributed ch. ii.-vi., vii.-xii., to different authors; and Bertholdt supposed that each section was the work of a distinct writer, though he admitted that each successive writer was acquainted with the composition of his predecessors, recognizing in this way the unity of the book (*Eind.*).

the two books have been assigned to the same author (cf. Fritzsche, *Handb. zu d. Apok.* i. 173); and the first book of Maccabees represents Mattathias quoting the marvellous deliverances recorded in Daniel, together with those of earlier times (1 Macc. ii. 59, 60), and elsewhere exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek version of the book (1 Macc. i. 54 = Dan. ix. 27). The allusion to the guardian angels of nations, which is introduced into the Alexandrine translation of the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxii. 8; LXX.), and recurs in the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesi. xvii. 17), may have been derived from Dan. x. 21, xii. 1, though this is uncertain as the doctrine probably formed part of the common belief. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, §4) the prophecies of Daniel gained for the Jews the favour of Alexander [ALEXANDER THE GREAT]; and whatever credit may be given to the details of his narrative, it at least shows the unquestioning belief in the prophetic worth of the book which existed among the Jews in his time.

7. The testimony of the Synagogue and the Church gave a clear expression to the judgment implied by the early and authoritative use of the book, and pronounced it to contain authentic prophecies of Daniel, without contradiction, with one exception, till modern times. Porphyry alone († c. 305 A.D.) assailed the book, and devoted the 12th of his fifteen Discourses against Christians (*ἁγῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*) to a refutation of its claims to be considered a prophecy. "The history," he said, "is true up to the date of Antiochus Epiphanes, and false afterwards; therefore the book was written in his time" (Hieron. *Præf. in Dan.*). The argument of Porphyry is an exact anticipation of the position of many modern critics, and involves a twofold assumption, that the whole book ought to contain predictions of the same character, and that definite predictions are impossible. Externally the book is as well attested as any book of Scripture, and there is nothing to show that Porphyry urged any historical objections against it; but it brings the belief in miracle and prediction, in the divine power and foreknowledge as active among men, to a startling test, and according to the character of this belief in the individual must be his judgment upon the book.

8. The history of the assaults upon the prophetic worth of Daniel in modern times is full of interest. In the first instance doubts were raised as to the authorship of the opening chapters, i.—vii. (Spinoza, Newton), which are perfectly compatible with the fullest recognition of their canonicity. Then the variations in the LXX. suggested the belief that cc. iii.—vi. were a later interpolation (J. D. Michaelis). As a next step the last six chapters only were retained as a genuine book of Scripture (Eichhorn, 1st and 2nd edits.); and at last the whole book was rejected as the work of an impostor, who lived in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (Corrodi, 1783. Hitzig fixes the date more exactly from 170 B.C. to the spring of 164 B.C.). This last opinion has found, especially in Germany, a very wide acceptance, and Lücke ventures to pronounce it "a certain result of historical criticism."

9. The real grounds on which most modern critics rely in rejecting the book, are the "fabu-

lousness of its narratives" and "the minuteness of its prophetic history." "The contents of the book," it is said, "are irrational and impossible" (Hitzig, §5). It is obvious that it is impossible to answer such a statement without entering into general views of the Providential government of the world. It is admitted that the contents of the book are exceptional and surprising; but revelation is itself a miracle, however it be given, and essentially as inconceivable as any miracle. There are times, perhaps, when it is required that extraordinary signs should arrest the attention of men and fix their minds upon that Divine Presence which is ever working around them. Prodiges may become a guide to nature. Special circumstances may determine, and, according to the Bible, do determine, the peculiar form which the miraculous working of God will assume at a particular time; so that the question is, whether there is any discernible relation between the outward wonders and the moral condition of an epoch. Nor is it impossible to apply this remark to the case of Daniel. The position which he occupied [DANIEL] was as exceptional as the book which bears his name. He survived the exile and the disappointment which attended the first hopes of the Jews. The glories which had been connected with the return in the foreshortened vision of earlier prophets were now felt to be far off, and a more special revelation may have been necessary as a preparation for a period of silence and conflict.<sup>4</sup> The very character of the Babylonian exile seems to have called for some signal exhibition of divine power. As the first exodus was distinguished by great marvels, it might appear natural that the second should be also (cf. Mic. vii. 15; Delitzsch, p. 272, &c.). National miracles, so to speak, formed the beginning of the theocracy: personal miracles, the beginning of the church. To speak of an "aimless and lavish display of wonders" is to disregard the representative significance of the different acts, and the relation which they bore to the future fortunes of the people. A few era was inaugurated by fresh signs. The Jews, now that they are left among the nations of the world, looked for some sure token that God was able to deliver them and work out His own purposes. The persecution of Antiochus completed the teaching of Daniel; and the people no longer sought without that which at length they had found within. They had withstood the assault of one typical enemy, and now they were prepared to meet all. The close of special predictions coincided with the consolidation of the national faith. [ANTIOCHUS EPIPH.]

10. The general objections against the "legendary" miracles and specific predictions of Daniel are strengthened by other objections in detail, which cannot, however, be regarded in themselves as of any considerable weight. Some of these have been already answered incidentally. Some still require a short notice, though it is evident that they are often afterthoughts, the results and not the causes of the rejection of the book. Not only, it is said, is the book placed among the Hagiographa, but Daniel is omitted in the list of prophets given in the Wisdom of Sirach; the language is corrupted by an intermixture of Greek words; the details are essentially unhistorical; the doctrinal and moral teaching betrays a late date.

<sup>4</sup> The special prophecies of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 24) and Isaiah (xliv., xlv.) centre in Daniel (cf. Dan. xi. 30); and the prediction of Balaam offers a re-

markable parallel to those of Daniel, both from their particularity, and from the position which the prophet occupied (cf. Delitzsch, p. 273).

In reply to these remarks, it may be urged, that if the book of Daniel was already placed among the Hagiographa at the time when the Wisdom of Sirach was written, the omission of the name of Daniel (Ecclus. xlix.) is most natural, and that under any circumstances the omission is not more remarkable than that of Ezra and the twelve lesser prophets, for xlix. 10 is probably an interpolation intended to supply a supposed defect. Nor is the mention of Greek musical instruments (iii. 5, 7, 10, קִיְתָרִים *kithara*, סַבְכָּא *sambuka*, סוֹמְפוֹנִיָּה *somphonia*, פְּסַנְתֵּרִין *psalterion*), for these words only can be shown to be derived from the Greek (De Wette, *Eintl.* 255 h.), surprising at a time when the intercourse of the East and West was already considerable, and when a brother of Alcæus (c. 600-500 B.C.) had gained distinction "at the farthest end of the world, aiding the Babylonians" (Brandis, in Delitzsch, p. 274; *Ale. Frag.* 33, Bergk.). Yet further the scene and characters of the book are *Oriental*. The colossal image (סִלְשָׁן, iii. 1, not necessarily a human figure; the term is applied familiarly to the cross: Buxtf. *Lez. Rabb.* s. v.), the fiery furnace, the martyr-like boldness of the three confessors (iii. 16), the decree of Darius (vi. 7), the lions' den (vi. 7, 19, לֵבַיִת, the demand of Nebuchadnezzar (ii. 5), his obeisance before Daniel (ii. 46), his sudden fall (iv. 38; cf. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41; *Jos. c. Ap.* i. 20), are not only consistent with the nature of Eastern life, but in many instances directly confirmed by other evidence (cf. DANIEL II. and DARIUS THE GREAT for the difficulties of i. 1, ii. 1, v. 31). In doctrine, again, the book is closely connected with the writings of the Exile, and forms a last step in the development of the ideas of Messiah (vii. 13, &c.), of the resurrection (xii. 2, 3), of the ministry of angels (viii. 16, xii. 1, &c.), of personal devotion (vi. 10, 11, i. 8), which formed the basis of later speculations, but received no essential addition in the interval before the coming of our Lord.

Generally it may be said that while the book presents in many respects a startling and exceptional character, yet it is far more difficult to explain its composition in the Maccabaean period than to connect the peculiarities which it exhibits with the exigencies of the Return. It appears as a key to the later history and struggles of the Jews, and not as a result from them. The peculiarities of language, the acquaintance with Eastern manners and history, which is seen more clearly as our knowledge widens, the reception into the canon, the phenomena of the Alexandrine version, all point in the same direction; and a sounder system of interpretation, combined with a more worthy view of the divine government of men and nations, will probably do much to remove those undefined doubts as to the inspired character of the Revelation which naturally arise at first in the minds of thoughtful students.

11. But while all historical evidence supports the canonicity of the book of Daniel, it does not follow that the recognition of the unity and authority of the book is necessarily connected with the belief that the whole is to be assigned to the authorship of Daniel. According to the Jewish tradition (*Bara Bathra*, f. 146) "the books of Ezekiel, the twelve minor prophets, Daniel and Esther, were written (i. e. drawn up in their present form) by the mouth of the great synagogue, and in the case of Daniel the tradition is supported by strong internal evi-

dence. The manner in which Daniel is spoken of (i. 17, 19, 20, v. 11, 12; the title in ix. 23, xii. is different) suggests the notion of another writer; and if Daniel wrote the passages in question, they cannot be satisfactorily explained by 1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6, xii. 2 (Keil, §136), or by the consciousness of the typical position which he occupied (Auberlen, p. 37). The substantial authorship of a book of Scripture does not involve the subordinate work of arrangement and revision; and it is scarcely conceivable that a writer would purposely write one book in two languages, though there may have been an obvious reason why he should treat in separate records of events of general history in the vernacular dialect, and of the special fortunes of God's people in Hebrew. At the return we may suppose that these records of Daniel were brought into one whole, with the addition of an introduction and a fuller narrative,\* when the other sacred writings received their final revision. The visions themselves would be necessarily preserved in their original form, and thus the later chapters (vii.—xii.) exhibit no traces of any subsequent recension, with the exception, perhaps, of two introductory verses, vii. 1, x. 1.

12. The interpretation of Daniel has hitherto proved an inexhaustible field for the ingenuity of commentators, and the certain results are comparatively few. According to the traditional view, which appears as early as the fourth book of Ezra [2 ESDRAS] and the epistle of Barnabas (c. 4), the four empires described in cc. ii. vii. are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. With nearly equal consent it has been supposed that there is a change of subject in the eleventh chapter (xi. 31 ff.), by which the seer passes from the persecutions of Antiochus to the times of Antichrist. A careful comparison of the language of the prophecy with the history of the Syrian kings must, however, convince every candid student of the text that the latter hypothesis is wholly unfounded and arbitrary. The whole of the eleventh chapter forms a history of the struggles of the Jewish church with the Greek powers up to the death of its great adversary (xi. 45). This conflict, indeed, has a typical import, and fore-shows in its characteristic outlines the abiding and final conflict of the people of God and the powers of evil, so that the true work of the interpreter must be to determine historically the nature of each event signalized in the prophetic picture, that he may draw from the past the lesson of the future. The traditional interpretation of "the four empires" seems to spring from the same error as the other, though it still finds numerous advocates (Hofmann, Auberlen, Keil, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, and most English commentators). It originated at a time when the triumphant advent of Messiah was the object of immediate expectation, and the Roman empire appeared to be the last in the series of earthly kingdoms. The long interval of conflict which has followed the first Advent formed no place in the anticipations of the first Christians, and in succeeding ages the Roman period has been unnaturally prolonged to meet the requirements of a theory which took its rise in a state of thought which experience has proved false. It is a still more fatal objection to this interpretation that it destroys the

\* The letter of Nebuchadnezzar (c. iv.) appears to present clear traces of the interweaving of a commentary with the original text.

great idea of a cyclic development of history which lies at the basis of all prophecy. Great periods (*aiōnes*) appear to be marked out in the fortunes of mankind which answer to another, so that that divine utterance which receives its first fulfilment in one period, receives a further and more complete fulfilment in the corresponding part of some later period. Thus the first coming of Christ formed the close of the last age, as His second coming will form the close of the present one. The one event is the type and, as it were, the spring of the other. This is acknowledged with regard to the other prophecies, and yet the same truth is not applied to the revelations of Daniel, which appear then first to gain their full significance when they are seen to contain an outline of all history in the history of the nations which ruled the world before Christ's coming. The first Advent is as much a fulfilment of the visions of Daniel as of those of the other prophets. The four empires precede the coming of Messial and pass away before him. At the same time their spirit survives (cf. vii. 12), and the forms of national existence which were developed on the plains of Mesopotamia again reproduce themselves in later history. According to this view the empire of Daniel can be no other than those of the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, who all placed the centre of their power at Babylon, and appear to have exhibited on one stage the great types of national life. The Roman power was at its height when Christ came, but the Egyptian kingdom, the last relic of the empire of Alexander, had just been destroyed, and thus the "stone cut without hands struck the feet of the image," and Christianity destroyed for ever the real supremacy of heathen dominion. But this first fulfilment of the vision was only inchoative, and the correlatives of the four empires must be sought in post-Christian history. The corresponding symbolism of Babylon and Rome is striking at first sight, and other parallels may be drawn. The Byzantine empire, for instance, "inferior" to the Roman (Dan. ii. 39) may be compared with that of the Medes. The Teutonic races with their divided empire recall the image of Persia (vii. 6). Nor is it difficult to see in the growing might of the northern powers, a future kingdom which may rival in terrible energy the conquests of Alexander. Without insisting on such details as these, which still require careful examination, it appears that the true interpretation of Daniel is to be sought in the recognition of the principle which they involve. In this way the book remains a "prophecy," while it is also a "revelation;" and its most special predictions acquire an abiding significance.<sup>1</sup>

13. There is no Chaldean translation of Daniel, and the deficiency is generally accounted for, as in the parallel case of Ezra, by the danger which would have existed in such a case of confusing the original text with the paraphrase; but on the other hand the whole book has been published in Hebrew. The Greek version has undergone singular changes. At an early time the LXX. version was supplanted in

the Greek Bibles by that of Theodotion,<sup>2</sup> and in the time of Jerome the version of Theodotion was generally "read by the Churches" (c. *Ruffin.* ii. 33; *Præf. in Comm.* Illud quoque lectorem admonet, Daniele non juxta LXX. interpretes sed juxta . . . Theodotionem ecclesias legere . . .) This change, for which Jerome was unable to account (hoc cur acceperit nescio, *Præf. in Vers. Dan.*), may have been made in consequence of the objections which were urged against the corrupt LXX. text in controversy with Jews and heathen. The LXX. version was certainly very unfaithful (Hieron. *l. c.*); and the influence of Origen, who preferred the translation of Theodotion (Hieron. in *Dan.* iv. 6), was probably effectual in bringing about the substitution (cf. Cradner, *Britt.* ii. 256 ff.) In the course of time, however, the version of Theodotion was interpolated from the LXX., so that it is now impossible to recover the original text. [DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO.] Meanwhile the original LXX. translation passed entirely out of use, and it was supposed to have been lost till the last century, when it was published at Rome from a *Codex Chisianus* (*Daniel secundum LXX.* . . . Romæ, 1772, ed. P. de Magistris), together with that of Theodotion, and several illustrative essays. It has since been published several times (ed. Michaelis, Gotting. 1774; ed. Segar, 1775; Iahn, 1845), and lastly by Tischendorf in the second edition of his Septuagint. Another recension of the text is contained in the Syro-Hexaplaric version at Milan (ed. Bugatus, 1788), but a critical comparison of the several recensions is still required.

14. The commentaries on Daniel are very numerous. The Hebrew commentaries of R. Saadiah Haggæon († 942), Rashe († c. 1105), and Aben Ezra († c. 1167), are printed in the great Rabbinic Bibles of Bomberg and Basle. That of Abarbanel († c. 1507) has been printed separately several times (*Amstelaed.* 1647, 4to); and others are quoted by Rosenmüller, *Scholæ*, pp. 39, 40. Among the patristic commentaries the most important are those of Jerome (vol. v. ed. Migne), who noticed especially the objections of Porphyry. Theodoret (ii. 1053 ff. ed. Schulze), and Ephrem Syrus (*Op. Syr.* ii.; Romæ, 1740). Considerable fragments remain of the commentaries of Hippolytus (collected in Migne's edition, Paris, 1857) and Polychronius (Mai, *Script. Vct. Nov. Coll.* vol. i.); and Mai has published (l. c.) a catena on Daniel, containing fragments of Apollinarius, Athanasius, Basil, Eusebius, and many others. The chief reformers, Luther (*Auslegung d. Proph. Dan.* 1530-1546; *Op. Germ.* vi. Ed. Walch), Oecolampadius (*In Dan. libri duo*, Basil. 1530), Melancthon (*Comm. in Dan.* Vitemb. 1543), and Calvin (*Prælect. in Dan.* Genevæ, 1563, &c.; in French, 1565; in English, 1852-3), wrote on Daniel; and Rosenmüller enumerates nearly fifty other special commentators, and his list now requires considerable additions. The combination of the Revelations of Daniel and St. John (Sir I. Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies.* &c.,

<sup>1</sup> An example of the recurrent and advancing completion of the predictions of Daniel occurs in Matt. xxiv. 15, compared with 1 Mac. i. 54. The same truth is also implied in the interpretation of "the seventy sevens," as springing out of the "seventy" (years) of Jeremiah. On this there are some good remarks in Browne's *Ordo Saeculorum*, though his interpretation of the four empires as signifying the Babylonian,

Grecian, Roman, and some future empire (pp. 675 ff.), seems very unnatural. The whole force of his argument (after Ben Ezra and Maitland) lies in the proof that the Roman was not the fourth empire.

<sup>2</sup> The version bears in the tetraplar text the singular title, τὸ Εἰς ἑπτὰ ἑκατὸν Δανιήλ. Ὡς is the term which Daniel applies to the angels, "watchers" (Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23). Cf. *Daniel*, sec. LXX. 125 ff.

Lond. 1733; M. F. Roos, *Ausl. d. Weissag. Dan. u. s. v.* Leipz. 1771) opened the way to a truer understanding of Daniel; but the edition of Bertholdt (*Daniel, aus dem Hebr.-Aram. neu übersetzt und erklärt*, u. s. v. Erlangen, 1806-8), in spite of all its grave faults, marks the beginning of a new era in the study of the book. Bertholdt was decidedly unfavourable to its authenticity; and he was followed on the same side by von Lengerke (*D. B. Dan. verd. u. ausgel.* Königsb. 1835). Maurer (*Comm. Gramm. Crit.* ii. Lips. 1838) and Hitzig (*Kurzegef. Exeg. Handb.* Leipz. 1850), whose commentary is among the worst specimens of supercilious criticism which his school has produced. On the other side the commentary of Hävernick (*Comm. üb. d. B. Dan.* Hamb. 1832) is the most complete, though it leaves much to be desired. Auberlen (*Der Proph. Dan. u. d. Offenbarung Joh. u. s. v.* 2te Aufl. Basel, 1857, translated into English from the 1st ed. by A. Saphir, 1856) has thrown considerable light upon the general construction and relations of the book. Cf. Hofmann, *Weissag. u. Erfüllung*, i. 276 ff. The question of the authenticity of the book is discussed in most of the later commentaries; and specially by Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie d. Dan. . . . erweisen*, 1831, translated by E. B. Pratten, Edinb.), Hävernick (*Neue krit. Untersuch.* Hamb. 1838), Delitzsch (*Herzog's Encyclop.* s. v. 1854), Keil (*Lehrb. d. Einl. in d. A. T.* Frankf. 1853), Davidson (*Introduction to the O. T.* ii. Lond. 1846), who maintain the affirmative; and by Bleek (*Berl. Theolog. Zeitschr.* iii. 1822), Bertholdt (*Einleit.* Erlang. 1814), Lücke (*Versuch einer vollständ. Einl. u. s. v.* 2te. Aufl. Bonn, 1852), De Wette (*Einleit.* 7te. Aufl. Berl. 1852), who deny its authenticity. Cf. Ewald, *Die Proph. d. Alt. Bund.* ii. 559 ff. Among English works may be mentioned the Essays of T. R. Birks—*The four prophetic Empires*, &c., 1844, and *The two later Visions of Daniel*, &c., 1846; of E. B. Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticæ*, 1844; of S. P. Tregelles, *Remarks on the prophetic Visions of Daniel*, 1852; and the *Commentary* of Stuart (Boston, 1850). [B. F. W.]

**DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO.** The Greek translations of Daniel, like that of Esther, contain several pieces which are not found in the original text. The most important of these additions are contained in the Apocrypha of the English Bible under the titles of *The Song of the three Holy Children*, *The History of Susannah*, and *The History of . . . Bel and the Dragon*.

1. a. The first of these pieces is incorporated into the narrative of Daniel. After the three confessors were thrown into the furnace (Dan. iii. 23), Azarias is represented praying to God for deliverance (*Song of Three Children*, 3-22); and in answer the angel of the Lord shields them from the fire which consumes their enemies (23-27), whereupon "the three, as out of one mouth," raise a triumphant song (29-68), of which a chief part (35-66) has been used as a hymn (*Benedicite*) in the Christian Church since the 4th century (*Rufin. Apol.* ii. 35; cf. *Concil. Tolet.* iv. Can. 14). Like several similar fragments, the chief parts of this composition are given at the end of the Psalter in the Alexandrine MS. as separate psalms, under the titles "The prayer of Azarias" and "The hymn of our Fathers;" and a similar arrangement occurs in other Greek and Latin Psalters.

b. The two other pieces appear more distinctly as appendices, and offer no semblance of forming part of the original text. *The History of Susanna* (or *The judgment of Daniel*) is generally found at the beginning of the book (Gk. MSS. *Vet. Lat.*); though it also occurs after the 12th chapter (*Vulg. ed. Compl.*). *The History of Bel and the Dragon* is placed at the end of the book; and in the LXX. version it bears a special heading as "part of the prophecy of Habakkuk" (ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακού υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί).

2. The additions are found in both the Greek texts—the LXX. and Theodotion, in the Old Latin and Vulgate, and in the existing Syriac and Arabic versions. On the other hand there is no evidence that they ever formed part of the Hebrew text, and they were originally wanting in the Syriac (Polychronius, ap. Mai, *Script. Vett. Nov. Coll.* i. p. 113, says of the hymn expressly *ὅτι κείνα ἐν τοῖς Ἰβραϊκοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῖς συριακοῖς βιβλίοις*). From the LXX. and Vulgate the fragments passed into common use, and they are commonly quoted by Greek and Latin fathers as parts of Daniel (Clement, *Alex. Ecl. proph.* i.; Orig. *Ep. ad Afric.*; Tertull. *de Pudic.* 17, &c.), but rejected by those who adhered to the Hebrew canon. Jerome in particular called attention to their absence from the Hebrew Bible (*Praef. in Dan.*), and instead of any commentary of his own adds shortly Origen's remarks "on the fables of Bel and Snsanna" (*Comm. in Dan.* xiii. 1). In a similar manner he notices shortly the Song of the Three Children, "lest he should seem to have overlooked it" (*Comm. in Dan.* iii. 23).

3. Various conjectures have been made as to the origin of the additions. It has been supposed that they were derived from Aramaic originals (Wette, *Einl.* ii. 2, Kap. 8, gives the arguments at length), but the intricate evidence is wholly insufficient to establish the point. The character of the additions themselves indicates rather the hand of an Alexandrine writer; and it is not unlikely that the translator of Daniel wrought up traditions which were already current, and appended them to his work (cf. Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handb. zu den Apok.* i. 121). The abruptness of the narrative in Daniel furnished an occasion for the introduction of the prayer and hymn; and the story of the Dragon seems like a strange exaggeration of the record of the deliverance of Daniel (Dan. vi.), which may naturally have formed the basis of different legends. Nor is it difficult to see in the history of Susanna a pointed allusion to the name of the prophet, though the narrative may not be wholly fictitious.

4. The LXX. appears to be the original source from which all the existing recensions of the fragments were derived (cf. Hody, *de Bibl. text.* p. 583). Theodotion seems to have done little more than transcribe the LXX. text with improvements in style and language, which are considerably greater in the appended narratives than in the Song incorporated into the canonical text. Thus while the history of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon contain large additions which complete and embellish the story (e. g. *Hist. Sus.* vv. 15-18; 20, 21; 24-27; 46-47, 49, 50; *Bel & Dr.* vv. 1, 9-13; Eichh. pp. 431 ff.), the text of the Song is little more than a repetition of that of the LXX. (cf. De Magistris, *Daniel*, &c., pp. 234 ff.; Eichh. *Einl.*, in *d. Apok. Schrift.* 422 ff.). The Polyglott-Syriac, Arabic and Latin versions are derived from Theodo-

tion; and the Hexaplar-Syriac from the LXX. (Eichh. 430, &c.).

5. The stories of Bel and Susanna received various embellishments in later times, which throw some light upon the manner in which they were originally composed (cf. Orig. *Ep. ad Afric.* §§7, 8; Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 3; Eichhorn, 446, &c.); just as the change which Theodotus introduced into the narrative of Bel, to give some consistency to the facts, illustrates the rationalising process through which the legends passed (cf. Delitzsch, *De Hübneri vitâ et actate*, 1844). It is thus useless to institute any inquiry into the historic foundation which lies below the popular traditions; for though the stories cannot be regarded as mere fables, it is evident that a moral purpose determined the shape which they assumed. A later age found in them traces of a deeper wisdom, and to Christian commentators Susanna appeared as a type of the true Church tempted to infidelity by Jewish and Pagani adversaries, and lifting up her voice to God in the midst of persecution (Hippol. *In Susann.* pp. 689 ff. ed. Migne). [B. F. W.]

**DAN'NAH** (דַּנְנָה; *Penny*; *Danna*), a city in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 49), and, from its mention with Debir and Socoh, probably south, or south-west of Hebron. No trace of its name has been discovered. [G.]

**DAPHNE** (Δάφνη), a celebrated grove and sanctuary of Apollo, near Antioch in Syria [ANTIOCH]. Its establishment, like that of the city, was due to Seleucus Nicator. The distance between the two places was about 5 miles, and in history they are associated most intimately together. Just as Antioch was frequently called 'A. ἐν Δάφνῃ, and ἡ πόλις Δάφνης, so conversely we find Daphne entitled Δ. ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχείας (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 12, §5). The situation was of extreme natural beauty, with perennial fountains and abundant wood. Seleucus localised here, and appropriated to himself and his family, the fables of Apollo and the river Peneus and the nymph Daphne. Here he erected a magnificent temple and colossal statue of the god. The succeeding Seleucid monarchs, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, embellished the place still further. Among other honours, it possessed the privileges of an asylum. It is in this character that the place is mentioned, 2 Macc. iv. 33. In the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 171) the aged and patriotic high-priest Onias, having rebuked Menelaus for his sacrilege at Jerusalem, took refuge at Daphne; whence he was treacherously brought out, at the instance of Menelaus, and murdered by Andronicus, who was governor of Antioch during the king's absence on a campaign. Josephus does not give this account of the death of Onias (*Ant.* xii. 5, §1). When Syria became Roman, Daphne continued to be famous as a place of pilgrimage and vice. "*Daphnici mores*" was a proverb (see Gibbon's 23rd chapter). The beginning of the decay of Daphne must be dated from the time of Julian, when Christianity in the Empire began to triumph over Heathenism. The site has been well identified by Pococke and other travellers at *Beit-el-Maa*, "the House of the Water," on the left bank of the Orontes, to the S.W. of Antioch, and on higher ground; where the fountains and the wild fragrant vegetation are in harmony with all that we read of the natural characteristics of Apollo's sanctuary. [J. S. H.]

**DA'RA** (דָּרָא; *Δαρά*; Alex. *Δαρά*; Compl. *Δαράδῆ*; Syr. Pesch. ܕܪܐ; Arb. دَارِدَا; *Dara*), 1 Chr. ii. 6. [DARDA.]

**DARDA** (דָּרְדָּא; *Δαρδα*; Alex. *ῥὸν δάρδα*; Joseph. *Δαρδανός*; *Dorda*), a son of Mahol, one of four men of great fame for their wisdom, but who were excelled by Solomon (1 K. iv. 31). Ethan the first of the four is called "the Ezrahite;" but it is uncertain whether the designation extends to the others. [ETHAN.] In 1 Chr. ii. 6, however, the same four names occur again as "sons of Zerach," of the great family of Pharez in the tribe of Judah, with the slight difference that Darda appears as Dara. The identity of these persons with those in 1 K. iv. has been greatly debated (see the arguments on both sides in Burdington, i. 206-8); but there cannot be much reasonable doubt that they are the same.

(1.) A great number of Hebr. MSS. read Darda in Chr. (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*, 210), in which they are followed by the Targum and the Syriac and Arabic versions. [DARA.]

(2.) The son of Zerach would be without difficulty called in Hebrew the Ezrahite, the change depending merely on the position of a vowel point. [EZRAHITE.] And further, the change is actually made by the Targum Jonathan, which in Kings has "son of Zerach."

(3.) The word "son" is used in Hebrew so often to denote a descendant beyond the first generation, that no stress can be laid on the "son of Mahol," as compared with "son of Zerach." For instance, of the five "sons of Judah" in 1 Chr. iv. 1, the first was really Judah's son, the second his grandson, the third his great-grandson, and the fourth and fifth still later descendants. Besides there is great plausibility in the conjecture that "*Bene Mahol*" means "sons of the choir;" in which case the men in question were the famous musicians, two of whom are named in the titles to Psalms lxxxviii. and lxxxix. [MAHOL.] [G.]

**DARIC** (דָּרִיכֻן; *darikon*, only in pl.; Talm. דָּרִיכֻן; *solidus*, *drachma*; Ezr. ii. 69; viii. 27; Neh. vii. 70, 71, 72; 1 Chr. xxix. 7), a gold coin current in Palestine in the period after the return from Babylon. That the Hebrew word is, in the Bible, the name of a coin and not of a weight appears from its similarity to the Greek appellation of the only piece to which it could refer. The mentions in Ezr. and Neh. show that the coin was current in Palestine under Cyrus and Artaxerxes Longimanus. At these times there was no large issue of gold money except by the Persian kings, who struck the coin known to the Greeks as the *στατήρ* *Δαρικεύς*, or *Δαρικεύς*. The Darics which have been discovered are thick pieces of pure gold, of archaic style, bearing on the obverse the figure of a king with bow and javelin, or bow and dagger, and on the reverse an irregular incuse square. Their full weight is about 128 grains troy, or a little less than that of an Attic stater, and is most probably that of an early didrachm of the Phoenician talent. They must have been the common gold pieces of the Persian empire. The oldest that we have seen cannot be referred to an earlier period than about the time of Cyrus, Cambyse, or Darius Hystaspis, and it is more probable that they are not anterior to the reign of Xerxes, or even that of Artaxerxes.

xerxes Longimanus. There are, however, gold pieces of about the same weight, but of an older style, found about Sardis, which cannot be doubted to be either of Croesus or of an earlier Lydian king, in the former case the *Κροισίδες* (*κρατήρες*) of the Greeks. It is therefore probable, as these followed a Persian standard, that Darius were struck under Cyrus or his nearer successors. The origin of this coin is attributed by the Greeks to a Darius, supposed by the moderns to be either Darius the Mede, or Darius Hystaspis. That the Greeks derived their distinctive appellation of the coin from this proper name cannot be doubted; but the difference of the Hebrew forms of the former from that of the latter דָּרְיוֹשׁ, renders this a questionable derivation. Gesenius suggests the ancient Persian word *Dara* (*Handw. s. v.*), "king;" but (in his *Thes. s. v.*) inclines to connect the Heb. names of the coin and that of Darius. In favour of the derivation from *Dara*, it must be noted that the figure borne by these coins is not that of any one king, but of the king of Persia in an abstract sense, and that on the same principle the coins would rather be called "regal coins than Daries." The silver Daries mentioned by Plutarch (*Cim. 10*) are probably the Persian silver pieces similar in type to the gold Daries, but weighing a drachm and a third of the same standard. See MONEY and *Dict. of Ant. art. Darius*. [R. S. P.]



Daric. Obr. : King of Persia to the right, kneeling, bowing bow and javelin. Rev. : Irregular incuse square.

**DARIUS** (דָּרְיוֹשׁ; *Daravayush, Taryavush*, in Inscr.; *Δαρείος*, I.XX.; *Δαρείης*, Strab. xvi. p. 785; *Δαρείος*, Ctes.), the name of several kings of Media and Persia. Herodotus (vi. 98) says that the name is equivalent to *ἐξέτης* (*ἐργω*) the *restrainer*; and this is probably correct from the analogy of the Persian *darvash*, "restraint;" Sanscr. *dhāri*, "firmly holding" (Gesen. *Thes. s. v.*) Hecychius gives a double derivation: *Δαρείος ὁ δὲ Περσῶν ὁ φρόνιμος; ὁ δὲ δὲ φρυγῶν ἑκτωρ*. Others have regarded the word as another form of the modern Persian *Dara*, *darab*, "a king;" but this sense of *dara* is not justified by usage, and it is rather the epithet of a king (the *holder, restrainer*, as above) than the title itself (Ges. l. c.). Three kings bearing this name are mentioned in the O. T.

1. DARIUS the ΜΕΔΩΣ (דָּרְיוֹשׁ מֶדֶי, Dan. xi. 1; Chald. דָּרְיוֹשׁ מֶדֶי, vi. 1), "the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," (ix. 1), who succeeded to (בִּשְׁלָ) the Babylonian kingdom on the death of Belshazzar, being then sixty-two years old (Dan. v. 31 (LXX. *Ἀπράξερξης*); ix. 1). Only one year of his reign is mentioned (Dan. ix. 1, xi. 1); but that was of great importance for the Jews. Daniel was advanced by the king to the highest dignity (Dan. vi. 1 ff.), probably in consequence of his former services (cf. Dan. v. 17); and after his miraculous deliverance, Darius issued a decree

enjoining throughout his dominions "reverence for the God of Daniel" (Dan. vi. 25 ff.).

The extreme obscurity of the Babylonian annals has given occasion to three different hypotheses as to the name under which Darius the Mede is known in history. The first of these which identifies him with Darius Hystaspis rests on no plausible evidence, and may be dismissed at once (Lengerke, *Dan. 219 ff.*). The second, which was adopted by Josephus (*Ant. x. 11, §4*), and has been supported by many recent critics (Bertholdt; Von Lengerke; Hävernick; Hengstenberg; Auberlen, *Daniel und d. Offenbarung*, pp. 16 ff.) is more deserving of notice. According to this he was (*Cyaxares II.*) "the son and successor of Astyages" (Jos. l. c. *ἦν Ἀστυάγου υἱός, ἕτερον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκαλεῖτο ὄνομα*), who is commonly regarded as the last king of Media. It is supposed that the reign of this Cyaxares has been neglected by historians from the fact that through his indolence and luxury he yielded the real exercise of power to his nephew Cyrus, who married his daughter, and so after his death received the crown by direct succession (Xen. *Cyrop. i. 5, §2, iv. 5, §8, viii. 5, §19*). But it appears to be a fatal objection to this hypothesis that the only direct evidence for the existence of a second Cyaxares is that of Xenophon's romance (cf. Niebuhr, *Aesch. Ass. u. Bab. p. 61*). The title *Cyrus filius* *Cyaxaris*, which has been quoted from an inscription (Auberlen, *Daniel u. d. Offenbarung*, p. 18), is either a false reading or certainly a false translation (Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass. u. Bab. 214, n. 4*); and the passage of Aeschylus (*Pers. 766 f.*) is inconsistent with the character assigned to Cyaxares II. On the other hand, Herodotus expressly states that "Astyages" was the last king of the Medes, that he was conquered by Cyrus, and that he died without leaving any male issue (Herod. i. 73, 109, 127 ff.); and Cyrus appears as the immediate successor of "Astyages" in the Chronicle of Eusebius (*Chron. ad Ol. 54*; Syncell. 188; cf. *Bel and Dragon*, i.). A third identification (Wiener, *Realdict. s. v.*; Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass. u. Bab. pp. 45, 92*) remains, by which Darius is represented as the personal name of "Astyages," the last king of the Medes, and this appears to satisfy all the conditions of the problem. The name "Astyages" was national and not personal [ASTYAGES], and Ahasuerus (*Achashverosh*) represents the name (*Huak'hshatra*) (Cyaxares, borne by the father of "Astyages" (Tob. xiv. 15). The description of the unnamed king in Aeschylus" (l. c.) as one whose "feelings were guided by wisdom" (*φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φεικαστόδρμον*), is applicable to the Darius of Scripture and the Astyages of Herodotus. And as far as the name itself is concerned, there are traces of the existence of an older king Darius before the time of Darius Hystaspis (Schol. ad Arist. *Eccles. 598 Δαρείκος* — *ὄνκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ ἐξάρχου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἑτέρου τινος παλαιότερου βασιλέως ὀνομάσθησαν*. cf. Suidas. s. v. *Δαρείκος*). If, as seems most probable, Darius (Astyages) occupied the throne or Babylon as supreme sovereign with Neriglissar as vassal-prince, after the murder of Evilmerodach (Belshazzar) B.C. 559, one year only remains for this Median supremacy before the victory of Cyrus

\* It is most worthy of notice that Aeschylus characterises Cyaxares (I.) as *Μῆδος . . . ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν σπαρτός*, while Sir H. Rawlinson (*Notes on the History*

*of Babylonia*, p. 30, n.) shows that the foundation of the Median empire was really due to *Huak'hshatra* (Cyaxares), in spite of the history of Herodotus.

n.c. 558, in exact accordance with the notices in Daniel (Niebuhr, *l. c.*), and the apparent incompetence of the political arrangements which Darius "purposed" to make (Dan. vi. 3, עֲשִׂיתָ). For the short duration of his supreme power may have caused his division of the empire (Dan. vi. 1 ff.)—a work congenial to his character—to fall into abeyance, so that it was not carried out till the time of his namesake Darius Hystaspis: a supposition at least as probable as that there is any confusion of the two monarchs in the book of Daniel.

The chronological difficulties which have been raised (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. p. 418) against the identification of Darius with Astyages on the assumption that the events in Dan. v. relate to the taking of Babylon by Cyrus (n.c. 538), in which case he would have ascended the throne at seven years of age, are entirely set aside by the view of Marcus Niebuhr, which has been adopted above; and this coincidence serves to confirm the general truth of the hypothesis.

2. DARIUS the son of HYSTASPIES (Vashtaspi), the fifth in descent from Achaemenes, the founder of the Perso-Arian dynasty, was, according to the popular legend (Herod. i. 209, 210), already marked out for empire during the reign of Cyrus. Upon the usurpation of the Magian Smerdis [ARTAXERXES], he conspired with six other Persian chiefs to overthrow the impostor, and on the success of the plot was placed upon the throne B.C. 521. He devoted himself to the internal organisation of his kingdom, which had been impeded by the wars of Cyrus and Cambyses, and the confusion of the reign of Smerdis. His designs of foreign conquest were interrupted by a revolt of the Babylonians, under a pretender who bore the royal name of Nabukadnessar (Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass. u. Bib.* 94), which was at length put down, and punished with great severity (c. n.c. 516). After the subjugation of Babylon Darius turned his arms against Scythia, Libya (Herod. iv. 145 ff.) and India (Herod. iv. 44). Thrace and Macedonia acknowledged his supremacy, and some of the islands of the Aegean were added to his dominion in Asia-Minor and the seaboard of Thrace (B.C. 513-505). Shortly afterwards he came into collision with Greece, and the defeat of Marathon (n.c. 490) only roused him to prepare vigorously for that decisive struggle with the West which was now inevitable. His plans were again thwarted by rebellion. Domestic quarrels (Herod. vii. 2) followed on the rising in Egypt, and he died B.C. 485 before his preparations were completed (Herod. vii. 4).

With regard to the Jews, Darius Hystaspis pursued the same policy as Cyrus, and restored to them the privileges which they had lost. For the usurpation of Smerdis involved a religious as well as a political revolution, and the restorer of the Magian faith willingly listened to the enemies of a people who had welcomed Cyrus as their deliverer (Exr. iv. 17 ff.). But in the second year of Darius, B.C. 520, as soon as his power had assumed some solidity, Haggai (Hag. i. 1, ii. 1, 10) and Zechariah encouraged their countrymen to resume the work of restoration (Exr. v. 1 ff.), and when their proceedings came to the king's knowledge, he confirmed the decree of Cyrus by a new edict, and the temple was finished in four years (n.c. 516, Exr. vi. 15), though it was apparently used before that time (Zech. vii. 2, 3).

3. DARIUS THE PERSIAN (Neh. xii. 22, דָּרְיָוִשׁ) may be identified with Darius II. Nottus (Ochus), king of Persia B.C. 424-3—405-4, if the whole passage in question was written by Nehemiah. If, however, the register was continued to a later time, as is not improbable, the occurrence of the name Jaddua (vv. 11, 22), who was high-priest at the time of the invasion of Alexander [ALEXANDER], points to Darius III. Codomannus, the antagonist of Alexander, and last king of Persia B.C. 336-330 (1 Macc. i. 1). Cf. Jahn, *Archäol.* n. 1, 272 ff.; Keil, *Lehrb. d. Bibl.* §152, 7, who defends at length the integrity of the passage. [B. F. W.]

DARKNESS (חָשֶׁךְ, fem. form חֹשֶׁךְ, and with much variation in the vowel points; *σκότος*), is spoken of as encompassing the actual presence of God, as that out of which He speaks, the envelope, as it were, of Divine glory (Ex. ix. 21; 1 K. viii. 12). The cloud symbol of His guidance offered an aspect of darkness to the enemy as of light to the people of Israel. In the description of His coming to judgment, darkness overspreading nature and blotting the sun, &c., is constantly included (Is. xiii. 9, 10; Joel ii. 31, iii. 15; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxi. 25; Rev. vi. 12).

The plague of darkness in Egypt has been ascribed by various neologicist commentators to non-miraculous agency, but no sufficient account of its intense degree, long duration, and limited area, as proceeding from any physical cause, has been given. The darkness ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν of Matt. xxvii. 45 attending the crucifixion has been similarly attributed to an eclipse. Phlegon of Tralles indeed mentions an eclipse of intense darkness, and which began at noon, combined, he says, in Bithynia, with an earthquake, which in the uncertain state of our chronology (see Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, Olymp. 202) more or less nearly synchronises with the event. Nor was the account one without reception in the early church. See the testimonies to that effect collected by Whiston (*Testimony of Phlegon vindicated*, Lond. 1732). Origen, however, *ad loc.* (Latin commentary on St. Matt.) denies the possibility of such a cause, arguing that by the fixed Paschal reckoning the moon must have been about full, and denying that Luke xxiii. 45 by the words *ἐσκορίσθη δὲ ἡλιος* means to allege that fact as the cause. The genuineness of this commentary has been impeached, nor is its tenor consistent with Origen *adv. Cels.* p. 80; but the argument, unless on such an assumption as that mentioned below, seems decisive, and has ever since been adhered to. He limits πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν to Judaea. Dean Alford (*ad loc.*), though without stating his reason, prefers the wider interpretation of all the earth's surface on which it would naturally have been day. That Phlegon's darkness, perceived so intense in Tralles and Bithynia, was felt in Judaea is highly probable; and the Evangelist's testimony to similar phenomena of a coincident darkness and earthquake, taken in connexion with the near agreement of time, gives a probability to the supposition that the former speaks of the same circumstances as the latter. Wieseler (*Chron. Synop.* 388) however, and De Wette (*Comm. on Matt.*), consider the year of Phlegon's eclipse an impossible one for the crucifixion, and reject that explanation of the darkness. The argument from the duration (3 hours) is also of great force; for an eclipse seldom lasts in great intensity more than 6 minutes. On the other hand, Seyffarth (*Chronolog.*

*Sacr.* p. 58, 9) maintains that the Jewish calendar, owing to their following the sun, had become so far out that the moon might possibly have been at new, and thus, admitting the year as a possible epoch, revives the argument for the eclipse as the cause. He however views this rather as a natural basis than as a full account of the darkness, which in its degree at Jerusalem was still preternatural (ib. p. 138). The pamphlet of Whiston above quoted, and two by Dr. Sykes, *Dissertation on the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon*, and *Defence of same*, Lond. 1733 and 1734, may be consulted as regards the statement of Phlegon.

Darkness is also, as in the expression "land of darkness," used for the state of the dead (Job x. 21, 22); and frequently figuratively, for ignorance and unbelief, as the privation of spiritual light (John i. 5; iii. 19). [H. H.]

**DAR'KON** (דַּרְקוֹן; *Δαρκόν, Δορκών; Dercon*). Children of Darkon were among the "servants of Solomon," who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 56; Neh. vii. 58). [LOZAN.]

**DATES**, margin of 2 Chr. xxxi. 5 only. [PALM TREE.]

**DA'THAN** (דָּתָן; *Δαθάν; Dathan*), a Reubenite chieftain, son of Eliab, who joined the conspiracy of Korah the Levite (Num. xvi. 1, xxvi. 9; Deut. xi. 6; Ps. cvi. 17). [R. W. B.]

**DATHEMA** (Δαθέμα; Alex. and Josephus, *Δάθεμα*; other MSS. *Δάμεθα; Dathema*), a fortress (τὸ δὲχόμενον; Jos. *φρούριον*) in which the Jews of Gilead took refuge from the heathen (1 Macc. v. 9). Here they were relieved by Judas and Jonathan (24). They marched from Bozora to Dathema (28, 9) and left it for Maspha (Mizpeh) (35). The reading of the Peschito, *Rantha*, points to Ramoth-Gilead, which can hardly fail to be the correct identification. Ewald however (iv. 359, note) would correct this to *Damtha*, which he compares with *Dhami*, a place reported by Burckhardt. [G.]

**DAUGHTER** (*Bath*, בַּת, contr. from בִּתּוּלָה, fem. of בָּר; *θυγάτηρ; filia*). 1. The word is used in Scripture not only for daughter, but for granddaughter or other female descendant, much in the same way and like extent with בֶּן, son (Gen. xxiv. 48, xxxi. 43). [See CHILDREN; EDUCATION; WOMEN.]

2. In a kindred sense the female inhabitants of a place, a country, or the females of a particular race are called daughters (Gen. vi. 2, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 6, xxxvi. 2; Num. xxv. 1; Deut. xxiii. 17; Is. iii. 16; Jer. xvi. 11, xlix. 2, 3, 4; Luke xxiii. 28).

3. Women in general (Prov. xxxi. 29).

4. Those addicted to particular forms of idolatrous worship (1 Sam. i. 16; Mal. ii. 11).

5. The same notion of descent explains the phrase "daughters of music," i. e. singing birds (Eccl. xii. 4), and the use of the word for branches of a tree (Gen. xlix. 22), the pupil of the eye, *אֵקֶף* (Lam. ii. 18; Ps. xvii. 8), and the expression "daughter of 90 years," to denote the age of Sarah (Gen. xvii. 17).

6. It is also used of cities in general, agreeably to their very common personification as belonging to the female sex (Is. x. 32, xxiii. 12, xxxvii. 22, xlvii. 1, lii. 2; Jer. vi. 2, 26, ix. 1, xxxi. 4, xlvii. 11, 24, xlviii. 18, li. 33; Nah. iii. 4, 7; Zech. ix. 9; Ez. xvi. 3, 44, 48, xxiii. 4).

7. But more specifically of dependent towns or

hamlets, while to the principal city the correlative "mother" is applied (Num. xxi. 25; Josh. xvii. 11, 16; Judg. i. 27; 1 Chr. vii. 28; 2 Sam. xx. 19).

*Hazerim* is the word most commonly employed for the "villages" lying round, and dependent on, a "city" (*Ir*; עִיר). But in one place *Bath* is used as if for something intermediate, in the case of the Philistine cities Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza (Josh. xv. 45-7)—"her daughter-towns and her villages." Without this distinction from *Hazerim*, the word is also employed for Philistine towns in 1 Chr. xviii. 1—Gath; 2 Chr. xxviii. 18—Shocho, Timnath, and Gimzo. In Neh. xi. 25-31, the two terms are employed alternately, and to all appearance quite indiscriminately. [VILLAGE.] [H. W. P.]

**DAVID** (דָּוִד, דָּוִיד; LXX. *Δαυίδ*; N. T. *Δαβίδ, Δαυείδ*), the son of Jesse, is the best known to us of any of the characters in the O. T. In him, as in the case of St. Paul in the N. T., we have the advantage of comparing a detailed narrative of his life with undoubted works of his own composition, and the combined result is a knowledge of his personal character, such as we probably possess of no historical personage before the Christian era, with the exception of Cicero, and perhaps of Caesar.

The authorities for the life of David may be divided into six classes:—

I. The original Hebrew authorities:—

1. The Davidic portion of the Psalms,<sup>b</sup> including such fragments as are preserved to us from other sources, viz. 2 Sam. i. 19-27, iii. 33, 34, xxii. 1-51, xxiii. 1-7. [PSALMS.]

2. The "Chronicles" or "State-papers" of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 24), and the original biographies of David by Samuel, Gad, and Nathan (1 Chr. xxix. 29). These are lost, but portions of them no doubt are preserved in

3. The narrative of 1 Sam. xvi. to 1 K. ii. 10; with the supplementary notices contained in 1 Chr. xi. 1 to xlix. 30.

II. The two slight notices in the heathen historians, Nicolaus of Damascus in his *Universal History* (Jos. Ant. vii. 5, §2), and Eusebius in his *History of the Kings of Judah* (Eus. *Præp. Ev. ix.* 30).

III. David's apocryphal writings, contained in Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus V. Test.* p. 906-1006. (1) Ps. cli., on his victory over Goliath. (2) Colloquies with God, on madness, on his temptation, and on the building of the Temple. (3) A charm against fire. Of these the first alone deserves any attention.

IV. The Jewish traditions, which may be divided into three classes:—

1. The additions to the Biblical narrative contained in Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 8-vii. 15.

2. The Hebrew traditions preserved in Jerome's *Questiones Hebraicæ in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon* (vol. iii., Venice ed.).

<sup>a</sup> The shorter form is used in the earlier books; indeed, everywhere except in 1 K. iii. 14, and in Chr., Ezr., Neh., Cant., Hos., Am., Ezek. xxxiv. 23, and Zech., in which the longer form is found. The Arabic

form of the name, in common use, is دَاوُد, *Dâoud*.

<sup>b</sup> In quoting the Psalms in connexion with the history, we have been guided partly by the titles (as expressing the Jewish traditions), partly by the internal evidence, as verified by the judgment of Hebrew scholars.



mothers were the eldest of the whole family, were probably of the same age as David himself, and they accordingly were to him—especially the three sons of Zeruiah—throughout life in the relation usually occupied by brothers and cousins. In them we see the rougher qualities of the family, which David shared with them, whilst he was distinguished from them by qualities of his own, peculiar to himself. The two sons of his brother Shimeah are both connected with his after history, and both celebrated for the gift of sagacity in which David himself excelled. One was Jonadab, the friend and adviser of his eldest son Amnon (2 Sam. xiii. 3). The other was Jonathan (2 Sam. xxi. 21), who afterwards became the counsellor of David himself (1 Chr. xxvii. 32). It is a conjecture or tradition of the Jews preserved by Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) that this was no other than Nathan the prophet, who, being adopted into Jesse's family, makes up the eighth son, not named in 1 Chr. ii. 13-15. But this is hardly probable.

The first time that David appears in history at once admits us to the whole family circle. There was a practice once a year at Bethlehem, probably at the first new moon of the year, of holding a sacrificial feast, at which Jesse, as the chief proprietor of the place, would preside (1 Sam. ix. 6), with the elders of the town. At this or such like feast (xvi. 1) suddenly appeared the great prophet Samuel, driving a heifer before him, and having in his hand a horn of the consecrated oil<sup>d</sup> of the Tabernacle. The elders of the little town were terrified at this apparition, but were reassured by the august visitor, and invited by him to the ceremony of sacrificing the heifer. The heifer was killed. The party were waiting to begin the feast. Samuel stood with his horn to pour forth the oil, as if for an invitation to begin (comp. ix. 22). He was restrained by divine intimation as son after son passed by. Eliab, the eldest, by "his height" and "his countenance," seemed the natural counterpart of Saul, whose rival, unknown to them, the prophet came to select. But the day was gone when kings were chosen because they were head and shoulders taller than the rest. "Samuel said unto Jesse, Are these all thy children? And he said, There remaineth yet the youngest, and behold he keepeth the sheep.

This is our first and most characteristic introduction to the future king. The boy was brought in. We are enabled to fix his appearance at once in our minds. He was of short stature, thus contrasting with his tall brother Eliab, with his rival Saul, and with his gigantic enemy of Gath. He had red<sup>e</sup> or auburn hair, such as is not unfrequently seen in his countrymen of the East at the present day. In later life he wore a beard.<sup>f</sup> His bright eyes<sup>g</sup> are especially mentioned (xvi. 12), and generally he was remarkable for the grace of his figure and countenance ("fair of eyes," "comely," "goodly," xvi. 12, 18, xvii. 42), well made, and of immense

strength and agility. His swiftness and activity made him (like his nephew Asahel) like a wild gazelle, his feet like harts' feet, and his arms strong enough to break a bow of steel (1's. xviii. 33, 34). He was pursuing the occupation allotted in Eastern countries usually to the slaves, the females, or the despised of the family (comp. the case of Moses, of Jacob, of Zipporah, and Rachel, and in later times, of Mahomet; Sprenger, p. 8). The pastures of Bethlehem are famous throughout the sacred history. The Tower of Shepherds (Gen. xxxv. 21), the shepherds abiding with their flocks by night (Luke ii.), were both there. He usually carried a switch or wand<sup>h</sup> in his hand (1 Sam. xvii. 40), such as would be used for his dogs (xvii. 43), and a scrip or wallet round his neck, to carry anything that was needed for his shepherd's life (xvii. 40). Such was the outer life of David when (as the later Psalmists described his call) he was "taken from the sheepfolds, from following the ewes great with young, to feed Israel according to the integrity of his heart, and to guide them by the skilfulness of his hands" (1's. lxxviii. 70-72). The recollection<sup>i</sup> of the sudden and great elevation from this humble station is deeply impressed on his after life. "The man who was raised up on high" (2 Sam. xviii. 1)—"I have exalted one chosen out of the people" (1's. lxxviii. 19)—"I took thee from the sheepcote" (2 Sam. vii. 8).

3. But there was another preparation still more needed for his office, which possibly had made him already known to Samuel, and which at any rate is his next introduction to the history. When the body-guard of Saul were discussing with their master where the best minstrel could be found to chase away his madness by music, one of the young men in the guard suggested David. Saul, with the absolute control inherent in the idea of an Oriental king, instantly sent for him, and in the successful effort of David's harp we have the first glimpse into that genius for music and poetry which was afterwards consecrated in the Psalms. It is impossible not to connect the early display of this gift with the schools of the prophets, who exercised their vocation with tabret, psaltery, pipe, and harp (1 Sam. x. 5), in the pastures (*Naioth*; comp. 1's. xxiii. 2), to which he afterwards returned as to his natural home (1 Sam. xix. 18).<sup>k</sup>

Whether any of the existing Psalms can be referred to this epoch of David's life is uncertain. The 23rd, from its subject of the shepherd, and from its extreme simplicity (though placed by Kwald somewhat later), may well have been suggested by this time. The 8th, 19th, and 29th,<sup>l</sup> which are universally recognised as David's, describe the phenomena of nature, and as such may more naturally be referred to this tranquil period of his life than to any other. The imagery of danger from wild beasts, lions, wild bulls, &c. (Ps. vii. 2, xxii. 20, 21), must be reminiscences of this time. And now, at any rate, he must have

<sup>d</sup> "The oil;" so Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, §1.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 12, xvii. 42. Ruddy = red-haired; *ρυπαῖρος*, I.XX.; *rufus*, Vulg.: the same word as for Esau, Gen. xxv. 25. The rabbis (probably from this) say that he was like Esau. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, 1) makes it his tawny complexion (*ξανθοῦς τὴν χροάν*).

<sup>f</sup> 1 Sam. xxi. 13.

<sup>g</sup> "Fierce, quick;" *γοργὸς τὰς ὀφθαλμοῖς* (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, 1).

<sup>h</sup> The same word as is used in Gen. xxx. 37, Jer. i. 11, Hos. iv. 12.

<sup>i</sup> It is useless to speculate on the extent to which his mission was known to himself or to others. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, 1) says that Samuel whispered it into his ear.

<sup>k</sup> The Mussulman traditions represent him as skilled in making haircloth and sackcloth—the usual occupations of the prophets. See the notes to BETHLEHEM, p. 202 a.

<sup>l</sup> The Mussulman traditions describe him as understanding the language of birds (*Koran*, xxi. 9, xvii. 16).

first acquired the art which gave him one of his chief claims to mention in after times—"the sweet singer of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1), "the inventor of instruments of music" (Am. vi. 5); "with his whole heart he sung songs and loved him that made him" (Ecclus. xlvii. 8).<sup>m</sup>

4. One incident alone of his solitary shepherd life has come down to us—his conflict with the lion and the bear in defence of his father's flocks (1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35). But it did not stand alone. He was already known to Saul's guards for his martial exploits, probably against the Philistines (xvi. 18), and when he suddenly appeared in the camp, his elder brother immediately guessed that he had left the sheep in his arduous to see the battle (xvii. 28). To this new aspect of his character we are next introduced.

There is no perfectly satisfactory means of reconciling the apparently contradictory accounts in 1 Sam. xvi. 14-23, and xvii. 12-31, 55-58. The first states that David was made known to Saul and became his armour-bearer in consequence of the charm of his music in assuaging the king's melancholy. The second implies that David was still a shepherd with his father's flocks, and unknown to Saul. The Vatican MS. of the LXX., followed by Kennicott (who argues the question at length, *Dissertation on Hebrew Text*, 418-432, 554-558), rejects the narrative in 1 Sam. xvii. 12-31, 55-58, as spurious. But the internal evidence from its graphic touches is much in its favour, and it must at least be accepted as an ancient tradition of David's life. Holsley, but with no external authority, transposes 1 Sam. xvi. 14-23. Another explanation supposes that Saul had forgotten him. But this only solves half the difficulty, and is evidently not the intention of the narrative. It may therefore be accepted as an independent statement of David's first appearance, modified by the counter-statement already noticed.

The scene of the battle is at EPHES-DAMMIM, in the frontier-hills of Judah, called probably from this or similar encounters "the bound of blood." Saul's army is encamped on one side of the ravine, the Philistines on the other, the watercourse of Elah or "the Terebinth" runs between them.<sup>n</sup> A Philistine of gigantic stature, and clothed in complete armour, insults the comparatively defenceless Israelites, amongst whom the king alone appears to be well armed (xvii. 38; comp. xiii. 20). No one can be found to take up the challenge. At this juncture David appears in the camp, sent by his father with ten loaves and ten slices of milk-cheese to his three eldest brothers, fresh from the sheepfolds. Just as he comes to the

circle of waggon which formed, as in Arab settlements, a rude fortification round the Israelite camp (xvii. 20), he hears the well known shout of the Israelite war-cry (comp. Num. xxiii. 21). The martial spirit of the boy is stirred at the sound; he leaves his provisions with the baggage-master, and darts to join his brothers (like one of the royal messengers)<sup>o</sup> into the midst of the lines.<sup>p</sup> Then he hears the challenge, now made for the fortieth time—sees the dismay of his countrymen—hears the reward proposed by the king—goes with the impetuosity of youth from soldier to soldier talking of the event, in spite of his brother's rebuke—he is introduced to Saul—undertakes the combat. His victory over the gigantic Philistine is rendered more conspicuous by his own diminutive stature, and by the simple weapons with which it was accomplished—not the armour of Saul, which he naturally found too large, but the shepherd's sling, which he always carried with him, and the five polished pebbles which he picked up as he went from the watercourse of the valley, and put in his shepherd's wallet.<sup>q</sup> Two trophies long remained of the battle—one, the huge sword of the Philistine, which was hung up behind the ephod in the Tabernacle at Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 9); the other, the head, which he bore away himself, and which was either laid up at Nob, or subsequently at Jerusalem. [Nob.] Ps. cxliv., though by its contents of a much later date, is by the title in the LXX. "against Goliath." But there is also a psalm, preserved in the LXX. at the end of the Psalter, and which, though probably a mere adaptation from the history, well sums up this early period of his life: "This is the psalm of David's own writing" (?) (*ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυὶδ*), and outside the number, when he fought the single combat with Goliath. "I was small amongst my brethren, and the youngest in my father's house. I was feeding my father's sheep. My hands made a harp, and my fingers fitted a psaltery. And who shall tell it to my Lord? He is the Lord, He heareth. He sent his messenger (angel?) and took me from my father's flocks, and anointed me with the oil of His anointing. My brethren were beautiful and tall, but the Lord was not well pleased with them. I went out to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols. But I drew his own sword and beheaded him, and took away the reproach from the children of Israel."<sup>r</sup>

II. *Relations with Saul.*—We now enter on a new aspect of David's life. The victory over Goliath had been a turning point of his career. Saul inquired his parentage, and took him finally

<sup>m</sup> In Mussulmah traditions, as Abraham is called "the Friend," and Mohammed "the Apostle," so David is "the Prophet of God." In Weil's *Legende*, p. 157, is a striking Oriental description of his powers as a psalmist: "He could imitate the thunders of heaven, the roar of the lion, the notes of the nightingale."

<sup>n</sup> Variations in the common account are suggested by two other passages. 1. In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, it is stated that "Goliath of Gath, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam," was killed (not by David, but) by Elhanan of Bethlehem. This, combined with the fact that the Philistine whom David slew is usually nameless, has suggested to Ewald (ii. 23, 611) the ingenious conjecture that the name of Goliath (which is only given twice to David's enemy, 1 Sam. xvii. 4, xxi. 9) was borrowed from the conflict of the real Goliath with Elhanan, whose Bethlehemite

origin has led to the confusion. Jerome (*Qu. Heb. ad loc.*) makes Elhanan the same as David. 2. In 1 Chr. xi. 12, Eleazar (or more probably Shamhah, 2 Sam. xxiii. 11) is said to have fought with David at Ephesdammim against the Philistines. It is of course possible that the same scene may have witnessed two encounters between Israel and the Philistines; but it may also indicate that David's first acquaintance with Eleazar, afterwards one of his chief captains, was made on this memorable occasion.

<sup>o</sup> The same word is used as in 1 Sam. xxii. 17.

<sup>p</sup> As in 1 Sam. iv. 16, 2 Sam. xviii. 22.

<sup>q</sup> For the Mussulman legend, see Weil's *Legende*, p. 153.

<sup>r</sup> Of these and of like songs, Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, Pref. p. cl.) interprets the expression in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, not "the sweet singer of Israel," but "the darling of the songs of Israel."

to his court. Jonathan was inspired by the romantic friendship which bound the two youths together to the end of their lives. The triumphant songs\* of the Israelitish women announced that they felt that in him Israel had now found a deliverer mightier even than Saul. And in those songs, and in the fame which David thus acquired, was laid the foundation of that unhappy jealousy of Saul towards him which, mingling with the king's constitutional malady, poisoned his whole future relations to David.

Three new qualities now began to develop themselves in David's character. The first was his prudence. It had been already glanced at on the first mention of him to Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 18), "prudent in matters." But it was the marked feature of the beginning of his public career. Thrice over it is emphatically said, "he behaved himself wisely," and evidently with the impression that it was the wisdom called forth by the necessities of his delicate and difficult situation. It was that peculiar Jewish caution which has been compared to the sagacity of a hunted animal, such as is remarked in Jacob, and afterwards in the persecuted Israelites of the middle ages. (One instance of it appears immediately, in his answer to the trap laid for him by Saul's servants, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be the king's son-in-law, seeing that I am a poor man and lightly esteemed?" (xviii. 23). Secondly, we now see his magnanimous forbearance called forth, in the first instance, towards Saul, but displaying itself (with a few painful exceptions) in the rest of his life. He is the first example of the virtue of chivalry. Thirdly, his hairbreadth escapes, continued through so many years, impressed upon him a sense of dependence on the Divine help, clearly derived from this epoch. His usual oath or asseveration in later times was, "As the Lord liveth who hath redeemed my soul out of adversity" (2 Sam. iv. 9; 1 K. i. 29); and the Psalms are filled with imagery taken even literally from shelter against pursuers, slipping down precipices (Ps. xvi. 36), hiding-places in rocks and caves, leafy coverts (xxvi. 20), strong fastnesses (xviii. 2).

This course of life subdivides itself into four portions:—

1. His life at the court of Saul till his final escape (1 Sam. xviii. 2–xix. 18). His office is not exactly defined. But it would seem that, having been first armour-bearer (xvi. 21, xviii. 2), then made captain over a thousand—the subdivision of a tribe—(xviii. 13), he finally, on his marriage with Michal, the king's second daughter, was raised to the high office of captain of the king's body-guard, second only, if not equal, to Abner, the captain of the host, and Jonathan, the heir apparent. Three formed the usual companions of the king at his meals (ix. 25). David was now chiefly known for his successful exploits against the Philistines, by one of which he won his wife, and drove back the

Philistine power with a blow from which it only rallied at the disastrous close of Saul's reign.† He also still performed from time to time the office of minstrel. But the successive snares laid by Saul to entrap him, and the open violence into which the king's madness twice broke out,‡ at last convinced him that his life was no longer safe. He had two faithful allies, however, in the court—the son of Saul, his friend Jonathan—the daughter of Saul, his wife Michal. Warned by the one, and assisted by the other, he escaped by night,§ and was from thenceforward a fugitive. Jonathan he never saw again except by stealth. Michal was given in marriage to another (Phaltiel), and he saw her no more till long after her father's death [MICHAL]. To this escape the traditional title assigns Ps. lix. Internal evidence (according to Ewald) gives Ps. vi.¶ and vii. to this period. In the former he is first beginning to contemplate the necessity of flight; in the latter he is moved by the plots of a person not named in the history (perhaps those alluded to in 1 Chr. xii. 17)—according to the title of the psalm, Cush, a Benjamite, and therefore of Saul's tribe.

2. His escape (1 Sam. xix. 18–xvi. 15).—(a) He first fled to Nioth (or the pastures) of Ramah, to Samuel. This is the first recorded occasion of his meeting with Samuel since the original interview during his boyhood at Bethlehem. It might almost seem as if he had intended to devote himself with his musical and poetical gifts to the prophetic office, and give up the cares and dangers of public life. But he had a higher destiny still. Up to this time both the king and himself had thought that a reunion was possible (see xv. 5, 26). But the madness of Saul now became more settled and ferocious in character; and David's danger proportionally greater. The secret interview with Jonathan, of which the recollection was probably handed down through Jonathan's descendants when they came to David's court, confirmed the alarm already excited by Saul's endeavour to seize him at Ramah, and he now determined to leave his country, and take refuge, like Orlantes, or Themistocles in like circumstances, in the court of his enemy. Before this last resolve, he visited Non, the seat of the tabernacle, partly to obtain a final interview with the High-priest (1 Sam. xxii. 9, 15) partly to obtain food and weapons. On the pretext of a secret mission‡ from Saul, he gained an answer from the oracle, some of the consecrated loaves, and the consecrated sword of Goliath. "There is none like that: give it me." The incident was of double importance in David's career. First it established a connexion between him and the only survivor from the massacre in which David's visit involved the house of Ahimelech. Secondly, from Ahimelech's surrender of the consecrated bread to David's hunger our Lord drew the inference of the superiority of the moral to the ceremonial law, which is the only allusion made to David's life in

\* See Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. V. T.* 906.

† 1 Sam. xx. 25, xxii. 14, as explained by Ewald, p. 98.

‡ The story of his wooing Merab, and of her marriage with Adriel (1 Sam. xviii. 17–19), is omitted in LXX. and Joseph. (*Ant.* vi. 10, §1). There is the same obliteration of her name in the existing Text of 2 Sam. xxi. 8.

§ The first of these (1 Sam. xviii. 9–11) is omitted in the Vatican MS. of the LXX. and Joseph. (*Ant.* vi. 10 §1).

¶ For the Mussulman legend, see Weil's *Legends*, p. 154.

‡ The allusions to his danger from the Benjamite archers (Ps. xi. 2), to his flight like a bird to the mountains (xi. 1, comp. 1 Sam. xxvi. 20), and probably to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea (xi. 6), rather point to the time when he was at Engedi.

§ The statement of his pretended mission is differently given in the Hebrew and in the LXX. It must be observed that the young men spoken of as his companions were imaginary. He was quite alone.

the N. T.\* (Matt. xii. 3; Mark ii. 25; Luke vi. 3, 4). It is also commemorated by the traditional title of Ps. lli.

His stay at the court of ACHISH was short. Discovered possibly by "the sword of Goliath," his presence revived the national enmity of the Philistines against their former conqueror; and he only escaped by feigning madness,<sup>a</sup> violent gestures, playing on the gates of the city, or on a drum or cymbal, letting his beard grow, and foaming at the mouth (1 Sam. xxi. 13, LXX.). The 56th and 34th psalms are both referred by their titles to this event, and the titles state (what does not appear in the narrative) that he had been seized as a prisoner by the Philistines, and that he was, in consequence of this stratagem, set free by Achish, or (as he is twice called) Abimelech.

3. His life as an independent outlaw (xxii. 1-xxvi. 25). (a) His first retreat was the cave of *Adullam*, probably the large cavern (the only very large one in Palestine), not far from Bethlehem, now called *Kharrûn* (see Bonar's *Land of Promise*, p. 24+). From its vicinity to Bethlehem, he was joined there by his whole family, now feeling themselves insecure from Saul's fury (xxii. 1). This was probably the foundation of his intimate connexion with his nephews, the sons of Zeruah.

Of these, Abishai, with two other companions, was amongst the earliest (1 Chr. xi. 15, 20; 1 Sam. xxi. 6; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 18). Besides these, were outlaws and debtors from every part, including doubtless some of the original Canaanites—of whom the name of one at least has been preserved, Ahimelech the Hittite (1 Sam. xxvi. 6).<sup>b</sup>

(b) His next move was to a stronghold, either the mountain, afterwards called Herodium, close to Adullam, or the fastness called by Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 8, §4) *Masada*, the Greek form of the Hebrew word *Matzei* (1 Sam. xxii. 4, 5; 1 Chr. vi. 16), in the neighbourhood of Engedi. Whilst there, he had deposited his aged parents for the sake of greater security, beyond the Jordan, with their ancestral kinsman of Moab (ib. 3). The neighbouring king, Nahash of Ammon, also treated him kindly (2 Sam. x. 2). Here another companion appears for the first time, a schoolfellow, if we may use the word, from the schools of Samuel, the prophet Gad, his subsequent biographer (1 Sam. xli. 5); and whilst he was there, occurred the chivalrous exploit of the three heroes just mentioned to procure water from the well of Bethlehem, and David's chivalrous answer, like that of Alexander in the desert of Chelosis (1 Chr. xi. 16-19; 2 Sam. xxiii. 14-17). He was joined here by two separate bands. One a little body of eleven fierce Gadite<sup>c</sup> mountaineers, who swam the Jordan in flood-time to reach him (1 Chr. xii. 8). Another was a detachment of men from Judah and Benjamin under his nephew Amasai, who henceforth attached himself to David's fortunes (1 Chr. xii. 16-18).

(c) At the warning of Gad, he fled next to the forest of *Hareth* (somewhere in the hills of Judah, but its exact site unknown), and then again fell in with the Philistines, and again, apparently advised by Gad (xxiii. 4) made a descent on their foraging

parties, and relieved *Keilah* (also unknown), in which he took up his abode. Whilst there, now for the first time, in a fortified town of his own (xxiii. 7), he was joined by a new and most important ally—Abiathar, the last survivor of the house of Ithamar, who came with the High-priest's Ephod, and henceforth gave the oracles, which David had hitherto received from Gad (xxiii. 6, 9, xiii. 23). By this time, the 400 who had joined him at Adullam (xxii. 2) had swelled to 600 (xxiii. 13).

(d) The situation of David was now changed by the appearance of Saul himself on the scene. Apparently the danger was too great for the little army to keep together. They escaped from Keilah, and dispersed, "whithersoever they could go," amongst the fastnesses of Judah. Henceforth it becomes difficult to follow his movements with exactness, partly from ignorance of the localities, partly because the same event seems to be twice narrated (1 Sam. xxiii. 19-24, xxvi. 1-4, and perhaps 1 Sam. xxiv. 1-22, xxvi. 5-25). But thus much we discern. He is in the wilderness of Ziph. Once (or twice) the Ziphites betray his movements to Saul. From thence Saul literally hunts him like a partridge, the treacherous Zaphites beating the bushes before him, and 3000 men, stationed to catch even the print of his footsteps on the hills (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 22 (Eph. 1, 24 (LXX.), xxiv. 11, xxvi. 2, 20). David finds himself driven to the extreme south of Judah, in the wilderness of Maon. On two, if not three occasions, the pursuer and pursued catch sight of each other. Of the first of these escapes, the memory was long preserved in the name of the "Cliff of Divisions," given to the cliff down one side of which David climbed, whilst Saul was surrounding the hill on the other side (xviii. 25-29), and was suddenly called away by a panic of a Philistine invasion. On another occasion, David took refuge in a cave "by the spring of the wild goats" (Engedi) immediately above the Dead Sea (1 Sam. xxvi. 1, 2). The rocks were covered with the pursuers. Saul entered, as is the custom in Oriental countries, for a natural necessity. The followers of David, scared in the dark recesses of the cave, seeing, yet not seen, suggest to him the chance thus thrown in their way. David, with a characteristic mixture of humour and generosity, descends and silently cuts off the skirt of the long robe, spread, as is usual in the East on such occasions, before and behind the person so occupied—and then caused the pathetic scene of remonstrance and forgiveness (xix. 8-22). The third (if it can be distinguished from the one just given) was in the wilderness further south. There was a regular camp, formed with its usual fortification of waggon and baggage. Into this enclosure David penetrated by night, and carried off the cruse of water, and the well known royal spear of Saul, which had twice so nearly transfixed him to the wall in former days (xxvi. 7, 11, 22). [ARMS, *Chanith*.] The same scene is repeated as at Engedi—and this is the last interview between Saul and David (xxvi. 25). He had already parted with Jonathan in the forest of Ziph (xxiii. 18).

To this period are annexed by their traditional

\* It is a characteristic Jewish comment (as distinguished from the lesson drawn by Christ) that the bread was useless to him (Jerome, *Qu. Heb. in loc.*).

<sup>a</sup> This is the subject of one of David's apocryphal colloquies (Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. V. Trist.* p. 1002).

<sup>b</sup> Sibbechai, who kills the giant at Goliath (2 Sam. xxi. 18), is said by Josephus to have been a Hittite.

<sup>c</sup> Gad, as Jerome's Jewish commentators observe (*Qu. Heb. in loc.*), appears suddenly, without introduction, like Elijah. Is it possible that he, like Elijah, may have been from beyond the Jordan, and come, as his name implies, with the eleven Gadites?

<sup>d</sup> For the Mussulman legend, see Weil, p. 156.

titles Psalm liv. ("When the Ziphim came and said, Doth not David hide himself with us?"); lvii., ("When he fled from Saul in the cave," though this may refer also to Adullam); lxii. "When he was in the wilderness of Judah" (or Idumaea, LXX.), cxlii. ("A prayer when he was in the cave"). It is probably these psalms which made the Psalter so dear to Alfred and to Wallace during their like wanderings.

Whilst he was in the wilderness of Maon occurred David's adventure with NABAL, instructive as showing his mode of carrying on the freebooter's life, and his marriage with Abigail. His marriage with Ahinoam from Jezreel,\* also in the same neighbourhood (Josh. xv. 55), seems to have taken place a short time before (1 Sam. xxv. 43, xxvii. 3; 2 Sam. iii. 2).

4. His service under Achish† (1 Sam. xxvii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 27).—Wearied with his wandering life he at last crosses the Philistine frontier, not as before, in the capacity of a fugitive, but the chief of a powerful band—his 600 men now grown into an organised force, with their wives and families around them (xxvii. 3-4). After the manner of Eastern potentates, Achish gave him, for his support, a city—Ziklag on the frontier of Philistia—and it was long remembered that to this curious arrangement the kings of Judah owed this appanage of their dynasty (xxvii. 6). There we meet with the first note of time in David's life. He was settled there for a year\* and four months (xxvii. 7), and his increasing importance is indicated by the fact that a body of Benjamite archers and slingers, twenty-two of whom are specially named, joined him from the very tribe of his rival (1 Chr. xii. 1-7). Possibly during this stay he may have acquired the knowledge of military organisation, in which the Philistines surpassed the Israelites, and in which he surpassed all the preceding rulers of Israel.

He deceived Achish into confidence by attacking the old Nomadic inhabitants of the desert frontier, and representing the plunder to be of portions of the southern tribes or the Nomadic allied tribes of Israel. But this confidence was not shared by the Philistine nobles; and accordingly David was sent back by Achish from the last victorious campaign against Saul. In this manner David escaped the difficulty of being present at the battle of Gilboa, but found that during his absence the Belouin Amalekites, whom he had plundered during the previous year, had made a descent upon Ziklag, burnt it to the ground, and carried off the wives and children of the new settlement. A wild scene of frantic grief and recrimination ensued between David and his followers. It was calmed by an oracle of assurance from Abiathar. It happened that an important accession had just been made to his force. On his march with the Philistines northward to Gilboa, he had been joined by some chiefs of the Manassites, through whose territory he was passing. Urgent as must have been the need for them at home, yet David's fascination carried them off, and they now assisted him against the plunderers (1 Chr. xii. 19-21). They overtook the invaders in the desert, and recovered the spoil. These were the gifts with which David was now able for the first time to requite the

friendly inhabitants of the scene of his wanderings (1 Sam. xxx. 26-31). A more lasting memorial was the law which traced its origin to the arrangement made by him, formerly in the attack on Nabal, but now again, more completely, for the equal division of the plunder amongst the two-thirds who followed to the field, and one-third who remained to guard the baggage (1 Sam. xxx. 25, xxv. 13). Two days after this victory a Belouin arrived from the North with the fatal news of the defeat of Gilboa. The reception of the tidings of the death of his rival and of his friend, the solemn mourning, the vent of his indignation against the bearer of the message, the pathetic lamentation that followed, well close the second period of David's life (2 Sam. i. 1-27).

### III. David's reign.

(I.) As king of Judah at Hebron, 7½ years (2 Sam. ii. 11); (2 Sam. ii. 1-v. 5).

Hebron was selected, doubtless, as the ancient sacred city of the tribe of Judah, the burial place of the patriarchs and the inheritance of Caleb. Here David was first formally anointed king—by whom is not stated—but the expression seems to limit the inauguration to the tribe of Judah, and therefore to exclude any intervention of Abiathar (2 Sam. ii. 4). To Judah his dominion was nominally confined. But probably for the first five years of the time the dominion of the house of Saul, whose seat was now at Mahanaim, did not extend to the west of the Jordan; and consequently David would be the only Israelite potentate amongst the western tribes. Gradually his power increased, and during the two years which followed the elevation of Ishbosheth, a series of skirmishes took place between the two kingdoms. First came a successful incursion into the territory of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii. 28). Next occurred the defection of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 12), and the surrender of Michal, who was now separated from her second husband to return to her first (2 Sam. iii. 15). Then rapidly followed, though without David's consent, the successive murders of AMNER and of ISHBOSHETH (2 Sam. iii. 30, iv. 5). The throne, so long waiting for him, was now vacant, and the united voice of the whole people at once called him to occupy it. A solemn league was made between him and his people (2 Sam. v. 3). For the third time David was anointed king, and a festival of three days celebrated the joyful event (1 Chr. xii. 39). His little band had now swelled into "a great host, like the host of God" (1 Chr. xii. 22). The command of it, which had formerly rested on David alone, he now devolved on his nephew Joab (2 Sam. ii. 28). It was formed by contingents from every tribe of Israel. Two are specially mentioned as bringing a weight of authority above the others. The sons of Issachar had "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do," and with the adjacent tribes contributed to the common feast the peculiar products of their rich territory (1 Chr. xii. 32, 40). The Levitical tribe, formerly represented in David's following only by the solitary fugitive Abiathar, now came in strength, represented by the head of the rival branch of Eleazar, the High-priest, the aged Jehoiada and his youthful and warlike kinsman Zadok (1 Chr. xii. 27, 28; xxvii. 5).

\* Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 13, §8, calls it *Abassar*.

† According to the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. viii. 10), he was the son of the former Achish; his mother's name *Mechah*.

§ But the value of this is materially damaged by the variations in the LXX. to "4 months," and Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 13, to "4 months and 20 days."

The only psalm directly referred to this epoch is the 27th (by its title in the LXX. *Πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι*—"before the anointing" i. e. at Hebron).

Underneath this show of outward prosperity, two cankers, incident to the royal state which David now assumed, had first made themselves apparent at Hebron, which darkened all the rest of his career. The first was the formation of a haem, according to the usage of Oriental kings. To the two wives of his wandering life, he had now added four, and including Michal, five (2 Sam. ii. 2; iii. 2-5, 15). The second was the increasing power of his kinsmen and chief officers, which the king strove to restrain within the limits of right, and thus of all the incidents of this part of his career the most plaintive and characteristic is his lamentation over his powerlessness to prevent the murder of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 31-36).

II. Reign over all Israel 33 years (2 Sam. v. 5, to 1 K. ii. 11).

(1) The foundation of Jerusalem.—It must have been with no ordinary interest that the surrounding nations watched for the prey on which the Lion of Judah, now about to issue from his native lair, and establish himself in a new home, would make his first spring. One fastness alone in the centre of the land had hitherto defied the aims of Israel. On this, with a singular prescience, David fixed as his future capital. By one sudden assault Jebus was taken, and became henceforth known by the names (whether borne by it before or not we cannot tell) of Jerusalem and Zion. Of all the cities of Palestine great in former ages, Jerusalem alone has vindicated by its long permanence the choice of its founder. The importance of the capture was marked at the time. The reward bestowed on the successful scaler of the precipice, was the highest place in the army. Joab henceforward became captain of the host (1 Chr. xi. 6). The royal residence was instantly fixed there—fortifications were added by the king and by Joab—and it was known by the special name of the "city of David" (1 Chr. xi. 7; 2 Sam. v. 9).

The neighbouring nations were partly enraged and partly awestruck. The Philistines<sup>a</sup> made two intellectual attacks on the new king (2 Sam. v. 17-20),<sup>1</sup> and a retribution on their former victories took place by the capture and confutation of their own idols (1 Chr. xiv. 12). Tyre, now for the first time appearing in the sacred history, allied herself with Israel; and Hiram<sup>b</sup> sent cedarwood for the buildings of the new capital (2 Sam. v. 11) especially for the palace of David himself (2 Sam. vii. 2). Unhallowed and profane as the city had been before, it was at once elevated to a sanctity which it has never lost, above any of the ancient sanctuaries of the land. The ark was now removed from its obscurity at Kirjath-jerim with marked solemnity. A temporary halt (owing to the death of Uzza) detained it at Obed-edom's house, after

which it again moved forward with great state to Jerusalem. An assembly of the nation was convened, and (according to 1 Chr. xiii. 2, xv. 2-27) especially of the Levites. The musical arts in which David himself excelled were now developed on a great scale (1 Chr. xv. 16-22; 2 Sam. vi. 5). Zadok and Abiathar, the representatives of the two Aaronic families, were both present (1 Chr. xv. 11). Chenaniah presided over the music (1 Chr. xv. 22, 27). Obed-edom followed his sacred charge (1 Chr. xiii. 18, 21, 24). The prophet Nathan appears for the first time as the controlling adviser of the future (2 Sam. vi. 3). A sacrifice was offered as soon as a successful start was made (1 Chr. xv. 26; 2 Sam. vi. 13). David himself was dressed in the white linen dress of the priestly order, without his royal robes, and played on stunged instruments (1 Chr. xv. 27; 2 Sam. vi. 14, 20). As in the prophetic schools where he had himself been brought up (1 Sam. x. 5), and as still in the impressive ceremonial of some Eastern Dervishes, and of Seville cathedral (probably derived from the East), a wild dance was part of the religious solemnity. Into this David threw himself with unreserved enthusiasm, and thus conveyed the symbol of the presence of Jehovah into the ancient heathen fortress. In the same spirit of uniting the sacerdotal with the royal functions, he offered sacrifices on a large scale, and himself gave the benediction to the people (2 Sam. vi. 17, 8; 1 Chr. xvi. 2).<sup>1</sup> The scene of this inauguration was on the hill which from David's habitation was specially known as the "City of David." As if to mark the new era he had not brought the ancient tabernacle from Gibeon, but had erected a new tent or tabernacle (1 Chr. xv. 1) for the reception of the ark. It was the first beginning of the great design, of which we will speak presently, afterwards carried out by his son, of erecting a permanent temple or palace for the ark, corresponding to the state in which he himself was to dwell. It was the greatest day of David's life. One incident only tarnished its splendour—the reproach of Michal, his wife, as he was finally entering his own palace, to carry to his own household the benediction which he had already pronounced on his people. [MICHAL.] His act of severity towards her was an additional mark of the stress which he himself laid on the solemnity (2 Sam. vi. 20-23; 1 Chr. xv. 29).

No less than eleven psalms, either in their traditional titles, or in the irresistible evidence of their contents, bear traces of this great festival. The 29th psalm (by its title in the LXX.) is said to be on the "Going forth of the tabernacle."<sup>m</sup> The 30th (by its title), the 15th, and 101st by their contents, express the feelings of David on his occupation of his new home. The 68th, at least in part, and the 24th<sup>n</sup> seem to have been actually composed for the entrance of the ark into the ancient gates of the heathen fortress—and the last

<sup>a</sup> The importance of the victory is indicated by the (probable) allusion to it in Isa. xxviii. 21.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Chr. xiv. 8, the incoherent words of 2 Sam. v. 17, "David went down into the hold," are omitted.

<sup>b</sup> Eupolemus (*Eus. Præp. Ev.* ix. 30) mentions an expedition against Hiram king of Tyre and Sidon, and a letter to Vafres king of Egypt to make an alliance.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chr. xvi. 1, says "they offered;" 2 Sam. vi. 17, "he offered." Both say "he blessed." The LXX., by a slight variation of the text, reads both in

2 Sam. vi. 14 and 2 Chr. xxx. 21, "instruments of praise," for "all his might."

<sup>m</sup> As "the tabernacle" was never moved from Gibeon in David's time, "the ark" is probably meant. It is the Psalm which describes a thunderstorm. Is it possible to connect this with the event described in 2 Sam. vi. 6? A similar allusion may be found in Ps. lxxiii. 7, 33. (See Chandler, ii. 211.)

<sup>n</sup> In the LXX. title said to be "on the Sabbath-day."

words of the second of these two psalms<sup>o</sup> may be regarded as the inauguration of the new name by which God henceforth is called, The Lord of hosts. "Who is this king of glory?" "The Lord of hosts, He is the king of glory" (Ps. xxiv. 10; comp. 2 Sam. vi. 2). Fragments of poetry worked up into psalms (xvi. 2-13,<sup>p</sup> cv. 1, 47, 48), occur in 1 Chr. xvi. 8-36, as having been delivered by David "into the hands of Asaph and his brother" after the close of the festival, and the two mysterious terms in the titles of Ps. vi. and xlv. (Sheminihah and Alamoth) appear in the lists of those mentioned on this occasion in 1 Chr. xv. 20, 21. The 132nd is, by its contents, if not by its authorship, thrown back to this time. The whole progress of the removal of the ark is traced in David's vein.

(2) Foundation of the Court and Empire of Israel, 2 Sam. viii. to xii.—The erection of the new capital at Jerusalem introduces us to a new era in David's life and in the history of the monarchy. Up to this time he had been a king, such as Saul had been before him, or as the kings of the neighbouring tribes, each ruling over his territory, unconcerned with any foreign relations except so far as was necessary to defend his own nation. But David, and through him the Israelitish monarchy, now took a wider range. He became a king on the scale of the great Oriental sovereigns of Egypt and Persia, with a regular administration and organization of court and camp; and he also founded an imperial dominion which for the first time realized the prophetic description of the bounds of the chosen people (Gen. xv. 18-21). The internal organization now established lasted till the final overthrow of the monarchy. The empire was of much shorter duration, continuing only through the reigns of David and his successor Solomon. But, for the period of its existence, it lent a peculiar character to the sacred history. For once, the kings of Israel were on a level with the great potentates of the world. David was an imperial conqueror, if not of the same magnitude, yet of the same kind, as Ramesses or Cyrus.—"I have made thee a great name like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth" (2 Sam. vii. 9). "Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars" (1 Chr. xxii. 8). And as, on the one hand, the external relations of life, and the great incidents of war and conquest receive an elevation by their contact with the religious history, so the religious history swells into larger and broader dimensions from its contact with the course of the outer world. The enlargement of territory, the amplification of power and state, leads to a corresponding enlargement and amplification of ideas, of imagery, of sympathies; and thus (humanly speaking), the magnificent forebodings of a wider dispensation in the prophetic writings first became possible through the court and empire of David.

(a.) In the internal organization of the kingdom the first new element that has to be considered is the royal family, the dynasty, of which David was

the founder, a position which entitled him to the name of "Patriarch" (Acts ii. 29) and (ultimately) of the ancestor of the Messiah.

Of these, Absalom and Adonijah both inherited their father's beauty (2 Sam. xiv. 25; 1 K. i. 6); but Solomon alone possessed any of his higher qualities. It was from a union of the children of Solomon and Absalom that the royal line was carried on (1 K. xv. 2). The princes were under the charge of Jehiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 32), perhaps the Levite (1 Chr. xv. 21; 2 Chr. xx. 14), with the exception of Solomon, who (according at least to one rendering) was under the charge of Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 25). David's strong parental affection for all of them is very remarkable, 2 Sam. xiii. 31, 33, 36, xiv. 33, xviii. 5, 33, xix. 4; 1 K. i. 6.

(b.) The military organization, which was in fact inherited from Saul, but greatly developed by David, was as follows:

(1.) "The Host," i. e. the whole available military force of Israel, consisting of all males, capable of bearing arms, and summoned only for war. This had always existed from the time of the first settlement in Canaan, and had been commanded by the chief or the judge, who presided over Israel for the time. Under Saul, we first find the recognised post of a captain or commander-in-chief—in the person of Abner; and under David, this post was given as a reward for the assault on Jerusalem, to his nephew JOAB (1 Chr. xi. 6, xxvii. 34), who conducted the army to battle in the absence of the king (2 Sam. xii. 26). There were 12 divisions of 24,000 each, who were held to be in duty month by month; and over each of them presided an officer, selected for this purpose, from the other military bodies formed by David (1 Chr. xxvii. 1-15). The army was still distinguished from those of surrounding nations by its primitive aspect of a force of infantry without cavalry. The only innovations as yet allowed were, the introduction of a very limited number of chariots (2 Sam. viii. 4) and of mules for the princes and officers instead of the asses (2 Sam. xiii. 29, xviii. 9). According to a Mussulman tradition (*Adra*, xxi. 80), David invented chain armour.<sup>a</sup> The usual weapons were still spears and shields, as appears from the Psalms. For the general question of the numbers and equipment of the army, see ARMS AND ARMY.

(2.) The Body-guard. This also had existed in the court of Saul, and David himself had probably been its commanding officer (1 Sam. xxii. 14; Ewald). But it now assumed a peculiar organization. They were at least in name foreigners, as having been drawn from the Philistines, probably during David's residence at the court of Gath. They are usually called from this circumstance "Cherethites and Pelethites," but had also a body especially from Gath<sup>a</sup> amongst them, of whom the name of one, Ittai, is preserved, as a faithful servant of David (2 Sam. xv. 19). The captain of the force was, however, not only not a foreigner, but an Israelite of the highest distinction and purest descent, who first appears in this capacity, but who

<sup>o</sup> Ewald, iii. 164. For an elaborate adaptation of the 68th Psalm to this event, see Chandler, ii. 54.

<sup>p</sup> In the title of the LXX. said to be David's "when the house was built after the captivity." It is possible that by "the captivity" may be meant the captivity of the ark in Philistia, as in Judg. xviii. 30.

<sup>a</sup> Compare the legends in Weil's *Legends*, p. 155, and Lane's *Selections from the Koran*, p. 229. Thus

a good coat of mail is often called by the Arabs "*Daoudée*," i. e. Davidian.

<sup>a</sup> A tradition in Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 Chr. xviii. 17) speaks of their being in the place of the seventy judges appointed by Moses.

<sup>b</sup> But here the reading is doubtful (Ewald, iii. 177, note.)

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps the father of Bathsheba, whose marriage with Uriah would thus be accounted for. (See Blunt, *Coincidences*, II. x.)

at one time Jonathan (2 Sam. xx. 25; 1 Chr. xxvii. 32); Jehoshaphat, the recorder or historian,<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xx. 24; and Adoram the tax collector, both of whom survived him (2 Sam. xx. 24; 1 K. xii. 18, iv. 3, 6). Each tribe had its own head (1 Chr. xxvii. 16-22). Of these the most remarkable were Elihu, David's brother (probably Eliab), Prince of Judah (ver. 18), and Jaasiel, the son of Abner, of Benjamin (ver. 21).

But the more peculiar of David's institutions were those directly bearing on religion. Two prophets appear as the king's constant advisers. Of these, Gad, who seems to have been the elder, had been David's companion in exile; and from his being called "the seer," belongs probably to the earliest form of the prophetic schools. Nathan, who appears for the first time after the establishment of the kingdom at Jerusalem (2 Sam. vii. 2), is distinguished both by his title of "prophet," and by the nature of the prophecies which he utters (2 Sam. vii. 5-17, xii. 1-14), as of the purest type of prophetic dispensation, and as the hope of the new generation,<sup>d</sup> which he supports in the person of Solomon (1 K. i.). Two high priests also appear—representatives of the two rival houses of Aaron (1 Chr. xxiv. 3); here again, as in the case of the two prophets, one, Abiathar,<sup>e</sup> who attended him at Jerusalem, companion of his exile, and connected with the old time of the judges, (1 Chr. xxvii. 34), joining him after the death of Saul, and becoming afterwards the support of his son, the other Zadok, who ministered at Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 39), and who was made the head of the Aaronic family (xxvii. 17). Besides these four great religious functionaries there were two classes of subordinates—prophets, specially instructed in singing and music, under Asaph, Heman, the grandson of Samuel, and Jehuthun (1 Chr. xxv. 1-31)—Levites, or attendants on the sanctuary, who again were subdivided into the guardians of the gates and guardians of the treasures (1 Chr. xxvi. 1-28) which had been accumulated, since the re-establishment of the nation, by Samuel, Saul, Abner, Joab, and David himself (1 Chr. xxvi. 26-28).

The collection of those various ministers and representatives of worship round the capital must have given a new aspect to the history in David's time, such as it had not borne under the disconnected period of the Judges. But the main peculiarity of the whole must have been, that it so well harmonized with the character of him who was its centre. As his early martial life still placed him at the head of the military organization which had sprung up around him, so his early education and his natural disposition placed him at the head of his own religious institutions. Himself a prophet, a psalmist, he was one in heart with those whose advice he sought, and whose arts he fostered. And,

<sup>a</sup> As in the court of Persia (Herod. vi. 100, vii. 90, viii. 100).

<sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. xii. 25, is by some interpreters rendered, "He put him (Solomon) under the hand of Nathan;" thus making Nathan Solomon's preceptor. (See Chandler, ii. 272.)

<sup>e</sup> Compare Blunt, II. xv.

<sup>f</sup> ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶ γένει (Joseph. Ant. vii. 12, §4).

<sup>g</sup> By the reduction of Gath, 1 Chr. xviii. 1.

<sup>h</sup> The punishment on the Moabites is too obviously worded to be explained at length. A Jewish tradition (which shows that there was a sense of its being excessive) maintained that it was in consequence of the

more remarkably still, though not himself a priest, he yet assumed almost all the functions usually ascribed to the priestly office. He wore, as we have seen, the priestly dress, offered the sacrifices, gave the priestly benediction (2 Sam. vi. 14, 17, 18); and, as if to include his whole court within the same sacerdotal sanctity, Benaiah the captain of his guard was a priest by descent (1 Chr. xxvii. 5), and joined in the sacred music (1 Chr. xvi. 6); David himself and "the captains of the host" arranged the prophetic duties (1 Chr. xxv. 1); and his sons are actually called "priests" (2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 Chr. xviii. 17, translated "chief," and ἀρχαῖ, "chief rulers"), as well as Ira, of Maanasseh (2 Sam. xx. 26, translated "chief ruler," but I.XX. ἱερεὺς). Such a union was never seen before or since in the Jewish history. Even Solomon fell below it in some important points. But from this time the idea took possession of the Jewish mind and was never lost. What the heathen historian Justin antedates, by referring it back to Aaron, is a just description of the effect of the reign of David:—*Sacerdos nunc rex creatur; semperque eundem hinc mos apud Judaeos fuit ut eodem rege et sacerdotes haberent; quorum iustitia religione permixta, incredibile quantum conluere* (Justin, xxvi. 2).

(d.) From the internal state of David's kingdom, we pass to its external relations. These will be found at length under the various countries to which they relate. It will be here only necessary to briefly indicate the enlargement of his dominions. Within 10 years from the capture of Jerusalem, he had reduced to a state of permanent subjection the PHILISTINES<sup>1</sup> on the west (2 Sam. viii. 1); the MOABITES<sup>2</sup> on the east (2 Sam. viii. 2), by the exploits of Benaiah (2 Sam. xliii. 20); the SYRIANS on the north-east as far as the Euphrates<sup>3</sup> (2 Sam. viii. 3); the EDOMITES<sup>4</sup> (2 Sam. viii. 14), on the south; and finally the AMMONITES,<sup>5</sup> who had broken their ancient alliance, and made one grand resistance to the advance of his empire (2 Sam. x. 1-19, xii. 26-31). These three last wars were entangled<sup>m</sup> with each other. The last and crowning point was the siege of Rabbah. The ark went with the host (2 Sam. xi. 11). David himself was present at the capture of the city (2 Sam. xii. 29). The savage treatment of the inhabitants—the only instance as far as appears of cruel severity against his enemies—is perhaps to be explained by the formidable nature of their resistance—as the like stain on the generosity of the Black Prince in the massacre of Limoges. The royal crown, or "crown of Milcom," was placed on David's head (2 Sam. xii. 30), and according to Josephus (Ant. vii. 5) was always worn by him afterwards. The Hebrew tradition (Jerome, Qu. Heb. ad 1 Chr. xx. 2) represents it as having been the diadem of the Ammonite god

Moabites having murdered David's parents, when confided to them, 1 Sam. xxii. 3 (Chandler, ii. 163).

<sup>1</sup> Described briefly in a fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus, in Joseph. Ant. vii. 5, §2, and Eusebius, in Eus. Praep. Ev. ix. 80.

<sup>2</sup> To these Eusebius adds the Nabateans and Nebdaneans.

<sup>3</sup> For the details of the punishment, see RABBAH. Chandler (ii. 237, 238) interprets it of hard servitude. Ewald (iii. 201), of actual torture and slaughter.

<sup>m</sup> The story appears to be told twice over (2 Sam. viii. 3-14, x. 1-xi. 1, xii. 26-31).

Milcom, or Moloch; and that Ittai the Gittite (doing what no Israelite could have done, for fear of pollution) tore it from the idol's head, and brought it to David. The general peace which followed was commemorated in the name of "the Peaceful" (Solomon), given to the son born to him at this crisis.<sup>1</sup>

To these wars in general may be ascribed Ps. ex., as illustrating both the sacerdotal character of David, and also his mode of going forth to battle. To the Edomite war, both by its title and contents must be ascribed Ps. lx. 6-12 (cviii. 7-13), describing the assault on Petra. Ps. lxxviii. may probably have received additional touches, as it was sung on the return of the ark from the siege of Rabbah.<sup>2</sup> Ps. xviii.<sup>3</sup> (repeated in 2 Sam. xxi.) is ascribed by its title, and appears from some expressions to belong to the day "When the Lord had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies," as well as "out of the hand of Saul" (2 Sam. xxii. 1; Ps. xviii. 1). That "day" may be either at this time or at the end of his life. Ps. xx. (Syr. Vers.) and xxi. relate to the general union of religious and of military excellencies displayed at this time of his career. (Ps. xxi. 3, "Thou testest a crown of pure gold upon his head," not improbably refers to the golden crown of Ammon, 2 Sam. xii. 30.)

(3.) In describing the incidents of the life of David after his accession to the throne of Israel, most of the details will be best found under the names to which they refer. Here it will be needful only to give a brief thread, enlarging on those points in which David's individual character is brought out.

Three great calamities may be selected as marking the beginning, middle, and close, of David's otherwise prosperous reign; which appears to be intimately in the question of Gad, 2 Sam. xiv. 13, "a three<sup>4</sup> years' famine, a three months' flight, or a three days' pestilence."

(a.) Of these, the first (the three years' famine) introduces us to the last notices of David's relations with the house of Saul. There has often arisen a painful suspicion in later times, as there seems to have been at the time (xvi. 7), that the oracle which gave as the cause of the famine Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites, may have been connected with the desire to extinguish the last remains of the fallen dynasty. But such an explanation is not needed. The massacre was probably the most recent national crime that had left any deep impression; and the whole tenor of David's conduct towards Saul's family is of an opposite kind. It was then that he took the opportunity of removing the bodies of Saul and Jonathan to their own ances-

tral sepulchre at Zelah (2 Sam. xxi. 14); and it was then, or shortly before, that he gave a permanent home and restored all the property of the family to Mephibosheth, the only surviving son of Jonathan (2 Sam. ix. 1-13, xxi. 7). The seven who perished were, two sons of Saul by Rizpah, and five grandsons—sons of Merab<sup>5</sup> and Adriel (2 Sam. xxi. 8).

(b.) The second group of incidents contains the tragedy of David's life, which grew in all its parts out of the polygamy, with its evil consequences, into which he had plunged on becoming king. Underneath the splendour of his last glorious campaign against the Ammonites, was a dark story, known probably at that time only to a very few; and even in later times,<sup>6</sup> kept as much as possible out of the view of the people, but now recognised as one of the most instructive portions of his career—the double crime of adultery with Bathsheba, and of the virtual murder of Uriah. The crimes<sup>7</sup> are undoubtedly those of a common Oriental despot. But the rebuke of Nathan; the sudden revival of the king's conscience; his grief for the sickness of the child; the gathering of his uncles and elder brothers around him; his return of hope and peace; are characteristic of David, and of David only. And if we add to these the two Psalms, the 32nd and the 51st, of which the first by its acknowledged internal evidence, the 2nd by its title<sup>8</sup> also claim to belong to this crisis of David's life, we shall feel that the instruction drawn from the sin has more than compensated to us at least for the scandal occasioned by it.

But, though the "free spirit" and "clean heart" of David remained, and though the birth of Solomon was as auspicious as if nothing had occurred to trouble the victorious festival which succeeded it; the clouds from this time gathered over David's fortunes, and henceforward "the sword never departed from his house" (2 Sam. xxi. 10). The outrage on his daughter Tamar; the murder of his eldest son Amnon; and then the revolt of his best beloved Absalom, brought on the crisis, which once more sent him forth a wanderer, as in the days when he fled from Saul; and this, the heaviest trial of his life was aggravated by the impetuosity of Ishb, now perhaps from his complicity in David's crime more unmanageable<sup>9</sup> than ever. The rebellion was fostered apparently by the growing jealousy of the tribe of Judah at seeing their king absorbed into the whole nation; and if, as appears from 2 Sam. xi. 3, xxiii. 34, Ahithophel was the grandfather of Bathsheba, its main supporter was one whom David had provoked by his own crimes. For its general course, the reader is referred to the names just mentioned. But two or three of its scenes relate so

<sup>1</sup> The golden shields taken in the Syrian war remained long afterwards as trophies in the temple at Jerusalem (2 Sam. viii. 7; Cant. iv. 4). [Anns, *Shelot*, p. 112.] The brass was used for the brazen basins and pillars (2 Sam. viii. 8; I. XX.).

<sup>2</sup> See Hengstenberg on Ps. lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> The imagery of the thunderstorm, Ps. xviii. 7-14, may possibly allude to the events either of 2 Sam. v. 20-24 (Chandler, ii. 211), or of 2 Sam. vi. 8.

<sup>4</sup> So LXX. and 1 Chr. xxi. 12, instead of seven.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, iii. 207.

<sup>6</sup> That this incident took place early in the reign, appears (1) from the freshness of the allusion to Saul's act (2 Sam. xxi. 1-8); (2) from the allusions to the massacre of Saul's sons in xix. 28; (3) from the apparent connexion of the story with ch. ix.

<sup>7</sup> The mention of Adriel necessitates the reading of

Merab for Michal.

<sup>8</sup> It is omitted in the Chronicles.

<sup>9</sup> This is the subject of one of the apocryphal dialogues of David (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. V. Test.* p. 1000). The story is also told in the Koran (xcviii. 20-24), and wild legends are formed out of it (Weil's *Legends*, p. 158-160, 170).

<sup>7</sup> Ewald places it after the captivity. From the two last verses (li. 18, 19) this would be the almost certain conclusion. But is it not allowable to suppose these verses to be an adaptation of the psalm to that later time?

<sup>8</sup> See Blunt's *Coincidences*, II. xi. for a theory perhaps too much elaborated, yet not without some foundation.

<sup>9</sup> Blunt, II. x.; Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. xi. 3.

touchingly and peculiarly to David, that this is the place for dwelling upon them.

The first is the most detailed description of any single place that we find in the Jewish history.

It was apparently early on the morning of the day after he had received the news of the rebellion at Hebron that the king left the city of Jerusalem on foot. He was accompanied by a vast concourse; in the midst of which he and his body-guard were conspicuous. They started from a house on the outskirts of the city (2 Sam. xv. 17, LXX.), and every stage of the mournful procession was marked by some incident which called forth a proof of the deep and lasting affection which the king's peculiar character had the power of inspiring in all who knew him. The first distinct halt was by a solitary olive-tree (2 Sam. xv. 18, LXX.) that marked the road to the wilderness of the Jordan. Amongst his guard of Philistines and his faithful company of 600<sup>b</sup> he observed Ittai of Gath, and with the true nobleness of his character entreated the Philistine chief not to peril his own or his countrymen's lives in the service of a fallen and a stranger sovereign. But Ittai declared his resolution (with a fervour which almost inevitably recalls a like profession made almost on the same spot to the great descendant of David centuries afterwards) to follow him in life and in death. They all passed over the ravine of the Kedron; and here, when it became apparent that the king was really bent on departure, "the whole land wept with a loud voice"—the mountain and the valley resounded with the wail of the people. At this point they were overtaken by the two priests, Zadok and Abiathar, bringing the ark from its place on the sacred hill to accompany David on his flight—Abiathar, the elder, going forward up the mountain, as the multitude defiled past him. Again, with a spirit worthy of the king, who was prophet as well as priest, David turned them back. He had no superstitious belief in the ark as a charm; he had too much reverence for it to risk it in his personal peril. And now the whole crowd turned up the mountain pathway; all wailing, all with their heads muffled as they went; the king only distinguished from the rest by his unshodden feet. At the top of the mountain, consecrated by an altar of worship, they were met by Hushai the Archite, "the friend," as he was officially called, of the king. The priestly garment, which he wore<sup>c</sup> after the fashion as it would seem of David's chief officers, was torn, and his head was smeared with dust, in the bitterness of his grief. In him David saw his first gleam of hope. A moment before, the tidings had come of the treason of Ahithophel; and to frustrate his designs Hushai was sent back, just in time to meet Absalom arriving from Hebron. It was noon when David passed over the mountain top, and now, as Jerusalem was left behind, and the new scene opened before him, two new characters appeared, both in connexion with the hostile tribe of Benjamin, whose territory they were entering. One was Ziba, servant of Mephibosheth, taking advantage of the civil war to make his own fortunes. At Bahurim, also evidently on the downward pass, came

forth one of its inhabitants, Shimei, in whose furious curses broke out the long suppressed hatred of the fallen family of Saul, as well perhaps as the popular feeling against the murderer<sup>d</sup> of Uriah. With characteristic replies to both, the king descended to the Jordan valley (2 Sam. xvi. 14; and comp. xvii. 22; *Jos. Ant.* vii. 9, §4) and there rested after the long and eventful day at the ford or bridge<sup>e</sup> (*Abara*) of the river. At midnight they were aroused by the arrival of the two sons of the high priests, and by break of dawn they had reached the opposite side in safety.

To the dawn of that morning is to be ascribed Ps. iii., and (according to Ewald, though this seems less certain) to the previous evening, Ps. iv. Ps. cxlii. by its title in the LXX.—"When his son was pursuing him," belongs to this time. Also by long popular belief the trans-Jordanic exile of Ps. xlii. has been supposed to be David, and the complaints of Ps. lv., lxi., and cix., to be levelled against Ahithophel.

The history of the remaining period<sup>f</sup> of the rebellion is compressed into a brief summary. Mahanaim was the capital of David's exile, as it had been of the exiled house of Saul (2 Sam. xvii. 24, comp. ii. 8, 12). Three great chiefs of that pastoral district are specially mentioned as supporting him; one, of great age, not before named, Buzai of the Gileadite; the two others, bound to him by former ties, Shobi, the son of David's ancient friend Nahash, probably put by David in his brother's place (vii. 30, x. 2); and Machir, the son of Ammiel, the former protector of the child of David's friend Jonathan (2 Sam. xvii. 27, ix. 4). His forces were arranged under the three great military officers who remained faithful to his fortunes—Joab, captain of the host; Abishai, captain of "the mighty men;" and Ittai, who seems to have taken the place of Beniah (had he wavered in his allegiance, or was he appointed afterwards?), as captain of the guard (2 Sam. xviii. 2). On Absalom's side, was David's nephew, Amasa (ib. xvii. 25). The warlike spirit of the old king and of his faithful followers at this extremity of their fortunes is well depicted by Hushai, "chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the 'field' (or a fierce wild bear in the Jordan valley, LXX.):" the king himself, as of old, "loving not with the people," but "hid in some pit or some other place" (2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9). The final battle was fought in the "forest of Ephraim," which terminated in the accident leading to the death of Absalom. At this point the narrative resumes its minute detail. As if to mark the greatness of the calamity, every particular of its first reception is recorded. David was waiting the event of the battle in the gateway of Mahanaim. Two messengers, each endeavouring to outstrip the other, were seen running breathless from the field. The first who arrived was Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, already employed as a messenger on the first day of the king's flight. He had been entreated by Joab not to make himself the bearer of tidings so mournful; and it would seem that when he came to the point his heart failed, and he spoke only of the great confusion in which he had left the army. At this

<sup>b</sup> Ewald, iii. 177, note. According to the reading of *Gibbōim* for *Gittim*.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 32. *Cutaneth*; *ῥὸν χιτῶνα*; A. V. "coat."

<sup>d</sup> Blunt, II. x.

<sup>e</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. xv. 28, xix. 18 (both Chetib;

the Keri has *Araboth*, i. e. the "plains" or "deserts").

<sup>f</sup> If Ewald's interpretation of 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, be correct, it was 3 months. The Jewish tradition (in Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. iv. 4) makes it 6.

<sup>g</sup> For the Mussulman legend, see Weil, p. 161.

moment the other messenger burst in—a stranger, perhaps an Ethiopian<sup>b</sup>—and abruptly revealed the fatal news (2 Sam. xviii. 19-32). [CUSHI.] The passionate burst of grief which followed, is one of the best proofs of the deep affection of David's character. He wrapt himself up in his sorrow; and even at the very moment of his triumph, he could not forget the hand that had slain his son. He made a solemn vow to supersede Joab by Amasa, and in this was laid the lasting breach between himself and his powerful nephew, which neither the one nor the other ever forgave (2 Sam. xiv. 13).

The return was marked at every stage by rejoicing and amnesty.—Shimei forgiven, Mephibosheth<sup>c</sup> partially reinstated, Barzillai rewarded by the gifts long remembered, to his son CHIMHAM (2 Sam. xiv. 16-49; 1 K. ii. 7). Judah was first reconciled. The embers of the insurrection still smouldering (2 Sam. xiv. 41-43) in David's hereditary enemies of the tribe of Benjamin were trampled out by the mixture of boldness and sagacity in Joab, now, after the murder of Amasa, once more in his old position. And David again reigned in undisturbed peace at Jerusalem (2 Sam. xx. 1-22).<sup>d</sup>

(c.) The closing period of David's life, with the exception of one great calamity, may be considered as a gradual preparation for the reign of his successor. This calamity was the three days' pestilence which visited Jerusalem at the warning of the prophet Gd. The occasion which led to this warning was the census of the people taken by Joab at the king's orders (2 Sam. xxiv. 1-9; 1 Chr. xxi. 1-7, xxvii. 23, 24); an attempt not unreasonably suggested by the increase of his power, but implying a confidence and pride alien to the spirit inculcated on the kings of the chosen people [see NUMBERS]. Joab's repugnance to the measure was such that he refused altogether to number Levi and Benjamin (1 Chr. xxi. 6). The king also scrupled to number those who were under 20 years of age (1 Chr. xxvii. 23), and the final result never was recorded in the "Chronicles of King David" (1 Chr. xxvii. 24). The plague, however, and its cessation were commemorated down to the latest times of the Jewish nation. Possibly Ps. xxv. and xci. had reference (whether David's or not) to this time. But a more certain memorial was preserved on the exact spot which witnessed the close of the pestilence, or, as it was called, like the Black Death of 1348, "The Death." Outside the walls of Jerusalem, Araunah or Ornan, a wealthy Jebusite—perhaps even the ancient king of Jebus (2 Sam. xxiv. 23)<sup>k</sup>—possessed a threshing-floor; there he and his

sons were engaged in threshing the corn gathered in from the harvest (1 Chr. xxi. 20). At this spot an awful vision appeared, such as is described in the later days of Jerusalem, of the Angel of the Lord stretching out a drawn sword between earth and sky over the devoted city.<sup>l</sup> The scene of such an apparition at such a moment was at once marked out for a sanctuary. David demanded, and Araunah willingly granted, the site; the altar was erected on the rock of the threshing-floor; the place was called by the name of "Moriah" (2 Chr. iii. 1); and for the first time a holy place,<sup>m</sup> sanctified by a vision of the Divine presence, was recognised in Jerusalem. It was this spot which afterwards became the altar of the Temple, and therefore the centre of the national worship, with but slight interruption, for more than 1000 years, and it is even contended that the same spot is the rock, still regarded with almost idolatrous veneration, in the centre of the Mussulman "Dome of the Rock" (see Professor Willis in Willis's *Holy City*, i.).

The selection of the site of this altar probably revived the schemes of the king for the building of a permanent edifice to receive the ark, which still remained inside his own palace in its temporary tent. Such schemes, we are told, he had entertained after the capture of Jerusalem, or at the end of his wars. Two reasons were given for their delay. One, that the ancient nomadic form<sup>n</sup> of worship was not yet to be abandoned (2 Sam. vii. 6); the other, that David's wars<sup>o</sup> unfitted him to be the founder of a seat of peaceful worship (1 Chr. xxi. 8). But a solemn assurance was given that his dynasty should continue "for ever" to continue the work (2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Chr. xii. 9, 10). Such a founder, and the ancestor of such a dynasty, was Solomon to be, and to him therefore the stores<sup>p</sup> and the plans of the future Temple (according to 1 Chr. xxi. 2-19, xxviii. 1-xxix. 19) were committed.

A formidable conspiracy to interrupt the succession broke out in the last days of David's reign [see ADONIJAH], which detached from his person two of his court, who from personal offence or adherence to the ancient family had been alienated from him—Joab and Abiathar. But Zadok, Nathan, Benaiah, Shimei, and Rei<sup>q</sup> remaining firm, the plot was stifled, and Solomon's inauguration took place under his father's auspices<sup>r</sup> (1 K. i. 1-53).

The Psalms which relate to this period are, by title, Ps. xcvi. by internal evidence, Ps. ii.

By this time David's infirmities had grown upon him. The warmth of his exhausted frame was attempted to be restored by the introduction of a

<sup>b</sup> "Cushi"—or Hebrew *ka-Cushi*, with the article. It is doubtful whether it is a proper name.

<sup>c</sup> The injustice done to Mephibosheth by this division of his property was believed in later traditions to be the sin which drew down the division of David's kingdom (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. xiv.). The question is argued at length by Selden, *De Successione*, c. 25, pp. 67, 68. (Chandler, ii. 376.)

<sup>d</sup> To many English readers, the events and names of this period have acquired a double interest from the power and skill with which Dryden has made the story of "Absalom and Aithophel" the basis of his political poem on the Court of King Charles II.

<sup>e</sup> In the original the expression is much stronger than in the A. V.—"Araunah, the king." [See ARANAH.]

<sup>f</sup> This apparition is also described in a fragment of the heathen hi-torian Eupolemus (*Eus. Præp. Ev.* ix. 30), but is confused with the warning of Nathan

against building the temple. "An angel pointed out the place where the altar was to be, but forbade him to build the temple, as being stained with blood, and having fought many wars. His name was Duanathan."

<sup>g</sup> In 1 Chr. xvi. 26, a fire from heaven descends to sanctify the altar. This is not mentioned in 2 Sam. xxi.

<sup>h</sup> This is the subject of one of the apocryphal colloquia (*Eub. Apoc.* v. i. p. 1001).

<sup>i</sup> In this respect David still belonged to the older generation of heroes. (See Jerome, *Qu. Heb. ad loc.*)

<sup>j</sup> Eupolemus (*Eus. Præp. Ev.* ix. 30) makes David send fleets for these stores to Elath and to Ophir.

<sup>k</sup> Jerome (*Qu. Heb. ad loc.*) renders Rei = Ira, not improbably. Ewald's conjecture (*ibid.* 266, note) is that he is identical with Radai.

<sup>l</sup> Eupolemus (*Eus. Præp. Ev.* ix. 30) adds, "in the presence of the high-priest Eli."

young Shunammite, of the name of Abisag, mentioned apparently for the sake of an incident which grew up in connexion with her out of the later events (1 K. i. 1, ii. 17). His last song is preserved—a striking union of the ideal of a just ruler which he had placed before him, and of the difficulties which he had felt in realizing it (2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7). His last words, as recorded, to his successor, are general exhortations to his duty, combined with warnings against Joab and Shimei, and charges to remember the children of Barzillai (1 K. ii. 1-9).

He died, according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, 2), at the age of 70, and "was buried in the city of David."<sup>\*</sup> After the return from the captivity, "the sepulchres of David" were still pointed out "between Siloah and the house of the mighty men," or "the guardhouse." (*Neh.* iii. 16.) His tomb, which became the general sepulchre of the kings of Judah, was pointed out in the latest times of the Jewish people. "His sepulchre is with us unto this day," says St. Peter at Pentecost (*Acts* ii. 29); and Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 15, 3; xiii. 8, 4; xvi. 7, 1) states that, Solomon having buried a vast treasure in the tomb, one of its chambers was broken open by Hyrcanus, and another by Herod the Great. It is said to have fallen into ruin in the time of Hadrian (*Dio Cassius*, lxi. 14). In Jerome's time a tomb, so called, was the object of pilgrimage (*Ep. ad Marcell.* 17 (46)), but apparently in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. The edifice shown as such from the Crusades to the present day is on the southern hill of modern Jerusalem commonly called Mount Zion, under the so-called "Cœmiculum." For the description of it see Barclay's *City of the Great King*, p. 209. For the traditions concerning it see Williams' *Holy City*, ii. 509-513. The so-called "Tombs of the Kings" have of late been claimed as the royal sepulchre by De Sauley (ii. 162-215), who brought to the Louvre (where it may be seen) what he believed to be the lid of David's sarcophagus. But these tombs are *outside* the walls, and therefore cannot be identified with the tomb of David, which was emphatically *within* the walls (see Robinson, iii. p. 252, *note*).

The character of David has been so naturally brought out in the incidents of his life that it need not be here described in detail. In the complexity of its elements,—passion, tenderness, generosity, heroism—the soldier, the shepherd, the poet, the statesman, the priest, the prophet, the king—the romantic friend, the chivalrous leader, the devoted father—there is no character of the O. T. at all to be compared to it. Jacob comes nearest in the variety of elements included within it. But David's character stands at a higher point of the sacred history, and represents the Jewish people just at the moment of their transition from the lofty virtues of the older system to the fuller civilisation and cultivation of the later. In this man-

ner he becomes naturally, if one may so say, the likeness or portrait of the last and grandest development of the nation and of the monarchy is the person and the period of the Messiah. In a sense more than figurative, he is the type and prophecy of Jesus Christ. Christ is not called the son of Abraham, or of Jacob, or of Moses, but he was truly "the son of David."

To his own people his was the name most dearly cherished after their first ancestor Abraham. "The city of David," "the house of David," "the throne of David," "the seed of David," "the oath sworn unto David" (the pledge of the continuance of his dynasty), are expressions which pervade the whole of the Old Testament and all the figurative language of the New, and they serve to mark the lasting significance of his appearance in history.<sup>u</sup>

His Psalms (whether those actually written by himself be many or few) have been the source of consolation and instruction beyond any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures. In them appear qualities of mind and religious perceptions not before expressed in the sacred writings, but eminently characteristic of David,—the love of nature, the sense of sin, and the tender, ardent trust in, and communion with, God. No other part of the Old Testament comes so near to the spirit of the New. The Psalms are the only expressions of devotion which have been equally used through the whole Christian Church—Abyssinian, Greek, Latin, Puritan, Anglican.

The difficulties which attend on his character are valuable as proofs of the impartiality of Scripture in recording them, and as indications of the union of natural power and weakness which his character included. The Rabbis in former times, and critics (like Bayle)<sup>v</sup> in later times, have seized on its dark features and exaggerated them to the utmost. And it has been often asked, both by the scoffers and the serious, how the man after God's<sup>w</sup> own heart could have murdered Uriah, and seduced Bathsheba, and tortured the Ammonites to death? An extract from one who is not a too-indulgent critic of sacred characters expresses at once the common sense and the religious lesson of the whole matter. "Who is called 'the man after God's own heart?' David, the Hebrew king, had fallen into sins enough—blackest crimes—there was no want of sin. And therefore the unbelievers sneer, and ask 'Is this your man according to God's heart?' The sneer, I must say, seems to me but a shallow one. What are faults, what are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, the often baffled, never ended struggle of it be forgotten? . . . David's life and history as written for us in those Psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given us of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul towards what is good and best.

<sup>\*</sup> A striking legend of his death is preserved in Well's *Legends*, 169, 170; a very absurd one, in Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, bk. v. ch. 2.

<sup>u</sup> This variety of elements is strikingly expressed in "the Song of David," a poem written by the unfortunate Christopher Smart in charcoal on the walls of his cell, in the intervals of madness.

<sup>v</sup> It may be remarked that the name never appears as given to any one else in the Jewish history, as if, like "Peter" in the Papacy, it was too sacred to be appropriated.

<sup>w</sup> For some just remarks in answer to Bayle on the

necessity of taking into account the circumstances of David's age and country, see Dean Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, i. 247.

<sup>x</sup> This expression has been perhaps too much made of. It occurs only once in the Scriptures (1 Sam. xiii. 14, quoted again in *Acts* xiii. 22), where it merely indicates a man whom God will approve, in distinction from Saul who was rejected. A much stronger and more peculiar commendation of David is that contained in 1 K. xv. 3-5, and implied in Ps. lxxviii. 20-28.

Struggle often baffled—sore baffled—driven as into entire wreck: yet a struggle never ended, ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose begun anew" (Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, p. 72).

[A. P. S.]

### DAVID, CITY OF. [JERUSALEM.]

DAY (ἡμέρα, ἡμέρα, perhaps from *דָּוָה*, *laivo*, to be weary). The variable length of the natural day ("ab exortu ad occasum solis," Censor. *de Die Nat.* 23) at different seasons led in the very earliest times to the adoption of the civil day (or one revolution of the sun) as a standard of time. The commencement of the civil day varies in different nations: the Babylonians (like the people of Nuremberg) reckoned it from sunrise to sunrise (Isidor. *Orig.* v. 30); the Umbrians from noon to noon; the Romans from midnight to midnight (Plin. ii. 79); the Athenians and others from sunset to sunset (Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 3; Gell. iii. 2).

The Hebrews naturally adopted the latter reckoning (Lev. xxiii. 32, "from even to even shall ye celebrate your sabbath") from Gen. i. 5, "the evening and the morning were the first day" (a passage which the Jews are said to have quoted to Alexander the Great (*Germ. Jund.* 66, 1; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* iv. 15)). Some (as in Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*) argue foolishly from Matt. xviii. 1, that they began their civil day in the morning; but the expression *ἐπιφωσκούσα* shows that the natural day is there intended. Hence the expressions "evening-morning" = day (Dan. viii. 14; LXX. *πυρρήμερον*; also 2 Cor. xi. 25), the Hindoo *ahoratra* (You Bohlen on Gen. i. 4), and *πυρρήμερον* (2 Cor. xi. 25). There was a similar custom among the Athenians, Arabians, and ancient Teutons (Tac. *Germ.* xi., "nec diem numerum ut apud nos, sed noctivum computant . . . nox duceat diem videtur") and Celtic nations (Ctes. *de H. G.* vi. 18, "ut noctem dies subsequatur"). This mode of reckoning was widely spread; it is found in the Roman law (Gains, i. 112), in the Nibelungenlied, in the Sallie law (*inter decem noctes*), in our own terms "fortnight," "seven-nights" (see Orelli, &c. in loc. Tac.), and even among the Siamese ("they reckon by nights," Bowring, i. 137) and New Zealanders (Taylor's *Tu-Ika-Mani*, p. 20). No doubt this arose from the general notion "that the first day in Eden was 36 hours long" (Lightfoot's Works, ii. 331, ed. Pitman; Hes. *Theogon.* 123; Aristoph. *Av.* 693; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iv. 273). Kalisch plausibly refers it to the use of lunar years (*Gen.* p. 67). Sometimes however they reckoned from sunrise (*ἡμεροβόριον*, comp. Ps. i. 2; Lev. vii. 15). The Jews are supposed, like the modern Arabs, to have adopted from an early period minute specifications of the parts of the natural day. Roughly indeed they were content to divide it into "morning, evening, and noonday" (Ps. lv. 17); but when they wished for greater accuracy they pointed to six unequal parts, each of which was again subdivided. These are held to have been:—

I. *Nesheph*, נֶשֶׁפֶּה (from נָשַׁף, "to blow") and *Shachur*, שָׁחַר, or the dawn. After their acquaintance with Persia they divided this into, (a) the time when the eastern, and (b) when the western horizon was illuminated, like the Greek *Leucothes*—Matuta—and Aurora; or "the gray dawn" (Milton), and the rosy dawn. Hence we find the *dual* Shahnam as a proper name (1 Chr. viii. 8). The

writers of the Jerus. Talmud divide the dawn into four parts, of which the (1.) was *Aijeleth hashachar*, "the gazelle of the morning" [AJELETH SHAHAR], a name by which the Arabians call the sun (comp. "eyelids of the dawn," Job iii. 9; ἀμέρας βλέφαρον, Soph. *Antig.* 109). This was the time when Christ arose (Mark xvi. 2; John xx. 1; Rev. xiii. 16; ἡ ἐπιφωσκούσα, Matt. xxviii. 1).

The other three divisions of the dawn were, (2.) "when one can distinguish blue from white" (πρωτὸ σκοτίας ἐτι ὀψης, John xx. 1; "obscurum adhuc coepit lucis," Tac. *II.* iv. 2). At this time they began to recite the phylacteries. (3.) Cum lucebat oriens (ὄρθρος βαδύς, Luke). (4.) Oriente sole (ἀπὸ πρωτῆς ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, Mark xvi. 2; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Marc. xvi. 2).

II. *Boker*, בֹּקֶר, "sunrise." Some suppose that the Jews, like other Oriental nations, commenced their civil day at this time until the Exodus (Jewings's *Jewish Ant.*).

III. *Chom Hanyom*, חֹם הַיּוֹם, "heat of the day" (ἔως διεθερμάνθη ἡ ἡμέρα, LXX.), about 9 o'clock.

IV. *Tzaharaim*, צְהַרַיִם, "the two noons" (Gen. xliii. 16; Deut. xxviii. 29).

V. *Kuach hayom*, רוּחַ הַיּוֹם, "the cool (lit. wind) of the day," before sunset (Gen. iii. 8); so called by the Persians to this day (Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 8; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §29).

VI. *Erech*, עֶרֶב, "evening." The phrase "between the two evenings" (Ex. xvi. 12, xxx. 8), being the time marked for slaying the paschal lamb and offering the evening sacrifice (Ex. xii. 6, xiv. 39), led to a dispute between the Karites and Samaritans on the one hand, and the Pharisees on the other. The former took it to mean between sunset and full darkness (Deut. xvi. 6); the Rabbins explained it as the time between the beginning (δελὰ πρωτῆς, "little evening," Flab.) and end of sunset (δ. ὀψία, or real sunset: Jos. *B. J.* vi. 9, §3; Gesen. s. v.; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §101; Bochart, *Hierez.* i. p. 558).

Since the sabbaths were reckoned from sunset to sunset (Lev. xxiii. 32), the Sabbatarian Pharisees, in that spirit of scrupulous superstition which so often called forth the rebukes of our Lord, were led to settle the minutest rules for distinguishing the actual instant when the sabbath began (ὀψία, Matt. viii. 16 = ὅτε ἔδω ὁ ἥλιος, Mark). They therefore called the time between the actual sunset and the appearance of three stars (Maimon. in Shabb. cap. 5, comp. Nehem. iv. 21, 22), and the Talmudists decided that "if on the evening of the sabbath a man did any work after one star had appeared, he was forgiven; if after the appearance of two, he must offer a sacrifice for a doubtful transgression; if after three stars were visible, he must offer a sin-offering;" the order being reversed for works done on the evening after the actual sabbath (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Matt. viii. 16; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Sabbatum*).

Before the captivity the Jews divided the night into three watches (Ps. lxxiii. 6, xc. 4), viz. the first watch, lasting till midnight (Lam. ii. 19, A. V. "the beginning of the watches") = ἀρχὴ νυκτός; the "middle watch" (which proves the statement), lasting till cock-crow (Judg. vii. 15) = μέσον νυκτός; and the morning watch, lasting till sunrise (Ex.

xiv. 24) = ἀμφιλόκη νύξ (Hom. *Il.* vii. 433). These divisions were probably connected with the Levitical duties in the Temple service. The Jews, however, say (in spite of their own definition, "a watch is the third part of the night") that they always had four night-watches (comp. Neh. ix. 3), but that the fourth was counted as a part of the morning (Buxtorf's *Lev. Talm.* s. v. Carpzov. *Appar. Crit.* p. 347; Neland, iv. 18).

In the N. T. we have allusions to four watches, a division borrowed from the Greeks (Herod. ix. 51) and Romans (φυλακή, τὸ τέταρτον μέρος τῆς νυκτός, Suid.). These were, 1. ὥφελ, ὥφελ, or ὥφελ ὥρα, from twilight till 9 o'clock (Mark xi. 11; John xx. 19); 2. μεσονύκτιον, midnight, from 9 till 12 o'clock (Mark xiii. 35); 3. ἀλεκτροφωνία, till 3 in the morning (Mark xiii. 35, ἀπ. λεγ.; 3 Mac. v. 23); 4. πρωΐ, till daybreak, the same as πρωΐα (ὥρα) (John xviii. 28; Jos. *Ant.* v. 6, §5, xviii. 9, §6).

The word held to mean "hour" is first found in Dan. iii. 6, 15, v. 5 (*Shu'ah*, נְשִׁי, also "a moment," iv. 19). Perhaps the Jews, like the Greeks, learnt from the Babylonians the division of the day into 12 parts (Herod. ii. 109). In our Lord's time the division was common (John xi. 9). It is probable that Ahaz introduced the first sundial from Babylon (ὥρολόγιον, Πιλήγ, Is. xxxviii. 8; 2 K. xx. 11), as Anaximenes did the first σκιδ-θρονον into Greece (Jahn, *Arch.* §101). Possibly the Jews at a later period adopted the clepsydra (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6). The third, sixth, and ninth hours were devoted to prayer (Dan. vi. 10; Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, &c.).

On the Jewish way of counting their week-days from the sabbath, see Lightfoot's *Works*, ii. 334, ed. Pitman. [WEEK.]

The word "day" is used of a festal day (Hos. vii. 5); a birthday (Job iii. 1); a day of ruin (Hos. i. 11; Job xviii. 20; comp. *tempus, tempora reipublice*, Cic., and *dies Canensis*); the judgment-day (Joel i. 15; 1 Thess. v. 2); the kingdom of Christ (John vii. 56; Rom. xiii. 12); and in other senses which are mostly self-explaining. In 1 Cor. iv. 3, ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας is rendered "by man's judgment." Jerome, *ad Algas. Quæst.* x. considers this a Cilicisim (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 471). On the prophetic or year-day system (Lev. xxv. 3, 4; Num. xiv. 34; Ez. iv. 2-6, &c.), see a treatise in Elliot's *Hor. Apoc.* iii. 154, sq. The expression ἐπιούσιον, rendered "daily" in Matt. vi. 11, is a ἄπ. λεγ., and has been much disputed. It is unknown to classical Greek (εἰκε πεπλάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν, Orig. *Orat.* 16). The Vulg. has *supersubstantivum*, a rendering recommended by Abelard to the nuns of the Paraclete. Theophyl. explains it as ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ συντάξει ἡμῶν ἀνταρκτικῆς, and he is followed by most commentators (cf. Chrysost. *Hom. in Or. Domin.* Suid. & Etym. M. s. v.). Salmasius, Grotius, &c., arguing from the rendering ἡμέρη in the Nazarene Gospel, translate it as though it were = τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, or eis aἰῶνα (Sixt. Senensis *Bibl. Sanct.* p. 444 a). But see the question examined at full length (after Tholuck) in Alford's *Greek Test.* ad loc.; Schleusner, *Lex. s. v.*; Wetstein, *N. T.* i. p. 461, &c. See CHRONOLGY. [F. W. F.]

**DAYSMAN**, an old English term, meaning umpire or arbitrator (Job ix. 33). It is derived from *day*, in the specific sense of a day fixed for

a trial (comp. 1 Cor. iv. 3, where ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα—lit. *man's day*, and so given in Wycliffe's translation—is rendered "man's judgment" in the A. V.). Similar expressions occur in German (*eine sache tagen* = to bring a matter before a court of justice) and other Teutonic languages. The word "daysman" is found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, ii. c. 8, in the Bible published in 1551 (1 Sam. ii. 25), and in other works of the same age. [W. L. B.]

**DEACON** (Διάκονος; *Diaconus*). The office described by this title appears in the N. T. as the correlative of ἐπίσκοπος [BISHOP]. The two are mentioned together in Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8. The union of the two in the LXX. of Is. lx. 17, may have suggested both as lit titles for the officers of the Christian Church, or have led to the adoption of one after the other had been chosen on independent grounds. The coincidence, at all events, soon attracted notice, and was appealed to by Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xlii.) as prophetic. Like most words of similar import, it appears to have been first used in its generic sense, implying subordinate activity (1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. vi. 4), and afterwards to have gained a more defined connotation, as applied to a distinct body of men in the Christian society.

The narrative of Acts vi. is commonly referred to as giving an account of the institution of this office. The Apostles, in order to meet the complaints of the Hellenistic Jews, that their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations (διακονία), call on the body of believers to choose seven men "full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom," whom they "may appoint over this business." The seven are accordingly appointed, and it is left to them "to serve tables"—to attend to the distribution of the alms of the Church, in money or in kind (Neander, *Pfanz. u. Leit.* i. p. 51, ed. 1847), while the ministry (διακονία) of the word is reserved for the Apostles. On this view of the narrative the seven were the first deacons, and the name and the office were derived by other Churches from that of Jerusalem. At a later period, the desire to reproduce the Apostolic pattern led in many instances to a limitation of the deacons in a given diocese to the original number (*Conc. Neocaes.* c. 14).

It may be questioned, however, whether the seven were not appointed to higher functions than those of the deacons of the N. T. They are spoken of not by that title but as "the seven" (Acts xvi. 8). The gifts implied in the words "full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom" are higher than those required for the office of deacon in 1 Tim. iii. Two out of the seven do the work of preachers and evangelists. It has been inferred accordingly (Stanley, *Apostolic Ages*, p. 62), that we meet in this narrative with the record of a special institution to meet a special emergency, and that the seven were not deacons, in the later sense of the term, but commissioners who were to superintend those that did the work of deacons. There are indications, however, of the existence of another body in the Church of Jerusalem whom we may compare with the deacons of Phil. i. 1, and 1 Tim. iii. 8. As the πρεσβύτεροι of Acts xiv. 23, xv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 1, were not merely men advanced in years, so the νεώτεροι or νεανίσκοι of Acts v. 6, 10 were probably not merely young men, but persons occupying a distinct position and exercising distinct functions (cf. Mosheim *de Reb. Christ.* p. 118). The identity of ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι has

been shown under *Bisitot*; and it is natural to infer from this that there was a similar relation between the two titles of *διδάκοντοι* and *νεσρέποι*. The parallelism of *δ-νεσρέποι* and *δ-διδάκοντες* in Luke xxii. 26, tends to the same conclusion.

Assuming on these data the identity of the two names we have to ask—

(1), to what previous organisation, if any, the order is traceable?

(2), what were the qualifications and functions of the men so designated?

I. As the constitution of the Jewish synagogue had its elders (*זקנים*) or pastors (*רבנים*), so also it had its subordinate officers (*דיינים*), the *δυναμειται* of Luke iv. 20, whose work it was to give the reader the rolls containing the lessons for the day, to clean the synagogue, to open and close it at the right times (SYNAGOGUE; and see Winer). It was natural that when the Galilean disciples found themselves at the head of congregations of their own, they should adopt this as well as other parts of the arrangements with which they were familiar, and accordingly the *νεσρέποι* of Acts v. do what the *δυναμειται* of the synagogue would have done under like circumstances.

II. The moral qualifications described in 1 Tim. iii., as necessary for the office of a deacon, are substantially the same as those of the bishop. The deacons, however, were not required to be "given to hospitality," nor to be "apt to teach." It was enough for them to "hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience." They were not to gain their living by disreputable occupations (*μη ἀσχεποῦσθαι*). On offering themselves for their work they were to be subject to a strict scrutiny (1 Tim. iii. 10), and if this ended satisfactorily were to enter on it. On the view that has been taken of the events of Acts vi., there is no direct evidence in the N. T. that they were appointed by the laying on of hands, but it is at least probable that what was so familiar as the outward sign of the bestowal of spiritual gifts or functions would not have been omitted in this instance, and therefore that in this respect the later practice of the Church was in harmony with the earlier. What the functions of the deacons were we are left to infer from that later practice, from the analogy of the synagogue and from the scanty notices of the N. T. From these data we may think of the *νεσρέποι* in the Church of Jerusalem as preparing the rooms in which the disciples met, taking part in the distribution of alms out of the common fund, at first with no direct supervision, then under that of the Seven, and afterwards under the elders, maintaining order at the daily meetings of the disciples to break bread, baptising new converts, distributing the bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper, which the Apostle or his representative had blessed. In the Asiatic and Greek Churches, in which the surrender of property and consequent dependence of large numbers on the common treasury had never been carried to the same extent, this work would be one of less difficulty than it was when "the Grecians murmured against the Hebrews," and hence probably it was that the appointment of the Seven stands out as a solitary fact with nothing answering to it in the later organisation. Whatever alms there were to be distributed would naturally pass through their hands, and the other functions continued probably as before. It does not appear to have belonged to the office of a deacon to teach publicly in the

Church. The possession of any special *χάρισμα* would lead naturally to a higher work and office, but the idea that the diaconate was but a probation through which a man had to pass before he could be an elder or bishop was foreign to the constitution of the Church of the 1st century. Whatever countenance it may receive from the common patristic interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 13 (cf. Estius and Hammond *ad loc.*), there can be little doubt (as all the higher order of expositors have felt, cf. Wiesinger and Ellicott *ad loc.*) that when St. Paul speaks of the *καλὰς βαθεύας*, which is gained by those who "do the office of a deacon well," he refers to the honour which belongs essentially to the lower work, not to that which they were to find in promotion to a higher. Traces of the primitive constitution and of the permanence of the diaconate are found even in the more developed system of which we find the commencement in the Ignatian epistles. Originally the deacons had been the helpers of the bishop-elder of a Church of a given district. When the two names of the latter title were divided and the bishop presided, whether as *præsum inter pares*, or with a more absolute authority over many elders, the deacons appear to have been dependent directly on him and not on the presbyters, and as being his ministers, the "eyes and ears of the bishop" (*Const. Apost. ii. 44*), were tempted to set themselves up against the elders. Hence the necessity of laws like those of *Conc. Nic. c. 18*; *Conc. Carth. iv. c. 37*, enjoining greater humility, and hence probably the strong language of Ignatius as to the reverence due to deacons (*Ep. ad Trall. c. 3*; *ad Smyrn. c. 8*). [E. H. P.]

#### DEACONESS (*Διακονος*; *Diaconissa*, Tert.)

The word *Διακονος* is found in Rom. xvi. 1 associated with a female name, and this has led to the conclusion that there existed in the Apostolic age, as there undoubtedly did a little later (Pliny. *Ep. ad Traj.*), an order of women bearing that title, and exercising in relation to their own sex functions which were analogous to those of the deacons. On this hypothesis it has been inferred that the women mentioned in Rom. xvi. 6, 12 belonged to such an order (Herzog, *Real-Encycl. sub voc.*). The rules given as to the conduct of women in 1 Tim iii. 11, Tit. ii. 3, have in like manner been referred to them (Chrysost. Theophyl. Hamm. Wiesinger. *ad loc.*), and they have been identified even with the "widows" of 1 Tim. v. 3-10 (Schaff, *Apost. Kirche*, p. 356).

In some of these instances, however, it seems hardly doubtful that writers have transferred to the earliest age of the Church the organisation of a later. It was of course natural that the example recorded in Luke viii. 2, 3, should be followed by others, even when the Lord was no longer with His disciples. The new life which pervaded the whole Christian society (Acts ii. 44, 45, iv. 31, 32) would lead women as well as men to devote themselves to labours of love. The strong feeling that the true *θρησκεία* of Christians consisted in "visiting the fatherless and the widow" would make this the special duty of those who were best fitted to undertake it. The social relations of the sexes in the cities of the empire (cf. Grot. on Rom. xvi. 1) would make it fitting that the agency of women should be employed largely in the direct personal application of Christian truth (*Tit. ii. 3, 4*), possibly in the preparation of female catechumens. Even the later organisation implies the previous

existence of the germs from which it was developed. It may be questionable, however, whether the passages referred to imply a recognised body bearing a distinct name. The "widows" of 1 Tim. v. 3-10 were clearly, so far as the rule of ver. 9 was acted on, women who were no longer able to discharge the active duties of life, and were therefore maintained by the Church that they might pass their remaining days in "prayers night and day." The conditions of v. 10 may, however, imply that those only who had been previously active in ministering to the brethren, who had in that sense been deaconesses, were entitled to such a maintenance. For the fuller treatment of this subject, see WIDOWS. On the existence of deaconesses in the Apostolic age, see Mosheim *de Reb. Christ.* p. 118; Neander, *Pfanz.* u. *Leit.* i. p. 265; Augusti. *Handb. der Christ. Archäol.* ii. 3.

[E. H. P.]

**DEAD SEA.** This name nowhere occurs in the Bible, and appears not to have existed until the 2nd century after Christ. It originated in an erroneous opinion, and there can be little doubt that to the name is due in a great measure the mistakes and misrepresentations which were for so long prevalent regarding this lake, and which have not indeed yet wholly ceased to exist.

In the O. T. the lake is called "the Salt Sea," and "the Sea of the Plain" (*Arabah*), and under the former of these names it will be found described. [SALT SEA.]

[G.]

### DEARTH. [FAMINE.]

**DE'BIR**, the name of three places of Palestine.

1. **דְּבִיר**, but in Judg. and Chr. **דְּבִיר**; **Δαβίρ**; Alex. **Δαβελ**; *Dahir*), a town in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 49), one of a group of eleven cities to the west of Hebron. In the narrative it is mentioned as being the next place which Joshua took after Hebron (x. 38). It was the seat of a king (x. 39, xii. 13) and was one of the towns of the Anakim, and from which they were utterly destroyed by Joshua (xi. 21). The earlier name of Debir was Kirjath-sepher, "city of book" (Josh. xv. 15; Judg. i. 11), and Kirjath-sannah, "city of palm" (Josh. xv. 49). The records of its conquest vary, though not very materially. In Josh. xv. 17 and Judg. i. 13 a detailed account is given of its capture by Othniel son of Kenaz, for love of Achsah the daughter of Caleb, while in the general history of the conquest it is ascribed to the great commander himself (Josh. x. 38, 39). In the last two passages the name is given in the Hebrew text as Debirah (**דְּבִירָה**). It was one of the cities given with their "suburbs" (**בְּנֵי־עִיר**) to the priests (Josh. xxi. 15; 1 Chr. vi. 58). Debir does not appear to have been known to Jerome, nor has it been discovered with certainty in modern times. About three miles to the W. of Hebron is a deep and secluded valley called the *Wady Nunkh*, enclosed on the north by hills of which one bears a name certainly suggestive of Debir,—*Debir-ben*. (See the narrative of Rosen in the *Zeitsch. D. M. G.* 1857, p. 50-64.) The subject, and indeed the whole topography of this district, requires further examination; in the meantime it is perhaps some confirmation of Dr. Rosen's suggestion that a village or site on one of these hills was pointed out to the writer as called *Iza*, the Arabic name for Joshua. Schwarz (86) speaks of a *Wady Dibir* in this direction. Van de Velde (Memoir,

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307) finds Debir at *Dilbeh*, six miles S.W. of Hebron, where Stewart mentions a spring brought down from a high to a low level by an aqueduct.

2. **דְּבִיר**; **דְּבִיר** *τὸ τέτραπρον τῆς φάραγγος* 'Αχόρ; *Debera*), a place on the north boundary of Judah, near the "Valley of Achor" (Josh. xv. 7), and therefore somewhere in the complications of hill and ravine behind Jericho. De Sauley (ii. 139) attaches the name *Thour-ed-Dabour* to the ruined khan on the right of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, at which travellers usually stop to refresh, but this is not corroborated by any other traveller. The name given to it by the Arabs when the writer passed (1858) was *Ahan Hatherarah*. A *Wady Dabor* is marked in Van de Velde's map as close to the S. of *Nehy Misi*, at the N.W. corner of the Dead Sea.

3. The "border" (**גְּבול**), of Debir is named as forming part of the boundary of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26) and as apparently not far from Mahanaim. Reland (734) conjectures that the name may possibly be the same as Lodebar (**לֹדְבָר**), but no identification has yet taken place (LXX. **Δαβών**, Alex. **Δαβελ**; *Dabir*). Lying in the grazing country on the high downs east of Jordan, the name may be derived from **דָּבַר**, *Dabar*, the same word which is the root of *Midbar*, the wilderness or pasture (see Ges. 318). [ΔΕΒΑΡ.] [G.]

**DE'BIR** (**דְּבִיר**; **Δαβίρ**; Alex. **Δαβελ**; *Dabir*), King of Eglon, a town in the low country of Judah; one of the five kings hanged by Joshua (Josh. x. 3, 23).

**DEBORAH** (**דְּבִירָה**; **Δεβώρα**), a woman of Naphtali, mother of Tobiel, the father of Tobit (Tob. i. 8). The same name as

**DEBORAH** (**דְּבִירָה**; **Δεβώρα**, **Δεβώρα**; *Debbora*). 1. The nurse of Rebekah (Gen. xxxv. 8). Nurses held a high and honourable place in ancient times, and especially in the East (2 K. xi. 2; Hom. *Od.* i. 429; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 2; "Aeneida nutrix;" Ov. *Met.* xiv. 441), where they were often the principal members of the family (2 Chr. xxii. 11; Juhn, *Arch. Bibl.* §166). Deborah accompanied Rebekah from the house of Bethuel (Gen. xiv. 59), and is only mentioned by name on the occasion of her burial, under the oak-tree of Bethel, which was called in her honour Allon-Bachuth (**Βάλανος πένθους**, LXX.). Such spots were usually chosen for the purpose (Gen. xxiii. 17, 18; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; 2 K. xxi. 18, &c.). Many have been puzzled at finding her in Jacob's family; it is unlikely that she was sent to summon Jacob from Haran (as Jarchi suggests), or that she had returned during the lifetime of Rebekah, and was now coming to visit her (as Abarbanel and others say); but she may very well have returned at Rebekah's death, and that she was dead is probable from the omission of her name in Gen. xxxv. 27; and if, according to the Jewish legend, Jacob first heard of his mother's death at this spot, it will be an additional reason for the name of the tree, and may possibly be implied in the expression **וַיְבָרֶךְ**, comforted, A. V. "blessed" (Gen. xxxv. 9; see too Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 390).

\* De Sauley quotes the name in Joshua as "*Dabor*;" but on what authority is not apparent. Certainly not that of the Hebrew or the Vulgate.

2. A prophetess who judged Israel (Judg. iv. v.). Her name, דְּבוֹרָה, means "a bee" (or σφήξ, "a wasp"), just as Μέλισσα and Melitilla were proper names. This name may imply nothing whatever, being a mere appellative, derived like Rachel (a lamb), Tamar (a palm), &c., from natural objects; although she was (as Corn. a Lapide quaintly puts it) *sis mellea, hostibus aculeata*. Some, however, see in the name an official title, implying her prophetic authority. A bee was an Egyptian symbol of regal power (cf. Call. *Jov.* 66, and *Et. Mag.* s. v. δισσόν); and among the Greeks the term was applied not only to poets (*more apud Matinae*, Hor.), and to those peculiarly chaste (as by the Neoplatonists), but especially to the priestesses of Delphi (χρησμός μελισσας Δελφίδος, Pind. *P.* iv. 106), Cybele, and Artemis (Creuzer, *Symbolik.* iii. 354, &c.), just as δισσόν was to the priests (Liddell and Scott, s. v.). In both these senses the name suits her, since she was essentially a vates or seer, combining the functions of poetry and prophecy.

She lived under the palm-tree ("such tents the patriarchs loved," Coleridge) of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim (Judg. iv. 5), which, as palm-trees were rare in Palestine, "is mentioned as a well-known and solitary landmark, and was probably the same spot as that called (Judg. xx. 33) Bual-Tamar, or the sanctuary of the palm" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 146). Von Bohlen (p. 334) thinks that this tree is identical with Allon-Bachuth (Gen. xxxv. 8), the name and locality being nearly the same (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 391, 405), although it is unhistorical to say that this "may have suggested a name for the nurse" (Hävernick's *Introd. to Pent.* p. 201; Kalisch, *Gen.* ad loc.). Possibly it is again mentioned as "the oak of Tabor," in 1 Sam. x. 3, where Thenius would read זָבֶרֶה for תָּבֶרֶה. At any rate it was a well-known tree, and she may have chosen it from its previous associations.

She was probably a woman of Ephraim, although from the expression in Judg. v. 15, some suppose her to have belonged to Issachar (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 489). The expression לְפִירוֹת אֵשׁ is much disputed; it is generally thought to mean "wife of Lapidoth," as in A. V.; but other versions render it "uxor principis," or "Foemina Lapidothana" ("that great dame of Lapidoth," Tennyson), or *mulier splendorum*, i. e. one divinely illuminated, since לְפִירוֹת = lightnings. But the most prosaic notion is that of the Rabbis, who take it to mean that she attended to the tabernacle lamps, from לָפִיד, *lapid*, a lamp! The fem. termination is often found in men's names, as in Shelomith (1 Chr. xxiii. 9), Koheleth, &c. Lapidoth then was probably her husband, and not Barak, as some say.

She was not so much a judge (a title which belongs rather to Barak, Heb. xi. 32) as one gifted with prophetic command (Judg. iv. 6, 14, v. 7), and by virtue of her inspiration "a mother in Israel." Her sex would give her additional weight, as it did to Velleda and Alaurinia among the Germans, from an instinctive belief in the divinity of womanhood (Tac. *German.* viii.). Compare the instances of Miriam, Huldah, Anna, Noadiah (2 K. xxii. 14; Neh. vi. 14).

Jabin's tyranny was peculiarly felt in the northern tribes, who were near his capital and under her

jurisdiction, viz. Zebulon, Nephthali, and Issachar: hence, when she summoned Barak to the deliverance, "it was on them that the brunt of the battle fell; but they were joined by the adjacent central tribes, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, though not by those of the extreme west, south, and east" (Stanley, p. 339). Under her direction Barak encamped on "the broad summit of Tabor" (Jos. *De B. J.* ii. 20, §6). When asked to accompany him, "she answered indignantly, Thou, oh Barak, deliverest up meekly the authority which God hath given thee into the hands of a woman; neither do I reject it" (Jos. *Ant.* v. 5, §2). The LXX. interpolate the words ἔτι οὐκ οἶδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐξδοῖαι δὲ Κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον μετ' ἐμοῦ as a sort of excuse for Barak's request (iv. 8, cf. 14, v. 28). When the small band of ill-armed (Judg. v. 8) Israelites saw the dense iron chariots of the enemy, "they were so frightened that they wished to march off at once, had not Deborah detained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day" (Jos. *l. c.*). They did so, but Deborah's prophecy was fulfilled (Judg. iv. 9), and the enemy's general perished among the "oaks of the wanderers (Zaunaim)," in the tent of the Bedoniu Kenite's wife (Judg. iv. 21) in the northern mountains. "And the land had rest forty years" (Judg. v. 31). For the natural phenomena which aided (Judg. v. 20, 21) the victory, and the other details (for which we have ample authority in the twofold narration in prose and poetry), see BARAK, where we have also entered on the difficult question of the chronology (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 489-494).

Deborah's title of "prophetess" (נָבִיָּה) includes the notion of inspired poetry, as in Ex. xv. 20; and in this sense the glorious triumphal ode (Judg. v.) well vindicates her claim to the office. On this ode much has been written, and there are separate treatises about it by Hollmann, Kalkar, and Kenrick. It is also explained by Ewald (*die Poet. Bücher des Alt. Bundes.* i. 125), and Gumpach (*Alttestament. Studien*, pp. 1-140). [F. W. F.]

## DEBTOR. [LOAN.]

DECAPOLIS (Δεκάπολις, "the ten cities"). This name occurs only three times in the Scriptures, Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, and vii. 31; but it is frequently mentioned by Josephus and other ancient writers. Immediately after the conquest of Syria by the Romans (B.C. 65), ten cities appear to have been rebuilt, partially colonized, and endowed with peculiar privileges; the country around them was hence called *Decapolis*. The limits of the territory were not very clearly defined; and probably in the course of time other neighbouring cities received similar privileges. This may account for the fact that ancient geographers speak so indefinitely of the province, and do not even agree as to the names of the cities themselves. Pliny (v. 18) admitting that "*non omnes eadem observant*," enumerates them as follows: *Scythopolis, Hippus, Gadara, Pella, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Dion, Canatha, Damascus, and Raphana*. Ptolemy (v. 17) makes *Capitolias* one of the ten; and an old Palmyrene inscription quoted by Reland (*Pal.* p. 525) includes *Abila*, a town which, according to Eusebius (*Onom.* s. v. *Abila*) was 12 Roman miles east of Gadara. Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 9, §7) calls *Scythopolis* the largest city of Decapolis, thus manifestly excluding Damascus from the number. All the

cities of Decapolis, with the single exception of Scythopolis, lay on the east of the Jordan; and both Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. s. v. Decapolis*) say that the district was situated "beyond the Jordan, around Hippos, Pella, and Gadara," that is, to the east and south-east of the Sea of Galilee. With this also agrees the statement in Mark v. 20, that the demoniac who was cured at Gadara "began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done to him." It would appear, however, from Matt. iv. 25, and Mark vii. 31, that Decapolis was a general appellation for a large district extending along both sides of the Jordan. Pliny (v. 18) says it reached from Damascus on the north to Philadelphia on the south, and from Scythopolis on the west to Canatha on the east—thus making it no less than 100 miles long by 60 broad; and he adds, that between and around these cities are tetrarchies, each like a kingdom; such as Trachonitis, Paneas, Abila, ~~Amma~~, &c.

This region, once so populous and prosperous, from which multitudes flocked to hear the Saviour, and through which multitudes followed. His footsteps—is now almost without an inhabitant. Six out of the ten cities are completely ruined and deserted. Scythopolis, Gadara, and Canatha have still a few families, living, more like wild beasts than human beings, amid the crumbling ruins of palaces, and in the cavernous recesses of old tombs. Idumæans alone continues to flourish, like an oasis in a desert. [J. L. P.]

**DEDAN** (דִּדָּן; Δαιδάν, Δαιδάμ, Δαδάν, Δαδάν; *Dedan, Dadan*). 1. The name of a son of Raamah, son of Cush (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chr. i. 9, "the sons of Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan"). 2. That of a son of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3, and "Jokshan begat Sheba and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim." Cf. 1 Chron. i. 32). The usual opinion respecting these founders of tribes is that the first settled among the sons of Cush, wherever these latter may be placed; the second, on the Syrian borders, about the territory of Edom. But Gesenius and Winer have suggested that the name may apply to one tribe; and this may be adopted as probable on the supposition that the descendants of the Keturahite Dedan intermarried with those of the Cushite Dedan, whom the writer places, presumptively, on the borders of the Persian Gulf. [ARABIA, CUSH, RAAMAH, &c.] The theory of this mixed descent gains weight from the fact that in each case the brother of Dedan is named Sheba. It may be supposed that the Dedanites were among the chief traders traversing the caravan-route from the head of the Persian Gulf to the south of Palestine, bearing merchandise of India, and possibly of Southern Arabia; and hence the mixture of such a tribe with another of different (and Keturahite) descent presents no impossibility. The passages in the Bible in which Dedan is mentioned (besides the genealogies above referred to) are contained in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and are in every case obscure. The Edomite settlers seem to be referred to in Jer. xlix. 8, where Dedan is mentioned in the prophecy against Edom; again in xxv. 23, with Tema and Buz; in Ez. xxv. 13, with Teman, in the prophecy against Edom; and in Isa. xxi. 13 ("The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanim"), with Tema and Kedar. This last passage is by some understood to

refer to caravans of the Cushite Dedan; and although it may only signify the wandering propensities of a nomad tribe, such as the Edomite portion of Dedan may have been, the supposition that it means merchant-caravans is strengthened by the remarkable words of Ezekiel in the lamentation for Tyre. This chapter (xxvii.) twice mentions Dedan; first in ver. 15, where, after enumerating among the traffickers with the merchant-city many Asiatic peoples, it is said, "The children of Dedan were thy merchants, many isles (יַמַּיִם) were the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory, and ebony." Passing thence to Syria and western and northern peoples, the prophet again (in ver. 20) mentions Dedan in a manner which seems to point to the wide spread and possibly the mixed ancestry of this tribe. Ver. 15 may be presumed to allude especially to the Cushite Dedan (cf. ch. xxxviii. 13, where we find Dedan with Sheba and the merchants of Tarshish; apparently, from the context, the Dedan of ch. xxvii. 15); but the passage commencing in v. 20 appears to include the settlers on the borders of Edom (i. e. the Keturahite Dedan). The whole of the passage is as follows: "Dedan [was] thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these [were they] thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah they [were] thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, [and] Chilmad, [were] thy merchants." (Ez. xxvii. 20-23.) We have here a Dedan connected with Arabia (probably the north-western part of the peninsula) and Kedar, and also with the father and brother of the Cushite Dedan (Raamah and Sheba), and these latter with Asiatic peoples commonly placed in the regions bordering the head of the Persian gulf. This Dedan moreover is a merchant, not in pastoral produce, in sheep and goats, but in "precious clothes," in contradistinction to Arabia and Kedar, like the far-off eastern nations who came with "spices and precious stones and gold," "blue clothes and brodered work," and "chests of rich apparel."

The probable inferences from these intentions of Dedan support the argument first stated, namely, 1. That Dedan son of Raamah settled on the shores of the Persian gulf, and his descendants became caravan-merchants between that coast and Palestine. 2. That Jokshan, or a son of Jokshan, by intermarriage with the Cushite Dedan formed a tribe of the same name, which appears to have had its chief settlement in the borders of Idumæa, and perhaps to have led a pastoral life.

All traces of the name of Dedan, whether in Idumæa or on the Persian gulf, are lost in the works of Arab geographers and historians. The Greek and Roman geographers however throw some light on the eastern settlement; and a native indication of the name is presumed to exist in the island of *Dadan*, on the borders of the gulf. The identification must be taken in connexion with the writer's recovery of the name of Sheba, the other son of Raamah, on the island of *Adul*, near the Arabian shore of the same gulf. This is discussed in the art. RAAMAH. [E. S. P.]

**DEDICATION, FEAST OF THE** (τῆ ἐγκαινία, John x. 22, *Encaenia*, Vulg.; δ ἑγκαίνιος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, 1 Macc. iv. 56 and 59

[the same term as is used in the LXX. for the dedication of the altar by Moses, Num. vii. 10]; δ καθαρismus τοῦ ναοῦ, 2 Macc. x. 5; Mishna, **הַכֶּהֱנִים**, i. e. dedication; Joseph. **φῶτα**, Ant. xii. 7, §7, the festival instituted to commemorate the purging of the temple and the rebuilding of the altar after Judas Maccabaeus had driven out the Syrians, B.C. 164. It is named only once in the Canonical Scriptures, John x. 22. Its institution is recorded 1 Macc. iv. 52-59. It commenced on the 25th of Chisleu, the anniversary of the pollution of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 167. Like the great Mosaic feasts, it lasted eight days, but it did not require attendance at Jerusalem. It was an occasion of much festivity. The writer of 2 Macc. tells us that it was celebrated in nearly the same manner as the Feast of Tabernacles, with the carrying of branches of trees, and with much singing (x. 6, 7). Josephus states that the festival was called "Lights," and that he supposes the name was given to it from the joy of the nation at the unexpected liberty—**τὴν εὐοχὴν ἔχομεν καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα**, ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἑλλήδος οἰμαὶ ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν (Ant. xii. 7, §7). The Mishna informs us that no fast on account of any public calamity could be commenced during this feast. In the Gemara a story is related that when the Jews entered the temple, after driving out the Syrians, they found there only one bottle of oil which had not been polluted, and that this was miraculously increased, so as to feed the lamps of the sanctuary for eight days. Maimonides ascribes to this the custom of the Jews illuminating each house with one candle on the first day of the feast, two on the second day, three on the third, and so on. Some had this number of candles for each person in the house. Neither the books of Maccabees, the Mishna, nor Josephus mention this custom, and it would seem to be of later origin, probably suggested by the name which Josephus gives to the festival. In the temple at Jerusalem, the "Hallel" was sung every day of the feast.

In Ezra (vi. 16) the word **הַכֶּהֱנִים**, applied to the dedication of the second temple, on the third of Adar, is rendered in the LXX. by **ἐγκαλνία**, and in the Vulg. by **dedicatio**. But the anniversary of that day was not observed. The dedication of the first Temple took place at the Feast of Tabernacles (1 K. viii. 2; 2 Chr. v. 3). [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.]

See Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, sect. v.; *Horae Heb.* on John x. 22, and his *Sermon* on the same text; *Mishna*, vol. ii. 369, ed. Surenhus. and Houtingius' note, 317; Kuinoel on John x. 22. [S. C.]

## DEER. [FALLOW-DEER.]

DEGREES, SONGS OF (**שירי המעלות**), a title given to fifteen Psalms, from cxx. to cxxiv. inclusive. Four of them are attributed to David, one is ascribed to the pen of Solomon, and the other ten give no indication of their author. Eichhorn supposes them all to be the work of one and the same bard (*Einkl. in das A. T.*), and he also shares the opinion of Herder (*Geiste der hebräischen Poesie*), who interprets the title, "Hymns for a journey." "The headings of the Psalms, however, are not to be relied on, as many of these titles were superadded long after the authors of the Psalms had passed away. The words 'of David,' or 'of Solomon,' do not of themselves establish the

fact that the Psalm was written by the person named, since the very same phraseology would be employed to denote a hymn composed in honour of David or of Solomon" (Marks' *Sermons*, i. 208-9). Bellermann (*Metrik der Hebräer*) calls these Psalms "trochaic songs."

With respect to the term **הַמַּעֲלֹת**, A. V. "degrees," a great diversity of opinion prevails amongst Biblical critics. According to some it refers to the melody to which the Psalm was to be chanted. Others, including Gesenius, derive the word from the poetical composition of the song, and from the circumstance that the concluding words of the preceding sentence are often repeated at the commencement of the next verse. Thus Psalm cxi.:—

I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills

From whence cometh my help.

My help cometh even from Jehovah, &c.

And so in other passages (comp. cxi. 4, 5, and cxxiv. 1-2 and 3-4). Aben Ezra quotes an ancient authority, which maintains that the *degrees* allude to the fifteen steps which, in the temple of Jerusalem, led from the court of the women to that of the men, and on each of which steps, one of the fifteen songs of degrees was chanted. Adam Clarke (*Comment. on Ps. cxx.*) refers to a similar opinion as found in the Apocryphal Gospel of the birth of Mary: "Her parents brought her to the temple, and set her upon one of the steps. Now there are fifteen steps about the temple, by which they go up to it, according to the fifteen Psalms of degrees."

The most generally accredited opinion, however, is that **מַעֲלָה** is etymologically connected with **עָלָה**, "to go up," or to travel to Jerusalem; that some of these hymns were preserved from a period anterior to the Babylonish captivity; that others were composed in the same spirit by those who returned to Palestine, on the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, and that a few refer even to a later date, but were all incorporated into one collection, because they had one and the same object. This view is adopted by Rosenmüller, Herder, Mendelssohn, Joel Brill, &c. &c. Luther translates the words "Ein Lied im höhern Chor," thus connecting the Psalm with the manner of its execution; and Michaelis compares **מַעֲלָה** with the Syriac **שכלתא** (Scala) which would likewise characterize the metre or the melody. [D. W. M.]

DEHAVITES (**דְּהָוִיט**; **Δαυαίος**; *Dicui*) are mentioned but once in Scripture (Ezr. iv. 9). They were among the colonists planted in Samaria by the Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon, after the completion of the Captivity of Israel. From their name, taken in conjunction with the fact that they are coupled with the Susanchites (Susianians, or people of Susa) and the Elamites (Elymians, natives of the same country), it is fairly concluded that they are the Dai or Dahi, mentioned by Herodotus (i. 125) among the nomadic tribes of Persia. This people appears to have been widely diffused, being found as Dahae (**Δαῖ**) both in the country east of the Caspian (Strab. xi. 8, §2; Arrian. *Exped. Al.* iii. 11, &c.), and in the vicinity of the Sea of Azof (Strab. xi. 8, §3); and again as Dhi (**Δῖοι**, Thucyd. ii. 96), Dai (**Δαί**, Strab.), or Daci (**Δακοί**, Strab. D. Cass. &c.) upon the Danube. They were an Arian race, and are regarded by some as having their lineal descendants in the modern

Danes (see Grimm's *Geschicht. d. Deutsch. Sprach.* i. 192-3). The Septuagint form of the name—*Davacus*, may compare with the *Darus* (= *Δαρος*) of Latin comedy. [G. R.]

**DEKAR.** The son of Deker, *i.e.* BEN-DEKAR (דְּקָרִי; *vñs* Δακάρ; *Bendecar*), was Solomon's commissariat officer in the western part of the hill-country of Judah and Benjamin, Shaalbim and Bethshemesh (1 K. iv. 9).

**DELATAH** (דִּלְתָּי and דִּלְתָּיָה = "Jehovah's freedman"—comp. ἀπελευθερος Κυρίου, 1 Cor. vii. 22; also the Phoenician name Δελαιστάρτος, quoted from Menander by Josephus, *Cont. Ap.* i. 18, and the modern name Godfrey = Gottesfrey; LXX. Δαλατα; Δαλαας; *Dalauai, Daluait*, the name of several persons.

1. DELAIAHU (LXX. Vat. Αδαλαα); a priest in the time of David, leader of the twenty-third course of priests (1 Chr. xxiv. 18).

2. DELATAH; "children of Delaiah" were among the people of uncertain pedigree who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 60; Neh. vii. 62). In 1 Esdr. the name is LADDAN.

3. DELATAH; son of Mehetabel and father of Shemaiah (Neh. vi. 10).

4. DELATAHU (Δαλαας and Γοδολας); son of Shemaiah, one of the "princes" (דִּינִי) about the court of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 25).

The name also occurs in the A. V. as DALATAH.

**DELI'LAH** (דִּלְיָלָה; Δαλιδα; Joseph. Δαλιη; *Dalila*), a woman who dwelt in the valley of Sorek, beloved by Samson (Judg. xvi. 4-18). Her connexion with Samson forms the third and last of those amatory adventures which in his history are so inextricably blended with the craft and prowess of a judge in Israel. She was bribed by the "lords of the Philistines" to win from Samson the secret of his strength, and the means of overcoming it. [SAMSON.]

It is not stated, either in Judges or in Josephus, whether she was an Israelite or a Philistine. Nor can this question be determined by reference to the geography of Sorek; since in the time of the Judges the frontier was shifting and indefinite. [SOREK.] The following considerations, however, supply presumptive evidence that she was a Philistine:—

1. Her *occupation*, which seems to have been that of a courtesan of the higher class, a kind of political Hetaera. The hetaeric and political view of her position is more decided in Josephus than in Judges. He calls her *γυνή εταραιομένη*, and associates her influence over Samson with *πόρος* and *συνουσία* (*Ant.* v. 8, §11). He also states more clearly her relation as a political agent to the "lords of the Philistines" (דִּינִי, Joseph. *of προσεστώτες, τοῖς ἔρχουσι Παλαιστίνων*; LXX. *ἐρχοῦντες*; *Sutragae*; *οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ*; magistrates, political lords, Milton, *Sans.* Ag. 850, 1195), employing under their directions "hers in wait" (דִּלְיָלָה, τὸ ἐνεδρον; *insidius*; cf. Josh. viii. 14; *στρατιωτῶν*). On the other hand, Chrysostom and many of the Fathers have maintained that Delilah was married to Samson (so Milton, 227), a natural but uncritical attempt to save the morality of the Jewish champion. See Judg. xvi. 9, 18, as showing an exclusive command

of her establishment inconsistent with the idea of matrimonial connexion (Patrick, *ad loc.*). There seems to be little doubt that she was a courtesan; and her employment as a political emissary, together with the large sum which was offered for her services (1100 pieces of silver from each lord = 5500 shekels; cf. Judg. iii. 3), and the tact which is attributed to her in Judges, but more especially in Josephus, indicates a position not likely to be occupied by any Israelitish woman at that period of national depression.

2. The general tendency of the Scripture narrative: the sexual temptation represented as acting upon the Israelites from *without* (Num. xxv. 1, 6, xxxi. 15, 16).

3. The special case of Samson (Judg. xiv. 1, xvi. 1).

In Milton Delilah appears as a Philistine, and justifies herself to Samson on the ground of patriotism (*Sans.* Ag. 850, 980). [T. E. B.]

### DELUGE. [NOAH.]

**DELUS** (Δῆλος), mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 23, is the smallest of the islands called Cyclades in the Aegean Sea. It was one of the chief seats of the worship of Apollo, and was celebrated as the birth-place of this god and of his sister Artemis (Diana). We learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §8) that Jews resided in this island, which may be accounted for by the fact, that after the fall of Corinth (u.c. 146) it became the centre of an extensive commerce. The sanctity of the spot and its consequent security, its festival which was a kind of fair, the excellence of its harbour, and its convenient situation on the highway from Italy and Greece to Asia, made it a favourite resort of merchants. So extensive was the commerce carried on in the island, that 10,000 slaves are said to have changed hands there in one day (Strab. xiv. p. 668). Delus is at present uninhabited, except by a few shepherds. (For details, see *Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Geogr.* s.v.)

**DEMAS** (Δημάς), most probably a contraction from Δημήτριος, or perhaps from Δήμαρχος, a companion of St. Paul (called by him his *συνεργος* in Philem. 24; see also Col. iv. 14) during his first imprisonment at Rome. At a later period (2 Tim. iv. 10) we find him mentioned as having deserted the apostle through love of this present world, and gone to Thessalonica. This departure has been magnified by tradition into an apostasy from Christianity (so Epiphani. *Haer.* 41. 6 . . . καὶ Δημᾶν, καὶ Ἑρμογένην, τοὺς ἀγαπήσαντας τὸν ἐνταῦθα αἰῶνα, καὶ καταλείψαντας τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας), which is by no means implied in the passage. [H. A.]

**DEMETRIUS** (Δημήτριος), a maker of silver shrines of Artemis at Ephesus (Acts xix. 24). These *ναοὶ ἀργυροῦ* were small models of the great temple of the Ephesian Artemis, with her statue, which it was customary to carry on journeys, and place on houses, as charms. Demetrius and his fellow craftsmen, in fear for their trade, raised a tumult against St. Paul and his missionary companions. [H. A.]

**DEMETRIUS I.** (Δημήτριος), surnamed "The Saviour" (Σωτήρ, in recognition of his services to the Babylonians), king of Syria, was the son of Seleucus Philopator, and grandson of Antiochus the Great. While still a boy he was sent by his father as a hostage to Rome (u.c. 175) in exchange for his

uncle Antiochus Epiphanes. From his position he was unable to offer any opposition to the usurpation of the Syrian throne by Antiochus IV.; but on the death of that monarch (B.C. 164) he claimed his liberty and the recognition of his claim by the Roman senate in preference to that of his cousin Antiochus V. His petition was refused from selfish policy (Polyb. xxxi. 12); and by the advice and assistance of Polybius, whose friendship he had gained at Rome (Polyb. xxxi. 19; Just. xxxiv. 3), he left Italy secretly, and landed with a small force at Tripolis in Phoenicia (2 Macc. xiv. 1; 1 Macc. vii. 1; Jos. Ant. xii. 10, 1). The Syrians soon declared in his favour (B.C. 162), and Antiochus and his protector Lysias were put to death (1 Macc. vii. 2, 3; 2 Macc. xiv. 2). Having thus gained possession of the kingdom Demetrius succeeded in securing the favour of the Romans (Polyb. xxxii. 4), and he turned his attention to the internal organisation of his dominions. The Græcizing party were still powerful at Jerusalem, and he supported them by arms. In the first campaign his general Bacchides established Alcimus in the high-priesthood (1 Macc. vii. 5-20); but the success was not permanent. Alcimus was forced to take refuge a second time at the court of Demetrius, and Nicanor, who was commissioned to restore him, was defeated in two successive engagements by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. vii. 31, 2, 43-5), and fell on the field. Two other campaigns were undertaken against the Jews by Baccchides (B.C. 161; 158); but in the meantime Judas had completed a treaty with the Romans shortly before his death (B.C. 161), who forbade Demetrius to oppress the Jews (1 Macc. viii. 31). Not long afterwards Demetrius further incurred the displeasure of the Romans by the expulsion of Ariarathes from Cappadocia (Polyb. xxxii. 20; Just. xxxv. 1); and he alienated the affection of his own subjects by his private excesses (Just. l. c.; cf. Polyb. xxxiii. 14). When his power was thus shaken (B.C. 152), Alexander Balas was brought forward, with the consent of the Roman senate, as a claimant to the throne, with the powerful support of Ptolemy Philometor, Attalus, and Ariarathes. Demetrius vainly endeavoured to secure the services of Jonathan, who had succeeded his brother Judas as leader of the Jews, and now, from the recollection of his wrongs, warmly favoured the cause of Alexander (1 Macc. x. 1-6). The rivals met in a decisive engagement (B.C. 150), and Demetrius, after displaying the greatest personal bravery, was defeated and slain (1 Macc. x. 48-50; Jos. Ant. vii. 2, §4; Polyb. iii. 5). In addition to the very interesting fragments of Polybius the following references may be consulted: Just. xxiv. 3, xxxv. 1; App. Syr. 46, 47, 67. [B. F. W.]



Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Demetrius I.

Obv. Head of Demetrius to the right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; in field monogram and MI; in exergue ΑΠΘ (1st of Era Seleuc.). Seated female figure to the left with sceptre and cornucopia.

DEMETRIUS II. (Δημήτριος), "The Vic-

torious" (Νικητράς), was the elder son of Demetrius Soter. He was sent by his father, together with his brother Antiochus, with a large treasure, to Chidus (Just. xxxv. 2), when Alexander Balas laid claim to the throne of Syria. When he was grown up, the weakness and vices of Alexander furnished him with an opportunity of recovering his father's dominions. Accompanied by a force of Cretan mercenaries (Just. l. c.; cf. 1 Macc. x. 67), he made a descent on Syria (B.C. 148), and was received with general favour (1 Macc. x. 67 ff.). Jonathan, however, still supported the cause of Alexander, and defeated Apollonius, whom Demetrius had appointed governor of Coele-Syria (1 Macc. x. 74-82). In spite of these hostilities, Jonathan succeeded in gaining the favour of Demetrius when he was established in the kingdom (1 Macc. xi. 23-27), and obtained from him an advantageous commutation of the royal dues and other concessions (1 Macc. xi. 32-37). In return for these favours the Jews rendered important services to Demetrius when Tryphon first claimed the kingdom for Antiochus VI., the son of Alexander (1 Macc. xi. 42), but afterwards being offended by his faithless ingratitude (1 Macc. xi. 53), they espoused the cause of the young pretender. In the campaign which followed, Jonathan defeated the forces of Demetrius (B.C. 144; 1 Macc. xii. 28); but the treachery to which Jonathan fell a victim (B.C. 143) again altered the policy of the Jews. Simon, the successor of Jonathan, obtained very favourable terms from Demetrius (B.C. 142); but shortly afterwards Demetrius was himself taken prisoner (B.C. 138) by Arsaces VI. (Mithridates), whose dominions he had invaded (1 Macc. xiv. 1-3; Just. xxxvi.). Mithridates treated his captive honourably, and gave him his daughter in marriage (App. Syr. 67); and after his death, though Demetrius made several attempts to escape, he still received kind treatment from his successor, Phraates. When Antiochus Siletes, who had gained possession of the Syrian throne, invaded Parthia, Phraates employed Demetrius to effect a diversion. In this Demetrius succeeded, and when Antiochus fell in battle, he again took possession of the Syrian crown (B.C. 128). Not long afterwards a pretender, supported by Ptol. Physcon, appeared in the field against him, and after suffering a defeat he was assassinated, according to some by his wife (App. Syr. 68), while attempting to escape by sea (Just. xxxix. 1; Jos. Ant. xiii. 9, 3). [CLIFPATRA.]

[B. F. W.]



Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Demetrius II

Obv. Head of Demetrius to the right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ; in exergue ΕΡΘ (1097 of Era Seleuc.). Apollo to the left, seated on corymb, with arrow and bow.

DEMON (LXX. δαμόνιον; N. T. δαμόνιον, or rarely δαίμων. Derivation uncertain. Plato (Crat. i. p. 398) connects it with δαίμων, "intelligent," of which indeed the form δαίμων is found in Archil. (B.C. 650); but it seems more probably derived from δαμα, to "divide" or "assign," in

which case it would be similar to *Μοῖρα*). In sketching out the Scriptural doctrine as to the nature and existence of the demons, it seems natural, 1st, to consider the usage of the word *δαίμων* in classical Greek; 2ndly, to notice any modification of it in Jewish hands; and then, 3rdly, to refer to the passages in the N. T. in which it is employed.

I. Its usage in classical Greek is various. In Homer, where the gods are but supernatural men, it is used interchangeably with *θεός*; afterwards in Hesiod (*Op.* 121), when the idea of the gods had become more exalted and less familiar, the *δαίμονες* are spoken of as intermediate beings, the messengers of the gods to men. This latter usage of the word evidently prevailed afterwards as the correct one, although in poetry, and even in the vague language of philosophy, *τὸ δαίμονιον* was sometimes used as equivalent to *τὸ θεῖον* for any superhuman nature. Plato (*Symp.* pp. 202, 203) fixes it distinctly in the more limited sense: *πάν τὸ δαίμονιον μεταξύ ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ . . . . θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ μίγνυνται, ἀλλὰ διὰ δαίμονιον πᾶσα ἐστὶν ἡ ὁμιλία καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία θεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους*. Among them were numbered the spirits of good men, "made perfect" after death (Plat. *Crit.* p. 398, quotation from Hesiod). It was also believed that they became tutelary deities of individuals (to the purest form of which belief Socrates evidently referred in the doctrine of his *δαίμωνιον*); and hence *δαίμων* was frequently used in the sense of the "fate" or "destiny" of a man (as in the tragedies constantly), thus recurring, it would seem, directly to its original derivation.

The notion of evil demons appears to have belonged to a later period, and to have been due, both to Eastern influence, and to the clearer separation of the good and evil in men's thoughts of the supernatural.\* They were supposed to include the spirits of evil men after death, and to be authors, not only of physical, but of moral evil.

II. In the LXX. the words *δαίμων* and *δαίμωνιον* are not found very frequently, but yet employed to render different Hebrew words; generally in reference to the idols of heathen worship; as in Ps. xcv. 3, for *עֲצֻלִים*, the "empty," the "vanities," rendered *χειροποιήτους*, &c., in Lev. xiv. 4, xxvi. 1; in Deut. xxxii. 17, for *דִּיּוּשִׁים*, "lords" (comp. 1 Cor. viii. 5); in Is. lxx. 11, for *גַּד*, *Gad*, the goddess of Fortune: sometimes in the sense of avenging or evil spirits, as in Ps. xci. 6, for *בְּרָכָה*, "pestilence," i. e. evidently "the destroyer;" also in Is. xiii. 21, xxiv. 14, for *עֲרֵב*, "hairy," and *בְּרָכָה*, "dwellers in the desert," in the same sense in which the A. V. renders "satyrs."

In Josephus we find the word "demons" used always of evil spirits; in *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, §3, he defines them as *τὰ πνεύματα τῶν πονηρῶν*, and speaks of their exorcism by fumigation (as in Tob. viii. 2, 3). See also *Ant.* vi. c. 8, §2, viii. c. 2, §5. Writing as he did with a constant view to the Gentiles, it is not likely that he would use the word in the other sense, as applied to heathen divinities.

By Philo the word appears to be used in a more general sense, as equivalent to "angels," and referring to both good and evil.

\* Those who imputed lust and envy of man to their gods were hardly likely to have a distinct view of supernatural powers of good and evil, as eternally opposed to each other.

The change, therefore, of sense in the Hellenistic usage is, first, the division of the good and evil demons, and the more general application of the word to the latter; secondly, the extension of the name to the heathen deities.

III. We now come to the use of the term in the N. T. In the Gospels generally, in James ii. 19, and in Rev. xvi. 14, the demons are spoken of as spiritual beings, at enmity with God, and having power to afflict man, not only with disease, but, as is marked by the frequent epithet "unclean," with spiritual pollution also. In Acts xix. 12, 13, &c., they are exactly defined as *τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρά*. They "believe" the power of God "and tremble" (James ii. 19); they recognise our Lord as the Son of God (Matt. viii. 29; Luke iv. 41), and acknowledge the power of His name, used in exorcism, in the place of the name of Jehovah, by His appointed messengers (Acts xix. 15); and look forward in terror to the judgment to come (Matt. viii. 29). The description is precisely that of a nature akin to the angelic [see ANGELS] in knowledge and powers, but with the emphatic addition of the idea of positive and active wickedness. Nothing is said either to support or to contradict the common Jewish belief, that in their ranks might be numbered the spirits of the wicked dead. In support of it we are sometimes quoted the fact that the demoniacs sometimes haunted the tombs of the dead (Matt. viii. 28), and the supposed reference of the epithet *ἀκαθάρτα* to the ceremonial uncleanness of a dead body.

In 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, 1 Tim. iv. 1, and Rev. ix. 20, the word *δαίμονια* is used of the objects of Gentile worship, and in the first passage opposed to the word *θεοί* (with a reference to Deut. xxii. 17). So also is it used by the Athenians in Acts xvii. 18. The same identification of the heathen deities with the evil spirits is found in the description of the damsel having *πνεῦμα πύθωνα*, or *πύθωνος*, at Philippi, and the exorcism of her as a demoniac by St. Paul (Acts xvi. 16); and it is to be noticed that in 1 Cor. x. 19, 20, the apostle is arguing with those who declared an idol to be a pure nullity, and while he accepts the truth that it is so, yet declares that all, which is offered to it, is offered to a "demon." There can be no doubt then of its being a doctrine of Scripture, mysterious (though not necessarily impossible) as it may be, that in idolatry the influence of the demons was at work and permitted by God to be effective within certain bounds. There are not a few passages of profane history on which this doctrine throws light; nor is it inconsistent with the existence of remnants of truth in idolatry, or with the possibility of its being, in the case of the ignorant, overruled by God to good.

Of the nature and origin of the demons, Scripture is all but silent. On one remarkable occasion, recorded by the first three Evangelists (Matt. xii. 24-30; Mark iii. 22-30; Luke xi. 14-26), our Lord distinctly identifies Satan with Beelzebub, *τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων*; and there is a similar though less distinct connexion in Rev. xvi. 14. From these we gather certainly that the demons are agents of Satan in his work of evil, subject to the kingdom of darkness, and doubtless doomed to share in its condemnation; and we conclude probably (though attempts have been made to deny the inference) that they must be the same as "the angels of the devil" (Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 7, 9), "the principalities and powers" against whom we "wrestle" (Eph. vi. 12, &c.). As to the question of their

fall, see SATAN; and on the method of their action on the souls of men, see DEMONIACS.

The language of Scripture, as to their existence and their enmity to man, has suffered the attacks of scepticism, merely on the ground that, in the researches of natural science, there are no traces of the supernatural, and that the fall of spirits, created doubtless in goodness, is to us inconceivable. Both facts are true, but the inference false. The very darkness in which natural science ends, when it approaches the relation of mind to matter, not only does not contradict, but rather implies the existence of supernatural influence. The mystery of the origin of evil in God's creatures is inconceivable; but the difficulty in the case of the angels differs only in degree from that of the existence of sin in man, of which nevertheless as a fact we are only too much assured. The attempts made to explain the words of our Lord and the Apostles as a mere accommodation to the belief of the Jews are incompatible with the simple and direct attribution of personality to the demons, as much as to men or to God, and (if carried out in principle) must destroy the truth and honesty of Holy Scripture itself. [A. B.]

**DEMONIACS** (δαιμονιζόμενοι, δαιμόνια ἔχοντες). This word is frequently used in the N. T., and applied to persons suffering under the possession of a demon or evil spirit [see DEMON], such possession generally showing itself visibly in bodily disease or mental derangement. The word δαιμονίζω is used in a nearly equivalent sense in classical Greek (as in Aesch. *Choeph.* 566; *Sept. c. Theb.* 1001; Eur. *Phoen.* 888, &c.), except that as the idea of spirits distinctly evil and rebellious, hardly existed, such possession was referred to the will of the gods or to the vague prevalence of an Ἄστυ. Neither word is employed in this sense by the LXX., but in our Lord's time (as is seen, for example, constantly in Josephus) the belief in the possession of men by demons, who were either the souls of wicked men after death, or evil angels, was thoroughly established among all the Jews with the exception of the Sadducees alone. With regard to the frequent mention of demoniacs in Scripture three main opinions have been started.

I. That of Strauss and the mythical school, which makes the whole account merely symbolic, without basis of fact. The possession of the devils is, according to this idea, only a lively symbol of the prevalence of evil in the world, the casting out the devils by our Lord a corresponding symbol of His conquest over that evil power by His doctrine and His life. The notion stands or falls with the mythical theory as a whole: with regard to the special form of it, it is sufficient to remark the plain, simple, and prosaic relation of the facts as facts, which, whatever might be conceived as possible in highly poetic and avowedly figurative passages, would make their assertion here not a symbol or a figure, but a lie. It would be as reasonable to expect a myth or symbolic fable from Tacitus or Thucydides in their accounts of contemporary history.

II. The second theory is, that our Lord and the Evangelists, in referring to demoniacal possession, spoke only in accommodation to the general belief of the Jews, without any assertion as to its truth or its falsity. It is concluded that, since the symptoms of the affliction were frequently those of bodily disease (as dumbness, Matt. ix. 32; blindness, Matt. xii. 22; epilepsy, Mark ix. 17-27), or those seen in cases of ordinary insanity (as in Matt. viii. 28; Mark v. 1-5),

since also the phrase "to have a devil" is constantly used in connexion with, and as apparently equivalent to, "to be mad" (see John vii. 20, viii. 48, x. 20, and perhaps Matt. xi. 18; Luke vii. 33); and since, lastly, cases of demoniacal possession are not known to occur in our own days, therefore we must suppose that our Lord spoke, and the Evangelists wrote, in accordance with the belief of the time, and with a view to be clearly understood, especially by the sufferers themselves, but that the demoniacs were merely persons suffering under unusual diseases of body and mind.

With regard to this theory also, it must be remarked that it does not accord either with the general principles or with the particular language of scripture. Accommodation is possible when, in things indifferent, language is used which, although scientifically or etymologically inaccurate, yet conveys a true impression, or when, in things not indifferent, a declaration of truth (1 Cor. iii. 1, 2), or a moral law (Matt. xix. 8), is given, true or right as far as it goes, but imperfect, because of the imperfect progress of its recipients. But certainly here the matter was not indifferent. The age was one of little faith and great superstition; its characteristic the acknowledgment of God as a distant Lawgiver, not an Inspirer of men's hearts. This superstition in things of far less moment was denounced by our Lord; can it be supposed that He would sanction, and the Evangelists be permitted to record for ever, an idea in itself false, which has constantly been the very stronghold of superstition? Nor was the language used such as can be paralleled with mere conventional expression. There is no harm in our "speaking of certain forms of madness as lunacy, not thereby implying that we believe the moon to have or to have had any influence upon them; . . . but if we began to describe the cure of such as the moon's ceasing to afflict them, or if a physician were solemnly to address the moon, bidding it abstain from injuring his patient, there would be here a passing over to quite a different region. . . . there would be that gulf between our thoughts and worlds in which the essence of a lie consists. Now Christ does everywhere speak such language as this." (Trench *On Miracles*, p. 153, where the whole question is most ably treated.) Nor is there, in the whole of the New Testament, the least indication that any "economy" of teaching was employed on account of the "hardness" of the Jews' "hearts." Possession and its cure are recorded plainly and simply; demoniacs are frequently distinguished from those afflicted with bodily sickness (see Mark i. 32, xvi. 17, 18; Luke vi. 17, 18), even, it would seem, from the epileptic (σκληνιαζόμενοι, Matt. ix. 24); the same outward signs are sometimes referred to possession, sometimes merely to disease (comp. Matt. iv. 24, with xvii. 15; Matt. xii. 22, with Mark vii. 32, &c.); the demons are represented as speaking in their own persons with superhuman knowledge,\* and acknowledging our Lord to be, not as the Jews generally called him, son of David, but Son of God (Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24, v. 7; Luke iv. 41, &c.). All these things speak of a personal power of evil,

\* Compare also the case of the damsel with the spirit of divination (πνεῦμα πωδωνος) at Philippi; where also the power of the evil spirit is referred to under the well-known name of the supposed inspiration of Delphi.

and, if in any case they refer to what we might call mere disease, they at any rate tell us of something in it more than a morbid state of bodily organs or self-caused derangement of mind. Nor does our Lord speak of demons as personal spirits of evil to the multitude alone, but in His secret conversations with His disciples, declaring the means and conditions by which power over them could be exercised (Matt. xvii. 21). Twice also He distinctly connects demoniacal possession with the power of the evil one; once in Luke x. 18, to the seventy disciples, where He speaks of his power and theirs over demons as a "fall of Satan," and again in Matt. xii. 25-30, when He was accused of casting out demons through Beelzebub, and, instead of giving any hint that the possessed were not really under any direct and personal power of evil, He uses an argument, as to the division of Satan against himself, which, if possession be unreal, becomes inconclusive and almost insincere. Lastly, the single fact recorded of the entrance of the demons at Gadara (Mark v. 10-14) into the herd of swine,<sup>b</sup> and the effect which that entrance caused, is sufficient to overthrow the notion that our Lord and the Evangelists do not assert or imply any objective reality of possession. In the face of this mass of evidence it seems difficult to conceive how the theory can be reconciled with anything like truth of scripture.

But besides this it must be added, that to say of a case that it is one of disease or insanity, gives no real explanation of it at all; it merely refers it to a class of cases which we know to exist, but gives no answer to the further question, how did the disease or insanity arise? Even in disease, whenever the mind acts upon the body (as *e. g.* in nervous disorders, epilepsy, &c.) the mere derangement of the physical organs is not the whole cause of the evil; there is a deeper one lying in the mind. Insanity may indeed arise, in some cases, from the physical injury or derangement of those bodily organs through which the mind exercises its powers, but far oftener it appears to be due to metaphysical causes, acting upon and disordering the mind itself. In all cases where the evil lies not in the body but in the mind, to call it "only disease or insanity" is merely to state the fact of the disorder, and give up all explanation of its cause. It is an assumption, therefore, which requires proof, that, amidst the many inexplicable phenomena of mental and physical disease in our own days, there are none in which one gifted with "discernment of spirits" might see signs of what the Scripture calls "possession."

The truth is, that here, as in many other instances, the Bible, without contradicting ordinary experience, yet advances to a region whither human science cannot follow. As generally it connects the existence of mental and bodily suffering in the world with the introduction of moral corruption by the Fall, and refers the power of moral evil to a spiritual and personal source; so also it asserts the existence of inferior spirits of evil, and it refers certain cases of bodily and mental disease to the influence which they are permitted to exercise directly over the soul and indirectly over the body. Inexplicable to us this influence certainly is, as all

action of spirit on spirit is found to be; but no one can pronounce *a priori* whether it be impossible or improbable, and no one has a right to eviscerate the strong expressions of Scripture in order to reduce its declarations to a level with our own ignorance.

III. We are led, therefore, to the ordinary and literal interpretation of these passages, that there are evil spirits [DEMONS], subjects of the Evil One, who, in the days of the Lord Himself and His Apostles especially, were permitted by God to exercise a direct influence over the souls and bodies of certain men. This influence is clearly distinguished from the ordinary power of corruption and temptation wielded by Satan through the permission of God. [SATAN.] Its relation to it, indeed, appears to be exactly that of a miracle to God's ordinary Providence, or of special prophetic inspiration to the ordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. Both (that is) are actuated by the same general principles, and tend to the same general object; but the former is a special and direct manifestation of that which is worked out in the latter by a long course of indirect action. The distinguishing feature of possession is the complete or incomplete loss of the sufferer's reason or power of will; his actions, his words, and almost his thoughts are mastered by the evil spirit (Mark i. 24, v. 7. Acts xix. 15), till his personality seems to be destroyed, or, if not destroyed, so overborne as to produce the consciousness of a twofold will within him, like that sometimes felt in a dream. In the ordinary temptations and assaults of Satan, the will itself yields consciously, and by yielding gradually assumes, without losing its apparent freedom of action, the characteristics of the Satanic nature. It is solicited, urged, and persuaded against the strivings of grace, but not overborne.

Still, however, possession is only the special and, as it were, miraculous form of the "law of sin in the members," the power of Satan over the heart itself, recognised by St. Paul as an indwelling and agonising power (Rom. vii. 21-24). Nor can it be doubted that it was rendered possible in the first instance by the consent of the sufferer to temptation and to sin. That it would be most probable in those who yielded to *sensual* temptations may easily be conjectured from general observation of the tyranny of a habit of sensual indulgence.<sup>c</sup> The cases of the habitually lustful, the opium-eater, and the drunkard (especially when struggling in the last extremity of delirium tremens) bear, as has been often noticed, many marks very similar to those of the Scriptural possession. There is in them physical disease, but there is often something more. It is also to be noticed that the state of possession, although so awful in its wretched sense of demoniacal tyranny, yet, from the very fact of that consciousness, might be less hopeless and more capable of instant cure than the deliberate hardness of wilful sin. The spirit might still retain marks of its original purity, although through the flesh and the demoniac power acting by the flesh it was enslaved. Here also the observation of the suddenness and completeness of conversion, seen in cases of sensualism, compared with the greater difficulty in cases of more refined

<sup>b</sup> It is almost needless to refer to the subterfuges of interpretation by which the force of this fact is evaded.

<sup>c</sup> It is to be noticed that almost all the cases of demoniac possession are recorded as occurring among

the rude and half-Gentile population of Galilee. St. John, writing mainly of the ministry in Judea, mentions none.

and spiritual sin, tends to confirm the record of Scripture.

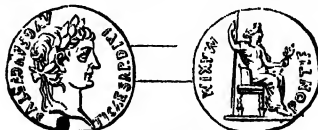
It was but natural that the power of evil should show itself, in more open and direct hostility than ever, in the age of our Lord and His Apostles, when its time was short. It was natural also that it should take the special form of possession in an age of such unprecedented and brutal sensuality as that which preceded His coming, and continued till the heaven of Christianity was felt. Nor was it less natural that it should have died away gradually before the great direct, and still greater indirect influence of Christ's kingdom. Accordingly we find early fathers (as Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 311 B.; Tertullian, *Apol.* 23, 37, 43) alluding to its existence as a common thing, mentioning the attempts of Jewish exorcism in the name of Jehovah as occasionally successful (see Matt. xii. 27; Acts xix. 13), but especially dwelling on the power of Christian exorcism to cast it out from the country as a test of the truth of the Gospel, and as one well-known benefit which it already conferred on the empire. By degrees the mention is less and less frequent, till the very idea is lost or perverted.

Such is a brief sketch of the Scriptural notices of possession. That round the Jewish notion of it there grew up, in that noted age of superstition, many foolish and evil practices, and much superstitious as to fumigations, &c. (comp. *Tub. viii.* 1-3; *Joseph. Ant.* viii. c. 2 §5), of the "vagabond exorcists" (see Acts xix. 13) is obvious and would be inevitable. It is clear that Scripture does not in the least sanction or even condescend to notice such things; but it is certain that in the Old Testament (see *Lev. xix.* 31; 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, &c.; 2 K. xxi. 6, xxiii. 24, &c.) as well as in the New, it recognises possession as a real and direct power of evil spirits upon the heart. [A. B.]

**DEMOPHON** (Δημόφων), a Syrian general in Palestine under Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2).

**DENARIUS** (δηνάριον; *denarius*; A. V. "penny," Matt. xviii. 28, xx. 2, 9, 13, xli. 19; Mark vi. 37, xii. 15, xiv. 5; Luke vii. 41, x. 35, xv. 24; John vi. 7, xli. 5; Rev. vi. 6), a Roman silver coin, in the time of Our Saviour and the Apostles. It took its name from its being first equal to ten "asses," a number afterwards increased to sixteen. The earliest specimens are of about the commencement of the 2nd century B.C. From this time it was the principal silver coin of the commonwealth. It continued to hold the same position under the Empire until long after the close of the New Testament Canon. In the time of Augustus eighty-four denarii were struck from the pound of silver, which would make the standard weight about 60 grs. This Nero reduced by striking ninety-six from the pound, which would give a standard weight of about 52 grs., results confirmed by the coins of the periods, which are, however, not exactly true to the standard. The drachm of the Attic talent, which from the reign of Alexander until the Roman domination, was the most important Greek standard, had, by gradual reduction, become equal to the denarius of Augustus, so that the two coins came to be regarded as identical. Under the same emperor the Roman coin superseded the Greek, and many of the few cities which yet struck silver money, took for it the form and general character of the denarius and of its half the

quinarius. In Palestine in the N. T. period, we learn from numismatic evidence that denarii must have mainly formed the silver currency. It is therefore probable that in the N. T. by δραχμή and δηνάριον, both rendered in the A. V. "piece of silver," we are to understand the denarius [DRACHMA; SILVER, PIECE OF]. The δίδραχμον of the tribute (Matt. xvii. 24) was probably in the time of Our Saviour not a current coin, like the στατήρ mentioned in the same passage (ver. 27). [MONEY.] From the parable of the labourers in the vineyard it would seem that a denarius was then the ordinary pay for a day's labour (Matt. xx. 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13). The term *denarius aureus* (Plin. xxxiv. 17, xxxvii. 3) is probably a corrupt designation for the *aureus* (*nummus*); in the N. T. the denarius proper is always intended. (See MONEY, and *Dict. of Ant. Denarius*.) [R. S. P.]



Denarius of Tiberius.

Obv. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS. Head of Tiberius, laureate, to the right (Matt. xxii. 19, 20, 21). Rev. PONTIF MAXIM Seated female figure to the right.

**DEPOSIT** (ἵρηξ; παραθήκη, παρακαταθήκη; *depositum*), the arrangement by which one man kept at another's request the property of the latter, until demanded back, was one common to all the nations of antiquity; and the dishonest dealing with such trusts is marked by profane writers with extreme reprobation (Herod. vi. 86; Juv. xiii. 199, &c.; *Joseph. Ant.* iv. 7, §38; *de B. J.* iv. 8, §5, 7). Even our Saviour seems (Luke xvi. 12) to allude to conduct in such cases as a test of honesty.\* In later times, when no banking system was as yet devised, shrines were often used for the custody of treasure (2 Macc. iii. 10, 12, 15; *Xenoph. Anab.* v. 3, §7; *Cic. Legg.* ii. 16; *Plut. Lys.* c. 18); but, especially among an agricultural people, the exigencies of war and other causes of absence must often have rendered such a deposit, especially as regards animals, an owner's only course. Nor was the custody of such property burdensome; for, the use of it was no doubt, so far as that was consistent with its unimpaired restoration, allowed to the depositary, which office also no one was compelled to accept. The articles specified by the Mosaic law are, (1.) "money or stuff;" and (2.) "an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast." The first case was viewed as only liable to loss by theft (probably for loss by accidental fire, &c., no compensation could be claimed), and the thief, if found, was to pay double, i. e., probably to compensate the owner's loss, and the unjust suspicion thrown on the depositary. If no theft could be proved, the depositary was to swear before the judges that he had not appropriated the article, and then was quit.<sup>b</sup> In the second, if the beast were to "die or be hurt, or

\* Such is probably the meaning of the words, ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοί. It may also be remarked that, in the parable of the talents, the "lothful servant" affects to consider himself as a mere *depositarius*, in the words ἵδε ἔχει τὸ σόν (Matt. xxv. 25).

<sup>b</sup> The Hebrew expression נָדָה דָּנָה, Ex. xxii. 8, rendered in the A. V. "to see whether," is a common formula *jurandi*.

driven away, no man seeing it."—accidents to which beasts at pasture were easily liable,—the depositary was to purge himself by a similar oath. (Such oaths are probably alluded to Heb. vi. 16, as "an end of all strife.") In case, however, the animal were stolen, the depositary was liable to restitution, which probably was necessary to prevent collusive theft. If it were torn by a wild beast, some proof was easily producible, and, in that case, no restitution was due (Ex. xxii. 7-13). In case of a false oath so taken, the perjured person, besides making restitution, was to "add the fifth part more thereto," to compensate the one injured, and to "bring a ram for a trespass-offering unto the Lord" (Lev. vi. 5, 6). In the book of Tobit (v. 3) a written acknowledgment of a deposit is mentioned (i. 14 (17), iv. 20 (21)). This, however, merely facilitated the proof of the fact of the original deposit, leaving the law untouched. The Mishna (Baba Metzia, c. iii., Shebuoth, v. 1), shows that the law of the oath of purgation in such cases continued in force among the later Jews. Michaelis on the laws of Moses, ch. 162, may be consulted on this subject. [H. H.]

DER'BE (Δέρβη, Acts xiv. 20, 21, xvi. 1; Eth. Δερβαῖος, Acts xx. 4). The exact position of this town has not yet been ascertained, but its general situation is undoubted. It was in the eastern part of the great upland plain of LYCAONIA, which stretches from ICONIUM eastwards along the north side of the chain of Taurus. It must have been somewhere near the place where the pass called the Cilician Gates opened a way from the low plain of Cilicia to the table-land of the interior; and probably it was a stage upon the great road which passed this way. It appears that Cicero went through Derbe on his route from Cilicia to Iconium (Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 73). Such was St. Paul's route on his second missionary journey (Acts xv. 41, xvi. 1, 2), and probably also on the third (xviii. 23, xix. 1). In his first journey (xiv. 20, 21) he approached from the other side, viz., from Iconium, in consequence of persecution in that place and at LYSTRA. No incidents are recorded as having happened at Derbe. In harmony with this, it is not mentioned in the enumeration of places 2 Tim. iii. 11. "In the apostolic history Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together: in the quotation from the epistle, Lystra is mentioned and not Derbe. The distinction is accurate; for St. Paul is here enumerating his persecutions" (Paley, *Horas Paulinae*, *in loc.*).

Three sites have been assigned to Derbe. (1.) By Col. Leake (*Asia Minor*, 101), it was supposed to be at *Bin-bir-Kütissah*, at the foot of the *Karadagh*, a remarkable volcanic mountain which rises from the Lycæonian plain; but this is almost certainly the site of LYSTRA. (2.) In Kiepert's *Map*, Derbe is marked farther to the east, at a spot where there are ruins, and which is in the line of a Roman road. (3.) Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, ii. 313) and Texier (*Asie Mineure*, ii. 129, 130) are disposed to place it at *Divle*, a little to the S.W. of the last position and nearer to the roots of Taurus. In favour of this view there is the important fact that Steph. Byz. says that the place was sometimes called *Δεσβεία*, which in the Lycæonian language (see Acts xiv. 11) meant a "juniper tree." Moreover, he speaks of a *λμηνή* here, which (as Leake and the French translators of Strabo suggest) ought probably to be *λίμνη*; and if this is correct, the requisite condition is en-

tified by the proximity of the Lake *Ak Göl*. Wieseler (*Chronol. der Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 24) takes the same view, though he makes too much of the possibility that St. Paul, on his second journey, travelled by a minor pass to the W. of the Cilician Gates. It is difficult to say why Winer (*Realwörterbuch*, s. v.) states that Derbe was "S. of Iconium and S.E. of Lystra."

Strabo places Derbe at the edge of Isauria; but in the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles (Wesseling, p. 675, where the word is Δέρβαι) it is placed, as in the Acts of the Apostles, in Lycæonia. The boundaries of these districts were not very exactly defined. The whole neighbourhood, to the sea-coast of CILICIA, was notorious for robbery and piracy. Antipater, the friend of Cicero (*ad Fam.* xiii. 73) was the bandit chieftain of Lycæonia. Amyntas, king of Galatia (successor of Deiotarus II.), murdered Antipater and incorporated his dominions with his own. Under the Roman provincial government Derbe was at first placed in a corner of *ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΓΙΑ*; but other changes were subsequently made. [*GALATIA*.] Derbe does not seem to be mentioned in the Byzantine writers. Leake says (102) that its bishop was a suffragan of the metropolitan of Iconium. [J. S. H.]

DESERT, a word which is sparingly employed in the A. V. to translate four Hebrew terms, of which three are essentially different in signification. A "desert," in the sense which is ordinarily attached to the word, is a vast, burning, sandy, plain, alike destitute of trees and of water. This idea is probably derived from the deserts of Africa—that, for example, which is overlooked by the Pyramids, and with which many travellers are familiar. But it should be distinctly understood that no such region as this is ever mentioned in the Bible as having any connexion with the history of the Israelites, either their wanderings or their settled existence. With regard to the sand, the author of "Sinai and Palestine" has given the fullest correction to this popular error, and has shown that "sand is the exception and not the rule of the Arabian desert" of the Peninsula of Sinai (*S. & P.*, 8, 9, 64). And as to the other features of a desert, certainly the Peninsula of Sinai is no plain, but a region extremely variable in height, and diversified, even at this day, by oases and valleys of verdure and vegetation, and by frequent wells, which were all probably far more abundant in those earlier times than they now are. This however will be more appropriately discussed under the head of WILDERNESSES OF THE WANDERINGS. Here, it is simply necessary to show that the words rendered in the A. V. by "desert," when used in the historical books, denoted definite localities; and that those localities do not answer to the common conception of a "desert."

1. *ARABAH* (עֲרָבָה). The root of this word, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* 1066), is *Arab*, עֲרַב, to be dried up as with heat; and it has been already shown that when used, as it invariably is in the historical and topographical records of the Bible, with the definite article, it means that very depressed and enclosed region—the deepest and the hottest chasm in the world—the sunken valley north and south of the Dead Sea, but more particularly the former. [*ARABAH*.] True, in the pre-

"The sea of sand." See Coleridge's parable on Mystics and Mysticism (*Aids to Refl.* Conclusion.)

sent depopulated and neglected state of Palestine the Jordan valley is as arid and desolate a region as can be met with, but it was not always so. On the contrary, we have direct testimony to the fact that when the Israelites were flourishing, and later in the Roman times, the case was emphatically the reverse. Jericho, "the city of Palm trees," at the lower end of the valley, Bethshean at the upper, and Phasaelis in the centre, were famed both in Jewish and profane history for the luxuriance of their vegetation (Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, §2; xvi. 5, §2; BETHSHEAN; JERICHO). When the abundant water-resources of the valley were properly husbanded and distributed, the tropical heat caused not barrenness but tropical fertility, and here grew the balsam, the sugar-cane, and other plants requiring great heat, but also rich soil, for their culture. ARABAH in the sense of the Jordan Valley is translated by the word "desert" only in Ez. xlvii. 8. In a more general sense of waste, deserted country—a meaning easily suggested by the idea of excessive heat contained in the root—"Desert," as the rendering of *Arabah*, occurs in the prophets and poetical books; as Is. xxxv. 1, 6, xl. 3, xli. 19, li. 3; Jer. ii. 6, v. 6, xvii. 6, l. 12; but this general sense is never found in the historical books. In these, to repeat once more, *Arabah* always denotes the Jordan valley, the *Ghor* of the modern Arabs. Professor Stanley proposes to use "desert" as the translation of *Arabah* whenever it occurs, and though not exactly suitable, it is difficult to suggest a better word.

2. But if *Arabah* gives but little support to the ordinary conception of a "desert," still less does the other word which our translators have most frequently rendered by it. MIDBAR (מִדְבָּר) is accurately the "pasture ground," deriving its name from a root *dar* (דָּרַךְ), "to drive," significant of the pastoral custom of driving the flocks out to feed in the morning, and home again at night; and therein analogous to the German word *trieb*, which is similarly derived from *treiben*, to drive. With regard to the Wilderness of the Wanderings—for which MIDBAR is almost invariably used—this signification is most appropriate; for we must never forget that the Israelites had flocks and herds with them during the whole of their passage to the Promised Land. They had them when they left Egypt (Ex. x. 26, xii. 38), they had them at Hazeroth, the middle point of the wanderings (Num. xi. 22), and some of the tribes possessed them in large numbers immediately before the transit of the Jordan (Num. xxxii. 1). Midbar is not often rendered by "desert" in the A. V. Its usual and certainly more appropriate translation is "wilderness," a word in which the idea of vegetation is present. In speaking of the Wilderness of the Wanderings the word "desert" occurs as the rendering of *Midbar*, in Ez. iii. 1, v. 3, xix. 2; Num. xxxiii. 15, 16; and in more than one of these it is evidently employed for the sake of euphony merely.

*Midbar* is most frequently used for those tracts of waste land which lie beyond the cultivated ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns and villages of Palestine, and which are a very familiar feature to the traveller in that country. In spring these tracts are covered with a rich green verdure of turf, and small shrubs and herbs of various kinds. But at the end of summer the herbage withers, the turf dries up and is pow-

dered thick with the dust of the chalky soil, and the whole has certainly a most dreary aspect. An example of this is furnished by the hills through which the path from Bethany to Jericho pursues its winding descent. In the spring so abundant is the pasturage of these hills, that they are the resort of the flocks from Jerusalem on the one hand and Jericho on the other, and even from the Arabs on the other side of the Jordan. And even in the month of September—when the writer made this journey—though the turf was only visible on close inspection, more than one large flock of goats and sheep was browsing, scattered over the slopes, or stretched out in a long even line like a regiment of soldiers.<sup>b</sup> A striking example of the same thing, and of the manner in which this waste pasture land gradually melts into the cultivated fields, is seen in making one's way up through the mountains of Benjamin, due west, from Jericho to *Mukhmus* or *Jeba*. These *Milbars* seem to have borne the name of the town to which they were most contiguous, for example Bethaven (in the region last referred to); Ziph, Maon, and Paran, in the south of Judah; Gibeon, Jeruel, &c. &c.

In the poetical books "desert" is found as the translation of *Midbar* in Deut. xxxii. 10; Job xxiv. 5; Is. xxi. 1; Jer. xxv. 24.

3. CHAR'BAH (חַרְבָּה). This word is perhaps related to *Arabah*, with the substitution of one guttural for another; at any rate it appears to have the same force, of dryness, and thence of desolation. It does not occur in any historical passages. It is rendered "desert" in Ps. cii. 6; Is. xlviii. 21; Ezek. xiii. 4. The term commonly employed for it in the A. V. is "waste places" or "desolation."

4. JESHIMON (יִשְׁמוֹן). This word in the historical books is used with the definite article, apparently to denote the waste tracts on both sides of the Dead Sea. In all these cases it is treated as a proper name in the A. V. [JESHIMON; BETH-JESHIMOTH.] Without the article it occurs in a few passages of poetry; in the following of which it is rendered "desert." Ps. lxxviii. 40; cvi. 14; Is. xliii. 19, 20. [G.]

DESSAU (Δεσσαύ; Alex. Δεσσαού; Dessau), a village (not "town"; *κῆμα*, *castellum*) at which Nicanor's army was once encamped during his campaign with Judas (2 Macc. xiv. 16). There is no mention of it in the account of these transactions in 1 Macc. or in Josephus. Ewald conjectures that it may have been Adasa (*Gesch.* iv. 368, note).

DEUEL (דְּעוּל; Vat. and Alex. Παγουήλ; *Dehuel*), father of Eliasaph, the "captain" (שָׂרִי) of the tribe of Gad at the time of the numbering of the people at Sinai (Num. i. 14, vii. 42, 47, x. 20). The same man is mentioned again in ii. 14, but here the name appears as Reuel, owing to an interchange of the two very similar Hebrew letters ו and ר. In this latter passage the Samaritan, Arabic and Vulg. retain the D; the LXX., as in the other places, has R. [REUEL.] Which

<sup>b</sup> This practice is not peculiar to Palestine. Mr. Blakesley observed it in Algeria; and gives the reason for it, namely, a more systematic, and therefore complete, consumption of the scanty herbage. (*Four Months in Algeria*, 303.)

of the two was really his name we have no means of deciding.

**DEUTERONOMY** (דְּבָרִים, or אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, so called from the first words of the book; Δευτερονόμιον, as being a repetition of the Law; *Deuteronomium*: called also by the later Jews מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרָה and סֵפֶר מוֹכַחֹת).

**A. Contents.** The Book consists chiefly of three discourses delivered by Moses shortly before his death. They were spoken to all Israel in the plains of Moab on the eastern side of the Jordan (i. 1), in the eleventh month of the last year of their wanderings, the fortieth year after their exodus from Egypt (i. 3).

Subjoined to these discourses are the Song of Moses, the Blessing of Moses, and the story of his death.

**I.** The first discourse (i. 1—iv. 40). After a brief historical introduction, the speaker recapitulates the chief events of the last 40 years in the wilderness, and especially those events which had the most immediate bearing on the entry of the people into the promised land. He enumerates the contests in which they had been engaged with the various tribes who came in their way, and in which their success had always depended upon their obedience; and reminds them of the exclusion from the promised land, first of the former generation because they had been disobedient in the matter of the spies, and next of himself with whom the Lord was wroth for their sakes (iii. 26). On the appeal to the witness of this past history is then based an earnest and powerful exhortation to obedience; and especially a warning against idolatry as that which had brought God's judgment upon them in times past (iv. 3), and would bring yet sorer punishment in the future (iv. 26-28). To this discourse is appended a brief notice of the severing of the three cities of refuge on the east side of the Jordan (iv. 41-43).

**II.** The second discourse is introduced like the first by an explanation of the circumstances under which it was delivered (iv. 44-49). It extends from chap. v. 1—xxvi. 19, and contains a recapitulation, with some modifications and additions, of the Law already given on Mount Sinai. Yet it is not bare recapitulation, or naked enactment, but every word shows the heart of the lawgiver full at once of zeal for God and of the most fervent desire for the welfare of his nation. It is the Father no less than the Legislator who speaks. And whilst obedience and life are throughout bound up together, it is the obedience of a loving heart, not a service of formal constraint which is the burden of his exhortations. The following are the principal heads of discourse: (a.) He begins with that which formed the basis of the whole Mosaic code,—the Ten Commandments, and impressively repeats the circumstances under which they were given (v. 1—vi. 3). (b.) Then follows an exposition of the spirit of the First Table. The love of Jehovah who has done so great things for them (vi.), and the utter uprooting of all idol-worship (vii.) are the points chiefly insisted upon. But they are also reminded that if idolatry be a snare on the one hand, so is self-righteousness on the other (viii. 10 ff. x.), and therefore lest they should be lifted up, the speaker enters at length on the history of their past rebellions (ix. 7, 22-24), and especially of their sin in the matter of the golden calf (ix. 9-21). The true nature of obedience is again emphatically urged (x.

12—xi. 32), and the great motives to obedience set forth in God's love and mercy to them as a people (x. 15, 21, 22), as also his signal punishment of the rebellious (xi. 3-6). The blessing and the curse (xi. 26-32) are further detailed. (c.) From the general spirit in which the Law should be observed, Moses passes on to the several enactments. Even these are introduced by a solemn charge to the people to destroy all objects of idolatrous worship in the land (xii. 1-3). They are upon the whole arranged systematically. We have (1.) first the laws touching religion (xii.—xvi. 17); (2.) then those which are to regulate the conduct of the government and the executive (xvi. 18—xxi. 23); and (3.) lastly those which concern the private and social life of the people (xxii. 1—xxvi. 19). The whole are framed with express reference to the future occupation of the land of Canaan.

(1.) There is to be but one sanctuary where all offerings are to be offered. Flesh may be eaten anywhere, but sacrifices may only be slain in "the place which the Lord thy God shall choose" (xii. 5-32). All idol prophets, all enticements to idolatry from among themselves, even whole cities, if idolatrous, are to be cut off (xiii.); and all idolatrous practices to be eschewed (xiv. 1, 2). Next come regulations respecting clean and unclean animals, tithe, the year of release and the three feasts of the Passover, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles (xiv. 3—xvi. 17).

(2.) The laws affecting public personages and defining the authority of the Judges (xvi. 18-20) and the Priests (xvii. 8-13), the way of proceeding in courts of justice (xvii. 1-13); the law of the King (xvii. 14-20), of the Priests and Levites and Prophets (xviii.); of the cities of refuge and of witnesses (xix.). The order is not very exact, but on the whole the section xvi. 18—xix. 21 is *judicial* in its character. The passage xvi. 21—xvii. 1, seems strangely out of place. Baumgarten (*Comm. in loc.*) tries to account for it on the ground of the close connexion which must subsist between the true worship of God and righteous rule and judgment. But who does not feel that this is said with more ingenuity than truth?

Next come the laws of war (xx.), both as waged (a) generally with other nations, and (b) especially with the inhabitants of Canaan (ver. 17).

(3.) Laws touching domestic life and the relation of man to man (xxi. 15—xxvi. 19). So Ewald divides, assigning the former part of chap. xxi. to the previous section. Hävernick on the other hand includes it in the present. The fact is, that ver. 10-14 belong to the laws of war which are treated of in chap. xx., whereas 1-9 seem more naturally to come under the matters discussed in this section. It begins with the relations of the family, passes on to those of the friend and neighbour, and then touches on the general principles of justice and charity by which men should be actuated (xxiv. 16-22). It concludes with the solemn confession which every Israelite is to make when he offers the first fruits, and which reminds him of what he is as a member of the theocracy, as one in covenant with Jehovah and greatly blessed by Jehovah.

Finally, the whole long discourse (v. 1—xxvi. 19) is wound up by a brief but powerful appeal (16-19), which reminds us of the words with which it opened. It will be observed that no pains are taken here, or indeed generally in the Mosaic legislation, to keep the several portions of the law,

considered as moral, ritual, and ceremonial, apart from each other by any clearly marked line. But there is in this discourse a very manifest gradual descent from the higher ground to the lower. The speaker begins by setting forth Jehovah Himself as the great object of love and worship, thence he passes (1.) to the Religions, (2.) to the Political, and (3.) to the Social economy of his people.

III. In the third discourse (xxvii. 1—xxx. 20), the Elders of Israel are associated with Moses. The people are commanded to set up stones upon Mount Ebal, and on them to write "all the words of this law." Then follow the several curses to be pronounced by the Levites on Ebal (xxvii. 14-26), and the blessings on Gerizim (xxviii. 1-14). How terrible will be the punishment of any neglect of this law, is further portrayed in the vivid words of a prophecy but too fearfully verified in the subsequent history of the people. The subject of this discourse is briefly "The Blessing and the Curse."

IV. The delivery of the Law as written by Moses (for its still further preservation) to the custody of the Levites, and a charge to the people to hear it read once every seven years (xxxi.): the Song of Moses spoken in the ears of the people (xxxi. 30—xxxii. 44): and the blessing of the twelve tribes (xxxiii.).

V. The Book closes (xxxiv.) with an account of the death of Moses, which is first announced to him in xxxii. 48-52. On the authorship of the last chapter we shall speak below.

B. *Relation of Deuteronomy to the preceding books.*

It has been an opinion very generally entertained by the more modern critics, as well as by the earlier, that the book of Deuteronomy forms a complete whole in itself, and that it was appended to the other books as a later addition. Only chapters xxxii., xxxiii., xxxiv., have been in whole or in part called in question by De Wette, Ewald, and Von Lengerke. De Wette thinks that xxxii. and xxxiii. have been borrowed from other sources, and that xxxiv. is the work of the Elohist [PENTATEUCH]. Ewald also supposes xxxii. to have been borrowed from another writer, who lived, however (in accordance with his theory, which we shall notice lower down), after Solomon. On the other hand, he considers xxxiii. to be later, whilst Bleek (*Report*, i. 25) and Tuch (*Gen.* 556) decide that it is Elohist. Some of these critics imagine that these chapters originally formed the conclusion of the book of Numbers, and that the Deuteronomist [PENTATEUCH] tore them away from their proper position in order the better to incorporate his own work with the rest of the Pentateuch, and to give it a fitting conclusion. Gesenius and his followers are of opinion that the whole book as it stands at present is by the same hand. But it is a question of some interest and importance whether the book of Deuteronomy should be assigned to the author, or one of the authors, of the former portions of the Pentateuch, or whether it is a distinct and independent work. The more conservative critics of the school of Hengstenberg contend that Deuteronomy forms an integral part of the Pentateuch, which is throughout to be ascribed to Moses. Others, as Stähelin and Delitzsch, have given reasons for believing that it was written by the Jehovist; whilst others again, as Ewald and De Wette, are in favour of a different author.

The chief grounds on which the last opinion rests are the many variations and additions to be

found in Deuteronomy, both in the historical and legal portions, as well as the observable difference of style and phraseology. It is necessary therefore, before we come to consider more directly the question of authorship, to take into account these alleged peculiarities; and it may be well to enumerate the principal discrepancies, additions, &c., as given by De Wette in the last edition of his *Einteilung* (many of his former objections he afterwards abandoned), and to subjoin the replies and explanations which they have called forth.

I. *Discrepancies.*—The most important discrepancies alleged to exist between the historical portions of Deuteronomy and the earlier books are the following:—

(1.) The appointment of judges (i. 6-18) is at variance with the account in Ex. xviii. It is referred to a different time, being placed after the departure of the people from Horeb (ver. 6), whereas in Exodus it is said to have occurred during their encampment before the mount (Ex. xviii. 5). The circumstances are different, and apparently it is mixed up with the choosing of the seventy elders (Num. xi. 11-17). To this it has been answered, that although Dent. i. 6 mentions the departure from Sinai, yet Dent. i. 9-17 refers evidently to what took place during the abode there, as is shown by comparing the expression "at that time," ver. 9, with the same expression ver. 18. The speaker, as is not unnatural in animated discourse, checks himself and goes back to take notice of an important circumstance prior to one which he has already mentioned. This is manifest, because ver. 19 is so clearly resumptive of ver. 6. Again, there is no force in the objection that Jethro's counsel is here passed over in silence. When making allusion to a well-known historical fact, it is unnecessary for the speaker to enter into details. This at most is an omission, not a contradiction. Lastly, the story in Exodus is perfectly distinct from that in Num. xi., and there is no confusion of the two here. Nothing is said of the institution of the seventy in Dent., probably because the office was only temporary, and if it did not cease before the death of Moses, was not intended to be perpetuated in the promised land. (So in substance Ranke, v. Lengerke, Hengst., Hävern., Stähelin.)

(2.) Chap. i. 22 is at variance with Num. xiii. 2, because here Moses is said to have sent the spies into Canaan at the suggestion of the people, whereas there God is said to have commanded the measure. The explanation is obvious. The people make the request; Moses refers it to God, who then gives to it His sanction. In the historical book of Numbers the divine command only is mentioned. Here, where the lawgiver deals so largely with the feelings and conduct of the people themselves, he reminds them both that the request originated with themselves, and also of the circumstances out of which that request sprang (ver. 20, 21). These are not mentioned in the history. The objection, it may be remarked, is precisely of the same kind as that which in the N. T. is urged against the reconciliation of Gal. ii. 2 with Acts xv. 2, 3. Both admit of a similar explanation.

(3.) Chap. i. 44, "And the Amorites which dwelt in that mountain," &c., whereas in the story of the same event, Num. xiv. 43-45, *Amalekites* are mentioned. Answer: in this latter passage not only Amalekites, but Canaanites, are said to have come down against the Israelites. The Amorites stand here not for "Amalekites," but for "Canaan-

ites," as being the most powerful of all the Canaanitish tribes (cf. Gen. xv. 16; Deut. i. 7); and the Amalekites are not named, but hinted at, when it is said, "they destroyed you in *Seir*," where, according to 1 Chr. iv. 42, they dwelt (so Hengst. iii. 421).

(4.) Chap. ii. 2-8, confused and at variance with Num. xx. 14-21, and xxi. 4. In the former we read (ver. 4), "Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren, the children of Esau." In the latter (ver. 20), "And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him," &c. But, according to Deut., that part of the Edomite territory only was traversed which lay about Elath and Ezion-geber. In this exposed part of their territory any attempt to prevent the passage of the Israelites would have been useless, whereas at Kadesh, where, according to Numbers, the opposition was offered, the rocky nature of the country was in favour of the Edomites. (So Hengst. iii. 283 ff., who is followed by Winer, i. 293, note 3.) To this we may add, that in Deut. ii. 8, when it is said, "we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau . . . through the way of the plain from Elath," the failure of an attempt to pass elsewhere is implied. Again, according to Deut., the Israelites purchased food and water of the Edomites and Moabites (ver. 6, 28), which, it is said, contradicts the story in Num. xx. 19, 20. But in both accounts the Israelites offer to pay for what they have (cf. Deut. ii. 6 with Num. xx. 19). And if in Deut. xxiii. 4 there seems to be a contradiction to Deut. ii. 29, with regard to the conduct of the Moabites, it may be removed by observing (with Hengst. iii. 286) that the unfriendliness of the Moabites in not coming out to meet the Israelites with bread and water was the very reason why the latter were obliged to buy provisions.

(5.) More perplexing is the difference in the account of the encampments of the Israelites, as given Deut. x. 6, 7, compared with Num. xx. 23, xxxiii. 30 and 37. In Deut. it is said that the order of encampment was, (1) Bene-jakan, (2) Mosera (where Aaron dies), (3) Gudgodah, (4) Jotbath. In Numbers it is, (1) Moseroth, (2) Bene-jakan, (3) Hor-hagidgad, (4) Jotbath. Then follow the stations Ebronah, Ezion-geber, Kadesh, and Mount Hor, and it is at this last that Aaron dies. (It is remarkable here that no account is given of the stations between Ezion-geber and Kadesh on the return route.) Various attempts have been made to reconcile these accounts. The explanation given by Kurtz (*Atlas zur Gesch. d. A. B.* 20) is on the whole the most satisfactory. He says: "In the first month of the fortieth year the whole congregation comes a second time to the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh, Num. xxxiii. 36. On the down-route to Ezion-geber they had encamped at the several stations Moseroth (or Moserah), Bene-Jakan, Chor-hagidgad, and Jotbath. But now again departing from Kadesh, they go to Mount Hor, 'in the edge of the land of Edom' (ver. 37, 38), or to Moserah (Deut. x. 6, 7), this last being in the desert at the foot of the mountain. Bene-Jakan, Gudgodah, and Jotbath were also visited about this time, i. e. a second time, after the second halt at Kadesh." This seems a not improbable explanation, and our knowledge of the topography of the desert is so inaccurate that we can hardly hope for a better. More may be seen in Winer, art. *Wüste*.

(6.) But this is not so much a discrepancy as a peculiarity of the writer: in Deut. the usual name for the mountain on which the law was given is

Horeb, only once (xxxiii. 2) Sinai; whereas in the other books Sinai is far more common than Horeb. The answer given is, that Horeb was the general name of the whole mountain-range; Sinai, the particular mountain on which the law was delivered; and that Horeb, the more general and well-known name, was employed in accordance with the rhetorical style of this book, in order to bring out the contrast between the Sinaitic giving of the law, and the giving of the law in the land of Moab (Deut. i. 5, xxix. 1). So Keil. Of this last explanation it is not too much to say that it is neither ingenious nor satisfactory.

It must be remembered, with regard to all the answers above given, that so far as they reconcile alleged contradictions, they tend to establish the veracity of the writers, but they by no means prove that the writer of the book of Deuteronomy is no other than the writer of the earlier books. So far indeed there is nothing to decide one way or the other. The additions both to the historical and legal sections are in this respect of far more importance, and the principal of them we shall here enumerate.

II. *Additions*.—These are to be found both in the History and in the Law.

1. In the History. (a) The command of God to leave Horeb, Deut. i. 6, 7, not mentioned Num. x. 11. The repentance of the Israelites, Deut. i. 45, omitted Num. xiv. 45. The intercession of Moses in behalf of Aaron, Deut. ix. 20, of which nothing is said Ex. xxxii., xxxiii. These are so slight, however, that, as Keil suggests, they might have been passed over very naturally in the earlier books, supposing both accounts to be by the same hand. But of more note are: (b) The command not to fight with the Moabites and Ammonites, Deut. ii. 9, 19, or with the Edomites, but to buy of them food and water, ii. 4-8. The valuable historical notices which are given respecting the earlier inhabitants of the countries of Moab and Ammon and of Mount Seir, ii. 10-12, 20-23; the sixty fortified cities of Bashan, iii. 4; the king of the country who was "of the remnant of giants," iii. 11; the different names of Hermon, iii. 9; the wilderness of Kedemoth, ii. 26; and the more detailed account of the attack of the Amalekites, xxv. 17, 18, compared with Ex. xvii. 8.

(2) In the Law. The appointment of the cities of refuge, Deut. xix. 7-9, as compared with Num. xxxv. 14 and Deut. iv. 41; of one particular place for the solemn worship of God, where all offerings, tithes, &c., are to be brought, Deut. xii. 5, &c., whilst the restriction with regard to the slaying of animals only at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (Lev. xvii. 8, 4) is done away, 15, 20, 21; the regulations respecting tithes to be brought with the sacrifices and burnt-offerings to the appointed place, Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17, xiv. 22, &c., xvi. 12; concerning false prophets and seducers to idolatry and those that hearken unto them, xiii.: concerning the king and the manner of the kingdom, xvii. 14, &c.; the prophets, xviii. 15, &c.; war and military service, xx.; the expiation of secret murder; the law of female captives; of first-born sons by a double marriage; of disobedient sons; of those who suffer death by hanging, xxi.; the laws in xxii. 5-8, 13-21; of divorce, xxiv. 1, and various lesser enactments, xxiii. and xxv.; the form of thanksgiving in offering the first-fruits, xxvi.; the command to write the law upon stones, xxvii., and to read it before all Israel at the Feast of Tabernacles, xxxi. 10-13.

Many others are rather extensions or modifications of, than additions to, existing laws, as for instance the law of the Hebrew slave, Deut. xv. 12, &c., compared with Ex. xxi. 2, &c. See also the fuller directions in Deut. xv. 19-23, xxvi. 1-11, as compared with the briefer notices, Ex. xiii. 12, xiiii. 19.

C. Author. 1. It is generally agreed that by far the greater portion of the book is the work of one author. The only parts which have been questioned as possible interpolations are, according to De Wette, iv. 41-3, x. 6-9, xxxii. and xxxiii. Internal evidence indeed is strongly decisive that this book of the Pentateuch was not the work of a compiler.

2. It cannot be denied that the style of Deuteronomy is very different from that of the other four books of the Pentateuch. It is more flowing, more rhetorical, more sustained. The rhythm is grand, and the diction more akin to the sublimer passages of the prophets, than to the sober prose of the historians.

3. Who then was the author? On this point the following principal hypotheses have been maintained:—

(1.) The old traditional view that this book, like the other books of the Pentateuch, is the work of Moses himself. Of the later critics, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Ranke, and others, have maintained this view. Moses Stuart writes: "Deuteronomy appears to my mind, as it did to that of Eichhorn and Herder, as the earnest outpourings and admonitions of a heart which felt the deepest interest in the welfare of the Jewish nation, and which realized that it must soon bid farewell to them . . . Instead of bearing upon its face, as is alleged by some, evidences of another authorship than that of Moses, I must regard this book as being so deeply fraught with holy and patriotic feeling, as to convince any unprejudiced reader who is competent to judge of its style, that it cannot, with any tolerable degree of probability, be attributed to any pretender to legislation, or to any mere imitator of the great legislator. Such a glow as runs through all this book it is in vain to seek for in any artificial or supposititious composition" (*Hist. of the O. T. Curm.*, §3).

In support of this opinion it is said: *a.* That supposing the whole Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, the change in style is easily accounted for when we remember that the last book is hortatory in its character, that it consists chiefly of orations, and that these were delivered under very peculiar circumstances. *b.* That the *usus loquendi* is not only generally in accordance with that of the earlier books, and that as well in their Elohistic as in their Jehovistic portions, but that there are certain peculiar forms of expression common only to these five books. *c.* That the alleged discrepancies in matters of fact between this and the earlier books may all be reconciled (see above), and that the additions and corrections in the legislation are only such as would necessarily be made when the people were just about to enter the promised land. Thus Bertheau observes: "It is hazardous to conclude from contradictions in the laws that they are to be ascribed to a different age . . . He who made additions must have known what it was he was making additions to, and would either have avoided all contradiction, or would have altered the earlier laws to make them agree with the later" (*Die Sieben Gruppen Mos. Gesetze*, p. 19, note). *d.* That the book bears witness to its own author-

ship (xxxi. 19), and is expressly cited in the N. T. as the work of Moses (Matt. xix. 7, 8; Mark x. 3; Acts iii. 22, vii. 37).

The advocates of this theory of course suppose that the last chapter, containing an account of the death of Moses, was added by a later hand, and perhaps formed originally the beginning of the book of Joshua.

(2.) The opinion of Stähelin (and as it would seem of Bleek) that the author is the same as the writer of the Jehovistic portions of the other books. He thinks that both the historical and legislative portions plainly show the hand of the supplementist (*Krit. Unters.* s. 76). Hence he attaches but little weight to the alleged discrepancies, as he considers them all to be the work of the reviser, going over, correcting, and adding to the older materials of the Elohistic document already in his hands.

(3.) The opinion of De Wette, Gesenius, and others, that the Deuteronomist is a distinct writer from the Jehovist. De Wette's arguments are based, *a.*, on the difference in style; *b.*, on the contradictions already referred to as existing in matters of history, as well as in the legislation, when compared with that in Exodus; *c.*, on the peculiarity noticeable in this book, that God does not speak by Moses, but that Moses himself speaks to the people, and that there is no mention of the angel of Jehovah (cf. i. 30, vii. 20-23, xi. 13-17, with Ex. xxiii. 20-33); and lastly on the fact that the Deuteronomist ascribes his whole work to Moses, while the Jehovist assigns him only certain portions.

(4.) From the fact that certain phrases occurring in Deut. are found also in the prophecy of Jeremiah, it has been too hastily concluded by some critics that both books were the work of the prophet. So Von Bohlen, Gesenius (*Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr.* 32), and Hartmann (*Hist. Krit. Forsch.* 660). König, on the other hand (*Alttest. Stud.* ii. 12 ff.), has shown not only that this idiomatic resemblance has been made too much of (see also Keil, *Eint.* p. 117), but that there is the greatest possible difference of style between the two books. And De Wette remarks (*Eint.* p. 191), "Zu viel behauptet fiber diese Verwandtschaft von Bohlen, Gen. a. clxvii."

(5.) Ewald is of opinion that it was written by a Jew living in Egypt during the latter half of the reign of Manasseh (*Gesch. des V. I.* i. 171). He thinks that a pious Jew of that age, gifted with prophetic power and fully alive to all the evils of his time, sought thus to revive and to impress more powerfully upon the minds of his countrymen the great lessons of that Law which he saw they were in danger of forgetting. He avails himself therefore of the groundwork of the earlier history, and also of the Mosaic mode of expression. But as his object is to rouse a corrupt nation, he only makes use of historical notices for the purpose of introducing his warnings and exhortations with the more effect. This he does with great skill and as a master of his subject, whilst at the same time he gives fresh vigour and life to the old law by means of those new prophetic truths which had so lately become the heritage of his people. Ewald further considers that there are passages in Deuteronomy borrowed from the books of Job and Isaiah (iv. 32 from Job viii. 8, and xxviii. 29, 30, 35 from Job v. 14, xxi. 10, ii. 7, and xxviii. 49, &c. from Is. v. 26 ff., xxxiii. 19), and much of it akin to Jeremiah (*Gesch.* i. 171, note). The song of Moses (xxiii.) is, according to him, not by the Deuteronomist, but is nevertheless later than the time of Solomon.

D. *Date of Composition.* Was the Book really written, as its language certainly implies, before the entry of Israel into the Promised Land? Not only does the writer assert that the discourses contained in the Book were delivered in the plains of Moab, in the last month of the 40 years' wandering, and when the people were just about to enter Canaan (i. 1-5), but he tells us with still further exactness that all the words of this Law were written at the same time in the Book (xxi. 9). Moreover, the fact that the goodly land lay even now before their eyes seems everywhere to be uppermost in the thoughts of the legislator, and to lend a peculiar solemnity to his words. Hence we constantly meet with such expressions as "When Jehovah thy God bringeth thee into the land which He hath sworn to thy fathers to give thee," or "whither thou goest in to possess it." This phraseology is so constant, and seems to fall in so naturally with the general tone and character of the Book, that to suppose it was written long after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, in the reign of Solomon (De Wette, v. Lengerke and others), or in that of Manasseh (Ewald as above), is not only to make the Book an historical romance, but to attribute very considerable inventive skill to the author (as Ewald in fact does).

De Wette argues, indeed, that the character of the Laws is such as of itself to presuppose a long residence in the land of Canaan. He instances the allusion to the temple (xii. and xvi. 1-7), the provision for the right discharge of the king's and prophetic offices, the rules for civil and military organisation and the state of the Levites, who are represented as living without cities (though such are granted to them in Num. xxv.) and without tithes (allotted to them in Num. xviii. 20, &c.). But in the passages cited the temple is not named, much less is it spoken of as already existing: on the contrary, the phrase employed is "The place which the Lord your God shall choose." Again, to suppose that Moses was incapable of providing for the future and very different position of his people as settled in the land of Canaan, is to deny him even ordinary sagacity. Without raising the question about his divine commission, surely it is not too much to assume that so wise and great a legislator would foresee the growth of a polity and would be anxious to regulate its due administration in the fear of God. Hence he would guard against false prophets and seducers to idolatry. As regards the Levites, Moses might have expected or even desired that, though possessing certain cities (which, however, were inhabited by others as well as themselves), they should not be confined to those cities but scattered over the face of the country. This must have been the case at first, owing to the very gradual occupation of the new territory. The mere fact that in giving them certain rights in Deut. nothing is said of an earlier provision in Num. does not by any means prove that this earlier provision was unknown or had ceased to be in force.

Other reasons for a later date, such as the mention of the worship of the sun and moon (iv. 19, xvii. 3); the punishment of stoning (xvii. 5, xvii. 21, &c.); the name *Feast of Tabernacles*; and the motive for keeping the Sabbath, are of little force. In Amos v. 26, Saturn is said to have been worshipped in the wilderness; the punishment of stoning is found also in the older documents; the Feast of Tabernacles agrees with Lev. xxiii. 34; and the motive alleged for the observance of

the Sabbath at least does not exclude other motives.

A further discussion of the question of authorship, as well as of the date of the legislation in Deuteronomy, must be reserved for another article. [PENTATEUCH.] [J. J. S. P.]

DEVII. (*Διδύβλος*; *Diubolos*; properly "one who sets at variance," *διαβάλλει*; comp. Plat. *Symp.* p. 222, C. D.; and generally a "slanderer" or "false accuser").

The word is found in the plural number and adjective sense in 1 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 3; and Tit. ii. 3. In all other cases it is used with the article as a descriptive name of Satan [*SATAN*], excepting that in John vi. 70 it is applied to Judas (as "Satan" to St. Peter in Matt. xvi. 23), because they—the one permanently, and the other for the moment—were doing Satan's work.

The name describes him as slandering God to man, and man to God.

The former work is, of course, a part of his great work of temptation to evil; and is not only exemplified but illustrated as to its general nature and tendency by the narrative of Gen. iii. We find there that its essential characteristic is the representation of God as an arbitrary and selfish ruler, seeking His own good and not that of His creatures. The object is to stir up the spirit of freedom in man to seek a fancied independence; and it is but a slight step further to impute falsehood or cruelty to Him. The success of the devil's slander is seen, not only in the Scriptural narrative of the Fall, but in the corruptions of most mythologies, and especially in the horrible notion of the divine *φθόνος*, which ran through so many. (See c. g. Herod. i. 32, vii. 46.) The same slander is implied rather than expressed in the temptation of our Lord, and overcome by the faith, which trusts in God's love even where its signs may be hidden from the eye. (Comp. the unmasking of a similar slander by Peter in Acts v. 4.)

The other work, the slandering or accusing man before God, is, as it must necessarily be, unintelligible to us. The All-Seeing Judge can need no accuser, and the All-Pure could, it might seem, have no intercourse with the Evil One. But in truth the question touches on two mysteries, the relation of the Infinite to the Finite spirit, and the permission of the existence of evil under the government of Him who is "the Good." As a part of these it must be viewed,—to the latter especially it belongs; and this latter, while it is the great mystery of all, is also one in which the facts are proved to us by incontrovertible evidence.

The fact of the devil's accusation of man to God is stated generally in Rev. xii. 10, where he is called "the accuser (*κατήγορος*) of our brethren, who accused them before our God day and night," and exemplified plainly in the case of Job. Its essence as before is the imputation of selfish motives (Job i. 9, 10), and its refutation is placed in the self-sacrifice of those "who loved not their own lives unto death."

For details see *SATAN*.

[A. B.]

DEW (*ῥεῖα*; *ῥέσος*, *ros*). This in the summer is so copious in Palestine that it supplies to some extent the absence of rain (Ecclus. xviii. 16, xliii. 22), and becomes important to the agriculturist; as a proof of this copiousness the well-known sign of Gideon (Judg. vi. 37, 39, 40) may be adduced. Thus it is coupled in the divine blessing with rain, or mentioned as a prime source of fertility (Gen.

xxvii. 28; Deut. xxviii. 13; Zech. viii. 12), and its withdrawal is attributed to a curse (2 Sam. i. 21; 1 K. xvii. 1; Hag. i. 10). It becomes a leading object in prophetic imagery by reason of its penetrating moisture without the apparent effort of rain (Deut. xxxii. 2; Job xxix. 19; Ps. cxxiii. 3; Prov. xix. 12; Is. xxvi. 19; Hos. xiv. 5; Mic. v. 7); while its speedy evanescence typifies the transient goodness of the hypocrite (Hos. vi. 4, xiii. 3). It is mentioned as a token of exposure in the night (Cant. v. 2; Dan. iv. 15, 23, 25-33, v. 21). [H. II.]

**DIADDEM** (דִּיאֲדֵם, דִּיאֲדֵם, or מִצְנֶפֶת; also מִצְנֶפֶת), a word employed in the A. V. as the translation of the above Hebrew terms. They occur in poetical passages, in which neither the Hebrew nor the English words appear to be used with any special force. מִצְנֶפֶת is strictly used for the "mitre" of the high-priest. [MITRE.]

What the "diadem" of the Jews was we know not. That of other nations of antiquity was a fillet of silk, two inches broad, bound round the head and tied behind, the invention of which is attributed to Liber (Plin. *H. N.* vii. 56, 57). Its colour was generally white (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37; Sil. Ital. xvi. 241); sometimes, however, it was of blue, like that of Darius, *cerulea fascia albo distincta* (Q. Curt. iii. 3, vi. 20; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3, §13); and it was worn with pearls or other gems (Gibbon, i. 392; Zech. ix. 16), and enriched with gold (Rev. ix. 7). It was peculiarly the mark of Oriental sovereigns (1 Mace. xii. 32, τὸ δαδῆμα τῆς Ἀσίας), and hence the deep offence caused by the attempt of Caesar to substitute it for the laurel crown appropriated to Roman emperors (*sacabat . . . coronatus; . . . diadema ostendit*, Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34); when some one crowned his statue with a laurel-wreath, *cautidne fascine praefigunt*, the tribunes instantly ordered the fillet or diadem to be removed, and the man to be thrown into prison (Suet. *Caes.* 79). Caligula's wish to use it was considered an act of insanity (Suet. *Cal.* 22). Helioagabalus only wore it in private. Antony assumed it in Egypt (Flor. iv. 11), but Diocletian (or, according to Aurel. Victor, Aurelian) first assumed it as a badge of the empire. Representations of it may be seen on the coins of any of the later emperors (Tillemont, *Hist. Imp.* iii. 531).

A crown was used by the kings of Israel, even in battle (2 Sam. i. 10; similarly it is represented on coins of Theodosius as *encircling* his helmet); but in all probability this was not the state crown (2 Sam. xii. 30), although used in the coronation of Josiah (2 K. xi. 12). Kitto supposes that the state crown may have been in the possession of Athaliah; but perhaps we ought not to lay any great stress on the word כִּנֹּר in this place, especially as it is very likely that the state crown was kept in the Temple.

In Esth. i. 11, ii. 17, we have כִּנֹּר (κίταρις, κίταρις) for the turban (στολὰ βυσσίνη, vi. 8) worn by the Persian king, queen, or other eminent persons to whom it was conceded as a special favour (viii. 15, διὰ δὲ βύσσινον πορφυροῦν). The diadem of the king differed from that of others in having an erect triangular peak (κυρβασία, Aristoph. *Ar.* 487; ἢν οἱ βασιλεῖς μόνον ὀρθὴν ἐφόρουσαν παρὰ Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ κεκλιμένην, Suid. s. v. τιάρα, and Hesych.). Possibly the כִּנֹּר of Dan. iii. 21 is a tiara (as in LXX., where however Orsius and others invert the words καὶ τιάρας

καὶ περικημίσαι), A. V. "hat." Some render it by *tibiale* or *calceamentum*. Schleusner suggests that κρῶβυλος may be derived from it. The tiara generally had pendent flaps falling on the shoulders. (See Paschalius, *de Corona*, p. 573; Brissonius, *de Regn. Pers.*, &c.; Layard, ii. 320; Scarchus Myrothee, iii. 38; Fabricius, *Bibl. Ant.* xiv. 13).

The words סְרִינִי מְבֹנִיִּים in Ez. xxiii. 15 mean long and flowing turbans of gorgeous colours (LXX. παρὰβαττα, where a better reading is τιάραι βατταί). [CROWN.] [F. W. F.]



Obverse of Tetrarchic of Tigranes, king of Syria. Head of king with diadem, to the right.

**DIAL** (מְדִילֹת; ἀναβαθμολ; *horologium*). The word is the same as that rendered "steps" in A. V. (Ex. xx. 26; 1 K. x. 19), and "degrees" in A. V. (2 K. xx. 9, 10, 11; Is. xxxviii. 8), where, to give a consistent rendering, we should read with the margin the "degrees" rather than the "dial" of Ahaz. In the absence of any materials for determining the shape and structure of the solar instrument, which certainly appears intended, the best course is to follow the most strictly natural meaning of the words, and to consider with Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome (*Comm. on Is.* xxxviii. 8), that the מְדִילֹת were really stairs, and that the shadow (perhaps of some column or obelisk on the top) fell on a greater or smaller number of them according as the sun was low or high. The terrace of a palace might easily be thus ornamented. Ahaz's tastes seem to have led him in pursuit of foreign curiosities (2 K. xvi. 10), and his intimacy with Tiglath-Pileser gave him probably an opportunity of procuring from Assyria the pattern of some such structure; and this might readily lend the "princes of Babylon" (2 Chr. xxxii. 31) to "inquire of the wonder," viz. the alteration of the shadow, in the reign of Hezekiah. Herodotus (ii. 109) mentions that the Egyptians received from the Babylonians the πῶλος and the γνῶμαν, and the division of the day into twelve hours. Of such division, however, the O. T. contains no undoubted trace, nor does any word proved to be equivalent to the "hour" occur in the course of it, although it is possible that Ps. cii. 11, and cix. 23, may contain allusion to the progress of a shadow as measuring diurnal time. In John xi. 9 the day is spoken of as consisting of twelve hours. As regards the physical character of the sign of the retrogression of the shadow in Is. xxxviii. 8, it seems useless to attempt to analyse it; no doubt an alteration in the inclination of the gnomon, or column, &c., might easily effect such an apparent retrogression; but the whole idea, which is that of Divine interference with the course of nature in behalf of the king, resists such an attempt to bring it within the compass of mechanism.

It has been suggested that the מְדִילֹת of Is. xvi.

8, xxvii. 9; Ez. vi. 4, 6, rendered in the margin of the A. V. "sun-images," were gnomons to measure time (Jahn, *Archæol.* i. i. 539), but there seems no adequate ground for this theory. [H. H.]

**DIAMOND** (דָּמָן; *iaspis*; *jaspis*), a precious stone, the third in the second row on the breast-plate of the High-priest (Ex. xxviii. 18, xxxix. 11), and mentioned by Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) among the precious stones of the king of Tyro. Gesenius has noticed the difficulty of identifying the terms used in the versions for each of the Hebrew names of precious stones in the above passages, the translators or transcribers having apparently altered the order in which they stand. *iaspis* seems to be the word in the LXX. corresponding to דָּמָן, but most ancient commentators give *δυνήξ*, *δυνήχιον*, *onychinus*. Our translation, "diamond," is derived from Eben Esra, and is defended by Braun (*de Vest. Sacerd.* ii. 13). Kulisch (on Ex. p. 536) says "perhaps Emerald."

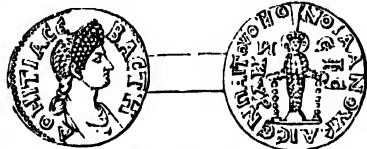
The etymology (from דָּמָן, to strike, or crush) leads us to suppose a hard stone. The emerald, which is of a green colour, of various depths, is nearly as hard as the topaz, and stands next to the ruby in value. The same authority doubts whether the art of engraving on the diamond was known to the ancients, since they did not even understand how to cut the ruby.

Respecting דָּמָן, which is translated "diamond" in Jer. xvii. 1, see under ADAMANT. [W. D.]

**DIA'NA.** This Latin word, properly denoting a Roman divinity, is the representative of the Greek *Artemis* ("Ἀρtemis), the tutelary goddess of the Ephesians, who plays so important a part in the narrative of Acts xix. The Ephesian Diana was, however, regarded as invested with very different attributes, and made the object of a different worship, from the ordinary Diana of the Greeks, and is rather perhaps to be identified with Astarte and other female divinities of the East. K. O. Müller says (*Hist. of the Dorians*, i. 403, Eng. trans.), "everything that is related of this deity is singular and foreign to the Greeks."

Guhl, indeed (*Ephesiaca*, 78-86), takes the contrary view, and endeavours in almost all points to identify her with the true Greek goddess. And in some respects there was doubtless a fusion of the two. Diana was the goddess of rivers, of pools, and of harbours; and these conditions are satisfied by the situation of the sanctuary at Ephesus. Coressus, one of the hills on which the city stood, is connected by Stephanus Byzantinus with κόρη. We may refer also to the popular notion that, when the temple was burnt on the night of Alexander's birth, the calamity occurred because the goddess was absent in the character of Lucina. Again, on coins of Ephesus we sometimes find her exhibited as a huntress and with a stag. But the true Ephesian Diana is represented in a form entirely alien from Greek art. St. Jerome's words are (*Praefat. ad Ephes.*), "Scribebat Paulus ad Ephesios Dianam colentes, non hanc venatricem, quae arcum tenet et succincta est, sed istam *multivivum*, quam Graeci *πολύβιον* vocant, ut scilicet ex ipsa effigie mentirentur omnium eam bestiarum et viventium esse nutricem." Guhl indeed supposes this mode of representation to have reference simply to the fountains over which the goddess presided, conceiving the multiplication of

breasts to be similar to the multiplication of eyes in Argus or of heads in Typhoeus. But the correct view is undoubtedly that which treats this peculiar form as a symbol of the productive and nutritive powers of nature. This is the form under which the Ephesian Diana, so called for distinction, was always represented, wherever worshipped; and the worship extended to many places, such as Sinus, Mitylene, Perga, Hierapolis, and Gortyna, to mention those only which occur in the N. T. or the Apocrypha. The coin below will give some notion



Greek imperial copper coin of Ephesus and Smyrna allied (Ὁμόνοια); Domitian, with name of province.

Obv.: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Bust to right. Rev.: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΑ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ ΖΜΥΡ. Ephesian Diana.

of the image, which was grotesque and archaic in character. The head wore a mural crown, each hand held a bar of metal, and the lower part ended in a rude block covered with figures of animals and mystic inscriptions. This idol was regarded as an object of peculiar sanctity, and was believed to have fallen down from heaven (τοῦ Διοπετοῦς, Acts xix. 35).

The Oriental character of the goddess is shown by the nature of her hierarchy, which consisted of women and eunuchs, the former called *Μελαίσσαι*, the latter *Μεγάβουσαι*. At their head was a high-priest called *Ἑσάρη*. These terms have probably some connexion with the fact that the bee was sacred to the Ephesian Diana (Aristoph. *Ran.* 1273). For the temple considered as a work of art we must refer to the article EPIKURUS. No arms were allowed to be worn in its precincts. No bloody sacrifices were offered. Here also, as in the temple of Apollo at Daphne, were the privileges of asylum. This is indicated on some of the coins of Ephesus (Akerman, in *Trans. of the Numismatic Soc.* 1841); and we find an interesting proof of the continuance of these privileges in imperial times in Tac. *Ann.* iii. 61 (Strab. xiv. 641; Paus. vii. 2; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 33). The temple had a large revenue from endowments of various kinds. It was also the public treasury of the city, and was regarded as the safest bank for private individuals.

The cry of the mob (Acts xix. 28), "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" and the strong expression in ver. 27, "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth," may be abundantly illustrated from a variety of sources. The term *μεγάλη* was evidently a title of honour recognised as belonging to the Ephesian goddess. We find it in inscriptions (as in Boeckh, *Corp. Insc.* 2963, c.), and in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, i. 11. (For the Ephesian Xenophon, see *Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.*) As to the enthusiasm with which "all Asia" regarded this worship, independently of the fact that Ephesus was the capital of the province, we may refer to such passages as the following: *ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας υἱός*, *Corp. Insc.* i. c.; "communiter a civitatibus Asiæ factum," Liv. i. 45; "tota Asia extruente," Plin. xvi. 79; "factum a tota Asia," ib. xxxvi. 21. As to the notoriety of the worship throughout "the

world," Pausanias tells us (iv. 31) that the Ephesian Diana was more honoured privately than any other deity, which accounts for the large manufacture and wide-spread sale of the "silver shrines" mentioned by St. Luke (ver. 24), and not by him only. This specific worship was publicly adopted also, as we have seen, in various and distant places: nor ought we to omit the games celebrated at Ephesus in connexion with it, or the treaties made with other cities on this half-religious, half-political basis. [J. S. H.]

**DIBLA'IM** (דִּבְלַיִם; Δεβλαΐμ; *Deblaiim*), mother of Hosea's wife Gomer (Hos. i. 3).

**DIBLA'IM** (accurately DIBLAH, דִּבְלָה, the word in the text being דִּבְלָהָ = "to Diblah," Δεβλαθή; *Deblathu*), a place named only in Ez. vi. 14, as if situated at one of the extremities of the land of Israel:—"I will . . . make the land desolate . . . 'from' the wilderness (*Midbar*) to Diblah." The word *Midbar* being frequently used for the nomad country on the south and south-east of Palestine, it is natural to infer that Diblah was in the north. To this position Beth-diblathaim or Almon-diblathaim in Moab on the east of the Dead Sea, are obviously unsuitable; and indeed a place which like Diblathaim was on the extreme east border of Moab, and never included even in the allotments of Reuben or Gad, could hardly be chosen as a landmark of the boundary of Israel. The only name in the north at all like it is RIBLAH, and the letters D (ד) and R (ר) are so much alike and so frequently interchanged, owing to the carelessness of copyists, that there is a strong probability that Riblah is the right reading. The conjecture is due to Jerome (*Comm. in loc.*), but it has been endorsed by Michaelis, Gesenius, and other scholars (Ges. *Thes.* 312; and see Davidson, *Heb. Text*, Ez. vi. 14). Riblah, though an old town, is not heard of during the early and middle course of Jewish history, but shortly before the date of Ezekiel's prophecy it had started into a terrible prominence from its being the scene of the cruelties inflicted on the last king of Judah, and of the massacres of the priests and chief men of Jerusalem perpetrated there by order of the king of Babylon. [G.]

**DIB'ON** (דִּיבֹן; Δαϊβών, Δηβών; *Dibon*), a town on the east side of Jordan, in the rich pastoral country, which was taken possession of and rebuilt by the children of Gad (Num. xxxii. 3, 34). From this circumstance it possibly received the name of DIBON-GAD. Its first mention is in the ancient fragment of poetry Num. xxi. 30, and from this it appears to have belonged originally to the Moabites. The tribes of Reuben and Gad being both engaged in pastoral pursuits are not likely to have observed the division of towns originally made with the same strictness as the more settled people on the west, and accordingly we find Dibon counted to Reuben in the lists of Joshua (xii. 9—LXX. omits—17). In the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah, however, it was again in possession of Moab (Is. xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 18, 22, comp. 24). In the same denunciations of Isaiah it appears, probably, under the name of DIMON, M and B

\* See DEUBL, DIWNAH, &c. It is in the LXX. version that the corruption of D into R is most frequently to be observed; Dabon to Rhison, Dodanim to Rhodoi, &c. &c. A case in point is Riblah itself, which in the LXX. is more often Δεβλαθά than Ρεβλαθά.

being convertible in Hebrew, and the change admitting of a play characteristic of the poetry of Isaiah. The two names were both in existence in the time of Jerome (comm. in Josh. xv., quoted by Ireland, 735). The last passages appear to indicate that Dibon was on an elevated situation: not only is it expressly said to be a "high place" (Is. xv. 2), but its inhabitants are bid to "come down" from their glory or their stronghold. Under the name of Dabon or Debon it is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*. It was then a very large village (κώμη παμμεγέθης) beyond the Arnon. In modern times the name *Dibban* has been discovered by Seetzen, Irby and Mangles (142), and Burekhardt (*Syr.* 372) as attached to extensive ruins on the Roman road, about three miles north of the Arnon (*Wady Mojib*). All agree, however, in describing these ruins as lying low.

2. One of the towns which was re-inhabited by the men of Judah after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 25). From its mention with Jakabzeel, Moladah, and other towns of the south, there can be no doubt that it is identical with DIMONAH. [G.]

**DIB'ON-GAD** (דִּיבֹן גָּד; Δαϊβών Γὰδ; *Dibon-gad*), one of the halting-places of the Israelites. It was in Moab between JEABARIM and ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (Num. xxxiii. 45, 46). It was no doubt the same place which is generally called DIBON; but whether it received the name of Gad from the tribe, or originally possessed it, cannot be ascertained. [G.]

**DIB'RI** (דִּבְרִי; Δαβρεί; *Dibri*), a Danite, father of Shelomith, a woman who had married an Egyptian and whose son was stoned for having "blasphemed the Name" [i. e. of Jehovah] (Lev. xxiv. 11).

**DIDRACHMON** (διδραχμών; *didrachmon*). [MONEY; SHEKEL.]

**DIDYMUS** (Δίδυμος), that is, *the Twin*, a surname of the apostle Thomas (John xi. 16, xx. 24, xxi. 2). [THOMAS.]

**DIK'IAH** (דִּיקְיָה; Δεκιά; *Debia*; Gen. x. 27; 1 Chr. i. 21), a son of Joktan, whose settlements, in common with those of the other sons of Joktan, must be looked for in Arabia. The name in Hebrew signifies "a palm-tree," and the cognate

word in Arabic (دَقْدَق), "a palm-tree abounding with fruit;" hence it is thought that Diklah is a part of Arabia containing many palm-trees. The city *Φουλκων*, in the north-west of Arabia Felix, has been suggested as preserving the Joktante name (Boch. *Phaleg*, ii. 22); but Bochart, and after him Gesenius, refer the descendants of Diklah to the Minnei, a people of Arabia Felix inhabiting a palmiferous country. Whether we follow Bochart and most others in placing the Minnei on the east borders of the *Hijáz*, southwards towards the *Yemen*, or follow Fresnel in his identification of the *Wálee Doán* with the territory of this people, the connexion of the latter with Diklah is uncertain and unsatisfactory. No trace of Diklah is known to exist in Arabic works, except the men-

tion of a place called *Dakalah* دَقْلَة = דִּיקְלָה in *El-Yemámeh* (*Kámoos*, s. v.), with many palm-

trees (*Marasid*, s. v.). "Nakhleh" (نخلة) also signifies a palm-tree, and is the name of many places, especially *Nakhleh el-Yenaneeyeh*, and *Nakhleh esh-Shimeeyeh* (here meaning the Southern and Northern Nakhleh), two well-known towns situate near each other. According to some, the former was a seat of the worship of El-I-Att, and a settlement of the tribe of Thakeef; and in a tradition of Mohammed's, this tribe was not of unmixed Ishmaelite blood, but one of four which he thus exclaims:—"All the Arabs are [descended] from Ishmael, except four tribes: Sulaf [Sheleph], Hadramiawt [Hazarmaveth], El-Arwah [?], and Thakeef" (*Mu-at ez-Zemân*, bis).

Therefore, 1. Diklah may probably be recovered in the place called Dikalah above mentioned; or, possibly, 2. in one of the places named Nakhleh.

A discussion of the vexed and intricate question of the Minaii is beyond the limits of this article; but as they are regarded by some authorities of high repute as representing Diklah, it is important to record an identification of their true position. This has hitherto never been done; those who have written on the subject having argued on the vague and contradictory statements of the Greek geographers, from the fact that no native mention of so important a people as the Minaii had been discovered (cf. Bochart, *Phaley*; Fresnel's *Lettres*, *Journal Asiatique*; Jomard, *Essai*, in Mengin's *Hist. de l'Egypte*, vol. iii.; Causin, *Essai*, &c.). There is, however, a city and people in the Yemen which appear to correspond in every respect to the position and name of the Minaii. The latter is written *Menaioi*, *Muraioi*, and *Muraioi*, which may be fairly rendered "people of *Mew*, of *Muv*, and of *Muvv*;" while the first exhibits the sound of a diphthong, or an attempt at a diphthong. The Greek account places them, generally, between the Sabaens (identified with Soba, or Ma-rib: see ARABIA) and the Erythraean Sea. It is therefore remarkable that where it should be sought we find a city with a fortress, called *Ma'een*, or *Ma'in*,

معين (*Kāmoos*, *Marasid*, s. v.), well-known, and

therefore not carefully described in the Arabic geographical dictionaries, but apparently near *San'a*; and further that in the same province are situate the

town of *Mo'eyn* (معين, abbr. dim. of the former), whence the *Bene-Mo'eyn*; and the town of *Ma'eench* (fem. of *Ma'een*). The gent. n. would be *Ma'eenae*, &c. The township in which are the latter two places is named *Sinhân* (comp. Niebuhr, *Descr.* 201) which was one of the confederation

formed by the ancient tribe of Jenb, جنب (*Marasid*, s. v.), grandson of Kahlân, who was brother of Himyer the Joktaute. This identification is reconcilable with all that is known of the Minaii. See further in art. UZAL. [E. S. P.]

DIL'EAN (דילעאן; Alex. *Δαλαδν*; *Deleau*), one of the cities of Judah, in the *Shefelah* or low country (Josh. xv. 38). If Gesenius's interpretation, "gourd" or "cucumber," be correct, the name is very suitable for a place situated in that rich district. It is not elsewhere mentioned, nor has it been subsequently identified with certainty. Van de Velde (ii. 160) suggests that it may be

the modern place *Tina* (Kiepert's map in Robinson, *B. Tina*), about three miles north of *Tell-es-Safieh* in the maritime plain of Philistia, south of Ekron. [G.]

DIM'NAH (דִּמְנָה; Vat. omits; Alex. *δαννα*; *Danna*), a city in the tribe of Zebulun, given to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 35). The name does not occur in the list of cities belonging to the tribe (Josh. xix. 10-16). In the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi. 77 occurs RIMMON, accurately Rimmono (רִמּוֹנוֹ), which may possibly be a variation of Dimnah, 7 being often changed into 7. In this case Rimmon is probably the real name (Bertheau, *Chronik*, 72, 3; Movers, *Chronik*, 72). [G.]

DIM'ON, THE WATERS OF (דִּמְוֹן; 72 *דִּבּוֹן* *דִּבּוֹן*; Alex. *ῥεμμαῶν*; *Dibon*), some streams on the east of the Dead Sea, in the land of Moab, against which Isaiah is here uttering denunciations (Is. xv. 9). From Dibon being named in verse 2 of this chapter, as well as in the lists of Moabite towns in Jer. xlviii., and no place named Dimon being elsewhere mentioned as belonging to Moab, Gesenius (*Comment. über Jes.* 534) conjectures that the two names are the same, the form "Dimon" being used for the sake of the play between it and the word *Dum* (דֹּם) "blood." [DIBON, 1.] [G.]

DIMO'NAH (דִּמְוֹנָה; *ῥεγμᾶ*; Alex. *δῖμωνα*; *Dinona*), a city in the south of Judah, the part bordering on the desert of Idumaea (Josh. xv. 22). Dimonah is mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, but was evidently not known to Eusebius and Jerome, nor has it been identified in later times. It probably occurs under the altered name of DIBON in Neh. xi. 25. [G.]

DINAH (דִּינָה, *judged* or *avenged*, from the same root as DAN; *Δείνα*; *Dina*), the daughter of Jacob by Leah (Gen. xxx. 21). She accompanied her father from Mesopotamia to Canaan, and, having ventured among the inhabitants, was violated by Shechem the son of Hamor, the chieftain of the territory in which her father had settled (Gen. xxxiv.). Her age at this time, judging by the subsequent notice of Joseph's age (Gen. xxxvii. 2), may have been from 13 to 15, the ordinary period of marriage in Eastern countries (Lane's *Mud. Egypt.* i. 208). Shechem proposed to make the usual reparation by paying a sum to the father and marrying her (Gen. xxxiv. 12); such reparation would have been deemed sufficient under the Mosiac law (Deut. xxii. 28, 29) among the members of the Hebrew nation. But in this case the suitor was an alien, and the crown of the offence consisted in its having been committed by an alien against the favoured people of God; he had "wrought folly in Israel" (xxxiv. 7). The proposals of Hamor, who acted as his deputy, were framed on the recognition of the hitherto complete separation of the two peoples; he proposed the fusion of the two by the establishment of the rights of intermarriage and commerce; just as among the Romans the *jus connubii* and the *jus commercii* constituted the essence of *civitas*. The sons of Jacob, but upon revenge, availed themselves of the eagerness, which Shechem showed, to effect their purpose; they demanded, as a condition of the proposed union, the circumcision of the Shechemites: the practice could not have been

unknown to the Hivites, for the Phœnicians (Her. ii. 104), and probably most of the Canaanite tribes were circumcised. They therefore assented; and on the third day, when the pain and fever resulting from the operation were at the highest [CIRCUMCISION], Simeon and Levi, own brothers to Dinah, as Josephus observes (*Ant.* i. 21, §1; *δηομήτριοι ἀδελφοί*), attacked them unexpectedly, slew all the males and plundered their city. Jacob's remark (ver. 30) does not imply any guiltiness on the part of his sons in this transaction; for the brothers were regarded as the proper guardians of their sister's honour, as is still the case among the Bedouins; but he dreaded the revenge of the neighbouring peoples, and even of the family of Hamor, some of whom appear to have survived the massacre (*Judg.* ix. 28). His escape, which was wonderful, considering the extreme vigour with which the laws of blood-revenge have in all ages prevailed in the East [BLOOD-REVENGE], is ascribed to the special interference of Jehovah (*xxxv.* 5). Josephus omits all reference to the treachery of the sons of Jacob and explains the easy capture of the city as occurring during the celebration of a feast (*Ant.* i. 21, §2). The object for which this narrative is introduced into the book of Genesis probably is, partly to explain the allusion in Gen. xlix. 5-7, and partly to exhibit the consequences of any association on the part of the Hebrews with the heathens about them. Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 488) assumes that the historical foundation of the narrative was furnished by an actual fusion of the nomad Isacrites with the aborigines of Shechem, on the ground that the daughters of the patriarchs are generally noticed with an ethnological view; the form in which the narrative appears being merely the colouring of a late author; such a view appears to us perfectly inconsistent with the letter and the spirit of the text. [W. L. B.]

**DINAITES** (דִּנְאִיִּים; *Δειναῖοι*; *Dinaei*, *Ezr.* ix. 9), the name of some of the Cuthæan colonists who were placed in the cities of Samaria by the Assyrian governor, after the conquest and captivity of the ten tribes under Sardanapalus. They remained under the dominion of Persia, and united with their fellow-colonists in opposition to the Jews; but nothing more is known of them. Junius (*Comm. in loc.*), without any authority, identifies them with the people known to geographers by the name *Demani*. [W. A. W.]

**DINHA'BAH** (דִּנְהָבָה; *Δενναβά*; *Denaba*; Gen. xxvii. 32; 1 Chr. i. 43), the capital city, and probably the birthplace, of Bela, son of Beor, king of Elom. Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, s. v.) mentions a village *Dannan* (*Damnab*, Jerome), eight miles from Areopolis, or Ar of Moab (on the road to Arnon; Jerome), and another on Mount Peor, seven miles from Esbus (*Heshbon*); but neither of these has claim to be the Dinhabah of Scripture. R. Joseph, in his Targum (on 1 Chr. i. 43, ed. Wilkins), finds a significance in the name. After identifying Balaam the son of Beor with Laban the Syrian, he adds, "And the name of his capital city was Dinhabah, for it was given (אֵתְּנָהּ) him as a present." With us little probability Gosenius conjectured that it might signify *dominus*, i. e. *locus directionis*, i. e. *praedonum latibulum*. The name is not uncommon among Semitic races. Ptolemy (v. 15, §24) mentions *Δανδβα* in Palmyrene Syria, afterwards a bishop's see; and according to Zosimus (iii. 27) there

was a *Δανδβα* in Babylonia. (Knobel, *Genesis*.) The Peshito Syriac has *דַּנְבָּא*, *Danhab*, probably a mistake for *דַּנְבָּא*. [W. A. W.]

**DIONYSTA** (Διονύστια, *Bacchanalia*), "the feast of Bacchus," which was celebrated, especially in later times, with wild extravagance and licentious enthusiasm. Women, as well as men, joined in the processions (*θιασοί*), acting the part of Maenads, crowned with ivy and bearing the thyrsus (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 767 ff.; Broudkh. *ad Tib.* iii. 6, 2, who gives a coin of *Maroneia*, bearing a head of Dionysus crowned with ivy); and the phallus was a principal object in the train (Herod. ii. 48, 49). Shortly before the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, 168 B.C., in which the Jews "were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus carrying ivy" (2 Macc. vi. 7), the secret celebration of the Bacchanalia in Italy had been revealed to the Roman senate (B.C. 186). The whole state was alarmed by the description of the excesses with which the festival was attended (*Liv.* xxix. 8 ff.), and a decree was passed forbidding its observance in Rome or Italy. This fact offers the best commentary on the conduct of Antiochus; for it is evident that rites which were felt to be incompatible with the comparative simplicity of early Roman worship must have been peculiarly revolting to Jews of the Hasmonean age (cf. Herod. iv. 79, *Σκύθαι τοῦ Βακχεύειν περί Ἑλλησιν ὀνειδίζουσι*). [B. F. W.]

**DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE** (Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης, Acts xvii. 34), an eminent Athenian, converted to Christianity by the preaching of St. Paul. Euseb. (*H. E.* iii. 4) makes him, on the authority of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, to have been first bishop of Athens (see also *H. E.* iv. 23). According to a later tradition given in the martyrologies on the authority of Aristides the apologist, he suffered martyrdom at Athens. On the writings which were once supposed to have had Dionysius for their author, but which are now confessed to be spurious, and the production of some neo-Platonists of the 6th century, see an elaborate discussion in Herzog's *Encyclopædia*; and for further legends respecting himself, *Suidas sub voce*, and the article in the *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*. [H. A.]

**DIONYSUS** (Διώνυσος, Διόνυσος, of uncertain derivation), also called *BACCHUS* (*Βάκχος*, *Ίακχος*, the noisy god: after the time of Herodotus), was properly the god of wine. In Homer he appears simply as the "frenzied" god (*Il.* vi. 132), and yet "a joy to mortals" (*Il.* xiv. 325); but in later times the most varied attributes were centred in him as the source of the luxuriant fertility of nature, and the god of civilization, gladness, and inspiration. The eastern wanderings of Dionysus are well known (Strab. xv. 7, p. 687; *Dict. Biogr.* s. v.), but they do not seem to have left any special trace in Palestine (yet cf. *Luc. de Syria Decr.* p. 886, ed. Bened.). His worship, however, was greatly modified by the incorporation of Eastern elements, and assumed the twofold form of wild orgies [*DIONYSIA*] and mystic rites. To the Jew Dionysus would necessarily appear as the embodiment of paganism in its most material shape, sanctioning the most tumultuous passions and the worst excesses. Thus Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) rejects

the tradition that the Jews worshipped Bacchus (*Liberum patrem*; cf. *Plut. Quæst. Conv.* iv. 6), on the ground of the "entire diversity of their principles" (*nequaquam congruentius institutis*), though he interprets this difference to their discredit. The consciousness of the fundamental opposition of the God of Israel and Dionysus explains the punishment which Ptolemaeus Philopator inflicted on the Jews (3 Macc. ii. 29), "branding them with the ivy-leaf of Dionysus," though Dionysus may have been the patron god of the Ptolemies (Grimm, on the *Macc.*). And it must have been from the same circumstance that Nicanor is said to have threatened to erect a temple of Dionysus upon the site of the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. xiv. 33).

[B. F. W.]

## DIOSCORINTHIUS. [MONTIUS.]

**DIOTREPHES** (*Διοτρεφής*), a Christian mentioned in 3 John 9, as *φιλοσωρευόν* in some church to which St. John had written, and which, on account of his influence, did not receive the apostle's authority, nor the messengers which he had sent. It is entirely uncertain what church is meant, as it is who Gaius was, to whom the epistle is addressed. [GAIUS.] [H. A.]

## DISCIPLE. [EDUCATION; SCHOOLS.]

**DISCUS** (*δίσκος*), one of the exercises in the Grecian gymnasia, which Jason the high-priest introduced among the Jews in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and which he induced even the priests to practise (2 Macc. iv. 14). The discus was a circular plate of stone or metal, made for throwing to a distance as an exercise of strength and dexterity. It was indeed one of the principal gymnastic exercises of the Greeks, and was practised in the heroic age. (For details and authorities, see *Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Ant.* s. v.)



Dioscorinus. (Osterley, Denk. der alt. Kunst. vol. i. no. 129.)

## DISEASES. [MEDICINE.]

**DISH.** 1. *דִּשָּׁה*, Gesen. p. 965: see BASIN.

2. *צִלְתָּה*, in plur. only *צִלְתָּוִית* or *צִלְתָּהִם*; *ὄβρισην*, δ *ἀλάστρος*, *λέβης*; *vas*, *lebes*. 3. *נֶשֶׁךְ*: see CHARGER.

## DISPERSION, JEWS OF THE

In N. T. *τρυβαλον*, Matt. xxvi. 23, Mark xiv. 20. In ancient Egypt, and also in Judaea, guests at the table lauded their food with the fingers, but spoons were used for soup or other liquid food, when required (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 181, 2nd ed.). The same is the case in modern Egypt. Each person breaks off a small piece of bread, dips it in the dish, and then conveys it to his mouth, together with a small portion of the meat or other contents of the dish. To pick out a delicate morsel and hand it to a friend is esteemed a compliment, and to refuse such an offering is contrary to good manners. Judas dipping his hand in the same dish with our Lord was showing especial friendliness and intimacy. *τρυβαλον* is used in LXX. for *נֶשֶׁךְ*, sometimes in A. V. "charger" (Ex. xxv. 29; Num. iv. 7, vii. 13, 19). This is also rendered *κοτάλη* or half sextarius, i. e. probably a cup or flask rather than a dish. *τρυβαλον* is in Vulg. Matt. xxvi. 23, *puropis*; in Mark xiv. 20, *cutinus*. Schlensner, *Lex. in N. T. τρυβαλον* (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 193; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 53, 54; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arab.* 46). [BASIN.] [H. W. P.]

**DIS'ILAN** (*דִּישָׁן*; *Πισών*; *Dism*), the youngest son of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 21, 28, 30; 1 Chr. i. 38, 42). [W. L. B.]

**DIS'HION** (*דִּישָׁן*; *Δησών*; *Dison*). 1. The fifth son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 21, 26, 30; 1 Chr. i. 38). 2. The son of Anah and grandson of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 25; 1 Chr. i. 38). Dishon and Dishan belong to the same root, which may possibly reappear in the name *Deisch* noticed by Abulfeda (*Hist. Antisl.* p. 196). The geographical position of the tribes descended from these patriarchs is uncertain. Knobel (*Conun.* in *loc.*) places them to E. and S.E. of the Gulf of Akaba, on the ground that the names of the sons of Dishon, Eshbun, and Hemdan may be identified with *Ushany* and *Humaidy*, branches of the tribe of *Oman*. Such identifications must be received with caution, as similar names are found in other parts of Arabia—*Hamule*, for instance, near Tayf, and again *Hamdun*, which bears a still closer resemblance to the original name, near *Sana* (Burckhardt's *Arabia*, i. 156, ii. 376). [W. L. B.]

**DISPERSION, THE JEWS OF THE**, or simply **THE DISPERSION**, was the general title applied to those Jews who remained settled in foreign countries after the return from the Babylonian exile, and during the period of the second Temple. The original word applied to these foreign settlers (*תַּלְמִידִים*; cf. Jer. xxiv. 5, xxviii. 4, &c., from *לָהֵךְ*, to strip naked; so *בְּנֵי נִלְתָּה*, Ezr. vi. 16) conveys the notion of spoliation and bereavement, as of men removed from the Temple and home of their fathers; but in the LXX. the ideas of a "sojourning" (*μετοικεσία*) and of a "colony" (*ἀποικία*) were combined with that of a "captivity" (*αἰχμαλωσία*), while the term "dispersion" (*διασπορά*, first in Deut. xxviii. 25, *וַיִּשְׁׁרְץ*; cf. Jer. xxxiv. 17), which finally prevailed, seemed to imply that the people thus scattered "to the utmost parts of heaven" (Deut. xxx. 4), "in bondage among the Gentiles" (2 Macc. i. 27), and shut out from the full privileges of the chosen race (John vii. 35), should yet be as the seed sown for a future harvest (cf. Is. xlix. 6 Heb.) in the strange lands where they found a temporary resting-place (1 Pet. i. 1,

παρεπιδήμιος διασποράς). The schism which had divided the first kingdom was forgotten in the results of the general calamity. The Dispersion was not limited to the exiles of Judah, but included "the twelve tribes" (Jann. i. 1, ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ), which expressed the completeness of the whole Jewish nation (Acts xxi. 7, τὸ δωδεκάφυλον).

The Dispersion, as a distinct element influencing the entire character of the Jews, dates from the Babylonian exile. Uncertain legends point to earlier settlements in Arabia, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia; but even if these settlements were made, they were isolated and casual, while the Dispersion, of which Babylon was the acknowledged centre, was the outward proof that a *faith* had succeeded to a *kingdom*. Apart from the necessary influence which Jewish communities bound by common laws, enrolled by the possession of the same truths, and animated by kindred hopes, must have exercised on the nations among whom they were scattered, the difficulties which set aside the literal observance of the Mosaic ritual led to a wider view of the scope of the law, and a stronger sense of its spiritual significance. Outwardly and inwardly, by its effects both on the Gentiles and on the people of Israel, the Dispersion appears to have been the clearest providential preparation for the spread of Christianity.

But while the fact of a recognised Dispersion must have weakened the local and ceremonial influences which were essential to the first training of the people of God, the Dispersion was still bound together in itself and to its mother country by religious ties. The Temple was the acknowledged centre of Judaism, and the faithful Jew everywhere contributed the half-shekel towards its maintenance (τὸ δίδραχμον, Matt. xvii. 24; cf. Mishna, *Shekalim*, 7, 4; Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6); and, in part at least, the ecclesiastical calendar was fixed at Jerusalem, whence beacon-fires spread abroad the true date of the new-moons (Mishna, *Rosh-Hashana*, 2, 4). The tribute was indeed the simplest and most striking outward proof of the religious unity of the nation. Treasuries were established to receive the payments of different districts (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9, 1; cf. *Ant.* xvi. 6, 5, 6), and the collected sums were forwarded to Jerusalem, as in later times the Mahometan offerings were sent to Mecca (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 337 n.; Cic. *pro Flacco*, xxviii.).

At the beginning of the Christian era the Dispersion was divided into three great sections, the Babylonian, the Syrian, the Egyptian. Precedence was yielded to the first. The jealousy which had originally existed between the poor who returned to Palestine and their wealthier countrymen at Babylon had passed away, and Gamaliel wrote "to the sons of the Dispersion in Babylonia, and to our brethren in Media . . . and to all the Dispersion of Israel" (Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 413). From Babylon the Jews spread throughout Persia, Media, and Parthia; but the settlements in China belong to a modern date (Frankel, l. c. p. 463). The few details of their history which have been preserved bear witness to their prosperity and influence (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2, 2 f. xviii. 9). No schools of learning are noticed, but Hillel the Elder and Nahum the Mede are mentioned as coming from Babylon to Jerusalem (Frankel).

The Greek conquests in Asia extended the limits of the Dispersion. Seleucus Nicator transplanted large bodies of Jewish colonists from Babylonia to the capitals of his western provinces. His policy

was followed by his successor Antiochus the Great; and the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes only served to push forward the Jewish emigration to the remoter districts of his empire. In Armenia the Jews arrived at the greatest dignities, and Nisibis became a new centre of colonization (Frankel, pp. 454-6). The Jews of Cappadocia (1 Pet. i. 1) are casually mentioned in the Mishna; and a prince and princess of Adiabene adopted the Jewish faith only 30 years before the destruction of the Temple (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2). Large settlements of Jews were established in Cyprus, in the islands of the Aegean (Cos, Delos; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10), and on the western coast of Asia Minor (Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Sardis; Jos. *Ant.* l. c.). The Romans confirmed to them the privileges which they had obtained from the Syrian kings; and though they were exposed to sudden outbursts of popular violence (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9; *B. J.* vii. 3), the Jews of the Syrian provinces gradually formed a closer connexion with their new homes, and together with the Greek language adopted in many respects Greek ideas. [HELLENISTS.]

This Hellenizing tendency, however, found its most free development at Alexandria [ALEXANDRIA]. The Jewish settlements established there by Alexander and Ptolemy I. became the source of the African dispersion, which spread over the north coast of Africa, and perhaps inland to Abyssinia (the *Filasha*). At Cyrene (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2, JASON) and Berenice (Tripoli) the Jewish inhabitants formed a considerable portion of the population, and an inscription lately discovered at the latter place (Frankel, p. 422) speaks of the justice and clemency which they received from a Roman governor (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6, 5). The African Dispersion, like all other Jews, preserved their veneration for the "holy city" (Philo, *Ley. ad Caium*, §36; in *Flacc.* c. 7), and recognised the universal claims of the Temple by the annual tribute (Jos. l. c.). But the distinction in language led to wider differences, which were averted in Babylon by the currency of an Aramaic dialect. The Scriptures were no longer read on the Sabbath (Frankel, 420; *Vorstudien*, 52 ff.), and no fire-signals conveyed the dates of the new-moons to Egypt (cf. Frankel, 419 n.). Still the national spirit of the African Jews was not destroyed. After the destruction of the Temple the Zealots found a reception in Cyrene (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 11); and towards the close of the reign of Trajan, A.D. 115, the Jewish population in Africa rose with terrible ferocity (Dion, 68, 32). The insurrection was put down by a war of extermination (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 2); and the remnant who escaped established themselves on the opposite coast of Europe, as the beginning of a new Dispersion.

The Jewish settlements in Rome were consequent upon the occupation of Jerusalem by Pompey, B.C. 63. The captives and emigrants whom he brought with him were located in the trans-Tiberine quarter, and by degrees rose in station and importance (Philo, *Ley. ad Caium*, §§23 ff.). They were favoured by Augustus and Tiberius after the fall of Sejanus (Philo, l. c.); and a Jewish school was founded at Rome (Frankel, 459). In the reign of Claudius [CLAUDIUS] the Jews became objects of suspicion from their immense numbers (Dion, 60, 6); and the internal disputes consequent, perhaps, upon the preaching of Christianity, led to their banishment from the city (Suet. *Claud.* 25: *Judeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*. Acts

xviii. 2). This expulsion, if general, can only have been temporary, for in a few years the Jews at Rome were numerous (Acts xviii. 17 ff.), and continued to be sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of the satirists (Mart. *Ep.* xi. 94; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 14).

The influence of the Dispersion on the rapid promulgation of Christianity can scarcely be overated. The course of the apostolic preaching followed in a regular progress the line of Jewish settlements. The mixed assembly from which the first converts were gathered on the day of Pentecost represented each division of the Dispersion (Acts ii. 9-11; (1) Parthians . . . Mesopotamia; (2) Judaea (i. e. Syria) . . . Pamphylia; (3) Egypt . . . Greece; (4) Romans . . .), and these converts naturally prepared the way for the apostles in the interval which preceded the beginning of the separate apostolic missions. The names of the seven demons are all Greek, and one is specially described as a proselyte (Acts vi. 5). The church at Antioch, by which St. Paul was entrusted with his great work among the heathen (Acts xiii. 1), included Barnabas of Cyprus (Acts iv. 36), Lucius of Cyrene, and Simeon, surnamed *Niger*; and among his 'fellow-labourers' at a later time are found Aquila of Pontus (Acts xviii. 2), Apollos of Alexandria (Acts xviii. 24; cf. 1 Cor. iii. 6), and Urkianus (Rom. xvi. 9), and Clement (Phil. iv. 3), whose names, at least, are Roman. Antioch itself became a centre of the Christian Church (Acts xii. 1, xiv. 26, xv. 22, xvii. 22), as it had been of the Jewish Dispersion; and throughout the apostolic journeys the Jews were the class to whom "it was necessary (*ἀναγκαῖον*) that the Word of God should be first spoken" (Acts xiii. 46), and they in turn were united with the mass of the population by the intermediate body of "the devout" (*οἱ σεβόμενοι*), which had recognised in various degrees "the faith of the God of Israel."

The most important original authorities on the Dispersion are Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xiv. 7; c. *Apion.* ii. 5; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*; id. c. *Flaccum*. Frankel has collected the various points together in an exhaustive essay in his *Monatschrift*, Nov. Dec. 1853, 409-11; 449-51. Cf. Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 336; 344. Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv.

#### DIVINATION (ὀραβία; μαντεία, Ez. xiii. 7;

μαντεία, Wisd. xvii. 7; מַנְטִיָּה, *pharmakela*, *technicum*, *divinatio*, Is. xlvii 9; מַנְטִיָּה, *ψιθυρισμός*, &c.). This art "of taking an aim of divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations" (Baron, *Ess.* xvii.) has been universal in all ages, and all nations alike civilized and savage. It arises from an impression that in the absence of direct, visible guiding Providence, the Deity suffers His will to be known to men, partly by inspiring those who from purity of character or elevation of spirit were susceptible of the divine afflatus (*θεομάνεις, ἐνθουσιασταί, ἐκστατικοί*), and partly by giving perpetual indications of the future, which must be learnt from experience and observation (Cic. *Div.* i. 18; Plin. xxx. 5). The first kind of divination was called Natural (*ἄτεχνος, ἀδίδακτος*), in which the medium of inspiration was transported from his own individuality, and became the passive instrument of supernatural utterances (*Aen.* vi. 47; Ov. *Met.* ii. 640, &c.). As this process involved violent convulsions, the word *μαντική* is derived from *μαίνεσθαι*, and alludes to the foaming mouth and streaming hair of the possessed seer

(Plut. *Tim.* 72. B., where the *μαντῆς* is carefully distinguished from the *προφήτης*). But even in the most passionate and irresistible prophecies of Scripture we have none of these unnatural distortions (Num. xxiii. 5; Ps. xxxix. 3; Jer. xx. 9), although, as we shall see, they were characteristic of pretenders to the gift.

The other kind of divination was artificial (*τεχνητή*), and probably originated in an honest conviction that external nature sympathised with and frequently indicated the condition and prospects of mankind; a conviction not in itself ridiculous, and fostered by the accidental synchronism of natural phenomena with human catastrophes (Thuc. iii. 89; Jos. *B. J.* vi. 5, §3; Foxe's *Martyrs*, iii. 406, &c.). When once this feeling was established the supposed manifestations were infinitely multiplied, and hence the numberless forms of imposture or ignorance called kapomancy, pyromancy, arithmancy, libanomancy, botanomancy, kephalomancy, &c., of which there are abundant accounts in Cic. *de Div.*; Caelan *de Sipientiâ*; Anton. v. Dalm. *de Orig. Idol.*; Fabricius, *Bibl. Ant.* pp. 409-426; Carpzov. *App. Crit.* 540-549; Potter's *Antiq.* i. ch. viii. sq. Indeed there was scarcely any possible event or appearance which was not pressed into the service of augury, and it may be said of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as of the modern New Zealanders, that "after uttering their *karakias* (or chants) the whistling of the wind, the moving of trees, the flash of lightning, the peal of thunder, the flying of a bird, even the buzz of an insect would be regarded as an answer" (Taylor's *New Zealand*, p. 74; Bowring's *Siam*, i. 153 sq.). A system commenced in fanaticism ended in deceit. Hence Cato's famous saying that it was strange how two augurs could meet without laughing in each other's face. But the supposed knowledge became in all nations an engine of political power, and hence interest was enlisted in its support (Cic. *de Legib.* ii. 12; Liv. vi. 27; Soph. *Ant.* 1055; Mic. iii. 11). It fell into the hands of a priestly caste (Gen. xli. 8; Is. xlvii. 13; Jer. v. 31; Dan. ii. 2), who in all nations made it subservient to their own purposes. Thus in Persia, Charlin says that the astrologers would make even the Shah rise at midnight and travel in the worst weather in obedience to their suggestions.

The invention of divination is ascribed to Prometheus (Aesch. *Pr. Vinct.* 492), to the Phrygians and Etruscans, especially sages (Cic. *de Div.* 1; and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 326, where there is a great deal more on the subject), or (as by the Fathers generally) to the devil (Firmic. *Maternus de Errore*, Proem; Lactant. ii. 16; Minuc. Felix. *Oct.* 27). In the same way Zoroaster ascribes all magic to Ahriman (Nork, *Bram. und Rab.* p. 97). Similar opinions have prevailed in modern times (Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulg. Err.* i. xi.).

Many forms of divination are mentioned in Scripture, and the subject is so frequently alluded to that it deserves careful examination. We shall proceed to give a brief analysis of its main aspects as presented in the sacred writers, following as far as possible the order of the books in which the professors of the art are spoken of.

They are first mentioned as a prominent body in the Egyptian court, Gen. xli. 8. 1. חֲזַקְיָהוּ (ἡγήνηται; Hesych. δὲ πρὶ ἐπελὼν καὶ διοσημῶν ἡγήνομενος; Aqu. *κρυφιστά*). They were a class of Egyptian priests, eminent for learning (*λεπογραμματεῖς*). The name may be derived from



they called Bath Kol; of which remarkable instances are found in Gen. xxiv. 14; 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10; 1 K. xx. 33. After the extinction of the spirit of prophecy it was considered by the Jews as a sort of substitute for the loss. For a curious dissertation on it see Lightfoot, *ad Matt.* iii. 13. A belief in the significance of chance words was very prevalent among the Egyptians (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 304; Plut. *de Is.* 14), and the accidental sigh of the engineer was sufficient to prevent even Amasis from removing the monolithic shrine to Sais (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iv. 144). The universality of the belief among the ancients is known to every scholar (Cic. *de Div.* i.; Herod. ii. 90; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 116, &c.). From the general theory of the possibility of such omens sprang the use of the Sortes Biblicae, &c. (Niepph. Greg. viii. Aug. Ep. 119; Prideaux, *Connect.* ii. 376, &c.; Cardan, *de Varietate*, p. 1040).

If מַעֲזֵיזִים be derived from עֵיז, it will mean "one who fascinates with the eyes," as in the Syr. Vers. (cf. Vitringa, *Comment. ad Is.* ii. 6). A belief in the ὄφθαλμοὶ βάσανος (עֵיז עֵיז) was universal, and is often alluded to in Scripture (Deut. xxiii. 6; Matt. xx. 15; Tob. iv. 7, μὴ φθονησάτω σου ὁ ὄφθαλμός, 1 Sam. xviii. 9, "Saul eyed David"). The well-known passages of Pliny and the ancients on the subject are collected in Potter's *Ant.* i. 383, sq.

Others again make the עֵיזִים (Is. ii. 6, &c.), "soothsayers," who predicted "times" as in A. V., from the observation of the clouds (Aben Ezra on Lev. xix. 26) and other *διοσμηταί*, as lightnings, comets, meteors, &c. (Jer. x. 2), like the Etruscan Fulguratores (Cic. *Div.* i. 18; Plin. ii. 43, 53; Plut. *de Superst.*; Hom. *Od.* v. 102; Virg. *Ecl.* i. 16; Humboldt's *Cosmos*, ii. 135, ed. Sabine). Possibly the position of the diviner in making these observations originated the Jewish names for East and West, viz., front and back (Godwyn, iv. 10, but Carpzov disputes the assertion, *Ap. Crit.* p. 541). The practice naturally led to the tabulation of certain days as lucky or unlucky (Job iii. 5, "monthly prognosticators;" Is. xlvii. 13, *ἡμερὰς παρετηρήσθη*, Gal. iv. 10), just as the Greeks and Romans regarded some days as *caulidi*, others as *atri* (Hes. *Opp. et D.* 770; Suet. *Aug.* 92, &c.). If we had space, every one of the superstitions alluded to might be paralleled in modern times.

In Judg. ix. 37, the expression "terebinth of Meonenim (enchantments)" refers not so much to the general sacredness of great trees (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 328, *ῥηθίς Γενίης οἰκεία quercus*, Virg. *Georg.*), as to the fact that (probably) here Jacob had buried his amulets (Gen. xxv. 4; Stanley, *Sin. & Pal.* p. 142).

8. מַחֲשֵׁיזִים (ὁλισμόμενοι; *observantes auguria*; Ps. lviii. 5; 2 K. xvii. 17, xxi. 6, &c.): A. V. enchanters; *ophionants* (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. p. 383), from שָׁחַץ, to hiss; people who, like the ancient Psylli (Plin. *H. N.* vii. 2, xviii. 4) and Marmaridae (Sil. Ital. iii. 301),

"Ad quorum cantus serpentes obrita veneni,  
Ad quorum tactum mites jacuere cerastae,"

were supposed to render serpents innocuous and obedient (Ex. vii. 9; Jer. vii. 17; Eccl. x. 11), chiefly by the power of music (Nicand. *Meriac.* 162; Luc. ix. 891; Sil. Ital. 8, 495; Aen. vii. 753; Niebuhr's *Travels*, i. 189); but also no doubt by

the possession of some genuine and often hereditary secret (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* ii. 106, sq.; Arnob. *adv. Gent.* ii. 32). They had a similar power over scorpions (Frankleu's *Tour to Persia*). The whole subject is exhausted by Bochart (*Hieroz. Tom.* ii. iii. 6, *de As. fide Surdá*).

שָׁחַץ has, however, a general meaning of "learning by experience," like "to augur," in English, Gen. xxx. 27; either because ophiomancy (Ter. *P'horim.* iv. 4, 26) was common, or because the word meant (as the Rabbis say) an observation of *ἐνὸδία σύμβολα*, &c. (Jer. x. 2; Plin. xxviii. 5, 7). Some understand it of *divinatio ex pelvibus* (Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 2; Poli *Syn. ad Deut.* xviii. 10).

9. מַכְשִׁיזִים (μακακολ; *malefici, venefici*; A. V. wizards), from the Arabic, "to reveal," meaning not only astrologers proper (Chaldaei), but generally all the professed occult means of discovering the unknown. It might no doubt involve the use of divining-ropes for the purpose of Aquelicism, &c., dependent on physical laws only partially understood (Mayo's *Pop. Superstitions*).

10. חַבְרִים חַבְרָה (ἐπασιδοντες ἐπασιδῶν; *incantatores*), from חָבַר, to bind (cf. bannen = binden, Gesen. s. v.). Those who acquired power by uttering spells, &c. (καταδῶν; and ὕμνος δέσμιος, Aesch. *Eum.* 296;

"So the spell now works around thee,

And the clankless chain hath bound thee."

*Manfred*, i. 1.)

In Onkelos it is rendered רַמְטִין, a *mutterer*; and this would connect the "enchanters" with the Nekromanteis (No. 5. Is. xxix. 4).

11. Belomants. Alluded to in Ez. xxi. 21, where Nebuchadnezzar, at the parting of two ways, uses divination to decide whether he shall proceed against Jerusalem or Rabbah, and קָלַל בְּחִיצִים (τοῦ ἀναβράσαι βάβρον, I. XX.; but it should be rather *ρίψαι βέλη*, or as Vulg. *commiscens sagittas*; the other explanations are untenable). Jerome (*ad loc.*) explains it of mingling in a quiver arrows on which were inscribed the names of various cities, that city being attacked the name of which was drawn out (Prid. *Connect.* i. 85). Estius says "he threw up a bundle of arrows to see which way they would light, and falling on the right hand he marched towards Jerusalem. The A. V. "made his arrows bright," seems to allude to a sort of *σιδηρομαντεία*,—incorrectly. The arrows used were coloured and 7 such were kept at Mecca. Pietro della Valle saw a divination derived from the changes of 8 arrows at Aleppo, and attributed it to diabolical agency. We read of a somewhat similar custom in use among the ancient Teutons (Tac. *Germ.* x.), and among the Aiani (Am. Marcell. xxvi.); also among the modern Egyptians (Lauw, ii. 111.). "But of another kind was that practised by Elisha," 2 K. xiii. 15" (Sir Thos. Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, v. 23, 7).

12. Closely connected with this was *ἐλομ.* or *βαδρομαντεία* (Hom. iv. 12) מַכְשִׁיזִים. Δόλο ἱσάμενος βάβρους . . . παπούσας ἐπετήρουν δ' οὐν φέροντο, Cyr. Alex. (*ad loc.*), and so too Theophylact. Another explanation is that the positive or negative answer to the required question was decided by the equal or unequal number of *spins* in the staff (Godwyn, i. c.). Parallels are found among the Scythians (Herod. iv. 67, and Schol.

Nicandri *Σκόβαι μυρικῶν μαντεύονται* ξύλῳ), Persians (Strab. xv. p. 847), Assyrians (Athen. *Deipn.* xii. 7), Chinese (Stavrouinis' *Συνα*; Pinkerton, xi. 132), and New Zealanders (called *Niu*, Taylor's *New Zeal.* 91). These kinds of divination are expressly forbidden in the Koran, and are called *at Meisar* (ch. v. Sale's *Prelim. Dissert.* p. 89).

13. *Κυλικομαντεία*, Gen. xlv. 5 (τὸ κῶδῶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν . . . αὐτὸς δὲ οἰωνοῦσιν οἰωνίζεταί ἐν αὐτῷ; Hesych. κῶδῶν, ποτήριον βασιλικόν. *l. quo augurari solet*. Parkhurst and others, denying that divination is intended, make it a mere cup of office (Bruce's *Travels*, ii. 637) "for which he would search carefully" (a meaning which שָׁחַץ may bear). But in all probability the A. V. is right. The Nile was called the cup of Egypt, and the silver vessel which symbolised it had prophetic and mysterious properties (Hävenick, *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, ad loc.). The divination was by means of revelations from the water, or from magically inscribed gems, &c. thrown into it; a sort of *ὕδρομαντεία*, *κασποτρομαντεία*, or *κρυσταλλομαντεία* (Cardan. *de rerum Variet.* cap. 93), like the famous *nûrour of ink* (Lane, ii. 362), and the crystal divining globes, the properties of which depend on a natural law brought into notice in the recent revivals of Mesmerism. The jewelled cup of Jemsheed was a divining cup, and such a one was made by Merlin (*Færic Queen*, iii. 2, 19). Jul. Serenus (*de Fato*, ix. 18) says that after certain incantations, a demon *vocem instar sibilii edebat in aquis*. It is curious to find *κυλικομαντεία* even in the South Sea Islands (*Daily Bib. Illustr.* i. 424). For illustrations of Egyptian cups see Wilkinson, iii. 258. This kind of divination must not be confused with *Cyathomanteia* (Sukl. s. v. *κοτταβίζειν*).

14. Consultation of Terephim (Zech. x. 2; Ez. xxi. 21; *ἐπερωτῆσαι ἐν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς*; 1 Sam. xv. 23, *הָיָה* = an inquirer). These were wooden images (1 Sam. xix. 13) consulted as "idols," from which the excited worshippers fancied that they received oracular responses. The notion that they were the embalmed heads of infants on a gold plate inscribed with the name of an unclean spirit, is Rabbi Eliezer's invention. Other Rabbis think that they may mean "astrolabes, &c." [TEREPHIM.]

15. *Ἡκατοσκοπία*, or *extispicium* (Ez. xxi. 21, *κατασκοπήσασθαι ἐν ἡπατι*, *l. XXX., כִּכְבָּר הָאֵר*). The liver was the most important part of the sacrifice (Artemid. *Onciocr.* ii. 74; Suet. *Aug.* 95; Cic. *de Div.* ii. 13; Sen. *Oedip.* 360). Thus the deaths of both Alexander and Hephæstion were foretold *ἐν τῷ ἥπατι τὸ ἦπαρ ἦν ἱερέλου* (Arrian, *Allec.* vii. 18).

16. *Ὀνειρομαντεία* (Deut. xiii. 2, 3; Judg. vii. 13; Jer. xxiii. 32; Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 4). God frequently revealed Himself by dreams when the soul was thought to be least debased by contact with the body (*εἰδουσα γὰρ φῆν ὁρμασιν λαμπρύνεται*. Aesch. *Eum.*). Many warnings occur in Scripture against the impostures attendant on the interpretation of dreams (Zech. x. 2, &c.). We find however no direct trace of *seeking* for dreams such as occurs in Virg. *Aen.* vii. 81; Plaut. *Cureul.* i. 1, 2, 61. [DREAMS.]

17. The consultation of oracles may be considered as another form of divination (Js. xli. 21-24, xlv. 7). The term oracle is applied to the

Holy of Holies (1 K. vi. 16; Ps. cxviii. 2, דְּבַר, *דַּבְּהָרַתָּא תִּתִּיבֵי תִּתִּיבֵי תִּתִּיבֵי*, Lev. Ma.; Hottinger, *Theol. Phil.* p. 366). That there were several oracles of heathen gods known to the Jews we may infer both from the mention of that of Bael-zebub at Ekron (2 K. i. 2-6), and from the towns named *Idbir*. "Idbir quod nos *oraculum* sive *responsum* possumus appellare, et ut contentiosius verbum exprimaamus e verbo *λαλητήριον*, vel *locutorium* dicere" (Hieron. *ad Eph.* i.). The word "oracles" is applied in the N. T. to the Scriptures (Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2, &c.). On the general subject of oracles see Anton. v. *Dale de oraculis*; *Dict. of Ant. Art. Oraculum*; Potter's *Antiq.* i. 286-326; Sir T. Browne, *Tract* xi., and *Vulp. Err.* vii. 12, &c.

18. It only remains to allude to the fact that superstitious importance was peculiarly attached to the words of dying men. And although the observed fact that "men sometimes at the hour of their departure do speak and reason above themselves" (*Relig. Medici*, xi.) does not of course take away from the death bed prophecies of Scripture their supernatural character (Gen. xlix.; 2 K. xiii., &c.), yet it is interesting to find that there are analogies which resemble them (II. xii. 355; and the story of Calanus; Cic. *de Div.* i. 30; Shakspeare, *Rich.* ii. 2, 1; Daniel, *Civil Wars*, iii. 62, &c.).

Moses forbade every species of divination (cf. *Koran*, ch. v.; Cato *de Re Rust.* 3, *omni superstitione rudes animos infestant*, Columell. ii. 1), because a prying into the future clouds the mind with superstition, and because it would have been (as indeed it proved to be, Is. ii. 6; 2 K. xxi. 6) an incentive to idolatry; indeed the frequent denunciations of the sin in the prophets tend to prove that these forbidden arts presented peculiar temptations to apostate Israel (Hottinger, *Jur. Hebr. Lec.* 253, 254). But God supplied his people with substitutes for divination, which would have rendered it superfluous, and left them in no doubt as to his will in circumstances of danger, had they continued faithful. It was only when they were unfaithful that the revelation was withdrawn (1 Sam. xxviii. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 1, v. 23, &c.). According to the Rabbis the Urim and Thummim lasted until the temple; the spirit of prophecy until Malachi; and the Bath Kol, as the sole means of guidance from that time downwards (Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Maimonides, *de Fendim. Leg.* cap. 7; Abarbanel *Prolegg. in Daniel*).

How far Moses and the Prophets believed in the reality of necromancy, &c., as distinguished from various forms of imposture is a question which at present does not concern us. But even if, in those times, they did hold such a belief, no one will now urge that we are bound to do so at the present day. And yet such was the opinion of Bacon, Bp. Hall, Baxter, Sir Thos. Browne, Lavater, Glanville, Henry More, and numberless other eminent men. Such also was the opinion which led Sir M. Hale to burn Amy Duny and Rose Cullenden at Bury in 1664; and caused even Wesley to say, that "to give up a belief in witchcraft was to give up the Bible." We recommend this statement, in contrast with the all but universal disbelief in such superstitions now, to thoughtful consideration. (For a curious statute against witchcraft (5 Eliz. cap. 15), see Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 366.)

Superstition not unfrequently goes hand in hand with scepticism, and hence, amid the general infidelity prevalent through the Roman empire at our

Lord's coming, imposture was rampant; as a glance at the pages of Tacitus will suffice to prove. Hence the lucrative trades of such men as Simon Magus (Acts xv. 9), Bar-jesus (Acts xiii. 6, 8), the slave with the spirit of Python (Acts xvi. 16), the vagabond Jews, exorcists (Luke xi. 19; Acts xix. 13), and other *γόητρος* (2 Tim. iii. 13; Rev. xiv. 20, &c.), as well as the notorious dealers in magical *βιβλοι* (*Εφέσια γράμματα*) and *πεπλεγνα* at Ephesus (Acts xix. 19). Among the Jews these flagrant impostors (*ἀπατεῶνες*, Jos.) had become dangerously numerous, especially during the Jewish war; and we find them constantly alluded to in Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, §1, 2; cf. Matt. xxiv. 23-24; Tac. *H. v.* 12; *Ant.* xv. 5, §1, &c.). As was natural, they, like most Orientals, especially connected the name of Solomon with their spells and incantations (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2). The names of the main writers on this wide and interesting subject will be found mentioned in the course of the article, and others are referred to in Fabricius *Bibl. Antig.* cap. xii., and Böttcher, *de Inferis*, pp. 101 sq. [F. W. F.]

**DIVORCE.** The law regulating this subject is found Deut. xxiv. 1-4, and the cases in which the right of a husband to divorce his wife was lost, are stated ib. xxii. 19, 29. The ground of divorce was what the text calls a *דבר רב*, on the meaning of which the Jewish doctors of the period of the N. T. widely differed; the school of Shammai seeming to limit it to a moral delinquency in the woman, whilst that of Hillel extended it to trifling causes, e. g., if the wife burnt the food she was cooking for her husband.\* The Pharisees wished perhaps to embroil our Saviour with these rival schools by their question (Matt. xiv. 3); by His answer to which, as well as by His previous maxim (v. 31), he declares that but for their hardened state of heart, such questions would have no place. Yet from the distinction made, "but I say unto you," v. 31, 32, it seems to follow, that He regarded all the lesser causes than "fornication" as standing on too weak ground, and declined the question of how to interpret the words of Moses. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that by *דבר רב*, to which he limited the remedy of divorce, Moses meant "fornication," i. e. adultery, for that would have been to stultify the law "that such should be stoned" (John viii. 5; Lev. xx. 10). The practical difficulty, however, which attends on the doubt which is now found in interpreting Moses' words will be lessened if we consider, that the mere giving "a bill (or rather "book" *סֵפֶר*) of divorcement" (comp. Is. i. 1; Jer. iii. 8), would in ancient times require the intervention of a Levite, not only to secure the formal correctness of the instrument, but because the art of writing was then generally unknown. This would bring the matter under the cognizance of legal authority, and tend to check the rash exercise of the right by the husband. Traditional opinion and prescriptive practice would probably fix the standard of the *דבר רב*, and doubtless with the lax general morality which marks the decline of the Jewish polity, that standard would be lowered (Mal. ii. 14-16). Thus the Gemar. *Babyl. Gittin*. 9 (ap. Selden, *de uz. Heb.* iii. 17) allows

\* Mishna Gittin, ix. 10. R. Akibah allows divorce if the husband merely saw a wife whose appearance pleased him better.

divorce for a wife's spinning in public, or going out with head uncovered or clothes so torn as not properly to conceal her person from sight. But the absence of any case in point in the period which lay nearest to the lawgiver himself, or in any, save a much more recent one, makes the whole question one of great uncertainty. The case of Phalti and Michal is not in point, being merely an example of one arbitrary act redressed by another (1 Sam. xxv. 44; comp. 2 Sam. iii. 14-16). Selden, quoting (*de uz. Heb.* iii. 19) Zohar, *Præf.* p. 8 b, &c., speaks of an alleged custom of the husband, when going to war, giving the wife the *libellus divorcii*; but the authority is of slight value, and the fact improbable. It is contrary to all known Oriental usage to suppose that the right of quitting their husband and choosing another was allowed to women (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 7, §10). Salome is noted (*ibid.*) as the first example of it;—one, no doubt, derived from the growing prevalence of heathen laxity. Hence also, probably, the caution given 1 Cor. vii. 10. Winer is surely mistaken (*s. v. Ehescheidung*) in supposing that a man might take back as wife her whom he had divorced, except in the cases when her second husband had died or had divorced her. Such resumption is contemplated by the lawgiver as only possible in those two cases, and therefore is in them only expressly forbidden (Jer. iii. 1).

For the view taken among later Jews on this subject, see Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, §23, xvi. 7, §3; *Vit.* 76, a writer whose practice seems to have been in accordance with the views of Hillel. On the general subject Buxtorf, *de Sponsal. et Divort.* 82-83; Selden, *Uxor Hebr.* iii. 17 ff.; and Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, ii. 336, may be consulted. [H. H.]

**DIZ'AHAB** (*דִּזְאָהָב*; *κατ'ἀρχοσεία*; *ubi aurum est plurimum*), a place in the Arabian Desert, mentioned Deut. i. 1, as limiting the position of the spot in which Moses is there represented as addressing the Israelites. It is by Robinson (i. 147, ii. 187, note) identified with *Dahab*, a cape on the W. shore of the *Gulf of Akabah* about two-thirds down its length; see further under *WILDERNESS*. The name seems to mean "lord," i. e. "possessor of" (Arab. *ذو* and *دَى* = Heb. *פֶּעַל* gold;") probably given from that metal having been there found. Gesen. s. v. [H. H.]

**DO'CUS**<sup>b</sup> (*Δάκ*; Jos. *Δαγών*; *Doch*; Syr. *ܕܐܝܬܐ*; *Doak*), a "little hold" (*τὸ ὀχύρωμα*; *munitionculum*) near Jericho (1 Macc. xvi. 15, comp. verse 14) built by Ptolemy the son of Abubus, and in which he entertained and murdered his father-in-law Simon Maccabæus, with his two sons. By Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, 1; *B. J.* i. 2, 2) it is called *Dagon*, and said to have been "one of the fortresses (*ἐργυμάτων*) above Jericho. The name still remains in the neighbourhood, attached to the copious and excellent springs of *Ain-Dak*, which burst forth in the *Wady Nane'ineh*, at the foot of the mountain of Quarantania (*Quruntul*), about 4 miles N.W. of Jericho. Above the springs are traces of ancient foundations, which may be those of Ptolemy's castle, but more probably of that of the Templars, one of whose stations this was: it stood as late as the latter end of the 13th century,

<sup>b</sup> It would be interesting to know whence the form of the name used in the A. V. was derived.

when it was visited by Brocardus. (See Rob. i. 571, and the quotations in 572, note.) [G.]

**DOD'AI** (דודאי; Δωδία; *Dadi*), an Ahoite who commanded the course of the 2nd month (1 Chr. xxvii. 4). It is probable that he is the same as Dodo, whose name in the *Cetib* and in the LXX. is Dodai, and that the words "Elenaz son of" have been omitted from the above passage in Chronicles. [Dodo, 2.]

**DODA'NIM** (דודנים; Δωδαιοι; *Dodunim*), Gen. x. 4; 1 Chr. i. 7 (in some copies and in marg. of A. V. 1 Chr. i. 7, **RODANIM**, רודנים), a family or race descended from Javan, the son of Japhet (Gen. x. 4; 1 Chr. i. 7). Authorities vary as to the form of the name: the Hebrew text has both. Dodanum appears in the Syriac, Chaklee, Vulgate, Persian, and Arabic versions, and in the Targum of Onkelos; Rodanum is supported by the LXX., the Samaritan version, and some early writers, as Eusebius and Cosmas. The weight of authority is in favour of the former; the substitution of Δωδαιοι in the LXX. may have arisen from familiarity with that name (comp. Ez. xxvii. 15, where it is again substituted for Dedan). Dodanum is regarded as identical with Dardani (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 1266), the latter, which is the original form, having been modified by the change of the liquid *r* into *d*, as in Barmilear and Bonilear. Hamilear and Hamilco. Thus the Targum of Jonathan, that on Chronicles, and the Jerusalem Talmud give Dardania for Dodanum. The Dardani were found in historical times in Illyricum and Troy; the former district was regarded as their original seat. They were probably a semi-Pelasgic race, and are grouped with the Chittim in the genealogical table, as more closely related to them than to the other branches of the Pelasgic race (Kuobel, *Völkertafel*, pp. 104 ff.). The similarity of the name Dodona in Epirus has led to the identification of Dodanum with that place; but a mere local designation appears too restricted for the general tenour of Gen. x. Kalisch (*Comm. on Gen.*) identifies Dodanum with the Daunians, who occupied the coast of Apulia: he regards the name as referring to Italy generally. The wide and unexplained difference of the names, and the comparative unimportance of the Daunian form objections to this view. [W. L. B.]

**DODA'VAH** (acc. DODAVAHU; דודאבא; Δωδία; Alex. Δδία; *Dodona*), a man of Mavsha in Judah, father of Eliezer who denounced Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahaziah (2 Chr. xx. 37). In the Jewish traditions Dodavah is the son of Jehoshaphat, who was also his uncle (Jerome, *Qu. Heb. ad loc.*).

**DODO**. 1. (דודי; Δουδιδ and Δωδωδ; *patruus ejus*), a man of Bethlehem, father of Elihu, who was one of David's "thirty" captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 24; 1 Chr. xi. 26). He is a different person from

2. DODO THE AHOITE, father of Elenaz, the 2nd of the three "mighty men" who were over the "thirty" (2 Sam. xxiii. 9; 1 Chr. xi. 12). He, or his son—in which case we must suppose the words "Elenaz son of" to have escaped from the text—probably had the command of the second monthly course (1 Chr. xxvii. 4). In the latter passage the name is DODAI (דודאי; Δωδία, Alex. Δωαία); but this form occurs in the Hebrew text (*Cetib*) of 2 Sam. xxiii. 9 (דודי), and in the LXX. of all; and in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §4; Δωδελος); and

is believed by Kennicott (*Dissertation*, §c. 134), who has examined these lists with great minuteness, to be the correct one. The Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 1 Chr. xi. 12) was, that Dodo was the brother of Jesse.

3. A man of Issachar, forefather of Tola the Judge (Judg. x. 1). The LXX. and Vulg. renderings are remarkable; πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ: *patrui Abimelech*. [G.]

**DO'EG** (דוג; Δωγκ; *Doeg*), an Idumean (LXX. and Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 12, §1, δ Ξέρως) chief of Saul's herdsmen ("having charge of the mules"). He was at Nob when Ahimelech gave David the sword of Goliath, and not only gave information to Saul, but when others declined the office, himself executed the king's order to destroy the priests of Nob, with their families, to the number of 85 persons, together with all their property (1 Sam. xvi. 7, xxi. 9, 17, 22; Ps. lii.). A question has arisen on the nature of the business by which he was "detained before the Lord" (דוג, συνεχόμενος Νεεσσαράν; *intus in tabernaculo Domini*). The difficulty which lies in the idea that Doeg was a foreigner, and so incapable of a Nazirite vow (*Mischn. de Votiv.* ix. 1, Surenh.), is explained by the probable supposition that he was a proselyte, attending under some vow or some act of purification at the Tabernacle (1 Sam. xx. 18; *Ant. Sacr.* Patrick, Calmet; Ges. p. 1059; Winer, s. v. *Doeg*; Thenius, *ad loc.* in *kurzy. exeg. Hdb.*). [H. W. P.]

**DOG** (דָּוֶג; κυών, κυνάριον; *canis*), an animal frequently mentioned in Scripture. It was used by the Hebrews as a watch for their houses (Is. lvi. 10), and for guarding their flocks (Joh xxx. 1). Then also as now, troops of hungry and semi-wild dogs used to wander about the fields and streets of the cities, devouring dead bodies and other offal (1 K. xiv. 11, xvi. 4, xxi. 19, 23, xxii. 38, 2 K. ix. 10, 36; Jer. xv. 3, Ps. lix. 6, 14), and thus became such objects of dislike that fierce and cruel enemies are poetically styled dogs in Ps. xxii. 16, 20. Moreover the dog being an unclean animal (Is. lvi. 3; Hor. *Ep.* i. 2, 26, *canis immundus et amicus luto sus*), the terms *dog*, *dead dog*, *dog's head* were used as terms of reproach, or of humility in speaking of one's self (1 Sam. xxiv. 14; 2 Sam. iii. 8, ix. 8, xvi. 9; 2 K. viii. 13). Knox relates a story of a nobleman of Ceylon who being asked by the king how many children he had, replied—"Your Majesty's dog has three puppies." Throughout the whole East "dog" is a term of reproach for impure and profane persons, and in this sense is used by the Jews respecting the Gentiles (Rev. xii. 15; comp. Schottgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. 1145), and by Mohammedans respecting Christians. The wanton nature of the dog is another of its characteristics, and there can be no doubt that דָּוֶג in Deut. xxiii. 18 means *scortum virile*, i. q. דָּוֶג; comp. Ecclus. xxvi. 25—"A shameless woman shall be counted as a dog," Hesyeh. *Κυνὴς ἀναδελφίς*. Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 350) mentions to have seen on the very site of Jezreel the descendants of the dogs that devoured Jezebel, prowling on the mounds without the walls for offal and carrion thrown out to them to consume; and Wood, in his Journal to the source of the Oxus, complains that the dog has not yet arrived at his natural position in the social state. We still use the name of one of the noblest creatures in the world as a term of contempt. To ask an Uzbek to

sell his wife would be no affront, but to ask him to sell his dog an unpardonable insult—*Suggerferosh* or dog-seller being the most offensive epithet that one Uzbek can apply to another. The addition of the article (τοῖς κυνῶσις, Matt. xv. 26; Mark vii. 27) implies that the presence of dogs was an ordinary feature of Eastern life in our Saviour's time.

As to the etymology of the word, Bochart thinks that it has reference to the firmness and tenacity of

a dog's bite, and compares *كلبة* = *forcipes*; but this word is more probably itself derived from

*كلب*, a dog.

The root of *כלב* is an unused verb *כלל*, to *strike* = Germ. *klappen*; and thence to *bark* = Germ. *klaffen*. Fr. *clapir*. [W. D.]

## DOORS. [GATES.]

DOPH'KAH (דֹּפְקָה; 'Paphka, the LXX. apparently reading *ῥ* for *ῥ*; *Daphca*), a place mentioned Num. xxxiii. 12, as a station in the Desert where the Israelites encamped; see WILDERNESS. [H. H.]

DOR (דֹּר and דָּר, Josh. xvii. 11, 1 K. iv. 11; *Δῶρ*, *Ḍāra*, 1 Macc. xv. 11), an ancient royal city of the Canaanites (Josh. xii. 23), whose ruler was an ally of Jabin king of Hazor against Joshua (Josh. xi. 1, 2). It was probably the most southern settlement of the Phoenicians on the coast of Syria (Jos. Vit. 8; *Ant.* xv. 9, §8). Josephus describes it as a maritime city, on the west border of Manasseh and the north border of Dan (*Ant.* v. 1, §22, viii. 2, §3, *B. J.* i. 7, §7), near Mount Carmel (*c. Ap.* ii. 10). One old author tells us that it was founded by Dorus a son of Neptune, while another affirms that it was built by the Phoenicians, because the neighbouring rocky shore abounded in the small shell-fish from which they got the purple dye (Steph. B. s. v.; Reland, *Pal.* p. 739). It appears to have been within the territory of the tribe of Asher, though allotted to Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27). The original inhabitants were never expelled; but during the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon they were made tributary (Judg. i. 27, 28), and the latter monarch stationed at Dor one of his twelve purveyors (1 K. iv. 11). Tryphon, the murderer of Jonathan Maccabaeus and usurper of the throne of Syria, having sought an asylum in Dor, the city was besieged and captured by Antiochus Sidetes (1 Macc. xv. 11). It was subsequently rebuilt by Gabinius the Roman general, along with Samaria, Ashdod, and other cities of Palestine (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 5, §3), and it remained an important place during the early years of the Roman rule in Syria. Its coins are numerous, bearing the legend *Ḍāra iepā* (Vaillant, *Num. Imp.*). It became an episcopal city of the province of *Palestina Prima*, but was already ruined and deserted in the fourth century (Hieron. in *Epitaph. Paulae*).

Of the site of Dor there can be no doubt. The descriptions of Josephus and Jerome are clear and full. The latter places it on the coast, "in the ninth mile from Caesarea, on the way to Ptole-

mais" (*Onom. s. v. Dora*). Just at the point indicated is the small village of *Tantāra*, probably an Arab corruption of *Dora*, consisting of about thirty houses, wholly constructed of ancient materials. Three hundred yards north are low rocky mounds projecting into the sea, covered with heaps of rubbish, massive foundations, and fragments of columns. The most conspicuous ruin is a section of an old tower, 30 ft. or more in height, which forms the landmark of *Tantāra*. On the south side of the promontory, opposite the village, is a little harbour, partially sheltered by two or three small islands. A spur of Mount Carmel, steep and partially wooded, runs parallel to the coast line, at the distance of about a mile and a half. Between its base and the sandy beach is a rich and beautiful plain—this is possibly the "border," "coast," or "region" of Dor (דֹּר) in Hebrew, Josh. xi. 2, xii. 23; 1 K. iv. 11) referred to in Scripture. The district is now almost wholly deserted, being exposed to the raids of the wild Bedawin who pasture their flocks on the rich plain of Sharon. [J. L. P.]

## DOR'CAS. [TANITIA.]

DORYMENES (Δορυμένης), father of Ptolemy, surnamed Macron (1 Macc. iii. 36; 2 Macc. iv. 45). As this Ptolemy was in the service of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, before he deserted to Antiochus Epiphanes, it is probable that his father Dorymenes is the same Dorymenes who fought against Antiochus the Great (Polyb. v. 61).

DOSITHEUS (Δοσίθεος), "a priest and Levite," who carried the translation of Esther to Egypt (Esth. xi. 1, 2). It is scarcely likely that he is identical with the Dositheus who is mentioned by Josephus (*c. Ap.* ii. 5) as one of the "commanders of the forces" of Ptol. VI. Philometor, though he probably lived in the reign of that monarch. [B. F. W.]

## DO'THAIM. [DOTHAN.]

DO'THAN (once דֹּתַן, DOTHAIN, and in contracted form דֹּתַן; = possibly "two wells" - Gen. 332, 568; *Δωθαίμ*, *Δωθαίμ*; *Dothain*), a place first mentioned (Gen. xxxvii. 17) in connexion with the history of Joseph, and apparently as in the neighbourhood of Shechem. It next appears as the residence of Elisha (2 K. vi. 13), and the scene of a remarkable vision of horses and chariots of fire surrounding "the mountain" (הַר), on which the city stood. It is not again mentioned in the O. T.; but later still we encounter it—then evidently well known—as a landmark in the account of Holofernes' campaign against Bethulia (Jud. iv. 6, vi. 3, 18, vii. 3). The change in the name DOTHAIM is due to the Greek text, from which this book is translated. In the Vat. and Alex. and Vulg. text—it is also mentioned in Jud. iii. 9, where the A. V. has "Judea" (*Ἰουδαίας* for *Δωθαίας*), and all these passages testify to its situation being in the centre of the country near the southern edge of the great plain of Esdraelon.

Dothain was known to Eusebius (*Onomasticon*), who places it 12 miles to the N. of Sebaste (Samaria); and here it has been at length discovered

\* This passage was a great puzzle to the old geographers, not only from the corrupt reading, *Ἰουδαίας*, mentioned above, but also from the expression, still found in the text, τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου; A. V. "the great strait;" literally, "the great saw." The knot

was cut by Reland, who conjectured most ingeniously that *πρὸς* was the translation of מִשְׁוֹר, *Masor* = a saw, which was a corruption of מִישׁוֹר, *Mishor* = "the plain" (Reland, 742, §3).

in our own times<sup>b</sup> by Mr. Van de Velde (i. 364, &c.) and Dr. Robinson (iii. 122), still bearing its ancient name unimpaired, and situated at the south end of a plain of the richest pasture, 4 or 5 miles S.W. of *Jenin*, and separated only by a swell or two of hills from the plain of Esdraelon. The *Tell* or mound on which the ruins stand is described as very large—"huge," Van de Velde, i. 364; at its southern foot is still a fine spring. Close to it is an ancient road, running N. and S., the remains of the massive (Jewish?) pavement of which are still distinguishable (V. de Velde, 369, 70). The great road from *Bésán* to Egypt also passes near *Dothan* (Rob. iii. 122). The traditional site was at the *Khan Jubb Yásuf* near *Tell Hám*, at the N. of the Sea of Galilee. (See the quotations in Rob. ii. 419.) It need hardly be said that this position is in accordance with the requirements of the narrative. [G.]

### DOVE (*Yonah*, יוֹנָה; *περιστέρα*; *columba*).

The first mention of this bird occurs in Gen. viii., where it appears as Noah's second messenger sent forth from the ark to ascertain if the waters had abated, and returns from its second mission with an olive leaf in its mouth. The dove's rapidity of flight is alluded to in Ps. lv. 6; the beauty of its plumage in Ps. lxxviii. 13; its dwelling in the rocks and valleys in Jer. xlviii. 28, and Ez. vii. 16; its mournful voice in Is. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11; Nah. ii. 7; its harmlessness in Matt. x. 16; its simplicity in Hos. vii. 11, and its amative nature in Cant. i. 15, ii. 14, &c. The last characteristic, according to Gesenius, is the origin of the Hebrew word, from an unused root יוֹן (יוֹן), to grow warm (comp. Arab. وَحْنُ, to burn with anger, and Gr. *laivō*). None of the other derivations proposed for the word are at all probable; nor can we with Winer regard a word of this form as primitive. It is similar to טוֹבָה, from the root טוֹב. Doves are kept in a domesticated state in many parts of the East. The pigeon-cot is an universal feature in the houses of Upper Egypt. In Persia pigeon-houses are erected at a distance from the dwellings, for the purpose of collecting the dung as manure. There is probably an allusion to such a custom in Is. lx. 8. Stanley (S. & P., p. 257), speaking of Ascalon as the haunt of the Syrian Venus, says: "Her temple is destroyed, but the sacred doves—sacred by immemorial legends on the spot and celebrated there even as late as Eusebius—still fill with their cooings the luxuriant gardens which grow in the sandy hollow within the ruined walls." It is supposed that the dove was placed upon the standards of the Assyrians and Babylonians in honour of Semhāmī. Tibullus (i. 7) says:

"Quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes  
Alba Palæstina sancta columba Syro."

This explains the expression in Jer. xxv. 38, כְּפָנֵי חֶרֶב, "from before the fierceness of the dove," i. e. the Assyrian (comp. Jer. xli. 16, l. 16). There is, however, no representation of the dove among the sculptures of Nineveh, so that it could hardly have been a common emblem of the nation at the time when they were executed; and the

word in the above three passages of Jeremiah admits another interpretation. (See *Ges. Thes.* p. 601 a.) In 2 K. vi. 25, in describing the famine in Samaria, it is stated that "the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung was sold for five pieces of silver" (רְבִייוֹנִים, דְּבִייוֹנִים; *κόρυς περιστέρων*; *stercoris columbarum*). רְבִייוֹנִים, i. e. רְבִי וְזֵנִים, is from a root signifying to deposit ordure. There seems good reason for taking this as a literal statement, and that the straits of the besieged were such that they did not hesitate even to eat such revolting food as is here mentioned (comp. Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 32; Maurer on 2 K. vi. 25). The notion that some vegetable production is meant which was called by this name, may be compared with the fact that the Arabs call the herb *Kali خور العصار* = sparrows' dung, and in German the *asafœtida* is called *Teufelsdröck*. [W. D.]

### DOWRY. [MARRIAGE.]

**DRACHMA** (*δραχμή*; *drachma*; 2 Macc. iv. 19, x. 20, xii. 43; Luke xv. 8, 9), a Greek silver coin, varying in weight on account of the use of different talents. The Jews must have been acquainted with three talents, the Ptolemaic, used in Egypt and at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, and adopted for their own shekels; the Phœnician, used at Aradus and by the Persians; and the Attic, which was almost universal in Europe, and in great part of Asia. The drachmæ of these talents weigh respectively, during the period of the Maccabees, about 55 grs. troy, 58·5, and 66. The drachms mentioned in 2 Macc. are probably of the Seleucidæ, and therefore of the Attic standard; but in Luke denarii seem to be intended, for the Attic drachma had been at that time reduced to about the same weight as the Roman denarius as well as the Ptolemaic drachma, and was wholly or almost superseded by it. This explains the remark of Josephus, *σικλὸς . . . Ἀττικὰ δέξεται δράχμας τέσσαρας* (*Ant.* iii. 8, §2), for the four Ptolemaic drachmæ of the shekel, as equal to four denarii of his time, were also equal to four Attic drachmæ [MONEY; SILVER, PIECE OF]. [R. S. P.]

**DRAGON.** The translators of the A. V., apparently following the Vulgate, have rendered by the same word "dragon" the two Hebrew words *Tan*, תַּן, and *Tannin*, תַּנִּין. The similarity of the forms of the words may easily account for this confusion, especially as the masculine plural of the former, *Tannin*, actually assumes (in Lam. iv. 3) the form *Tannin*, and, on the other hand, *Tannin* is evidently written for the singular *Tannin* in Ez. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2. But the words appear to be quite distinct in meaning; and the distinction is generally, though not universally, preserved by the LXX.

1. The former is used, always in the plural, in Job xxx. 29; Is. xxxiv. 13, xliii. 20 (*serpentes*); in Is. xlii. 22 (*dragones*); in Jer. x. 22, xlix. 33 (*serpentes*); in Ps. xlii. 19 (*serpentes*); and in Jer. ix. 11, xiv. 6, li. 37; Mic. i. 8 (*serpentes*). The feminine plural *Tannin* is found in Mal. i. 3; a passage altogether differently translated by the

1845 (p. 168); but neither of these travellers gives any account of the site.

<sup>b</sup> In the first and second of these passages the Vulg. has *didrachma*.

<sup>b</sup> It is right to say that the true site of Dothan was known to the Jewish traveller Rabbi ha-Parchi, A.D. 1300 (see Zunz's extracts in notes to Benjamin of Tudela, Asher's ed. ii. 434), and to Schwarz, A.D.

LXX. It is always applied to some creatures inhabiting the desert, and connected generally with the words  $\text{נָחָשׁ}$  ("ostrich") and  $\text{נֶקֶד}$  ("jackal"?). We should conclude from this that it refers rather to some wild beast than to a serpent, and this conclusion is rendered almost certain by the comparison of the *tannin* in Jer. xiv. 6, to the wild asses snuffing the wind, and the reference to their "wailing" in Mic. i. 8, and perhaps in Job xxx. 29. The Syriac (see Winer, *Realw.* s. v. *Schakal*) renders it by a word which, according to Pococke, means a "jackal" (a beast whose peculiarly mournful howl in the desert is well known), and it seems most probable that this or some cognate species is to be understood whenever the word *tan* occurs.

II. The word *tannia*,  $\text{תַּנְיָא}$  (plur.  $\text{תַּנְיָיִם}$ ), is always rendered as *δράκων* in the LXX., except in Gen. i. 21, where we find *κῆρος*. It seems to refer to any great monster, whether of the land or the sea,<sup>a</sup> being indeed more usually applied to some kind of serpent or reptile, but not exclusively restricted to that sense. When referring to the sea it is used as a parallel to  $\text{לִיָּתָן}$  ("Leviathan"), as in Is. xxvii. 1; and indeed this latter word is rendered in the LXX. by *δράκων*, in Ps. lxxiv. 14, civ. 26; Job xl. 20; Is. xxvii. 1; and by *μέγα κῆρος* in Job iii. 8. When we examine special passages we find the word used in Gen. i. 21, of the great sea-monsters, the representatives of the inhabitants of the deep. The same sense is given to it in Ps. lxxiv. 13 (where it is again connected with "Leviathan"), Ps. cxlviii. 7, and probably in Job vii. 12 (Vulg. *octus*). On the other hand, in Ex. vii. 9, 10, 12, Deut. xxxii. 33, Ps. cxi. 13, it refers to land-serpents of a powerful and deadly kind. It is also applied metaphorically to Pharaoh or to Egypt (Is. li. 9; Ez. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2; perhaps Ps. lxxiv. 13), and in that case, especially as feet are attributed to it, it most probably refers to the crocodile as the well-known emblem of Egypt. When, however, it is used of the king of Babylon, as in Jer. li. 34, the same propriety would lead us to suppose that some great serpent, such as might inhabit the sandy plains of Babylonia, is intended.<sup>c</sup>

Such is the usage of the word in the O. T. in the N. T. it is only found in the Apocalypse (Rev. xii. 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 17, &c.), as applied metaphorically to "the old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan," the description of the "dragon" being dictated by the symbolical meaning of the image rather than by any reference to any actually existing creature. Of similar personification, either of an evil spirit or of the powers of material Nature as distinct from God, we have traces in the extensive prevalence of dragon-worship, and existence of dragon-temples of peculiar serpentine form, the use of dragon-standards both in the east, especially in Egypt (see also the apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon), and in the west, more particularly among the Celtic tribes. The most remarkable of all, perhaps, is found in the Greek legend of Apollo as the slayer of the Python, and the supplanter of the serpent-worship by a higher wisdom. The reason, at least of the scriptural symbol, is to be sought not only in the union of gigantic power with

craft and malignity, of which the serpent is the natural emblem, but in the record of the serpent's agency in the temptation (Gen. iii.). [SERPENT.] [A. B.]

DREAMS ( $\text{חֲלֹמִים}$ ; *ἐνύπνια*; *somnia*; *καὶ ὄνειρος* in LXX., and *καὶ ὄναρ* in St. Matthew, are generally used for "in a dream"). The Scriptural record of God's communication with man by dreams has been so often supposed to involve much difficulty, that it seems not out of place to refer briefly to the nature and characteristics of dreams generally, before enumerating and classifying the dreams recorded in Scripture.

I. The main difference between our sleeping and waking thoughts appears to lie in this,—that, in the former case, the perceptive faculties of the mind (the sensational powers,<sup>a</sup> and the imagination which combines the impressions derived from them) are active, while the reflective powers (the reason or judgment by which we control those impressions, and distinguish between those which are imaginary or subjective and those which correspond to, and are produced by, objective realities) are generally asleep. Milton's account of dreams (in *Par. Lost*, Book v. 100–113) seems as accurate as it is striking:—

"But know, that in the mind  
Are many lesser faculties, that serve  
Reason as chief: among these fancy next  
Her office holds; of all external things,  
Which the five watchful senses represent,  
She forms imaginations, airy shapes,  
Which reason, joining or disjoining, frames  
All what we affirm, or what deny, and call  
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires  
Into her private cell, when nature sleeps."

Thus it is that the impressions of dreams are in themselves vivid, natural, and picturesque, occasionally gifted with an intuition beyond our ordinary powers, but strangely incongruous and often grotesque; the emotion of surprise or incredulity, which arises from a sense of incongruity, or of unlikeness to the ordinary course of events, being in dreams a thing unknown. The mind seems to be surrendered to that power of association by which, even in its waking hours, if it be inactive and inclined to "musing," it is often carried through a series of thoughts connected together by some vague and accidental association, until the reason, when it starts again into activity, is scarcely able to trace back the slender line of connexion. The difference is, that, in this latter case, we are aware that the connexion is of our own making, while in sleep it appears to be caused by an actual succession of events.

Such is usually the case, yet there is a class of dreams, seldom noticed and indeed less common, but recognised by the experience of many, in which the reason is not wholly asleep. In these cases it seems to look on as it were from without, and so to have a double consciousness: on the one hand we enter into the events of the dream, as though real, on the other we have a sense that it is but a dream, and a fear lest we should awake and its pageant should pass away.

In either case the ideas suggested are accepted

<sup>a</sup> Greenius derives it from an obsolete root  $\text{נָחַ$ , "to extend."

<sup>c</sup> The application of Is. xxvii. 1, appears more uncertain.

<sup>a</sup> These powers are to be carefully distinguished (as in Butler's *Analogy*, part i. c. 1) from the organs through which they are exercised when we are awake.

by the mind in dreams at once and inevitably, instead of being weighed and tested, as in our waking hours. But it is evident that the method of such suggestion is still undetermined, and in fact is no more capable of being accounted for by any single cause than the suggestion of waking thoughts. The material of these latter is supplied either by ourselves, through the senses, the memory, and the imagination, or by other men, generally through the medium of words, or lastly by the direct action of the Spirit of God, or of created spirits of orders superior to our own, or the spirit within us. So also it is in dreams. In the first place, although memory and imagination supply most of the material of dreams, yet physical sensations of cold and heat, of pain or of relief, even actual impressions of sound or of light will often mould or suggest dreams, and the physical organs of speech will occasionally be made use of to express the emotions of the dreamer. In the second place, instances have been known where a few words whispered into a sleeper's ear have produced a dream corresponding to their subject. On these two points experience gives undoubted testimony; as to the third, it can, from the nature of the case, speak but vaguely and uncertainly. The Scripture declares, not as any strange thing, but as a thing of course, that the influence of the Spirit of God upon the soul extends to its sleeping as well as its waking thoughts. It declares that God communicates with the spirit of man directly in dreams, and also that He permits created spirits to have a like communication with it. Its declaration is to be weighed, not as an isolated thing, but in connexion with the general doctrine of spiritual influence; because any theory of dreams must be regarded as a part of the general theory of the origination of all thought.

II. It is, of course, with this last class of dreams that we have to do in Scripture. The dreams of memory or imagination are indeed referred to in Eccl. v. 3; Is. xxix. 8; but it is the history of the Revelation of the Spirit of God to the spirit of man, whether sleeping or waking, which is the proper subject of Scripture itself.

It must be observed that, in accordance with the principle enunciated by S. Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 15, dreams, in which the understanding is asleep, are recognised indeed as a method of divine revelation, but placed below the visions of prophecy, in which the understanding plays its part.<sup>b</sup> It is true that the book of Job, standing as it does on the basis of "natural religion," dwells on dreams and "visions in deep sleep" as the chosen method of God's revelation of Himself to man (see Job iv. 13, vii. 14, xxii. 15). But in Num. xii. 6; Deut. xiii. 1, 3, 5; Jer. xxvii. 9; Joel ii. 28, &c., dreamers of dreams, whether true or false, are placed below "prophets," and even below "diviners;" and similarly in the climax of 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, we read that "the Lord answered Saul not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim [by symbol], nor by prophets." Under the Christian dispensation, while we find frequently of trances (*ἐκστασεις*) and visions (*ὁρασεις*, *ὁράματα*), dreams are never referred to as vehicles of divine revelation. In exact accordance with this principle

are the actual records of the dreams sent by God. The greater number of such dreams were granted, for prediction or for warning, to those who were aliens to the Jewish covenant. Thus we have the record of the dreams of Abimelech (Gen. xx. 3-7); Laban (Gen. xxxi. 24); of the chief butler and baker (Gen. xl. 5); of Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 1-8); of the Midianite (Judg. vii. 13); of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 1, &c., iv. 10-18); of the Magi (Matt. ii. 12), and of Pilate's wife (Matt. xxvii. 19). Many of these dreams, moreover, were symbolical and obscure, so as to require an interpreter. And, where dreams are recorded as means of God's revelation to His chosen servants, they are almost always referred to the periods of their earliest and most imperfect knowledge of Him. So it is in the case of Abraham (Gen. xv. 12, and perhaps 1-9), of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 12-15), of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 5-10), of Solomon (1 K. iii. 5), and, in the N. T., of Joseph (Matt. i. 20, ii. 13, 19, 22). It is to be observed, moreover, that they belong especially to the earliest age, and become less frequent as the revelations of prophecy increase. The only exception to this is found in the dreams and "visions of the night" given to Daniel (ii. 19, vii. 1), apparently in order to put to shame the falsehoods of the Chaldaean belief in prophetic dreams and in the power of interpretation, and yet to bring out the truth latent therein (comp. S. Paul's miracles at Ephesus, Acts xix. 11, 12, and their effect, 18-20).

The general conclusion therefore is, first, that the Scripture claims the dream, as it does every other action of the human mind, as a medium through which God may speak to man either directly, that is, as we call it, "providentially," or indirectly in virtue of a general influence upon all his thoughts; and secondly, that it lays far greater stress on that divine influence by which the understanding also is affected, and leads us to believe that as such influence extends more and more, revelation by dreams, unless in very peculiar circumstances, might be expected to pass away. [A. B.]

**DRESS.** This subject includes the following particulars:—1. Materials. 2. Colour and decoration. 3. Name, form, and mode of wearing the various articles. 4. Special usages relating thereto.

1. The materials were various, and multiplied with the advance of civilization. The earliest and simplest robe was made out of the leaves of a tree (*תְּרֵמֶלֶךְ*, "A. V. fig-tree"—and comp. the present Arabic name for the fig, *tin*, or *teen*), portions of which were sewn together, so as to form an apron (Gen. iii. 7). Ascetic Jews occasionally used a similar material in later times. Josephus (*Vita*, §2) records this of Barnas (*ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον*); but whether it was made of the leaves, or the bark, is uncertain. After the fall, the skins of animals supplied a more durable material (Gen. iii. 21), which was adapted to a rude state of society, and is stated to have been used by various ancient nations (Diod. Sic. i. 43, ii. 38; Arius, *Ind.* cap. 7, §3). Skins were not wholly disused at later periods: the *adlareth* (*תְּרֵמֶלֶךְ*) worn by Elijah appears to have been the skin of a sheep or some other animal with the wool left on: in the LXX. the word is rendered *μηλωτή* (1 K. xix. 13, 19; 2 K. ii. 13), *δορά* (Gen. xxv. 25), and *δέρις* (Zech. xiii. 4); and it may be connected with *δορά* etymologically (Sualchut, *Archaeol.* i. 19); Gesenius, however, prefers the notion of *amplitudo*, *אָרְרָה*, in which case it = *אָרְרָה*.

<sup>b</sup> The same order, as being the natural one, is found in the earliest record of European mythology—

<sup>a</sup> *Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρεόμεν, ἥ ἱερῶα*

<sup>a</sup> *Ἡ καὶ ὀνειρόπολον, καὶ γὰρ τὸν αἶν Διὸς ἐστί.*

HOM. II. 1. 63.

(Mic. ii. 8; *Theaur.* p. 29). The same material is implied in the description (שֵׁשׁ בָּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים; *ἀνὴρ δασύς*, LXX.; A. V. "hairy man," 2 K. i. 8), though these words may also be understood of the hair of the Prophet; and in the comparison of Esau's skin to such a robe (Gen. xxv. 25). It was characteristic of a prophet's office from its mean appearance (Zech. xiii. 4; cf. Matt. vii. 15). Pelisses of sheep-skin\* still form an ordinary article of dress in the East (Burckhardt's *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 50). The *addereth* worn by the king of Nineveh (Jon. iii. 6), and the "goolly Babylonish garment" found at Ai (Josh. vii. 21), were of a different character, either robes trimmed with valuable furs, or the skins themselves ornamented with embroidery. The art of weaving hair was known to the Hebrews at an early period (Ex. xvi. 7, xxxv. 6); the sackcloth used by mourners was of this material [SACKCLOTH], and by many writers the *addereth* of the prophets is supposed to have been such. John the Baptist's robe was of camel's hair (Matt. iii. 4), and a similar material was in common use among the poor of that day (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 24, §3), probably of goats' hair, which was employed in the Roman *cilicium*. At what period the use of wool, and of still more artificial textures, such as cotton and linen, became known is uncertain: the first of these, we may presume, was introduced at a very early period, the flocks of the pastoral families being kept partly for their wool (Gen. xxxviii. 12): it was at all times largely employed, particularly for the outer garments (Lev. xiii. 47; Deut. xxi. 11; Ez. xxiv. 3; Job xxxi. 20; Prov. xxvii. 26, xxxi. 13). [WOOL.] The occurrence of the term *cetoneth* in the book of Genesis (iii. 21, xxvii. 3, 23) seems to indicate an acquaintance, even at that early day, with the finer materials; for that term, though significant of a particular robe, originally appears to have referred to the material employed (the root being preserved in our *cotton*; cf. Böhlen's *Introd.* ii. 51; Saatchutz, *Archæol.* i. 8), and was applied by the later Jews to flax or linen, as stated by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §2, *Χετομένη μὲν καλεῖται. Λίνον τοῦτο σμάλνει, χεῖον γὰρ τὸ λίνον ημεῖς καλοῦμεν*). No conclusion, however, can be drawn from the use of the word: it is evidently applied generally, and without any view to the material, as in Gen. iii. 21. It is probable that the acquaintance of the Hebrews with linen, and perhaps cotton, dates from the period of the captivity in Egypt, when they were instructed in the manufacture (1 Chr. iv. 21). After their return to Palestine we have frequent notices of linen, the finest kind being named *shesh* (שֵׁשׁ), and at a later period *butz* (בִּיז), the latter a word of Syrian, and the former of Egyptian origin, and each indicating the quarter whence the material was procured: the term *chôr* (חֹר) was also applied to it from its brilliant appearance (Is. xix. 9; Esth. i. 6, viii. 13). It is the *θύσσος* of the LXX. and the N. T. (Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xviii. 12, 16), and the "fine linen" of the A. V. It was used in the vestments of the high-priests (Ex. xxviii. 5 ff.), as well as by the wealthy (Gen. xli. 42; Prov. xxxi. 22; Luke xiv. 19). [LINEN.] A less costly kind was named *had* (הָד; *λίνεος*),

which was used for certain portions of the high-priest's dress (Ex. xxviii. 42; Lev. xvi. 4, 23, 32), and for the ephods of Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 18) and David (2 Sam. vi. 14): it is worthy of notice, in reference to its quality and appearance, that it is the material in which angels are represented (Ex. ix. 3, 11, x. 2, 6, 7; Dan. x. 5, xii. 6; Rev. xv. 6). A coarser kind of linen, termed *ἀρόλιον* (Ecclus. xl. 4), was used by the very poor [LINEN]. The Hebrew term *sadin* (סָדִין = *σινδών*, and *sutin*) expresses a fine kind of linen, especially adapted for summer wear, as distinct from the *saraballa*, which was thick (Talmud, *Menach.* p. 41, 1). What may have been the distinction between *shesh* and *sadin* (Prov. xxxi. 22, 24) we know not: the probability is that the latter name passed from the material to a particular kind of robe. Silk was not introduced until a very late period (Rev. xviii. 12): the term *neshe* (נֶשֶׁה; *πρίχαπτον*; Ex. xvi. 10) is of doubtful meaning [SILK]. The use of a mixed material (יִצְוָשׁ; *κίβδηλον*, i. e. *spurious*, LXX.; *ἀντι-διακείμενον*, Aquil.; *ἐριόλιον*, Gr. Ven.), such as wool and flax, was forbidden (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11), on the ground, according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §11), that such was reserved for the priests, or as being a practice usual among idolaters (Spencer, *Lef. Heb. Rit.* ii. 32), but more probably with the view of enforcing the general idea of purity and simplicity.

2. Colour and decoration. The prevailing colour of the Hebrew dress was the natural white of the materials employed, which might be brought to a high state of brilliancy by the art of the fuller (Mark ix. 3). Some of the terms applied to these materials (e. g. שֵׁשׁ, בִּיז, חֹר) are connected with words significant of whiteness, while many of the allusions to garments have special reference to this quality (Job xxxviii. 14; Ps. civ. 1, 2; Is. lxiii. 3): white was held to be peculiarly appropriate to festive occasions (Eccl. ix. 8; cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 60), as well as symbolical of purity (Rev. iii. 4, 5, iv. 4, vii. 9, 13). It is uncertain when the art of dyeing became known to the Hebrews; the *cetoneth passim* worn by Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 3, 23) is variously taken to be either a "coat of divers colours" (*ποικίλος*; *polymita*, Vulg.; comp. the Greek *πύσσειν*, *Il.* ii. 126, xii. 441), or a tunic furnished with sleeves and reaching down to the ankles, as in the versions of Aquila, *ἀσπράγδαίος*, *καρπώτος*, and Symmachus, *χειριδωτός*, and in the Vulg. (2 Sam. xiii. 18), *taluris*, and as described by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, §1). The latter is probably the correct sense, in which case we have no evidence of the use of variegated robes previously to the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt, though the notice of scarlet thread (Gen. xxxviii. 28) implies some acquaintance with dyeing, and the light summer robe (חֲשִׁיבָה; *θήριετρον*; *veil*, A. V.) worn by Rebecca and Tamar (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxxviii. 14, 19) was probably of an ornamental character. The Egyptians had carried the art of weaving and embroidery to a high state of perfection, and from them the Hebrews learned various methods of producing decorated stuffs. The elements of ornamentation were—(1) weaving with

\* The sheep-skin coat is frequently represented in the sculptures of Khorsabad: it was made with sleeves, and was worn over the tunic: it fell over

the back, and terminated in its natural state. The people wearing it have been identified with the Sagartil (Bonomi's *Nineveh*, p. 193).

threads previously dyed (Ex. xxxv. 25; cf. Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, iii. 125); (2) the introduction of gold thread or wire (Ex. xxviii. 6 ff.); (3) the addition of figures, probably of animals and hunting or battle scenes (cf. Layard, ii. 297), in the case of garments, in the same manner as the cherubim were represented in the curtains of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31, xxxvi. 8, 35). These devices may have been either woven into the stuff, or cut out of other stuff and afterwards attached by needlework: in the former case the pattern would appear only on one side, in the latter the pattern might be varied. Such is the distinction, according to Talmudical writers, between *cunning-work* and *needlework*, or as marked by the use of the singular and dual number, *רָקְמָה*, *needlework*, and *רָקְמָתִים*, *needlework on both sides* (Judg. v. 30, A. V.), though the latter term may after all be accepted in a simpler way as a dual = *two embroidered robes* (Bertheau, *Comm. in l. c.*). The account of the consorts of Amasis (Her. iii. 47) illustrates the processes of decoration described in Exodus. Robes decorated with gold (*מִשְׁבְּצוֹת*, Ps. xlv. 13), and at a later period with silver thread (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8, §2; cf. Acts xii. 21), were worn by royal personages: other kinds of embroidered robes were worn by the wealthy both of Tyre (Ez. xvi. 13) and Palestine (Judg. v. 30; Ps. xlv. 14). The art does not appear to have been maintained among the Hebrews: the Babylonians and other eastern nations (Josh. vii. 21; Ez. xxvii. 24), as well as the Egyptians (Ez. xxvii. 7), excelled in it. Nor does the art of dyeing appear to have been followed up in Palestine: dyed robes were imported from foreign countries (Zeph. i. 8), particularly from Phoenicia, and were not much used on account of their expensiveness: purple (Prov. xxxi. 22; Luke xvi. 19) and scarlet (2 Sam. i. 24) were occasionally worn by the wealthy. The surrounding nations were more lavish in their use of them: the wealthy Tyrians (Ez. xxvii. 7), the Medianish kings (Judg. viii. 26), the Assyrian nobles (Ez. xvin. 6), and Persian officers (Est. viii. 15), are all represented in purple. The general hue of the Persian dress was more brilliant than that of the Jews: hence Ezekiel (xviii. 12) describes the Assyrians as *לְבָשִׁי מְבֹלָל*, lit. *clothed in perfection*; according to the LXX. *εὐδαιμόνεια*, wearing robes with *handsome borders*. With regard to the head-dress in particular, described as *מִרְוּחֵי מְבֹלָלִים* (*τίρπαι βαρράδι*; A. V. "dyed attire;" cf. Ov. *Met.* xiv. 654, *mitra picta*), some doubt exists whether the word rendered dyed does not rather mean *flowing* (Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 542; Layard, ii. 308).

3. The names, forms, and mode of wearing the robes. It is difficult to give a satisfactory account of the various articles of dress mentioned in the Bible: the notices are for the most part incidental, and refer to a lengthened period of time, during which the fashions must have frequently changed: while the collateral sources of information, such as sculpture, painting, or contemporary records, are but scanty. The general characteristics of Oriental dress have indeed preserved a remarkable uniformity in all ages: the modern Arab dresses much as the ancient Hebrew did; there are the same flowing robes, the same distinction between the outer and inner garments, the former heavy and warm, the

latter light, adapted to the rapid and excessive changes of temperature in those countries; and there is the same distinction between the costume of the rich and the poor, consisting in the multiplication of robes of a finer texture and more ample dimensions. Hence the numerous illustrations of ancient costume, which may be drawn from the usages of modern Orientals, supplying in great measure the want of contemporaneous representations. With regard to the figures which some have identified as Jews in Egyptian paintings and Assyrian sculptures, we cannot but consider the evidence insufficient. The figures in the painting at Beni Hassan, delineated by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.*, ii. 296), and supposed by him to represent the arrival of Joseph's brethren, are dressed in a manner at variance with our ideas of Hebrew costume: the more important personages wear a double tunic, the upper one constructed so as to pass over the left shoulder and under the right arm, leaving the right shoulder exposed: the servants wear nothing more than a skirt or kilt, reaching from the loins to the knee. Wilkinson suggests some collateral reasons for doubting whether they were really Jews: to which we may add a further objection that the presents, which these persons bring with them, are not what we should expect from Gen. xliii. 11. Certain figures inscribed on the face of a rock at *Behistun*, near Kermanshah, were supposed by Sir R. K. Porter to represent Samaitians captured by Shalmaneser: they are given in Vaux's *Nineveh*, p. 372. These sculptures are now recognised as of a later date, and the figures evidently represent people of different nations, for the tunics are alternately short and long. Again, certain figures discovered at Nineveh have been pronounced to be Jews: in one instance the presence of hats and boots is the ground of identification (Bonomi, *Nineveh*, p. 197; comparing Dan. iii. 21); but if, as we shall hereafter show, the original words in Dan. have been misunderstood by our translators, no conclusion can be drawn from the presence of these articles. In another instance the figures are simply dressed in a short tunic, with sleeves reaching nearly to the elbow, and confined at the waist by a girdle, a style of dress which was so widely spread throughout the East that it is impossible to pronounce what particular nation they may have belonged to: the style of head-dress seems an objection to the supposition that they are Jews. These figures are given in Bonomi's *Nineveh*, p. 381.

The costume of the men and women was very similar; there was sufficient difference, however, to mark the sex, and it was strictly forbidden to a woman to wear the appendages (*בָּלִי* *אֵשֶׁת*), such as the staff, signet-ring, and other ornaments, or, according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §43), the weapons of a man; as well as to a man to wear the outer robe (*שְׂמֹנֶת*) of a woman (Deut. xxii. 5): the reason of the prohibition, according to Maimonides (*Mor. Neboch.* iii. 37), being that such was the practice of idolaters (cf. Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 514); but more probably it was based upon the general principle of propriety. We shall first describe the robes which were common to the two sexes, and then those which were peculiar to women.

(1.) The *ketoneth* (*כֶּתֶנֶת*), whence the Greek *χiton* was the most essential article of dress. It was a closely fitting garment, resembling in form and use our *shirt*, though unfortunately translated

coat in the A. V. The material of which it was made was either wool, cotton, or linen. From Josephus' observation (*Ant.* iii. 7, §4) with regard to the *meil*, that it was *οὐκ ἐκ θυοῖν περιτμημάτων*, we may probably infer that the ordinary *cetoneth* or tunic was made in two pieces, which were sewn together at the sides. In this case the *χιτών ἀρραφος* worn by our Lord (*John* xix. 23) was either a singular one, or, as is more probable, was the upper tunic or *meil*. The primitive *cetoneth* was without sleeves and reached only to the knee, like the Doric *χιτών*; it may also have been, like the latter, partially opened at one side, so that a person in rapid motion was exposed (*2 Sam.* vi. 20). Another kind, which we may compare with the Ionian *χιτών*, reached to the wrists and ankles: such was probably the *cetoneth passim* worn by Joseph (*Gen.* xxxvii. 3, 23), and Tamar (*2 Sam.* xiii. 18), and that which the priests wore (*Joseph. Ant.* iii. 7, §2). It was in either case kept close to the body by a girdle [GIRDLE], and the fold formed by the overlapping of the robe served as an inner pocket, in which a letter or any other small article might be carried (*Joseph. Ant.* xvii. 5, §7). A person wearing the *cetoneth* alone was described as *ערום*, *naked*, A. V.: we may compare the use of the term *γυμνὰ* as applied to the Spartan virgins (*Plut. Lyc.* 14), of the Latin *nudus* (*Virg. Georg.* i. 299), and of our expression *stripped*. Thus it is said of Saul after having taken off his upper garments (*1 Sam.* xix. 24); of Isaiah (*Is.* xx. 2) when he had put off his sackcloth, which was usually worn over the tunic (cf. *Jon.* iii. 6), and only on special occasions next the skin (*2 K.* vi. 30); of a warrior who has cast off his military cloak (*Am.* ii. 16; cf. *Liv.* iii. 24, *incrimis nudique*); and of Peter without his fisher's coat (*John* xxi. 7). The same expression is elsewhere applied to the poorly clad (*Job* xvii. 6; *Is.* lviii. 7; *James* ii. 15).

The annexed woodcut (fig. 1) represents the simplest style of Oriental dress, a long loose shirt or *cetoneth* without a girdle, reaching nearly to the ankle. The same robe, with the addition of the girdle, is shown in fig. 4.



FIG. 1. An Egyptian. (Lano's Modern Egyptians.)

In fig. 2 we have the ordinary dress of the modern Bedouin: the tunic overlaps the girdle at

the waist leaving an ample fold, which serves as a pocket. Over the tunic he wears the *abba*, or striped plaid, which completes his costume.



FIG. 2. A Bedouin. (Lylich, *Israel* deus.)

(2.) The *sulin* (סולין) appears to have been a wrapper of fine linen (*σινδών*, LXX.), which might be used in various ways, but especially as a night-shirt (*Mark* xiv. 51; cf. *Her.* ii. 95; Schleusner's *Lex. in N. T. s. v.*). The Hebrew term is given in the Syriac N. T. as = *σινδώνιον* (*Luke* xix. 20), and *λέντιον* (*John* xiii. 4). The material or robe is mentioned in *Judg.* xiv. 12, 13 (*sheet, shirt*, A. V.), *Prov.* xxxi. 24, and *Is.* iii. 23 (*fine linen*, A. V.); but in none of these passages is there anything to decide its specific meaning. The Talmudical writers occasionally describe the *talith* under that name, as being made of fine linen: hence Lightfoot (*Exercitationes* on *Mark* xiv. 51) identifies the *σινδών* worn by the young man as a *talith*, which he had put on in his haste without his other garments.

(3.) The *meil* (מעי) was an upper or second tunic, the difference being that it was longer than the first. It is hence termed in the LXX. *δποδότης ποδήρης*, and probably in this sense the term is applied to the *cetoneth passim* (*2 Sam.* xiii. 18), implying that it reached down to the feet. The sacerdotal *meil* is elsewhere described. [PRIEST.] As an article of ordinary dress it was worn by kings (*1 Sam.* xxiv. 4), prophets (*1 Sam.* xxviii. 14), nobles (*Job* i. 20), and youths (*1 Sam.* ii. 19). It may, however, be doubted whether the term is used in its specific sense in these passages, and not rather in its broad etymological sense (from *מעי*, to cover), for any robe that chanced to be worn over the *cetoneth*. In the LXX. the renderings vary between *ἐπενδότης* (*1 Sam.* xviii. 4; *2 Sam.* xiii. 18; *1 Sam.* ii. 19, Theodot.), a term properly applied to an upper garment, and specially used in *John* xxi. 7 for the linen coat worn by the Phœnician and Syrian fishermen (Theophyl. in *l. c.*), *διπλούς* (*1 Sam.* ii. 19, xv. 27, xxiv. 4, 11, xxviii. 14; *Job* xxix. 14), *μάτια* (*Job* i. 20), *σφόδα* (*1 Chr.* xv. 27; *Job* ii. 12), and *δποδότης* (*Ex.* xxxix. 21; *Lev.* viii. 7), showing that generally speaking it was regarded as an upper gar-

ment. This further appears from the passages in which notice of it occurs: in 1 Sam. xviii. 4 it is the "robe" which Jonathan first takes off; in 1 Sam. xxviii. 14 it is the "mantle" in which Samuel is enveloped; in 1 Sam. xv. 27, it is the "mantle," the skirt of which is rent (cf. 1 K. xi. 30, where the שְׁלֵמָה is similarly treated); in 1 Sam. xxiv. 4, it is the "robe," under which Saul slept (generally the כִּנְיָ was so used); and in Job i. 20, ii. 12, it is the "mantle" which he rents (cf. Ezr. ix. 3, 5); in these passages it evidently describes an outer robe, whether the *simlah*, or the *meil* itself used as a *simlah*. Where two tunics are mentioned (Luke iii. 11) as being worn at the same time, the second would be a *meil*: travellers generally wore two (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 5, §7), but the practice was forbidden to the disciples (Matt. x. 10; Luke ix. 3).

The dress of the middle and upper classes in modern Egypt (fig. 3) illustrates the customs of the Hebrews. In addition to the shirt, they wear a long vest of striped silk and cotton, called *kufṭān*, descending to the ankles, and with ample sleeves, so that the hands may be concealed at pleasure. The girdle surrounds this vest. The outer robe consists of a long cloth coat, called *giblah*, with sleeves reaching nearly to the wrist. In cold weather the *abba* is thrown over the shoulders.



Fig. 4. An Egyptian of the upper classes (Lana.)

(4.) The ordinary outer garment consisted of a quadrangular piece of woollen cloth, probably resembling in shape a Scotch plaid. The size and texture would vary with the means of the wearer. The Hebrew terms referring to it are—*simlah* (שְׁמָלָה, occasionally שְׁלֵמָה), which appears to have had the broadest sense, and sometimes is put for clothes generally (Gen. xxv. 2, xxvii. 34; Ex. iii. 22, xlii. 9; Deut. x. 18; Is. iii. 7, iv. 1), though once used specifically of the warrior's cloak (Is. ix. 5); *beyed* (בֵּיגָד), which is more usual in speaking of robes of a handsome and substantial character (Gen. xxvii. 15, xli. 42; Ex. xxviii. 2; 1 K. xxii. 10; 2 Chr. xviii. 9; Is. lxiii. 1); *cesuth* (צִסוּת), appropriate to passages where covering or protection is the prominent idea (Ex. xxii. 26; Job xxvi. 6, xxxi. 19); and lastly *cebāsh* (שְׁבָשָׁה),

usual in poetry, but specially applied to a warrior's cloak (2 Sam. xx. 8), priests' vestments (2 K. x. 22), and royal apparel (Esth. vi. 11, viii. 15). A cognate term (*malbush* מַלְבוּשׁ) describes specifically a state-dress, whether as used in a royal household (1 K. x. 5; 2 Chr. ix. 4), or for religious festivals (2 K. x. 22); elsewhere it is used generally for robes of a handsome character (Job xvii. 16; Is. lxviii. 3; Ez. xvi. 13; Zeph. i. 8). Another term, *meil* (מֵיֶל), with its derivatives מֵיֶלֶת (Ps. cxxxiii. 2), and מֵיֶלֶת (2 Sam. x. 4; 1 Chr. xiv. 4), is expressive of the length of the Hebrew garments (1 Sam. iv. 12, xviii. 4), and is specifically applied to a long cloak (Judg. iii. 16; 2 Sam. xv. 8), and to the priest's coat (Lev. vi. 10). The Greek terms *ἡμάτιον* and *στέλα* express the corresponding idea, the latter being specially appropriate to robes of more than ordinary grandeur (1 Macc. x. 21, xiv. 9; Mark xii. 38, xvi. 5; Luke xv. 22, xx. 46; Rev. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13); the *χιτών* and *ἡμάτιον* (*tunica*, *pallium*, Vulg.; *coat*, *cloak*, A. V.) are brought into juxtaposition in Matt. v. 40, and Acts ix. 39. The *beyed* might be worn in various ways, either wrapped round the body, or worn over the shoulders, like a shawl with the ends or "skirts" (שְׁבָשָׁה; *περόνια*; *anguli*) hanging down in front; or it might be thrown over the head, so as to conceal the face (2 Sam. xv. 30; Esth. vi. 12). The ends were skirted with a fringe and bound with a dark purple riband (Num. xv. 38): it was confined at the waist by a girdle, and the fold (פִּי; *κόλπος*; *sinus*), formed by the overlapping of the robe, served as a pocket in which a considerable quantity of articles might be carried (2 K. iv. 39; Ps. lxxix. 12; Hag. ii. 12; Niebuhr, *Description*, p. 56), or as a purse (Prov. xvii. 23, xxi. 14; Is. lxxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxii. 18; Luke vi. 38).

The ordinary mode of wearing the outer robe, called *abba* or *abāyah*, at the present time, is exhibited in figs. 2 and 5. The arms, when falling down, are completely covered by it, as in fig. 5; but in holding any weapon, or in active work, the lower part of the arm is exposed, as in fig. 2.



Fig. 5. Egyptians of the lower orders (Lana.)

The dress of the women differed from that of the men in regard to the outer garment, the *cetoneth* being worn equally by both sexes (Cant. v. 3). The names of their distinctive robes were as follows:—(1) *mitpachath* (מִתְּפָאֶחֶת; *περιζωα*; *pallium*, *lintermen*; *veil*, *winple*, A. V.), a kind of shawl (Ruth iii. 15; Is. iii. 22); (2) *maatpapha* (מַעֲטָפָה; *pallolum*; *mantle*, A. V.), another kind of shawl (Is. iii. 22), but, how differing from the one just mentioned, we know not; the etymological meaning of the first name is *expansion*, of the second *enveloping*; (3) *tsuiph* (צִיִּיפ; *θήριςτρον*; *veil*, A. V.), a robe worn by Rebecca on approaching Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 65), and by Tamar when she assumed the guise of a harlot (Gen. xxxviii. 14, 19); it was probably, as the LXX. represents it, a light summer dress of handsome appearance (*περιβαλε τὸ θήριςτρον καὶ ἐκάλυψετο*, Gen. xxxviii. 14), and of ample dimensions, so that it might be thrown over the head at pleasure; (4) *radid* (רָדִיד; A. V. "veil"), a similar robe (Is. iii. 23; Cant. v. 7), and substituted for the *tsuiph* in the Chaldee version: we may conceive of these robes as resembling the *peplum* of the Greeks, which might be worn over the head, as represented in *Dict. of Ant.* p. 885, or again as resembling the *haburah* and *mildiyeh* of the Modern Egyptians (Lane, i. 73, 75); (5) *pethigil* (פֶּתִיגִיל; *χιτὼν μεσοσθέρπυρος*; *stomacher*, A. V.), a term of doubtful origin, but probably significant of a gay holiday dress (Is. iii. 24); to the various explanations enumerated by Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1137), we may add one proposed by Saalchütz (*Archæol.* i. 31), פֶּתִי, *wide* or *foolish*, and גִּיל, *pleasure*, in which case it = *unbridled pleasure*, and has no reference to dress at all; (6) *gilyonim* (גִּלְיוֹנִים; Is. iii. 23), also a doubtful word, explained in the LXX. as a transparent dress, i. e. of gauze (*διαφανὴ λακωνικὴ*); Schroeder (*de Vest. mul. Heb.* p. 311) supports this view, but more probably the word means, as in the A. V., *glasses*. The garments of females were terminated by an ample border or fringe (שֶׁבֶל, *שָׁוִל*; *σάκος*; *skirts*), which concealed the feet (Is. xlvii. 2; Jer. xiii. 22).

Figs. 6 and 7 illustrate some of the peculiarities



Fig. 6. An Egyptian Woman. (Lane.)

of female dress: the former is an Egyptian woman (in her walking dress); the latter represents a dress, probably of great antiquity, still worn by the peasants in the south of Egypt: the outer robe, or *hulaleeyeh*, is a large piece of woollen stuff wound round the body, the upper parts being attached at the shoulders; another piece of the same stuff is used for the head-veil, or *tarkah*.



Fig. 7. A woman of the southern province of Upper Egypt. (Lane.)

Having now completed our description of Hebrew dress, we add a few remarks relative to the selection of equivalent terms in our own language. It must at once strike every Biblical student as a great defect in our Authorised Version that the same English word should represent various Hebrew words; e. g. that "veil" should be promiscuously used for *radid* (Is. iii. 23), *tsuiph* (Gen. xxiv. 65), *mitpachath* (Ruth iii. 15), *muskeh* (Ex. xxxiv. 33); "robe" for *meil* (1 Sam. xvii. 4), *cetoneth* (Is. xxii. 21), *addereth* (Jon. iii. 6), *salruh* (Mic. ii. 8); "mantle" for *meil* (1 Sam. xv. 27), *addereth* (1 K. xix. 13), *maatpapha* (Is. iii. 22); and "coat" for *meil* (1 Sam. ii. 19), *cetoneth* (Gen. iii. 21); and conversely that different English words should be promiscuously used for the same Hebrew one, as *meil* is translated "coat," "robe," "mantle," "addereth," "robe," "mantle." Uniformity would be desirable, in as far as it can be attained, so that the English reader might understand that the same Hebrew term occurred in the original text, where the same English term was found in the translation. Beyond uniformity, correctness of translation would also be desirable: the difficulty of attaining this in the subject of dress, with regard to which the customs and associations are so widely at variance in our own country and in the East, is very great. Take, for instance, the *cetoneth*: at once an undergarment, and yet not unfrequently worn without anything over it; a *shirt*, as being worn next the skin; and a *coat*, as being the upper garment worn in a house: deprive the Hebrew of his *cetoneth*, and he was positively naked; deprive the Englishman of his *coat*, and he has under garments still. The *begeh* again: in shape probably like a Scotch *plaid*, but the use of such a term would be unintelligible to the minds of English peasantry; in use unlike

any garment with which we are familiar, for we only wear a *great-coat* or a *cloak* in bad weather, whereas the Hebrew and his *beged* were inseparable. With such difficulties attending the subject, any attempt to render the Hebrew terms must be, more or less, a *compromise* between correctness and modern usage; and the English terms which we are about to propose must be regarded merely in the light of suggestions. *Cetonech* answers in many respects to "frock;" the sailor's "frock" is constantly worn next the skin, and either with or without a coat over it; the "smock-frock" is familiar to us as an upper-garment, and still as a kind of undress. In shape and material these correspond with *cetonech*, and like it, the term "frock" is applied to both sexes. In the sacerdotal dress a more technical term might be used: "vestment," in its specific sense as = the chasuble, or *casula* would represent it very aptly. *Meil* may perhaps be best rendered "gown," for this too applies to both sexes, and, when to men, always in an official sense, as the academic gown, the alderman's gown, the barrister's gown, just as *meil* appears to have represented an official, or, at all events, a special dress. In sacerdotal dress "alb" exactly meets it, and retains still, in the Greek church, the very name, *podieris*, by which the *meil* is described in the LXX. The sacerdotal ephod approaches, perhaps, most nearly to the term "pail," the *ἀμφόριον* of the Greek church, which we may compare with the *ἐσώρις* of the LXX. *Adderech* answers in several respects to "pelisse," although this term is now applied almost exclusively to female dress. *Sudin* = "liuen wrapper." *Sinlah* we would render "garment," and in the plural "clothes," as the broadest term of the kind; *beged* "vestment," as being of superior quality; *lebush* "robe," as still superior; *mad* "cloak," as being long; and *malbush* "dress," in the specific sense in which the term is not unfrequently used as = *fine* dress. In female costume *mitpachath* might be rendered "shawl," *matapha* "mantle," *tsaph* "handsome dress," *radid* "cloak."

In addition to these terms, which we have thus far extracted from the Bible, we have in the Talmudical writers an entirely new nomenclature. The *talith* (טלית) is frequently noticed; it was made of fine liuen, and had a fringe attached to it, like the *beged*; it was of ample dimensions, so that the head might be enveloped in it, as was usual among the Jews in the act of prayer. The *kolbin* (קולבין) was probably another name for the *talith*, derived from the Greek *κολάβιον*; Epiphanius (i. 15) represents the *στολα* of the Pharisees as identical with the *Dalmatica* or the *Colobium*; the latter, as known to us, was a close tunic without sleeves. The *chaluk* (חלוק) was a woollen shirt, worn as an under tunic. The *nactoren* (נקטורין) was a mantle or outer garment (cf. Lightfoot, *Exercitation* on Matt. v. 40; Mark xiv. 51; Luke ix. 3, &c.). Gloves (קפין or כף) are also noticed (*Chetim*, xvi. 8, xxiv. 15, xxvi. 3), not, however, as worn for luxury, but for the protection of the hands in manual labour.

With regard to other articles of dress, see GIRDLER; HANDKERCHIEF; HEADDRESS; HEM OF GARMENT; SANDALS; SHOE; VEIL.

The dresses of foreign nations are occasionally referred to in the Bible; that of the Persians is described in Dan. iii. 21 in terms which have been variously understood, but which may be identified with the statements of Herodotus (i. 195, vii. 61)

in the following manner:—(1) The *sarbalin* (סרבלין; A. V. "coats") = ἀνὰ ἑρμίδες or *drawers*, which were the distinctive feature in the Persian as compared with the Hebrew dress; (2) the *patish* (פטיש; A. V. "hosen") = κισῶν ποδηνεκῆς *lives* or inner tunic; (3) the *carbala* (קרבלא; A. V. "hat") = ἄλλος ἐρίπνεος κισῶν or upper tunic, corresponding to the *meil* of the Hebrews; (4) the *lebush* (לבוש; A. V. "garment") = χλαμύδιον *leukon* or cloak, which was worn, like the *beged*, over all. In addition to these terms, we have notice of a robe of state of fine liuen, *tachrich* (תכריך; טידρημα; *sericum pallium*), so called from its ample dimensions (Esth. viii. 15). The same expression is used in the Chaldee for *purple garments* in Ez. xvii. 16.

The references to Greek or Roman dress are few: the *χλαμύς* (2 Marc. xii. 35; Matt. xxvii. 28) was either the *paludamentum*, the military scarf of the Roman soldiery, or the Greek *chlamys* itself, which was introduced under the Emperors [*Dict. of Ant. Art. CHLAMYS*]; it was especially worn by officers. The travelling *cloak* (φελδωνης) referred to by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 13) is generally identified with the Roman *paenula*, of which it may be a corruption; the Talmudical writers have a similar name (פלין or פלניא). It is, however, otherwise explained as a travelling case for carrying clothes or books (Conybeare, *St. Paul*, ii. 499).

4. The customs and associations connected with dress are numerous and important, mostly arising from the peculiar form and mode of wearing the outer garments. The *beged*, for instance, could be applied to many purposes besides its proper use as a vestment; it was sometimes used to carry a burden (Ex. xii. 34; Judg. viii. 25; Prov. xxx. 4), as Ruth used her shawl (Ruth iii. 15); or to wrap up an article (1 Sam. xxi. 9); or again as an *impruuptu* saddle (Matt. xxi. 7). Its most important use, however, was a coverlet at night (Ex. xxii. 27; Ruth iii. 9; Ez. xvi. 8), whence the word is sometimes taken for bed-clothes (1 Sam. xix. 13; 1 K. i. 1): the Bedouin applies his *abba* to a similar purpose (Niebuhr, *Description*, p. 56). On this account a creditor could not retain it after sunset (Ex. xxii. 26; Deut. xxiv. 12, 13; cf. Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 7; Am. ii. 8). The custom of placing garments in pawn appears to have been very common, so much so that עבוס, *pledge* = a garment (Deut. xxiv. 12, 13); the accumulation of such pledges is referred to in Hab. ii. 6 (*that londesth himself with עבטים*, i. e. *pledges*; where the A. V. following the LXX. and Vulg. reads טים עב, "thick clay"); this custom prevailed in the time of our Lord, who bids his disciples give up the *ladron* as *beged*, in which they slept, as well as the *χιτόν* (Matt. v. 40). At the present day it is not unusual to seize the *abba* as compensation for an injury: an instance is given in Wortabet's *Syria*, i. 293.

The loose flowing character of the Hebrew robes admitted of a variety of symbolical actions; rending them was expressive of various emotions, as grief (Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34; Job i. 20; 2 Sam. i. 2) [MOURNING], fear (1 K. xxi. 27; 2 K. xxii. 11, 19), indignation (2 K. v. 7, xi. 14; Matt. xxvi. 65), or despair (Judg. xi. 35; Esth. iv. 1); generally the outer garment alone was thus rent (Gen.

xxxvii. 34; Job i. 20, ii. 12), occasionally the inner (2 Sam. xv. 32), and occasionally both (Ezr. ix. 3; Matt. xxvi. 65, compared with Mark xiv. 63). Shaking the garments or shaking the dust off them, was a sign of renunciation (Acts xviii. 6); spreading them before a person, of loyalty and joyous reception (2 K. ix. 13; Matt. xxi. 8); wrapping them round the head, of awe (1 K. xix. 13), or of grief (2 Sam. xv. 30; Esth. vi. 12; Jer. xiv. 3, 4); casting them off, of excitement (Acts xxii. 23); laying hold of them, of supplication (1 Sam. xv. 27; Is. iii. 8, iv. 1; Zech. viii. 23).

The length of the dress rendered it inconvenient for active exercise; hence the outer garments were either left in the house by a person working close by (Matt. xxiv. 18) or were thrown off when the occasion arose (Mark x. 50; John xiii. 4; Acts vii. 58), or, if this was not possible, as in the case of a person travelling, they were girded up (1 K. xviii. 46; 2 K. iv. 29, ix. 1; 1 Pet. i. 13); on entering a house the upper garment was probably laid aside and resumed on going out (Acts xii. 8). In a sitting posture, the garments concealed the feet; this was held to be an act of reverence (Is. vi. 2; see Lowth's note). The proverbial expression in 1 Sam. xxv. 22; 1 K. xiv. 10, xxi. 21; 2 K. ix. 8, probably owes its origin to the length of the garments, which made another habit more natural (cf. Her. ii. 35; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, §16; Ammian. Marcell. xxiii. 6); the expression is variously understood to mean the *lowest* or the *youngest* of the people (Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 1397; Jahn, *Archæol.* i. 8, §120). To cut the garments short was the grossest insult that a Jew could receive (2 Sam. x. 4; the word there used מָרָן is peculiarly expressive of the length of the garments). To raise the border or skirt of a woman's dress was a similar insult, implying her unchastity (Is. xlvi. 2; Jer. xiii. 22, 26; Nah. iii. 5).

The putting on and off of garments, and the ease with which it was accomplished, are frequently referred to; the Hebrew expressions for the first of these operations, as regards the outer robe, are לָבַשׁ, *to put on*, עָטָה, כָּסָה, עִטָּף, lit. *to cover*, the three latter having special reference to the amplitude of the robes; and for the second פָּשַׁט, lit. *to expand*, which was the natural result of taking off a wide, loose garment. The ease of these operations forms the point of comparison in Ps. cii. 26; Jer. xliii. 12. In the case of closely fitting robes the expression is חָנַר, lit. *to gird*, which is applied to the ephod (1 Sam. ii. 18; 2 Sam. vi. 14), to sackcloth (2 Sam. iii. 31; Is. xxxii. 11; Jer. iv. 8); the use of the term may illustrate Gen. iii. 7, where the garments used by our first parents are called חִנָּרִים (A. V. "aprons"), probably meaning such as could be wound round the body. The converse term is פָּתַח, *to loosen, or unbind* (Ps. xxx. 11; Is. xx. 2).

The number of suits possessed by the Hebrews was considerable: a single suit consisted of an under and upper garment, and was termed עֵרָה בְּנָדִים (σφαλι ματῶν, i. e. *apparatus vestium*, LXX.; Judg. xvii. 10). Where more than one is spoken of, the suits are termed חֲלִיפוֹת (ἀλλασσόμενα στολά; cf. Hom. *Od.* viii. 249, ἐμματα ἐξηραιβά; *changes of raiment*, A. V.) These

formed in ancient times one of the most usual presents among Orientals (Harmer, *Observations*, ii. 379 ff.); five (Gen. xlv. 22) and even ten changes (2 K. v. 5) were thus presented, while as many as thirty were proposed as a wager (Judg. xiv. 12, 19). The highest token of affection was to present the robe actually worn by the giver (1 Sam. xviii. 4; cf. Hom. *Il.* vi. 230; Harmer, ii. 388). The presentation of a robe in many instances amounted to installation or investiture (Gen. xli. 42; Esth. viii. 15; Is. axii. 21; cf. Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 93); on the other hand, taking it away amounted to dismissal from office (2 Macc. iv. 38). The production of the best robe was a mark of special honour in a household (Luke xv. 22). The number of robes thus received or kept in store for presents was very large, and formed one of the main elements of wealth in the East (Job xxvii. 16; Matt. vi. 19; James v. 2), so that *to have clothing* was to be wealthy and powerful (Is. iii. 6, 7). On grand occasions the entertainer offered becoming robes to his guests (Trench on *Parables*, p. 231). Hence in large households a wardrobe (מִלְחָמָה) was required for their preservation (2 K. x. 22; cf. Harmer, ii. 382), intended by a special officer, named שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים, *keeper of the wardrobe* (2 Chr. xxxiv. 22). Robes reserved for special occasions are termed מַחֲצִיאוֹת (A. V. "changeable suits"; Is. iii. 22; Zech. iii. 4) because laid aside when the occasion was past.

The colour of the garment was, as we have already observed, generally white; hence a spot or stain readily showed itself (Is. lxiii. 3; Jude 23; Rev. iii. 4); reference is made in Lev. xiii. 47 ff. to a greenish or reddish spot of a leprosy character. Jahn (*Archæol.* i. 8, §135) conceives this to be not the result of leprosy, but the depredations of a small insect; but Schilling (*de Lepros.* p. 192) states that leprosy taints clothes, and adds *sunt maculæ omnino indebiles et potius incrementum capeque quam minus sub his lavandibus videntur* (Knobel, *Comm. in l. c.*). Frequent washings and the application of the fuller's art were necessary to preserve the purity of the Hebrew dress. [SOAP; FULLER.]

The business of making clothes devolved upon women in a family (Prov. xxxi. 22; Acts ix. 39); little art was required in what we may term the tailoring department; the garments came forth for the most part ready made from the loom, so that the weaver supplanted the tailor. The references to sewing are therefore few: the term תָּפַר (Gen. iii. 7; Job xvi. 15; Eccl. iii. 7; Ez. xiii. 18) was applied by the later Jews to *mending* rather than making clothes.

The Hebrews were liable to the charge of extravagance in dress; Isaiah in particular (iii. 16 ff.) dilates on the numerous robes and ornaments worn by the women of his day. The same subject is referred to in Jer. iv. 30; Ez. xvi. 10; Zeph. i. 8, and Ecclus. xi. 4, and in a later age 1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 3. [W. L. B.]

**DRINK, STRONG** (שָׂכַר, σικερα). The Hebrew term *shechar*, in its etymological sense, applies to any beverage that had *intoxicating* qualities: it is generally found connected with wine, either as an exhaustive expression for all other liquors (e. g. Judg. xiii. 4; Luke i. 15), or as parallel to it, particularly in poetical passages (e. g.

Is. v. 11; Mic. ii. 11); in Num. xxviii. 7 and Ps. lxx. 12, however, it stands by itself and must be regarded as including wine. The Bible itself throws little light upon the nature of the mixtures described under this term. We may infer from Cant. viii. 2 that the Hebrews were in the habit of expressing the juice of other fruits besides the grape for the purpose of making wine: the pomegranate, which is there noticed, was probably one out of many fruits so used. In Is. xxiv. 9 there may be a reference to the *sweetness* of some kind of strong drink. In Num. xxviii. 7 *strong drink* is clearly used as equivalent to wine, which was ordered in Ex. xxix. 40. With regard to the application of the term in later times we have the explicit statement of Jerome (*Ep. ad Nepot.*), as well as other sources of information, from which we may state that the following beverages were known to the Jews:—1. *Beer*, which was largely consumed in Egypt under the name of *zythus* (Herod. ii. 77; Diod. Sic. i. 34), and was thence introduced into Palestine (Mishn. *Pesach*. 3, §1). It was made of barley; certain herbs, such as lupin and skirrett, were used as substitutes for hops (Colum. x. 114). The *boozah* of modern Egypt is made of barley-bread, crumbled in water and left until it has fermented (Lane, i. 131): the Arabians mix it with spices (Burekhardt's *Arabia*, i. 213), as described in Is. v. 22. The Mishna (*l. c.*) seems to apply the term *shechar* more especially to a Median drink, probably a kind of beer made in the same manner as the modern *boozah*; the Edomite *chonet*, noticed in the same place, was probably another kind of beer, and may have held the same position among the Jews that bitter beer does among ourselves. 2. *Cider*, which is noticed in the Mishna (*Terum*. 11, §2) as *apple-wine*. 3. *Honey-wine*, of which there were two sorts, one like the *οινόμελι* of the Greeks, which is noticed in the Mishna (*Schabb*. 20, §2; *Terum*. 11, §1) under a Hebraized form of that name, consisting of a mixture of wine, honey, and pepper; the other a decoction of the juice of the grape, termed *debash* (honey) by the Hebrews, and *dibs* by the modern Syrians, resembling the *ψήμα* of the Greeks and the *defrutum* of the Romans, and similarly used, being mixed either with wine, milk, or water. 4. *Date-wine*, which was also manufactured in Egypt (*οἶνος φοινικίος*, Herod. ii. 86, iii. 20). It was made by mashing the fruit in water in certain proportions (Plin. xiv. 19, §3). A similar method is still used in Arabia, except that the fruit is not mashed (Burekhardt's *Arabia*, ii. 264): the palm-wine of modern Egypt is the sap of the tree itself, obtained by making an incision into its heart (Wilkinson, ii. 174). 5. Various other fruits and vegetables are enumerated by Pliny (xiv. 19) as supplying materials for *fictitious* or home-made wine, such as figs, millet, the carob fruit, &c. It is not improbable that the Hebrews applied *raisins* to this purpose in the simple manner followed by the Arabians (Burekhardt, ii. 377), viz., by putting them in jars of water and burying them in the ground until fermentation takes place. [W. L. B.]

## DROMEDARY. [CAMEL.]

DRUSIL'LA (Δρουσίλλα), daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 1, 19 ff.) and Cypros; sister

\* "Sicera Hebraeorum sermone omnis potio, quo inebriare potest, sive illa, quae frumento conficitur sive pomorum succo, aut cum favi decoquantur in dulcem

of Herod Agrippa II. She was at first betrothed to Antiochus Epiphanes, prince of Commagene, but, he refusing to become a Jew, she was married to Azizus, king of Emesa, who complied with that condition (*Ant. xx. 7, §1*). Soon after, Felix, procurator of Judaea, brought about her seduction by means of the Cyprian sorcerer Simon, and took her as his wife (*ib. 7, §2*). In Acts xxiv. 24, we find her in company with Felix at Caesarea, on occasion of St. Paul being brought before the latter; and the narrative implies that she was present at the apostle's preaching. Felix had by Drusilla a son named Agrippa, who, together with his mother, perished in the eruption of Vesuvius under Titus, (Joseph. *l. c.*; comp. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). [H. A.]

DULCIMER (*Simphoniah*, סמפוניא), a musical instrument, not in use amongst the Jews of Palestine, but mentioned in Daniel, iii. 5, 15, and at ver. 10 under the shorter form of סמפניא, along with several other instruments, which Nebuchadnezzar ordered to be sounded before a golden image set up for national worship during the period of the captivity of Judah. Luther translates it *lute*. Grotius adopts the view of Servius, who considers *simphonía* to be the same with *tibia obliqua* (πλαγίανλος); he also quotes Isidorus (ii. 22), who speaks of it as a long drum. Rabbi Saadia Gaon (*Comm. on Dan.*) describes the *Simphoniah* as the bag-pipe, an opinion adopted by the author of Schille-hag-giborim (Joel Brill's Preface to Mendelssohn's version of the Psalms) by Kircher, Bartholæus, and the majority of biblical critics. The same instrument is still in use amongst peasants in the N.W. of Asia and in Southern Europe, where it is known by the similar name *Sampogna* or *Zampogna*. With respect to the etymology of the word a great difference of opinion prevails. Some trace it to the Greek *συμφωνία*, and Calmet, who inclines to this view, expresses astonishment that a pure Greek word should have made its way into the Chaldean tongue: it is probable, he thinks, that the instrument Dulcimer (A. V.) was introduced into Babylon by some Greek or Western-Asiatic musician who was taken prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar during one of his campaigns on the coast of the Mediterranean. Others, with far greater probability, regard it as a Semitic word, and connect it with סמנ, "a tube" (Fürst). The word סמנ occurs in the Talmud (*Succa* 36a), where it evidently has the meaning of an air-pipe. Landau (*Arukh. Art.* סמנ) considers it synonymous with siphon. Ibn Yahia, in his commentary on Dan. iii. 5, renders it by שוּנְיָאִין (*šp̄yān*), organ, the well-known powerful musical instrument, composed of a series of pipes. Rabb. Elias, whom Buxtorf quotes (*Lexic. Talmud.* p. 1504), translates it by the German word *Leier* (lyre).

The old fashioned spinet, the precursor of the harpichord, is said to have resembled in tone the ancient dulcimer. The modern dulcimer is described by Dr. Busby (*Dict. of Music*) as a triangular instrument, consisting of a little chest, strung with about fifty wires cast over a bridge fixed at each end; the shortest wire is 18 inches in length, the longest 36: it is played with two small hammers held in the hands of the performer. [D. W. M.]

DU'MAH (דומא; Δουμά, 'Ιδουμά, 'Ιδουμαία,

et barbarum potionem, aut palmarum fructus exprimentur in liquorem, cocti-que frugibus aqua pingulior coloratur."

*Duma*), a son of Ishmael, most probably the founder of an Ishmaelite tribe of Arabia, and thence the name of the principal place, or district, inhabited by that tribe. In Gen. xxv. 14, and 1 Chr. i. 30, the name occurs in the list of the sons of Ishmael; and in Isaiah (xli. 11), in the "burden of Dumah," coupled with Seir, the forest of Arabia, and Kedar. The name of a town in the north-western part of the peninsula, *Doomat-el-Jendel*,<sup>a</sup> is held by Gesenius, and other European authorities, to have been thus derived; and the opinion is strengthened by Arab traditionists, who have the same belief (*Mir-at ez-Zemân*). The latter, however, err in writing

"*Dāwmat-el-Jendel*" (دومة الجندل); while the lexicographers and geographers of their nation expressly state that it is correctly "*Doomat-el-*

*Jendel*," or "*Doomad-el-Jendel*" (دومة الجندل),

or (دوماء الجندل), signifying "Dumah of the stones or blocks of stone," of which it is said to have been built (*Sihah* M. S., *Marāsid*, and *Mush-tarak*, s. v.); not the "stony Dumah," as Europeans render it. El-Jendel is said by some to mean "stones such as a man can lift" (*Kāmoos*), and seems to indicate that the place was built of un-hewn or Cyclopean masonry, similar to that of very ancient structures. The town itself, which is one of the "*Kureiyāt*" of *Wādī-l-Kurā* (*Marsūd*, s. v. *Doomah*), appears to be called "*Doomat-el-Jendel*," and the fortress which it contains, to have

the special appellation of "*Murīd*" (مارد).

It should be observed that there are two "*Doomaths*," that named in this article, and *D. el-Erd*. The chief of one, a contemporary of Mohammed, is said to have founded the other, or to have given it the name of D.; but most Arab authorities, and probably also, are in favour of the prior antiquity of the former. [E. S. P.]

DUMAH (דומה; *Peumá*; Alex. *Ποῦμα*; *Rumai*), a city in the mountainous district of Judah, near Hebron (Josh. xv. 52). In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome it is named as a very large place (ἀσὸς μεγάλη), 17 miles from Eleutheropolis, in the district of Daurama (i. e. "the south," from the Hebrew דָּרוֹם). Eleutheropolis not being certainly known, this description does not afford much clue. Robinson passed the ruins of a village called *ed-Dumneeh*, 6 miles south-west of Hebron (Irb. i. 212), and this may possibly be Dumah. (See also Kiepert's *Map*, 1856; and Van de Velde's *Memoir*, 308). [G.]

DUNG (נָלָל, נָלָל, צָאָה, the latter always, and the two former generally, applied to men; דָּמָן, פָּרָשׁ, צִפִּיעַ, to brute animals, the second exclusively to animals offered in sacrifice, and the third to the dung of cows or camels). The uses of dung were twofold, as manure, and as fuel. The manure consisted either of straw steeped in liquid manure (בְּמִי מְרִמָּה, lit. in dung water, Is. xxv. 10), or the

*sweepings* (חֲפָצִים, Is. v. 25) of the streets and roads, which were carefully removed from about the houses and collected in heaps (אִשְׁפָּת) outside the walls of the towns at fixed spots (hence the dung-gate at Jerusalem, Neh. ii. 13), and thence removed in due course to the fields (Mishn. *Sheb.* 3, §1-3). To sit on a dung-heap was a sign of the deepest dejection (1 Sam. ii. 8; Ps. cxlii. 7; Lam. iv. 5; cf. Job ii. 8, LXX. and Vulg.). The mode of applying manure to trees was by digging holes about their roots and inserting it (Luke xiii. 8), as still practised in Southern Italy (Trench, *Parables*, p. 356). In the case of sacrifices the dung was burnt outside the camp (Ex. xxix. 14; Lev. iv. 11, vii. 17; Num. xix. 5); hence the extreme opprobrium of the threat in Mal. ii. 3. Particular directions were laid down in the law to enforce cleanliness with regard to human ordure (Deut. xxii. 12 ff.); it was the grossest insult to turn a man's house into a receptacle for it (מִחְרָאָה, 2 K. x. 27; נִקְלָה, Ezr. vi. 11; Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29, "dunghill," A. V.); public establishments of that nature are still found in the large towns of the East (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 34). The expression to "cast out as dung" implied not only the offensiveness of the object, but also the ideas of removal (1 K. xiv. 10), and still more exposure (2 K. ix. 37; Jer. viii. 2). The reverence of the later Hebrews would not permit the pronunciation of some of the terms used in Scripture, and accordingly more delicate words were substituted in the margin (2 K. vi. 25, x. 27, xviii. 27; Is. xxxvi. 12). The occurrence of such names as Gilgalai, Dimnah, Madmenah, and Madmannah, shows that these ideas of delicacy did not extend to ordinary matters. The term σκαβαλα ("dung," A. V., Phil. iii. 8) applies to refuse of any kind (cf. Eccles. xxvii. 4).

The difficulty of procuring fuel in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, has made dung in all ages valuable as a substitute: it was probably used for heating ovens and for baking cakes (Ez. iv. 12, 15), the equable heat, which it produced, adapting it peculiarly for the latter operation. Cow's and camel's dung is still used for a similar purpose by the Bedouins (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57); they even form a species of pan for frying eggs out of it (Russell, i. 39): in Egypt the dung is mixed with straw and formed into flat round cakes, which are dried in the sun (Lane, i. 252, ii. 141). [W. L. B.]

#### DUNGEON. [PRISON.]

DURA (דּוּרָא; *Δεειρά*; *Dura*), the plain where Nebuchadnezzar set up the golden image (Dan. iii. 1), has been sometimes identified with a tract a little below *Tekrit*, on the left bank of the Tigris (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 460), where the name *Dur* is still found. But 1. this tract probably never belonged to Babylon; 2. at any rate it is too far from the capital to be the place where the image was set up; for the plain of Dura was in the province or district of Babylon (בְּמִדְיַת בָּבֶל), and therefore in the vicinity of the city; 3. the name *Dur*, in its modern use, is applicable to any plain. M. Oppert places the plain (or, as he calls it, the "valley") of Dura to the south-east of Babylon in the vicinity of the mound of *Dowair* or

<sup>a</sup> The "t" in Dooat is thus written for "h" by grammatical construction.

<sup>b</sup> Winer, in his art. 'Duma,' quoting Hitzig

(Zeller's *Jahrb.* 1848), has complicated the question by making D. el-Jendel distinct from D. of Wādī-l-Kurā.

*Dûair*. He has discovered on this site the pedestal of a colossal statue, and regards the modern name as a corruption of the ancient appellation. [G. R.]

DUST. [MOURNING.]

## E.

**EAGLE** (*Nesher*, נֶשֶׁר; *derós*; *aquila*), an unclean bird distinguished from the *ossifrage*, the *osprey*, the *vulture*, and the *gôr eagle*, in Lev. xi. 13-18, and Deut. xiv. 12-17. In these two passages therefore it means a particular species, probably the *χρυσάεος* or golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaëtos*, Linn.); but in many passages in which it occurs, *Nesher* must be taken for a generic term embracing many different species of the order *Raptores*. Thus *eagle*, in Mic. i. 16, means the *Vultur barbatus*, which is bald; while in Job xxxix. 27; Prov. xxx. 17; and Matt. xxiv. 28, the eagle which is represented as feeding on the slain, is the *Neophron percnopterus*, or Egyptian vulture (see Plin. *H. N.* 10. 3, "quatuor generis est percnopterus . . . vulturinâ specie—sola aquilârum exanimâ fert corpora"). In Arabic *نسر* is a generic as well as

a specific term, the root being in Heb. נֶשֶׁר, in Arab. *نسر*, to tear with the beak. The characteristics of eagles referred to in Scripture are their swiftness of flight (Deut. xxvii. 49), their strength (Hos. vii. 1; Hab. i. 8), their lofty placed nests (Jer. xlix. 16), their care of their young both in the nest and in training them to fly (Deut. xxxii. 11; Ex. xix. 4), and their moulting (Is. ciii. 5). The eagle was an Assyrian emblem, and hence probably the reference in Hab. i. 8. The eagle-headed deity of the Assyrian sculptures is that of the god Nisroch; and in the representations of battles trained birds of this order are frequently shown accompanying the Assyrian warriors in their attacks, and in one case bearing off the entrails of the slain. From the Assyrians the use of the eagle as a standard descended to the Persians, and from them probably to the Romans. [W. D.]

**E'ANES** (*Mānyš*; *Esses*), 1 Esd. ix. 21, a name which stands in the place of HIRIM, MAASEIAH, and ELIJAH, in the parallel list of Ezra x. It does not appear whence the translators obtained the form of the name given in the A. V.

**EARNEST**. This term occurs only thrice in the A. V. (2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5; Eph. i. 14). The equivalent in the original is ἀρραβών, a Græcised form of עֲרָבוֹן, which was introduced by the Phœnicians into Greece, and also into Italy, where it reappears under the forms *arrhabo* and *arraha*. It may again be traced in the French *arrhes*, and in the old English expression *Eurt's* or *Arl's* money. The Hebrew word was used generally for *pledge* (Gen. xxxviii. 17), and in its cognate forms for *surety* (Prov. xvii. 18) and *hostage* (2 K. xiv. 14). The Greek derivative, however, acquired a more technical sense as signifying the *deposit* paid by the purchaser on entering into an agreement for the purchase of any thing (Suid. *Lex. s. v.*). A similar legal and technical sense attaches to *earnest*, the payment of which places both the vendor and the

purchaser in a position to enforce the carrying out of the contract (Blackstone, ii. 30). There is a marked distinction between *pledge* and *earnest* in this respect, that the latter is a *part-payment*, and therefore implies the *identity* in kind of the deposit with the future full payment; whereas a pledge may be something of a totally different nature, as in Gen. xxxviii., to be resumed by the depositor when he has completed his contract. Thus the expression "*earnest* of the Spirit" implies, beyond the idea of security, the *identity* in kind, though not in degree, and the *continuity* of the Christian's privileges in this world and in the next. The payment of earnest-money under the name of *arrabon* is still one of the common occurrences of Arab life. [W. L. B.]

**EARRINGS**. The word נֶזֶם, by which these ornaments are usually described, is unfortunately ambiguous, originally referring to the nose-ring (as its root indicates), and thence transferred to the earring. The full expression for the latter is נֶזֶם אֶשֶׁר בְּאַזְנוֹתַי (Gen. xxv. 4), in contradistinction to נֶזֶם עֲלֵי־אָרֶץ (Gen. xxiv. 47). In the majority of cases, however, the kind is not specified, and the only clue to the meaning is the context. The term occurs in this undefined sense in Judg. viii. 24; Job xlii. 11; Prov. xxv. 12; Hos. ii. 13. The material of which the earring was made was generally gold (Ex. xxvii. 2), and its form circular, as we may infer from the name עֵגֶל, by which it is described (Num. xxxi. 50; Ez. xvi. 12): such was the shape usual in Egypt (Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, iii. 370). They were worn by women and by youth of both sexes (Ex. i. c.). It has been inferred from the passage quoted, and from Judg. viii. 24, that they were not worn by men: these passages are, however, by no means conclusive. In the former an order is given to the men in such terms that they could not be mentioned, though they might have been implicitly included; in the latter the *amount of the gold* is the peculiarity adverted to, and not the character of the ornament, a peculiarity which is still noticeable among the inhabitants of southern Arabia (Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 321). The mention of the *sons* in Ex. xxxii. 2 (which, however, is omitted in the LXX.) is in favour of their having been worn; and it appears unlikely that the Hebrews presented an exception to the almost universal practice of Asiatics, both in ancient and modern times (Winer, *Realwört.*, s. v. *Ohrringe*). The earring appears to have been regarded with superstitious reverence as an amulet: thus it is named in the Chaldee and Samaritan versions קִרְיָאָה, *a holy thing*; and in Is. iii. 20 the word חֲשִׁים, prop. *amulets*, is rendered in the A. V., after the LXX. and Vulg., *earrings*. [AMULET.] On this account they were surrendered along with the idols by Jacob's household (Gen. xxxv. 4). Charlin describes earrings, with talismanic figures and characters on them, as still existing in the East (Brown's *Antiquities*, ii. 305). Jewels were sometimes attached to the rings: they were called נִטְפֹתַי (from נָטַף, *to drop*) a word rendered in Judg. viii. 26 *δρακμοί*; *moneta*; *collars* or *sweet jewels*, A. V.; and in Is. iii. 19, *κόσμημα*; *torques*; *chains* or *sweet balls*, A. V. The size of the earrings still worn in eastern countries far exceeds what is usual among

ourselves (Harmer's *Observations*, iv. pp. 311, 314); hence they formed a handsome present (Job xlii. 11), or offering to the service of God (Num. xxi. 50). [W. L. B.]



Egyptian Earrings, from Wilkinson.

**EARTH.** This term is used in two widely different senses: (1) for the material of which the earth's surface is composed; (2) as the name of the planet on which man dwells. The Hebrew language discriminates between these two by the use of separate terms, *Adamah* (אֲדָמָה) for the former, *Erets* (אֶרֶץ) for the latter. As the two are essentially distinct we shall notice them separately.

1. *Adamah* is the earth in the sense of soil or ground, particularly as being susceptible of cultivation; hence the expression *ish adamah* for an agriculturist (Gen. ix. 20). The earth supplied the elementary substance of which man's body was formed, and the terms *adam* and *adamah* are brought into juxtaposition, implying an etymological connexion (Gen. ii. 7). [ADAM.] The opinion that man's body was formed of earth prevailed among the Greeks (Hesiod. *Op. et Di.* 81, 70; Plat. *Rep.* p. 269), the Romans (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 341; Ovid, *Met.* i. 82), the Egyptians (Diod. Sic. i. 10), and other ancient nations. It is evidently based on the observation of the material into which the body is resolved after death (Job x. 9; Eccl. xii. 7). The law prescribed earth as the material out of which altars were to be raised (Ex. xx. 24); Bähr (*Symb.* i. 488) sees in this a reference to the name *adam*: others with more reason compare the *ara do cespitis* of the Romans (Ov. *Trist.* v. 5, 9; Hor. *Od.* iii. 8, 4, 5), and view it as a precept of simplicity. Naaman's request for two mules' burthen of earth (2 K. v. 17) was based on the idea that Jehovah, like the heathen deities, was a local god and could be worshipped acceptably only on his own soil.

II. *Erets* is explained by Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 6) as meaning etymologically the low in opposition to the high, i. e. the heaven. It is applied in a more or less extended sense:—1. to the whole world (Gen. i. 1); 2. to land as opposed to sea (Gen. i. 10); 3. to a country (Gen. xxi. 32); 4. to a plot of ground (Gen. xxiii. 15); and 5. to the ground on which a man stands (Gen. xxxiii. 3). The two former senses alone concern us, the first involving an inquiry into the opinions of the Hebrews on Cosmogony, the second on Geography.

I. COSMOGONY.—The views of the Hebrews on this subject are confessedly imperfect and obscure. This arises partly from the ulterior objects which led them to the study of natural science, and still more from the poetical colouring with which they expressed their opinions. The books of Genesis, Job, and

Psalms supply the most numerous notices: of these, the two latter are strictly poetical works and their language must be measured by the laws of poetical expression; in the first alone have we anything approaching to an historical and systematic statement, and even this is but a sketch—an outline—which ought to be regarded at the same distance, from the same point of view, and through the same religious medium as its author regarded it. The act of creation itself, as recorded in the first chapter of Genesis, is a subject beyond and above the experience of man; human language, derived, as it originally was, from the sensible and material world, fails to find an adequate term to describe the act; for, our word "create" and the Hebrew *bara*, though most appropriate to express the idea of an original creation, are yet applicable and must necessarily be applicable to other modes of creation; nor does the addition of such expressions as "out of things that were not" (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, 2 Macc. vii. 28), or "not from things which appear" (μη ἐκ φαινόμενων, Heb. xi. 3) contribute much to the force of the declaration. The absence of a term which shall describe exclusively an original creation is a necessary infirmity of language: as the event occurred but once, the corresponding term must, in order to be adequate, have been coined for the occasion and reserved for it alone, which would have been impossible. The same observation applies, though in a modified degree, to the description of the various processes subsequent to the existence of original matter. Moses viewed matter and all the forms of matter in their relations primarily to God, and secondarily to man—as manifesting the glory of the former, and as designed for the use of the latter. In relation to the former, he describes creation with the special view of illustrating the Divine attributes of power, goodness, wisdom, and accordingly he throws this narrative into a form which impresses the reader with the sense of these attributes. In relation to the latter he selects his materials with the special view of illustrating the subordination of all the orders of material things to the necessities and comforts of man. With these objects in view, it ought not to be a matter of surprise, if the simple narrative of creation omits much that scientific research has since supplied, and appears in a guise adapted to those objects. The subject itself is throughout one of a transcendental character; it should consequently be subjected to the same standard of interpretation as other passages of the Bible, descriptive of objects which are entirely beyond the experience of man, such as the day of judgment, the states of heaven and hell, and the representations of the Divine Majesty. The style of criticism applied to Gen. i. by the opponents, and not infrequently by the supporters of Revelation, is such, as would be subversive of many of the most noble and valuable portions of the Bible. With these preface remarks we proceed to lay down what appear to us to be the leading features of Hebrew Cosmogony.

1. The earth was regarded not only as the central point of the universe, but as the universe itself, every other body—the heavens, sun, moon, and stars—being subsidiary to, and, as it were, the complement of the earth. The Hebrew language has no expression equivalent to our *universes*: "the heavens and the earth" (Gen. i. 1, xiv. 19; Ex. xxxi. 17) has been regarded as such; but it is clear that the heavens were looked upon as a necessary adjunct of the earth—the curtain of the tent

in which man dwells (Is. xl. 22), the sphere above which fitted the sphere below (comp. Job xxii. 14, and Is. xl. 22)—designed solely for purposes of beneficence in the economy of the earth. This appears from the account of its creation and offices: the existence of the heaven was not prior to or contemporaneous with that of the earth, but subsequent to it; it was created on the second day (Gen. i. 6). The term under which it is described, *ruḥia* (רֹחַיָּה), is significant of its *extension*, that it was stretched out as a curtain (Ps. civ. 2) over the surface of the earth. Moreover it depended upon the earth; it had its "foundations" (2 Sam. xxii. 8) on the edges of the earth's circle, where it was supported by the mountains as by massive pillars (Job xxvi. 11). Its offices were (1.) to support the waters which were above it (Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4), and thus to form a mighty reservoir of rain and snow, which were to pour forth through its windows (Gen. vii. 11; Is. xxiv. 18) and doors (Ps. lxxviii. 23), as through opened sluice-gates, for the fructification of the earth; (2.) to serve as the *substratum* (σρεπέματα or "firmament") in which the celestial bodies were to be fixed. As with the heaven itself, so also with the heavenly bodies; they were regarded solely as the ministers of the earth. Their offices were (1.) to give light; (2.) to separate between day and night; (3.) to be for *signs*, as in the case of eclipses or other extraordinary phenomena; for *seasons*, as regulating seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, as well as religious festivals; and for *days and years*, the length of the former being dependent on the sun, the latter being estimated by the motions both of sun and moon (Gen. i. 14-18); so that while it might truly be said that they held "dominion" over the earth (Job xxxviii. 33), that dominion was exercised solely for the convenience of the tenants of earth (Ps. civ. 19-23). So entirely indeed was the existence of heaven and the heavenly bodies designed for the earth, that with the earth they shall simultaneously perish (2 Pet. iii. 10): the curtain of the tent shall be rolled up and the stars shall of necessity drop off (Is. xxxiv. 4; Matt. xxiv. 29)—their sympathy with earth's destruction being the counterpart of their joyous song when its foundations were laid (Job xxxviii. 7).

2. The earth was regarded in a twofold aspect; in relation to God, as the manifestation of His infinite attributes; in relation to man, as the scene of his abode. (1.) The Hebrew cosmogony is based upon the leading principle that the universe exists, not independently of God, by any necessity or any inherent power, nor yet contemporaneously with God, as being co-existent with Him, nor yet in opposition to God, as a hostile element, but dependently upon Him, subsequently to Him, and in subjection to Him. The opening words of Genesis express in broad terms this leading principle; however difficult it may be, as we have already observed, to express this truth adequately in human language, yet there can be no doubt that the subordination of matter to God in every respect is implied in that passage, as well as in other passages, too numerous to quote, which comment upon it. The same great principle runs through the whole history of creation: matter owed all its forms and modifications to the will of God: in itself dull and inert, it received its first vivifying capacities from the influence of the Spirit of God brooding over the deep (Gen. i. 2); the progressive improvements in its condition were the direct and miraculous effects of God's will; no in-

terposition of secondary causes is recognised; "He spake and it was" (Ps. xxxiii. 9); and the pointed terseness and sharpness with which the writer sums up the whole transaction in the three expressions "God said," "it was so," "God saw that it was good"—the first declaring the divine volition, the second the immediate result, the third the perfectness of the work—harmonises aptly with the view which he intended to express. Thus the earth became in the eyes of the pious Hebrew the scene on which the Divine perfections were displayed: the heavens (Ps. xix. 1), the earth (Ps. xxiv. 1, civ. 24), the sea (Job xxvi. 10; Ps. lxxxix. 9; Jer. v. 22), "mountains and hills, fruitful trees and all cedars, beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowl" (Ps. cxlviii. 9, 10), all displayed one or other of the leading attributes of His character. So also with the ordinary operations of nature—the thunder was His voice (Job xxxvii. 5), the lightnings His arrows (Ps. lxxvii. 17), wind and storm His messengers (Ps. cxlviii. 8), the earthquake, the eclipse and the comet, the signs of His presence (Joel ii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxi. 25).

(2.) The earth was regarded in relation to man, and accordingly each act of creation is a preparation of the earth for his abode—light, as the primary condition of all life; the heavens, for purposes already detailed; the dry land, for his home; "grass for the cattle and herb for the service of man" (Ps. civ. 14); the alternations of day and night, the one for his work and the other for his rest (Ps. civ. 23); fish, fowl, and flesh for his food; the beasts of burden, to lighten his toil. The work of each day of creation has its specific application to the requirements and the comforts of man, and is recorded with that special view.

3. Creation was regarded as a progressive work—a gradual development from the inferior to the superior orders of things. Thus it was with the earth's surface, at first a chaotic mass, *waste and empty*, well described in the paronomastic terms *tohu, bohu*, overspread with waters and enveloped in darkness (Gen. i. 2), and thence gradually brought into a state of order and beauty so conspicuous, as to have led the Latins to describe it by the name *Mundus*. Thus also with the different portions of the universe, the earth before the light, the light before the firmament, the firmament before the dry land. Thus also with light itself, at first the elementary principle, separated from the darkness, but without defined boundaries; afterwards the illuminating bodies with their distinct powers and offices—a progression that is well expressed in the Hebrew language by the terms *or* and *mabôr* (אור, מאור). Thus also with the orders of living beings; firstly, plants; secondly, fish and birds; thirdly, cattle; and lastly, man. From "good" in the several parts to "very good" as a whole (Gen. i. 31), such was its progress in the judgment of the Omnipotent workman.

4. Order involves time; a succession of events implies a succession of periods; and accordingly Moses assigns the work of creation to six days, each having its specific portion—light to the first, the firmament to the second, the dry land and plants to the third, the heavenly bodies to the fourth, fish and fowl to the fifth, beasts and man to the sixth. The manner, in which these acts are described as having been done, precludes all idea of time in relation to their performance: it was miraculous and instantaneous: "God said" and then "it was." But the progressiveness, and consequently the individuality

of the acts, does involve an idea of time as elapsing between the completion of one and the commencement of another; otherwise the work of creation would have resolved itself into a single continuous act. The period assigned to each individual act is a day—the only period which represents the entire cessation of a work through the interposition of night. That a natural day is represented under the expression “evening was and morning was,” admits, we think, of no doubt; the term “day” alone may refer sometimes to an indefinite period contemporaneous with a single event; but when the individual parts of a day, “evening and morning” are specified, and when a series of such days are noticed in their numerical order, no analogy of language admits of our understanding the term in anything else than its literal sense. The Hebrews had no other means of expressing the civil day of 24 hours than as “evening, morning” (עֶרֶב וּבֹקֶר, Dan. viii. 14), similar to the Greek *νυκθήμερον*, and although the alternation of light and darkness lay at the root of the expression, yet the Hebrews in their use of it no more thought of those elements than do we when we use the terms *fortnight* or *se’nnight*; in each case the lapse of a certain time, and not the elements by which that time is calculated, is intended; so that, without the least inconsistency either of language or of reality, the expression may be applied to the days previous to the creation of the sun. The application of the same expressions to the events subsequent to the creation of the sun, as well as the use of the word “day” in the 4th commandment without any indications that it is used in a different sense, or in any other than the literal acceptance of (Gen. i. 5 ff., confirm the view above stated. The interpretation that “evening and morning” = *beginning* and *end*, is opposed not only to the order in which the words stand, but to the sense of the words elsewhere.

5. The Hebrews, though regarding creation as the immediate act of God, did not ignore the evident fact that existing materials and intermediate agencies were employed both then and in the subsequent operations of nature. Thus the simple fact “God created man” (Gen. i. 27) is amplified by the subsequent notice of the material substance of which his body was made (Gen. ii. 7); and so also of the animals (Gen. i. 24, ii. 19). The separation of sea and land, attributed in Gen. i. 6 to the Divine fiat, was seen to involve the process of partial elevations of the earth’s surface (Ps. civ. 8, “the mountains ascend, the valleys descend;” comp. Prov. viii. 25-28). The formation of clouds and the supply of moisture to the earth, which in Gen. i. 7 was provided by the creation of the firmament, was afterwards attributed to its true cause in the continual return of the waters from the earth’s surface (Eccl. i. 7). The existence of the element of light, as distinct from the sun (Gen. i. 3, Job xxxviii. 19), has likewise been explained as the result of a philosophically correct view as to the nature of light; more probably, however, it was founded upon the incorrect view that the light of the moon was independent of the sun.

6. With regard to the earth’s body, the Hebrews conceived its surface to be an immense disc, supported like the flat roof of an Eastern house by pillars (Job ix. 6; Ps. lxxv. 3), which rested on solid foundations (Job xxxviii. 4, 6; Ps. civ. 5; Prov. viii. 29); but where those foundations were on which the “sockets” of the pillars rested, none could tell (Job xxxviii. 6). The more philosophical

view of the earth being suspended in free space seems to be implied in Job xvi. 7; nor is there any absolute contradiction between this and the former view, as the pillars of the earth’s surface may be conceived to have been founded on the deep bases of the mountains, which bases themselves were unsupported. Other passages (Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxvi. 6) seem to imply the existence of a vast subterranean ocean; the words, however, are susceptible of the sense that the earth was elevated above the level of the seas (Hengstenberg, *Comm.* in loc.), and, that this is the sense in which they are to be accepted, appears from the converse expression “water under the earth” (Ex. xx. 4), which, as contrasted with “heaven above” and “earth beneath,” evidently implies the comparative elevation of the three bodies. Beneath the earth’s surface was *sheol* (שְׁאוֹל), the hollow place, “hell” (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxxii. 22; Job xi. 8), the “house appointed for the living” (Job xxx. 23), a “land of darkness” (Job x. 21), to which were ascribed in poetical language gates (Is. xxxviii. 10) and bars (Job xvii. 16), and which had its valleys or deep places (Prov. ix. 18). It extended beneath the sea (Job xxvi. 5, 6), and was thus supposed to be continuous with the upper world.

II. GEOGRAPHY.—We shall notice (1) the views of the Hebrews as to the form and size of the earth, its natural divisions, and physical features; (2) the countries into which they divided it and their progressive acquaintance with those countries. The world in the latter sense was sometimes described by the poetical term *tebel* (תֵּבֵל), corresponding to the Greek *οἰκουμένη* (Is. xiv. 21).

(1.) In the absence of positive statements we have to gather the views of the Hebrews as to the form of the earth from scattered allusions, and these for the most part in the poetical books, where it is difficult to decide how far the language is to be regarded as literal, and how far as metaphorical. There seem to be traces of the same ideas as prevailed among the Greeks, that the world was a disk (Is. xl. 22; the word *חַוְיָה*, *circle*, is applied exclusively to the circle of the horizon whether bounded by earth, sea or sky), bordered by the ocean (Deut. xxx. 13; Job xxvi. 10; Ps. cxxxix. 9; Prov. viii. 27), with Jerusalem as its centre (Ex. v. 5), which was thus regarded, like Delphi, as the *navel* (חֲבֻץ); Judg. ix. 37; Ex. xxxviii. 12; LXX.; Vulg.; or, according to another view (Gesen. *Thesaur.* s. v.), the highest point of the world. The passages quoted in support of this view admit of a different interpretation; Jerusalem might be regarded as the centre of the world, not only as the seat of religious light and truth, but to a certain extent in a geographical sense; for Palestine was situated between the important empires of Assyria and Egypt; and not only between them but above them, its elevation above the plains on either side contributing to the appearance of its centrality. A different view has been gathered from the expression “four corners” (אַרְבַּע פְּנֵימָה), generally applied to the skirts of a garment), as though implying the quadrangular shape of a garment stretched out, according to Eratosthenes’ comparison; but the term “corners” may be applied in a metaphorical sense for the extreme ends of the world (Job xxxviii. 3, xxxviii. 13; Is. xl. 12, xxiv. 16; Ex. vii. 2). Finally, it is suggested by Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 170) that these two views may have

been held together, the former as the actual and the latter as the symbolical representation of the earth's form. As to the size of the earth, the Hebrews had but a very indefinite notion; in many passages the "earth," or "whole earth," is used as co-extensive with the Babylonian (Is. xii. 5, xiv. 7, fl., xiv. 17), or Assyrian empires (Is. x. 14, xiv. 26, xxvii. 18), just as at a later period the Roman empire was styled *orbis terrarum*; the "ends of the earth" (קְצוֹת) in the language of prophecy applied to the nations on the border of these kingdoms, especially the Medes (Is. v. 26, xlii. 5) in the east, and the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean in the west (Is. xli. 5, 9); but occasionally the boundary was contracted in this latter direction to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean (Is. xxiv. 14; Zech. ix. 10; Ps. lxxii. 8). Without unduly pressing the language of prophecy, it may be said that the views of the Hebrews as to the size of the earth extended but little beyond the nations with which they came in contact; its solidity is frequently noticed, its dimensions but seldom (Job xxxviii. 18; Is. xlii. 5). We shall presently trace the progress of their knowledge in succeeding ages.

The earth was divided into four quarters or regions corresponding to the four points of the compass; these were described in various ways, sometimes according to their positions relatively to a person facing the east, before (קִדְמָה), behind (אֲחֵרָה), the right hand (יְמִינִי), and the left hand (שְׂמֹאלִי), representing respectively E., W., S., and N. (Job xxiii. 8, 9); sometimes relatively to the sun's course, the rising (קִדְמָה), the setting (מָבֹאֵה), Ps. l. 1), the brilliant quarter (קִדְמָה), Ez. xl. 24), and the dark quarter (אֲחֵרָה), Ez. xxvi. 20; comp. the Greek ὄρος, Hom. II. xii. 240); sometimes as the seat of the four winds (Ez. xxxvii. 9); and sometimes according to the physical characteristics, the sea (יָם) for the W. (Gen. xxviii. 14), the parched (בְּרָבָה) for the S. (Ez. xxvii. 9), and the mountains (הָרִים) for the N. (Is. xlii. 4). The north appears to have been regarded as the highest part of the earth's surface, in consequence perhaps of the mountain ranges which existed there, and thus the heaviest part of the earth (Job xxvi. 7). The north was also the quarter in which the Hebrew *el-Dorado* lay, the land of gold mines (Job xxxvii. 22; margin; comp. Her. iii. 116).

These terms are very indistinctly used when applied to special localities; for we find the north assigned as the quarter of Assyria (Jer. iii. 18), Babylonia (Jer. vi. 22), and the Euphrates (Jer. xvi. 10), and more frequently Media (Jer. l. 3; comp. li. 11), while the south is especially represented by Egypt (Is. xxx. 6; Dan. xi. 5). The Hebrews were not more exact in the use of terms descriptive of the physical features of the earth's surface; for instance, the same term (יָם) is applied to the sea (Mediterranean), to the lakes of Palestine, and to great rivers, such as the Nile (Is. xlvii. 2), and perhaps the Euphrates (Is. xxvii. 1): mountain (הָר) signifies not only high ranges, such as Sinai or Ararat, but an elevated region (Josh. xi. 16); river (נָחַל) is occasionally applied to the sea (Jon. ii. 3; Ps. xxiv. 2) and to canals fed by rivers (Is. xlv. 27). Their vocabulary, however, was ample for

describing the special features of the lands with which they were acquainted, the terms for the different sorts of valleys, mountains, rivers, and springs being very numerous and expressive. We cannot fail to be struck with the adequate ideas of descriptive geography expressed in the directions given to the spies (Num. xiii. 17-20) and in the closing address of Moses (Deut. viii. 7-9); nor less, with the extreme accuracy and the variety of almost technical terms, with which the boundaries of the various tribes are described in the book of Joshua, warranting the assumption that the Hebrews had acquired the art of surveying from the Egyptians (Jahn, i. 6, §104).

(2.) We proceed to give a brief sketch of the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews down to the period when their distinctive names and ideas were superseded by those of classical writers. The chief source of information open to them, beyond the circle of their own experience, was their intercourse with the Phœnician traders. While the first made them acquainted with the nations from the Tigris to the African desert, the second informed them of the coasts of the Mediterranean, the regions of the north, and the southern districts of Arabia. From the Assyrians and Babylonians they gained some slight knowledge of the distant countries of India, and perhaps even China.\*

Of the physical objects noticed we may make the following summary, omitting of course the details of the geography of Palestine:—1. *Seas*—the Mediterranean, which was termed the "great sea" (Num. xxxiv. 6), the "sea of the Philistines" (Ez. xxiii. 31), and the "western sea" (Deut. xi. 24); the Red Sea, under the names of the "sea of Suph," sedge (Ez. x. 19), and the "Egyptian sea" (Is. xl. 15); the Dead Sea, under the names "Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv. 3), "Eastern Sea" (Joel ii. 20), and "Sea of the Desert" (Deut. iv. 49); and the Sea of Chinnereth, or Galilee (Num. xxxiv. 11); 2. *Rivers*—the Euphrates, which was specifically "the river" (Gen. xxi. 21), or "the great river" (Deut. i. 7); the Nile, which was named either Yor (Gen. xli. 1), or Sihor (Josh. xiii. 3); the Tigris, under the name of Hiddekel (Dan. x. 4); the Chebar, *Chaboras*, a tributary to the Euphrates (Ez. i. 3); the Habor, probably the same, but sometimes identified with the *Chaboras* that falls into the Tigris (2 K. xvii. 6); the river of Egypt (Num. xxxiv. 5); and the rivers of Damascus, Abana (*Barada*), and Pharpar (2 K. v. 12). For the Gihon and Pison (Gen. ii. 11, 13), see EDEN. 3. *Mountains*—Ararat or Armenia (Gen. viii. 4); Sinai (Ez. xii. 2); Horeb (Ez. iii. 1); Hor (Num. xx. 22) near Petra; Lebanon (Deut. iii. 25); and Sephar (Gen. x. 30) in Arabia.

The distribution of the nations over the face of the earth is systematically described in Gen. x., to which account subsequent, though not very important, additions are made in caps. xxv. and xxxvi., and in the prophetic and historical books. Although the table in Gen. x. is essentially ethnographical, yet the geographical element is also strongly developed: the writer had in his mind's eye not only the descent but the residence of the various nations. Some of the names indeed seem to be purely geographical designations; Aram, for in-

\* The geographical questions arising out of the description of the garden of Eden are discussed in a separate article. [Eden.]

stance, means *high lands*; Canaan, *low lands*; Eber, the land *across, or beyond*; Sidon, *fishing station*; Madai, *central land*; Tarshish, probably *conquered*; Mizraim, still more remarkably from its dual form, the *two Egypts*; Ophir, the *rich land*. It has indeed been surmised that the names of the three great divisions of the family of Noah are also in their origin geographical terms; Japhet, the *widely extended regions* of the north and west; Ham, the country of the *black soil*, Egypt; and Shem the *mountainous country*; the last is, however, more than doubtful.

In endeavouring to sketch out a map of the world, as described in Gen. x., it must be borne in mind that, in cases where the names of the races have not either originated in or passed over to the lands they occupied, the locality must be more or less doubtful. For, the migrations of the various tribes in the long lapse of ages led to the transfer of the name from one district to another, so that even in Biblical geography the same name may at different periods indicate a widely different locality. Thus Magog in the Mosaic table may have been located south of the Caucasus, and in Ezekiel's time, north of that range; Gomer at the former period in Cappadocia, at the latter in the *Crinon*. Again, the terms may have varied with the extending knowledge of the earth's surface; Chittim, originally Cyprus, was afterwards applied to the more westerly lands of Macedonia in the age of the Maccabees, if not even to Italy in the prophecies of Daniel, while Tarshish may without contradiction have been the sea-coast of Cilicia in the Mosaic table, and the coast of Spain in a later age. Possibly a solution may be found for the occurrence of more than one Dedan, Sheba, and Havilah, in the fact that these names represent districts of a certain character, of which several might exist in different parts. From the above remarks it will appear how numerous are the elements of uncertainty introduced into this subject; unanimity of opinion is almost impossible; nor need it cause surprise, if even in the present work the views of different writers are found at variance. The principle on which the following statement has been compiled is this—to assign to the Mosaic table the narrowest limits within which the nations have been, according to the best authorities, located, and then to trace out, as far as our means admit, the changes which those nations experienced in Biblical times.

Commencing from the west, the "isles of the Gentiles," i. e. the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean sea, were occupied by the Japhetites in the following order:—Javan, the *Ionians*, in parts of Greece and Asia Minor; Elishah, perhaps the *Æolians*, in the same countries; Dodanim, the *Dardani*, in Illyricum; Tiras in Thrace; Kittim, at *Citium*, in Cyprus; Ashkenaz in Phrygia; Gomer in Cappadocia, and Tarshish in Cilicia. In the north, Tubal, the *Tivareni*, in Pontus; Meshach, the *Moschici* in Colchis; Magog, *Oogoroni*, in northern Armenia; Togarmah in Armenia; and Madai in Media. The Hamites represent the southern parts of the known world; Cush, probably an appellative similar to the Greek *Aethiopia*, applicable to all the dark races of Arabia and eastern Africa; Mizraim in Egypt; Phut in Libya; Naphtuhim and Lehabim, on the coast of the Mediterranean, west of Egypt; Caphtorim, in Egypt; Calubim from the Nile to the border of Palestine; Pathrusim in Egypt; Seba in Meroc; Sabtah, on the western coast of the straits of

*Bab-el-mandeb*; Havilah, more to the south; and Sabteclah in the extreme south, where the *Somali* now live; Nimrod in Babylonia; Kaamah and Dedan on the south-western coast of the Persian gulf. In the central part of the world were the Shemites: Elam, *Elymais*, in Persia; Asshur in *Assyria*; Arphaxad, *Arrapachitis*, in northern Assyria; Lud in *Lydia*; Aram in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the descendants of Joktan in the peninsula of Arabia.

This sketch is filled up, as far as regards northern Arabia, by a subsequent account, in cap. xxv., of the settlement of the descendants of Abraham by Keturah and of Ishmael; the geographical position of many is uncertain; but we are acquainted with that of the Midianites among the sons of Abraham, and of Nebaioth, *Nabataei*; Kedar, *Kedrei* (Plin. v. 12); Dumah, *Dumailha* (Ptol. v. 19), among the sons of Ishmael. Some of the names in this passage have a geographical origin, as Mibsan, a *spice-bearing land*, Tema, an *arid or southern land*. Again, in cap. xxxvi. we have some particulars with regard to the country immediately to the south of Palestine, where the aboriginal Horites, the *Troglodytes* of the mountainous districts in the eastern part of Arabia Petæa, were displaced by the descendants of Esau. The narrative shows an intimate acquaintance with this district, as we have the names of various towns, Dinhabah, Kozah, Avith, Masrekah, Rehoboth, and Pau, few of which have any historical importance. The peninsula of Sinai is particularly described in the book of Exodus.

The countries, however, to which historical interest attaches are Mesopotamia and Egypt. The hereditary connexion of the Hebrews with the former of these districts, and the importance of the dynasties which bore sway in it, make it by far the most prominent feature in the map of the ancient world; its designation in the book of Genesis is *Adan-aram*, or *Aram-Naharaim*; in the north was Ur of the Chaldees, and the Haran to which Terah migrated; in the south was the plain of Shinar, and the seat of Nimrod's capital, Babel; on the banks of the Tigris were the cities of Accad, Calneh, Nineveh, Calah, and Resen; and on the banks of the Euphrates, Erech and Rehoboth (Gen. x. 10-12). From the same district issued the warlike expedition headed by the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, Elam, and Tidal, the object of which apparently was to open the commercial route to the Ælæntic gulf (Gen. xiv.), and which succeeded in the temporary subjection of all the intervening nations, the Hephaim in Ashteroth-Karnaim (*Bashan*), the Zuzim in Ham (between the Arnon and Jabbok), the Emim in Shaveh (near the Arnon), and the district of the Amalekites (to the south of Palestine). It is, in short, to the early predominance of the eastern dynasties that we are indebted for the few geographical details which we possess regarding those and the intervening districts. The Egyptian captivity introduces to our notice some of the localities in Lower Egypt, viz. the province of Goehen, and the towns Ramees (Gen. xlvii. 11); On, *Helipolis* (Gen. xli. 45); Pithom, *Patumus*? (Ex. i. 11); and Migdol, *Magdohm*? (Ex. xiv. 2).

During the period of the Judges the Hebrews had no opportunity of advancing their knowledge of the outer world; but with the extension of their territory under David and Solomon, and the commercial treaties entered into by the latter with the

Phoenicians in the north and the Egyptians in the south, a new era commenced. It is difficult to estimate the amount of information which the Hebrews derived from the Phoenicians, inasmuch as the general policy of those enterprising traders was to keep other nations in the dark as to the localities they visited; but there can be no doubt that it was from them that the Hebrews learned the route to Ophir, by which the trade with India and South Africa was carried on, and that they also became acquainted with the positions and productions of a great number of regions comparatively unknown. From Ez. xxvii, we may form some idea of the extended ideas of geography which the Hebrews had obtained: we have notice of the mineral wealth of Spain, the dyes of the Aegæan Sea, the famed horses of Armenia, the copper-mines of Colchis, the yarns and embroideries of Assyria, the cutlery of South Arabia, the spices and precious stones of the *Yemen*, and the caravan trade which was carried on with India through the entrepôts on the Persian Gulf. As the prophet does not profess to give a systematical enumeration of the places, but selects some from each quarter of the earth, it may fairly be inferred that more information was obtained from that source. Whether it was from thence that the Hebrews heard of the tribes living on the northern coasts of the Euxine—the Scythians (Magog), the Cummerians (Gomer), and the Roxolani (?), or perhaps *Russians* (Roshch, Ez. xxxviii, 2, *Hebrew text*), is uncertain: the inroad of the northern hordes, which occurred about Ezekiel's time, may have drawn attention to that quarter.

The progress of information on the side of Africa is clearly marked: the distinction between Upper and Lower Egypt is shown by the application of the name Pathros to the former (Ez. xxix. 14). Memphis, the capital of lower Egypt, is first mentioned in Hosea (ix. 6) under the name Moph, and afterwards frequently as Noph (Is. xix. 13); Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, at a later period, as No-Ammon (Nah. iii. 8) and No (Jer. xvi. 25); and the distant Syene (Ez. xlix. 10). Several other towns are noticed in the Delta; Sin, *Pelusion* (Ez. xxx. 15); Pibeseth, *Hubastis* (Ez. xxx. 17); Zaan, *Timis* (Is. xix. 11); Tahapanes, or Tahpanhes, *Daphne* (Jer. ii. 16); *Heliopolis*, under the Hebraised form Beth-shemesh (Jer. xliii. 13); and, higher up the Nile, Hanes, *Hieracopolis* (Is. xxx. 4). The position of certain nations seems to have been better ascertained. Cush (*Aethiopia*) was fixed immediately to the south of Egypt, where Tirhakah held sway with *Nopata* for his capital (2 K. xix. 9); the Lubim (*Lihyans*, perhaps rather *Nubians*, who may also be noticed under the corrupted form Chub, Ez. xxx. 5) appear as allies of Egypt; and with them a people not previously noticed, the Sukkiims, the *Trogodytes* of the western coast of the Red Sea (2 Chr. xii. 3); the Ludim and Put are mentioned in the same connexion (Ez. xxx. 5).

The wars with the Assyrians and Babyonians, and the captivities which followed, bring us back again to the geography of the East. Incidental notice is taken of several important places in connexion with these events: the capital of Persia, Shushan, *Susa* (Dan. viii. 2); that of Media, Achmetha, *Ecbatana* (Ez. vi. 2); Hena, Ivah, and Sepharvaim, on the Euphrates (2 K. xviii. 34); Carchemish, *Circissium*, on the same river (Is. x. 9); Gozan and Halah, on the borders of Media

(2 K. xvii. 6); Kir, perhaps on the banks of the Cyrus (2 K. xvi. 9). The names of Persia (2 Chr. xxxvi. 20) and India (Ez. i. 1) now occur: whether the far-distant *China* is noticed at an earlier period under the name Sinim (Is. xlix. 12) admits of doubt.

The names of Greece and Italy are hardly noticed in Hebrew geography: the earliest notice of the former, subsequently to Gen. x., occurs in Is. lxvi. 19, under the name of Javan; for the Javan in Joel iii. 6 is probably in South Arabia, to which we must also refer Ez. xxvii. 13, and Zech. ix. 13. In Dan. viii. 21, the term definitely applies to Greece, whereas in Is. lxvi. it is indefinitely used for the Greek settlements. If Italy is described at all, it is under the name Chittim (Dan. xi. 30).

In the Maccabæan era the classical names came into common use: Crete, Sparta, Delos, Sicily, Caria, Cilicia, and other familiar names are noticed (1 Macc. x. 67, xi. 14, xv. 23); Asia, in a restricted sense, as = the Syrian empire (1 Macc. viii. 6); Hispania and Rome (1 Macc. viii. 1-3). Henceforward the geography of the Bible, as far as foreign lands are concerned, is absorbed in the wider field of classical geography. It is hardly necessary to add that the use of classical designations in our Authorized Version is in many instances a departure from the Hebrew text: for instance, *Mesopotamia* stands for Aram-Naharaim (Gen. xxiv. 10); *Ethiopia* for Cush (2 K. xix. 9); the *Chaldeans* for Chasdim (Job i. 17); *Græcia* for Javan (Dan. viii. 21); *Egypt* for Mizraim (Gen. xlii. 10); *Armenia* for Ararat (2 K. xix. 37); *Assyria* for Asshur (Gen. ii. 14); *Idumæa* for Edom (Is. xxxiv. 5); and *Syria* for Aram. Arabia, it may be observed, does occur as an original Hebrew name in the later books (Is. xxi. 13), but probably in a restricted sense as applicable to a single tribe. [W. L. B.]

## EARTHENWARE. [POTTERY.]

**EARTHQUAKE** (עָרָד). Earthquakes, more or less violent, are of frequent occurrence in Palestine, as might be expected from the numerous traces of volcanic agency visible in the features of that country. The recorded instances, however, are but few; the most remarkable occurred in the reign of Uzziah (Am. i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5), which Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4) connected with the sacrilege and consequent punishment of that monarch (2 Chr. xxvi. 16 ff.). From Zech. xiv. 4 we are led to infer that a great convulsion took place at this time in the Mount of Olives, the mountain being split so as to leave a valley between its summits. Josephus records something of the sort, but his account is by no means clear, for his words (τοῦ ὄρους ἀποσπαραγῆναι τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὄρου) can hardly mean the *western half of the mountain*, as Whiston seems to think, but the *half of the western mountain*, i. e., of the Mount of Evil Counsel, though it is not clear why this height particularly should be termed the *western mountain*. We cannot but think that the two accounts have the same foundation, and that the Mount of Olives was really affected by the earthquake. Hitzig (*Comm. in Zech.*) suggests that the name מְרִיבָד, "*corruption*," may have originated at this time, the rolling down of the side of the hill, as described by Josephus, entitling it to be described as the *destroying mountain*, in the sense in which the term occurs in Jer. li. 25. An earth-

quake occurred at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 51-54), which may be deemed miraculous rather from the conjunction of circumstances than from the nature of the phenomenon itself, for it is described in the usual terms (הַיָּמִי עֶרְעֻלָּהּ). Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 5, §2) records a very violent earthquake, that occurred B.C. 31, in which 10,000 people perished. Earthquakes are not unfrequently accompanied by fissures of the earth's surface; instances of this are recorded in connexion with the destruction of Korah and his company (Num. xvi. 32; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 3, §3), and at the time of our Lord's death (Matt. xxvii. 51); the former may be paralleled by a similar occurrence at Oppido in Calabria A.D. 1783, where the earth opened to the extent of 500, and a depth of more than 200 feet: and again by the sinking of the bed of the Tagus at Lisbon, in which the quay was swallowed up (Pfaff, *Schlüpfungsgesch.* p. 115). These depressions are sometimes on a very large scale; the subsidence of the valley of Siddim at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea may be attributed to an earthquake; similar depressions have occurred in many districts, the most remarkable being the submersion and subsequent re-elevation of the temple of Serapis at Puteoli. The frequency of earthquakes about the Dead Sea is testified in the name Bela (Gen. xiv. 2; comp. Jerome ad Is. xv.). Darkness is frequently a concomitant of earthquake. [DARKNESS.] The awe, which an earthquake never fails to inspire, "conveying the idea of some universal and unlimited danger" (Humboldt's *Kosmos*, i. 212), rendered it a fitting token of the presence of Jehovah (1 K. xix. 11); hence it is frequently noticed in connexion with His appearance (Judg. v. 4; 2 Sam. xlii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 18, xlvii. 4, civ. 32; Am. viii. 8; Hab. iii. 10).

[W. L. B.]

**EAST** (מִזְרָח; מִזְרֵי). The Hebrew terms, descriptive of the *east*, differ in idea, and, to a certain extent, in application; (1) *kodem* properly means that which is *before* or *in front* of a person, and was applied to the east from the custom of turning in that direction when describing the points of the compass, *before*, *behind*, the *right* and the *left*, representing respectively E., W., S., and N. (Job xxiii. 8, 9); (2) *mizrach* means the place of the *sun's rising*, and strictly answers to the Greek *anatolē* and the Latin *oriens*; sometimes the full expression מִזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ is used (Judg. xi. 18; Is. xli. 25), and sometimes *kodem* and *mizrach* are used together (e.g. Ex. xxvii. 13; Josh. xix. 12), which is after all not so tautologous as it appears to be in our translation "on the east side eastward." Bearing in mind this etymological distinction, it is natural that *kodem* should be used when the *four quarters* of the world are described (as in Gen. xlii. 14, xxviii. 14; Job xxiii. 8, 9; Ex. xlvii. 18 ff.) and *mizrach* when the east is only distinguished from the *west* (Josh. xi. 3; Ps. l. 1, ciii. 12, cxlii. 3; Zech. viii. 7), or from some other one quarter (Dan. viii. 9, xi. 44; Am. viii. 12); exceptions to this usage occur in Ps. cvii. 3, and Is. xliii. 5, each, however, admitting of explanation. Again, *kodem* is used in a strictly geographical sense to describe a spot or country immediately *before* another in an easterly direction; hence it occurs in such passages as Gen. ii. 8, iii. 24, xi. 2, xlii. 11, xxv. 6; and hence the subsequent application of the term, as a proper name (Gen. xxv. 6, *eastward*,

*unto the land of Kedem*), to the lands lying immediately eastward of Palestine, viz. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Babylonia [BENE-KEDEM]; on the other hand *mizrach* is used of the *far east* with a less definite signification (Is. xli. 2, 25, xliii. 5, xlv. 11). In describing *aspect* or *direction* the terms are used indifferently (compare *kodem* in Lev. i. 16, and Josh. vii. 2 with *mizrach* in 2 Chr. v. 12, and 1 Chr. v. 10). The east seems to have been regarded as symbolical of *distance* (Is. xlv. 11), as the land stretched out in these directions without any known limit. In Is. ii. 6 it appears as the seat of witchery and similar arts (comp. Job xv. 2); the correct text may, however, be דִּבְרֵי, which gives a better sense (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 1193). In the LXX. *anatolai* is used both for *kodem* and *mizrach*. It should be observed that the expression is, with but few exceptions (Dan. viii. 9; Rev. xxi. 13; comp. vii. 2, xvi. 12, from which it would seem to have been St. John's usage to insert ἡλίου), *anatolai* (Matt. ii. 1, viii. 11, xxiv. 27; Luke xiii. 29), and not *anatolē*. It is hardly possible that St. Matthew would use the two terms indifferently in succeeding verses (ii. 1, 2), particularly as he adds the article to *anatolē*, which is invariably absent in other cases (cf. Rev. xxi. 13). He seems to imply a definiteness in the locality—that it *was* the country called דִּבְרֵי, or *anatolai* (comp. the modern *Anatolia*) as distinct from the quarter or point of the compass (*anatolai*) in which it lay. In confirmation of this it may be noticed that in the only passage where the article is prefixed to *kodem* (Gen. x. 30), the term is used for a definite and restricted locality, namely, Southern Arabia. [W. L. B.]

**EASTER** (πάσχα; *pascha*). The occurrence of this word in the A. V. of Acts xii. 4—"Intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people"—is chiefly noticeable as an example of the want of consistency in the translators. In the earlier English versions Easter had been frequently used as the translation of *πάσχα*. At the last revision Passover was substituted in all passages but this. It would seem from this, and from the use of such words as "robbers of churches" (Acts ix. 37), "town-clerk" (ix. 35), "serjeants" (xvi. 35), "deputy" (xiii. 7, &c.), as if the Acts of the Apostles had fallen into the hands of a translator who acted on the principle of choosing, not the most correct, but the most familiar equivalents. (Comp. Trench, *On the Authorised Version of the N. T.* p. 21). For all that regards the nature and celebration of the Feast thus translated, see PASSOVER.

[E. H. P.]

**EAST WIND.** [WINDS.]

**E'BAL, MOUNT** (הַר עִיבָל; ὄρος Γαιβάλα; Joseph. Γιββλος; *mons Itebal*), a mount in the promised land, on which, according to the command of Moses, the Israelites were, after their entrance into the promised land, to "put" the curse which should fall upon them if they disobeyed the commandments of Jehovah. The blessing consequent on obedience was to be similarly localised on Mount Gerizim (Deut. xi. 26-29). This was to be accomplished by a ceremonial in which half the tribes stood on the one mount and half on the other; those on Gerizim responding to and affirming blessings, those on Ebal curses, as pronounced by the Levites, who remained with the ark in the centre of the interval (comp. Deut. xxvii. 11-26 with Josh. viii. 30-35,

with Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, §44, and with the comments of the Talmud (*Sota*, 36), quoted in Herzheimer's *Pentateuch*. But notwithstanding the ban thus apparently laid on Ebal, it was further appointed to be the site of the first great altar to be erected to Jehovah; an altar of large unhewn stones plastered with lime and inscribed with the words of the law (*Deut.* xxvii. 2-3). On this altar peace-offerings were to be offered, and round it a sacrificial feast was to take place, with other rejoicings (*ver.* 6, 7). Scholars disagree as to whether there were to be two erections—a kind of cromlech and an altar—or an altar only, with the law inscribed on its stones. The latter was the view of Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §44, v. 1, §19), the former is unhesitatingly adopted by the latest commentator (Keil, on *Josh.* viii. 32). The words themselves may perhaps bear either sense.

The terms of Moses' injunction seem to infer that no delay was to take place in carrying out this symbolical transaction. It was to be "on the day" that Jordan was crossed (*xxvii.* 2), before they "went in unto the land flowing with milk and honey" (*ver.* 3). And accordingly Joshua appears to have seized the earliest practicable moment, after the pressing affairs of the siege of Jericho, the execution of Achan, and the destruction of Ai had been despatched, to carry out the command (*Josh.* viii. 30-35). After this Ebal appears no more in the sacred story.

The question now arises, where were Ebal and Gerizim situated? The all but unanimous reply to this is, that they are the mounts which form the sides of the fertile valley in which lies *Nablâs*, the ancient SHECHEM—Ebal on the north and Gerizim on the south.

(1) It is plain from the passages already quoted that they were situated near together, with a valley between.

(2) Gerizim was very near Shechem (*Judg.* ix. 7), and in Josephus's time their names appear to have been attached to the mounts, which were then, as now, Ebal on the north and Gerizim on the south. Since that they have been mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (*Asher*, i. 66), and Sir John Maundrell, and among modern travellers by Maundrell (*Mod. Trav.* 432).

The main impediment to our entire reception of this view rests in the terms of the first mention of the place by Moses in *Deut.* xi. 30: A. V. "Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh?" Here the mention of Gilgal, which was in the valley of the Jordan near Jericho, of the valley itself (*Arabah*, mistranslated here only, "champaign"), and of the Canaanites who dwelt there, and also the other terms of the injunction of Moses, as already noticed, seem to imply that Ebal and Gerizim were in the immediate neighbourhood of Jericho. And this is strengthened by the narrative of Joshua, who appears to have carried out the prescribed ceremonial on the mounts while his camp was at Gilgal (*comp.* vii. 2, ix. 6), and before he had (at least before any account of his having) made his way so far into the interior of the country as Shechem.

This is the view taken by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, FeBaA). He does not quote the passage in *Deut.*, but seems to be led to his opinion rather by the difficulty of the mountains at Shechem being too far apart to admit of the blessings and curings

being heard, and also by his desire to contradict the Samaritans; add to this that he speaks from no personal knowledge, but simply from hearsay (*Ἀέγεται*), as to the existence of two such hills in the Jordan valley. The notice of Eusebius is merely translated by Jerome, with a shade more of animosity to the Samaritans (*vehementer errant*), and expression of difficulty as to the distance, but without any additional information. Procopius and Epiphanius also followed Eusebius, but their mistakes have been disposed of by Reland (*Pal.* 503-4; *Miscell.* 129-133).

With regard to the passage in *Deut.*, it will perhaps assume a different aspect on examination.

(1) Moses is represented as speaking from the east side of the Jordan, before anything was known of the country on the west, beyond the exaggerated reports of the spies, and when everything there was wrapped in mystery, and localities and distances had not assumed their due proportions. (2) A closer rendering of the verse is as follows: "Are they not on the other side the Jordan, beyond—(עַל־פְּנֵי), the word rendered "the backside of the desert," in *Ex.* iii. 1)—the way of the sunset, in the land of the Canaanite who dwells in the *Arabah* over against Gilgal, near the terebinths of Moreh." If this rendering is correct, a great part of the difficulty has disappeared. Gilgal no longer marks the site of Ebal and Gerizim, but of the dwelling of the Canaanites, who were, it is true, the first to encounter the Israelites on the other side the river, in their native lowlands, but who, we have it actually on record, were both in the time of Abraham (*Gen.* xii. 6) and of the conquest (*Josh.* xvii. 18) located about Shechem. The word now rendered "beyond" is not represented at all in the A. V., and it certainly throws the locality much further back; and lastly there is the striking landmark of the trees of Moreh, which were standing by Shechem when Abraham first entered the land, and whose name probably survived in Mortha, or Marmotha, a name of Shechem found on coins of the Roman period (Reland, *Miscell.* 137, 9).

In accordance with this is the addition in the Samaritan Pentateuch, after the words "the terebinths of Moreh," at the end of *Deut.* xi. 30, of the words "over against Shechem." This addition is the more credible because there is not, as in the case noticed afterwards, any apparent motive for it. If this interpretation be accepted, the next verse (31) gains a fresh force:—"For ye shall pass over Jordan [not only to meet the Canaanites immediately on the other side, but] to go in to possess the land [the whole of the country, even the heart of it, where these mounts are situated (glancing back to *ver.* 29)], the land which Jehovah your God giveth you; and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein." And it may also be asked whether the significance of the whole solemn ceremonial of the blessing and cursing is not missed if we understand it as taking place directly a footing had been obtained on the outskirts of the country, and not as acted in the heart of the conquered land, in its most prominent natural position, and close to its oldest city—Shechem.

This is evidently the view taken by Josephus. His statement (*Ant.* v. 1, §19) is that it took place after the subjugation of the country and the establishment of the Tabernacle at Shiloh. He has no misgivings as to the situation of the mountains. They were at Shechem (ἐν τῇ Σικανῶν), and from thence, after the ceremony, the people returned to Shiloh.

The narrative of Joshua is more puzzling. But even with regard to this something may be said. It will be at once perceived that the book contains no account of the conquest of the centre of the country, of those portions which were afterwards the mountain of Ephraim, Esdraelon, or Galilee. We lose Joshua at Gilgal, after the conquest of the south, to find him again suddenly at the waters of Merom in the extreme north (x. 43, xi. 7). Of his intermediate proceedings the only record that seems to have escaped is the fragment contained in viii. 30-35. Nor should it be overlooked that some doubt is thrown on this in Josh. viii. 30-35, by its omission in both the Vat. and Alex. MSS. of the LXX.

The distance of Ebal and Gerizim from each other is not such a stumbling-block to us as it was to Eusebius; though it is difficult to understand how he and Jerome should have been ignorant of the distance to which the voice will travel in the clear elastic atmosphere of the East. Prof. Stanley has given some instances of this (*S. & P.* 13); others equally remarkable were observed by the writer; and he has been informed by a gentleman long resident in the neighbourhood that a voice can be heard without difficulty across the valley separating the two spots in question (see also Bonar, 371).

It is well known that one of the most serious variations between the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch and the Samaritan text, is in reference to Ebal and Gerizim. In Dent. xxvii. 4, the Samaritan has Gerizim, while the Hebrew (as in A. V.) has Ebal, as the mount on which the altar to Jehovah, and the inscription of the law were to be erected. Upon this basis they ground the sanctity of Gerizim and the authenticity of the temple and holy place, which did exist and still exist there. The arguments upon this difficult and hopeless question will be found in Kennicott (Dissert. 2.), and in the reply of Verschnir (Leovard. 1775; quoted by Gesenius de *Pent. Sana.* 61). Two points may merely be glanced at here which have apparently escaped notice. 1. Both agree that Ebal was the mount on which the cursings were to rest, Gerizim that for the blessings. It appears inconsistent, that Ebal, the mount of cursing, should be the site of the altar and the record of the law, while Gerizim, the mount of blessing, should remain unoccupied by sanctuary of any kind. 2. Taking into account the known predilection of Orientals for ancient sites on which to fix their sanctuaries, it is more easy to believe (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) that in building their temple on Gerizim, the Samaritans were making use of a spot already enjoying a reputation for sanctity, than that they built on a place upon which the curse was laid in the records which they received equally with the Jews. Thus the very fact of the occupation of Gerizim by the Samaritans would seem an argument for its original sanctity.

Ebal is rarely ascended by travellers, and we are therefore in ignorance as to how far the question may be affected by remains of ancient buildings thereon. That such remains do exist is certain, even from the very meagre accounts published (Bartlett, *Walks about Jerusalem*, App. 251, 2; and Narrative of Rev. J. Mills in Trans. Pal. Archaeol. Assoc. 1855), while the mountain is evidently of such extent as to warrant the belief that there is a great deal still to discover.

The report of the old travellers was that Ebal

was more barren than Gerizim (see Benjamin of Tudela, &c.), but this opinion probably arose from a belief in the effects of the curse mentioned above. At any rate it is not borne out by the latest accounts, according to which there is little or no perceptible difference. Both mountains are terraced, and Ebal is "occupied from bottom to top by beautiful gardens" (Mills; see also Porter, *Hand-book*, 332). The slopes of Ebal towards the valley appear to be steeper than those of Gerizim (Wilson, 45, 71). It is also the higher mountain of the two. There is some uncertainty about the measurements, but the following are the results of the latest observations (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 178).

*Nablâs*, above sea, 1672 ft.

Gerizim do. 2800 " .. above Nablâs, 928 ft.

Ebal do. about 2700 " .. do. 1028 "

According to Wilson (*Lands*, ii. 71,—but see Rob. ii. 277, 280, note) it is sufficiently high to shut out Hermon from the highest point of Gerizim. The structure of Gerizim is nummulitic limestone with occasional outcrops of igneous rock (Poole, in *Geogr. Journ.* xvi. 56), and that of Ebal is probably similar. At its base above the valley of Nablâs are numerous caves and sepulchral excavations. The modern name of Ebal is *Sitti Salamiyah*, from a Mohammedan female saint, whose tomb is standing on the eastern part of the ridge, a little before the highest point is reached (Wilson, 71, note). By others, however, it is reported to be called '*Imâd-ed-Deen*, 'the pillar of the religion' (Stanley, 238, note). The tomb of another saint called *Amâl* is also shown (Ritter, 641), with whom the latter name may have some connexion. On the south-east shoulder is a ruined site bearing the name of '*Askar* (Rob. iii. 132). [SYCHAR.] [G.]

**EBED**, 1. עֶבֶד = "slave;" but many MSS., and the Syr. and Arab. Versions, have עֶבֶר, **EBER**; יְעֻבָּה; Alex. 'ΑΒΕδ; *Ebed* and *Obed*), father of GAAL, who with his brethren assisted the men of Shechem in their revolt against Abimelech (Judg. ix. 26, 28, 30, 31, 35).

2. (עֶבֶר; 'ΑΒΕθ; Alex. 'ΑΒΗ; *Abed*), son of Jonathan; one of the Bene-Adin who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 6). In 1 Esdras the name is given OBETH.

It would add greatly to the force of many passages in the O. T. if the word "slave" or "bondman" were appropriated to the Hebrew term *Ebed*, while "servant," "attendant," or "minister," were used to translate *Na'ar*, *Mesharet*, &c. In the addresses of subjects to a ruler, the Oriental character of the transaction would come home to us at once if we read "what saith my lord to his slave"—the very form still in use in the East, and familiar to us all in the *Arabian Nights* and other Oriental works—instead of "his servant." [G.]

**E'BED-ME'LECH** (עֶבֶד מֶלֶךְ; Ἀβδμελεχ, *Abdmelech*), an Ethiopian eunuch in the service of king Zedekiah, through whose interference Jeconiah was released from prison, and who was on that account preserved from harm at the taking of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxviii. 7 ff., xxxix. 15 ff.). His name seems to be an official title = *King's slave*, i.e. *minister*.

**EBEN-EZER** (הָעֵבֶן אֶזְרָא, "the stone of

\* For a peculiarity in the Hebrew name in iv. 1—the definite article to both words—see Ewald, *Ausführl. Lebrb.* §290 d.

help;" **'Aber** (עֶבֶר; Joseph. *Αἰθος λαχυρὸς*; *lapis Adjutorii*), a stone set up by Samuel after a signal defeat of the Philistines, as a memorial of the "help" received on the occasion from Jehovah (1 Sam. vii. 12). "He called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, 'hitherto hath Jehovah helped us'" (*uzurauu*, עֶבֶרֶצֶר). Its position is carefully defined as between MIZPELIL—"the watch-tower," one of the conspicuous eminences a few miles N. of Jerusalem—and SHEN, "the tooth" or "crag." Neither of these points, however, have been identified with any certainty—the latter not at all. According to Josephus's record of the transaction (*Ant.* vi. 2, 2), the stone was erected to mark the limit of the victory, a spot which he calls KORRAIA, but in the Hebrew BETH-CAIR. It is remarkable that of the occurrences of the name Eben-ezer, two (1 Sam. iv. 1, v. 1) are found in the order of the narrative before the place received its title. But this would not naturally happen in a record written after the event, especially in the case of a spot so noted as Eben-ezer must have been. [G.]

**E'BER** (עֶבֶר; **"Eber**, **"Eber**; *Heber*), son of Saluh, and great-grandson of Shem (*Gen.* x. 14; 1 Chr. i. 19). For confusion between Eber and Heber see HEBER; and for the fictitious importance attached to this patriarch, and based upon *Gen.* x. 21, *Num.* xiv. 24, see HEBREW. [T. E. B.]

**EB'ASAPH** (עֶבְרָסָף; *Ἀβιασάφ* and *Ἀβισάφ*; *Abiasaph*), a Kethathite Levite of the family of Korah, one of the forefathers of the prophet Samuel and of Heman the singer (1 Chr. vi. 23, 37). The same man is probably intended in ix. 19. The name appears also to be identical with *ABIASAPH* (which see), and in one passage (1 Chr. xvi. 1) to be abbreviated to *Asaph*.

**EBONY** (*Habenin*, הֶבֶנִּים), a dark very hard kind of wood, mentioned only in *Ez.* xxvii. 15, as brought with ivory to Tyre by the men of Dedan. It is the timber of the *Diospyros ebenum*, Linn., and is found both in Aethiopia and India, though Virgil (*Georg.* ii. 115) says

— "soia India nigrum  
Fert ebenum."

It was highly esteemed by the ancients: see Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 5; Plin. *H. N.*, vi. 30, §35, xii. 4, §8, 9. There is an affinity between *Habenin* and *Oben* or *Eben*, a stone. Hence perhaps *Habenin* in the above passage may have the force of "stony wood," i. e. as hard as stone, lithoxyle, Germ. *Steinholz*. The Semitic word is the origin of the Greek *ἔβενος*, and the Latin *ebenum*, and it has come back into the Arabic and Persian

ابنوس, ابنوش, with its Greek termination. The Hebrew use of the plural arose from the fact that this wood was exported out into logs (comp. *φάλαγγες ἔβενου*, in Herod. iii. 97). The fine black ebony of commerce is imported from Mauritius and the East Indies. Other, but inferior, kinds, are derived from Africa and Jamaica. [W. D.]

**EBRON'AH**. [ABRONAH.]

**ECAN'US**, one of the five swift scribes who attended on Esdras (2 Esdr. xiv. 24).

**ECBAT'ANA** (עֶכְבָּתָנָא; *Ἀμαθὰ*, *Ἐκβάτανα*; *Ecbatana*). It is doubtful whether the name of this place is really contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. Many of the best commentators understand the

expression *מִן־הַמָּגִן*, in *Ezra* vi. 2, differently, and translate it *in arca*, "in a coffer" (see Buxtorf and others, and so our English Bible *in the margin*). The LXX., however, give *ἐν πόλει*, "in a city," or (in some MSS.) *ἐν Ἀμαθὰ ἐν πόλει*, which favours the ordinary interpretation. If a city is meant, there is little doubt of one of the two Ecbatanae being intended, for except these towns there was no place in the province of the Medes "which contained a palace" (חַיִּיבָא), or where records are likely to have been deposited. The name *Achinetha* too, which at first sight seems somewhat remote from Ecbatana, wants but one letter of *Illymatana*, which was the native appellation. In the apocryphal books Ecbatana is frequently mentioned (*Tob.* iii. 7, xiv. 12, 14; *Jud.* i. 1, 2; 2 Mac. ix. 3, &c.); and uniformly with the later and less correct spelling of *Ἐκβάτανα*, instead of the earlier and more accurate form, used by Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Ctesias, of *Ἀγβάτανα*.

Two cities of the name of Ecbatana seem to have existed in ancient times, one the capital of Northern Media, the Media Atropatene of Strabo; the other the metropolis of the larger and more important province known as Media Magna (see Sir H. Rawlinson's paper on the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the 10th volume of the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, art. ii.). The site of the former appears to be marked by the very curious ruins at *Takht-i-Sulaiman* (lat. 36° 28', long. 47° 9'); while that of the latter is occupied by *Hamadan*, which is one of the most important cities of modern Persia. There is generally some difficulty in determining, when Ecbatana is mentioned, whether the northern or the southern metropolis is intended. Few writers are aware of the existence of the two cities, and they lie sufficiently near to one another for geographical notices in most cases to suit either site. The northern city was the "seven-walled town" described by Herodotus, and declared by him to have been the capital of Cyrus (Herod. i. 98-99, 153; comp. *Mos. Choren.* ii. 84); and it was thus most probably there that the roll was found which proved to Darius that Cyrus had really made a decree allowing the Jews to rebuild their temple.

Various descriptions of the northern city have come down to us, but none of them is completely to be depended on. That of the *Zendavesta* (*Vendidad*, Fargard II.) is the oldest, and the least exaggerated. "Jemshid," it is said, "erected a *Var*, or fortress, sufficiently large, and formed of squared blocks of stone; he assembled in the place a vast population, and stocked the surrounding country with cattle for their use. He caused the water of the great fortress to flow forth abundantly. And within the *var*, or fortress, he erected a lofty palace, encompassed with walls, and laid it out in many separate divisions, and there was no place, either in front or rear, to command and overrule the fortress." Herodotus, who ascribes the foundation of the city to his king Deioces, says:—"The Medes were obedient to Deioces, and built the city now called Agbatana, the walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other. The plan of the place is that each of the walls should out-top the one beyond it by the battlements. The nature of the ground, which is a gentle hill, favours this arrangement in some degree, but it was mainly effected by art. The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasures standing within the last. The circuit

of the outer wall is nearly the same with that of Athens. Of this outer wall the battlements are white, of the next black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange: all these are coloured with paint. The two last have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold. All these fortifications Deloëus caused to be raised for himself and his own palace. The people were required to build their dwellings outside the circuit of the walls" (Herod. i. 98-99). Finally, the book of Judith, probably the work of an Alexandrian Jew, professes to give a number of details, which appear to be drawn chiefly from the imagination of the writer (Jud. i. 2-4).

The peculiar feature of the site of *Takht-i-Suleiman*, which it is proposed to identify with the northern Ecbatana, is a conical hill rising to the height of about 150 feet above the plain, and covered both on its top and sides with massive ruins of the most antique and primitive character. A perfect enceinte, formed of large blocks of squared stone, may be traced round the entire hill along its brow; within there is an oval enclosure about 800 yards in its greatest and 400 in its least diameter, strewn with ruins, which cluster round a remarkable lake. This

is an irregular basin, about 300 paces in circuit, filled with water exquisitely clear and pleasant to the taste, which is supplied in some unknown way from below, and which stands uniformly at the same level, whatever the quantity taken from it for irrigating the lands which lie at the foot of the hill. This hill itself is not perfectly isolated, though it appears so to those who approach it by the ordinary route. On three sides—the south, the west, and the north—the acclivity is steep and the height above the plain uniform, but on the east it abuts upon a hilly tract of ground,

and here it is but slightly elevated above the adjacent country. It cannot therefore have ever answered exactly to the description of Herodotus, as the eastern side could not anyhow admit of seven walls of circumvallation. It is doubted whether even the other sides were thus defenced. Although the flanks on these sides are covered with ruins, "no traces remain of any wall but the upper one" (*As. Journ.* x. p. 52). Still, as the nature of the ground on three sides would allow this style of defence, and as the account in Herodotus is confirmed by the Armenian historian, writing clearly without knowledge of the earlier author, it seems best to suppose, that in the peaceful times of the Persian empire it was thought sufficient to preserve the upper enceinte, while the others were allowed to fall into decay, and ultimately were superseded by domestic buildings. With regard to the colouring of the walls, or rather of the battlements, which has been considered to mark especially the fabulous character of Herodotus'

description, recent discoveries show that such a mode of ornamentation was actually in use at the period in question in a neighbouring country. The temple of the Seven Spheres at Borsippa was adorned almost exactly in the manner which Herodotus assigns to the Median capital [BABEL, TOWER OF]; and it does not seem at all improbable that, with the object of placing the city under the protection of the Seven Planets, the seven walls may have been coloured nearly as described. Herodotus has a little deranged the order of the hues, which should have been either black, orange, scarlet, gold, white, blue, silver—as at the Borsippa temple—or black, white, orange, blue, scarlet, silver, gold—if the order of the days dedicated to the planets were followed. Even the use of silver and gold in external ornamentation—which seems at first sight highly improbable—is found to have prevailed. Silver roofs were met with by the Greeks at the southern Ecbatana (Polyb. x. 27, §10-12); and there is reason to believe that at Borsippa the gold and silver stages of the temple were actually coated with those metals.

The northern Ecbatana continued to be an important place down to the 13th century after



Plan of Ecbatana.

EXPLANATION.

1. Remains of a Fire-Temple.
2. Ruined Mosque.
3. Ancient buildings with shafts and capitals.
4. Ruins of the Palace of Abakut Kima.
5. Cemetery.
6. Ridge of rock called "the Dragon".
7. Hill called "Tawilsh," or "the Stable".
8. Ruins of Kishlah.
9. Rocky hill of Zindan-i-Suleiman.

Christ. By the Greeks and Romans it appears to have been known as Gaza, Gazaca, or Canzaca, "the treasure city," on account of the wealth laid up in it; while by the Orientals it was termed *Shiz*. Its decay is referable to the Mogul conquests, ab. A.D. 1200; and its final ruin is supposed to date from about the 15th or 16th century (*As. Soc. Journ.* vol. x. part i. p. 49).

In the 2nd book of Macenbes (ix. 3, &c.) the Ecbatana mentioned is undoubtedly the southern city, now represented both in name and site by *Hamadan*. This place, situated on the northern flank of the great mountain called formerly Orontes, and now *Elicend*, was perhaps as ancient as the other, and is far better known in history. If not the Median capital of Cyrus, it was at any rate regarded from the time of Darius Hystaspis as the chief city of the Persian satrapy of Media, and as such it became the summer residence of the Persian kings from Darius downwards. It was occupied by Alexander soon after the battle of Arbela (Arr.

*Exp. Alex.* iii. 19), and at his decease passed under the dominion of the Seleucidæ. In the wars between his successors it was more than once taken and retaken, each time suffering largely at the hands of its conquerors (*Polyb.* x. 27). It was afterwards recognised as the metropolis of their empire by the Parthians (*Oros.* vi. 4). During the Arabian period, from the rise of Baghdad on the one hand and of Isfahan on the other, it sank into comparative insignificance; but still it has never descended below the rank of a provincial capital, and even in the present depressed condition of Persia, it is a city of from 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. The Jews, curiously enough, regard it as the residence of Ahasuerus (Xerxes?)—which is in Scripture declared to be Susa (*Est.* i. 2, ii. 3, &c.)—and show within its precincts the tombs of Esther and Mordecai (*Ker Porter*, vol. ii. pp. 105-110). It is not distinguished by any remarkable peculiarities from other Oriental cities of the same size.

The Ecbatana of the book of Tobit is thought by Sir H. Rawlinson to be the northern city (see *As. Soc. Journ.* x. pt. i. pp. 137-141). [G. R.]

**ECCLESIASTES** (עֵקֶלְאִישֶׁת, *Kohēleth*; Ἐκκλησιαστικός, *Ecclesiastes*). I. Title.—The title of this book is taken from the name by which the son of David, or the writer who personates him, speaks of himself throughout it. The apparent anomaly of the feminine termination η indicates

that the abstract noun has been transferred from the office to the person holding it (*Gesen. sub voc.*), and has thus become capable of use as a masculine proper name, a change of meaning of which we find other instances in *Sophereth* (*Neh.* vii. 57), *Pochereth* (*Est.* ii. 57); and hence, with the single exception of *Ecl.* vii. 27, the noun, notwithstanding its form, is used throughout in the masculine. Ewald, however (*Poet. Büch.* iv. p. 189), connects the feminine termination with the noun חֵכֶם (wisdom), understood, and supposes a poetic licence in the use of the word as a kind of symbolic proper name, appealing to *Prov.* xxx. 1, xxxi. 1, as examples of a like usage. As connected with the root קָהַל, "to call together," and with קָהָל, "assembly," the word has been applied to one who speaks publicly in an assembly, and there is, to say the least, a tolerable agreement in favour of this interpretation. Thus we have the comment of the Midrash, stating that the writer thus designates himself, "because his words were spoken in the assembly" (quoted in *Preston's Ecclesiastes*, note on i. 1); the rendering Ἐκκλησιαστικός by the LXX.; the adoption of this title by Jerome (*Præf. in Ecl.*), as meaning "qui coctum, i. e. ecclesiam congregat quem nos nuncupare possumus Concionatorem;" the use of "Prediger" by Luther, of "Preacher" in the Authorised Version. On the other hand, taking קָהַל in the sense of collecting things, not of summoning persons, and led perhaps by his inability to see in the book itself any greater unity of design than in the chapters of Proverbs, Grotius (*in Eccles.* i. 1) has suggested Συναθροιστής (*compiler*) as a better equivalent. In this he has been followed by Herder and Jahn, and Mendelssohn has adopted the same rendering (notes on i. 1, and vii. 27, in *Preston*), seeing in it the statement partly that the writer had compiled the sayings of wise men who had gone before him, partly that he was,

by an inductive process, gathering truths from the facts of a wide experience.

II. *Canonicity*.—In the Jewish division of the books of the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes ranks as one of the five Megilloth or Rolls [BIBLE], and its position, as having canonical authority, appears to have been recognised by the Jews from the time in which the idea of a canon first presented itself. We find it in all the Jewish catalogues of the sacred books, and from them it has been received universally by the Christian Church. Some singular passages in the Talmud indicate, however, that the recognition was not altogether unhesitating, and that it was at least questioned how far the book was one which it was expedient to place among the Scriptures that were read publicly. Thus we find the statements (*Mishna, Shabbas*, c. x., quoted by Mendelssohn in *Preston*, p. 74; *Midrash*, fol. 114 a; *Preston*, p. 13) that "the wise men sought to secrete the book *Kohēleth*, because they found in it words tending to heresy," and "words contradictory to each other;" that the reason they did not secrete it was "because its beginning and end were consistent with the law;" that when they examined it more carefully they came to the conclusion, "We have looked closely into the book *Kohēleth*, and discovered a meaning in it." The chief interest of such passages is of course connected with the inquiry into the plan and teaching of the book, but they are of some importance also as indicating that it must have commended itself to the teachers of an earlier generation, either on account of the external authority by which it was sanctioned, or because they had a clearer insight into its meaning, and were less startled by its apparent difficulties. Traces of this controversy are to be found in a singular discussion between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, turning on the question whether the book *Kohēleth* were inspired, and in the comments on that question by R. Ob. de Bartenor and Maimonides (*Surenhus* iv. 349).

III. *Author and Date*.—The questions of the authorship and the date of this book are so closely connected that they must be treated of together, and it is obviously impossible to discuss the points which they involve without touching also on an inquiry into the relation in which it stands to Hebrew literature generally.

The hypothesis which is naturally suggested by the account that the writer gives of himself in ch. i. and ii. is that it was written by the only "son of David" (i. 1), who was "king over Israel in Jerusalem" (i. 12). According to this notion we have in it what may well be called the Confessions of King Solomon, the utterance of a repentance which some have even ventured to compare with that of the 51st psalm. Additional internal evidence has been found for this belief in the language of vii. 26-28, as harmonising with the history of 1 K. xi. 3, and in an interpretation (somewhat forced perhaps) which refers iv. 13-15 to the murmurs of the people against Solomon and the popularity of Jeroboam as the leader of the people, already recognised as their future king (*Mendelssohn and Preston in loc.*). The belief that Solomon was actually the author was, it need hardly be said, received generally by the Rabbinic commentators and the whole series of Patristic writers. The apparent exceptions to this in the passages by Talmudic writers which ascribe it to Hezekiah (*Baba Bathra*, c. i. fol. 15), or Isaiah (*Shalsh. Hakkab*,

fol. 66 b, quoted by Michaelis), can hardly be understood as implying more than a share in the work of editing, like that claimed for the "men of Hezekiah" in Prov. xiv. 1. Grotius (*Praef. in Eccles.*) was indeed almost the first writer who called it in question, and started a different hypothesis. It can hardly be said, however, that this consensus is itself decisive. In questions of this kind the later witnesses add nothing to the authority of the earlier, whose testimony they simply repeat, and unless we had clearer knowledge than we have as to the sources of information or critical discernment of those by whom the belief was adopted, we ought not to look on their acceptance of it as closing all controversy. The book which bears the title of the "Wisdom of Solomon" asserts, both by its title and its language (vii. 1-21), a claim to the same authorship, and, though the absence of a Hebrew original led to its exclusion from the Jewish canon, the authorship of Solomon was taken for granted by all the early Christian writers who quote it or refer to it, till Jerome had asserted the authority of the Hebrew text as the standard of canonicity, and by not a few afterwards. It may seem, however, as if the whole question were settled for all who recognise the inspiration of Scripture by the statement, in a canonical and inspired book, as to its own authorship. The book purports, it is said (Preston, *Proleg. in Eccles.* p. 5), to be written by Solomon, and to doubt the literal accuracy of this statement is to call in question the truth and authority of Scripture. It appears questionable, however, whether we can admit an *a priori* argument of this character to be decisive. The hypothesis that every such statement in a canonical book must be received as literally true, is, in fact, an assumption that inspired writers were debarred from forms of composition which were open, without blame, to others. In the literature of every other nation the form of personated authorship, where there is no *omnino decipiendo*, has been recognised as a legitimate channel for the expression of opinions, or the quasi-dramatic representation of character. Why should we venture on the assertion that if adopted by the writers of the Old Testament it would have made them guilty of a falsehood, and been inconsistent with their inspiration? The question of authorship does not involve that of canonical authority. A book written by Solomon would not necessarily be inspired and canonical. There is nothing that need startle us in the thought that an inspired writer might use a liberty which has been granted without hesitation to the teachers of mankind in every age and country.

The preliminary difficulty being so far removed, we can enter on the objections which have been urged against the traditional belief by Grotius and later critics, and the hypotheses which they have substituted for it. In the absence of adequate external testimony, these are drawn chiefly from the book itself.

1. The language of the book is said to be inconsistent with the belief that it was written by Solomon. It belongs to the time when the older Hebrew was becoming largely intermingled with Aramaic forms and words (Grotius, De Wette, Ewald, and nearly the whole series of German critics), and as such takes its place in the latest group of books of the Old Testament, along with Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Esther: it is indeed more widely different from the language of the older books than any of

them (Ewald). The prevalence of abstract forms again, characteristic of the language of Ecclesiastes, is urged as belonging to a later period than that of Solomon in the development of Hebrew thought and language. The answers given to these objections by the defenders of the received belief are (Preston, *Eccles.* p. 7), (a) that many of what we call Aramaic or Chaldean forms may have belonged to the period of pure Hebrew, though they have not come down to us in any extant writings; and (b) that so far as they are foreign to the Hebrew of the time of Solomon, he may have learnt them from his "strange wives," or from the men who came as ambassadors from other countries.

2. It has been asked whether Solomon would have been likely to speak of himself as in i. 12, or to describe with bitterness the misery and wrong of which his own misgovernment had been the cause, as in iii. 16, iv. 1 (Jahn, *Einkl.* ii. p. 840). On the hypothesis that he was the writer, the whole book is an acknowledgment of evils which he had occasioned, while yet there is no distinct confession and repentance. The question here raised is, of course, worth considering, but it can hardly be looked on as leading in either direction to a conclusion. There are forms of subtlety and self-reproach, of which this half-sad, half-scornful retrospect of a man's own life—this utterance of bitter words by which he is condemned out of his own mouth—is the most natural expression. Any individual judgment on this point cannot, from the nature of the case, be otherwise than subjective, and ought therefore to bias our estimate of other evidence as little as possible.

3. It has been urged that the state of society indicated in this book leads to the same conclusion as its language, and carries us to a period after the return from the Babylonian captivity, when the Jews were enjoying comparative freedom from invasion, but were exposed to the evils of misgovernment under the satraps of the Persian king (Ewald, *Poet. Bücher*; Keil, *Einkl. in das A. T.* under *Eccles.*). The language is throughout that of a man who is surrounded by many forms of misery (iii. 16, iv. 1, v. 8, viii. 11, ix. 12). There are sudden and violent changes, the servant of to-day becoming the ruler of to-morrow (x. 5-7). All this, it is said, agrees with the glimpses into the condition of the Jews under the Persian empire in Ezra and Nehemiah, and with what we know as to the general condition of the provinces under its satraps. The indications of the religious condition of the people, their formalism, and much-speaking (v. 1, 2), their readiness to evade the performance of their vows by casuistic excuses (v. 5), represent in like manner the growth of evils, the germs of which appeared soon after the captivity, and which we find in a fully developed form in the prophecy of Malachi. In addition to this general resemblance there is the agreement between the use of מַלְאָךְ for the "angel" or priest of God (v. 6, Ewald, *loc. cit.*),

and the recurrence in Malachi of the terms מַלְאָךְ הַיְהוָה, the "angel" or messenger of the Lord, as a synonyme for the priest (Mal. ii. 7), the true priest being the great agent in accomplishing God's purposes. Significant, though not conclusive, in either direction, is the absence of all reference to any contemporaneous prophetic activity, or to any Messianic hopes. This might indicate a time before such hopes had become prevalent or after they

were, for a time, extinguished. It might, on the other hand, be the natural result of the experience through which the son of David had passed, or fitly take its place in the dramatic personation of such a character. The use throughout the book of Elohîm instead of Jehovah as the divine Name, though characteristic of the book as dealing with the problems of the universe rather than with the relations between the Lord God of Israel and His people, and therefore striking as an idiosyncrasy, leaves the question as to date nearly where it was. The indications of rising questions as to the end of man's life, and the constitution of his nature, of doubts like those which afterwards developed into Sadduceism (iii. 19-21), of a copious literature connected with those questions, confirm, it is urged (Ewald), the hypothesis of the later date. It may be added too, that the absence of any reference to such a work as this in the enumeration of Solomon's writings in 1 K. iv. 32, tends, at least, to the same conclusion.

In this case, however, as in others, the arguments of recent criticism are stronger against the traditional belief than in support of any rival theory, and the advocates of that belief might almost be content to rest their case upon the discordant hypotheses of their opponents. On the assumption that the book belongs, not to the time of Solomon, but to the period subsequent to the captivity, the dates which have been assigned to it occupy a range of more than 300 years. Grotius supposes Zerubabel to be referred to in xii. 11, as the "One Shepherd" (*Comm. in Eccles. in loc.*), and so far agrees with Keil (*Einführung in das A. T.*), who fixes it in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Ewald and De Wette conjecture the close of the period of Persian or the commencement of that of Macedonian rule; Bertholdt the period between Alexander the Great and Antiochus Epiphanes; Hitzig, circ. 204 B.C., Hartmann, the time of the Maccabees. On the other hand it must be remembered in comparing these discordant theories that the main facts relied upon by these critics as fatal to the traditional belief are compatible with any date subsequent to the captivity, while they are inconsistent, unless we admit the explanation, given as above, by Preston, with the notion of the Salomonic authorship.

IV. *Plan.*—The book of Ecclesiastes comes before us as being conspicuously, among the writings of the O. T. the great stumbling-block of commentators. Elsewhere there are different opinions as to the meaning of single passages. Here there is the widest possible divergence as to the plan and purpose of the whole book. The passages already quoted from the Mishna show that some, at least, of the Rabbinical writers were perplexed by its teaching—did not know what to make of it—but gave way to the authority of men more discerning than themselves. The traditional statement, however, that this was among the scriptures which were not read by any one under the age of thirty (*Crit. Sac. Amarna in Eccles.*, but with a "nescio ubi" as to his authority), indicates the continuance of the old difficulty, and the remarks of Jerome (*Praef. in Eccles., Comm. in Eccles. xii. 13*) show that it was not forgotten. Little can be gathered from the series of Patristic interpreters. The book is comparatively seldom quoted by them. No attempt is made to master its plan and to enter into the spirit of its writer. The charge brought by Philastrius of Brescia (circ. 380) against some heretics who rejected it as teaching a false morality, shows that the obscurity which had been a stumbling-

block to Jewish teachers was not removed for Christians. The fact that Theodore of Mopsuestia was accused at the Fifth General Council of calling in question the authority and inspiration of this book, as well as of the Canticles, indicates that in this respect as in others he was the precursor of the spirit of modern criticism. But with these exceptions, there are no traces that men's minds were drawn to examine the teachings of the book. When, however, we descend to the more recent developments of criticism, we meet with an almost incredible divergence of opinion. Luther, with his broad clear insight into the workings of a man's heart, sees in it (*Praef. in Eccles.*) a noble "Politica vel Oeconomica," leading men in the midst of all the troubles and disorders of human society to a true endurance and reasonable enjoyment. Grotius (*Praef. in Eccles.*) gives up the attempt to trace in it a plan or order of thought, and finds in it only a collection of many maxims, connected more or less closely with the great problems of human life, analogous to the discussion of the different definitions of happiness at the opening of the Nicomachean Ethics. Some (of whom Warburton may be taken as the type, *Works*, vol. iv. p. 154) have seen in the language of ii. 18-21. a proof that the belief in the immortality of the soul was no part of the transmitted creed of Israel. Others (Patrick, Des Voeux, Davidson, Mendelssohn) contend that the special purpose of the book was to assert that truth against the denial of a sensual scepticism. Others, the later German critics, of whom Ewald may be taken as the highest and best type, reject these views as partial and one-sided, and while admitting that the book contains the germs of later systems, both Pharisaic and Sadducean, assert that the object of the writer was to point out the secret of a true blessedness in the midst of all the distractions and sorrows of the world as consisting in a tranquil calm enjoyment of the good that comes from God (*Poet. Büch. iv. 180*).

The variety of these opinions indicates sufficiently that the book is as far removed as possible from the character of a formal treatise. It is that which it professes to be—the confession of a man of wide experience looking back upon his past life and looking out upon the disorders and calamities which surround him. Such a man does not set forth his premises and conclusions with a logical completeness. While it may be true that the absence of a formal arrangement is characteristic of the Hebrew mind in all stages of its development (Lowth, *de Sac. Poet. Heb. Proel. xiv.*), or that it was the special mark of the declining literature of the period that followed the captivity (Ewald, *Poet. Büch. iv. p. 177*), it is also true that it belongs generally to all writings that are addressed to the spiritual rather than the intellectual element in man's nature, and that it is found accordingly in many of the greatest works that have influenced the spiritual life of mankind. In proportion as a man has passed out of the region of a traditional, easily-systematized knowledge, and has lived under the influence of great thoughts—possessed by them, yet hardly mastering them so as to bring them under a scientific classification—are we likely to find this apparent want of method. The true utterances of such a man are the records of his struggles after truth, of his occasional glimpses of it, of his ultimate discovery. The treatise *de Imitatione Christi*, the *Pensées* of Pascal, Augustine's *Confessions*,

widely as they differ in other points, have this feature in common. If the writer consciously reproduces the stages through which he has passed, the form he adopts may either be essentially dramatic, or it may record a statement of the changes which have brought him to his present state, or it may repeat and renew the oscillations from one extreme to another which had marked that earlier experience. The writer of Ecclesiastes has adopted and interwoven both the latter methods, and hence, in part, the obscurity which has made it so pre-eminently the stumbling-block of commentators. He is not a didactic moralist writing a Homily on Virtue. He is not a prophet delivering a message from the Lord of Hosts to a sinful people. He is a man who has sinned in giving way to selfishness and sensuality, who has paid the penalty of that sin in satiety and weariness of life; in whom the mood of spirit, over-reflective, indisposed to action, of which Shakespeare has given us in Hamlet, Jacques, Richard II., three distinct examples, has become dominant in its darkest form, but who has through all this been under the discipline of a divine education, and has learnt from it the lesson which God meant to teach him. What that lesson was will be seen from an examination of the book itself.

Leaving it an open question whether it is possible to arrange the contents of this book (as Koster and Vaihinger have done) in a carefully balanced series of strophes and antistrophes, it is tolerably clear that the recurring burden of "Vanity of vanities" and the teaching which recommends a life of calm enjoyment, mark, whenever they occur, a kind of halting-place in the succession of thoughts. It is the summing up of one cycle of experience; the sentence passed upon one phase of life. Taking this, accordingly, as our guide, we may look on the whole book as falling into five divisions, each, to a certain extent, running parallel to the others in its order and results, and closing with that which, in its position no less than its substance, is "the conclusion of the whole matter."

(1.) Ch. i. and ii. This portion of the book more than any other has the character of a personal confession. The Preacher starts with reproducing the phase of despair and weariness into which his experience had led him (i. 2, 3). To the man who thus satiated with life the order and regularity of nature are oppressive (i. 4-7); nor is he led, as in the 90th Psalm, from the things that are transitory to the thought of One whose years are from eternity. In the midst of the ever-recurring changes he finds no progress. That which seems to be new is but the repetition of the old (i. 8-11). Then, having laid bare the depth to which he had fallen, he retraces the path by which he had travelled thitherward. First he had sought after wisdom as that to which God seemed to call him (i. 13), but the pursuit of it was a sore travail, and there was no satisfaction in its possession. It could not remedy the least real evil, nor make the crooked straight (i. 15). The first experiment in the search after happiness had failed and he tried another. It was one to which men of great intellectual gifts and high fortunes are continually tempted—to surround himself with all the appliances of sensual enjoyment and yet in thought to hold himself above it (ii. 1-9), making his very voluptuousness part of the experience which was to enlarge his store of wisdom. This—which one may perhaps call the Goethe idea of life—was what

now possessed him. But this also failed to give him peace (ii. 11). Had he not then exhausted all human experience and found it profitless? (ii. 12). If for a moment he found comfort in the thought that wisdom excelleth folly, and that he was wise (ii. 13, 14), it was soon darkened again by the thought of death (ii. 15). The wise man dies as the fool (ii. 16). This is enough to make even him who has wisdom hate all his labour and sink into the outer darkness of despair (ii. 20). Yet this very despair leads to the remedy. The first section closes with that which, in different forms, is the main lesson of the book—to make the best of what is actually around one (ii. 24)—to substitute for the reckless feverish pursuit of pleasure the calm enjoyment which men may yet find both for the senses and the intellect. This, so far as it goes, is the secret of a true life; this is from the hand of God. On everything else there is written, as before, the sentence that it is vanity and vexation of spirit.

(2.) Ch. iii. 1—vi. 9. The order of thought in this section has a different starting-point. One who looked out upon the infinitely varied phenomena of man's life might yet discern, in the midst of that variety, traces of an order. There are times and seasons for each of them in its turn, even as there are for the vicissitudes of the world of nature (iii. 1-8). The heart of man with its changes is the mirror of the universe (iii. 11), and is, like that, inscrutable. And from this there comes the same conclusion as from the personal experience. Calmly to accept the changes and chances of life, entering into whatever joy they bring, as one accepts the order of nature, this is the way of peace (iii. 13). The thought of the ever-recurring cycle of nature, which had before been irritating and disturbing, now whispers the same lesson. If we suffer, others have suffered before us (iii. 15). God is seeking out the past and reproducing it. If men repeat injustice and oppression, God also in the appointed season repeats His judgments (iii. 16, 17). It is true that this thought has a dark as well as a bright side, and this cannot be ignored. If men come and pass away, subject to laws and changes like those of the natural world, then, it would seem, man has no pre-eminence above the beast (iii. 19). One end happens to all. All are of the dust and return to dust again (iii. 20). There is no immediate denial of that conclusion. It was to that that the preacher's experience and reflection had led him. But even on the hypothesis that the personal being of man terminates with his death, he has still the same counsel to give. Admit that all is darkness beyond the grave, and still there is nothing better on this side of it than the temper of a tranquil enjoyment (iii. 22). The transition from this to the opening thoughts of ch. iv. seems at first somewhat abrupt. But the preacher is retracing the paths by which he had been actually led to a higher truth than that in which he had then rested, and he will not, for the sake of a formal continuity, smooth over its ruggedness. The new track on which he was entering might have seemed less promising than the old. Instead of the self-centred search after happiness he looks out upon the miseries and disorders of the world, and learns to sympathise with suffering (iv. 1). At first this does but multiply his perplexities. The world is out of joint. Men are so full of misery that death is better than life (iv. 2). Successful energy exposes men to envy (iv. 4). Indolence leads to

poverty (iv. 5). Here too he who steers clear of both extremes has the best portion (iv. 6). The man who heaps up riches stands alone without kindred to share or inherit them, and loses all the blessings and advantages of human fellowship (iv. 8-12). And in this survey of life on a large scale, as in that of a personal experience, there is a cycle which is ever being repeated. The old and foolish king yields to the young man, poor and wise, who steps from his prison to a throne (iv. 13, 14). But he too has his successor. There are generations without limit before him, and shall be after him (iii. 15, 16). All human greatness is swallowed up in the great stream of time. The opening of ch. v. again presents the appearance of abruptness, but it is because the survey of human life takes a yet wider range. The eye of the Preacher passes from the dwellers in palaces to the worshippers in the Temple, the devout and religious men. Have they found out the secret of life, the path to wisdom and happiness? The answer to that question is that there the blindness and folly of mankind show themselves in their worst forms. Hypocrisy, unseemly prayers, idle dreams, broken vows, God's messenger, the Priest, mocked with excuses—that was what the religion which the Preacher witnessed presented to him (v. 1-6). The command "Fear thou God," meant that a man was to take no part in a religion such as this. But that command also suggested the solution of another problem, of that prevalence of injustice and oppression which had before weighed down the spirit of the inquirer. Above all the tyranny of petty governors, above the might of the king himself there was the power of the Highest (v. 8); and His judgment was manifest even upon earth. Was there after all so great an inequality? Was God's purpose that the earth should be for all, really counteracted? (v. 9). Was the rich man with his cues and fears happier than the labouring man whose sleep was sweet without riches? (v. 10-12). Was there anything permanent in that wealth of his? Did he not leave the world naked as he entered it? And if so, did not all this bring the inquirer round to the same conclusion as before? Moderation, self-control, freedom from all disturbing passions, these are the conditions of the maximum of happiness which is possible for man on earth. Let this be received as from God. Not the outward means only, but the very capacity of enjoyment is His gift (v. 18, 19). Short as life may be, if a man thus enjoys, he makes the most of it. God approves and answers his cheerfulness. Is not this better than the riches or length of days on which men set their hearts? (vi. 1-5). All are equal in death; all are nearly equal in life (vi. 6). To feed the eyes with what is actually before them is better than the ceaseless wanderings of the spirit (vi. 9).

(3.) Ch. vi. 10—viii. 15. So far the lines of thought all seemed to converge to one result. The ethical teaching that grew out of the wise man's experience had in it something akin to the higher forms of Epicureanism. But the seeker could not rest in this, and found himself beset with thoughts at once more troubling and leading to a higher truth. The spirit of man looks before and after, and the uncertainties of the future vex it (vi. 12). A good name is better, as being more permanent, than riches (vii. 1); death is better than life, the house of mourning than the house of feasting (vii. 2). Self-command and the spirit of calm endurance are a better safe-guard against vain speculations

than any form of enjoyment (vii. 8, 9, 10). This wisdom is not only a defence, as lower things, in their measure may be, but it gives life to them that have it (vii. 12). So far there are signs of a clearer insight into the end of life. Then comes an oscillation which carries him back to the old problems (vii. 15). Wisdom suggests a half-solution of them (vii. 18), suggests also calmness, caution, humility in dealing with them (vii. 22); but this again is followed by a relapse into the bitterness of the sated pleasure-seeker. The search after wisdom, such as it had been in his experience, had led only to the discovery that though men were wicked, women were more wicked still (vii. 26-28). The repetition of thoughts that had appeared before, is perhaps the natural consequence of such an oscillation, and accordingly in ch. viii. we find the seeker moving in the same round as before. There are the old reflections on the misery of man (viii. 6), and the confusions in the moral order of the universe (viii. 10, 11), the old conclusion that enjoyment (such enjoyment as is compatible with the fear of God) is the only wisdom, viii. 15.

(4.) Ch. viii. 16—xii. 8. After the pause implied in his again arriving at the lesson of v. 15, the Preacher retraces the last of his many wanderings. This time the thought with which he started was a profound conviction of the inability of man to unravel the mysteries by which he is surrounded (viii. 17), of the nothingness of man when death is thought of as ending all things (ix. 3-6), of the wisdom of enjoying life while we may (ix. 7-10), of the evils which affect nations or individual man (ix. 11, 12). The wide experience of the Preacher suggests sharp and pointed sayings as to these evils (x. 1-20), each true and weighty in itself, but not leading him on to any firmer standing-ground or clearer solution of the problems which oppressed him. It is here that the traces of plan and method in the book seem most to fail us. Consciously or unconsciously the writer teaches us how clear an insight into the follies and sins of mankind may co-exist with doubt and uncertainty as to the great ends of life, and give him no help in his pursuit after truth. In ch. xi. however the progress is more rapid. The tone of the Preacher becomes more that of direct exhortation, and he speaks in clearer and higher notes. The conclusions of previous trains of thought are not contradicted, but are placed under a new law and brought into a more harmonious whole. The end of man's life is not to seek enjoyment for himself only, but to do good to others, regardless of the uncertainties or disappointments that may attend his efforts (xi. 1-4). His wisdom is to remember that there are things which he cannot know, problems which he cannot solve (xi. 5), to enjoy, in the brightness of his youth, whatever blessings God bestows on him (xi. 9). But beyond all these there lie the days of darkness, of failing powers and incapacity for enjoyment, and the joy of youth, though it is not to be crushed, is yet to be tempered by the thought that it cannot last for ever, and that it too is subject to God's law of retribution (xi. 9, 10). The secret of a true life is that a man should consecrate the vigour of his youth to God (xii. 1). It is well to do that before the night comes, before the slow decay of age benumbs all the faculties of sense (xii. 2, 6), before the spirit returns to God who gave it. The thought of that end rings out once more the knell of the nothingness of all things earthly (xii. 8);

but it leads also to "the conclusion of the whole matter," to that to which all trains of thought and all the experiences of life had been leading the seeker after wisdom, that "to fear God and keep his commandments" was the highest good attainable; that the righteous judgment of God would in the end fulfil itself and set right all the seeming disorders of the world (xii. 13, 14).

If one were to indulge conjecture, there would perhaps be some plausibility in the hypothesis that xii. 8 had been the original conclusion, and that the epilogue of xii. 9-14 had been added, either by another writer, or by the same writer on a subsequent revision. The verses (9-12) have the character of a panegyric designed to give weight to the authority of the teacher. The two that now stand as the conclusion, may naturally have originated in the desire to furnish a clue to the perplexities of the book, by stating in a broad intelligible form, not easy to be mistaken, the truth which had before been latent.

If the representation which has been given of the plan and meaning of the book be at all a true one, we find in it, no less than in the book of Job, indications of the struggle with the doubts and difficulties which in all ages of the world have presented themselves to thoughtful observers of the condition of mankind. In its sharp sayings and wise counsels, it may present some striking affinity to the Proverbs, which also bear the name of the son of David, but the resemblance is more in form than in substance, and in its essential character it agrees with that great inquiry into the mysteries of God's government which the drama of Job brings before us. There are indeed characteristic differences. In the one we find the highest and boldest forms of Hebrew poetry, a sustained unity of design; in the other there are, as we have seen, changes and oscillations, and the style seldom rises above the rhythmic character of proverbial forms of speech. The writer of the book of Job deals with the great mystery presented by the sufferings of the righteous and writes as one who has known those sufferings in their intensity. In the words of the Preacher, we trace chiefly the weariness or satiety of the pleasure-seeker, and the failure of all schemes of life but one. In spite of these differences however the two books illustrate each other. In both, though by very diverse paths, the inquirer is led to take refuge (as all great thinkers have ever done) in the thought that God's kingdom is infinitely great, and that man knows but the smallest fragment of it; that he must refrain from things which are too high for him and be content with that which it is given him to know, the duties of his own life and the opportunities it presents for his doing the will of God.

*Literature.*—Every Commentary on the Bible as a whole; every introduction to the study of the O. T. contains of course some materials for the history and interpretation of this as of other books. It is not intended to notice these, unless they possess some special merit or interest. As having that claim may be specified the commentary by Jerome addressed to Paula and Eustochium, as giving an example of the Patristic interpretation of the book now before us; the preface and annotations of Grotius (*Opp.* vol. iii.) as representing the earlier, the translation and notes of Ewald (*Poet. Bibl.* vol. iv.) as giving the later results of philosophical criticism. The *Critici Sacri* here, as elsewhere, will be found a great storehouse of

the opinions of the Biblical scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries. The sections on Ecclesiastes in the Introductions to the O. T. by Eichhorn, De Wette, Jahn, Hävernick, Keil, Davidson, will furnish the reader with the opinions of the chief recent critics of Germany as to the authorship and meaning of the book. Among the treatises specially devoted to this subject may be mentioned the characteristic Commentary by Luther already referred to (*Opp.* vol. ii. Jena, 1590), that by Anton. Corranus in the 16th century, interesting as one of the earliest attempts to trace a distinct plan and order in it, and as having been adopted by Bishop Patrick as the basis of his interpretation, the Annotations in Koheleth by J. Drusius, 1635, the Translation and Notes of Moses Mendelssohn published in German by Rabe (Anspach, 1771), the Philosophical and Critical Essay on Ecclesiastes by Des Voeux (Lond. 1760), written chiefly to meet the attacks of sceptics, and to assert that the doctrine of the book is that of the immortality of the Soul, the Scholia of Maldonatus, better known for his Commentary on the Gospels (Paris, 1767), the commentaries of Knobel (Leipzig, 1836), Zirkel (Wurz, 1792), Schmidt, J. E. (Ch. (1794), Nachtigal, J. Ch. (Halle, 1793), van der Palm (1784), Kaiser (Erlang. 1823), Koster (1831), Umbreit (Gotha, 1818), and the article by Vaihinger, in the *Stud. and Crit.* of 1848. English Biblical literature is comparatively barren in relation to this book, and the only noticeable recent contributions to its exegesis are the Commentary by Stuart, the translation of Mendelssohn with Prolegomena, &c., by Preston (Cambridge, 1853), and the "Attempt to Illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes" by Holden. As growing out of the attempt to fathom its meaning, though not taking the form of criticism or exegesis, may be mentioned the metrical paraphrases which are found among the works of the minor English poets of the 17th century, of which the most memorable are those by Quarles (1645) and Sandys (1648).

[E. H. P.]

**ECCLESIASTICUS**, the title given in the Latin Version to the book which is called in the Septuagint **THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH** (*Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ*, A.C.; *Σοφία Σιράχ*, B. Rufinus Vers. Orig. *Hom. in Num.* xvii. 3. In libro, qui apud nos quidem inter Salomonis volumina haberi solet, et *Ecclesiasticus* dici, apud Græcos vero *Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach* appellatur scriptum est . . .). The word, like many others of Greek origin, appears to have been adopted in the African dialect (e. g. Tertull. *de judic.* c. 22, p. 435), and thus it may have been applied naturally in the *Vetus Latina* to a church reading-book; and when that translation was adopted by Jerome (*Praef. in Libro Sal. fuxti LXX.* x. p. 404, ed. Migne), the local title became current throughout the West, where the book was most used. The right explanation of the word is given by Rufinus, who remarks that "it does not designate the author of the book, but the character of the writing," as publicly used in the services of the Church (*Comm. in Synb.* §38. *Sapientia, quae dicitur filii Sirach . . . apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli sed scripturae qualitas cognominata est*). The special application by Rufinus of the general name of the class (*ecclesiastici* as opposed to *canonici*) to the single book may be explained by its wide popularity. Athanasius, for instance, mentions the book (*Ep. Fest. s. f.*) as

one of those "framed by the fathers to be read by those who wish to be instructed (*κατηχίσθαι*) in the world of godliness." According to Jerome (*Praef. in Libr. Sol.* ix. 1242) the original Hebrew title was *Proverbs* (משלים, cf. inf. §9); and the Wisdom of Sirach share! with the canonical book of Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon the title of *The book of all virtues* (ἡ πανόρητος σοφία, ἡ πανόρητος. Hieron. l. c. Cf. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 278). In the Syriac version the book is entitled *The book of Jesus the son of Simoon Asiro* (i. e. the bound); and the same book is called the *wisdom of the Son of Asiro*. In many places it is simply styled *Wisdom* (Orig. in *Matt.* xiii. §4; cf. Clem. Al. *Paed.* i. 8, §§69, 72, &c.), and *Jesus Sirach* (August. ad *Simplic.* i. 20).

2. The writer of the present book describes himself as *Jesus* (i. e. Jeshua) the son of *Sirach*, of *Jerusalem* (c. l. 27), but the conjectures which have been made to fill up this short notice are either unwarranted (e. g. that he was a physician from xxxviii. 1-15) or absolutely improbable. There is no evidence to show that he was of priestly descent; and the similarity of names is scarcely a plausible excuse for confounding him with the Hellenizing high-priest Jason (2 Macc. iv. 7-11; Georg. Sync. *Chronogr.* 276). In the Talmud the name of Ben Sira (בן סירא) for which בן סירא is a late error, Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 311) occurs in several places as the author of proverbial sayings which in part are parallel to sentences in Ecclesiasticus (cf. §4), but nothing is said as to his date or person [JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH], and the tradition which ascribes the authorship of the book to Eliezer (B.C. 260) is without any adequate foundation (Jost, a. a. O.; yet see note 1). The Palestinian origin of the author is, however, substantiated by internal evidence, e. g. xxiv. 10 f.

3. The language in which the book was originally composed was Hebrew (Ἑβραϊστὶ; this may mean, however, the vernacular Aramaean dialect, John v. 2, xix. 13, &c.). This is the express statement of the Greek translator, and Jerome says (*Praef. in Libr. Sol.* l. c.) that he had met with the "Hebrew" text; nor is there any reason to doubt that he saw the book in its original form. The internal character of the present book bears witness to its foreign source. Not only is the style Hebraistic in general form (cf. Lowth, *de sacra Poesi*, xxiv.) and idiom (e. g. θεμέλιον αἰῶνος, i. 15; κτίσμα αἰῶνος, xxxviii. 34; ἀπὸ προσώπου λόγου, xix. 11; cf. Eichhorn, *Eintl. in d. Apok.* 57) as distinguished from the Greek of the Introduction, but in several instances it is possible to point out mistakes and allusions which are cleared up by the reconstruction of the Hebrew phrases: e. g. xxiv. 25-27, ὡς φῶς, i. e. כְּנֹר for כְּמִנְיָ, as Am. viii. 8, xliii. 8; יָרֵךְ,

מִן, יָרֵךְ, σελήνη (cf. Eichhorn, l. c.; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv. 299 n.).

4. Nothing however remains of the original proverbs of Ben Sira except the few fragments in pure Hebrew (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 311 n.) which occur in the Talmud and later, Rabbinic writers; and even these may have been derived from tradition and not from any written collection.<sup>a</sup> The Greek translation incorporated in the LXX., which is probably the source from which the other translations were derived, was made by the grandson of the author in Egypt "in the reign of Euergetes,"<sup>c</sup> for the instruction of those "in a strange country (ἐν παροικίᾳ) who were previously prepared to live after the law." The date which is thus given is unfortunately ambiguous. Two kings of Egypt bore the surname Euergetes. Ptol. III., the son and successor of Ptol. II. Philadelphus, B.C. 247-222; and Ptol. VII. Physcon, the brother of Ptol. VI. Philometor, B.C. 170-117. And the noble eulogy on "Simon the son of Onias, the high-priest," who is described as the last of the great worthies of Israel (c. l.), and apparently removed only by a short interval from the times of the author is affected by a similar ambiguity, so that it cannot be used absolutely to fix the reign in which the translation was made. Simon I., the son of Onias, known by the title of the *Just*, was high-priest about 310-290 B.C., and Simon II., also the son of Onias, held the same office at the time when Ptol. IV. Philopator endeavoured to force an entrance into the Temple, B.C. 217 (3 Macc. i. 2). Some have consequently supposed that the reference is to Simon the Just, and that the grandson of Ben Sirach, who is supposed to have been his younger contemporary, lived in the reign of Ptolemy III. (Jahn, Vaihinger in Herzog's *Encycl.* s. v.); others again have applied the eulogy to Simon II., and fixed the translation in the time of Ptolemy VII. (Eichhorn, *Eintl.* 38). But both suppositions are attended with serious difficulties. The description of Simon can scarcely apply to one so little distinguished as the second high-priest of the name, while the first, a man of representative dignity, is passed over without notice in the list of the benefactors of his nation. And on the other hand the manner in which the translator speaks of the Alexandrine version of the Old Testament, and the familiarity which he shows with its language (e. g. xlv. 10, Ἐνὸς μετετέθη, Gen. v. 24; cf. Lindé, ap. Eichhorn, p. 41-2) is scarcely consistent with a date so early as the middle of the third century. From these considerations it appears best to combine the two views. The grandson of the author was already past middle-age when he came to Egypt, and if his visit took place early in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon,

xxv. 2; xxvi. 1; xxx. 23; xxxviii. 1, 4, 8; xlii. 9 f.

<sup>a</sup> Sirac. *Prolog.* ἐν γὰρ τῇ ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τριακίστῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως, παραγενέσθεις εἰς Αἴγυπτον. . . . It is strange that any doubt should have been raised about the meaning of the words, which can only be, that the translator "in his thirty-eighth year came to Egypt during the reign of Euergetes;" though it is impossible now to give any explanation of the specification of his age. The translation of Eichhorn (l. c. 40), and several others, "in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Euergetes," is absolutely at variance with the grammatical structure of the sentence.

<sup>a</sup> The reading of Cod. A. and six other MSS. is remarkable: Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ Ἑλεάζαρ (2 MSS. Ἑλεάζαρος; Ald. 1 MS. Ἑλεάζαρος) ὁ Ἰσραὴλ. Cf. Eichh. p. 68, n. The words are wanting in the Syriac and Arabic, but are supported by all other authorities.

<sup>b</sup> The "Alphabet," or "Book of Ben Sira," which exists at present, is a later compilation (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden.* 100-105) of proverbs in Hebrew and Chaldean, containing some genuine fragments, among much that is worthless (Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, pp. 31 ff.). Ben Sira is called in the preface the son of Jeremiah. The sayings are collected by Dukes, l. c. pp. 67 ff. They offer parallels to Koelus. iii. 21; vi. 8; ix. 8 ff.; xi. 1; xlii. 15;

it is quite possible that the book itself was written while the name and person of the last of "the men of the great synagogue" was still familiar to his countrymen." Even if the date of the book be brought somewhat lower, the importance of the position which Simon the Just occupied in the history of the Jews would be a sufficient explanation of the distinctness of his portraiture; and the political and social troubles to which the book alludes (li. 6, 12, xxvi. ff.) seem to point to the disorders which marked the transference of Jewish allegiance from Egypt to Syria rather than to the period of prosperous tranquillity which was enjoyed during the supremacy of the earlier Ptolemies (c. B.C. 200).

5. The name of the Greek translator is unknown. He is commonly supposed to have borne the same name as his grandfather, but this tradition rests only on conjecture or misunderstanding (Jerome, l. c. *inf.* §7, *Synops. S. Script.* printed as a Prologue in the Compl. ed. and in A. V.).

6. It is a more important fact that the book itself appears to recognise the incorporation of earlier collections into its text, Jesus the son of Sirach, while he claims for himself the writing of the book (*ἐξδραξα*), characterises his father as one "who poured forth a shower of wisdom (*ἀνέβη βροχὴ σοφίας*) from his heart;" and the title of the book in the Vatican MS. and in many others may be more than a familiar abbreviation (*σοφία Σεράχ*). Yet Cod. C has *πρόλογος Σεράχ* combined with the usual heading, *Σοφ. Ἰησοῦ υ. Σ.* From the very nature of his work the author was like "a gleaner after the grape-gatherers" (xxxiii. 16), and Bretschneider has endeavoured to show (pp. 28 ff.) from internal discrepancies of thought and doctrine that he made use of several smaller collections, differing widely in their character, though all were purely Hebrew in their origin.

7. The Syriac and Old Latin versions, which latter Jerome adopted without alteration (*Praef. in Libr. Sal. furti LXX.* l. c. . . . in Ecclesiastico, quem esse Jesu filii Sirach, nullus ignorat, calamo temperavi, tantummodo Canonicae scripturas emendare desiderans . . .), differ considerably from the present Greek text, and it is uncertain whether they were derived from some other Greek recension (Eichhorn, p. 84) or from the Hebrew original (Bertholdt, §304 ff.). The language of the Latin version presents great peculiarities. Even in the first two chapters the following words occur which are found in no other part of the Vulgate: *defunctio* (i. 13), *religiosisus* (i. 17, 18, 26), *compartior* (i. 24), *inhonoratio* (i. 38), *obductio* (ii. 2, v. 1, 10), *receptibilibs* (ii. 5). The Arabic version is directly derived from the Syriac (Bretschn. p. 702 f.).

8. The existing Greek MSS. present great discrepancies in order, and numerous interpolations. The arrangement of cc. xxx. 25—xxxvi. 17, in the Vatican and Complutensian editions is very different. The English version follows the latter, which is supported by the Latin and Syriac versions against the authority of the Uncial MSS. The extent of the variation is seen in the following table:

<sup>a</sup> If indeed the inscription in B. "The Wisdom of Sirach" (so also *Epiph. Haer.* viii. ἡ σοφία τοῦ Σεράχ), as distinguished from the prayer in c. li. (Ἰησοῦ υ. Σ.) is based upon any historic tradition, another generation will be added to carry us back to the first elements of the book. See §6.

*Ed. Compl. Lat. Syr. E. V.*  
xxx. 25 . . . . .  
xxxli. . . . .  
xxxlii. 16, 17, ἡ γρίπτησα . . .  
xxxlii. 10 ff. ὡς καλεῖται . . .  
xxxiv. . . . .  
xxxvi. 1-11, φιλὰς Ἰακώβ . . .  
xxxvi. 12 ff. καὶ κατεκλήρο-  
νόμενα.

*Ed. Vat. A. B. C.*  
xxxiii. 13, λαμπρὰ καρδία,  
ε. τ. λ.  
xxxiv. . . . .  
xxxvi. 1-16.  
xxx. 25 ff.  
xxxli. . . . .  
xxxiii. 1-12.  
xxxvi. 17 ff.

The most important interpolations are: i. 5, 7, 18b, 21; ii. 25; iv. 23b; vii. 26b; x. 21; xii. 6c; xiii. 25b; xvi. 15, 16, 22c; xvii. 5, 9, 16, 17a, 18, 21, 23c, 26b; xviii. 2b, 3, 27c, 33c; xix. 5b, 6a, 13b, 14a, 18, 19, 21, 25c; xx. 3, 14b, 17b, 32; xlii. 9, 10, 23c; xlii. 3c, 4c, 5b, 28; xxiv. 18, 24; xiv. 12, 26c; xvi. 19-27; i. 29b. All these passages, which occur in the A. V. and the Compl. texts, are wanting in the best MSS. The edition of the Syro-Hexaplaric MS. at Milan, which is at present reported to be in preparation (1858), will probably contribute much to the establishment of a sounder text.

9. It is impossible to make any satisfactory plan of the book in its present shape. The latter part, c. xlii. 15—l. 21, is distinguished from all that precedes in style and subject; and "the praise of noble men" (*πατέρων ὕμνος*) seems to form a complete whole in itself (ch. xlii.—l. 24). The words of Jerome, *Praef. in Libr. Salom.* (Quorum priorem [*παιδερων* Jesu filii Sirach librum] Ibraicum reperi, non *Ecclesiasticum* ut apud Latinos, sed *Parabolas* prae notatum, cui juncti erant *Ecclesiastes* et Canticum Canticorum, ut similitudinem Salomonis non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum generis coaequaret), which do not appear to have received any notice, imply that the original text presented a triple character answering to the three works of Solomon, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; and it is, perhaps, possible to trace the prevalence of the different types of maxim, reflection, and song in successive parts of the present book. In the central portion of the book (xviii. 29, *ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς*, xxxii. (xxxv.) *περὶ ἡγωνιζόμενων*) several headings are introduced in the oldest MSS., and similar titles preface c. xlii. (*πατέρων ὕμνος*) and c. li. (*προσευχὴ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σεράχ*). These sections may have contributed to the disarrangement of the text, but they do not offer any sufficient clue to its true subdivisions. Eichhorn supposed that the book was made up of three distinct collections which were afterwards united: i.—xxiii.; xxiv.—xlii. 14; xlii. 15—l. 24 (*Enl.* 50 ff.). Bretschneider sets aside this hypothesis, and at the same time one which he had formerly been inclined to adopt that the recurrence of the same ideas in xxiv. 32 ff.; xxxii. 10, 17 (xxx.); l. 27, mark the conclusion of three parts. The last five verses of c. l. (l. 25-29) form a natural conclusion to the book; and the prayer, which forms the last chapter (li.), is wanting in two MSS. Some have supposed that it was the work of the translator; but it is more probable that he found it attached to the larger work, though it may not have been designed originally for the place which it occupies.

10. The earliest clear coincidence with the contents of the book occurs in the epistle of Barnabas (c. xix.—Ecdus. iv. 31; cf. *Const. Apost.* vii. 11), but in this case the parallelism consists in the thought and not in the words, and there is no mark of quotation. The parallels which have been discovered in the New Testament are too general

to show that they were derived from the written text, and not from popular language; and the same remark applies to the other alleged coincidences with the Apostolic fathers (e. g. *Ecclesi.* v. 13 = James i. 19; xi. 18, 19 = Luke xii. 19). There is no sign of the use of the book in Justin Martyr, which is the more remarkable as it offers several thoughts congenial to his style. The first distinct quotations occur in Clement of Alexandria; but from the end of the second century the book was much used and cited with respect, and in the same terms as the canonical Scriptures; and its authorship was often assigned to Solomon from the similarity which it presented to his writings (August. *De Cura pro Mort.* 18). Clement speaks of it continually as *Scripture* (*Paed.* i. 8 §62; ii. 2 §34; 5 §46; 8 §69, &c.), as the work of Solomon (*Strom.* ii. 5 §24), and as the voice of the great Master (παύλαργός, *Paed.* ii. 10 §98). Origen cites passages with the same formula as the canonical books (γέγραπται, *In Johann.* xxxii. §14; *In Matt.* xvi. §8), as *Scripture* (*Comm. in Matt.* §44; *In Ep. ad Rom.* ix. §17, &c.), and as the utterance of "the divine word" (*c. Cel.* viii. 50). The other writers of the Alexandrine school follow the same practice. Dionysius calls its words "divine oracles" (*Frug. de Nat.* iii. p. 1258 ed. Migne), and Peter Martyr quotes it as the work of "the Preacher" (*Frug.* i. §5, p. 515, ed. Migne). The passage quoted from Tertullian (*de rescript. cust.* 2, sicut scriptum est: ecce posui ante te bonum et malum; gustasti enim de arbore agnitionis . . . cf. *Ecclesi.* xv. 17, Vulg.) is not absolutely conclusive; but Cyprinus constantly brings forward passages from the book as *Scripture* (*de bono pat.* 17; *de mortalitate*, 9, §13) and as the work of Solomon (*Ep.* lxx. 2). The testimony of Augustine sums up briefly the result which follows from these isolated authorities. He quotes the book constantly himself as the work of a prophet (*Serm.* xxxix. 1), the word of God (*Serm.* lxxxvii. 11), "*Scripture*" (*Lib. de Nat.* 3), and that even in controversy (*c. Jul. Pely.* v. 36), but he expressly notices that it was not in the Hebrew Canon (*De Cura pro Mort.* 18) "though the Church, especially of the West, had received it into authority" (*De Cinit.* xvii. 20, cf. *Speculum*, iii. 1127, ed. Paris). Jerome, in like manner (*l. c.* §7), contrasts the book with "the canonical Scriptures" as "doubtful," while they are "sure;" and in another place (*Prolog. Galeat.*) he says that it "is not in the Canon," and again (*Prolog. in Libr. Sol.*) that it should be read "for the instruction of the people (plebs), not to support the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines." The book is not quoted by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, or Eusebius; and is not contained in the Canon of Melito, Origen, Cyril, Laodicea, Hilary, or Rufinus. [CANON.] It was never included by the Jews among their Scriptures; for though it is quoted in the Talmud, and at times like the Kethubim, the study of it was forbidden, and it was classed among "the outer books" (ספרים חצונים), that is probably, those which were not admitted into the Canon (Dukes, *Rabb. Blumenlese*, 24, 5).

11. But while the book is destitute of the highest canonical authority, it is a most important monument of the religious state of the Jews at the period of its composition. As an expression of Palestinian theology it stands alone; for there is no sufficient reason for assuming Alexandrine interpolations or direct Alexandrine influence (Gfrörer,

*Philo*, ii. 18 ff.). The translator may, perhaps, have given an Alexandrine colouring to the doctrine, but its great outlines are unchanged (cf. Dachne, *Relig. Philos.* ii. 129 ff.). The conception of God as Creator, Preserver, and Governor is strictly conformable to the old Mosaic type; but at the same time His mercy is extended to all mankind (xviii. 11-13). Little stress is laid upon the spirit-world, either good (xlviii. 21; xlv. 2; xxix. 28 ?) or evil (xii. 27 ?); and the doctrine of a resurrection fades away (xiv. 16; xvii. 27, 28; xlv. 14, 15. Yet cf. xlviii. 11). In addition to the general hope of restoration (xxxvi. 1, &c.), one trait only of a Messianic faith is preserved in which the writer contemplates the future work of Elias (xlviii. 10). The ethical precepts are addressed to the middle class (Eichhorn, *Einh.* 44 ff.). The praise of agriculture (vii. 15) and medicine (xxxviii. 1 ff.), and the constant exhortations to cheerfulness, seem to speak of a time when men's thoughts were turned inwards with feelings of dependency and perhaps (Dukes, *l. c.* 27 ff.) of fatalism. At least the book marks the growth of that anxious legalism which was conspicuous in the sayings of the later doctors. Life is already imprisoned in rules: religion is degenerating into ritualism: knowledge has taken refuge in schools (cf. Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv. 298 ff.).

12. Numerous commentaries on Ecclesiasticus appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries (cf. Bretschneider, *Lib. Sirac.* Pref. x. note, for a list of these, of which the most important were those of Camerarius (*Lipsiae*, 1570, 8vo.), Corn. a Lapide (*Antverpiae*, 1687, &c., fol.), and Drusius (*Franckerae*, 1596, 4to); but nothing more was done for the criticism of the book till the editions of Linde (a German translation and notes, *Lipsiae*, 1785, 1795, 8vo., followed by a Greek text, *Gedani*, 1795, 8vo.). Linde's labours left much to be supplied, and in 1806 Bretschneider published his edition, which still remains the most complete (*Liber Jesse Siracidae Graece ad fidem Codd. et verss. emend. et perpet. comm. illustratus a Car. Gottl. Bretschneider . . . Rotobonae*, MDCCCVI.); but this will probably be superseded by the promised (1858) Commentary of Fritzsche in the *Kurzge. Handbuch*, for both in style and scholarship it labours under serious defects. [B. F. W.]

**ECLIPSE OF THE SUN.** No historical notice of an eclipse occurs in the Bible, but there are passages in the prophets which contain manifest allusion to this phenomenon. They describe it in the following terms:—"The sun goes down at noon," "the earth is darkened in the clear day" (*Am.* viii. 9), "the day shall be dark" (*Mic.* iii. 6), "the light shall not be clear nor dark" (*Zech.* xiv. 6), "the sun shall be dark" (*Joel* ii. 10, 31, iii. 15). Some of these notices probably refer to eclipses that occurred about the time of the respective compositions: thus the date of Amos coincides with a total eclipse, which occurred Feb. 9, B.C. 784, and was visible at Jerusalem shortly after noon (Hitzig, *Comm.* in Proph.); that of Micah with the eclipse of June 5, B.C. 716, referred to by Dionys. Hal. ii. 56, to which same period the latter part of the book of Zechariah may be probably assigned. A passing notice in Jer. xv. 9 coincides in date with the eclipse of Sept. 30, B.C. 610, so well known from Herodotus' account (i. 74. 103). The darkness that overspread the world at the crucifixion cannot with reason be attributed to an eclipse, as the moon was at the full at the time of the

Passover. [DARKNESS.] The awe which is naturally inspired by an eclipse in the minds of those who are unacquainted with the cause of it, rendered it a token of impending judgment in the Prophetic books. [W. L. B.]

ED. *i. e.* "witness," a word inserted in the Auth. Vers. of Josh. xxii. 34, apparently on the authority of a few MSS., and also of the Syriac and Arabic Versions, but not existing in the generally-received Hebrew Text. The passage is literally as follows: "And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad named (LXX. *ἐπωμαδεν*) the altar: because that is a witness (Ed) between us that Jehovah is God." The rendering of the LXX, though in some respects differing materially from the present text, shows plainly that at that time the word Ed stood in the Hebrew in its present place. The word עֵד, to call or proclaim, has not invariably (though generally) a transitive force, but is also occasionally an intransitive verb. (For a further investigation of this passage, see Keil, *Joshua*, *ad loc.*) [G.]

EDAR, TOWER OF (accus. EDEN, מִנְרָה; עֵדֶר; Vat. omits; Alex. *πύργος Γαδέρ*; *Turris Eder*), a place named only in Gen. xxv. 21. Jacob's first halting-place between Bethlehem and Hebron was "beyond (מִנְרָה) the tower Eder." According to Jerome (*Onomasticon*, Bethlehem) it was 1000 paces from Bethlehem. The name signifies a "flock" or "drove," and is quite in keeping with the pastoral habits of the district. Jerome sees in it a prophecy of the announcement of the birth of Christ to the shepherds; and there seems to have been a Jewish tradition that the Messiah was to be born there (Targum Ps. Jon.). [G.]

EDDI'AS (I'e'dias; Alex. *I'eddi'as*; *Geddias*), 1 Esdr. ix. 26. [J. J. Z. H.]

E'DEN (עֵדֶן; E'dém), the first residence of man. It would be difficult, in the whole history of opinion, to find any subject which has so invited, and at the same time so completely baffled, conjecture, as the Garden of Eden. The three continents of the old world have been subjected to the most rigorous search; from China to the Canary Isles, from the Mountains of the Moon to the coasts of the Baltic, no locality which in the slightest degree corresponded to the description of the first abode of the human race has been left unexamined. The great rivers of Europe, Asia, and Africa, have in turn done service as the Pison and Gihon of Scripture, and there remains nothing but the New World wherein the next adventurous theorist may bewilder himself in the mazes of this most difficult question.

In order more clearly to understand the merit of the several conjectures, it will be necessary to submit to a careful examination the historic narrative on which they are founded. Omitting those portions of the text of Gen. ii. 8-14 which do not bear upon the geographical position of Eden, the description is as follows:—"And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden eastward. . . . And a river goeth forth from Eden to water the garden; and from thence it is divided and becomes four heads (or arms). The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where is the gold. And the gold of that land is good; there is the bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon; that is

it which compasseth the whole land of Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel; that is it which floweth before Assyria. And the fourth river, that is Euphrates." In the eastern portion then of the region of Eden was the garden planted. The river which flowed through Eden watered the garden, and thence branched off into four distinct streams. The first problem to be solved then is this:—To find a river which, at some stage of its course, is divided into four streams, two of which are the Tigris and Euphrates. The identity of these rivers with the Hiddekel and P'ith has never been disputed, and no hypothesis which omits them is worthy of consideration. Setting aside minor differences of detail, the theories which have been framed with regard to the situation of the terrestrial paradise naturally divide themselves into two classes. The first class includes all those which place the garden of Eden below the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, and interpret the names Pison and Gihon of certain portions of these rivers: the second, those which seek for it in the high table-land of Armenia, the fruitful parent of many noble streams. These theories have been supported by most learned men of all nations, of all ages, and representing every shade of theological belief; but there is not one which is not based in some degree upon a forced interpretation of the words of the narrative. Those who contend that the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris is the "river" which "goeth forth from Eden to water the garden," have committed a fatal error in neglecting the true meaning of נָחַל, which is only used of the course of a river from its source *downwards* (cf. Ex. xlvii. 1). Following the guidance which this word supplies, the description in ver. 10 must be explained in this manner: the river takes its rise in Eden, flows into the garden, and from thence is divided into four branches, the separation taking place either in the garden or after leaving it. If this be the case, the Tigris and Euphrates before junction cannot, in this position of the garden, be two of the four branches in question. But, though they have avoided this error, the theorists of the second class have been driven into a Charybdis not less destructive. Looking for the true site of Eden in the highlands of Armenia, near the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and applying the names Pison and Gihon to some one or other of the rivers which spring from the same region, they have been compelled to explain away the meaning of נָחַל, the "river," and to give to נְאֻשִׁים a sense which is not supported by a single passage. In no instance is נְאֻשִׁי (lit. "head") applied to the source of a river. On several occasions (cf. Judg. vii. 16; Job i. 17, &c.) it is used of the detachments into which the main body of an army is divided, and analogy therefore leads to the conclusion that נְאֻשִׁים denotes the "branches" of the parent stream. There are other difficulties in the details of the several theories, which may be obstacles to their entire reception, but it is manifest that no theory which fails to satisfy the above-mentioned conditions can be allowed to take its place among things that are probable.

The old versions supply us with little or no assistance. The translators appear to have halted between a mystical and literal interpretation. The word עֵדֶן is rendered by the LXX. as a proper name in three passages only, Gen. ii. 8, 10, iv. 16, where it is represented by E'dém. In all others,

with the exception of Is. li. 3, it is translated *ἡδονή*. In the Vulgate it never occurs as a proper name, but is rendered "*voluptas*," "*locus voluptatis*," or "*deliciae*." The Targum of Onkelos gives it uniformly *עֵדֶן*, and in the Peshito Syriac it is the same, with the slight variation in two passages of *עֵדֶן* for *עֵדֶן*.

It would be a hopeless task to attempt to chronicle the opinions of all the commentators upon this question: their name is legion. Philo (*de Mundi Opif.* §54) is the first who ventured upon an allegorical interpretation. He conceived that by paradise is darkly shadowed forth the governing faculty of the soul; that the tree of life signifies religion, whereby the soul is immortalised; and by the faculty of knowing good and evil the middle sense, by which are discerned things contrary to nature. In another passage (*de Plantat.* §9) he explains Eden, which signifies "pleasure," as a symbol of the soul, that sees what is right, exults in virtue, and prefers one enjoyment, the worship of the only wise, to myriads of men's chief delights. And again (*Leyis Allegor.* i. §14) he says, "now virtue is tropically called paradise, and the site of paradise is Eden, that is, pleasure." The four rivers he explains (§19) of the several virtues of prudence, temperance, courage, and justice; while the main stream of which they are branches is the generic virtue, goodness, which goeth forth from Eden, the wisdom of God. The opinions of Philo would not be so much worthy of consideration, were it not that he has been followed by many of the Fathers. Origen, according to Luther (*Comm. in Gen.*), imagined paradise to be heaven, the trees angels, and the rivers wisdom. Papus, Irenaeus, Pantæus, and Clements Alexandrinus have all favoured the mystical interpretation (Huet. *Origéniana*, ii. 167). Ambrosius followed the example of Origen, and placed the terrestrial paradise in the third heaven, in consequence of the expression of St. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2, 4); but elsewhere he distinguishes between the terrestrial paradise and that to which the apostle was caught up (*De Parad.* c. 8). In another passage (*Ep. ad Sabinum*) all this is explained as allegory. Among the Hebrew traditions enumerated by Jerome (*Trad. Hebr. in Gen.*) is one that paradise was created before the world was formed, and is therefore beyond its limits. Moses Bar Cepha (*De Parad.*) assigns it a middle place between the earth and the firmament. Some affirm that paradise was on a mountain, which reached nearly to the moon; while others, struck by the manifest absurdity of such an opinion, held that it was situated in the third region of the air, and was higher than all the mountains of the earth by twenty cubits, so that the waters of the flood could not reach it. Others again have thought that paradise was twofold, one corporeal and the other incorporeal: others that it was formerly on earth, but had been taken away by the judgment of God (Hopkinson, *Descr. Parad.* in *Ugol. Thes.* vii.). Among the opinions enumerated by Morinus (*Diss. de Parad. Terrest.* *Ugol. Thes.* vii.) is one, that, before the fall, the whole earth was paradise, and was really situated in Eden, in the midst of all kinds of delights. Ephraem Syrus (*Comm. in Gen.*) expresses himself doubtfully upon this point. Whether the trees of paradise, being spiritual, drank of spiritual water, he does not undertake to decide; but he seems to be of opinion that the four rivers have lost their original virtue in consequence of the

curse pronounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression.

Conjectures with regard to the dimensions of the garden have differed as widely as those which assign its locality. Ephraem Syrus maintained that it surrounded the whole earth, while Johannes Tostatus restricted it to a circumference of thirty-six or forty miles, and others have made it extend over Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. (Hopkinson, as above.) But of speculations like these there is no end.

What is the river which goes forth from Eden to water the garden? is a question which has been often asked, and still waits for a satisfactory answer. That the ocean stream which surrounded the earth was the source from which the four rivers flowed was the opinion of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1, §3) and Johannes Damascenus (*De Orthod. Fid.* ii. 9). It was the *Shut-el-Arab*, according to those who place the garden of Eden below the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, and their conjecture would deserve consideration were it not that this stream cannot, with any degree of propriety, be said to rise in Eden. By those who refer the position of Eden to the highlands of Armenia, the "river" from which the four streams diverge is conceived to mean "a collection of springs," or a well-watered district. It is scarcely necessary to say that this signification of *נָהָר* (*nâhâr*) is wholly without a parallel; and even if it could, under certain circumstances, be made to adopt it, such a signification is, in the present instance, precluded by the fact that, whatever meaning we may assign to the word in ver. 10, it must be the same as that which it has in the following verses, in which it is sufficiently definite. Sickler (*Augusti, Theol. Monatschrift.* i. 1, quoted by Winer), supposing the whole narrative to be a myth, solves the difficulty by attributing to its author a large measure of ignorance. The "river" was the Caspian Sea, which in his apprehension was an immense stream from the east. Bertheau, applying the geographical knowledge of the ancients as a test of that of the Hebrews, arrived at the same conclusion, on the ground that all the people south of the Armenian and Persian highlands place the dwelling of the gods in the extreme north, and the regions of the Caspian were the northern limit of the horizon of the Israelites (Knobel, *Genesis*). But he allows the four rivers of Eden to have been real rivers, and not, as Sickler imagined, oceans which bounded the earth east and west of the Nile.

That the *Hiddekel*\* is the Tigris, and the *Phnath* the Euphrates, has never been denied, except by those who assume that the whole narrative is a myth which originated elsewhere, and was adapted by the Hebrews to their own geographical notions. As the former is the name of the great river by which Daniel sat (*1 Dan.* x. 4), and the latter is the term uniformly applied to the Euphrates in the Old Testament, there seems no reason to suppose that the appellations in Gen. ii. 14 are to be understood in any other than the ordinary sense. One circumstance in the description is worthy of observation. Of the four rivers, one, the Euphrates, is mentioned by name only, as if that were sufficient to identify it. The other three are defined according to their geographical positions, and it is fair to conclude that they were therefore rivers

\* This name is said to be still in use among the tribes who live upon its banks (*Col. Chesney, Exp. to Tigris and Euphrates*, i. 13).

with which the Hebrews were less intimately acquainted. If this be the case, it is scarcely possible to imagine that the Gihon, or, as some say, the Pison, is the Nile, for that must have been even more familiar to the Israelites than the Euphrates, and have stood as little in need of a definition.

With regard to the Pison, the most ancient and most universally received opinion identifies it with the Ganges. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1 §3), Eusebius (*Onomast.* s. v.), Ambrosius (*de Parad.* c. 3), Epiphanius (*Ancor.* c. 58), Ephr. Syr. (*Op. Syr.* i. 23), Jerome (*Ep.* 4 *ad Rust.* and *Quest. Heb. in Gen.*), and Augustine (*de Gen. ad lit.* viii. 7) held this. But Jarchi (*on Gen.* ii. 11), Saadiah Gaon, R. Moses ben Nachman, and Abr. Peritso (Ugol. *Thes.* vii.), maintained that the Pison was the Nile. The first of these writers derives the word from a root which signifies "to increase," "to overflow" (cf. *Hab.* i. 8), but at the same time quotes an etymology given in *Beresith rabbu*, §16, in which it is asserted that the river is called Pison "because it makes the flux (פִּשְׁוֹן) to grow." Josephus explains it by *παλθός*, Scaliger by *παλμυρα*. The theory that the Pison is the Ganges is thought to receive some confirmation from the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, who mentions (xxiv. 25, 27) in order the Pison, the Tigris, the Euphrates, Jordan, and Gihon, and is supposed to have commenced his enumerations in the east and to have terminated it in the west. That the Pison was the Indus was an opinion current long before it was revived by Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* i. 331, note 2) and adopted by Kalisch (*Genesis*, p. 96). Philostorgius, quoted by Huet (*Ugolin.* vol. vii.), conjectured that it was the Hydaspes; and Willford (*As. Res.* vol. vi.), following the Hindoo tradition with regard to the origin of mankind, discovers the Pison in the Landi-Sindh, the Ganges of the Hindus, called also Nilâb from the colour of its waters, and known to the Hindoos by the name of Nilâ-Gangâ or Gangâ simply. Severianus (*de Mundi creat.*) and Ephraem Syrus (*Comm. on Gen.*) agree with Ctesius in identifying the Pison with the Danube. The last-mentioned father seems to have held, in common with others, some singular notions with regard to the course of this river. He believed that it was also the Ganges and Indus, and that, after traversing Ethiopia and Elymas, which he identified with Havilah, it fell into the ocean near Cadiz. Such is also the opinion of Epiphanius with regard to the course of the Pison, which he says is the Ganges of the Ethiopians and Indians and the Indus of the Greeks (*Ancor.* c. 58). Some, as Hopkinson (*Ugol.* vol. vii.), have found the Pison in the Naharmalen, one of the artificial canals which formerly joined the Euphrates with the Tigris. This canal is the *fiumen regium* of Amm. Marc. (xxiii. 6 §25, and xxiv. 6 §1), and the *Armulehar* of Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 30). Grotius, on the contrary, considered it to be the Gihon. Even those commentators who agree in placing the terrestrial Paradise on the *Shit-el-Arab*, the stream formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, between Ctesiphon and Apamea, are by no means unanimous as to which of the branches, into which this stream is again divided, the names Pison and Gihon are to be applied. Calvin (*Comm. in Gen.*) was the first to conjecture that the Pison was the most easterly of these channels, and in this opinion he is followed by Scaliger and many others. Huet, on the other hand, conceived that he proved beyond doubt that

Calvin was in error, and that the Pison was the westernmost of the two channels by which the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris falls into the Persian Gulf. He was confirmed by the authority of Bochart (*Microz.* pt. ii. l. 5, c. 5). Junius (*Priel. in Gen.*) and Rask discovered a relic of the name Pison in the *Psitticus*. The advocates of the theory that the true position of Eden is to be sought for in the mountains of Armenia have been induced, from a certain resemblance in the two names, to identify the Pison with the Phasis, which rises in the elevated plateau at the foot of Mount Ararat, near the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. Ireland (*de Sila parad. terr.* Ugol. vii.), Calmet (*Dict.* s. v.), Link (*Urwelt*, i. 307), Rosenmüller (*Handb. d. Bibl. Alt.*), and Hartmann have given their suffrages in favour of this opinion. Räumler (quoted by Delitzsch, *Genesis*) endeavoured to prove that the Pison was the Phasis of Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 6), that is, the Aras or Araxes, which flows into the Caspian Sea. There remain yet to be noticed the theories of Leclerc (*Comm. in Gen.*) that the Pison was the Chyrsourhoas, the modern Barada, which takes its rise near Damascus; and that of Buttmann (*Aelt. Erdk.* p. 32) who identified it with the Berynna or Habatti, a river of Ava. Mendelssohn (*Comm. on Gen.*) mentions that some affirm the Pison to be the Gozan of 2 K. xvii. 6 and 1 Chr. v. 26, which is supposed to be a river, and the same with the Kizil-Uzen in Hyrcania. Colonel Chesney, from the results of extensive observations in Armenia, was "led to infer that the rivers known by the comparatively modern names of Ilalyz and Araxes are those which, in the book of Genesis, have the names of Pison and Gihon; and that the country within the former is the land of Havilah, whilst that which borders upon the latter is the still more remarkable country of Cush." (*Exp. to Ephr. and Tigris*, i. 267.)

Such, in brief, is a summary of the various conjectures which have been advanced, with equal degrees of confidence, by the writers who have attempted to solve the problem of Eden. The majority of them are characterised by one common defect. In the narrative of Genesis the river Pison is defined as that which surrounds the whole land of Havilah. It is, then, absolutely necessary to fix the position of Havilah before proceeding to identify the Pison with any particular river. But the process followed by most critics has been first to find the Pison and then to look about for the land of Havilah. The same inverted method is characteristic of their whole manner of treating the problem. The position of the garden is assigned, the rivers are then identified, and lastly the countries mentioned in the description are so chosen as to coincide with the rest of the theory.

With such diversity of opinion as to the river which is intended to be represented by the Pison, it was scarcely possible that writers on this subject should be unanimous in their selection of a country possessing the attributes of Havilah. In Gen. ii. 11, 12, it is described as the land where the best gold was found, and which was besides rich in the treasures of the *b'dolach* and the stone *shoham*. A country of the same name is mentioned as forming one of the boundaries of Ishmael's descendants (Gen. xxv. 18), and the scene of Saul's war of extermination against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 7). In these passages Havilah seems to denote the desert region south-east of Palestine. But the

word occurs also as the proper name of a son of Joktan, in close juxtaposition with Sheba and Ophir, also sons of Joktan and descendants of Shem (Gen. x. 29), who gave their names to the spice and gold countries of the south. Again, Havilah is enumerated among the Hamites as one of the sons of Cush; and in this enumeration his name stands in close connexion with Seba, Sheba, and Delan, the first founders of colonies in Ethiopia and Arabia which afterwards bore their names. If, therefore, the Havilah of Gen. ii. be identical with any one of these countries, we must look for it on the east or south of Arabia, and probably not far from the Persian Gulf. In other respects, too, this region answers to the conditions required. Bochart, indeed, thought the name survived in *Chaula*; which was situated on the east side of the Arabian Gulf, and which he identified with the abode of the Shemitic Joktanites; but if his etymology be correct, in which he connects Havilah with the root חלל "sand," the appellation of "the sandy" region would not necessarily be restricted to one locality. That the name is derived from some natural peculiarity is evident from the presence of the article. Whatever may be the true meaning of *b'dolach*, be it carbuncle, crystal, idellium, ebony, pepper, cloves, beryl, pearl, diamond, or emerald, all cities detect its presence, under one or other of these forms, in the country which they select as the Havilah most appropriate to their own theory. As little difficulty is presented by the *shohum*: call it onyx, sardonx, emerald, sapphir, beryl, or sardius, it would be hard indeed if some of these precious stones could not be found in any conceivable locality to support even the most far-fetched and improbable conjecture. That Havilah is that part of India through which the Ganges flows, and, more generally, the eastern region of the earth; that it is to be found in Susiana (Hopkinson), in Ava (Buttinaum), or in the Ural region (Raumer), are conclusions necessarily following upon the assumptions with regard to the Pison. Hartmann, Rehdal, and Rosenmüller are in favour of Colchis, the scene of the legend of the Golden Fleece. The Phasis was said to flow over golden sands, and gold was carried down by the mountain-torrents (Strabo, xi. 2, §19). The crystal (*b'dolach*) of Scythia was renowned (Solinus, c. xx.), and the emeralds (*shohum*) of this country were as far superior to other emeralds, as the latter were to other precious stones (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 17), all which proves, say they, that Havilah was Colchis. Rosenmüller argues, rather strangely, if the Phasis be the Pison, the land of Havilah must be Colchis, supposing that by this country the Hebrews had the idea of a Pontic or Northern India. In like manner Leclerc, having previously determined that the Pison must be the Chrysorrhoea, finds Havilah not far from Coele Syria. Hasse (*Entdeck.* pp. 44, 50, quoted by Rosenmüller) compares Havilah with the *Ῥαῖα* of Herodotus (iv. 9), in the neighbourhood of the Arimaspians, and the dragon which guarded the land of gold. For all these hypotheses there is no more support than the meiest conjecture.

The second river of Paradise presents difficulties not less insurmountable than the Pison. Those who maintained that the Pison is the Ganges held also that the Gihon was the Nile. One objection to this theory has been already mentioned. Another, equally strong, is, that although in the books of the Old Testament frequent allusion is made to

this river, it nowhere appears to have been known to the Hebrews by the name Gihon. The idea seems to have originated with the LXX. rendering of גִּיחוֹן by *Γήεν* in Jer. ii. 18; but it is clear from the manner in which the translators have given the latter clause of the same passage that they had no conception of the true meaning. Among modern writers, Bertheau (quoted by Delitzsch, *Genesis*) and Kalisch (*Genesis*) have not hesitated to support this interpretation, in accordance with the principle they adopt, that the description of the garden of Eden is to be explained according to the most ancient notions of the earth's surface, without reference to the advances made in later times in geographical knowledge. If this hypothesis be adopted, it certainly explains some features of the narrative; but, so far from removing the difficulty, it introduces another equally great. It has yet to be proved that the opinions of the Hebrews on these points were as contradictory to the now well-known relations of land and water as the recorded impressions of other nations at a much later period. At present we have nothing but categorical assertion. Pausanias (ii. 5), indeed, records a legend that the Euphrates, after disappearing in a marsh, rises again beyond Ethiopia, and flows through Egypt as the Nile. Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* vi. 1) relates that Alexander, on finding crocodiles in the Indus, and bears like those of Egypt on the banks of the Acesines, imagined that he had discovered the sources of the Nile; but he adds, what those who make use of this passage do not find it convenient to quote, that on receiving more accurate information Alexander abandoned his theory, and cancelled the letter he had written to his mother Olympias on the subject. It is but fair to say that there was at one time a theory afloat that the Nile rose in a mountain of Lower Mauretania (Plin. *H. N.* v. 10).

The etymology of Gihon (גִּיחוֹן. *to burst forth*) seems to indicate that it was a swiftly-flowing impetuous stream. According to Golius (*Lex. Arab.*),

جیحون (*Jichoon*) is the name given to the Oxus, which has, on this account, been assumed by Rosenmüller, Hartmann, and Michaelis to be the Gihon of Scripture. But the Araxes, too, is called by the Persians *Jichoon ar-lus*, and from this circumstance it has been adopted by Rehdal, Calmet, and Col. Chesney as the modern representative of the Gihon. It is clear, therefore, that the question is not to be decided by etymology alone, as the name might be appropriately applied to many rivers. That the Gihon should be one of the channels by which the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates falls into the Persian Gulf, was essential to the theory which places the garden of Eden on the *Shat-el-Arab*. Bochart and Huet contended that it was the easternmost of the channels, while Calvin considered it to be the most westerly. Hopkinson and Junius, conceiving that Eden was to be found in the region of Aurantia (= *Audantia*, *quasi Edenitis*) on the Euphrates, were compelled to make the Gihon coincide with the Naharsar, the Mares of Amm. Marc. (xxiii. 6, §25). That it should be the Orontes (Leclerc), the Ganges (Buttinaum and Ewald), the Kur, or Cyrus, which rises from the side of the Saghanlou mountain, a few miles northward of the sources of the Araxes (Link), necessarily followed from the exigencies of the several theories. Rask and Verbrugge are in favour of the Gyndes of the ancients (Her. i. 189),

now called the Diyālāh, one of the tributaries of the Tigris. Abraham Perissol (Ugol. vol. vii.) was of opinion that the garden of Eden was situated in the region of the Mountains of the Moon. Identifying the Pison with the Nile, and the Gihon with a river which his editor, Hyde, explains to be the Niger, he avoids the difficulty which is presented by the fact that the Hiddekel and Prath are rivers of Asia, by conceiving it possible that these rivers actually take their rise in the Mountains of the Moon, and run underground till they make their appearance in Assyria. Equally satisfactory is the explanation of Ephraem Syrus that the four rivers have their source in Paradise, which is situated in a very lofty place, but are swallowed up by the surrounding districts, and after passing underneath the sea, come to light again in different quarters of the globe. It may be worth while remarking, by the way, that the opinions of this father are frequently misunderstood in consequence of the very inadequate Latin translation with which his Syriac works are accompanied, and which often does not contain even an approximation to the true sense. (For an example, see Kalisch, *Genesis*, p. 95.)

From etymological considerations, Huet was induced to place Cush in Chusistan (called Cutha, 2 K. xvii. 24), Leclerc in Cassiotia in Syria, and Reland in the "regio Cassacorum." Bochart identified it with Susiana, Link with the country about the Caucasus, and Hartmann with Bactria or Bilkh, the site of Paradise being, in this case, in the celebrated vale of Kashmir. The term Cush is generally applied in the Old Testament to the countries south of the Israelites. It was the southern limit of Egypt (Ez. xxix. 10), and apparently the most westerly of the provinces over which the rule of Ahasuerus extended, "from India, even unto Ethiopia" (Esth. i. 1, viii. 9). Egypt and Cush are associated in the majority of instances in which the word occurs (Is. lxviii. 31; Is. xviii. 1; Jer. xlv. 9, &c.); but in two passages Cush stands in close juxtaposition with Elam (Is. xi. 11), and Persia (Ez. xxxviii. 5). The Cushite king, Zerah, was utterly defeated by Asa at Marashah, and pursued as far as Gedar, a town of the Philistines, on the southern border of Palestine, which was apparently under his sway (2 Chr. xiv. 9, &c.). In 2 Chr. xxi. 16, the Arabians are described as dwelling "beside the Cushites," and both are mentioned in connexion with the Philistines. The wife of Moses, who, we learn from Ex. ii., was the daughter of a Midianite chieftain, is in Num. xii. 1 denominated a Cushite. Further, Cush and Seba (Is. xliii. 3), 'Cush and the Sabneans (Is. xlv. 14) are associated in a manner consonant with the genealogy of the descendants of Ham (Gen. x. 7), in which Seba is the son of Cush. From all these circumstances it is evident that under the denomination Cush were included both Arabia and the country south of Egypt on the western coast of the Red Sea. It is possible, also, that the vast desert tracts west of Egypt were known to the Hebrews as the land of Cush, but of this we have no certain proof. The Targumist on Is. xi. 11, sharing the prevailing error of his time, translates Cush by India, but that a better knowledge of the relative positions of these countries was anciently possessed is clear from Esth. i. 1. With all this evidence for the southern situation of Cush, on what grounds are Rosenmüller and others justified in applying the term to a more northern region on the banks of the Oxus? We are told that, in the Hindoo mythology, the gardens

and metropolis of India are placed around the mountain Mōru, the celestial north pole; that, among the Babylonians and Medo-Persians, the gods' mountain, Alborj, "the mount of the congregation," was believed to be "in the sides of the north" (Is. xiv. 13); that the oldest Greek traditions point northwards to the birthplace of gods and men; and that, for all these reasons, the Paradise of the Hebrews must be sought for in some far distant hyperborean region. Guided by such meaning indications, Hassé (*Entdeckungen*, pp. 49, 50, n.) scrupled not to gratify his national feeling by placing the garden of Eden on the coast of the Baltic; Rudbeck, a Swede, found it in Scandinavia, and the inhospitable Siberia has not been without its advocates (Morén, Rosenmüller's *Geog.* i. 96). But, with all this predilection in favour of the north, the Greeks placed the gardens of the Hesperides in the extreme west, and there are strong indications in the *Purāṇas* "of a terrestrial paradise, different from that of the general Hindu system, in the southern parts of Africa" (*As. Res.* iii. 300). Even Mēru was no further north than the Himalayan range, which the Aryan race crossed in their migrations.

In the midst of this diversity of opinions, what is the true conclusion at which we arrive? Theory after theory has been advanced, with no lack of confidence, but none has been found which satisfies the required conditions. All share the inevitable fate of conclusions which are based upon inadequate premises. The problem may be indeterminate because the data are insufficient. It would scarcely, on any other hypothesis, have admitted of so many apparent solutions. Still it is one not easy to be abandoned, and the site of Eden will ever rank, with the quadrature of the circle and the interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, among those unsolved, and perhaps insoluble, problems, which possess so strange a fascination.

It must not be denied, however, that other methods of meeting the difficulty, than those above mentioned, have been proposed. Some, ever ready to use the knife, have unhesitatingly pronounced the whole narrative to be a spurious interpolation of a later age (Gruauville Penn, *Min. and Mos. Geol.* p. 184). But, even admitting this, the words are not mere unmeaning jargon, and demand explanation. Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 331, note) affirms, and we have only his word for it, that the tradition originated in the far East, and that in the course of its wanderings the original names of two of the rivers at least were changed to others with which the Hebrews were better acquainted. Hartmann regards it as a product of the Babylonian or Persian period. Luther, rejecting the forced interpretations on which the theories of his time were based, gave it as his opinion that the garden remained under the guardianship of angels till the time of the deluge, and that its site was known to the descendants of Adam; but that by the flood all traces of it were obliterated. On the supposition that this is correct, there is still a difficulty to be explained. The narrative is so worded as to convey the idea that the countries and rivers spoken of were still existing in the time of the historian. It has been suggested that the deception of the garden of Eden is part of an inspired antediluvian document (Morén, Rosenmüller's *Geogr.* i. 92). The conjecture is beyond criticism; it is equally incapable of proof or disproof, and has not much probability to recommend it. The effects of the flood in changing

the face of countries, and altering the relations of land and water, are too little known at present to allow any inferences to be drawn from them. Meanwhile, as every expression of opinion results in a confession of ignorance, it will be more honest to acknowledge the difficulty than to rest satisfied with a fictitious solution.

The idea of a terrestrial paradise, the abode of purity and happiness, has formed an element in the religious beliefs of all nations. The image of "Eden, the garden of God," retained its hold upon the minds of the poets and prophets of Israel as a thing of beauty whose joys had departed (*Ex. xxviii. 13*; *Joel ii. 3*), and before whose gates the cherubim still stood to guard it from the guilty. Arab legends tell of a garden in the East, on the summit of a mountain of jacinth, inaccessible to man; a garden of rich soil and equable temperature, well watered, and abounding with trees and flowers of rare colours and fragrance. In the centre of Jambu-dwipa, the middle of the seven continents of the Purānas, is the golden mountain Meru, which stands like the seed-cup of the lotus of the earth. On its summit is the vast city of Brāhmā, renowned in heaven, and encircled by the Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu, washes the lunar orb, and falling thither from the skies, is divided into four streams, that flow to the four corners of the earth. These rivers are the Bhadrā, or Oby of Siberia; the Sītā, or Hoangho, the great river of China; the Alakannandā, a main branch of the Ganges; and the Chakshu, or Oxus. In this abode of divinity is the Nandana, or grove of Indra; there too is the Jambu tree, from whose fruit are fed the waters of the Jambu river, which give life and immortality to all who drink thereof. (*Vishnu Purāna*, trans. Wilson, pp. 166-171.) The enchanted gardens of the Chinese are placed in the midst of the summits of Houan-lun, a high chain of mountains further north than the Himalaya, and further east than Hindukush. The fountain of immortality which waters these gardens is divided into four streams, the fountains of the supreme spirit, Tychin. Among the Medo-Persians the gods' mountain Alborz is the dwelling of Ormuzd, and the good spirits, and is called "the navel of the waters." The Zend books mention a region called *Heden*, and the place of Zoroaster's birth is called *Hedenesh*, or, according to another passage, *Airjana Vedjo* (Knobel, *Genesis*).

All these and similar traditions are but mere mocking echoes of the old Hebrew story, jarred and broken notes of the same strain; but, with all their exaggerations, "they intimate how in the background of man's visions lay a Paradise of holy joy,—a Paradise secured from every kind of profanation, and made inaccessible to the guilty; a Paradise full of objects that were calculated to delight the senses and to elevate the mind; a Paradise that granted to its tenant rich and rare immunities, and that fed with its perennial streams the tree of life and immortality" (Hudwrick, *Christ and other musters*, pt. ii. p. 133).

[W. A. W.]

**EDEN**, 1. (עֵדֶן; 'Eḏēm; *Eden*; omitted by LXX. in Is. xxvii. 12, and *Ex. xxvii. 23*), one of the mats which supplied the luxury of Tyre with richly embroidered stuffs. It is associated with Haran, Sheba, and Asshur; and in Am. i. 5. Beth-Eden, or "the house of Eden," is rendered in the LXX. by Χαβδάν. In 2 K. xix. 12, and Is. xxxvii. 12, "the sons of Eden" are mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezep, as victims of the Assyrian greed

of conquest. Telassar appears to have been the head-quarters of the tribe; and Knobel's (*Comm. on Isaiah*) etymology of this name would point to the highlands of Assyria as their whereabouts. But this has no sound foundation, although the view which it supports receives confirmation from the version of Jonathan, who gives חַדִּיב (*Chadib*) as the equivalent of Eden. Bochart proved (*Phaleg*, pt. i. p. 274) that this term was applied by the Talmudic writers to the mountainous district of Assyria, which bordered on Media, and was known as Adiabene. But if Gozan be Gausanitis in Mesopotamia, and Haran be Carrahe, it seems more natural to look for Eden somewhere in the same locality. Keil (*Comm. on Kings*, ii. 97, English translation) thinks it may be حِجْلِي (*Ma'don*), which Assemani (*Bibl. Or. ii. 226*) places in Mesopotamia, in the modern province of Diarbekr. Bochart, considering the Eden of Genesis and Isaiah as identical, argues that Gozan, Haran, Rezep, and Eden, are mentioned in order of geographical position, from north to south; and, identifying Gozan with Gausanitis, Haran with Carrahe, a little below Gausanitis on the Tigris, and Rezep with Resapha, gives to Eden a still more southerly situation at the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, or even lower. According to him, it may be Addan, or Addana, which geographers place on the Euphrates. Michaelis (*Suppl. No. 1826*) is in favour of the modern Aden, called by Ptolemy Ἀραβίας ἐμπόριον, as the Eden of Ezekiel. In the absence of positive evidence, probability seems to point to the N.W. of Mesopotamia as the locality of Eden.

2. BETH-EDEN (בֵּית עֵדֶן, "house of pleasure;" *ἑδρες Χαβδάν*; *domus voluptatis*), probably the name of a country residence of the kings of Damascus (Am. i. 5). Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Leg. Hebr. s. v.*), following Laroque's description, and misled by an apparent resemblance in name, identified it with *E'dien*, about a day's journey from Baalbek, on the eastern slope of the Libanus, and near the old cedars of *Bshirai*. Baur (*Anos*, p. 224), in accordance with the Mohammedi tradition, that one of the four terrestrial paradises was in the valley between the ranges of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, is inclined to favour the same hypothesis. But Grotius, with greater appearance of probability, pointed to the *παρθέσιος* of Ptolemy (v. 15) as the locality of Eden. The ruins of the village of *Jasich el-Katimeh*, now a paradise no longer, are supposed by Dr. Robinson to mark the site of the ancient Paradisus, and his suggestion is approved by Mr. Porter (*Humb. p. 577*). Again, it has been conjectured that Beth Eden is no other than *Beit-Jenn*, "the house of Paradise," not far to the south-west of Damascus, on the eastern slope of the Hermon, and a short distance from *Ma'fel*. It stands on a branch of the ancient Phapur, near its source (Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alt. ii. 291*; Hitzig, *Anos*, in loc.; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 311). But all this is mere conjecture; it is impossible, with any degree of certainty, to connect the Arabic name, bestowed since the time of Mohammed, with the more ancient Hebrew appellation, whatever be the apparent resemblance.

[W. A. W.]

**EDER** (עֶדֶר; "a flock;" Vat. omits; Alex. 'Eḏpal; *Eder*), one of the towns of Judah in the extreme south, and on the borders of Edom (*Josh. xv. 21*). No trace of it has been discovered

in modern times, unless, as has been suggested, it is identical with ARAD, by a transposition of letters.

2. ('Eḏep, *Edier*). A Levite of the family of Merari, in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 23, xxiv. 30). [G.]

E'DES ('Hḏaṣ; *Esmi*), 1 Esdr. ix. 35. [JADAU.]

ED'NA ('Eḏna, i. c. עֲדָנָה, *pleasure*; *Anna*), the wife of Raguel (Tob. vii. 2, 8, 14, 16; x. 12; xi. 1). [B. F. W.]

E'DOM, IDUMEA, or IDUMAE'A (אֲדוֹמ, *red*; 'Eḏōm; N. T. Ἰδουμαία, only in Mark iii. 8). The name Edom was given to Esau, the first-born son of Isaac, and twin brother of Jacob, when he sold his birthright to the latter for a meal of lentile pottage. The peculiar colour of the pottage gave rise to the name *Edom*, which signifies "red." "And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage; for I am faint; therefore was his name called Edom" (Gen. xxv. 29-34). The country which the Lord subsequently gave to Esau was hence called the "field of Edom" (שְׂדֵה אֲדוֹם, Gen. xxxii. 3), or "land of Edom" (אֶרֶץ אֲדוֹם, Gen. xxxvi. 16; Num. xxxiii. 37). Probably its physical aspect may have had something to do with this. The Easterns have always been, and to the present day are, accustomed to apply names descriptive of the localities. The ruddy hue of the mountain-range given to Esau would at once suggest the word *Edom*, and cause it to be preferred to the better-known Esau. The latter was also occasionally used, as in Obad. 8, 9, 19; and in 21, we have "the Mount of Esau" (אֶת־הַר עֲשָׂו).

Edom was previously called *Mount Seir* (שֵׁעִיר, *rugged*; Gen. xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 8), from Seir the progenitor of the Horites (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20-22). The name Seir was perhaps adopted on account of its being descriptive of the "rugged" character of the territory. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 18, §1) confounds the words *Seir* and *Esau*, and seems to affirm that the name Seir was also derived from Isaac's son; but this idea is opposed to the express statement of Moses (Gen. xiv. 6). The original inhabitants of the country were called *Horites*, from *Hori*, the grandson of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22), because that name was descriptive of their habits as "Troglodytes," or "dwellers in caves" (חֹרִי, HORITES). Timna, the daughter of Seir and aunt of Hori, became concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's oldest son, and bare to him Amalek, the progenitor of the *Amalekites* (Gen. xxxvi. 12, 20, 22). Immediately after the death of Isaac, Esau left Canaan and took possession of Mount Seir (Gen. xxxv. 28, xxxvi. 6, 7, 8). When his descendants increased they extirpated the Horites, and adopted their habits as well as their country (Deut. ii. 12; Jer. xlix. 16; Obad. 3, 4).

The boundaries of Edom, though not directly, are yet incidentally defined with tolerable distinctness in the Bible. The country lay along the route pursued by the Israelites from the peninsula of Sinai to Kadesh-barnea, and thence back again to Elath (Deut. i. 2, ii. 1-8); that is, along the east side of the great valley of Arabah. It reached southward as far as Elath, which stood at the northern end of the gulf of Elath, and was the seaport of the Edonites; but it does not seem to have

extended farther, as the Israelites on passing Elath struck out eastward into the desert, so as to pass round the east of Edom (Deut. ii. 8). On the north of Edom lay the territory of Moab, through which the Israelites were also prevented from going, and were therefore compelled to go from Kadesh by the southern extremity of Edom (Judg. xi. 17, 18; 2 K. iii. 6-9). The boundary between Moab and Edom appears to have been the "brook Zered" (Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18), probably the modern *Wady-el-Ahsy*, which still divides the provinces of *Kerak* (Moab) and *Jebel* (Gabalene). But Edom was wholly a mountainous country. "Mount Seir" (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 8, 9; Deut. i. 2, ii. 1, 5, &c.) and "the Mount of Esau" (Obad. 8, 9, 19, 21), are names often given to it in the Bible, while Josephus and later writers called it *Gabalene* ("the mountainous"). This shows that it only embraced the narrow mountainous tract (about 100 miles long by 20 broad) extending along the eastern side of the Arabah from the northern end of the gulf of Elath to near the southern end of the Dead Sea. A glance at the more modern divisions and names corroborates this view. Josephus divides Edom, or Idumaea, into two provinces; the one he calls *Gabolitis* (Γαβολίτις), and the other *Amalekitis* (Ant. ii. 1, §2). The former is Edom Proper, or Mount Seir; the latter is the region south of Palestine now called the desert of *el-Tih*, or "Wandering," originally occupied by the Amalekites (Num. xiii. 29; 1 Sam. xv. 1-7, xxvii. 8), but afterwards, as we shall see, possessed by the Edomites. Eusebius also gives the name *Gabalene*, or *Gabalene*, as identical with Edom (*Onom.* s. v. *Seir, Idumaea, Allus*, &c.), and in the Samaritan Pentateuch the word *Gubla* is substituted for *Seir* in Deut. xxxiii. 2. *Gabalene* is the Greek form of the Hebrew *Gabal* (גָּבַל, *mountain*), and it is still retained in the Arabic *Jebal* (جبال, *mountains*).

The mountain range of Edom is at present divided into two districts. The northern is called *Jebel*. It begins at *Wady-el-Ahsy* (the ancient brook *Zered*), which separates it from *Kerak* (the ancient Moab), and it terminates at or near Petia. The southern district is called *esh-Shérak*, a name which, though it resembles, bears no radical relation to the Hebrew *Seir*.

The physical geography of Edom is somewhat peculiar. Along the western base of the mountain-range are low calcareous hills. To these succeed lofty masses of igneous rock, chiefly porphyry, over which lies red and variegated sandstone in irregular ridges and abrupt cliffs, with deep ravines between. The latter strata give the mountains their most striking features and remarkable colours. The average elevation of the summits is about 2000 feet above the sea. Along the eastern side runs an almost unbroken limestone ridge, a thousand feet or more higher than the other. This ridge sinks down with an easy slope into the plateau of the Arabian desert. While Edom is thus wild, rugged, and almost inaccessible, the deep glens and flat terraces along the mountain sides are covered with rich soil, from which trees, shrubs, and flowers now spring up luxuriantly. No contrast could be greater than that between the bare, parched plains on the east and west, and the ruddy cliffs, and verdant, flower-spangled glens and terraces of Edom. This illustrates Bible topography, and reconciles seemingly discordant statements in the sacred volume.

While the posterity of Esau dwelt amid rocky fastnesses and on mountain heights, making their houses like the eyries of eagles, and living by their sword (Jer. xlix. 16; Gen. xxvii. 40), yet Isaac, in his prophetic blessing, promised his disappointed son that his dwelling should be "of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above" (Gen. xxvii. 39). Some other passages of Scripture are also illustrated by a glance at the towering precipices and peaks of Edom. The border of the Amorites was from "the ascent of scorpions (*Akrabbim*), from the rock"—that is, from the rocky boundary of Edom (Judg. i. 36). And we read that Amaziah, after the conquest of Seir, took ten thousand of the captives to the "top of the cliff," and thence cast them down, dashing them all to pieces (2 Chr. xxv. 11, 12).

The ancient capital of Edom was Bozrah [BOZRAH], the site of which is most probably marked by the village of *Buseirah*, near the northern border, about 25 miles south of Kerak (Gen. xxvi. 33; Is. xxiv. 6, lxiii. 1; Jer. xlix. 13, 22). But Sela, better known by its Greek name *Petra*, appears to have been the principal stronghold in the days of Amaziah (B.C. 838; 2 K. xiv. 7; see *PETRA*). Elath, and its neighbour Ezion-geber, were the seaports; they were captured by king David, and here Solomon equipped his merchant-fleet (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 K. ix. 26).

When the kingdom of Israel began to decline, the Edomites not only reconquered their lost cities, but made frequent incursions upon southern Palestine (2 K. xvi. 6; where *Edomites* and not Syrians (*Arameans*) is evidently the true reading; 2 Chr. xxviii. 17). It was probably on account of these attacks, and of their uniting with the Chaldeans against the Jews, that the Edomites were so fearfully denounced by the later prophets (Ob. 1 sq.; Jer. xlix. 7 sq.; Ezek. xxv. 12 sq., xxxv. 3 sq.). During the Captivity they advanced westward, occupied the whole territory of their brethren the Amalekites (Gen. xxxvi. 12; 1 Sam. xv. 1 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 1, §2), and even took possession of many towns in southern Palestine, including Hebron (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §6; B. J. iv. 9, §7; c. *Aptm.* ii. 10). The name Edom, or rather its Greek form, Idumæa, was now given to the country lying between the valley of Arabah and the shores of the Mediterranean. Thus Josephus writes (*Ant.* v. 1, §22)—"the lot of Simeon included that part of Idumæa which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia;" and though this is true it does not contradict the language of Scripture—"I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a footbreadth, because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession" (Deut. ii. 5). Not a footbreadth of Edom Proper, or Mount Seir, was ever given to the Jews. Jerome also (*in Obad.*) says that the Edomites possessed the whole country from Eleuthero-opolis to Petra and Elath; and Roman authors sometimes give the name Idumæa to all Palestine, and even call the Jews Idumæans (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 12; Juven. viii. 160; Martial. ii. 2).

While Idumæa thus extended westward, Edom Proper was taken possession of by the Nabatheans, an Arabian tribe, descended from Nebaioth, Ishmael's oldest son and Esau's brother-in-law (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. i. 29; Gen. xxxvi. 3). The Nabatheans were a powerful people, and held a great part of southern Arabia (Josh. *Ant.* i. 12, §4). They took Petra and established themselves there at least three centuries before Christ, for Antigonus,

one of the successors of Alexander the Great, after conquering Palestine, sent two expeditions against the Nabatheans in Petra (Diod. Sic. 19). This people, leaving off their nomad habits, settled down amid the mountains of Edom, engaged in commerce, and founded the little kingdom called by Roman writers *Arabia Petraea*, which embraced nearly the same territory as the ancient Edom. Some of its monarchs took the name Aretas (2 Macc. v. 8; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15, §1, 2; xiv. 5, §1), and some Obodas (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, §5). Aretas, king of Arabia, was father-in-law of Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 3, 4), and it was the same who captured the city of Damascus and held it at the time of Paul's conversion (2 Cor. xi. 32; Acts ix. 25). The kingdom of Arabia was finally subdued by the Romans in A.D. 105. Under the Romans the transport trade of the Nabatheans increased. Roads were constructed through the mountain-defiles from Elath on the coast to Petra, and thence northward and westward. Traces of them still remain, with ruinous military stations at intervals, and fallen milestones of the times of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius (*Peutinger Tables*; Laboide's *Voyage*; Burckhardt's *Syria*, pp. 374, 419; Irby and Mangles' *Travels*, pp. 371, 377, 1st ed.). To the Nabatheans Petra owes those great monuments which are still the wonder of the world.

When the Jewish power revived under the warlike Asmonean princes, that section of Idumæa which lay south of Palestine fell into their hands. Judas Maccabeus captured Hebron, Marissa, and Ashdod; and John Hyrcanus compelled the inhabitants of the whole region to conform to Jewish law (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §6, xiii. 9, §2; 1 Macc. v. 65, 68). The country was henceforth governed by Jewish prefects; one of these, Antipater, an Idumæan by birth, became, through the friendship of the Roman emperor, procurator of all Judæa, and his son was Herod the Great, "King of the Jews" (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 1, §3, 8, §5, xv. 7, §9, xvii. 11, §4).

Early in the Christian era Edom Proper was included by geographers in Palestine, but in the fifth century a new division was made of the whole country into *Palestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia*. The last embraced Edom and some neighbouring provinces, and when it became an ecclesiastical division its metropolis was Petra. In the seventh century the Mohammedan conquest gave a death-blow to the commerce and prosperity of Edom. Under the withering influence of Mohammedan rule the great cities fell to ruin, and the country became a desert. The followers of the false prophet were here, as elsewhere, the instruments in God's hands for the execution of His judgments. "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will make thee most desolate. I will lay thy cities waste, and when the whole earth rejoiceth I will make thee desolate. . . . I will make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth. . . . I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return, and ye shall know that I am the Lord" (Ezek. xxxv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 14).

The Crusaders made several expeditions into Edom, penetrating as far as Petra, to which they gave the name it still bears, *Wady Musa*, "Valley of Moses" (*Gesta Dei per Franc.* pp. 405, 518, 555, 581). On a commanding height about 12 miles north of Petra they built a strong fortress called Mons Regalis, now *Shibek* (*Gesta Dei*, p.

611). At that time so little was known of the geography of the country that the Crusaders occupied and fortified *Karak* (the ancient Kir Moab) under the impression that it was the site of Petra.

From that time until the present century Edom remained an unknown land. In the year 1812 Burckhardt entered it from the north, passed down through it, and discovered the wonderful ruins of Petra. In 1828 Laborde, proceeding northward from Akabah through the deserts of Edom, also visited Petra, and brought away a portfolio of splendid drawings, which proved that the descriptions of Burckhardt had not been exaggerated. Many have since followed the footsteps of the first explorers, and a trip to Petra now forms a necessary part of the eastern traveller's grand tour.

For the ancient geography of Edom consult *Revue de Palestine*, pp. 48, 66 sq., 78, 82; for the history and commerce of the Nabatheans, Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii.; for the present state of the country and descriptions of Petra, Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, Laborde's *Voyage*, Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*. [J. L. P.]

**EDOMITES** (עֲדֹמִי, עֲדֹמִי, pl.; and עֲדֹמִי, Deut. ii. 4; 'Ἰδουμαῖοι), the descendants of Esau, or Edom. [EDOM.] Esau settled in Mount Seir immediately after the death of his father Isaac (Gen. xxxvi. 6, 8). Before that time, however, he had occasionally visited, and even resided in, that country; for it was to the "land of Seir" Jacob sent messengers to acquaint his brother of his arrival from Padan-aram (Gen. xxii. 3). The Edomites soon became a numerous and powerful nation (Gen. xxxvi. 1 sq.). Their first form of government appears to have resembled that of the modern Bedawin; each tribe or clan having a petty chief or sheikh (שֵׁיחַ, "Duke" in the A. V., Gen. xxxvi. 15). The Horites, who inhabited Mount Seir from an early period, and among whom the Edomites still lived, had their sheikhs also (Gen. xxxvi. 29 sq.). At a later period, probably when the Edomites began a war of extermination against the Horites, they felt the necessity of united action under one competent leader, and then a king was chosen. The names of eight of their kings are given in the book of Genesis (xxxvi. 31-39), with their native cities, from which it appears that one of them was a foreigner ("Saul of Rehoboth-by-the-river"), or, at least, that his family were resident in a foreign city. (See also 1 Chr. i. 43-50.) Against the Horites the children of Edom were completely successful. Having either exterminated or expelled them they occupied their whole country (Deut. ii. 12). A statement made in Gen. xxxvi. 31, serves to fix the period of the dynasty of the eight kings. They "reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;" that is, before the time of Moses, who may be regarded as the first virtual king of Israel (comp. Deut. xxviii. 5; Ex. xviii. 16-19). Other circumstances, however, prove that though the Edomite kings had the chief command, yet the old patriarchal government by sheikhs of tribes was still retained. Most of the large tribes of Bedawin at the present day have one chief, with the title of *Emir*, who takes the lead in any great emergency; while each division of the tribe enjoys perfect independence under its own sheikh. So it would seem to have been with the Edomites. Lists of *dukes* (or *sheikhs*,

עֲדֹמִי) are given both before and after the kings (Gen. xxxvi. 15, sq.; 1 Chr. i. 51 sq.), and in the triumphant song of Israel over the engulfed host of Pharaoh, when describing the effect this fearful act of divine vengeance would produce on the surrounding nations, it is said—"Then the *dukes* of Edom shall be amazed" (Ex. xv. 15), while, only a few years afterwards, Moses "sent messengers from Kadesh unto the *king* (מֶלֶךְ) of Edom" to ask permission to pass through his country (Judg. xi. 17).

Esau's bitter hatred to his brother Jacob for fraudulently obtaining his blessing appears to have been inherited by his latest posterity. The Edomites peremptorily refused to permit the Israelites to pass through their land, though addressed in the most friendly terms—"thus saith thy brother Israel" (Num. xx. 14)—and though assured that they would neither drink of their waters nor trespass on their fields or vineyards (ver. 17). The Israelites were expressly commanded by God neither to resent this conduct, nor even to entertain feelings of hatred to the Edomites (Deut. ii. 4, 5, xxii. 7). The Edomites did not attempt actual hostilities, though they prepared to resist by force any intrusion (Num. xx. 20). Their neighbours and brethren (Gen. xxxvi. 12), the Amalekites, were probably urged on by them, and proved the evilest and most determined opponents of the Israelites during their journey through the wilderness (Ex. xvii. 8, 9).

For a period of 400 years we hear no more of the Edomites. They were then attacked and defeated by Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 47). Some forty years later David overthrew their army in the "Valley of Salt," and his general, Joab, following up the victory, destroyed nearly the whole male population (1 K. xi. 15, 16), and placed Jewish garrisons in all the strongholds of Edom (2 Sam. viii. 13, 14; in ver. 13 the Heb. should evidently be אֲדָמָה, instead of אֲדָם; comp. 14; 2 K. xiv. 7; and Jos. Ant. vii. 5, §4). In honour of that victory the Psalmist-warrior may have penned the words in Ps. lx. 8, "over Edom will I cast my shoe." Hadad, a member of the royal family of Edom, made his escape with a few followers to Egypt, where he was kindly received by Pharaoh. After the death of David he returned, and tried to excite his countrymen to rebellion against Israel, but failing in the attempt he went on to Syria, where he became one of Solomon's greatest enemies (1 K. xi. 14-22; Jos. Ant. viii. 7, §6). The Edomites continued subject to Israel from this time till the reign of Jehoshaphat (B.C. 914), when they attempted to invade Israel in conjunction with Ammon and Moab, but were miraculously destroyed in the valley of Betachah (2 Chr. xx. 22). A few years later they revolted against Jehoram, elected a king, and for half a century retained their independence (2 Chr. xxi. 8). They were then attacked by Amaziah, 10,000 were slain in battle, Sela, their great stronghold, was captured, and 10,000 more were dashed to pieces by the conqueror from the cliffs that surround the city (2 K. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xxv. 1, 12). Yet the Israelites were never able again completely to subdue them (2 Chr. xxviii. 17). When Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem the Edomites joined him, and took an active part in the plunder of the city and slaughter of the poor Jews. Their cruelty at that time seems to be specially referred to in the 137th Psalm—"Remember

O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation thereof." As the first part of Isaac's prophetic blessing to Esau—"the elder shall serve the younger"—was fulfilled in the long subjection of the Edomites to the kings of Israel, so now the second part was also fulfilled—"It shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck" (Gen. xxvii. 40). It was on account of these acts of cruelty committed upon the Jews in the day of their calamity that the Edomites were so fearfully denounced by the later prophets (Is. xxxiv. 5-8, lxi. 1-4; Jer. xlix. 17; Lam. iv. 21; Ezek. xxv. 13, 14; Am. i. 11, 12; Obad. 10 sq.).

On the conquest of Judah by the Babylonians, the Edomites, probably in reward for their services during the war, were permitted to settle in southern Palestine, and the whole plateau between it and Egypt; but they were about the same time driven out of Edom Proper by the Nabatheans. [EDOM; NABATHEANS.] For more than four centuries they continued to prosper, and retained their new possessions with the exception of a few towns which the Persian monarchs compelled them to restore to the Jews after the captivity. But during the warlike rule of the Maccabees they were again completely subdued, and even forced to conform to Jewish laws and rites (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §6, *Ant.* 9, §1; 1 Macc. v. 65), and submit to the government of Jewish prefects. The Edomites were now incorporated with the Jewish nation, and the whole province was often termed by Greek and Roman writers *Idumæa* (*Pol. Geog.* v. 16; *Mar.* iii. 8). According to the ceremonial law an Edomite was received into "the congregation of the Lord"—that is, to all the rites and privileges of a Jew—"in the third generation" (*Deut.* xxiii. 8). Antipater, a clever and crafty Idumæan, succeeded, through Roman influence, in obtaining the government of Judæa (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 8, §5). His oldest son, Phasaelus, he made governor of Jerusalem, and to his second son Herod, then only in his 15th year, he gave the province of Galilee. Herod, afterwards named the Great, was appointed "king of the Jews" by a decree of the Roman senate (B.C. 37; Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, §5; *Matt.* ii. 1). Immediately before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, in consequence of the influence of John of Gischala, 20,000 Idumæans were admitted to the Holy City, which they filled with robbery and bloodshed (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 4 and 5). From this time the Edomites, as a separate people, disappear from the page of history, though the name Idumæan still continued to be applied to the country south of Palestine as late as the time of Jerome (*in Obad.*).

The character of the Edomites was drawn by Isaac in his prophetic blessing to Esau—"By thy sword shalt thou live" (Gen. xxvii. 40). War and rapine were the only professions of the Edomites. By the sword they got Mount Seir—by the sword they exterminated the Horites—by the sword they long battled with their brethren of Israel, and finally broke off their yoke—by the sword they won southern Palestine—and by the sword they performed the last act in their long historic drama, massacred the guards in the temple, and pillaged the city of Jerusalem.

Little is known of their religion; but that little shows them to have been idolatrous. It is probable that Esau's marriage with the "daughters of Canaan," who "were a grief of mind" to his father

and mother (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35), induced him to embrace their religion, and when Esau and his followers took possession of Mount Seir they seem to have followed the practice common among ancient nations of adopting the country's gods, for we read that Amaziah, king of Judah, after his conquest of the Edomites, "brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods" (2 Chr. xxv. 14, 15, 20). Josephus also refers to both the idols and priests of the Idumæans (*Ant.* xv. 17, §9).

The habits of the Idumæans were singular. The Horites, their predecessors in Mount Seir, were, as their name implies, *troglodytes*, or dwellers in caves; and the Edomites seem to have adopted their dwellings as well as their country. Jeremiah and Obadiah both speak of them as "dwelling in the clefts of the rocks," and making their habitations high in the cliffs, like the eyries of eagles (Jer. xlix. 16; Obad. 3, 4), language which is strikingly illustrated by a survey of the mountains and glens of Edom. Everywhere we meet with caves and grottoes hewn in the soft sandstone strata. Those at Petra are well known. [PETRA.] Their form and arrangements show that most of them were originally intended for habitations. They have closets and recesses suitable for family uses, and many have windows. The nature of the rock and the form of the cliffs made excavation an easier work than erection, besides the additional security, comfort, and permanence of such abodes. Indeed there is reason to believe that the commercial Nabatheans were the first who introduced buildings into Edom. It is worthy of remark also that the Edomites, when they took possession of southern Palestine, followed even there their old mode of life, and excavated caves and grottoes everywhere through the country. So Jerome in his Commentary on Obadiah writes—"Omnis Australis regio Idumæorum de Eleutheropoli usque ad Petram et Ailam (hæc est possessio Esau) in specubus habitavit: cuius habet: et propter nimis calores solis, quia meridiana provincia est, subterraneis tuguriis nititur." During a visit to this region in 1857 the writer of this article had an opportunity of inspecting a large number of these caverns, and has no hesitation in ranking them among the most remarkable of their kind in the world. [ELEUTHEROPOLIS.] The nature of the climate, the dryness of the soil, and their great size, render them healthy, pleasant, and commodious habitations, while their security made them specially suitable to a country exposed in every age to incessant attacks of robbers. [J. L. P.]

EDREI, 1. (עֲדְרֵי; 'Edraei, and 'Edraiv; Euseb. *Onom.* Αδραῖ; Arab. اذرع), one of the

two capital cities of Bashan (Num. xxi. 33; *Deut.* i. 4, iii. 10; Josh. xii. 4). In Scripture it is only mentioned in connexion with the victory gained by the Israelites over the Amorites under Og their king, and the territory thus acquired. Not a single allusion is made to it in the subsequent history of God's people, though it was within the territory allotted to the half tribe of Manasse (Num. xxxii. 33), and it continued to be a large and important city down to the seventh century of our era.

The ruins of this ancient city, still bearing the name *Edra*, stand on a rocky promontory which projects from the S.W. corner of the Lejah. [ARAB.] The site is a strange one—without water, without access, except over rocks and through de-

files all but impracticable. Strength and security seem to have been the grand objects in view. The rocky promontory is about a mile and a half wide by two miles and a half long; it has an elevation of from twenty to thirty feet above the plain, which spreads out from it on each side, flat as a sea, and of rare fertility. The ruins are nearly three miles in circumference, and have a strange wild look, rising up in black shattered masses from the midst of a wilderness of black rocks. A number of the old houses still remain; they are low, massive, and gloomy, and some of them are half buried beneath heaps of rubbish. In these the present inhabitants reside, selecting such apartments as are best fitted for comfort and security. The short Greek inscriptions which are here and there seen over the doors prove that the houses are at least as old as the time of Roman dominion. *Edra* was at one time adorned with a considerable number of public edifices, but time and the chances of war have left most of them shapeless heaps of ruin. Many Greek inscriptions are met with; the greater part of them are of the Christian age, and of no historic value.

The identity of this site with the Edrei of Scripture has been questioned by many writers, who follow the doubtful testimony of Eusebius (*Onom.* s. v. *Edrei* and *Astaroth*), and place the capital of Bashan at the modern *Der'a*, a few miles farther south. The following reasons have induced the present writer to regard *Edra* as the true site of Edrei. 1st. The situation is such as would naturally be selected for a capital city in early and troublous times by the rulers of a warlike nation. The principles of fortification were then little known, and consequently towns and villages were built on the tops of hills or in the midst of rocky fastnesses. The advantages of *Edra* in this respect are seen at a glance. *Der'a*, on the other hand, lies in the open country, without any natural advantages, exposed to the attack of every invader. It is difficult to believe that the warlike Replains would have erected a royal city in such a position. 2nd. The dwellings of *Edra* possess all the characteristics of remote antiquity—massive walls, stone roofs, stone doors. 3rd. The name Edrei, "strength," is not only descriptive of the site, but it corresponds more exactly to the Arabic *Edra* than to *Der'a*. In opposition to these we have the statement in Eusebius that Edrei was in his day called Adara, and was 24 Roman miles from Bostra. There can be no doubt that he refers to *Der'a*, which, as lying on a great road, was better known to him than *Edra*, and thus he was led hastily to identify it with Edrei.

It is probable that Edrei did not remain long in possession of the Israelites. May it not be that they abandoned it in consequence of its position within the borders of a wild region infested by numerous robber bands? The Lejah is the ancient Argob, and appears to have been the stronghold of the Geshurites; and they perhaps subsequently occupied Edrei (Josh. xii. 4, 5). The monuments now existing show that it must have been an important town from the time the Romans took possession of Bashan; and that it, and not *Der'a*, was the episcopal city of Adara, which ranked next to Bostra (Reland, *Pal.* pp. 219, 223, 348). In A.D. 1142, the Crusaders under Baldwin III. made a sudden attack upon Adara, then popularly called *Ciutat Bernardi de Stampis*, but they encountered such obstacles in the difficult nature of the ground,

the scarcity of water, and the valour of the inhabitants, that they were compelled to retreat. At the time of the visit of the present writer in 1854 the population amounted to about fifty families, of which some eight or ten were Christian, and the rest Mohammedan. A full account of the history and antiquities of Edrei is given in Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, vol. ii. pp. 220 sq., and *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 532 sq. See also Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, pp. 57 sq.; Buckingham's *Travels among the Arab Tribes*, p. 274.

2. A town of northern Palestine, allotted to the tribe of Naphtali, and situated near Kedesh. It is only once mentioned in Scripture (Josh. xiii. 37). The name signifies "strength," or a "stronghold." About two miles south of Kedesh is a conical rocky hill called *Tell Khuraibeh*, the "Tell of the ruin," with some remains of ancient buildings on the summit and a rock-hewn tomb in its side. It is evidently an old site, and it may be that of the long-lost Edrei. The strength of the position, and its nearness to Kedesh, give probability to the supposition. Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* vol. iii. p. 365) suggests the identity of *Tell Khuraibeh* with *Iluzai*. For the objections to this theory see Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, p. 442. [J. L. P.]

**EDUCATION.** Although nothing is more carefully inculcated in the Law than the duty of parents to teach their children its precepts and principles (Ex. xii. 26, xiii. 8, 14; Dent. iv. 5, 9, 10, vi. 2, 7, 20, vi. 19, 21; Acts xvii. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 15; Hist. of Susanna, 3; Joseph. c. Ap. ii. 16, 17, 25), yet there is little trace among the Hebrews in earlier times of education in any other subjects. The wisdom, therefore, and instruction, of which so much is said in the Book of Proverbs, is to be understood chiefly of moral and religious discipline, imparted, according to the direction of the Law, by the teaching and under the example of parents (Prov. i. 2, 8, ii. 2, 10, iv. 1, 7, 20, viii. 1, ix. 1, 10, xii. 1, xvi. 22, xvii. 24, xxxi.). Implicit exceptions to this statement may perhaps be found in the instances of Moses himself, who was brought up in all Egyptian learning (Acts vii. 22); of the writer of the book of Job, who was evidently well versed in natural history and in the astronomy of the day (Job xxxviii. 31, xxxiv. xl. xli.); of Daniel and his companions in captivity (Dan. i. 4, 17); and above all, in the intellectual gifts and acquirements of Solomon, which were even more renowned than his political greatness (1 K. iv. 29, 34, x. 1-9; 2 Chr. ix. 1-8), and the memory of which has, with much exaggeration, been widely preserved in Oriental tradition. The statement made above may, however, in all probability be taken as representing the chief aim of ordinary Hebrew education, both at the time when the Law was best observed, and also when, after periods of national decline from the Mosaic standard, attempts were made by monarchs, as Jehoshaphat or Josiah, or by prophets, as Elijah or Isaiah, to enforce, or at least to inculcate reform in the moral condition of the people on the basis of that standard (2 K. xvii. 13, xxii. 8-20; 2 Chr. xvii. 7, 9; 1 K. xiv. 14; Is. i. et seq.).

In later times the prophecies, and comments on them as well as on the earlier Scriptures, together with other subjects, were studied (Prol. to Eccles., and Eccles. xxxvii. 24, 26, xxxix. 1-11). St. Jerome adds that Jewish children were taught to say by heart the genealogies (Hieronym. on *Titus*,

iii. 9; Calmet, *Dict. Géogr. et Hist.*). Parents were required to teach their children some trade, and he who failed to do so was said to be virtually teaching his child to steal (Mishn. *Kiddush*. ii. 2, vol. iii. p. 413; Surenhus.; Lightfoot, *Chron. Temp.* on Acts xvii. vol. ii. p. 79).

The sect of the Essenes, though themselves abjuring marriage, were anxious to undertake and careful in carrying out the education of children, but confined its subject matter chiefly to morals and the Divine law (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, §12; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, vol. ii. 458, ed. Mangey; §12, Tanchum.).

Previous to the captivity, the chief depositaries of learning were the schools or colleges, from which in most cases (see Am. vii. 14) proceeded that succession of public teachers, who at various times endeavoured to reform the moral and religious conduct of both rulers and people. [SCHOOLS OF PROPHETS.] In these schools the Law was probably the chief subject of instruction; the study of languages was little followed by any Jews till after the captivity, but from that time the number of Jews residing in foreign countries must have made the knowledge of foreign languages more common than before (see Acts xxi. 37). From the time of the outbreak of the last war with the Romans, parents were forbidden to instruct their children in Greek literature (Mishn. *Sotah*, c. ix. 15, vol. iii. p. 307, 308, Surenhus.).

Besides the prophetic schools instruction was given by the priests in the Temple and elsewhere, but their subjects were doubtless exclusively concerned with religion and worship (Lev. x. 11; Ez. xlv. 23, 24; 1 Chr. xxv. 7, 8; Mal. ii. 7). Those sovereigns who exhibited any anxiety for the maintenance of the religious element in the Jewish polity, were conspicuous in enforcing the religious education of the people (2 Chr. xvii. 7, 8, 9, xix. 5, 8, 11; 2 K. xxiii. 2).

From the time of the settlement in Canaan there must have been among the Jews persons skilled in writing and in accounts. Perhaps the neighbourhood of the tribe of Zebulun to the commercial district of Phœnicia may have been the occasion of their reputation in this respect. The "writers" of that tribe are represented (Judg. v. 14) by the same word *כְּתָבִים*, used in that passage of the levying of an army or, perhaps, of a military officer (Gen. p. 966) as is applied to Ezra, in reference to the Law (Ezr. vii. 6); to Serubab, David's scribe or secretary (2 Sam. viii. 17); to Shebna, scribe to Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 37); Sheamaiah (1 Chr. xxiv. 6); Baruch, scribe to Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi. 32), and others filling like offices at various times. The municipal officers of the kingdom, especially in the time of Solomon, must have required a staff of well-educated persons in their various departments under the recorder *כְּתָבִים*, or historiographer, whose business was to compile memorials of the reign (2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24; 2 K. xviii. 18; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). Learning, in the sense above mentioned, was at all times highly esteemed, and educated persons were treated with great respect, and, according to Rabbinical tradition, were called "sons of the noble," and allowed to take precedence of others at table (Lightfoot, *Chr. Temp.* Acts xvii. vol. ii. 79, fol.; *Hor. Hebr.* Luke xiv. 8-24, ii. 540). The same authority deprecates the degeneracy of later times in this respect (Mishn. *Sotah*, ix. 15, vol. iii. 308, Suren.).

To the schools of the Prophets succeeded, after the captivity, the synagogues, which were either themselves used as schools or had places near them for that purpose. In most cities there was at least one, and in Jerusalem, according to some, 394, according to others, 460 (Calmet, *Dict. Ecoles.*). It was from these schools and the doctrines of the various teachers presiding over them, of whom Gamaliel, Sammai, and Hillel were among the most famous, that many of those traditions and refinements proceeded by which the Law was in our Lord's time encumbered and obscured, and which may be considered as represented, though in a highly exaggerated degree, by the Talmud. After the destruction of Jerusalem, colleges inheriting and probably enlarging the traditions of their predecessors, were maintained for a long time at Japhne in Galilee, at Lydda, at Tiberias, the most famous of all, and Sepphoris. These schools in process of time were dispersed into other countries, and by degrees destroyed. According to the principles laid down in the Mishna, boys at five years of age were to begin the Scriptures, at ten the Mishna, at thirteen they became subject to the whole Law (see Luke ii. 46), at fifteen they entered the Gemara (Mishna *Pirk. Ab.* iv. 20, v. 21, vol. iv. pp. 460, 482, 486, Surenhus.). Teachers were treated with great respect, and both pupils and teachers were exhorted to respect each other. Physical science formed part of the course of instruction (*ib.* iii. 18). Unmarried men and women were not allowed to be teachers of boys (*Kiddush*. iv. 13, vol. iii. p. 383). In the schools the Rabbins sat on raised seats, and the scholars, according to their age, sat on benches below or on the ground (Lightfoot on *Luke* ii. 46; Philo, *ibid.* 12, ii. 458, Mangey).

Of female education we have little account in Scripture, but it is clear that the prophetic schools included within their scope the instruction of females, who were occasionally invested with authority similar to that of the Prophets themselves (Judg. iv. 4; 2 K. xxii. 14). Needlework formed a large but by no means the only subject of instruction imparted to females, whose position in society and in the household must by no means be considered as represented in modern Oriental—including Mohammedan—usage (see Prov. xxxi. 16, 26; Hist. of Sns. 3; Luke xiii. 2, 3, x. 39; Acts xiii. 50; 2 Tim. i. 5).

Among modern Mohammedans, education, even of boys, is of a most elementary kind, and of females still more limited. In one respect it may be considered as the likeness or the caricature of the Jewish system, viz. that besides the most common rules of arithmetic, the Kurán is made the staple, if not the only subject of instruction. In Oriental schools, both Jewish and Mohammedan, the lessons are written by each scholar with chalk on tablets which are cleaned for a fresh lesson. All recite their lessons together aloud; faults are usually punished by stripes on the feet. Female children are, among Mohammedans, seldom taught to read or write. A few chapters of the Kurán are learnt by heart, and in some schools they are taught embroidery and needlework. In Persia there are many public schools and colleges, but the children of the wealthy parents are mostly taught at home. The Kurán forms the staple of instruction, being regarded as the model not only of doctrine but of style, and the textbook of all science. In the colleges, however,

mathematics are taught to some extent (Jahu, *Arch. Bibl.* §§106, 106, Engl. Tr.; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 194; Rawolf, *Travels*, c. vii. p. 60; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 326; *Travels in Arabia*, i. 275; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. p. 95; Lane, *Mod. Eg.*, i. p. 89, 93; *Englishw. in Eg.*, ii. 28, 31; Wellsted, *Arabia*, ii. 6, 395; Chardin, *Voyages*, iv. 224 (Langle); Olearius, *Travels*, p. 214, 215; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii. p. 188). [SCHOOLS OF PROPHETS.] [H. W. P.]

**EGLAH** (עֵגְלָה, "a heifer"; Αἰγᾶλ and Ἀγλά; *Egla*), one of David's wives during his reign in Hebron, and the mother of his son Ithream (2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 Chr. iii. 3). In both lists the same order is preserved, Egla being the sixth and last, and in both is she distinguished by the special title of David's "wife." According to the ancient Hebrew tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. in. 5, vi. 23) she was Michal, the wife of his youth; and she died in giving birth to Ithream. A name of this signification is common amongst the Arabs at the present day.

**EGLA'IM** (עֵגְלָיִם, "two ponds"; Ἀγαλείμ; *Gallim*), a place named only in Is. xv. 8, and there apparently as one of the most remote points on the boundary of Moab. It is probably the same as EN-EGLA'IM. A town of this name was known to Eusebius (*Onom.* Agallim), who places it 8 miles to the south of Areopolis, i. e. Ar-Moab (*Rabba*). Exactly in that position, however, stands *Kerak*, the ancient Kir Moab.

A town named Agalla is mentioned by Josephus with Zoar and other places as in the country of the Arabians (*Ant.* xiv. 1, §4).

With most of the places on the east of the Dead Sea, Egla'im yet awaits further research for its identification. [G.]

**EGL'ON** (עֵגְלוֹן; Ἐγλώμ; Joseph. Ἐγλών; *Egilon*), a king of the Moabites (Judg. iii. 12 ff.), who, aided by the Ammonites and the Amalekites, crossed the Jordan and took "the city of palaces," or Jericho (Joseph.). Here he built himself a palace (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 4, §1 ff.), and continued for eighteen years (Judg. and Joseph.) to oppress the children of Israel, who paid him tribute (Joseph.). Whether he resided at Jericho permanently, or only during the summer months (Judg. iii. 20; Joseph.), he seems to have formed a familiar intimacy (συνήθης, Joseph. not Judg.) with Ehud, a young Israelite (ἰσραήλιος, Joseph.), who lived in Jericho (Joseph. not Judg.), and who, by means of repeated presents, became a favourite courtier of the monarch. Josephus represents this intimacy as having been of long continuance; but in Judges we find no mention of intimacy, and only one occasion of a present being made, viz., that which immediately preceded the death of Egion. The circumstances attending this tragical event are somewhat differently given in Judges and in Josephus. That Ehud had the entrée of the palace is implied in Judges (iii. 19), but more distinctly stated in Josephus. In Judges the Israelites send a present by Ehud (iii. 15); in Josephus Ehud wins his favour by repeated presents of his own. In Judges we have two scenes, the offering of the present and the death scene, which are separated by the temporary withdrawal of Ehud (18, 19); in Josephus there is but one scene. The present is offered, the attendants are

dismissed, and the king enters into friendly conversation (δμιλᾶν) with Ehud. In Judges the place seems to change from the reception-room into the "summer-parlour," where Ehud found him upon his return (cf. 18, 20). In Josephus the entire action takes place in the summer-parlour (δωμάτιον). In Judges the king exposes himself to the dagger by rising apparently in respect for the divine message which Ehud professed to communicate (Patrick, *ad loc.*): in Josephus it is a dream which Ehud pretends to reveal, and the king, in delighted anticipation, springs up from his throne. The obesity of Egion, and the consequent impossibility of recovering the dagger, are not mentioned by Josephus (vid. Judg. iii. 17, *fat, ἀστέιος*, LXX.; but "crassus," Vulg., and so Gesen. *Lez.*).

After this desperate achievement Ehud repaired to Seirah (improp. Seirath; vid. Gesen. *Lez.* sub v.), in the mountains of Ephraim (iii. 26, 27), or Mount Ephraim (Josh. xix. 50). To this wild central region, commanding, as it did, the plains E. and W., he summoned the Israelites by sound of horn (a national custom according to Joseph.; A. V. "a trumpet"). Descending from the hills they fell upon the Moabites, dismayed and demoralized by the death of their king (Joseph. not Judg.). The greater number were killed at once, but 10,000 men made for the Jordan with the view of crossing into their own country. The Israelites, however, had already seized the fords, and not one of the unhappy fugitives escaped. As a reward for his conduct Ehud was appointed Judge (Joseph. not Judg.).

*Note.*—The "quarries that were by Gilgal" (iii. 19): in the margin better, as in Deut. vii. 25, "graven images" (Patrick *ad loc.*: cf. Gesen. *Heb. Lez.* sub v. עֲצָבִים).

[T. E. B.]

**EGL'ON** (עֵגְלוֹן; in Josh. x. Ὀδολλάμ, Vat. and Alex.; Αἰλάμ, Ἐγλώμ; *Egilon*, *Aylon*), a town of Judah in the *Shefelah* or low country (Josh. xv. 39). During the struggles of the conquest, Egion was one of a confederacy of five towns, which under Jerusalem attempted resistance, by attacking Gibeon after the treaty of the latter with Israel. Egion was then Ammonite, and the name of its king Debir (Josh. x. 3-5). The story of the overthrow of this combination is too well-known to need notice here (x. 23-25, &c.). Egion was soon after visited by Joshua and destroyed (x. 34, 35, xii. 12). The name doubtless survives in the modern *Aylan*, "a shapeless mass of ruins," "potsherds," and "scattered heaps of unhewn stones," covering a "round hillock" (Porter, *Handb.*; Van de Velde, ii. 188; Rob. ii. 49), about 10 miles from *Beit Jibrin* (Eleutheropolis) and 14 from Gaza, on the south of the great maritime plain.

In the Onomasticon it is given as *Egion quere et Odollam*; and its situation stated as 10 miles east of Eleutheropolis. The identification with Adullam arose no doubt from the reading of the LXX. in Josh. x., as given above; and it is to the site of that place, and not of Egion, that the remarks of Eusebius and Jerome refer. This will be seen on comparing *Adollam*. No reason has been assigned for the reading of the LXX. [G.]

**E'GYPT** (מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם, gent. n. מִצְרַיִם; Αἰγύπτος; *Aegyptus*), a country occupying the north-eastern angle of Africa, and lying between N. lat. 31° 37' and 24° 1', and E. long.

27° 13' and 34° 12'. Its limits appear to have been always very nearly the same. In Ezekiel (xxix. 10, xxx. 6), according to the obviously-correct rendering [MIZRAI], the whole country is spoken of as extending from Migdol to Syene, which indicates the same limits to the east and the south as at present. Egypt seems, however, to have been always held, except by the modern geographers, to include no more than the tract irrigated by the Nile lying within the limits we have specified. The deserts were at all times wholly different from the valley, and their tribes, more or less independent of the rulers of Egypt.

*Names.*—The common name of Egypt in the Bible is "Mizraim," or more fully "the land of Mizraim." In form Mizraim is a dual, and accordingly it is generally joined with a plural verb. When, therefore, in Gen. x. 6, Mizraim is mentioned as a son of Ham, we must not conclude that anything more is meant than that Egypt was colonized by descendants of Ham. The dual number doubtless indicates the natural division of the country into an upper and a lower region, the plain of the Delta and the narrow valley above, as it has been commonly divided at all times. The singular Mazon also occurs, and some suppose that it indicates Lower Egypt, the dual only properly meaning the whole country (thus Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v. מצרים, מצור), but there is no sure ground for this assertion. The mention of Mizraim and Pathros together (Is. xi. 11; Jer. xlv. 1, 15), even if we adopt the explanation which supposes Mizraim to be in these places by a late usage put for Mazon, by no means proves that since Pathros is a part of Egypt, Mizraim, or rather Mazon, is here a part also. The mention together of a part of a country as well as the whole is very usual in Hebrew phraseology. Gesenius thinks that the Hebrews supposed the word מצור to mean a limit, although he admits it may have had a different Egyptian origin. Since we cannot trace it to Egyptian, except as a translation, we consider it a purely Semitic word, as indeed would be most likely. Gesenius finds the signification "limit" in the Arabic name of Egypt,

مصر; but this word also means "red mud," the colour intended being either red or reddish brown.

Egypt is also called in the Bible מצרים, "the land of Ham" (Ps. cv. 23, 27; comp. lxxviii. 51), a name most probably referring to Ham the son of Noah [HAM]; and רַבִּי, Rabi, "the proud" or "insolent" [RABAB]: both these appear to be poetical appellations. The common ancient Egyptian name of the country is written in hieroglyphics KEM, which was perhaps pronounced Chem; the demotic form is KEMEE<sup>a</sup> (Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, i. p. 73, No. 362); and the Coptic forms are ΧΗΕΗ, ΧΗΕΙ (M); ΚΗΕΕ, ΚΗΕΗ (S), and ΚΗΕΙ (B).<sup>b</sup> This name signifies, alike in the ancient language and in Coptic, "black," and may be supposed to have been given to the land on account of the blackness of its alluvial soil (comp. Plut. de Is. et Osir. c. 33. ἐτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς μέγιστα μελάνγειον οὖσαν, ὥστε τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, Χημὴν καλοῦσι). It would

seem, as thus descriptive of the physical character of the land, to be the Egyptian equivalent of Mazon, if the meaning we have assigned to that word be the true one. In this case it would appear strange that it should correspond in sound to Ham, and in sense to Mazon or Mizraim. It is probable, however (comp. Plut. l. c.), that it also corresponded in sense to Ham, implying warmth as well as darkness.

In Arabic we find the cognate word حَمَا, "black fetid mud" (Kámoos), or "black mud" (Siháh, MS.), which suggests the identity of Ham and Mazon. Therefore we may reasonably conjecture that Kem is the Egyptian equivalent of Ham, and also of Mazon, these two words being similar or even the same in sense. The name Ham may have been prophetically given to Noah's son as the progenitor of the inhabitants of Egypt and neighbouring hot or dark countries. The other hieroglyphic names of Egypt appear to be of a poetical character.

Under the Pharaohs Egypt was divided into Upper and Lower, "the two regions" TA-TEE? called respectively "the Southern Region" TA-RES, and "the Northern Region" TA-MEHET. There were different crowns for the two regions, that of Upper Egypt being white, and that of Lower Egypt red, the two together composing the pschent. The sovereign had a special title as ruler of each region: of Upper Egypt he was SUTEN, "king," and of Lower Egypt SHEBT, "bee," the two combined forming the common title SUTEN-SHEBT. The initial sign of the former name is a bent reed, which illustrates what seems to have been a proverbial expression in Palestine as to the danger of trusting to the Pharaohs and Egypt (1 K. xviii. 21; Is. xxxvi. 6; Lz. xxix. 6): the latter name may throw light upon the comparison of the king of Egypt to a fly, and the king of Assyria to a bee (Is. vii. 18). It must be remarked that Upper Egypt is always mentioned before Lower Egypt, and that the crown of the former in the pschent rises above that of the latter. In subsequent times this double division obtained. Manetho speaks of τὴν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν (ap. Jos. c. Apion. i. 14), and under the Ptolemies βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν (Rosetta Stone) occurs, as equivalent to the title mentioned above. In the time of the Greeks and Romans Upper Egypt was divided into the Heptanomis and the Thebais, making altogether three provinces, but the division of the whole country into two was even then the most usual.

*Superficies.*—Egypt has a superficies of about 9582 square geographical miles of soil, which the Nile either does or can water and fertilise. This computation includes the river and lakes as well as sandy tracts which can be inundated, and the whole space either cultivated or fit for cultivation is no more than about 5626 square miles. Anciently 2735 square miles more may have been cultivated, and now it would be possible at once to reclaim about 1295 square miles. These computations are those of Colonel Jacotin and M. Estève, given in the *Memoir of the former in the great French work (Description de l'Égypte, 2nd ed. xviii. pt. ii. pp. 101, et seqq.)*. They must be very nearly true of the actual state of the country at the present time. Mr. Lane calculated the extent of the cultivated land in A. H. 777,

<sup>a</sup> The system of transcribing ancient Egyptian is that given by the writer, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed. art. "Hieroglyphics."

<sup>b</sup> The letters M, S, and B denote here and elsewhere the Memphitic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric dialects.

A.D. 1375-8, to be 5500 square geographical miles, from a list of the cultivated lands of towns and villages appended to De Sacy's *Add Allatif*. He thinks this list may be underrated. M. Mengin made the cultivated land much less in 1821, but since then much waste territory has been reclaimed (Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, i. p. 85). The chief differences in the character of the surface in the times before the Christian era were that the long valley through which flowed the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea was then cultivated, and that the Gulf of Suez extended much further north than at present.

*Nomes*.—From a remote period Egypt was divided into Nomes, HESPU, sing. HESI, each one of which had its special objects of worship. The monuments show that this division was as old as the earlier part of the Twelfth Dynasty, which began B.C. cir. 2082. They are said to have been first 36 in number. Ptolemy enumerates 44, and Pliny 46; afterwards they were further increased. There is no distinct reference to them in the Bible. In the LXX. version indeed, מִסְכָּרָה (Is. xix. 2) is rendered by *πόμους*, but we have no warrant for translating it otherwise than "kingdom." It is probable that at that time there were two, if not three, kingdoms in the country. Two provinces or districts of Egypt are mentioned in the Bible, Pathros and Caphtor; the former appears to have been part of Upper Egypt, the latter was certainly so, and must be represented by the Coptite Nome, although no doubt of greater extent. [PATHROS; CAPHTOR.]

*General appearance, Climate, &c.*—The general appearance of the country cannot have greatly changed since the days of Moses. The Delta was always a vast level plain, although of old more perfectly watered than now by the branches of the Nile and numerous canals, while the narrow valley of Upper Egypt must have suffered still less alteration. Anciently, however, the rushes must have been abundant; whereas now they have almost disappeared, except in the lakes. The whole country is remarkable for its extreme fertility, which especially strikes the beholder when the rich green of the fields is contrasted with the utterly-bare yellow mountains or the sand-strewn rocky desert on either side. Thus the plain of Jordan before the cities were destroyed was, we read, "well watered every where" . . . "[even] like a garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" (Gen. xiii. 10). The climate is equable and healthy. Rain is not very unfrequent on the northern coast, but inland very rare. Cultivation nowhere depends upon it. This absence of rain is mentioned in Deut. (xi. 10, 11) as rendering artificial irrigation necessary, unlike the case of Palestine, and in Zech. (xiv. 18) as peculiar to the country. Egypt has been visited at all ages by severe pestilences, but it cannot be determined that any of those of ancient times were of the character of the modern Plague. The plague with which the Egyptians are threatened in Zech. (i. c.) is described by a word, מַגֵּפָה, which is not specially applicable to a pestilence of their country (see ver. 12). Cutaneous disorders, which have always been very prevalent in Egypt, are distinctly mentioned as peculiar to the country (Deut. vii. 15, xviii. 27, 35, 60, and perhaps Ex. xv. 20, though here the reference may be to the Plague of Boils), and as punishments to the Israelites in case of disobedience, whereas if they

obeyed they were to be preserved from them. The Egyptian calumny that made the Israelites a body of lepers and unclean (Jos. c. Apion.) is thus refuted, and the traditional tale as to the Exodus given by Manetho shown to be altogether wrong in its main facts which depend upon the truth of this assertion. Famines are frequent, and one in the middle ages, in the time of the Fâtîmeh Khaleefeh El-Mustansir-billah, seems to have been even more severe than that of Joseph. [FAMINE.]

*Geology*.—The fertile plain of the Delta and the valley of Upper Egypt are bounded by rocky deserts covered or strewn with sand. On either side of the plain they are low, but they overlook the valley, above which they rise so steeply as from the river to present the aspect of cliffs. The formation is limestone as far as a little above Thebes, where sandstone begins. The First Cataract, the southern limit of Egypt, is caused by granite and other primitive rocks, which rise through the sandstone and obstruct the river's bed. In Upper Egypt the mountains near the Nile rarely exceed 300 feet in their height, but far in the eastern desert they often attain a much greater elevation. The highest is *Gebel Ohârîb*, which rises about 6000 feet above the sea. Limestone, sandstone, and granite were obtained from quarries near the river; basalt, breccia, and porphyry from others in the eastern desert between the Thebais and the Red Sea. An important geological change has in the course of centuries raised the country near the head of the Gulf of Suez, and depressed that on the northern side of the isthmus. Since the Christian era the head of the Gulf has retired southwards, as prophesied by Isaiah—"The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea" (xi. 15); "the waters shall fail from the sea" (xix. 5). The Delta is of a triangular form, its eastern and western limits being nearly marked by the courses of the ancient Pelusiac and Canopic branches of the Nile: Upper Egypt is a narrow winding valley, varying in breadth, but seldom more than 12 miles across, and generally broadest on the western side. Anciently there was a fertile valley on the course of the Canal of the Red Sea, the Land of Goshen, now called *Wâdi-t Tuneylât*: this is covered with the sands of the desert. [GOSHEN.] To the south, on the opposite side, is the oasis now called the *Foïyoom*, the old Arsinoite Nome, connected with the valley by a neck of cultivated land.

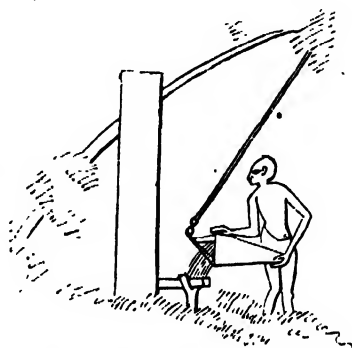
*The Nile*.—The Nile is called in the Bible *Shihor*, שִׁיחֹר, or "the black (river);" *Yecôr*, יַעֲרֹר, "the river," probably derived from the Egyptian ATUR, AUR; נַהַר מִצְרַיִם, "the river of Egypt;" and נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, either "the brook," if the first word be not a proper name, or else the "Nahal (Nile) of Egypt," to which, if the latter rendering be correct, נַחַל alone must be added. These names are discussed in another article. [NILE.] In Egyptian the Nile bore the sacred appellation HAFEE or HAFEE-MU, "the abyss," or "the abyss of waters." As Egypt was divided into two regions, we find two Niles, HAFEE-RES, "the Southern Nile," and HAFEE-MEHEET "the Northern Nile," the former name being given to the river in Upper Egypt and in Nubia. The common appellation is ATUR, or AUR, "the river," which may be compared to the Hebrew *Yecôr*. This word has been preserved in the Coptic appellation εἰρεπό,

ιαπο, ιαπω (M), ιεπο (S), which likewise also signifies "the river." The inundation, HAPPE-UR, "great Nile," or "high Nile," fertilizes and sustains the country, and makes the river its chief blessing; a very low inundation or failure of rising being the cause of famine. The Nile was on this account anciently worshipped, and the plague in which its waters were turned into blood, while injurious to the river itself and its fish (Ex. vii. 21; Ps. cv. 29), was a reproof to the superstition of the Egyptians. The rise begins in Egypt about the summer solstice, and the inundation commences about two months later. The greatest height is attained about or somewhat after the autumnal equinox. The inundation lasts about three months. During this time, and especially when near the highest, the river rapidly pours along its red turbid waters, and spreads through openings in its banks over the whole valley and plain. The prophet Amos, speaking of the ruin of Israel, metaphorically says that "the land . . . shall be drowned, as [by] the flood [river] of Egypt" (viii. 8, ix. 5). The rate at which the Nile deposits the alluvial soil of Egypt has been the subject of interesting researches, which have as yet led to no decisive result.

*Cultivation, Agriculture, &c.*—The ancient prosperity of Egypt is attested by the Bible as well as by the numerous monuments of the country. As early as the age of the Great Pyramid it must have been densely populated and well able to support its inhabitants, for it cannot be supposed that there was then much external traffic. In such a climate the wants of man are few, and nature is liberal in necessary food. Even the Israelites in their hard bondage did "eat freely" the fish and the vegetables and fruits of the country, and ever afterwards they longed to return to the idle plenty of a land where even now starvation is unknown. The contrast of the present state of Egypt to its former prosperity is more to be ascribed to political than to physical causes. It is true that the branches of the Nile have failed, the canals and the artificial lakes and ponds for fish are dried up; that the reeds and other water-plants which were of value in commerce, and a shelter for wild-fowl, have in most parts perished; that the land of Goshen, once, at least for pasture, "the best of the land" (Gen. xlvii. 6, 11), is now sand-strewn and unwatered so as scarcely to be distinguished from the desert around, and that the predictions of the prophets have thus received a literal fulfilment (see especially Is. xix. 5-10), yet this has not been by any irresistible aggression of nature, but because Egypt, smitten and accursed, has lost all strength and energy. The population is not large enough for the cultivation of the land now fit for culture, and long oppression has taken from it the power and the will to advance.

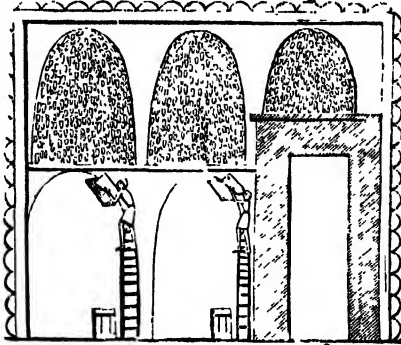
Egypt is naturally an agricultural country. As far back as the days of Abraham, we find that when the produce failed in Palestine, Egypt was the natural resource. In the time of Joseph it was evidently the granary—at least during famines—of the nations around. The inundation, as taking the place of rain, has always rendered the system of agriculture peculiar; and the artificial irrigation during the time of low Nile is necessarily on the same principle. We read of the Land of Promise that it is "not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed, and waterest [it] with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither thou goest in to possess it,

[is] a land of hills and valleys, [and] drinketh water of the rain of heaven" (Deut. xi. 10, 11). Watering with the foot may refer to some mode of irrigation by a machine, but we are inclined to think that it is an idiomatic expression implying a laborious work. The monuments do not afford a representation of the supposed machine. That now called the shádóof, which is a pole having a weight



Shádóof, or pole and bucket, for watering the garden. (Wilkinson)

at one end and a bucket at the other, so hung that the labourer is aided by the weight in raising the full bucket, is depicted, and seems to have been the common means of artificial irrigation. There are detailed pictures of breaking up the earth, or ploughing, sowing, harvest, threshing, and storing



Granary, showing how the grain was put in, and that the doors a b were intended for taking it out. (Wilkinson.)

the wheat in granaries. The threshing was simply treading out by oxen or cows, unmuazzled (comp. Deut. xxv. 4). The processes of agriculture began as soon as the water of the inundation had sunk into the soil, about a month after the autumnal equinox, and the harvest-time was about and soon after the vernal equinox (Ex. ix. 31, 32). Vines were extensively cultivated, and there were several different kinds of wine, one of which, the Marotic, was famous among the Romans. Of other fruit-trees, the date-palm was the most common and valuable. The gardens resembled the fields, being watered in the same manner by irrigation. On the tenure of land much light is thrown by the history

of Joseph. Before the famine each city and large village—for  $\text{רָאִי}$  must be held to have a wider signification than our "city"—had its field (Gen. xli. 48); but Joseph gained for Pharaoh all the land, except that of the priests, in exchange for food, and required for the right thus obtained a fifth of the produce, which became a law (xlvii. 20-26). The evidence of the monuments, though not very explicit, seems to show that this law was ever afterwards in force under the Pharaohs. The earliest records afford no information as to the tenure of land; but about Joseph's time we find frequent mention of villages with their lands, the two being described under one designation, as held by the great officers of the crown, apparently by the royal gift. There does not seem to have been any hereditary aristocracy, except perhaps at an earlier time, and it is not impossible that these lands may have been held during tenure of office or for life. The temples had lands which of course were inalienable. Diodorus Siculus states that all the lands belonged to the crown except those of the priests and the soldiers (i. 73). It is probable that the latter, when not employed on active service, received no pay, but were supported by the crown-lands, and occupied them for the time as their own. [JOSEPH.] The great lakes in the north of Egypt were anciently of high importance, especially for their fisheries and the growth of the papyrus. Lake Menzeleh, the most eastern of the existing lakes, has still large fisheries, which support the people who live on its islands and shore, the rude successors of the independent Egyptians of the Bucolia. Lake Moeris, anciently so celebrated, was an artificial lake between Bence-Suwey and Medeenet El-Feyoom. It was of use to irrigate the neighbouring country, and its fisheries yielded a great revenue. It is now entirely dried up. The canals are now far less numerous than of old, and many of them are choked and comparatively useless. The Bahr Yoosuf, or "river of Joseph"—not the patriarch, but the famous Sultán Yoosuf Salâh-eddeen, who repaired it—is a long series of canals, near the desert on the west side of the river, extending northward from Farshoot for about 350 miles to a little below Memphis. This was probably a work of very ancient times. There can be no doubt of the high antiquity of the Canal of the Red Sea, upon which the land of Goshen mainly depended for its fertility. It does not follow, however, that it originally connected the Nile and the Red Sea.

**Botany.**—The cultivable land of Egypt consists almost wholly of fields, in which are very few trees. There are no forests and few groves, except of date-palms, and in Lower Egypt a few of orange and lemon-trees. There are also sycomores, mulberry-trees, and acacias, either planted on the sides of roads or standing singly in the fields. The Theban palm grows in the Thebais, generally in clumps. These were all, except, perhaps, the mulberry-tree, of old common in the country. The two palms are represented on the monuments, and sycamore and acacia-wood are the materials of various objects made by the ancient inhabitants. The chief fruits are the date, grape, fig, sycamore-fig, pomegranate, banana, many kinds of melons, and the olive; and there are many others less common or important. These were

also of old produced in the country. Anciently gardens seem to have received great attention, to have been elaborately planned, and well filled with trees and shrubs. Now horticulture is neglected, although the modern inhabitants are as fond of flowers as were their predecessors. The vegetables are of many kinds and excellent, and form the chief food of the common people. Anciently cattle seem to have been more numerous, and their meat, therefore, more usually eaten, but never as much so as in colder climates. The Israelites in the desert, though they looked back to the time when they "sat by the flesh pots" (Ex. xvi. 3), seem as much to have regretted the vegetables and fruits, as the flesh and fish of Egypt. "Who shall give us flesh to eat." We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick" (Num. xi. 4, 5). The chief vegetables now are beans, peas, lentils, of which an excellent thick pottage is made (Gen. xxi. 34), leeks, onions, garlic, radishes, carrots, cabbages, gourds, cucumbers, the tomato, and the egg-fruit. There are many besides these. The most important field-produce in ancient times was wheat; after it must be placed barley, millet,



Vineyard. (Wilkinson.)

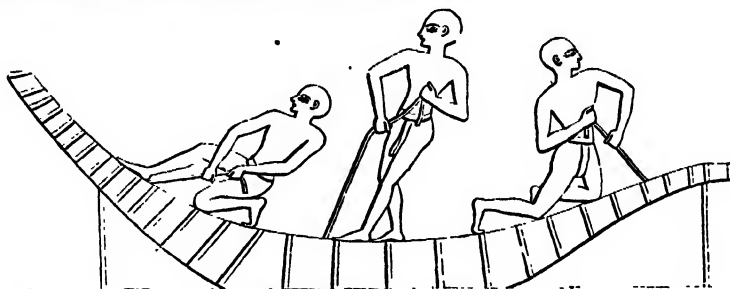
flax, and among the vegetables, lentils, peas, and beans. At the present day the same is the case; but maize, rice, oats, clover, the sugar-cane, roses, the tobacco-plant, hemp, and cotton, must be added; some of which are not indigenous. In the account of the plague of Hail four kinds of field-produce are mentioned—Bar, barley, wheat, and  $\text{חֲבֵצֵת}$  (Ex. ix:31, 32), which is variously rendered in the A. V. "rye" (l. c.), "spelt" (Is. xxvii. 25), and "fitches" (Is. xxviii. 27). It is doubted whether the last be a cereal or a leguminous product: we incline to the former opinion. (See RYE.) It is clear from the evidence of the monuments and of ancient writers that, of old, reeds were far more common in Egypt than now. The byblus or papyrus is almost or quite unknown. Anciently it was a common and most important plant: boats were made of its stalks, and of their thin leaves the famous paper was manufactured. It appears to be mentioned under two names in the Bible, neither of which, however, can be proved to be a peculiar designation for it.

\* It may be well to mention that the writer knows no satisfactory instance of wheat found in ancient

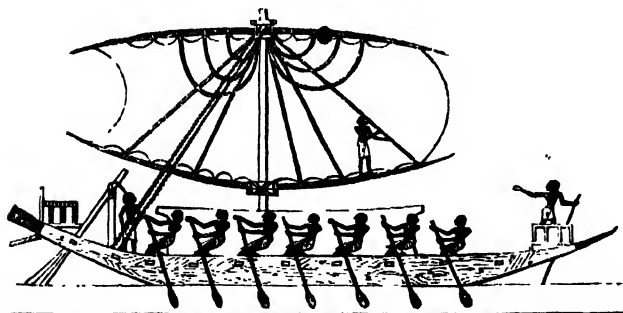
Egyptian tombs having germinated on being sown in our own time.

(1.) The mother of Moses made **נֹפֶת** **נֹפֶת**, "an ark" or "skiff" "of papyrus" in which to put her child (Ex. ii. 3), and Isaiah tells of messengers sent apparently from furthest Ethiopia in **בְּלִי-נֹפֶת**, "vessels of papyrus" (xviii. 2), in both which cases **נֹפֶת** must mean papyrus, although it would seem in other places to signify "reeds" generically.<sup>d</sup> (2.) Isaiah prophesies "the papyrus-reeds (**שָׁרִית**) in the river (**נַחַל**), on the edge of the river, and everything growing [lit. sown] in the river shall be dried up, driven away [by the wind], and [shall] not be" (xix. 7). Gesenius renders **שָׁרִית** a naked or bare place, here grassy places on the banks of the Nile. Apart from the fact that little grass grows on the banks of the Nile, in Egypt,

and that little only during the cooler part of the year, instead of those sloping meadows that must have been in the European scholar's mind, this word must mean some product of the river which with the other water-plants should be dried up, and blown away, and utterly disappear. Like the fisheries and the flax mentioned with it, it ought to hold an important place in the commerce of ancient Egypt. It can therefore scarcely be reasonably held to intend anything but the papyrus. The marine and fluvial product **סִנִּי**, from which the Red Sea was called **סִין-סִנִּי**, will be noticed in art. RED SEA. The lotus was anciently the favourite flower, and at feasts it took the place of the rose among the Greeks and Arabs: it is now very rare.



Making a papyrus boat. (Wilkinson.)



Boat of the Nile, showing how the sail was fastened to the yards, and the nature of the rigging. (Wilkinson.)

**Zoology.**—Of old Egypt was far more a pastoral country than at present. The neat cattle are still excellent, but lean kine are more common among them than they seem to have been in the days of Joseph's Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 19). Sheep and goats have always been numerous. Anciently swine were kept, but not in great numbers; now there are none, or scarcely any, except a few in the houses of Copts and Franks. Under the Pharaohs the horses of the country were in repute among the neighbouring nations, who purchased them as well as chariots out of Egypt. Thus it is commanded respecting a king of Israel: "he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people

to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way" (Deut. xvii. 16),—which shows that the trade in horses was with Egypt, and would necessitate a close alliance. "Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred [shekels] of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty; and so for all the kings of the Hittites and for the kings of Syria did they bring [them] out by their hand" (1 K. x. 28, 29). The num-

<sup>d</sup> In Job viii. 11, Ps. xxxv. 7, the word is probably used generically.

<sup>e</sup> In a tomb near the Pyramids of El-Geezeh, of the time of Shaf-ra, second king of the viii dynasty, the flocks and herds of the chief occupant are represented and their numbers thus given: 835 oxen, 220 cows with their calves, 2234 goats, 760 asses with their

young, and 974 sheep. Job had at the first 7000 sheep, 3000 camels, 500 yoke of oxen, 500 she-asses (1. 3), and afterwards double in each case (xlii. 12). The numbers are round, but must be taken as an estimate of a large property of this kind in the patriarchal times.

ber of horses kept by this king for chariots and cavalry was large (iv. 26, x. 26; 2 Chr. i. 14, ix. 25).<sup>1</sup> Some of these horses came as yearly tribute from his vassals (1 K. x. 25). In later times the prophets reproved the people for trusting in the help of Egypt, and relying on the aid of her horses and chariots and horsemen, that is, probably, men in chariots, as we shall show in speaking of the Egyptian armies. The kings of the Hittites, mentioned in the passage quoted above, and in the account of the close of the siege of Samaria by Benhadad, where we read—"the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, [even] the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians to come upon us" (2 K. vii. 6)—these kings ruled the Hittites of the valley of the Orontes, who were called by the Egyptians SHIETA or KIETA. The Pharaohs of the xviii, xix, and xxth dynasties waged fierce wars with these Hittites, who were then ruled by a great king and many chiefs, and whose principal arm was a force of chariots, resembling those of the Egyptian army.—Asses were anciently numerous: the breed at the present time is excellent. Dogs were formerly more prized than now, for being held by most of the Muslims to be extremely unclean, they are only used to watch the houses in the villages. The camel has nowhere been found mentioned in the inscriptions of Egypt, or represented on the monuments. In the Bible Abraham is spoken of as having camels when in Egypt, apparently as a gift from Pharaoh (Gen. xii. 16), and before the Exodus the camels of Pharaoh or his subjects were to be smitten by the murrain (Ex. ix. 3, comp. 6). Both these Pharaohs were probably Shepherds. The Ishmaelites or Midianites who took Joseph into Egypt, carried their merchandise on camels (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28, 36), and the land-traffic of the Arabs must always have been by caravans of camels; but it is probable that camels were not kept in Egypt, but only on the frontier. On the black obelisk from Nimroud, now in the British Museum, which is of Shalmanubar, king of Assyria, contemporary with Jehu and Hazael, camels are represented among objects sent as tribute by Egypt. They are of the two-humped sort, which, though perhaps then common in Assyria, has never, as far as is known, been kept in Egypt. The deserts have always abounded in wild animals, especially of the canine and antelope kinds. Anciently the hippopotamus was found in the Egyptian Nile, and hunted. This is a fact of importance for those who suppose it to be the behemoth of the book of Job, especially as that book shows evidence of a knowledge of Egypt. Now, this animal is rarely seen even in Lower Nubia. The elephant may have been, in the remotest historical period, an inhabitant of Egypt, and, as a land animal, have been driven further south than his brother

pachyderm, for the name of the Island of Elephantine, just below the First Cataract, in hieroglyphics, AB. . . "Elephant-land," seems to show that he was anciently found there. Bats abound in the temples and tombs, filling the dark and deserted chambers and passages with the unearthly whirr of their wings. Such desolation is represented by Isaiah when he says that a man shall cast his idols "to the moles and to the bats" (ii. 20).

The birds of Egypt are not remarkable for beauty of plumage: in so open a country this is natural. The *Rapaces* are numerous, but the most common are scavengers, as vultures and the kite. The *Grallatores* and *Anseres* abound on the islands and sandbanks of the river and in the sides of the mountains which approach or touch the stream.

Among the reptiles, the crocodile must be especially mentioned. In the Bible it is usually called תנין, תַּנִּינִים, "dragon," a generic word of almost as wide a signification as "reptile," and is used as a symbol of the king of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Thus in Ezekiel, "Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river [is] mine own, and I have made [it] for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales, and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, and all the fish of thy rivers shall stick unto thy scales. And I will leave thee [thrown] into the wilderness, thee and all the fish of thy rivers. . . . I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the field and to the fowls of the heaven" (xxix. 3, 4, 5). Here there seems to be a retrospect of the Exodus, which is thus described in Is. li. 9, 10, and 15? and with a more close resemblance in Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14, "Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the heads of the dragons (תַּנִּינִים) in the waters. Thou brakest the heads of leviathan (לִיְיָתָן) in pieces, [and] gavest him [to be] meat to the dwellers in the wilderness" (פֶּסַח, t. c. to the wild beasts, comp. Is. xiii. 21). The last passage is important as indicating that whereas תַּנִּינִים is the Hebrew generic name of reptiles, and therefore used for the greatest of them, the crocodile, לִיְיָתָן is the special name of that animal. The description of leviathan in Job (xli.) fully bears out this opinion, and it is doubtful if any passage can be adduced in which a wider signification of the latter word is required.<sup>3</sup> In Job (xxvi. 12) also there is an apparent allusion to the Exodus in words similar to those in Isaiah (li. 9, 10, and 15?), but without a mention of the dragon. In this case the division of the sea and the smiting of רֶמֶס, the proud or insolent, are mentioned in connexion with the wonders of creation (vs. 7-11, 13): so too in Is. (vs. 13, 15). The crossing of the Red Sea

<sup>1</sup> The number of Solomon's chariots is given as 1400, and his horsemen 12,000. The stalls of horses are stated as 40,000 (1 K. iv. 26), or 4000 (2 Chr. ix. 25): the former would seem to be the correct number.

<sup>2</sup> It is supposed by commentators to mean the country also; but this cannot, we think, be proved.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius (*Theas.* s. v.) would take לִיְיָתָן for a serpent in Job iii. 8, Is. xxvii. 1, and in the latter case supposes the king of Babylon to be meant. In the first passage the meaning "crocodile" is, how-

ever, especially applicable. The patriarch speaks of desperate men as those "who are ready to stir up leviathan:" comp. xli. 2; A. V. 10, "None [is so] fierce as to stir him up. Who then can stand before me?" The argument is, that if the creature be so terrible, who shall resist the Creator? The second passage seems to refer not to the king of Babylon, but to the enemies of God's people at a remote time (Is. xxiv. xxv., xxvi., esp. ver. 19, and xxvii. esp. vs. 12, 13: comp. the similar use of Egypt, &c., in Rev. xi. 8).

could be thus spoken of as a signal exercise of the Divine power.—Frogs are very numerous in Egypt, and their loud and constant croaking in the autumn in “the streams,” נַהֲרֹת, “the rivers,” יַאֲרִים, and “the ponds” or “marshes,” מַנְתָּיִם (Ex.

viii. 1, A. V. 5) makes it not difficult to picture the plague of Frogs. Serpents and snakes are also common, but the more venomous have their home, like the scorpion, in the desert (comp. Deut. viii. 15).—The Nile and lakes have an abundance of fishes; and although the fisheries of Egypt have very greatly fallen away their produce is still a common article of food.—Among the insects the locusts must be mentioned, which sometimes come upon the cultivated land in a cloud, and, as in the plague, eat every herb and fruit and leaf where they alight; but they never, as then, overspread the whole land (Ex. x. 3-6, 12-19). They disappear as suddenly as they come, and are carried away by the wind (vs. 19). As to the lice and flies, they are now plagues of Egypt; but it is not certain that the words בָּנָם וְעָרֹב designate them (Ex. viii. 16-31).

*Ancient Inhabitants.*—The old inhabitants of Egypt appear from their monuments and the testimony of ancient writers to have occupied in race a place between the Nigritians and the Caucasians. The constant immigrations of Arab settlers have greatly diminished the Nigritian characteristics in the generality of the modern Egyptians. The ancient dress was far more scanty than the modern, and in this matter, as in manners and character, the influence of the Arab race is also very apparent. The ancient Egyptians in character were very religious and contemplative, but given to base superstition, patriotic, respectful to women, hospitable, generally fugil, but at times luxurious, very sensual, lying, thievish, treacherous, and cringing, and intensely prejudiced, through pride of race, against strangers, although kind to them. This is very much the character of the modern inhabitants, except that Mohammedanism has taken away the respect for women. The ancient Egyptians are indeed the only early eastern nation that we know to have resembled the modern westerns in this particular; but we find the same virtues markedly to characterize the Nigritians of our day. That the Egyptians, in general, treated the Israelites with kindness while they were in their country, even during the oppression, seems almost certain from the privilege of admission into the congregation in the third generation, granted to them in the Law, with the Edomites, while the Ammonites and Moabites were absolutely excluded, the reference in three out of the four cases being to the stay in Egypt and the entrance into Palestine (Deut. xviii. 3-8). This supposition is important in its bearing on the history of the oppression.

*Language.*—The ancient Egyptian language, from the earliest period at which it is known to us, is an agglutinate monosyllabic form of speech. It is expressed by the signs which we call hieroglyphics. The character of the language is compound: it consists of elements resembling those of the Nigritian languages and the Chinese language, on the one hand, and those of the Semitic languages on the other. All those who

have studied the African languages make a distinct family of several of those languages, spoken in the north-east quarter of the continent, in which family they include the ancient Egyptian; while every Semitic scholar easily recognises in Egyptian Semitic pronouns and other elements, and a predominantly Semitic grammar. As in person, character, and religion, so in language we find two distinct elements, mixed but not fused, and here the Nigritian element seems unquestionably the earlier. Bunsen asserts that this language is “ante-historical Semitism:” we think it enough to say that no Semitic scholar has accepted his theory. For a full discussion of the question see *The Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, ch. vi. As early as the age of the xxvith dynasty a vulgar dialect was expressed in the demotic or enchorial writing. This dialect forms the link connecting the old language with the Coptic or Christian Egyptian, the latest phasis. The Coptic does not very greatly differ from the monumental language, distinguished in the time of the demotic as the sacred dialect, except in the presence of many Greek words.

*Religion.*—The basis of the religion was Nigritian fetishism, the lowest kind of nature-worship, differing in different parts of the country, and hence obviously indigenous. Upon this were engrafted, first, cosmic worship, mixed up with traces of primeval revelation, as in Babylonia; and then, a system of personifications of moral and intellectual abstractions. The incongruous character of the religion necessitates this supposition, and the ease with which it admitted extraneous additions in the historical period confirms it. There were three orders of gods—the eight great gods, the twelve lesser, and the Osirian group. They were represented in human forms, sometimes having the heads of animals sacred to them, or bearing on their heads cosmic or other objects of worship. The fetishism included, besides the worship of animals, that of trees, rivers, and hills. Each of these creatures or objects was appropriated to a divinity. There was no prominent hero-worship, although deceased kings and other individuals often received divine honours—in one case, that of Sesertesen III., of the xiiith dynasty, the old Sesostris, of a very special character. Sacrifices of animals, and offerings of all kinds of food, and libations of wine, oil, and the like, were made. The great doctrines of the immortality of the soul, man’s responsibility, and future rewards and punishments, were taught. Among the rites, circumcision is the most remarkable: it is as old as the time of the ivth dynasty.

The Israelites in Egypt appear during the oppression, for the most part, to have adopted the Egyptian religion (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ex. xx. 7, 8). The golden calf, or rather steer, עֲגֹלָה, was probably taken from the bull Apis, certainly from one of the sacred bulls. Remphan and Chnum were foreign divinities adopted into the Egyptian Pantheon, and called in the hieroglyphics RENPU (probably pronounced REMPU) and KEN. It can hardly be doubted that they were worshipped by the Shepherds; but there is no satisfactory evidence that there was any separate foreign system of idolatry. [REMPHAN.] Ashtoreth was worshipped at Memphis, as is shown by a tablet of Amenoph II., B.C. cir. 1400, at the quarries of Turā.

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius (*Theo. s. v.*) understands this word here and in Ex. vii. 19 to mean the stagnant pools left by the Nile after the inundation. At the season to which the narrative refers these would have been dried up,

although there would be many marshy places, especially near the north coast and towards the ancient head of the Red Sea.

opposite that city (Vyse's *Pyramids*, iii. "Tourah tablet 2"), in which she is represented as an Egyptian goddess. The temple of "the Foreign Venus" in "the Tyrian camp" in Memphis (Herod. ii. 112) must have been sacred to her. Doubtless this worship was introduced by the Phœnician Shepherds.

As there are prominent traces of primeval revelation in the ancient Egyptian religion, we cannot be surprised at finding certain resemblances to the Mosaic Law, apart from the probability that whatever was unobjectionable in common belief and usages would be retained. The points in which the Egyptian religion shows strong traces of truth are, however, doctrines of the very kind that the Law does not expressly teach. The Egyptian religion, in its reference to man, was a system of responsibility, mainly depending on future rewards and punishments. The Law, in its reference to man, was a system of responsibility mainly depending on temporal rewards and punishments. All we learn, but this is of the utmost importance, is that every Israelite who came out of Egypt must have been fully acquainted with the universally-recognised doctrines of the immortality of the soul, man's responsibility, and future rewards and punishments, truths which the Law does not, and of course could not, contradict. The idea that the Law was an Egyptian invention is one of the worst examples of modern reckless criticism.

*Laws.*—We have no complete account of the laws of the ancient Egyptians either in their own records or in works of ancient writers. The passages in the Bible which throw light upon the laws in force during the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt most probably do not relate to purely native law, nor to law administered to natives, for during that whole period they appear to have been under Shepherd rulers, and in any case it cannot be doubted that they would not be subject to absolutely the same system as the Egyptians. The paintings and sculptures of the monuments indicate a very high degree of personal safety, showing us that the people of all ranks commonly went unarmed, and without military protection. We must therefore infer that the laws relating to the maintenance of order were sufficient and strictly enforced. The punishments seem to have been lighter than those of the Mosaic Law, and very different in their relation to crime and in their nature. Capital punishment appears to have been almost restricted, in practice, to murder. Crimes of violence were more severely treated than offences against religion and morals. Popular feeling seems to have taken the duties of the judge upon itself in the case of impiety alone. That in early times the Egyptian populace acted with reverence to any offence against its religion as it did under the Greeks and Romans, is evident from the answer of Moses when Pharaoh proposed that the Hebrews should sacrifice in the land. "It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?" (Ex. viii. 26).

*Government.*—The government was monarchical, but not of an absolute character. The sovereign was not superior to the laws, and the priests had the power to check the undue exercise of his authority. The kings under whom the Israelites lived seem to have been absolute, but even Joseph's Pharaoh did not venture to touch the independence of the priests. Nomes and districts

were governed by officers whom the Greeks called nomarchs and toparchs. There seems to have been no hereditary aristocracy, except perhaps at the earliest period, for indications of something of the kind occur in the inscriptions of the ivth and xiith dynasties.

*Foreign Policy.*—The foreign policy of the Egyptians must be regarded in its relation to the admission of foreigners into Egypt and to the treatment of tributary and allied nations. In the former aspect it was characterized by an exclusiveness which sprang from a national hatred of the yellow and white races, and was maintained by the wisdom of preserving the institutions of the country from the influence of the pirates of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, and the robbers of the deserts. Hence the jealous exclusion of the Greeks from the northern ports until Naucratis was opened to them, and hence too the restriction of Shemite settlers in earlier times to the land of Goshen, scarcely regarded as part of Egypt. It may be remarked as a proof of the strictness of this policy that during the whole of the sojourn of the Israelites they appear to have been kept to Goshen. The key to the policy towards foreign nations, after making allowance for the hatred of the yellow and white races balanced by the regard for the red and black, is found in the position of the great oriental rivals of Egypt. The supremacy or influence of the Pharaohs over the nations lying between the Nile and the Euphrates depended as much on wisdom in policy as prowess in arms. The kings of the ivth, vith, and xvth dynasties appear to have uninterruptedly held the peninsula of Sinai, where tablets record their conquest of Asiatic nomads. But with the xviiiith dynasty commences the period of Egyptian supremacy. Very soon after the accession of this powerful line most of the countries between the Egyptian border and the Tigris were reduced to the condition of tributaries. The empire seems to have lasted for nearly three centuries, from about B.C. 1500 to about 1200. The chief opponents of the Egyptians were the Hittites of the valley of the Orontes with whom the Pharaohs waged long and fierce wars. After this time the influence of Egypt declined; and until the reign of Shishak (B.C. dir. 990-967), it appears to have been confined to the western borders of Palestine. No doubt the rising greatness of Assyria caused the decline. Thenceforward to the days of Pharaoh Necho there was a constant struggle for the tracts lying between Egypt, and Assyria and Babylonia, until the disastrous battle at Carchemish finally destroyed the supremacy of the Pharaohs. It is probable that during the period of the empire an Assyrian or Babylonian king generally supported the opponents of the rulers of Egypt. Great aid from a powerful ally can indeed alone explain the strong resistance offered by the Hittites. The general policy of the Egyptians towards their eastern tributaries seems to have been marked by great moderation. The Pharaohs intermarried with them, and neither forced upon them Egyptian garrisons, except in some important positions, nor attempted those depotations that are so marked a feature of Asiatic policy. In the case of those nations which never attacked them they do not appear to have even exacted tribute. So long as their general supremacy was uncontested they would not be unwise enough to make favourable or neutral powers their enemies. Of their relation to the Israelites we have for the earlier part of this period no direct information. The explicit account of the

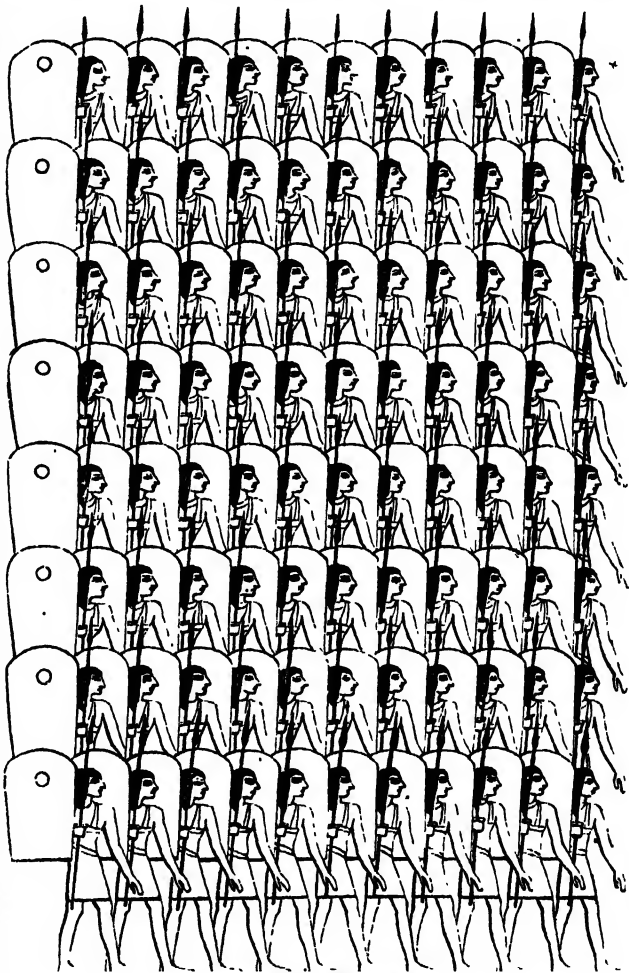
later part is fully consistent with what we have said of the general policy of the Pharaohs. Shishak and Zerah, if the latter were, as we believe, a king of Egypt or a commander of Egyptian forces, are the only exceptions in a series of friendly kings, and they were almost certainly of Assyrian or Babylonian extraction. One Pharaoh gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, another appears to have been the ally of Jehoram, king of Israel (2 K. vii. 6). So made a treaty with Hoshea, Tirhakah aided Hozekiah, Pharaoh Necho fought Josiah against

his will, and did not treat Judah with the severity of the Oriental kings, and his second successor, Pharaoh Hophra, maintained the alliance, notwithstanding this break, as firmly as before, and although foiled in his endeavour to save Jerusalem from the Chaldeans, received the fugitives of Judah, who, like the fugitives of Israel at the capture of Samaria, took refuge in Egypt. It is probable that during the earlier period the same friendly relations existed. The Hebrew records of that time afford no distinct indication of hostility with Egypt, nor have the Egyptian lists of conquered regions and towns of the same age been found to contain any Israelite name, whereas in Shishak's list the kingdom of Judah and some of its towns occur. The route of the earlier Pharaohs to the east seems always to have been along the Palestinian coast, then mainly held by the Philistines and Phoenicians, both of whom they subdued, and across Syria northward of the territories occupied by the Hebrews.—With respect to the African nations a different policy appears to have been pursued. The Rebu (Lebu) or Lubim, to the west of Egypt, on the north coast, were reduced to

subjection, and probably employed, like the Shaietana or Cherethim, as mercenaries. Ethiopia was made a purely Egyptian province, ruled by a viceroy, "the Prince of Kesh (Cush)," and the assimilation was so complete that Ethiopian sovereigns seem to have been received by the Egyptians as native rulers. Further south, the Negroes were subject to predatory attacks like the slave-hunts of modern times, conducted not so much from

motives of hostility as to obtain a supply of slaves. In the Bible we find African peoples, Lubim, Phut, Sukkiim, Cush, as mercenaries or supporters of Egypt, but not a single name that can be positively placed to the eastward of that country.

*Army.*—There are some notices of the Egyptian army in the O. T. They show, like the monuments, that its most important branch was the chariot-force. The Pharaoh of the Exodus led 600 chosen chariots besides his whole chariot-force in pursuit of the Israelites. The warriors fighting in chariots

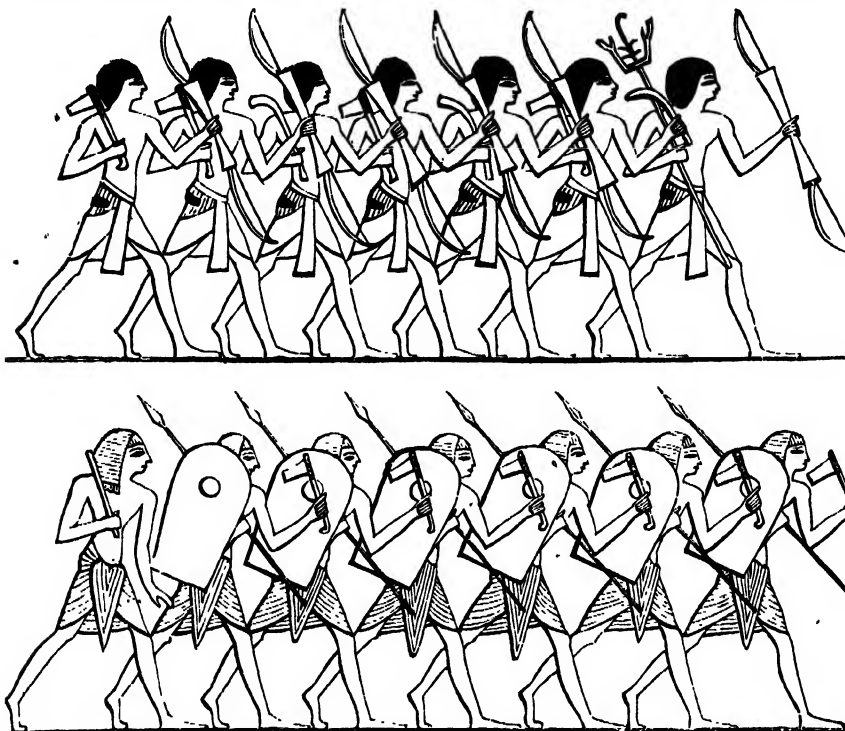


Phalanx of heavy infantry. (Wilkinson.)

are probably the "horsemen" mentioned in the relation of this event and elsewhere, for in Egyptian they are called the "horse" or "cavalry." We have no subsequent indication in the Bible of the constitution of an Egyptian army until the time of the xxiid dynasty, when we find that Shishak's invading force was partly composed of foreigners; whether mercenaries or allies, cannot as yet be positively determined, although the monu-

ments make it most probable that they were of the former character. The army of Necho, defeated at Carchemish, seems to have been similarly

composed, although it probably contained Greek mercenaries, who soon afterwards became the most important foreign element in the Egyptian forces.



Disciplined troops of the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty. (Wilkinson.)

*Domestic Life.*—The sculptures and paintings of the tombs give us a very full insight into the domestic life of the ancient Egyptians, as may be seen in Sir G. Wilkinson's great work. What most strikes us in their manners is the high position occupied by women, and the entire absence of the harem-system of seclusion. The wife is called "the lady of the house." Marriage appears to have been universal, at least with the richer class; and if polygamy were tolerated it was rarely practised. Of marriage-ceremonies no distinct account has been discovered, but there is evidence that something of the kind was usual in the case of a queen (De Rouge, *Essai sur une Stèle Egyptienne*, pp. 53, 54). Concubinage was allowed, the concubines taking the place of inferior wives. There were no castes, although great classes were very distinct, especially the priests, soldiers, artisans, and herdsmen, with labourers. A man of the upper class might, however, both hold a command in the army and be a priest; and therefore the caste-system cannot have strictly applied in the case of the subordinates. The general manner of life does not much illustrate that of the Israelites from its great essential difference. The Egyptians from the days of Abraham were a settled people, occupying a land which they had held for centuries without question, except through the aggression of foreign invaders. The occupations of the higher class were the superintendence of their fields and gardens,

their diversions, the pursuit of game in the deserts, or on the river, and fishing. The tending of cattle was left to the most despised of the lower class. The Israelites on the contrary were from the very first a pastoral people: in time of war they lived within walls; when there was peace they "dwelt in their tents" (2 K. xiii. 5). The Egyptian feasts, and the dances, music, and feats which accompanied them, for the diversion of the guests, as well as the common games, were probably introduced among the Hebrews in the most luxurious days of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The account of the nontide dinner of Joseph (Gen. xlii. 16, 31-34) agrees with the representations of the monuments, although it evidently describes a far simpler repast than would be usual with an Egyptian minister. The attention to precedence, which seems to have surprised Joseph's brethren (ver. 33), is perfectly characteristic of Egyptian customs. The funeral ceremonies were far more important than any events of the Egyptian life, as the tomb was regarded as the only true home. The body of the deceased was embalmed in the form of Osiris, the judge of the dead, and conducted to the burial-place with great pomp and much display of lamentation. The mourning lasted seventy-two days or less. Both Jacob and Joseph were embalmed, and the mourning for the former continued seventy days.

*Literature and Art.*—The Egyptians were a

very literary people, and time has preserved to us, besides the inscriptions of their tombs and temples, many papyri, of a religious or historical character, and one tale. They bear no resemblance to the books of the O. T., except such as arises from their sometimes enforcing moral truths in a manner not wholly different from that of the Book of Proverbs. The moral and religious system is, however, essentially different in its principles and their application. Some have imagined a great similarity between the O. T. and Egyptian literature, and have given a show of reason to their idea by dressing up Egyptian documents in a garb of Hebrew phraseology, in which, however, they have gone so awkwardly that no one who had not prejudged the question could for a moment be deceived. In science, Egyptian influence may be distinctly traced in the Pentateuch. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22), and probably derived from them the astronomical knowledge which was necessary for the calendar. [CHRONOLOGY.] His acquaintance with chemistry is shown in the manner of the destruction of the golden calf. The Egyptians excelled in geometry and mechanics: the earlier books of the Bible, however, throw no light upon the degree in which Moses may have made use of this part of his knowledge. In medicine and surgery, the high proficiency of the Egyptians was probably of but little use to the Hebrews after the Exodus: anatomy, practised by the former from the earliest ages, was repugnant to the feelings of Shemites, and the simples of Egypt and of Palestine would be as different as the ordinary diseases of the country. In the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, the former of which was the chief, there seems to have been but a very slight and material influence. This was natural, for with the Egyptians architecture was a religious art, embodying in its principles their highest religious convictions, and mainly devoted to the service of religion. Durable construction, massive and grand form, and rich, though sober, colour, characterize their temples and tombs, the abodes of gods, and "homes" of men. To adopt such an architecture would have been to adopt the religion of Egypt, and the pastoral Israelites had no need of buildings. When they came into the Promised Land they found cities ready for their occupation, and it was not until the days of Solomon that a temple took the place of the tent, which was the sanctuary of the pastoral people. Details of ornament were of course borrowed from Egypt; but separated from the vast system in which they were found, they lost their significance, and became harmless, until modern sociologists made them prominent in support of a theory which no mind capable of broad views can for a moment tolerate.

*Magicians.*—We find frequent reference in the Bible to the magicians of Egypt. The Pharaoh of Joseph laid his dream before the magicians, who could not interpret it (Gen. xli. 8); the Pharaoh of the Exodus used them as opponents of Moses and Aaron, when, after what appears to have been a seeming success, they failed as before (Ex. vii. 11, 12, 22; viii. 18, 19; ix. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9). The monuments do not recognise any such art, and we must conclude that magic was secretly practised, not because it was thought to be unlawful, but in order to give it importance. [See MAGIC, JAMHRES, JANNER.]

*Industrial Arts.*—The industrial arts held an

important place in the occupations of the Egyptians. The workers in fine flax and the weavers of white linen are mentioned in a manner that shows they were among the chief contributors to the riches of the country (Is. xix. 9). The fine linen of Egypt found its way to Palestine (Prov. vii. 16). Pottery was a great branch of the native manufactures, and appears to have furnished employment to the Hebrews during the bondage (Ps. lxxxi. 6, lxxviii. 13; comp. Ex. i. 14).

*Festivals.*—The religious festivals were numerous, and some of them were, in the days of Herodotus, kept with great merry-making and license. His description of that of the goddess Bubastis, kept at the city of Bubastis in the eastern part of the Delta, would well apply to some of the great Mohammedan festivals now held in the country (ii. 59, 60). The feast which the Israelites celebrated when Aaron had made the golden calf seems to have been very much of the same character: first offerings were presented, and then the people ate and danced and sang (Ex. xxxii. 5, 6, 17, 18, 19), and even it seems stripped themselves (ver. 25), as appears to have been not unusual at the popular ancient Egyptian festivals.

*Manners of Modern Inhabitants.*—The manners of the modern inhabitants are, we are disposed to believe after much consideration, more similar to those of the ancient Hebrews, on account of Arab influence, than the manners of their predecessors. How remarkably they illustrate the Bible is seen in the numerous references given in the *Modern Egyptians* (see its index), and in the great general value of that work in Biblical criticism.

*CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.*—In treating of the chronology and history of ancient Egypt it is our endeavour to avoid as much as possible the statement of doubtful matters, and to give the greater prominence to those points on which the generality of sound Egyptologists are virtually agreed. The subject may be divided into three main branches, technical chronology, historical chronology, and history:—

1. *Technical Chronology.*—It is impossible here to treat in much detail the difficult subject of Egyptian technical chronology. That the Egyptians used various periods of time, and made astronomical observations from a remote age, is equally attested by ancient writers, and by their monuments. It is, however, very difficult to connect periods mentioned by the former with the indications of the same kind offered by the latter; and what we may term the recorded observations of the monuments cannot be used for the determination of chronology without a previous knowledge of Egyptian astronomy that we have not wholly attained. The testimony of ancient writers must, moreover, be carefully sifted, and we must not take their statements as a positive basis without the strongest evidence of correctness. Without that testimony, however, we could not at present prosecute the inquiry. The Egyptians do not appear to have had any common era. Every document that bears the date of a year, gives the year of the reigning sovereign, counted from that current year in which he came to the throne, which was called his first year. There is therefore no general means of testing deductions from the chronological indications of the monuments.

There appear to have been at least three years in use with the Egyptians before the Roman domination, the Vague Year, the Tropical Year, and the Sothic year; but it is not probable that more than two of these were employed at the same time.

The Vague Year contained 365 days without any additional fraction, and therefore passed through all the seasons in about 1500 years. It was both used for civil and for religious purposes. Probably the Israelites adopted this year during the sojourn in Egypt, and that instituted at the Exodus appears to have been the current Vague Year fixed by the adoption of a method of intercalation. [CHRONOLOG.] The Vague Year was divided into twelve months, each of thirty days, with five epagomenae, or additional days, after the twelfth. The months were assigned to three seasons, each comprising four months, called respectively the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of those seasons. The names by which the Egyptian months are commonly known, Thoth, Paophi, &c., are taken from the divinities to which they were sacred. The seasons are called, according to our rendering, those of Vegetation, Manifestation, and the Waters or the Inundation: the exact meaning of their names has however been much disputed. They evidently refer to the phenomena of a Tropical Year, and such a year we must therefore conclude the Egyptians to have had, at least in a remote period of their history. If, as we believe, the third season represents the period of the inundation, its beginning must be dated about one month before the autumnal equinox, which would place the beginning of the year at the Winter Solstice, an especially fit time in Egypt for the commencement of a tropical year. The Sothic Year was a supposed sidereal year of 365½ days, commencing with the so-called heliacal rising of Sothis. The Vague Year, having no intercalation, constantly retrograded through the Sothic Year, until a period of 1461 years of the former kind, and 1460 of the latter had elapsed, from one coincidence of commencements to another.

The Egyptians are known to have used two great cycles, the Sothic Cycle and the Tropical Cycle. The former was a cycle of the coincidence of the Sothic and Vague Years, and therefore consisted of 1460 years of the former kind. This cycle is mentioned by ancient writers, and two of its commencements recorded, the one, called the Era of Menophres, July 20, B.C. 1322, and the other, on the same day, A.D. 139. Menophres is supposed to be the name of an Egyptian king, and this is most probable. The nearest name is Men-ptah, or Men-phthah, which is part of that of Sethe Menptah, the father of Rameses II., and also that of the son of the latter, all these being kings of the sixteenth dynasty. We are of opinion that chronological indications are conclusive in favour of the earlier of the two sovereigns. The Tropical Cycle was a cycle of the coincidence of the Tropical and Vague Years. We do not know the exact length of the former year with the Egyptians, nor indeed that it was used in the monumental age; but from the mention of a period of 500 years, the third of the cycle, and the time during which the Vague Year would retrograde through one season, we cannot doubt that there was such a cycle, not to speak of its analogy with the Sothic Cycle. It has been supposed by M. Biot to have had a duration of 1505 years; but the length of 1500 Vague Years is preferable, since it contains a number of complete lunations, besides that the Egyptians could scarcely have been more exact, and that the period of 500 years is a subdivision of 1500. Ancient writers do not fix any commencements of this cycle. If the characteristics of the Tropical Year are what we suppose, the cycle would have begun B.C. 2005 and 507: two hieroglyphic inscriptions record, as we believe, the former of these epochs

*Horae Aegyptiacae*, p. 12 seqq., pl. i. Nos. 5, 6).<sup>\*</sup> The return of the Phoenix has undoubtedly a chronological meaning. It has been supposed to refer to the period last mentioned, but we are of opinion that the Phoenix Cycle was of exactly the same character, and therefore length, as the Sothic, its commencement being marked by the so-called heliacal rising of a star of the constellation BENNU HESAR, "the Phoenix of Osiris," which is placed in the astronomical ceiling of the Rameseum of El-Kurneh six months distant from Sothis. The monuments make mention of Panegyric Months, which can only, we believe, be periods of thirty years each, and divisions of a year of the same kind. We have computed the following dates of commencements of these Panegyric Years:—1st. B.C. 2717, 1st dynasty, era of Menes (not on monuments); 2nd. B.C. 2352, 17th dynasty, Sûphis, I. and II.; 3rd. B.C. 1986 (xiiith dynasty, Sesertesen III. ? not on monuments); the last-mentioned date being also the beginning of a Phoenix Cycle, which appears to have comprised four of these Panegyric Years. The other important dates of the system of Panegyrics which occur on the monuments are B.C. 1442, xviiiith dynasty, Queen Amen-nem; and B.C. 1412, xviiiith dynasty, Thothmes III.

Certain phenomena recorded on the monuments have been calculated by M. Biot, who has obtained the following dates:—Rising of Sothis in reign of Thothmes III., xviiiith dynasty, B.C. 1445; supposed Vernal Equinox, Thothmes III., B.C. cir. 1441; rising of Sothis, Rameses III., xxth dynasty, B.C. 1301; star-risings, Rameses VI. and IX., xxth dynasty, B.C. cir. 1241. Some causes of uncertainty affect the exactness of these dates, and that of Rameses III. is irreconcilable with the two of Thothmes III., unless we hold the calendar in which the inscription supposed to record it occurs to be a Sothic one, in which case no date could be obtained.

Egyptian technical chronology gives us no direct evidence in favour of the high antiquity which some assign to the foundation of the first kingdom. The earliest record which all Egyptologists are agreed to regard as affording a date is of the fifteenth century B.C., and no one has alleged any such record to be of any earlier time than the twenty-fourth century B.C. The Egyptians themselves seem to have placed the beginning of the 1st dynasty in the twenty-eighth century B.C., but for determining this epoch there is no direct monumental evidence.

2. *Historical Chronology.*—The materials for historical chronology are the monuments and the remains of the historical work of Manetho. Since the interpretation of hieroglyphics has been discovered the evidence of the monuments has been brought to bear on this subject, but as yet it has not been sufficiently full and explicit to enable us to set aside other aid. We have had to look elsewhere for a general framework, the details of which the monuments might fill up. The remains of Manetho are now generally held to supply this want. A comparison with the monuments has shown that he drew his information from original sources, the general authenticity of which is vindicated by minute points of agreement. The information Manetho gives us, in the present form of his work, is, however, by no means explicit, and it is only by a theoretical arrangement of the materials

<sup>\*</sup> For the reasons for fixing on these years, see *Horae Aeg.* i. c.

that they take a definite form. The remains of Manetho's historical work consist of a list of the Egyptian dynasties and two considerable fragments, one relating to the Shepherds, the other to a tale of the Exodus. The list is only known to us in the epitome given by Africanus, preserved by Syncellus, and that given by Eusebius. These present such great differences that it is not reasonable to hope that we can restore a correct text. The series of dynasties is given as if they were successive, in which case the commencement of the first would be placed full 5000 years B.C., and the reign of the king who built the Great Pyramid, 4000. The monuments do not warrant so extreme an antiquity, and the great majority of Egyptologists have therefore held that the dynasties were partly contemporary. A passage in the fragment of Manetho respecting the Shepherds, where he speaks of the kings of the Thebais and of the rest of Egypt rising against these foreign rulers, makes it almost certain that he admitted at least three contemporary lines at that period (*Jos. c. Apim. i. 14*). The naming of the dynasties anterior to the time of a certain single kingdom, and that of the later ones, which we know to have generally held sway over all Egypt, or the first seventeen, and the xviii<sup>th</sup> and following dynasties, lends support to this opinion. The former are named in groups, first a group of Thinites, then one of Memphites, broken by a dynasty of Elephantines, next a Heracleopolite line, &c., the dynasties of a particular city being grouped together; whereas the latter generally present but one or two together of the same name, and the dynasties of different cities recur. The earlier portion seems therefore to represent parallel lines, the later, a succession. The evidence of the monuments leads to the same conclusion. Kings who unquestionably belong to different dynasties are shown by them to be contemporary. In the present state of Egyptology this evidence has led to various results as to the number of contemporary dynasties, and the consequent duration of the whole history. One great difficulty is that the character of the inscriptions makes it impossible to ascertain, without the explicit mention of two sovereigns, that any one king was not a sole ruler. For example, it has been lately discovered that the xi<sup>th</sup> dynasty was for the greatest part of its rule a double line. Yet its numerous monuments in general give no hint of more than one king, although there was almost always a recognised colleague. Therefore, *à fortiori*, no notice would be taken, if possible, on any monument of a ruler of another house than that of the king in whose territory it was made. We can therefore scarcely expect very full evidence on this subject. Mr. Lane, as long ago as 1830, proposed an arrangement of the first seventeen dynasties based upon their numbers and names. This scheme the writer believes to be strikingly confirmed by the monuments. The table in the following page contains the dynasties thus arranged, with the approximative dates we assign to their commencements, and the dates of chief events in Hebrew history connected with that of Egypt, according to the system preferred in art. CHRONOLOGY.

The monuments will not, in our opinion, justify any great extension of the period assigned in the table to the first seventeen dynasties. The last date, that of the commencement of the xviii<sup>th</sup> dynasty, cannot be changed more than a few years. Baron Bunsen and Dr. Lepsius indeed place it much earlier, but they do so in opposition to positive monumental evidence. The date of the beginning of the

1st dynasty, which we are disposed to place a little before B.C. 2700, is more doubtful, but a concurrence of astronomical evidence points to the twenty-eighth century. The interval between the two dates cannot therefore be greatly more or less than twelve hundred years, a period quite in accordance with the lengths of the dynasties according to the better text, if the arrangement here given be correct. Some have supposed a much greater antiquity for the commencement of Egyptian history. Lepsius places the accession of Menes B.C. 3892, and Bunsen, two hundred years later. Their system is founded upon a passage in the chronological work of Syncellus, which assigns a duration of 3555 to the thirty dynasties (*Chron. p. 51b*). It is by no means certain that this number is given on the authority of Manetho, but apart from this, the whole statement is unmistakably not from the true Manetho, but from some one of the fabricators of chronology, among whom the Pseudo-Manetho held a prominent place (*Enc. Brit. 8th ed. Egypt. p. 452; Quarterly Review, No. 210, p. 395-7*). If this number be discarded as doubtful or spurious there is nothing definite to support the extended system so confidently put forth by those who adopt it.

3. *History*.—Passing from chronology to history we have first to notice the indications in the Bible which relate to the earliest period. That Egypt was colonised by the descendants of Noah in a very remote age is shown by the mention of the migration of the Philistines from Caphtor, which had taken place before the arrival of Abraham in Palestine. Before this migration could occur the Caphtorim and other Mizraites must have occupied Egypt for some time. A remarkable passage points to a knowledge of the date at which an ancient city of Egypt was founded:—"Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (*Num. xii. 22*). We find that Hebron was originally called Kirjath-ara, and was a city of the Avakim (*Josh. xiv. 15*), and it is mentioned under that appellation in the history of Abraham (*Gen. xxiii. 2*): it had therefore been founded by the giant-race before the days of that patriarch.

The evidence of the Egyptians as to the primeval history of their race and country is extremely indefinite. They seem to have separated mankind into two great stocks, and each of these again into two branches, for they appear to have represented themselves and the Negroes, the red and black races, as the children of the god Horus, and the Semites and Europeans, the yellow and white races, as the children of the goddess Pesht (*comp. Brugsch, Geogr. Inschr. ii. pp. 90, 91*). They seem therefore to have held a double origin of the species. The absence of any important traditional period is very remarkable in the fragments of Egyptian history. These commence with the divine dynasties, and pass abruptly to the human dynasties. The latest portion of the first may indeed be traditional, not mythical, and the earliest part of the second may be traditional and not historical, though this last conjecture we are hardly disposed to admit. In any case, however, there is a very short and extremely obscure time of tradition, and at no great distance from the earliest date at which it can be held to end we come upon the clear light of history in the days of the pyramids. The indications are of a sudden change of seat, and the settlement in Egypt of a civilized race, which, either wishing to be believed autochthonous, or having lost all ties that could keep up the traditions of its first dwelling-place, filled up the commence-

TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES.

B.C.	THINITES							
2700	I 2717 (son of Menes)	MEMPHITES III. cir. 2650						
2600								
2500			ELFPHAN- TINITES					
	II. cir. 2470	IV. cir. 2440	V. cir. 2440					
2400								
		2354. Date in reign of Suphis						
2300								
			III RACLEO- POLITES	DIOR- POLITES				
2280		VI. cir. 2200	IX. cir. 2200	XI. cir. 2200				
2100								
					XOITES	SHEPHERDS		
				XII. cir. 2280	XIV. cir. 2080	XV. cir. 2080	XVI. cir. 2080	cir. 2081 Alaburn vinto Egypt
2000				2005. Date in reign of Amemhat II 1986. Date in reign of Sene- tosen III. ?				
				XIII. cir. 1980				
1900								
								1876. Joseph governor. 1867. Jacob goes into Egypt
1800		VII. cir. 1800 VIII. cir. 1800		X. cir. 1730				(215 years)
1700								
								1650. Exodus
1600								
1500				XVIII. cir. 1580				

ment of its history with materials drawn from mythology. There is no trace of the tradition of the Deluge which is found in almost every other country of the world. The priests are indeed reported to have told Solon when he spoke of one deluge that many had occurred (*Plat. Tim.* 23), but the reference is more likely to have been to great floods of the Nile than to any extraordinary catastrophes.

The history of the dynasties preceding the xviii is not told by any continuous series of monuments. Except those of the ivth and xiith dynasties there are scarcely any records of the age left to the present day, and thence in a great measure arises the difficulty of determining the chronology. From the time of Menes, the first king, until the Shepherd-invasion, Egypt seems to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity. During this age the Memphite line was the most powerful, and by it, under the ivth dynasty, were the most famous pyramids raised. The Shepherds were foreigners who came from the East, and, in some manner unknown to Manetho, gained the rule of Egypt. Those whose kings composed the xvth dynasty were the first and most important. They appear to have been Phœnicians, and it is probable that their migration into Egypt, and thence at last into Palestine, was part of the great movement to which the coming of the Phœnicians from the Erythraean Sea, and the Philistines from Caphtor, belong. It is not impossible that the war of the four kings—Chedorlaomer and his allies—was directed against the power of the kings of the xvth dynasty. Most probably the Pharaoh of Abraham was of this line, which lived at Memphis, and at the great fort or camp of Avaris on the eastern frontier. The period of Egyptian history to which the Shepherd-invasion should be assigned is a point of dispute. It is generally placed after the xiith dynasty, for it is argued that this powerful line could not have reigned at the same time as one or more Shepherd-dynasties. We are of opinion that this objection is not valid, and that the Shepherd-invasion was anterior to the xiith dynasty. It is not certain that the foreigners were at the outset hostile to the Egyptians, for they may have come in by marriage, and it is by no means unlikely that they may have been long in a position of secondary importance. The rule of the xiith dynasty, which was of Thebans, lasting about 160 years, was a period of prosperity to Egypt, but after its close those calamities appear to have occurred which made the Shepherds hated by the Egyptians. During the interval to the xviiiith dynasty there seems to have been no native line of any importance but that of the Thebans, and more than one Shepherd dynasty exercised a severe rule over the Egyptians. The paucity of the monuments proves the troubled nature of this period.

We must here notice the history of the Israelites in Egypt with reference to the dynasty of the Pharaohs who favoured them, and that of their oppressors. According to the scheme of Biblical Chronology which we believe to be the most probable [*CHRONOLOGY*], the whole sojourn in Egypt would belong to the period before the xviiiith dynasty. The Israelites would have come in and gone forth during that obscure age for the history of which we have little or no monumental evidence. This would explain the absence of any positive mention of them on the Egyptian monuments. Some assert that they were an unimportant Arab tribe, and therefore would not be mentioned, and

that the calamities attending their departure could not be commemorated. These two propositions are contradictory, and the difficulties are unsolved. If, as Lepsius supposes, the Israelites came in under the xviiiith dynasty, and went out under the xixth, or if, as Bunsen holds, they came in under the xiith, and (after a sojourn of 1434 years!) went out under the xixth, the oppression in both cases falling in a period of which we have abundant contemporary monuments, sometimes the records of every year, it is impossible that the monuments should be wholly silent if the Biblical narrative is true. Let us examine the details of that narrative. At the time to which we should assign Joseph's rule, Egypt was under Shepherds, and Egyptian kings of no great strength. Since the Pharaoh of Joseph must have been a powerful ruler and held Lower Egypt, there can be no question that he was, if the dates be correct, a Shepherd of the xvth dynasty. How does the Biblical evidence affect this inference? Nothing is more striking throughout the ancient Egyptian inscriptions and writings than the bitter dislike of most foreigners, especially Easterns. They are constantly spoken of in the same terms as the inhabitants of the infernal regions, not alone when at war with the Pharaohs, but in time of peace and in the case of friendly nations. It is a feeling alone paralleled in our days by that of the Chinese. The accounts of the Greek writers, and the whole history of the later period, abundantly confirm this estimate of the prejudice of the Egyptians against foreigners. It seems to us perfectly incredible that Joseph should be the minister of an Egyptian king. In lesser particulars the evidence is not less strong. The Pharaoh of Joseph is a despot, whose will is law, who kills and pardons at his pleasure, who not only raises a foreign slave to the head of his administration, but through his means makes all the Egyptians, except the priests, serfs of the crown. The Egyptian kings on the contrary were restrained by the laws, shamed the public dislike of foreigners, and would have avoided the very policy Joseph followed, which would have weakened the attachment of their fellow-countrymen by the loosening of local ties and complete reducing to bondage of the population, although it would have greatly strengthened the power of an alien sovereign. Pharaoh's conduct towards Joseph's family points to the same conclusion. He gladly invites the strangers, and gives them leave to dwell, not among the Egyptians, but in Goshen, where his own cattle seem to have been (*Gen.* xlv. 34, xlvii. 6). His acts indicate a fellow-feeling and a desire to strengthen himself against the national party.

The "new king" "which knew not Joseph," is generally thought by those who hold with us as to the previous history, to have been an Egyptian, and head of the xviiiith dynasty. It seems at first sight extremely probable that the king who crushed, if he did not expel, the Shepherds, would be the first oppressor of the nation which they protected. Plausible as this theory appears, a close examination of the Bible-narrative seems to us to overthrow it. We read of the new king that—"he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel [are] more and mightier than we: come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there shall out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and [so] get them up out of the land" (*Ex.* i. 9, 10). The Israelites are therefore more and stronger than the

people of the oppressor, the oppressor fears war in Egypt, and that the Israelites would join his enemies, he is not able at once to adopt open violence, and he therefore uses a subtle system to reduce them by making them perform forced labour, and soon after takes the stronger measure of killing their male children. These conditions point to a divided country and a weak kingdom, and cannot, we think, apply to the time of the xviii and xixth dynasties. The whole narrative of subsequent events to the Exodus is consistent with this conclusion, to which the use of universal terms does not offer any real objection. When all Egypt is spoken of, it is not necessary either in Hebrew or in Egyptian that we should suppose the entire country to be strictly intended. If we conclude therefore that the Exodus most probably occurred before the xviii dynasty, we have to ascertain, if possible, whether the Pharaohs of the oppression appear to have been Egyptians or Shepherds. The change of policy is in favour of their having been Egyptians, but is by no means conclusive, for there is no reason that all the foreigners should have had the same feeling towards the Israelites, and we have already seen that the Egyptian Pharaohs and their subjects seem in general to have been friendly to them throughout their history, and that the Egyptians were privileged by the Law, apparently on this account. It may be questioned whether the friendship of the two nations, even if merely a matter of policy, would have been as enduring as we know it to have been had the Egyptians looked back on their conduct towards the Israelites as productive of great national calamities, or had the Israelites looked back upon the persecution as the work of the Egyptians. If the chronology be correct we can only decide in favour of the Shepherds. During the time to which the events are assigned there were no important lines but the Theban, and one or more of Shepherds. Lower Egypt, and especially its eastern part, must have been in the hands of the latter. The land of Goshen was in the eastern part of Lower Egypt: it was wholly under the control of the oppressors, whose capital, or royal residence, at least in the case of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, lay very near to it. Manetho, according to the transcript of Africanus, speaks of three Shepherd-dynasties, the xvth, xvth, and xvth, the last of which, according to the present text, was of Shepherds and Thebans, but this is probably incorrect, and the dynasty should rather be considered as of Shepherds alone. It is difficult to choose between these three: a passage in Isaiah, however, which has been strangely overlooked, seems to afford an indication which narrows the choice. "My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there; and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause" (lii. 4). This indicates that the oppressor was an Assyrian, and therefore not of the xvth dynasty, which, according to Manetho, in the epitomes, was of Phoenicians, and opposed to the Assyrians (Jos. c. Apion. i. 14). Among the names of kings of this period in the Royal Turin Papyrus (ed. Wilkinson) are two which appear to be Assyrian, so that we may reasonably suppose that some of the foreign rulers were of that race. It is not possible at present to decide whether they were of the xvth or the xvth dynasty. It cannot be objected to the explanation we have offered that the title Pharaoh is applied to the kings connected with the Israelites, and that they must therefore have been natives, for it is almost certain that at least some of

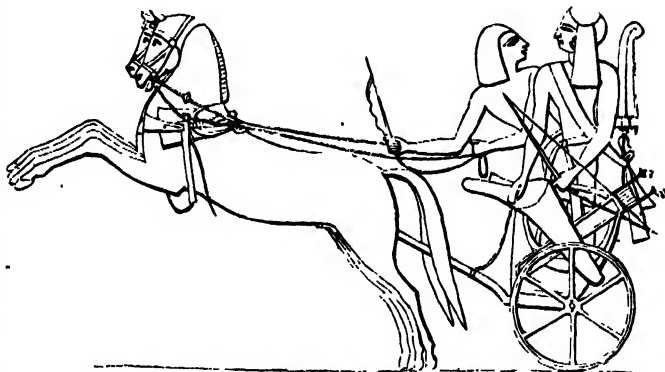
the Shepherd-kings were Egyptianized, like Joseph, who received an Egyptian name, and Moses, who was supposed by the daughters of Jethro to be an Egyptian (Ex. ii. 19). It has been urged by the opponents of the chronological schemes that place the Exodus before the later part of the fourteenth century B.C. that the conquests of the Pharaohs of the xviii, xixth, and xxth dynasties would have involved collisions with the Israelites had they been in those times already established in Palestine, whereas neither the Bible nor the monuments of Egypt indicate any such event. It has been overlooked by the advocates of the Rabbinical date of the Exodus that the absence of any positive Palestinian names, except that of the Philistines, in the lists of peoples and places subject to these Pharaohs, and in the records of their wars, entirely destroys their argument, for while it shows that they did not conquer Palestine, it makes it impossible for us to decide on Egyptian evidence whether the Hebrews were then in that country or not. Shishak's list, on the contrary, presents several well-known names of towns in Palestine, besides that of the kingdom of Judah. The policy of the Pharaohs, as previously explained, is the key to their conduct towards the Israelites. At the same time the character of the portions of the Bible relating to this period prevents our being sure that the Egyptians may not have passed through the country, and even put the Israelites to tribute. It is illustrative of the whole question under consideration, that in the most flourishing days of the sole kingdom of Israel, a Pharaoh should have marched unopposed into Palestine and captured the Canaanite city Gezer at no great distance from Jerusalem, and that this should be merely incidentally mentioned at a later time instead of being noticed in the regular course of the narrative (1 K. ix. 15, 16).

The main arguments for the Rabbinical or latest date of the Exodus have been discussed in a previous article (CHRONOLOGY). The objections to a much earlier date, that of B.C. 1652, may be considered as favourable to the latest rather than to Usher's date, although not unfavourable to both. The main objection to these in our opinion is that the details of the Biblical narrative do not, even with the utmost latitude of interpretation, agree with the history of the country if the Exodus be supposed to have taken place under the xviii or xixth dynasty. As to the account of the Exodus given by Manetho, it was confessedly a mere popular story, for he admitted it was not a part of the Egyptian records, but a tale of uncertain authorship (*ἄτερ δὲ δὲ Μανέθων οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Ἀιγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότων μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν*, κ.τ.λ. Jos. c. Apion. i. 16). A critical examination shows that it cannot claim to be a veritable tradition of the Exodus: it is indeed, if based on any such tradition, so distorted that it is impossible to be sure that it relates to the king to whose reign it is assigned. Yet upon the supposition that the king is really Menptah, son of Rameses II., the advocates of the Rabbinical date entirely base their adjustment of Hebrew with Egyptian history at this period.

The history of the xviii, xixth, and xxth dynasties is that of the Egyptian empire. Aahmes, the head of the first of these (B.C. cir. 1525), overthrew the power of the Shepherds, and probably expelled them. Queen Amen-nem and Thothmes II. and III. are the earliest sovereigns of whom great monuments remain in the temple of El-

Karnak, the chief sanctuary of Thebes. The last of these rulers was a great foreign conqueror, and reduced Nineveh, and perhaps Babylon also, to his sway. Amenoph III., his great-grandson, states on scarabæi, struck apparently to commemorate his marriage, that his northern boundary was in Mesopotamia, his southern in Kara (Choloë?). By him was raised the great temple on the west bank at Thebes, the site of which is now only marked by the gigantic pair the Vocal Memnon and its fellow. The head of the sixteenth dynasty, Sethe I., or Sethos, B.C. cir. 1340, waged great foreign wars, particularly with the Hittites of the valley of the Orontes, whose capital Ketesh, situate near Emesa, he captured. By him the great hypostyle hall of El-Karnak was built, and on its northern wall is a most interesting series of bas-reliefs recording his successes. His son Rameses II. was the most illustrious of the Pharaohs. If he did not exceed all others in foreign conquests, he far outshone them in the grandeur and beauty of the temples with which he adorned Egypt and Nubia. His chief campaign was against the Hittites and a great confederacy they had formed. He defeated their army, captured Ketesh, and forced them to conclude a treaty

with him, though this last object does not seem to have been immediately attained. Menptah, the son and successor of Rameses II., is supposed by the advocates of the Rabbinical date of the Exodus to have been the Pharaoh in whose time the Israelites went out. One other king of this period must be noticed, Rameses III., of the xxth dynasty, B.C. cir. 1200, whose conquests, recorded on the walls of his



The son of King Rameses with his charioteer. (Wülken.)

great temple of Medinet Haboo in western Thebes seem to have been not less important than those of Rameses II. The most remarkable of the sculptures commemorating them represents a naval victory in the Mediterranean, gained by the Egyptian fleet over that of the Tokkaree, probably the Carians, and Shaietana (Khairatana), or Cretans. Other Shaietana, whom we take to correspond to the Cherethim of Scripture, serve in the Egyptian forces. This king also subdued the Philistines and the Rebu (Lebu), or Lubim, to the west of Egypt. Under his successors the power of Egypt evidently declined, and towards the close of the dynasty the country seems to have fallen into anarchy, the high-priests of Amen having usurped regal power at Thebes and a Lower Egyptian dynasty, the xxiist, arisen at Tanis. Probably the Egyptian princess who became Solomon's wife was a daughter of a late king of the Tanite dynasty. The head of the xxiind dynasty, Sheshouk I., the Shishak of the Bible, restored the unity of the kingdom, and revived the credit of the Egyptian arms, B.C. cir. 990. Early in his reign he received Jeroboam, the enemy of Solomon (1 K. xi. 40), and perhaps it was by his advice that he afterwards

attacked Judah. It is doubtful, however, whether Jeroboam did not suffer by the invasion as well as Rehoboam. On the outside of the south wall of the temple of El-Karnak is a list of the conquests of Sheshouk I., comprising "the kingdom of Judah," and several Hebrew towns, some of which must have been taken from Jeroboam. [SHISHAK.] Probably his successor, Osorkon I., is the Zerah of Scripture, defeated by Asa. The army that Zerah led can only have been that of Egypt, and his overthrow will explain the decline of the house of Sheshouk. [ZERAH.] Egypt makes no figure in Asiatic history during the xxiind and xxivth dynasties: under the xxvth it regained, in part at least, its ancient importance. This was an Ethiopian line, the warlike sovereigns of which strove to the utmost to repel the onward stride of Assyria. So, whom we are disposed to identify with Shebek II. or Sebichus, the second Ethiopian, rather than with Shebek I. or Sabaco, the first, made an alliance with Hoshea the last king of Israel. [SO.] Tehrak or Tirhakah, the third of this house, advanced against Sennacherib in support of Hezekiah. [TIRHAKAH.] After this, a native dynasty again occupied the throne, the xxvth, of Saite kings. Psametek I. or Psamm-

tichus I. (B.C. 664), who may be regarded as the head of this dynasty, warred in Palestine, and took Ashdod, Azotus, after a siege of twenty-nine years (Herod. ii. 157). Probably it was held by an Assyrian garrison, having been previously taken from the Egyptians by Sargon (Is. xx.). Neku or Necho, the son of Psammetichus, continued the war in the East, and marched along the coast of Palestine to attack the king of Assyria. At Megiddo Josiah encountered him (B.C. 608-7), notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Egyptian king, which is very illustrative of the policy of the Pharaohs in the east (2 Chr. xxxv. 21) no less than is his lenient conduct after the defeat and death of the king of Judah. The army of Necho was after a short space routed at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 605-4 (Jer. xli. 2). We read of a time not long subsequent that "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt (2 K. xxiv. 7). [PHARAOH - NECHO.] The second successor of Necho, Apries, or Pharaoh-Hophra, sent his army into Palestine to the aid of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 7, 11), so that the siege of Jerusalem was

raised for a time, and kindly received the fugitives from the captured city. He seems to have been afterwards attacked by Nebuchadnezzar in his own country. There is, however, no certain account of a complete subjugation of Egypt by the king of Babylon, and it is probable that the prophecies of Ezekiel (for the fulfilment of which commentators have looked to this time) refer to a later period, and chiefly to the conquest by Cambyases and the calamities which followed the revolt of Inaros. [PHARAOH-HOPHRA.] Amasis, the successor of Apries, had a long and prosperous reign, and taking advantage of the weakness and fall of Babylon somewhat restored the weight of Egypt in the East. But the new power of Persia was to prove even more terrible to his house than Babylon had been to the house of Psammetichus, and the son of Amasis had reigned but six months when Cambyases reduced the country to the condition of a province of his empire B.C. 525.

It is not necessary here to give an outline of the subsequent history of Egypt. Its connexion with the history and literature of the Jews is discussed in the articles on the Greek kings of Egypt [PTOLEMY] and ALEXANDRIA. The relation of Egypt and Palestine during the period from the accession of the first Ptolemy until the age of the Apostles is full of interest, but it does not offer any serious difficulties that require it to be here discussed.—It would not be within the province of this article to enter upon a general consideration of the prophecies relating to Egypt: we must, however, draw the reader's attention to their remarkable fulfilment. The visitor to the country needs not to be reminded of them: everywhere he is struck by the precision with which they have come to pass. We have already spoken of the physical changes which have verified to the letter the words of Isaiah. In like manner we recognise, for instance, in the singular disappearance of the city of Memphis and its temples in a country where several primeval towns yet stand, and scarce any ancient site is unmarked by temples, the fulfilment of the words of Jeremiah: "Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant" (xvi. 19), and those of Ezekiel, "Thus saith the Lord God; I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause [their] images to cease out of Noph" (xxx. 13). Not less signally are the words immediately following the last quotation—"And there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt" (l. c.)—fulfilled in the history of the country, for from the second Persian conquest, more than two thousand years ago, until our own days, not one native ruler has occupied the throne.

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EHU (אֵהוּ; 'Ayx; Echi), head of one of the Benjamite houses according to the list in Gen. xvi. 21, and son of Belah according to the LXX. version of that passage. He seems to be the same as Ahi-ram, אֲחִירָם, in the list Num. xxvi. 38, and if so, *Ahiram* is probably the right name, as the family were called *Ahirmites*. In 1 Chr. viii. 1, the same person seems to be called אֲחִירָם, Ahiah, and perhaps also אֲחִירָם, Ahoah, in ver. 4 ('Aχιά, LXX., and in Cod. Vatic. 'Aχιδαν), אֲחִירָם ('Aχιά), Ahiah, ver. 7, and אֲחִירָם ('Aδρ), Aher, 1 Chr. vii. 12. These fluctuations in the orthography seem to indicate that the original copies were partly effaced by time or injury. [BECHER; CHRONICLES.]

[A. C. H.]

EHUD (אֵהוּד; 'Aδδ; Joseph. 'Hōdēt; Aod), like Gera, an hereditary name among the Benjamites.

1. Ehud, the son of Bilhan, and great-grandson of Benjamin the Patriarch (1 Chr. vii. 10, viii. 6).

2. Ehud, the son of Gera (אֵהוּד; Γερὰ; Gera; three others of the name, Gen. xvi. 21; 2 Sam.

xvi. 5; 1 Chr. viii. 3), of the tribe of Benjamin (Judg. iii. 15, marg. "son of Jemini," but vid. Gesen. *Lex.* sub v. יְמִינִי), the second Judge of the Israelites (B.C. 1336). In the Bible he is not called a Judge but a *deliverer* (1. c.): so Othniel (Judg. iii. 9) and all the Judges (Neh. ix. 27). As a Benjamite he was specially chosen to destroy Eglon, who had established himself in Jericho, which was included in the boundaries of that tribe. [EGLON.] In Josephus he appears as a young man (*yeaslas*). He was very strong, and left-handed. So A. V.; but the more literal rendering is, as in margin, "shut of his right hand." The words are differently rendered:—1. left-handed, and unable to use his right; 2. using his left hand as readily as his right. For 1. Targum, Joseph., Syr. (impotem), Arab. (aridum), and Jewish writers generally; Cajet., Buxtorf, Parkh., Gesen. (impeditus): derivation of עֲגֹלִים from עָגַל, the latter only in Ps. lxxix. 16, where it = to shut. For 2. LXX. (ἀμφιδέξις), Vulg. (*qui utraque manu pro dextra utebatur*), Corn. a Lap., Bonfrer., Patrick. (cf. περικδέξις, Hom. *Il.* xxi. 163, Hipp. *Aph.* 7. 43); Judg. xx. 16, sole recurrence of the phrase, applied to 700 Benjamites, the picked men of the army, who were not likely to be chosen for a physical defect. As regards Ps. lxxix. 16, it is urged that עָגַל may = *corono* = *aperio*; hence עָגַל = *apertus* = *expeditus*, q. d. *expedita dextra*; or if "*clausus*," *clausus dextra* = *cinctus dextra* = περικδέξις, *ambidexter* (vid. Pol. *Syn.*). The feat of drawing the dagger from the right thigh (Judg. iii. 21) is consistent with either opinion. For Ehud's adventures see EGLON; and for the period of eighty years' rest which his valour is said to have procured for the Israelites, see JUDGES. [T. E. B.]

EKER (עֶכֶר; 'Akör; *Achar*), a descendant of Judah through the families of Hezron and Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 27).

EKREBEL ('Εκρεβήλ; Pesch. אַכ־בֶּ, *Ecrabat*; Vulg. omits), a place named in Jud. vii. 18 only, as "near to Chusi which is on the brook Mochmur;" apparently somewhere in the hill country to the south-east of the Plain of Esdraelon and of Dothain. The Syriac reading of the word points to the place *Acrabbein*, mentioned by Eusebius in the *Ogomasticon* as the capital of a district called *Acrabattine*, and still standing as *Akrabih*, about 6 miles south-east of *Nablüs* (Shechem) in the *Wady Makfuriyeh*, on the road to the Jordan valley (Van de Velde, ii. 304, and Map). Though frequently mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 20, §4; iii. 3, §5, &c.), neither the place nor the district are named in the Bible, and they must not be confounded with those of the same name in the South of Judah. [AKRABIM; ARABATTINE; MAALAH-ACRABIM.] [G.]

EKRON (עֶקְרוֹן; ἡ Ἀκκαρόν; *Accaron*), one of the five towns belonging to the lords of the Philistines, and the most northerly of the five (Josh. xiii. 3). Like the other Philistine cities its situation was in the *Shefelah*. It fell to the lot of

Judah (Josh. xv. 45, 46; Judg. i. 18), and indeed formed one of the landmarks on his north border, the boundary running from thence to the sea at JANNEEL (*Yebna*). We afterwards, however, find it mentioned among the cities of Dan (sax. 43). But it mattered little to which tribe it nominally belonged, for before the monarchy it was again in full possession of the Philistines (1 Sam. v. 10). Ekron was the last place to which the ark was carried before its return to Israel, and the mortality therein in consequence seems to have been more deadly than at either Ashdod or Gath.\* From Ekron to BETHSHEMESH was a straight highway. Henceforward Ekron appears to have remained uninterruptedly in the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam. xvii. 52; 2 K. i. 2, 16; Jer. xxv. 20). Except the casual mention of a sanctuary of Baal-zebub existing there (2 K. i. 2, 3, 6, 16) there is nothing to distinguish Ekron from any other town of this district—it was the scene of no occurrence, and the native place of no man of fame in any way. The following complete the references to it, Am. i. 8; Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 5, 7.

'Akir, the modern representative of Ekron, lies at about 5 miles S.W. of *Ramleh*, and 3 due E. of *Yebna*, on the northern side of the important valley *Wady Swar*. "The village contains about 50 mud houses, without a remnant of antiquity except two large finely built wells." The plain south is rich, but immediately round the village it has a dreary forsaken appearance, only relieved by a few scattered stunted trees (Porter, *Handb.* 275; and see Van de Velde, ii. 169; Rob. ii. 228). In proximity to Jabneh (*Yebna*) and Bethshemesh (*Ain Shems*), Akir agrees with the requirements of Ekron in the O. T., and also with the indications of the *Onomasticon* (sub voc. *Accaron*). Jerome there mentions a tradition that the Turris Stratonis, Caesarea, was Ekron.

In the Apocrypha it appears as ACCARON (1 Macc. x. 89, only), bestowed with its borders (τὰ θρία αὐτῆς) by Alexander Balas on Jonathan Maccabæus as a reward for his services.

It was known in the middle ages by the same name. (See the quotation in Rob. ii. 228, note.)

The word EKRONITES appears in Josh. xiii. 3, and 1 Sam. v. 10. In the former it should be singular—"the Ekronite." In the latter עֶקְרוֹנִי. [G.]

E'LA (חֶלֶא; *Jolaman*), 1 Esd. ix. 27. [ELAM.]

EL'ADAH (עֶלְאָדָה; 'Elaðð, Alex. 'Elaaðð; *Elada*), a descendant of Ephraim through Shuthelah (1 Chr. vii. 20).

E'LAH. 1. (חֶלֶא; 'Hlað; Joseph. 'Hλaνoς; 'la), the son and successor of Baasha, king of Israel 1 K. xvi. 8-10; his reign lasted for little more than a year (comp. ver. 8 with 10). He was killed, while drunk, by Zimri, in the house of his steward Arsa, who was probably a confederate in the plot. This occurred, according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 12, §4), while his army and officers were absent at the siege of Gibbethon.

2. Father of Hoshiah, the last king of Israel (2 K. xv. 30, xvii. 1). [W. L. B.]

\* The LXX. in both MSS., and Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 1, §1), substitute Asaelon for Ekron throughout this passage (1 Sam. v. 10-12). In support of this it should be remarked that, according to the Hebrew text, the golden trespass offerings were given for

Askelon, though it is omitted from the detailed narrative of the journeyings of the ark. There are other important differences between the LXX. and Hebrew texts of this transaction. See especially v. 6.

**E'LAH.** 1. (עֵלָה; Ἑλάς; *Ela*), one of the dukes of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 41; 1 Chr. i. 52). By Knobel (*Genesis*, ad loc.) the name is compared with Elath on the Red Sea.

2. Shimei ben-Elah (accour. *Ela*, עֵלָה; Ἑλά) was Solomon's commissariat officer in Benjamin (1 K. iv. 18).

3. (Ἀλά, Alex. Ἀλά), a son of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (1 Chr. iv. 15). His sons were called Kenaz or Uknaz; but the words may be taken as if Kenaz was, with Elah, a son of Caleb. The names of both Elah and Kenaz appear amongst the Edomite "dukes."

4. (Ἑλά, Alex. Ἑλά), son of Uzzi, a Benjamite (1 Chr. ix. 8), and one of the chiefs of the tribe at the settlement of the country.

**ELAH, THE VALLEY OF** (עֵלָה) = Valley of the Terebinth; ἡ κοιλάς Ἑλά, or τῆς δρύος, once ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι; *Vallis Terebinthi*, a valley in (not "by," as the A. V. has it) which the Israelites were encamped against the Philistines when David killed Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19). It is once more mentioned in the same connexion (xxi. 9). We have only the most general indications of its position. It lay somewhere near Socoh of Judah, and Azekah, and was nearer Ekron than any other Philistine town. So much may be gathered from the narrative of 1 Sam. xvii. Socoh has been with great probability identified with *Suweikeh*, near to *Beit Netf*, some 14 miles S.W. of Jerusalem, on the road to *Beit Jibrin* and Gaza, among the more western of the hills of Judah, not far from where they begin to descend into the great Philistine Plain. The village stands on the south slopes of the *Wadyes Sumt*, or valley of the acacia, which runs off in a N.W. direction across the plain to the sea just above Ashdod. Below *Suweikeh* it is joined by two other wadyes, large though inferior in size to itself, and the junction of the three forms a considerable open space of not less than a mile wide cultivated in fields of grain. In the centre is a wide torrent bed thickly strewn with round pebbles, and bordered by the acacia bushes from which the valley derives its present name.

There seems no reason to doubt that this is the Valley of the Terebinth. It has changed its name and is now called after another kind of tree, but the terebinth (*Butm*) appears to be plentiful in the neighbourhood, and one of the largest specimens in Palestine still stands in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot. A mile down the valley from *Suweikeh* is *Tell zakariyeh*, which Schwarz (102) and Van de Velde propose to identify with Azekah. If this could be maintained, the site of the valley might be regarded as certain. Ekron is 17 miles, and Bethlehem 12 miles distant from Socoh. For the valley, see Rob. ii. 20, 21; Van de Velde, ii. 191; Porter, *Handb.* 249, 250, 280.

There is a point in the topographical indications of 1 Sam. xvii., which it is very desirable should be carefully examined on the spot. The Philistines were between Socoh and Azekah, at Ephes-dammim, or Pas-dammim, on the mountain on the S. side of the Wady, while the Israelites were in the "valley" (עֵלָה) of the terebinth, or rather on the mountain on the N. side, and "the ravine" or "the glen" (נֶחֱלָה) was between the two armies (ver. 2, 3). Again (52), the Israelites pursued the Philistines

"till you come to 'the ravine'" (the same word). There is evidently a marked difference between the "valley" and the "ravine," and a little attention on the spot might do much towards elucidating this, and settling the identification of the place.

The traditional "Valley of the Terebinth" is the *Wady Beit Hanina*, which lies about 4 miles to the N.W. of Jerusalem, and is crossed by the road to *Nebi Samucl*. The scene of David's conflict is pointed out a little north of the "Tombs of the Judges" and close to the traces of the old paved road. But this spot is in the tribe of Benjamin and otherwise does not correspond with the narrative of the text. [G.]

**E'LAM** (עֵלָם; Ἑλām; *Aelam*), like Αἶλαμ, seems to have been originally the name of a man—the son of Shem (Gen. x. 22; 1 Chr. i. 17). Commonly, however, it is used as the appellation of a country (Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Is. xi. 11; xxi. 2; Jer. xxv. 25; xlix. 34-39; Ez. xxxii. 24; Dan. viii. 2), and will be so treated in this article.

The Elam of Scripture appears to be the province lying south of Assyria and east of Persia Proper, to which Herodotus gives the name of Cissia (iii. 91, v. 49, &c.), and which is termed Susia or Susiana by the geographers (Strab. xv. 3, §12; Ptolem. vi. 3, &c.). It includes a portion of the mountainous country separating between the Mesopotamian plain and the high table-land of *Iran*, together with a fertile and valuable low tract at the foot of the range, between it and the Tigris. The passage of Daniel (viii. 2) which places Shushan (Susa) in "the province of Elam," may be regarded as decisive of this identification, which is further confirmed by the frequent mention of Elymæans in this district (Strab. xi. 13, §6, xvi. 1, §17; Ptolem. vi. 3; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 26, &c.), as well as by the combinations in which Elam is found in Scripture (see Gen. xiv. 1; Is. xxi. 2; Ez. xxxii. 24). It appears from Gen. x. 22, that this country was originally peopled by descendants of Shem, closely allied to the Arameans (Syrians) and the Assyrians; and from Gen. xiv. 1-12, it is evident that by the time of Abraham a very important power had been built up in the same region. Not only is "Chedor-lomero, king of Elam," at the head of a settled government, and able to make war at a distance of two thousand miles from his own country, but he manifestly exercises a supremacy over a number of other kings, among whom we even find Amraphel, king of *Shinar*, or Babylon. It is plain then that at this early time the predominant power in Lower Mesopotamia was Elam, which for a while held the place possessed earlier by Babylon (Gen. x. 10), and later by either Babylon or Assyria. Discoveries made in the country itself confirm this view. They exhibit to us Susa, the Elamitic capital, as one of the most ancient cities of the East, and show its monarchs to have maintained, throughout almost the whole period of Babylonian and Assyrian greatness, a quasi-independent position. Traces are even thought to have been found of Chedor-lomero himself, whom some are inclined to identify with an early Babylonian monarch, who is called the "Ravager of the West," and whose name reads as *Kudur-mapula*. The Elamitic empire established at this time was, however, but of short duration. Babylon and Assyria proved on the whole stronger powers, and Elam during the period of their greatness can only be regarded as the foremost of their

feudatories. Like the other subject nations she retained her own monarchs, and from time to time, for a longer or a shorter space, asserted and maintained her independence. But generally she was content to acknowledge one or other of the two leading powers as her suzerain. Towards the close of the Assyrian period she is found allied with Babylon and engaged in hostilities with Assyria; but she seems to have declined in strength after the Assyrian empire was destroyed, and the Median and Babylonian arose upon its ruins. Elam is clearly a "province" of Babylonia in Belshazzar's time (Dan. viii. 2), and we may presume that it had been subject to Babylon at least from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. The desolation which Jeremiah (xlix. 30-34) and Ezekiel (xxii. 24-25) foresaw, was probably this conquest, which destroyed the last semblance of Elamitic independence. It is uncertain at what time the Persians added Elam to their empire. Possibly it only fell under their dominion together with Babylon; but there is some reason to think that it may have revolted and joined the Persians before the city was besieged. The prophet Isaiah in two places (xxi. 2; xxii. 6) seems to speak of Elam as taking part in the destruction of Babylon; and unless we are to regard him with our translators as using the word loosely for Persia, we must suppose that on the advance of Cyrus and his investment of the Chaldaean capital, Elam made common cause with the assailants. She now became merged in the Persian empire, forming a distinct satrapy (Herod. iii. 91), and furnishing to the crown an annual tribute of 300 talents. Susa, her capital, was made the ordinary residence of the court, and the metropolis of the whole empire, a curious circumstance, the causes of which will be hereafter considered. [SHUSHAN.] This mark of favour did not, however, prevent revolts. Not only was the Magian revolution organised and carried out at Susa, but there seem to have been at least two Elamitic revolts in the early part of the reign of Darius Hystaspes (Behistun Inscr. col. i. par. 16, and col. ii. par. 3). After these futile efforts, Elam acquiesced in her subjection, and, as a Persian province, followed the fortunes of the empire.

It has been already observed that Elam is called Cissia by Herodotus, and Susiana by the Greek and Roman geographers. The latter is a term formed artificially from the capital city, but the former is a genuine territorial title, and marks probably an important fact in the history of the country. The Elamites, a Semitic people, who were the primitive inhabitants (Gen. x. 22), appear to have been invaded and conquered at a very early time by a Hamitic or Cushite race from Babylon, which was the ruling element in the territory from a date anterior to Chedor-Isomer. These Cushites were called by the Greeks Cissians (*Kissioi*) or Cosseans (*Kossaioi*), and formed the dominant race, while the Elamites or Elymaeans were in a depressed condition. In Scripture the country is called by its primitive title without reference to subsequent changes; in the Greek writers it takes its name from the conquerors. The Greek traditions of Memnon and his Ethiopians are based upon this Cushite conquest, and rightly connect the Cissians or Cosseans of Susiana with the Cushite inhabitants of the upper valley of the Nile. [G. R.]

2. A Korhite Levite, fifth son of Meshelemiah; one of the *Bene-Asaph*, in the time of king David (1 Chr. xxvi. 3).

3. A chief man of the tribe of Benjamin, one of the sons of Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 24).

4. ('*Alām*, 'Hlām; *Aelam*). "Children of Elam," *Bene-Elam*, to the number of 1254, returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 7; Neh. vii. 12; 1 Esd. v. 12), and a further detachment of 71 men with Ezra in the second caravan (Ezr. viii. 7; 1 Esd. viii. 33). It was one of this family, Shechaniah, son of Jehiel, who encouraged Ezra in his efforts against the indiscriminate marriages of the people (x. 2, *Cetob*, 'Olam), and six of the Bene-Elam accordingly put away their foreign wives (x. 26). Elam occurs amongst the names of those, the chief of the people, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 14). The lists of Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. contain apparently an irregular mixture of the names of places and of persons. In the former, ver. 21-34, with one or two exceptions, are names of places; 3-19, on the other hand, are not known as names of places, and are probably of persons. No such place as Elam is mentioned as in Palestine, either in the Bible or in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, nor has since been discovered as existing in the country. We may therefore conclude that it was a person.

5. In the same lists is a second Elam, whose sons, to the same number as in the former case, returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 31; Neh. vii. 34), and which for the sake of distinction is called "the other Elam" ('*Alām*, 'Hlām; *Aelam*, *Aelam*). The coincidence of the numbers is curious, and also suspicious.

6. One of the priests who accompanied Nehemiah at the dedication of the new wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 42). [G.]

ELAMITES ('*Alāmī*; 'Ελαμίται, Strab. Ptol.; *Aelamitae*). This word is found only in Ezra iv. 9; and is omitted in that place by the Septuagint writers, who probably regarded it as a gloss upon "Susanchites," which had occurred only a little before. The Elamites were the original inhabitants of the country called Elam; they were descendants of Shem, and perhaps drew their name from an actual man, Elam (Gen. x. 22). It has been observed in the preceding article that the Elamites yielded before a Cossian or Cushite invasion. They appear to have been driven in part to the mountains, where Strabo places them (xi. 13, §6; xvi. 1, §17), in part to the coast, where they are located by Ptolemy (vi. 3). Little is known of their manners and customs, or of their ethnic character. Strabo says they were skilful archers (xv. 3, §10), and with this agree the notices both of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the latter of whom speaks of "the bow of Elam" (xlix. 35), while the former says that "Elam bare the quiver" (xxii. 6). Isaiah adds also in this place, that they fought both on horseback and from chariots. They appear to have retained their nationality with peculiar tenacity; for it is plain from the mention of them on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9), that they still at that time kept their own language, and the distinct notice of them by Ptolemy more than a century later seems to show that they were not even then merged in the Cosseans. In Jud. i. 6 the name is given in the Greek form as ELYMAEANS. [G. R.]

EL'ASAH ('*Alāsāh*; *Elasa*). 1. ('*Haard*) One of the Bene-Pashur, a priest, in the time of  
2 l. 2

Ezra, who had married a Gentile wife (Ezra x. 22). In the apocryphal Esdras, the name is corrupted to TALASAT.

2. (Ἐλεασρ, Alex. Ἐλεασρ), son of Shaphan; one of the two men who were sent on a mission by King Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon after the first deportation from Jerusalem, and who at the same time took charge of the letter of Jeremiah the Prophet to the captives in Babylon (Jer. xxix. 3).

Elasah is precisely the same name as ELEASAH, the latter being the more correct rendering of the Hebrew word.

ELATH, ELOTH (אֵילָת, אֵילוֹת; אֵילָוֹת, אֵילָדוֹת; Joseph. *Ant.* Αἰλαῶν; *Elath*, *Ailath*, *Ailath*, *Aila*), the name of a town of the land of Edom, commonly mentioned together with Ezion-geber, and situate at the head of the Arabian Gulf, which was thence called the Elanitic Gulf. It first occurs in the account of the wanderings (Deut. ii. 8), and in later times must have come under the rule of David in his conquest of the land of Edom, when "he put garrisons in Edom, throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants" (2 Sam. viii. 14). We find the place named again in connexion with Solomon's navy, "in Eziongeber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom" (1 K. ix. 26, cf. 2 Chr. viii. 17). It was apparently included in the revolt of Edom against Joram recorded in 2 K. viii. 20; but it was taken by Azariah, who "built Elath, and restored it to Judah" (xiv. 22). After this, however, "Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath, and drove out the Jews from Elath, and the Syrians came to Elath and dwelt there to this day" (xvi. 6). From this time the place is not mentioned until the Roman period, during which it became a frontier town of the south, and the residence of a Christian bishop. The Arabic

name is *Eyleh* (أَيْلَه).

In the geography of Arabia, Eyleh forms the extreme northern limit of the province of the Hijāz (El-Makreczee, *Khitat*; and *Marsūd*, s. v.; cf. *ARABIA*), and is connected with some points of the history of the country. According to several native writers the district of Eyleh was, in very ancient times, peopled by the Samcyda, said to be a tribe of the Amalekites (the first Amalek). The town itself, however, is stated to have received its name from Eyleh, daughter of Midian (El-Makreczee's *Khitat*, s. v.; Caussin's *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, i. 23). The Amalekites, if we may credit the writings of Arab historians, passed in the earliest times from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf through the peninsula (spreading over the greater part of it), and thence finally passed into Arabia Petraea. Future researches may trace in these fragments of primeval tradition the origin of the Phoenicians. Herodotus seems to strengthen such a supposition when he says that the latter people came from the Erythraean Sea. Were the Phoenicians a mixed Cushite settlement from the Persian Gulf, who carried with them the known maritime characteristics of the peoples of that stock, developed in the great commerce of Tyre, and in that of the Persian Gulf, and, as a link between their extreme eastern and western settlements, in the fleets that sailed from Eziongeber and Elath, and from the southern ports of the Yemen?

[See *ARABIA*, *CAPITOR*, *MIZRAIM*.] It should be observed, however, that Tyrian sailors manned the fleets of Solomon and of Jehoshaphat.

By the Greeks and Romans, Elath was called Ἐλδνα (Ptol. v. 17, §1), Αἰλανα (Strabo, xvi. 768; Plin. v. 12; vi. 32). Under their rule it lost its former importance with the transference of its trade to other ports, such as Berenice, Myos Hormos, and Arsinoë; but in Mohammedan times it again became a place of some note. It is now quite insignificant. It lies on the route of the Egyptian pilgrim-caravan, and the mountain-road or 'Akabah named after it, was improved, or reconstructed, by Ahmad Ibn-Tooloon, who ruled Egypt from A.D. cir. 840 to 848. [E. S. P.]

EL-BETHEL (אֵל-בֵּית-אֵל = "God of the House of God:" LXX., both MSS. omit the "El," Βαῖθῆλ; and so also Vulg., *Domus Dei*, Syr. and Arabic versions), the name which Jacob is said to have bestowed on the place at which God appeared to him when he was flying from Esau (Gen. xxxv. 7). This account differs from the more detailed narrative in chap. xxviii., inasmuch as it places the bestowal of the name after the return from Mesopotamia. A third version of the transaction is given in xxxv. 15. [BETHLEH.] [G.]

EL/OIA (Ἐλκία), one of the forefathers of Judith, and therefore belonging to the tribe of Simeon (Jud. viii. 1); what Hebrew name the word represents is doubtful. Hilckiah is probably Chelkias, two steps back in the genealogy. The Syriac version has Elkana. In the Vulgate the names are hopelessly altered.

EL'DAAH (אֵלְדָּאָה, "whom God called;" Ἐλδὰα, Ἐλδὰδ; *Eldaa*; Gen. xxv. 4; 1 Chr. i. 33), the last, in order, of the sons of Milban. The name does not occur except in the two lists of Midian's offspring; and no satisfactory trace of the tribe which we may suppose to have taken the appellation has yet been found. [E. S. P.]

EL'DAD and ME'DAD (אֵלְדָּד וּמֵדָד; Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδὰδ; *Eldad et Medad*), two of the 70 elders to whom was communicated the prophetic power of Moses (Num. xi. 16, 26). Although their names were upon the list which Moses had drawn up (xi. 26), they did not repair with the rest of their brethren to the tabernacle, but continued to prophesy in the camp. Moses being requested by Joshua to forbid this, refused to do so, and expressed a wish that the gift of prophecy might be diffused throughout the people. The great fact of the passage is the more general distribution of the spirit of prophecy, which had hitherto been concentrated in Moses; and the implied sanction of a tendency to separate the exercise of this gift from the service of the tabernacle, and to make it more generally available for the enlightenment and instruction of the Israelites, a tendency which afterwards led to the establishment of "schools of the prophets." The circumstance is in strict accordance with the Jewish tradition that all prophetic inspiration emanated originally from Moses, and was transmitted from him by a legitimate succession down to the time of the captivity. The mode of prophecy in the case of Eldad and Medad was probably the extempore production of hymns, chanted forth to the people (Hammond): comp. the case of Saul, 1 Sam. x. 11.

From Num. xi. 25, it appears that the gift

was not merely intermittent, but a continuous energy, which only occasionally developed in action. [T. E. B.]

**ELDER** (ἡγεμὼν; πρεσβύτερος; *senior*). The term *elder* or *old man*, as the Hebrew literally imports, was one of extensive use, as an official title, among the Hebrews and the surrounding nations. It applied to various offices; Eliezer, for instance, is described as the "old man of the house," i. e. the *major domo* (Gen. xxiv. 2); the officers of Pharaoh's household (Gen. i. 7), and, at a later period, David's head servants (2 Sam. xii. 17) were so termed; while in Ez. xxvii. 9 the "old men of Gêbal" are the *master-workmen*. As betokening a political office, it applied not only to the Hebrews, but also to the Egyptians (Gen. i. 7), the Moabites and Midianites (Num. xxii. 7). Wherever a patriarchal system is in force, the office of the *elder* will be found, as the keystone of the social and political fabric; it is so at the present day among the Arabs, where the Sheikh (= the *old man*) is the highest authority in the tribe. That the title originally had reference to age, is obvious; and age was naturally a concomitant of the office at all periods (Josh. xxiv. 31; 1 K. xii. 6), even when the term had acquired its secondary sense. At what period the transition occurred, in other words when the word *elder* acquired an official signification, it is impossible to say. The earliest notice of the *elders* acting in concert as a political body is at the time of the Exodus. We need not assume that the order was then called into existence, but rather that Moses availed himself of an institution already existing and recognised by his countrymen, and that, in short, "the elders of Israel" (Ex. iii. 16, iv. 29) had been the *senate* (γενοῦσία, I. XX.) of the people, ever since they had become a people. The position which the elders held in the Mosaic constitution, and more particularly in relation to the people, is described under CONGREGATION; they were the representatives of the people, so much so that *elders* and *people* are occasionally used as equivalent terms (comp. Josh. xiv. 1 with 2, 19, 21; 1 Sam. vii. 4 with 7, 10, 19). Their authority was undefined, and extended to all matters concerning the public weal; nor did the people question the validity of their acts, even when they disapproved of them (Josh. ix. 18). When the tribes became settled the elders were distinguished by different titles according as they were acting as national representatives ("elders of Israel," 1 Sam. iv. 3; 1 K. vii. 1, 3 "of the land," 1 K. xx. 7; "of Judah," 2 K. xiii. 1; Ez. viii. 1), as district governors over the several tribes (Deut. xxi. 28; 2 Sam. xxi. 11), or as local magistrates in the provincial towns, appointed in conformity with Deut. xvi. 18, whose duty it was to sit in the gate and administer justice (Deut. xix. 12, xxi. 3 ff., xxii. 15; Ruth iv. 9, 11; 1 K. xxi. 8; Jud. x. 6); their number and influence may be inferred from 1 Sam. xxx. 26 ff. They retained their position under all the political changes which the Jews underwent under the Judges (Judg. ii. 7, viii. 14, xi. 5. 1 Sam. iv. 3, viii. 4); under the kings (2 Sam. xvii. 4; 1 K. xii. 6, xx. 8, xxi. 11); during the captivity (Jer. xxi. 1; Ez. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1):

subsequently to the return (Ezr. v. 5, vi. 7, 14 x. 8, 14); under the Maccabees,\* when they were described sometimes as the *senate* (γενοῦσία; 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §3), sometimes by their ordinary title (1 Macc. vii. 33, xi. 23, xii. 35); and, lastly, at its commencement of the Christian era, when they are noticed as a distinct body from the Sanhedrim, but connected with it as one of the classes whence its members were selected, and always acting in conjunction with it and the other dominant classes. [SANHEDRIM.] Thus they are associated sometimes with the Chief Priests (Matt. xxi. 23), sometimes with the Chief Priests and the Scribes (Matt. xvi. 21), or the Council (Matt. xxvi. 59), always taking an active part in the management of public affairs. St. Luke describes the whole order by the collective term πρεσβυτήριον (Luke xxii. 66; Acts xxii. 5). In Matt. xv. 2 and Heb. xi. 2 "elders" is expressive of time rather than office. For the position of the elders in the synagogue and the Christian Church, see ΣΥΝΑΓΟΓΗ, BISHOP. [W. L. B.]

**EL'EAD** (Ἠλεάδ; 'Elaēd; *Eluē*), a descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 21), but whether through Shuthelah, or a son of the patriarch (the second Shuthelah being taken as a repetition of the first, and Ezer and Elead as his brothers) is not to be determined (see Bertheau, *Chronik*, 82).

**EL'EAL'EH** (Ἠλεαλή; 'Elaelā; *Elcale*), a place on the east of Jordan, in the pastoral country, taken possession of and rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxxi. 3, 37). We lose sight of it till the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah, by both of whom it is mentioned as a Moabite town, and, as before, in close connexion with Heshbon (Is. xv. 4, xvi. 9; Jer. xlviii. 34). The extensive ruins of the place are still to be seen, bearing very nearly their ancient name, *El-A'el*, though with a modern signification, "the high," a little more than a mile N. of Heshbon. It stands on the summit of a rounded hill commanding a very extended view of the plain, and the whole of the Southern *Belka* (Burckh. *Syr.* 865; Seetzen, 1854, p. 407). It is from this commanding situation that it doubtless derives its name, which, like many other names of modern Palestine, is as near an approach to the ancient sound as is consistent with an appropriate meaning. [G.]

**ELE'ASA** ('Elaasā, Alex. 'Alasā; *Laisa*), a place at which Judas Maccabæus encamped before the fatal battle with Barchides, in which he lost his life (1 Macc. ix. 5). It was apparently not far from Azotus (comp. 15). Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, §1) has Bethzetho, by which he elsewhere renders Bezeth. But this may be but a corrupt reading of Berzetha or Bethzetha, which is found in some MSS. for Berea in 1 Macc. ix. 4. Another reading is Adasa, where Judas had encamped on a former memorable occasion (vii. 40). It is singular that Bezeth should be mentioned in this connexion also (see verse 19). [G.]

**ELE'ASAH** (Ἠλεάσα; *Elasa*). 1. ('Elaasā). Son of Helez, one of the descendants of Judah, of the family of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 39).

\* Some difficulty arises at this period from the notice in 1 Macc. xiv. 28 of a double body, ἀρχοντες ἔθνος, and πρεσβύτεροι τῆς χώρας; and again in 3 Macc. i. 8, γενοῦσία and πρεσβύτεροι: the second term

may refer to the municipal authorities, as is perhaps implied in the term χώρα. The identity of the γενοῦσία and the πρεσβύτεροι in other passages is clear from 1 Macc. xii. 6, compared with 38.

●2. ('Ελασρ; Alex. Ελασα) Son of Rapha, or Rephaiah; a descendant of Saul through Jonathan and Merib-baal or Mephibosheth (1 Chr. viii. 37, ix. 43).

This name is elsewhere rendered in the A. V. • ELASAH.

ELEAZAR (עֲלֵאזָר; 'Ελεάζαρ; Eleazar).

1. Third son of Aaron, by Elisheba, daughter of Aminadab, who was descended from Judah, through Pharez (Ex. vi. 23, 25; xxviii. 1; for his descent see Gen. xxxviii. 29, xvi. 12; Ruth, iv. 18, 20). After the death of Nadab and Abihu without children (Lev. x. 1; Num. iii. 4), Eleazar was appointed chief over the principal Levites, to have the oversight of those who had charge of the sanctuary (Num. iii. 32). With his brother Ithamar he ministered as a priest during their father's lifetime, and immediately before his death was invested on Mount Horeb with the sacred garments, as the successor of Aaron in the office of High-priest (Num. xx. 28). One of his first duties was in conjunction with Moses to superintend the census of the people (Num. xxvi. 3). He also assisted at the inauguration of Joshua, and at the division of spoil taken from the Midianites (Num. xxvii. 22, xxxi. 21). After the conquest of Canaan by Joshua he took part in the distribution of the land (Josh. xiv. 1). The time of his death is not mentioned in Scripture; Josephus says it took place about the same time as Joshua's, 25 years after the death of Moses. He is said to have been buried in "the hill of Phinehas" his son (Gen. p. 260), where Josephus says his tomb existed (*Ant.* v. 1, §29); or possibly a town called Gibeath-Phinehas (Josh. xiv. 33). The High-priesthood is said to have remained in the family of Eleazar until the time of Eli, a descendant of Ithamar, into whose family, for some reason unknown, it passed until it was restored to the family of Eleazar in the person of Zadok (1 Sam. ii. 27; 1 Chr. vi. 8, xlv. 3; 1 K. ii. 27; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, §3).

2. The son of Abinadab, of the "hill" (עֲלֵאזָר) of Kirjath-jearim, appointed by the inhabitants of that place to take care of the ark after its return from the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 1).

3. The son of Dodo the Ahoite (עֲלֵאזָר), i. e. possibly a descendant of Ahoah of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 4); one of the three principal mighty men of David's army, whose exploits are recorded 2 Sam. xxiii. 9; 1 Chr. xi. 12.

4. A Merarite Levite, son of Mahli, and grandson of Merari. He is mentioned as having had only daughters, who were married by their "brethren" (i. e. their cousins) (1 Chr. xxiii. 21, 22; xxiv. 28).

5. A priest who took part in the feast of dedication under Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42).

6. One of the sons of Parosh; an Israelite (i. e. a layman) who had married a foreign wife, and had to put her away (Ezra x. 25; 1 Esdr. ix. 26).

7. Son of Phinehas a Levite (Ezr. viii. 33; 1 Esdr. viii. 63).

8. ELEAZAR ('Ελεάζαρ; Joseph. 'Ελεάζαρ), surnamed AVARAN (1 Macc. ii. 5 *Αβαράν*, or *Αβράν*, and so Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6, 1; 9, 4. In 1 Macc. vi. 43, the common reading *δ' Αβαράν* arises either from the insertion of C by mistake after O, or from a false division of 'Ελεάζαρ *Αβαράν*). The fourth son of Mattathias, who fell by a noble act of self-devotion in an engagement with Antiochus Eupator,

b.c. 164 (1 Macc. vi. 43 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 19, §4; *de B. J.* i. 1, §5; Ambr. *De offic. min.* 40). In a former battle with Nicanor, Eleazar was appointed by Judas to read "the holy book" before the attack, and the watchword in the fight—"the help of God"—was his own name (2 Macc. viii. 23).

The surname is probably connected with Arab. *havar*, "to pierce an animal behind" (Mich. *sub voc.*). This derivation seems far better than that of Rödiger (Ersch u. Gruber, s. v.) from Arab. *khavaran*, "an elephant-hide." In either case the title is derived from his exploit.

9. A distinguished scribe ('Ελεάζαρ . . . τῶν πρωτεύοντων γραμματέων, 2 Macc. vi. 18) of great age, who suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. vi. 18-31). His death was marked by singular constancy and heroism, and seemed to have produced considerable effect. Later traditions embellished the narrative by representing Eleazar as a priest (*De Macc.* 5), or even high-priest (Grimm., *ad Macc.* l. c.). He was also distinguished by the nobler title of "the proto-martyr of the old covenant," "the foundation of martyrdom" (Chrys. *Hom.* 3 in *Macc.* init. Cf. Ambr. *de Jacob.* ii. 10).

For the general credibility of the history compare Grimm. *Excurs.* über 2 Macc. vi. 18-viii. in *Herz. Handb.*; also Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 341, 532. [MACCABEES.]

The name Eleazar in 3 Macc. vi. appears to have been borrowed from this Antiochian martyr, as belonging to one weighed down by age and suffering and yet "helped by God." (For the name comp. LAZARUS, Luke xvi. 19-25.)

10. The father of Jason, ambassador from Judas Maccabaeus to Rome. (1 Macc. viii. 18.)

11. The son of Eliud, three generations above Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary (Matt. i. 15). [B. F. W.]

ELEAZURUS ('Ελαίσεβος; Alex. 'Ελαίσβος; *Eliasis*), 1 Esd. ix. 24. [ELIASHIB.] It is difficult to see where the translators of the A. V. got the form of this name there given.

EL ELOHIE ISRAEL (אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) = "Almighty, God of Israel;" καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ; *Fortissimum Deum Israel*, the name bestowed by Jacob on the altar which he erected facing the city of Shechem, in the piece of cultivated land upon which he had pitched his tent, and which he afterwards purchased from the Bene-Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19, 20).

E'LEPH (אֵלֶפֶת = the Ox; *Ξελήφον*, Alex. *Ξηλαφόν*—both by including the preceding name; *Eleph*), one of the towns allotted to Benjamin, and named next to Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 28). The signification of the name may be taken as an indication of the pastoral pursuits of its inhabitants. The LXX. read *Zelah* and *Eleph* as one name, possibly owing to the "and" between them having been dropped; but if this is done, the number of 14 cities cannot be made up. The Peschito has

ܐܠܝܦܐ *Geltro*, for *Eleph*; but what the origin of this can be is not obvious. [G.]

ELEPHANT. The word does not occur in the text of the canonical Scriptures of A. V., but is found as the marginal reading to *Bohemoth*, in Job xl. 15. "*Elephants' teeth*" is the marginal reading for "*ivory*" in 1 K. x. 22; 2 Chr. ix. 41.

Elephants however are repeatedly mentioned in the 1st and 2nd books of Maccabees, as being used in warfare. The way in which they were used in battle, and the method of exciting them to fight, is described in the 6th chap. of 1 Macc. For the meaning of *Behemoth*, see BEHEMOTH. For the meaning of *יוֹנָתָן*, see IVORY. [W. D.]

**ELEUTHEROPOLIS** (Ἐλευθερόπολις, *the free city*), a town of southern Palestine, situated at the foot of the hills of Judah, on the borders of the great plain of Philistia. It is about 25 miles from Jerusalem on the road to Gaza. It is not mentioned in Scripture; but it became in the early centuries of the Christian era one of the most important and flourishing towns in the country. Its ancient name was *Betogabra* (Βετογάβρα, *the House of Gabra or Gabriel*), which first occurs in the writings of Ptolemy in the beginning of the 2nd century (ch. xvi.). Josephus refers to a large village called *Bētrapis* (in Rufinus' copy *Βήτραβρις*) in this region, which may be the same (*B. J.* iv. 8, §1). It is found in the Peutinger Tables as *Betogabri* (Reland, *Pal.* p. 421). Its new name, Eleuthropolis, first occurs upon coins in the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 202-3; Eckhel, iii. 488). That emperor during his visit to Palestine conferred important privileges on several cities; and this was one of the number. Eusebius is the first writer who mentions Eleuthropolis (*Onom.* s. v.), which was in his time the capital of a large province. It was the seat of a bishop, and was so well known that he made it the central point in Southern Palestine from which the positions of more than 20 other towns were determined. Epiphanius, the well-known writer, was born in a village three miles from the city, in the beginning of the 4th century; and is often called an Eleuthropolitan (Reland, pp. 751-2). In the year A.D. 796, little more than a century and a half after the Saracenic conquest, Eleuthropolis was razed to the ground, and left completely desolate. The Greek language now gave place to the Arabic; and this city lost its proud name, and its prouder rank together (Reland, p. 987). Like so many other cities, the old name, which had probably never been lost to the peasantry, was revived among writers; and we thus find *Beigeberrin*, or some form like it, constantly in use after the 8th century. In the 12th century the Crusaders found the place in ruins, and built a fortress on the old foundations; the remains of which, and the chapel connected with it, still exist. After the battle of Hattin, *Beit Jibrin*, for such is its Arabic name, fell into the hands of the Saracens. It was retaken by King Richard of England, but it was finally captured by Bibars (see Will. Tyr. 14, 22; Jac. de Vit. in *Gesta Dei*, pp. 1070, 1071; Bohseddin, *Vit. Salad.* p. 229). It has since crumbled to ruin under the blight of Mohammedan rule.

Several curious traditions have found a "local habitation" at *Beit Jibrin*. One places here the miraculous fountain which sprang from the jawbone Samson wielded with such success against the Philistines (Anton. Mant. *Itin.* 30, 32).

The modern village contains some 50 or 60 houses. It is situated in a little nook, in the side of a long green valley. The ancient ruins are of considerable extent; they consist of the remains of a strong fortress standing within an irregular enclosure encompassed by a massive wall. A great part of this outer wall is completely ruinous; but the

north side, which skirts the bank of the valley, is still several feet high. The enclosure is about 600 ft. in diameter. The fortress is about 200 ft. square, and is of a much later date than the outer wall; an Arabic inscription over the gateway bears the date A.H. 958 (A.D. 1551). Along its south side are the walls and part of the groined roof of a fine old chapel—the same, doubtless, which was built by the Crusaders.

The valley, on the side of which the ruins of Eleuthropolis lie, runs up among the hills for two miles or more south-by-east. On each side of it are low ridges of soft limestone, which rises here and there in white bare crowns over the dark shrubs. In these ridges are some of the most remarkable caverns, in Palestine. They are found together in clusters, and form subterranean villages. Some are rectangular, 100 ft. and more in length, with smooth walls and lofty arched roofs. Others are bell-shaped—from 40 to 70 ft. in diameter, by nearly 60 ft. in height—all connected together by arched doorways and winding subterranean passages. A few are entirely dark; but most of them are lighted by a circular aperture at the top. They occur at short intervals along both sides of the whole valley; and the writer also saw them at several other neighbouring villages. We learn from history that the Idumaeans [EDOMITES] came, during the Babylonish captivity, and occupied the greater part of Southern Palestine. Jerome says they inhabited the whole country extending from Eleuthropolis to Petra and Elah; and that they dwell in caves—preferring them both on account of their security, and their coolness during the heat of summer (*Comm. in Obad.*). These remarkable caves, therefore, were doubtless the work of the Idumaeans. (See *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 255, sq.; Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. pp. 23, 57, sq.) [J. L. P.]

**ELEUTHERUS** (Ἐλεύθερος), a river of Syria mentioned in 1 Macc. xi. 7; xii. 30. In early ages it was a noted border stream. According to Strabo it separated Syria from Phoenicia (xvi. p. 753), and formed the northern limit of Coele-syria. Josephus informs us that Antony gave Cleopatra "the cities that were within the river Eleutherus, as far as Egypt, except Tyre and Sidon" (*Ant.* xv. 4, §1, *B. J.* i. 18, §5). A careful examination of the passages in Num. xxxiv. 8-10, and Ezek. xlvii. 15-17, and a comparison of them with the features of the country, lead the present writer to the conclusion that this river also formed, for so far, the northern border of the "Promised Land" (*Five Years in Damascus*, vol. ii. pp. 354, sq.). Pliny says that at a certain season of the year it swarmed with tortoise (ix. 10).

Of the identity of the Eleutherus with the modern *Nahr-el-Kebir*, "Great River," there cannot be a doubt. Its highest source is at the northeastern base of Lebanon; it sweeps round the northern end of the range, through the opening called in Scripture "the entrance of Hamath" (Num. xxxiv. 8); and, after receiving several small tributaries from the heights of Lebanon, it falls into the Mediterranean about 18 miles north of Tripolis. It still forms the boundary between the provinces of *Akkâr* and *el-Hum*. During summer and autumn it is but a small stream, easily forded; but in winter it swells into a large and rapid river. [J. L. P.]

ELHA'NAN (עֲלִינָן; 'Eleaván; Adeodatus).

1. A distinguished warrior in the time of King David, who performed a memorable exploit against the Philistines, though in what that exploit exactly consisted, and who the hero himself was, it is not easy to determine.

1. 2 Sam. xxi. 19 says that he was the "son of Jaare Oregim the Bethlehemite," and that he "slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." Here, in the A. V. the words "the brother of" are inserted, to bring the passage into agreement with,

2. 1 Chr. xx. 5, which states that "Elhanan son of Jair (or Jaor) slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear," &c.

Of these two statements the latter is probably the more correct—the differences between them being much smaller in the original than in English. We must refer the reader to the Hebrew for the comparison of the two,\* the discrepancies in which are not greater than those known to exist in other corrupt passages, but the following are the grounds of our decision.

(a.) The word *Oregim* exists twice in the verse in Samuel, first as a proper name, and again at the end—"weavers." The former has probably been taken in by an early transcriber from the latter, i. e. from the next line of the MSS. To the end of the verse it certainly belongs, since it is found in the parallel passage of Chron., and also forms part of what seems to have been a proverbial description of Goliath (comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 7). The chances are very much against the same word—and that not a common one—forming part of one verse in two capacities.

(b.) The statement in Samuel is in contradiction to the narrative of 1 Sam. xvii., according to which Goliath the Gittite was killed by David. True, Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 91, 2)—from the fact that David's antagonist is, with only 3 exceptions (one of them in the doubtful verse, xvii. 12-32), called "the Philistine," and for other linguistic reasons—has suggested that Elhanan was the real victor of Goliath, and that after David became king the name of Goliath was attached to the nameless champion whom he killed in his youth. But against this is the fact that Goliath is named thrice in 1 Sam. xvii. and xxi.—thrice only though it be; and also that Elhanan's exploit, from its position both in Samuel and in Chronicles, and from other indications, took place late in David's reign, and when he had been so long king and so long renowned, that all the brilliant feats of his youth must have been brought to light, and well known to his people. It is recorded as the last but one in the series of encounters of what seems to have been the closing struggle with the Philistines. It was so late that David had acquired among his warriors the fond title of "the light of Israel" (2 Sam. xxi. 17), and that his nephew Jonathan was old enough to perform a feat rivaling that of his illustrious uncle years before. It was certainly after David was made king, for he goes down

to the fight, not with his "young men" (יְעָרָיו),\* as when he was leading his band during Saul's life, but with his "servants" (עָבָדָיו), literally his "slaves," a term almost strictly reserved for the subjects of a king. The vow of his guard, on one of these occasions, that it should be his last appearance in the field, shows that it must have been after the great Ammonite war, in which David himself had led the host to the storming of Rabbah (2 Sam. xii. 29). It may have been between this last event and the battle with Absalom beyond Jordan, though there are other obvious reasons why David stayed within the walls of Mahanaim on that occasion.

On the whole, therefore, though the question is beset with difficulties, the just conclusion appears to be that the reading in Chronicles is the more correct one, according to which Elhanan is the son of Jair,\* and slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath.

Jerome in his *Quæst. Hebr.* on both passages—he does not state whether from ancient tradition or not—translates Elhanan into *Adeo-datus*, and adds *filius saltis Polymitaris Bethlehemites*—"the son of a wood, a weaver, a Bethlehemite." Adeo-datus he says is David, which he proves not only by arguments drawn from the meaning of each of the above words, but also from the statement in the concluding verse of the record that all these giants "fell by the hand of David and by the hand of his servants," and as Elhanan slew Goliath, Elhanan must be David.

2. The son of Dodo of Bethlehem, one of "the thirty" of David's guard, and named first on the list (2 Sam. xxiii. 24; 1 Chr. xi. 26). See Kennicott's *Dissertation*, 179.

The same name is also found with Baal substituted for EL,—BAAL-HANAN. (Comp. BEEK-LIADA.) [4.]

ELI (אֵלִי; 'HAL; 'Hæl; Joseph.; *Ileli*), was descended from Aaron through Ithamar, the youngest of his two surviving sons (Lev. x. 1, 2, 12), as appears from the fact that Abiathar, who was certainly a lineal descendant of Eli (1 K. ii. 27), had a son Ahimelech, who is expressly stated to have been "of the sons of Ithamar" (1 Chr. xxiv. 3; cf. 2 Sam. viii. 17). With this accords the circumstance that the names of Eli and his successors in the high-priesthood up to, and including, Abiathar, are not found in the genealogy of Eleazar (1 Chr. vi. 4-15; cf. Ezr. vii. 1-5). As the history makes no mention of any high-priest of the line of Ithamar before Eli, he is generally supposed to have been the first of that line, who held the office. ("Hæl πρότερον τούτων [ἀρχιερωσύνην] παραλαμβάνος," Joseph. *Ant.* viii. i. §3.) From him, his sons having died before him, it appears to have passed to his grandson, Ahitub (1 Sam. xiv. 3; Josephus, however, says "φινεστος δὲ ἦδη καὶ παῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παρακχεωρημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας," *Ant.* v. xi. §2), and it certainly remained in his family till Abiathar, the grandson

\* It will be found fully examined in Kennicott's *Dissertation*, 78.

\* Nothing can be more marked than this distinction. *Na'ar* (נָעָר) is used almost invariably for David's followers up to the death of Saul, and then at once the term changes, and *Ebed* (עָבֵד), a "slave," is as exclusively employed. Even Absalom's people go by the former name. This will be evident to any one who

will look into the quotations under the two words in that most instructive book, *The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance*.

\* Ewald has overcome the difficulty of the two discrepant passages by a curious eclectic process. From Chronicles he accepts the name "Jair," but rejects "Lahmi, the brother of." From Samuel he takes "the Bethlehemite," and rejects "Oregim."

of Ahitub, was "thrust out from being priest unto the Lord," by Solomon for his share in Adonijah's rebellion (1 K. ii. 26, 27; i. 7), and the high-priesthood passed back again to the family of Eleazar in the person of Zadok (1 K. ii. 35). How the office ever came into the younger branch of the house of Aaron we are not informed, though there is reason to suppose that its doing so was sanctioned by God (1 Sam. ii. 30). Its return to the elder branch was one part of the punishment which had been denounced against Eli during his lifetime, for his culpable negligence in contenting himself with mere verbal reprimand (1 Sam. ii. 22-25) instead of active paternal and judicial restraint (iii. 13), when his sons by their rapacity and licentiousness profaned the priesthood, and brought the rites of religion into abhorrence among the people (1 Sam. ii. 27-36, with 1 K. ii. 27). Another part of the same sentence (ver. 31-33) appears to have been taking effect in the reign of David, when we read, that "there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar," sixteen of the former, and only eight of the latter (1 Chr. xxiv. 4). Notwithstanding this one great blemish, the character of Eli is marked by eminent piety, as shown by his meek submission to the divine judgment (1 Sam. iii. 18), and his supreme regard for the ark of God (iv. 18). In addition to the office of high-priest he held that of judge, being the immediate predecessor of his pupil Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 6, 15-17), the last of the judges. The length of time during which he judged Israel is given as 40 years in our present Hebrew copies, whereas the LXX. make it 20 years (ἐξέκοιεν ἔτη, 1 Sam. iv. 18). It has been suggested in explanation of the discrepancy, that he was *solo* judge for 20 years, after having been co-judge with Samson for 20 years (Judg. xvi. 31). He died at the advanced age of 98 years (1 Sam. iv. 15), overcome by the disastrous intelligence that the ark of God had been taken in battle by the Philistines, who had also slain his sons Hophni and Phinehas. [ABIA-THAR, ELEAZAR, ITHAMAR.] (See Lightfoot's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 53, 907, fol. Lond. 1684; Selden, *de Success. in Pontif. Hebr.* lib. i. cap. 4.) [T. T. P.]

**ELI'AB** (עֲלִי'אָב; 'Eliab; *Eliab*). 1. Son of Hebron and leader of the tribe of Zebulun at the time of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 9, ii. 7, vii. 24, 29, x. 16).

2. A Reubenite, son of Pallu or Phallu, whose family was one of the principal in the tribe; and father or progenitor of Dathan and Abiram, the leaders in the revolt against Moses (Num. xvi. 8, 9, xvi. 1. 12; Deut. xi. 6). Eliab had another son named NEMUEL, and the record of Num. xvi. is interrupted expressly to admit a statement regarding his sons.

3. One of David's brothers, the eldest of the family (1 Chr. ii. 13; 1 Sam. xvi. 6, xvii. 13, 28). His daughter Abihail married her second cousin Rehoboam, and bore him three children (2 Chr. xi. 18); although, taking into account the length of the reigns of David and Solomon, it is difficult not to suspect that the word "daughter" is here used in the less strict sense of granddaughter or descendant. In 1 Chr. xxvii. 18, we find mention of "Elihu, of the brethren of David," as "ruler" (רֹאשׁ), or "prince" (נָשִׂא) of the tribe of Judah. According

to the ancient Hebrew tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. ad loc.*), Elihu was identical with Eliab. "Brethren" is however often used in the sense of kinsman, *c. q.* 1 Chr. xii. 2.

4. A Levite in the time of David, who was both a "porter" (שֹׁמֵר, *Shôser*, i. e., a doorkeeper) and a musician on the "psaltery" (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 5).

5. One of the warlike Gadite leaders who came over to David when he was in the wilderness taking refuge from Saul (1 Chr. xii. 9).

6. An ancestor of Samuel the Prophet; a Kohathite Levite, son of Nahath (1 Chr. vi. 27; heb. 12). In the other statements of the genealogy this name appears to be given as ELIHU (1 Sam. i. 1) and ELIEL (1 Chr. vi. 34; heb. 19).

7. Son of Nathanael, one of the forefathers of Judith, and therefore belonging to the tribe of Simeon (Jud. viii. 1).

**ELI'ADA** (עֲלִי'אָדָה; 'Eliadâ, and repeated, Βααλιμαδ; Chr. 'Eliadâ; Alex. Ελιεδα; *Eliada*, *Eliada*). 1. One of David's sons; according to the lists, the youngest but one of the family born to him after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 16; 1 Chr. iii. 8). From the latter passage it appears that he was the son of a wife and not of a concubine. In another list of David's family we find the name Eliad changed to Beeliada, Bael being substituted for El, the false god for the true (1 Chr. xiv. 7). What significance there may be in this change it is impossible to say, at any rate the present is the only instance occurring, and even there Eliad is found in one Heb. MS., also in the LXX. and Syr. versions. [BEELIADA.] The name appears to be omitted by Josephus in his list of David's family (*Ant.* vii. 3, §3).

2. A mighty man of war (יָבוֹר, *Yavor*), a Benjamite, who led 200,000 of his tribe to the army of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 17).

**ELI'ADAH** (עֲלִי'אָדָה; Alex. 'Eliadâ; *Eliada*), apparently an Aramite of Zolnah; father of Rezon the captain of a marauding band which annoyed Solomon (1 K. xi. 23).

**ELI'ADAS** (Ελιαδὰς; *Eliadas*), 1 Esd. ix. 28. [ELIOENAI.]

**ELI'ADUN** (Ἠλι'αδουν; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. v. 58. Possibly altered from HENADAD.

**ELI'AH** (עֲלִי'אָה; *Eliā*). 1. ('Eliā, Alex. Ἠλία) A Benjamite; one of the sons of Jeroham, and a chief man (שָׂרָא, literally "head") of the tribe (1 Chr. viii. 27).

2. (Ἠλίας) One of the Bene-Elam; an Israelite (i. e. a layman) in the times of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 26).

This name is accurately Elijah, and the translators of the A. V. have so expressed it, not only in the name of the Prophet (most frequently spelt with a final u), but in another case (Ezr. x. 21). [ELIJAH.]

**ELI'AHBA** (עֲלִי'אָבָה, in Chr. Ελι'αβ; 'Eliabâ, 'Emaou, 'Eliab; *Eliaba*), a Shamlonite, i. e. probably from SHALBIM; one of the Thirty of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chr. xi. 33).

**ELIAKIM** (עֲלִיָּאִים, *whom God will establish*; 'Ελιακίμ and 'Ελιακέμ; *Eliakim*). 1. Son of Hilkiah; master of Hezekiah's household (עֲלִיָּאִים = "over the house," as Is. xxxvi. 3), 2 K. xviii. 18, 26, 37. He succeeded Shebna in this office, after he had been ejected from it (Grotius thinks by reason of his leprosy) as a punishment for his pride (Is. xxii. 15-20). Eliakim was a good man, as appears by the title emphatically applied to him by God, "my servant Eliakim" (Is. xxii. 20), and as was evinced by his conduct on the occasion of Sennacherib's invasion (2 K. xviii. 37, xix. 1-5), and also in the discharge of the duties of his high station, in which he acted as a "father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah" (Is. xxii. 21). It was as a special mark of the Divine approbation of his character and conduct, of which however no further details have been preserved to us, that he was raised to the post of authority and dignity which he held at the time of the Assyrian invasion. What this office was has been a subject of some perplexity to commentators. The ancients, including the LXX. and Jerome, understood it of the priestly office, as appears by the rendering of כֹּהֵן (Is. xxii. 15, A. V. "treasurer") by *πρασφορίων*, the "priest's chamber," by the former, and of עֲלִיָּאִים by "*proepositus templi*" by the latter. Hence Nicephorus, as well as the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, includes in the list of high-priests, Somnas or Sobnas (i. e. Shebna), and Eliakim, identifying the latter with Shallum or Meshullam. His 12th high-priest is, *Somnas, ille impius et perditus, regnante Ezechia*, and his 13th, Eliakim Muselum. But it is certain from the description of the office in Is. xxii., and especially from the expression in ver. 22, "the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder," that it was the King's house, and not the House of God, of which Eliakim was praefect, as Ahishar had been in the reign of Solomon, 1 K. iv. 6, and Azrikam in that of Ahaz, 2 Chr. xxviii. 7. And with this agrees both all that is said, and all that is not said, of Eliakim's functions. The office seems to have been the highest under the king, as was the case in Egypt, when Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Thou shalt be over my house (עֲלִיָּאִים) . . . only in the throne will I be greater than thou," Gen. xli. 40, comp. xxxix. 4. In 2 Chr. xxviii. 7, the officer is called "governor (נָזִיר) of the house." It is clear that the "Scribe" was inferior to him, for Shebna, when degraded from the praefecture of the house, acted as scribe under Eliakim,\* 2 K. xviii. 37. The whole description of it too by Isaiah implies a place of great eminence and power. This description is transferred in a mystical or spiritual sense to Christ the son of David in Rev. iii. 7; thus making Eliakim in some sense typical of Christ. This it is perhaps which gave rise to the interpretation of Eliakim's name mentioned by Origen, *ὁ Θεὸς μου ἀνίστηναι* or as Jerome has it, *Dei resurrectione*, or *Resurgens Deus*; and also favoured the mystical interpretation of the passage in Isaiah given by Jerome in his commentary, based upon the interpretation of כֹּהֵן (A. V. "treasurer") as "*habituans in tabernaculo*," as if it imported the removal of the Jewish

dispensation, and the setting up of the Gospel in its place. The true meaning of כֹּהֵן is very doubtful. "Friend," i. e. of the king, and "Steward of the provisions," are the two most probable significations. Eliakim's career was a most honourable and splendid one. Most commentators agree that Is. xxii. 25 does not apply to him, but to Shebna. Eliakim's name also occurs 2 K. xix. 2; Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22, xxxvii. 2. (See further Jerome *de nom. Hebr.* and *Comm. on Is.* xxii. 15 sq.; Rosenmüll. *ib.*; Bp. Lowth's *Notes on Is.*; Selden, *de success. in Pontif. Hebr.*; Winer, *sub voc.*)

2. The original name of Jehoikim king of Judah (2 K. xxiii. 34; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 4). [*JEHOIAKIM.*]

3. A priest in the days of Nehemiah, who assisted at the dedication of the new wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 41).

4. Eldest son of Abiud, or Judah; brother of Joseph, and father of Azor, Matt. i. 13. [*GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.*]

5. Son of Melea, and father of Jonan, Luke iii. 30, 31. [*IBID.*] [A. C. H.]

**ELI'ALI** ('Ελιαλί, Alex. 'Ελιαλέλ; *Dielus*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [*IBID.*]

**ELIAM** (עֲלִיָּאִם; 'Ελιάς, Vat. and Alex.; *Eliam*). 1. Father of Bathsheba, the wife of David (2 Sam. xi. 3). In the list of 1 Chr. iii. 5, the names of both father and daughter are altered; the former to AMMIEL and the latter to BATISHUA; and it may be noticed in passing, that both the latter names were also those of non-Israelite persons, while Uriah was a Hittite. (Comp. Gen. xxxviii. 12; 1 Chr. ii. 3; in both of which "the daughter of Shua" is שִׁשַׁי בַּת שֻׁא, Bath-shua; also 2 Sam. xvii. 27.) The transposition of the two parts of the name El-i-am in Amm-i-el, does not alter its Hebrew signification, which may be "God is my people."

2. Son of Ahithophel the Gilonite; one of David's "thirty" warriors (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). The name is omitted in the list of 1 Chr. xi., but is now probably dimly discernible as "Ahiyah the Pelonite" (ver. 36) (see Kennicott, *Dissertation*, 207). The ancient Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. xi. 3, and 1 Chr. iii. 5) is that the two Eliams are one and the same person. An argument has been founded on this to account for the hostility of Ahitophel to King David, as having dishonoured his house and caused the death of his son-in-law (Blunt, *Coincidences*, Pt. II. x.). But such arguments are frequently grounded on ignorance of the habits and modes of feeling of Orientals, who often see no shame in that which is the greatest disgrace to us.

**ELIAONIAS** ('Ελιαωνίας; *Moabitis*, including preceding name), 1 Esd. viii. 31. [*ELIOENAL.*]

**ELIAS** ('Ηλίας, in Maccabees, and Lachm. in N. T. 'Ηλίας; *Elias*, but in Cod. Amiat. *Heliús*), the form in which the name of ELIJAH is given in the A. V. of the Apocrypha and N. Test.: Ecclus. xlviii. 1, 4, 12; 1 Macc. ii. 58; Matt. xi. 14, xvi. 14, xvii. 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, xlvii. 47, 49; Mark vi. 15, viii. 28, ix. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, xv. 35, 36, Luke i. 17, iv. 25, 26, ix. 8, 18, 30, 33, 54; John i. 21, 25; Rom. xi. 2; James v. 17. In Rom. xi. 2, the reference is not to the prophet.

\* Bp. Lowth thinks, but without sufficient reason, that this Shebna is a different person from the other.

but to the portion of Scripture designated by his name, the words being *ἐν Ἡλίᾳ*, "in Elias," not as in A. V. "of Elias." [BIBLE, 212 b.]

**ELIASAPH** (Ἐλισάφ; *Ἐλισάφ*; *Eliasaph*).

1. Son of Douel; head of the tribe of Dan at the time of the census in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 14, ii. 14, vii. 42, 47, x. 20).

2. Son of Lael; a Levite, and "chief of the house of the father of the Gershonite" at the same time (Num. iii. 24).

**ELIASHIB** (Ἐλισήβ; *Ἐλιασεβόν*, *Ἐλιαβί*, *Ἐλιασείβ*, *Ἐλιασοῦβ*, *κτλ.*; *Eliasub*, *Eliasib*), a common name at the later period of the O. T. history.

1. A priest in the time of King David, eleventh in the order of the "governors" (יְשִׁבְיָהּ) of the sanctuary (1 Chr. xxiv. 12).

2. A son of Elioenai; one of the latest descendants of the royal family of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 24).

3. High-priest at Jerusalem at the time of the rebuilding of the walls under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 1, 20, 21). His genealogy is given in xii. 10, 22, 23. Eliashib was in some way allied (נֶאֱרָב = near) to Tobiah the Ammonite, for whom he had prepared a room in the Temple, a desecration which excited the wrath of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 4, 7). One of the grandsons of Eliashib had also married the daughter of Sanballat the Hironite (xiii. 28). There seems no reason to doubt that the same Eliashib is referred to in Ezra x. 6.

4. A singer in the time of Ezra who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 24). [ELEAZURUS.]

5. A son of Zattu (Ezr. x. 27), [ELISIMUS] and

6. A son of Bani (x. 36), [ELIASIB] both of whom had transgressed in the same manner.

**ELIASIS** (Ἐλίαςις, *Ἐλιδεῖς*; *Eliasis*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. This name answers to MATTHEAI in Ezr. x. 33; but is probably merely a repetition of Enasibos, just preceding it.

**ELIATHAI** (Ἐλιᾶθαι and Ἐλιᾶθ; *Ἐλιᾶθ*; *Eliatha*), one of the sons of Heman, a musician in the Temple in the time of King David (1 Chr. xxv. 4), who with twelve of his sons and brethren had the twentieth division of the temple-service (xxv. 27). In Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.* on ver. 27, the name is given as Eliaba and explained accordingly; but not so in the Vulgate.

**ELIADAD** (Ἐλιάδ; *Ἐλιδάδ*; *Eliadad*), son of Chislon; the man chosen to represent the tribe of Benjamin in the division of the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 21).

**ELIEL** (Ἐλιέλ; *Ἐλήλ*; *Eliel*). 1. One of the heads of the tribe of Manasseh—of that portion of the tribe which was on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

2. Son of Toah; a forefather of Samuel the Prophet (1 Chr. vi. 34, heb. 19). Probably identical with ELIHU, 2, and ELIAB, 6.

3. (Ἐλισάφ), one of the Bene-Shimhi; a chief man in the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 20).

4. (Ἐλήλ), like the preceding, a Benjamite, but belonging to the Bene-Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 22).

5. (Alex. *Ἰελήλ*), "the Mahavite;" one of the

heroes of David's guard in the extended list of 1 Chr. (xi. 46).

6. (Δαλήλ, Alex. *Ἀλήλ*), another of the same guard, but without any express designation (xi. 47).

7. (Ἐλιδβ), one of the Gadite heroes who came across Jordan to David when he was in the wilderness of Judah hiding from Saul (1 Chr. xii. 11).

8. A Kohathite Levite, "chief" (יְשִׁבְיָהּ) of the Bene-Chebron at the time of the transportation of the Ark from the House of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (2 Chr. xv. 9, 11).

9. A Levite in the time of Hezekiah; one of the "overscers" (מְסִיבִים) of the offerings made in the Temple (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

**ELIENAI** (Ἐλιέναι; *Ἐλιενάι*; *Elioenai*), one of the Bene-Shimhi; a descendant of Benjamin, and a chief man in the tribe (1 Chr. viii. 20).

**ELIEZER** (Ἐλιέζερ; *Ἐλιέζερ*; *my God* (is my) *help*). 1. Abraham's chief servant, called by him, as the passage is usually translated, "Eliezer of Damascus," or "that Damascus, Eliezer" (Gen. xv. 2). There is a contradiction in the A. V., for it does not appear how, if he was "of Damascus," he could be "born in Abraham's house" (ver. 3). But the phrase יְהִי בֵּיתִי, "son of my house," only imports that he was one of Abraham's household, not that he was born in his house. In the preceding verse יְהִי בֵּיתִי כְּנֶזֶק בֵּן, &c., should probably be rendered "the son of possession," i. e. possessor "of my house, shall be . . . Eliezer." It was, most likely, this same Eliezer who is described in Gen. xxiv. 2, as the *eldest servant of Abraham's house, that ruled over all that he had*, and whom his master sent to Padan-Aram to take a wife for Isaac from among his own kindred. With what eminent zeal and faithfulness he executed his commission, and how entirely he found the truth of what his own name expressed, in the Providential aid he met with on his errand, is most beautifully told in Gen. xxiv. It should however be said that the passage (Gen. xv. 2), in which the connexion of Eliezer with Damascus seems to be asserted, is one of extreme obscurity and difficulty. The sense above ascribed to *דַּמָּשְׁקִי* (after Simonis and Gesenius) rests only upon conjecture, the use of "*Damascus*" for "*Damascene*," is very unusual, and the whole arrangement of the sentence very harsh. There is probably something at the bottom of it all, besides the alliteration between *Meshek* and *Dammeshek*, which we are ignorant of, and which is wanting to clear up the sense. The two passages, "*Judeais origo Damascena, Syriae nobilissima civitas* . . . *Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum* . . . *Post Damascum Azeus, mox Adores et Abraham et Israel reges fuerunt*" (Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2); and "*Ἀβραμὴς βασιλεὺς Δαμασκού* . . . *τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκήνῃ τὸ νόμα δοξάζεται* καὶ κόμῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέκνυνται Ἀβράμου οἰκησις λεγόμενη (Joseph. Ant. i. 7, §2, quoting Nicol. Damascen.) have probably some relation to the narrative in Gen. xv. (See Gesen. *Thes. s. v. דַּמָּשְׁקִי*; Rosenmüll. on Gen. xv.; Knobel, *Gensis*.)

2. Second son of Moses and Zipporah, to whom his father gave this name, "because, said he, the God of my father was my help, that delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh" (Ex. xviii. 4; 1 Chr.

xiii. 15, 17). He remained with his mother and brother Gershom, in the care of Jethro his grandfather, when Moses returned to Egypt (Ex. iv. 18), she having been sent back to her father by Moses (Ex. xviii. 2), though she set off to accompany him, and went part of the way with him. Jethro brought back Zipporah and her two sons to Moses in the wilderness, after he heard of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (xviii.). Eliezer had one son, Rehabiah, from whom sprang a numerous posterity (1 Chr. xxiii. 17, xxvi. 25, 26). Shelomith in the reigns of Saul and David (ver. 28), who had the care of all the treasures of things dedicated to God, was descended from Eliezer in the 6th generation, if the genealogy in 1 Chr. xxvi. 25 is complete.

3. One of the sons of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 8).

4. A priest in the reign of David, one of those appointed to sound with trumpets before the Ark on its passage from the house of Obed-edom to the city of David (1 Chr. xv. 24).

5. Son of Zichri, "ruler" (רִנְיָהּ) of the Reubenites in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 16).

6. Son of Dodavah, of Mareshah in Judah (2 Chr. xi. 37), a prophet, who rebuked Jehoshaphat for joining himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, "who did very wickedly," in making a combined expedition of ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; and foretold the destruction of his fleet at Ezion-geber, which accordingly came to pass. When Ahaziah proposed a second expedition, Jehoshaphat refused (2 Chr. xx. 35-37; 1 K. xii. 48, 49). The combination of the names Eliezer and Dodavah, almost suggests that he may have been descended from David's mighty man Eleazar the son of Dodo (2 Sam. xiii. 9).

7. A chief Israelite—a "man of understanding"—whom Ezra sent with others from Ahava to Casiphia, to induce some Levites and Nethinim to accompany him to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 16). In 1 Esdr. viii. 43, the name is given as ELEAZAR.

8, 9, 10. A Priest, a Levite, and an Israelite of the sons of Harim, who, in the time of Ezra, had married foreign wives (Ezr. x. 18, 23, 31). The former is called ELEAZAR, the second ELEAZURUS, and the third ELIONAS, in 1 Esdr. ix. 19, 23, 32.

11. Son of Jorim, 13th in descent from Nathan the son of David, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke ii. 29). [A. C. H.]

ELIHOENAI (אֱלִיחֹנַי); 'Ελιχονά, Alex. 'Ελιανάδ; *Elioenai*), son of Zerabiah, one of the Bene-Pahath-moab, who with 200 men returned from the Captivity with Ezra (Ezr. vii. 4). In the apocryphal Esdras the name is ELIAONIAS.

ELIHO'REPH (אֱלִיחֹרֶפֶת); 'Ελιχόρ, Alex. 'Εναρέφ; *Eliho'reph*), son of Shisha. He and his brother Ahiah were scribes (סֹפְרִים) to Solomon at the commencement of his reign (1 K. iv. 3).

ELIHU (אֱלִיחֻ); 'Ελιούς; *Eliu*). 1. One of the interlocutors in the book of Job. He is described as the "son of Barachel the Buzite," and thus apparently referred to the family of Buz, the son of Nahor, and nephew of Abraham (Gen.

xxii. 21). This opposition suits well with the description of the other personages [ELIPHAZ; BILDAF], and the probable date to be assigned to the scenes recorded. In his speech (cc. xxxii.-xxxvii.) he describes himself as younger than the three friends, and accordingly his presence is not noticed in the first chapters. He expresses his desire to moderate between the disputants; and his words alone touch upon, although they do not thoroughly handle, that idea of the disciplinary nature of suffering, which is the key to Job's perplexity and doubt; but, as in the whole book, the greater stress is laid on God's unsearchable wisdom, and the implicit faith which He demands. [JOB, BOOK OF.] [A. B.]

2. ('Ηλιού). Son of Tohu; a forefather of Samuel the Prophet (1 Sam. i. 1). In the statements of the genealogy of Samuel in 1 Chr. vi. the name ELIEL occurs in the same position—son of Tohu and father of Jeroham (vi. 34—Heb. 19); and also ELIAS (vi. 27—Heb. 12), father of Jeroham and grandson of Zophai. The general opinion is that Elihu is the original name, and the two latter forms but copyists' variations thereof.

3. (Vat. and Alex. 'Ελιδς). A similar variation of the name of Elinab, the eldest son of Jesse, is probably found in 1 Chr. xxvii. 18, where Elihu "of the brethren of David" is mentioned as the chief of the tribe of Judah. But see 1 Chr. xii. 2, where, in a similar connexion, the word "brethren" is used in its widest sense. The LXX. retains Elinab. [ELIAN, 3.] In this place the name is without the final Aleph—אֱלִיחֻ.

4. ('Ελιμύδ; Alex. Ελιμύδ). One of the "captains" (שָׂרֵי, i. e. heads) of the "thousands of Manasseh" (1 Chr. xii. 20) who followed David to Ziklag after he had left the Philistine army on the eve of the battle of Gilboa, and who assisted him against the marauding band (רָבָד) of the Amalekites (comp. 1 Sam. xxx.).

5. (אֱלִיחֻ); 'Ελιού). A Korhite Levite in the time of David; one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") of the house of Jehovah. He was a son of Shemaiuh, and of the family of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 7). Terms are applied to all these doorkeepers which appear to indicate that they were not only "strong men," as in A. V., but also fighting men. (See vers. 6, 7, 8, 12, in which occur the words מִלְחָמָה = army, and מַגְרָרִים = warriors or heroes.) [G.]

ELIJAH, 1. (generally אֱלִיָּהּ, *Eliyah*, but sometimes אֱלִיָּהּ, *Eliyah*; 'Ηλιού; Aquila, Ηαλαῖ N. T. 'Ηλίας; *Elias*). ELIJAH THE TISHBITE has been well entitled "the grandest and the most romantic character that Israel ever produced." Certainly there is no personage in the O. T. whose career is more vividly portrayed, or who exercises on us a more remarkable fascination. His rare, sudden, and brief appearances—his undaunted courage and fiery zeal—the brilliancy of his triumphs—the pathos of his despondency—the glory of his departure, and the calm beauty of his reappearance on the Mount of Transfiguration—throw such a halo of brightness around him as is equalled by none of his compeers in the sacred story. The ignorance in which we

\* The connexion of Dedan and Tema with Bux in Jer. xxv. 23, is also to be noticed.

<sup>b</sup> By Chrysostom and others the name is Grecised into 'Ηλιος, as if signifying the brightness of the sun.

\* Stanley, S. & E. 328. In the *Acta Sanctorum* he is called *Prodigious Teshbite*.

<sup>d</sup> "Omnium suae aetatis Prophetarum facile princeps; et, ut a Mose discesseris, nulli secundus" (Friedmuth, in *Ortu Sacro*, quoting from Abarenabel).

are left of the circumstances and antecedents of the man who did and who suffered so much, doubtless contributes to enhance our interest in the story and the character. "Elijah the Tishbite of the inhabitants of Gilead," is literally all that is given us to know of his parentage and locality.\* It is in remarkable contrast to the detail with which the genealogies of other prophets and leaders of Israel are stated. Where the place—if it was a place—lay, which gave him this appellation we know not, nor are we likely to know. It is not again found in the Bible, nor has any name answering to it been discovered since.† [TISHBITE.]

The mention of Gilead, however, is the key-note to much that is most characteristic in the story of the Prophet. Gilead was the country on the further side of the Jordan—a country of chase and pasture, of tent-villages, and mountain-castles, inhabited by a people not settled and civilised like those who formed the communities of Ephraim and Judah, but of wandering, irregular habits, exposed to the attacks of the nomad tribes of the desert, and gradually conforming more and more to the habits of those tribes; making war with the Hagarites, and taking the countless thousands of their cattle and then dwelling in their stall (1 Chr. v. 10, 19-22). To an Israelite of the tribes west of Jordan the title "Gileadite" must have conveyed a similar impression, though in a far stronger degree, to that which the title "Celt" does to us. What the Highlands were a century ago to the towns in the Lowlands of Scotland, that, and more than that, must Gilead have been to Samaria or Jerusalem.‡ One of the most famous heroes in the early annals of Israel was "Jephthah

the Gileadite," in whom all these characteristics were prominent; and Professor Stanley has well remarked how impossible it is rightly to estimate his character without recollecting this fact (*S. & P.* 327).

With Elijah, of whom so much is told, and whose part in the history was so much more important, this is still more necessary. It is seen at every turn. Of his appearance as he "stood before" Ahab—with the suddenness of motion to this day characteristic of the Bedouins from his native hills, we can perhaps realise something from the touches, few, but strong, of the narrative. Of his height little is to be inferred—that little is in favour of its being beyond the ordinary size.<sup>1</sup> His chief characteristic was his hair, long and thick, and hanging down his back,<sup>2</sup> and which, if not betokening the immense strength of Samson, yet accompanied powers of endurance,<sup>3</sup> no less remarkable. His ordinary clothing consisted of a girdle of skin<sup>4</sup> round his loins, which he tightened when about to move quickly (1 K. xviii. 46). But in addition to this he occasionally wore the "mantle," or cape,<sup>5</sup> of sheep-skin, which has supplied us with one of our most familiar figures of speech.<sup>6</sup> In this mantle, in moments of emotion, he would hide his face (1 K. xix. 13), or when excited would roll it up as into a kind of staff.<sup>7</sup> On one occasion we find him bending himself down upon the ground with his face between his knees.<sup>8</sup> Such, so far as the scanty notices of the record will allow us to conceive it, was the general appearance of the great Prophet, an appearance which there is no reason to think was other than uncommon even at that time.<sup>9</sup> "Vir qui curationem et cultum corporis despiceret ;

\* The Hebrew text is 'אליהו התשיבתי מתישבי נ'. The third word may be pointed (1) as in the present Masoretic text, to mean "from the inhabitants of Gilead," or (2) "from Tishbi of Gilead;" which, with a slight change in form, is what the LXX. has. The latter is followed by Ewald (iii. 486, note). Lightfoot assumes, but without giving his authority, that Elijah was from Jabesh Gilead. By Josephus he is said to have come from Thesbon—*ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβώνης τῆς Παλαιστίνης χώρας* (viii. 13, §2). Perhaps this may have been read as Heshbon, a city of the priests, and have given rise to the statement of Epiphanius, that he was "of the tribe of Aaron," and grandson of Zadok. See also the *Chron. Pseph.* in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* v. 2: 1070, &c.; and Quaresmius, *Eucid.* ii. 605. According to Jewish tradition—grounded on a certain similarity between the fiery zeal of the two—Elijah was identical with Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest. He was also the angel of Jehovah who appeared in fire to Gideon (Lightfoot on John i. 21; Eisenmenger, i. 686). Arab tradition places his birthplace at *Gilhad Gihoud*, a few miles N. of es-Salt (Irb, 98), and his tomb near Damascus (Mislín, i. 490).

† The common assumption—perhaps originating with Miller (*Onom.* 947) or Reland (*Pal.* 1035)—is that he was born in the town Tishbe mentioned in Tob. i. 2. But not to insist on the fact that this Tishbe was not in Gilead but in Naphtali, it is nearly certain that the name has no real existence in that passage, but arises from a mistaken translation of the same Hebrew word which is rendered "inhabitants" in 1 K. xvii. 1. [TISHBITE.]

‡ See a good passage illustrative of this in *Rob Roy*, chap. xix.

1 From a comparison of 2 K. iv. 34, with 1 K. xvii. 21, it would seem as if Elisha approached nearer than Elijah to the stature of the child. But the inference is not to be relied on. Chrysostom applied the same epithet to him as to St. Paul, *ἐπίσημον ἀνθρώπων*.

2 2 K. i. 8, "a hairy man;" literally, "a lord of hair." This might be doubtful, even with the support of the LXX. and Josephus—*ἀνθρώπων δαριών*—and of the Targum Jonathan—*בְּרִי שֵׁער*—the same word used for Esau in Gen. xxvii. 11. But its application to the hair of his head is corroborated by the word used by the children of Bethel when mocking Elisha. "Bald-head" is a peculiar term (*קָרְחָה*) applied only to want of hair at the back of the head; and the taunt was called forth by the difference between the bare shoulders of the new prophet and the shaggy locks of the old one. [Elisha.]

3 Running before Ahab's chariot; the hardships of the Cherith; the forty days' fast.

4 עֵרָ (2 K. i. 8), rendered "loather" in this one place only. See Gen. iii. 21, &c.

5 *Addereith*, אֲדֵרֶת; LXX. *μυλωνίς*; always used for this garment of Elijah, but not for that of any prophet before him. It is perhaps a trace of the permanent impression which he left on some parts of the Jewish society, that a hairy cloak became afterwards the recognized garb of a prophet of Jehovah (Zech. xiii. 4; A. V. "rough garment;" where the Hebrew word is the same which—Elijah's history is rendered "mantle").

6 Various relics of the mantle are said to exist. The list of claimants will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* (July 20). One piece is shown at Oviedo in Spain.

7 עֵרָ (2 K. i. 8); "wrapped" is a different word.

8 This is generally taken as having been in prayer; but kneeling apparently was not (certainly is not) an attitude of prayer in the East. "When ye stand praying, forgive" (Mark xi. 15; and see Matt. vi. 5, &c.).

9 This is to be inferred, as we shall see afterwards, from king Ahaziah's recognition of him by mere description.

facie squalente, quae multitudine suorum crinium obumbraretur . . . pelle caprina tantum de corpore tegentem quantum abscondi decorum erat, reliqua corporis ad aera perdurantem" (Gregory Nyss. quoted by Willemer de *Pallio Elias* in *Crit. Sacri*).

The solitary life in which these external peculiarities had been assumed had also nurtured that fierceness of zeal and that directness of address which so distinguished him. It was in the wild loneliness of the hills and ravines of Gilead that the knowledge of Jehovah, the living God of Israel, had been impressed on his mind, which was to form the subject of his mission to the idolatrous court and country of Israel.

The northern kingdom had at this time forsaken almost entirely the faith in Jehovah. The worship of the calves had been a departure from Him, it was a violation of His command against material resemblances; but still it would appear that even in the presence of the calves Jehovah was acknowledged, and they were at any rate a national institution, not one imported from the idolatries of any of the surrounding countries. [CALF.] They were announced by Jeroboam as the preservers of the nation during the great crisis of its existence: "Behold thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee up out of the land of Egypt" (1 K. xii. 28). But the case was quite different when Ahab, not content with the calf-worship—"as if it had been a light thing to walk in the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat"—married the daughter of the king of Sidon, and introduced on the most extensive scale (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 6, §6) the foreign religion of his wife's family, the worship of the Phœnician Baal. What this worship consisted of we are ignorant—doubtless it was of a gay, splendid, and festal character, and therefore very opposite to the grave, severe service of the Mosaic ritual. Attached to it and to the worship of Asherah (A. V. "Ashtaroth," and "the groves") were licentious and impure rites, which in earlier times had brought the heaviest judgments on the nation (Num. xxv.; Judg. ii. 13, 14, iii. 7, 8). But the most obnoxious and evil characteristic of the Baal-religion was that it was the worship of power, of mere strength, as opposed to that of a God of righteousness and goodness—a foreign religion, imported from nations, the hatred of whom was inculcated in every page of the law, as opposed to the religion of that God who had delivered the nation from the bondage of Egypt, had "driven out the heathen with His hand, and planted them in;" and through whom their forefathers had "trodden down their enemies, and destroyed those that rose up against them." It is as a witness against these two evils that Elijah comes forward.

1. What we may call the first Act in his life embraces between three and four years—three years and six months for the duration of the drought, according to the statements of the New Testament

(Luke iv. 25; James v. 17), and three or four months more for the journey to Horeb, and the return to Gilead (1 K. xvii. 1—xix. 21). His introduction is of the most startling description: he suddenly appears before Ahab, as with the unrestrained freedom of eastern manners he would have no difficulty in doing, and proclaims the vengeance of Jehovah for the apostasy of the king. This he does in the remarkable formula evidently characteristic of himself, and adopted after his departure by his follower Elisha—a formula which includes everything at issue between himself and the king—the name of Jehovah—His being the God of Israel—the Living God—Elijah being His messenger, and then—the special lesson of the event—that the god of power and of nature should be beaten at his own weapons. "As Jehovah, God of Israel, liveth, before whom I stand," whose constant servant I am, "there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word." What immediate action followed on this we are not told; but it is plain that Elijah had to fly before some threatened vengeance either of the king, or more probably of the queen (comp. xix. 2). Perhaps it was at this juncture that Jezebel "cut off the prophets of Jehovah" (1 K. xviii. 4). He was directed to the brook Cherith, either one of the torrents which cleave the high table-lands of his native hills, or on the west of Jordan, more in the neighbourhood of Samaria. [CHERITH.] There in the hollow of the torrent-bed he remained, supported in the miraculous manner with which we are all familiar, till the failing of the brook obliged him to forsake it. How long he remained in the Cherith is uncertain. The Hebrew expression is simply "at the end of days," nor does Josephus afford us any more information. A vast deal of ingenuity has been devoted to explaining away Elijah's "ravens." The Hebrew word, עֲרֵבִים, *Orebim*, has been interpreted as "Arabians," as "merchants," as inhabitants of some neighbouring town of *Orbo* or *Orbi*.<sup>1</sup> By others Elijah has been held to have plundered a raven's nest—and this twice a-day regularly for several months! There is no escape from the plain meaning of the words—occurring as they do twice, in a passage otherwise displaying no tinge of the marvellous—or from the unanimity of all the Hebrew MSS., of all the ancient versions, and of Josephus.<sup>2</sup>

His next refuge was at Zarephath, a Phœnician town lying between Tyre and Sidon, certainly the last place at which the enemy of Baal would be looked for.<sup>3</sup> The widow woman in whose house he lived<sup>4</sup> seems, however, to have been an Israelite, and no Baal-worshipper, if we may take her adjuration by "Jehovah thy God" as an indication.<sup>5</sup> Here Elijah performed the miracles of prolonging the oil and the meal; and restored the son of the widow to life after his apparent death.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jerome, quoted by Kennicott, 581. See these hypotheses brought together in Keil *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> This subject is exhausted in a dissertation entitled *Elias corvorum convictor in the Critici Sacri*.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot quaintly remarks on this that Elijah was the first Apostle to the Gentiles.

<sup>4</sup> The traditional scene of his meeting with the widow was in a wood to the south of the town (Mislin, i. 532, who however does not give his authority). In the time of Jerome the spot was marked by a tower (Jerome, *Ep. Paulae*). At a later period a church dedicated to the Prophet was erected over the house of the widow, in which his chamber

and her kneading-trough were shown (Anton. Martyr, and Phocas, in Beland, 985). This church was called ὁ χορὸς (Acta Sanctorum).

<sup>5</sup> This must not be much relied on. Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, one of Ahab's prophets, uses a similar form of words, "Thus saith Jehovah" (1 K. xxii. 11). The apparent inference however from Luke iv. 28 is that she was one of the widows of Israel. In the Jewish traditions her son was the Messiah (Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenh.* ii. 725).

<sup>6</sup> This is warranted by the expression "his sickness was so sore that there was no breath left in him," a form of words not elsewhere found; while in the

Here the prophet is first addressed by the title, which, although occasionally before used to others, is so frequently applied to Elijah as to become the distinguishing appellation of himself and his successor:—"O thou man of God"—"Now I know that thou art a man of God" (1 K. xvii. 18, 24).

In this, or some other retreat, an interval of more than two years must have elapsed. The drought continued, and at last the full horrors of famine, caused by the failure of the crops, descended on Samaria. The king and his chief domestic officer divide between them the mournful duty of ascertaining that neither round the springs, which are so frequent a feature of central Palestine, nor in the nooks and crannies of the most shaded torrent-beds, was there any of the herbage left, which in those countries is so certain an indication of the presence of moisture. No one short of the two chief persons of the realm could be trusted with this quest for life or death—"Ahab went one way by himself, and Obadiah went another way by himself." It is the moment for the reappearance of the prophet. He shows himself first to the minister. There, suddenly planted in his path, is the man whom he and his master have been seeking for more than three years. "There is no nation or kingdom," says Obadiah with true Eastern hyperbole, "whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee;" and now here he stands when least expected. Before the sudden apparition of that wild figure, and that stern, unbroken countenance, Obadiah could not but fall on his face.<sup>a</sup> Elijah, however, soon calms his agitation—"As Jehovah of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely show myself to Ahab;" and thus relieved of his fear that, as on a former occasion, Elijah would disappear before he could return with the king, Obadiah departs to inform Ahab that the man they seek is there. Ahab arrived, Elijah makes his charge—"Thou hast forsaken Jehovah and followed the Baals." He then commands that all Israel be collected to Mount Carmel with the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and the four hundred of Asherah (Ashtaroath), the latter being under the especial protection of the queen. Why Mount Carmel, which we do not hear of until now, was chosen in preference to the nearer Ebal or Gerizim, is not evident. Possibly Elijah thought it wise to remove the place of the meeting to a distance from Samaria. Possibly in the existence of the altar of Jehovah (xviii. 30)—in ruins, and therefore of earlier erection—we have an indication of an ancient sanctity attaching to the spot. On the question of the particular part of the ridge of Carmel, which formed the site of the meeting, there cannot be much doubt. It is elsewhere examined. [CARMEL.]

There are few more sublime stories in history than this. On the one hand the solitary servant of Jehovah, accompanied by his one attendant; with his wild shaggy hair, his scanty garb, and sheep-skin cloak, but with calm dignity of demeanour

and the minutest regularity of procedure, repairing the ruined altar of Jehovah with twelve stones, according to the number of the twelve founders of the tribes, and recalling in his prayer the still greater names of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel—on the other hand the 850 prophets of Baal and Ashtaroath, doubtless in all the splendour of their vestments (2 K. x. 22), with the wild din of their "vain repetitions" and the maddened fury of their disappointed hopes, and the silent people surrounding all—these things form a picture with which we are all acquainted, but which brightens into fresh distinctness every time we consider it. The conclusion of the long day need only be glanced at.<sup>b</sup> The fire of Jehovah consuming both sacrifice and altar—the prophets of Baal killed, it would seem by Elijah's own hand (xviii. 40)—the king, with an apathy almost unintelligible, eating and drinking in the very midst of the carnage of his own adherents—the rising storm—the ride across the plain to Jezreel, a distance of at least 16 miles; the prophet, with true Arab endurance, running before the chariot, but also with true Arab instinct stopping short of the city, and going no further than the "entrance of Jezreel."

So far the triumph had been complete; but the spirit of Jezebel was not to be so easily overcome, and her first act is a vow of vengeance against the author of this destruction. "God do so to me, and more also," so ran her exclamation, "if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by to-morrow about this time." It was no duty of Elijah to expose himself to unnecessary dangers, and, as at his first introduction, so now, he takes refuge in flight. The danger was great, and the refuge must be distant. The first stage on the journey was Beersheba—"Beersheba which belongeth to Judah," says the narrative, with a touch betraying its Israelitish origin. Here, at the ancient haunt of those fathers of his nation whose memory was so dear to him, and on the very confines of cultivated country, Elijah halted. His servant—according to Jewish tradition the boy of Zarephath—he left in the town; while he himself set out alone into the wilderness—the waste uninhabited region which surrounds the south of Palestine. The labours, anxieties, and excitement of the last few days had proved too much even for that iron frame and that stern resolution. His spirit is quite broken, and he wanders forth over the dreary sweeps of those rocky hills wishing for death—"It is enough! Lord, let me die, for I am not better than my fathers."<sup>c</sup> It is almost impossible not to conclude from the terms of the story that he was entirely without provisions for this or any journey. But God, who had brought His servant into this difficulty, provided him with the means of escaping from it. Whether we are to take the expression of the story literally or not is comparatively of little consequence. In some way little short of miraculous—it might well seem to the narrator that it

story of the Shunammite's son it is distinctly said the child "died." Josephus's language (viii. 13, §3) shows that he did not understand the child to have died. The Jewish tradition, quoted by Jerome, was that this boy was the servant who afterwards accompanied Elijah, and finally became the prophet Jonah. (Jerome, *Pref. to Jonah*; and see the citations from the Talmuds in Eisenmenger, *Ents. Jud.* ii. 735.)

<sup>a</sup> The expressions of Obadiah, "lord" and "slave," show his fear of Elijah; they are those ordinarily used in addressing a potentate.

<sup>b</sup> The more so as the whole of this scene is admirably drawn out by Stanley (& P. 355, 6).

<sup>c</sup> Although to some it may seem out of place in a work of this nature, yet the writer cannot resist referring to the Oratorio of *Elijah* by Mendelssohn, one of the most forcible commentaries existing on the history of the Prophet. The scene in which the occurrences at Beersheba are embodied is perhaps the most dramatic and affecting in the whole work.

could be by nothing but an angel—the prophet was awakened from his dream of despondency beneath the solitary bush<sup>a</sup> of the wilderness, was fed with the bread and the water which to this day are all a Bedouin's requirements,<sup>b</sup> and went forward, “in the strength of that food,” a journey of forty days “to the mount of God, even to Horeb.” Here, in “the cave,”<sup>c</sup> one of the numerous caverns in those awful mountains, perhaps some traditional sanctuary of that hallowed region at any rate well known—he remained for certainly one night. In the morning came the “word of Jehovah”—the question, “what doest thou here, Elijah?” driven by what hard necessity dost thou seek this spot on which the glory of Jehovah has in former times been so signally shown?<sup>d</sup> In answer to this invitation the Prophet opens his griefs. He has been very zealous for Jehovah; but force has been vain; one cannot stand against a multitude; none follow him, and he is left alone, lying for his life from the sword which has slain his brethren. The reply comes in that ambiguous and indirect form in which it seems necessary that the deepest communications with the human mind should be couched, to be effectual. He is directed to leave the cavern and stand on the mountain in the open air (עַל הַר בְּרֹאֵיפּוֹר, Josephus), face to face (פָּנֵי) with Jehovah. Then, as before with Moses (Ex. xxxiv. 6), “The Lord passed by;” passed in all the terror of His most appalling manifestations. The fierce wind tore the solid mountains and shivered the granite cliffs of Sinai; the earthquake crash reverberated through the defiles of those naked valleys; the fire burnt in the incessant blaze of Eastern lightning. Like these, in their degree, had been Elijah's own moles of procedure, but the conviction is now forced upon him that in none of these is Jehovah to be known. Then, penetrating the dead silence which followed these manifestations, came the fourth mysterious symbol—the “still small voice.” What sound this was—whether articulate voice or not, we cannot even conjecture; but low and still as it was it spoke in louder accents to the wounded heart of Elijah than the roar and blaze which had preceded it. To him no less unmistakably than to Moses, centuries before, it was proclaimed that Jehovah was “merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness

<sup>a</sup> מַלְאָכִים is both a “messenger” and an “angel.” LXX. ver. 5, 76; and so Josephus (viii. 13, 7).

<sup>b</sup> “One Rotem tree,” Hebrew, רֹתֵם. The indented rock opposite the gate of the Greek convent, *Deir Mar Elyan*, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which is now shown to travellers as the spot on which the prophet rested on this occasion (Bonar; Porter, *Handbook*, &c.), appears at an earlier date not to have been so restricted, but was believed to be the place on which he was “accustomed to sleep” (Sandys, *ib.* iii. p. 176; Maundrell, *Ear. Trav.*, 456), and the site of the convent as that where he was born (Gaysford, 1506, in Bonar, 117). Neither the older nor the later story can be believed; but it is possible that they may have originated in some more trustworthy tradition of his having rested here on his southward journey, in all probability taken along this very route. See a curious statement by Quaresmius of the extent to which the rock had been defaced in his own time “by the plety & impiety” of the Christian pilgrims. (*Excursio*, ii. 608; comp. Doubdan, *Voyage*, &c., 144.)

<sup>c</sup> The LXX. adds to the description the only touch wanting in the Hebrew text—a cake of meal—*ἀλυσίτης*.

and truth.” Elijah knew the call, and at once stepping forward and hiding his face in his mantle, stood waiting for the Divine communication. It is in the same words as before, and so is his answer; but with what different force must the question have fallen on his ears, and the answer left his lips! “Before his entrance to the cave, he was comparatively a novice; when he left it, he was an initiated man. He had thought that the earthquake, the fire, the wind, must be the great witnesses of the Lord. But he was not in them; not they, but the still small voice had that awe in it which forced the Prophet to cover his face with his mantle. What a conclusion of all the past history! What an interpretation of its meaning!” (Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, 136). Not in the persecutions of Ahab and Jezebel, nor in the slaughter of the Prophets of Baal, but in the 7000 unknown worshippers who had not bowed the knee to Baal, was the assurance that Elijah was not alone as he had seemed to be.

Three commands were laid on him—three changes were to be made. Instead of Ben-hadad, Hazael was to be king of Syria; instead of Ahab, Jehu the son of Nimshi was to be king of Israel; and Elisha the son of Shaphat was to be his own successor. Of these three commands the two first were reserved for Elisha to accomplish, the last only was executed by Elijah himself. It would almost seem as if his late trials had awakened in him a yearning for that affection and companionship which had hitherto been denied him. His first search was for Elisha. Apparently he soon found him; we must conclude at his native place, Abel-meholah, probably somewhere about the centre of the Jordan valley. [ABEL-MEHOIAH.] Elisha was ploughing at the time,<sup>a</sup> and Elijah “passed over to him”—possibly crossed the river—and cast his mantle, the well-known sheepskin cloak, upon him, as if, by that familiar<sup>b</sup> action, claiming him for his son. A moment of hesitation—but the call was quickly accepted, and then commenced that long period of service and intercourse which continued till Elijah's removal, and which after that time procured for Elisha one of his best titles to esteem and reverence—“Elisha the son of Shaphat, who poured water of the hands of Elijah.”

2. Ahab and Jezebel now probably believed that

<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew word has the article, הַמְּלֵאכִים; and so too the LXX., τὸν σκελετόν. The cave is now shown “in the secluded plain below the highest point of Jebel Musā,” “a hole just large enough for a man's body,” beside the altar in the chapel of Elijah (Stanley, 49; Rob. i. 108).

<sup>b</sup> Hebrew, בֶּן. A. V. “lodge;” but in Gen. xix. 2, accurately, “tarry all night.”

<sup>c</sup> The words of the text are somewhat obscured in the A. V. They bear testimony at once to the solid position of Elisha, and to the extent of the arable soil of the spot. According to the Masoretic punctuation the passage is: “And he departed thence, and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was ploughing. Twelve yoke were before him (i. e. either 12 ploughs were before him with his servants, or 12 yoke of land were already ploughed), and he was with the last.”

<sup>d</sup> The word is that always employed for crossing the Jordan.

<sup>e</sup> See also Ruth iii. 4-14. Ewald, *Alttestamentar*, 191, note. A trace of a similar custom survives in the German word *Mantel-kind*.

their threats had been effectual, and that they had seen the last of their tormentor. At any rate this may be inferred from the events of chap. xxi. Foiled in his wish to acquire the ancestral plot of ground of Naboth by the refusal of that sturdy peasant to alienate the inheritance of his fathers, Ahab and Jezebel proceed to possess themselves of it by main force, and by a degree of monstrous injustice which shows clearly enough how far the elders of Jezreel had forgotten the laws of Jehovah, how perfect was their submission to the will of their mistress. At her orders Naboth is falsely accused of blaspheming God and the king, is with his sons<sup>m</sup> stoned and killed, and his vineyard then—as having belonged to a criminal—becomes at once the property of the king. [NABOTH.]

Ahab loses no time in entering on his new acquisition. Apparently the very next day after the execution he proceeds in his chariot to take possession of the coveted vineyard. Behind him—probably in the back part of the chariot—ride his two pages Jehu and Bidkar (2 K. ix. 26). But the triumph was a short one. Elijah had received an intimation from Jehovah of what was taking place, and rapidly as the accusation and death of Naboth had been hurried over, he was there to meet his ancient enemy, and as an enemy he does meet him—as David went out to meet<sup>n</sup> Goliath—on the very scene of his crime; suddenly, when least expected and least wished for, he confronts the miserable king. And then follows the curse, in terms fearful to any Oriental—peculiarly terrible to a Jew—and most of all significant to a successor of the apostate princes of the northern kingdom—"I will take away thy posterity; I will cut off from thee even thy very dogs; I will make thy house like that of Jeroboam and Baasha; thy blood shall be shed in the same spot where the blood of thy victims was shed last night; thy wife and thy children shall be torn in this very garden by the wild dogs of the city, or as common carrion devoured by the birds of the sky"—the large vultures which in eastern climes are always wheeling aloft under the clear blue sky, and doubtless suggested the expression to the prophet. How tremendous was this scene we may gather from the fact that after the lapse of at least 20 years Jehu was able to recall the very words of the prophet's burden, to which he and his companion had listened as they stood behind their master in the chariot. The whole of Elijah's denunciation may possibly be recovered by putting together the words recalled by Jehu, 2 K. ix. 26, 36, 7, and those given in 1 K. xxi. 19-25.

3. A space of three or four years now elapses (comp. 1 K. xxii. 1, xxii. 51; 2 K. i. 17), before we again catch a glimpse of Elijah. The denunciations uttered in the vineyard of Naboth have been partly fulfilled. Ahab is dead, and his son and successor, Ahaziah, has met with a fatal accident, and is on his death-bed, after a short and troubled reign of less than two years (2 K. i. 1, 2; 1 K. xxii. 51). In his extremity he sends to an oracle or shrine of Baal at the Philistine town of Ekron to ascertain the issue of his illness. But the oracle is nearer at hand than the distant Ekron. An intimation is

conveyed to the prophet, probably at that time inhabiting one of the recesses of Carmel, and, as on the former occasions, he suddenly appears on the path of the messengers, without preface or inquiry utters his message of death, and as rapidly disappears. The tone of his words is as national on this as on any former occasion, and, as before, they are authenticated by the name of Jehovah—"Thus saith Jehovah, Is it because there is no God in Israel that ye go to enquire of Baalzebub, god of Ekron?" The messengers returned to the king too soon to have accomplished their mission. They were possibly strangers; at any rate they were ignorant of the name of the man who had thus interrupted their journey. But his appearance had fixed itself in their minds, and their description at once told Ahaziah, who must have seen the prophet about his father's court or have heard him described in the harem, who it was that had thus reversed the favourable oracle which he was hoping for from Ekron. The "hairy man"—the "lord of hair," so the Hebrew rendering<sup>o</sup> runs—with a belt of rough skin round his loins, who came and went in this secret manner, and uttered his fierce words in the name of the God of Israel, could be no other than the old enemy of his father and mother, Elijah the Tishbite. But ill as he was this check only roused the wrath of Ahaziah, and, with the spirit of his mother, he at once seized the opportunity of possessing himself of the person of the man who had been for so long the evil genius of his house. A captain was despatched, with a party of fifty, to take Elijah prisoner. He was sitting on the top of "the mount,"<sup>p</sup> i. e. probably of Carmel. The officer approached and addressed the prophet by the title which, as before noticed, is most frequently applied to him and Elijah—"O man of God, the king hath spoken: come down." "And Elijah answered and said, If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty! And there came down fire from heaven and consumed him and his fifty." A second party was sent, only to meet the same fate. The altered tone of the leader of a third party, and the assurance of God that His servant need not fear, brought Elijah down. But the king gained nothing. The message was delivered to his face in the same words as it had been to the messengers, and Elijah, so we must conclude, was allowed to go harmless. This was his last interview with the house of Ahab. It was also his last recorded appearance in person against the Baal-worshippers.

Following as it did on Elijah's previous course of action, this event must have been a severe blow to the enemies of Jehovah. But impressive as it doubtless was to the contemporaries of the prophet, the story possesses a far deeper significance for us than it could have had for them. While it is most characteristic of the terrors of the earlier dispensation under which men were then living, it is remarkable as having served to elicit from the mouth of a greater than even Elijah an exposition, so less characteristic, of the distinction between that severe rule and the gentler dispensation which He came to introduce. It was when our Lord and His disciples

<sup>m</sup> "The blood of Naboth and the blood of his sons" (2 K. ix. 26; comp. Josh. vii. 24). From another expression in this verse—yesternight (עֵרָא, A. V. "yesterday"), we may perhaps conclude that like a later trial on a similar charge, also supported by two false witnesses—the trial of our Lord—it was conducted

at night. The same word—yesternight—prompts the inference that Ahab's visit and encounter with Elijah happened on the very day following the murder.

<sup>n</sup> The Hebrew word is the same.

<sup>o</sup> See note to p. 537.

<sup>p</sup> עֵרָא (2 K. i. 9; A. V., inaccurately, "an hill."

were on their journey, through this very district, from Galilee to Jerusalem, and when smarting from the churlish inhospitality of some Samaritan villagers, that—led to it by the distant view of the heights of Carmel, or, perhaps, by some traditional name on the road—the impetuous zeal of the two “sons of thunder” burst forth—“Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elijah did?” But they little knew the Master they addressed. “He turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men’s lives but to save them” (Luke ix. 51-56). As if He had said, “Ye are mistaking and confounding the different standing points of the Old and New Covenants; taking your stand upon the Old—that of an avenging righteousness, when you should rejoice to take it upon the New—that of a forgiving love” (Trench, *Miracles*, ch. iv.).

4. It must have been shortly after the death of Ahaziah that Elijah made a communication with the southern kingdom. It is the only one of which any record remains, and its mention is the first and last time that the name of the prophet appears in the Books of Chronicles. Mainly devoted, as these books are, to the affairs of Judah, this is not surprising. The alliance between his enemy Ahab and Jehoshaphat cannot have been unknown to the prophet, and it must have made him regard the proceedings of the kings of Judah with more than ordinary interest. When, therefore, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, who had married the daughter of Ahab, began “to walk in the ways of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab, and to do that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah,” Elijah sent him a letter<sup>1</sup> denouncing his evil doings, and predicting his death (2 Chr. xxi. 12-15). This letter has been considered as a great difficulty, on the ground that Elijah’s removal must have taken place before the death of Jehoshaphat (from the terms of the mention of Elisha in 2 K. iii. 11), and therefore before the accession of Joram to the throne of Judah. But admitting that Elijah had been translated before the expedition of Jehoshaphat against Moab, it does not follow that Joram was not at that time, and before his father’s death, king of Judah, Jehoshaphat occupying himself during the last six or seven years of his life in going about the kingdom (2 Chr. xix. 4-11), and in conducting some important wars, amongst others that in question against Moab, while Joram was concerned with the more central affairs of the government (2 K. iii. 7, &c.). That Joram began to reign during the lifetime of his father Jehoshaphat is stated in 2 K. viii. 16. According to one record (2 K. i. 17),

“מכתב,” “a writing,” almost identical with the word used in Arabic at the present day. The ordinary Hebrew word for a letter is *Sepher*, סֵפֶר, a book.

<sup>1</sup> The second statement of Jehoram’s accession to Israel (in 2 K. iii. 1) seems inserted there to make the subsequent narrative more complete. Its position there, subsequent to the story of Elijah’s departure, has probably assisted the ordinary belief in the difficulty in question.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient Jewish commentators get over the apparent difficulty by saying that the letter was written and sent after Elijah’s translation. Others believed that it was the production of Elisha, for whose name that of Elijah had been substituted by copyists. The first of these requires no answer. To the second, the severity of its tone, as above noticed,

which immediately precedes the account of Elijah’s last acts on earth, Joram was actually on the throne of Judah at the time of Elijah’s interview with Ahaziah; and though this is modified by the statements of other places<sup>2</sup> (2 K. iii. 1, viii. 16), yet it is not invalidated, and the conclusion is almost inevitable, as stated above, that Joram ascended the throne some years before the death of his father. [See JOHAM, JEHOASHAPHAT, JODAH.] In its contents the letter bears a strong resemblance to the speeches of Elijah,<sup>3</sup> while in the details of style it is very peculiar, and quite different from the narrative in which it is imbedded (Bethau, *Chronik ad loc.*).

5. The closing transaction of Elijah’s life introduces us to a locality heretofore unconnected with him. Hitherto we have found him in the neighbourhood of Samaria, Jezreel, Carmel, only leaving these northern places on actual emergency, but we now find him on the frontier of the two kingdoms, at the holy city of Bethel, with the sons of the prophets at Jeicho, and in the valley of the Jordan (2 K. ii. 1, &c.).

It was at Gilgal—probably not the ancient place of Joshua and Samuel, but another of the same name still surviving on the western edge of the hills of Ephraim<sup>4</sup>—that the prophet received the divine intimation that his departure was at hand. He was at the time with Elisha, who seems now to have become his constant companion. Perhaps his old love of solitude returned upon him, perhaps he wished to spare his friend the pain of a too sudden parting; in either case he endeavours to persuade Elisha to remain behind while he goes on an errand of Jehovah. “Tarry here, I pray thee, for Jehovah hath sent me to Bethel.” But Elisha will not so easily give up his master,—“As Jehovah liveth and as thy soul liveth I will not leave thee.” They went together to Bethel.<sup>5</sup> The event which was about to happen had apparently been communicated to the sons of the prophets at Bethel, and they inquire if Elisha knew of his impending loss. His answer shows how fully he was aware of it. “Yea,” says he, with all the emphasis possible, “indeed I do” know it, hold ye your peace.” But though impending, it was not to happen that day. Again Elijah attempts to escape to Jericho, and again Elisha protests that he will not be separated from him. Again, also, the sons of the prophets at Jericho make the same unnecessary inquiries, and again he replies as emphatically as before. Elijah makes a final effort to avoid what they both so much dread. “Tarry here, I pray thee, for Jehovah hath sent me to the Jordan.” But Elisha is not to be conquered, and the two set off across the undulating plain of burning sand, to the distant

is a sufficient reply. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 5, §2) says that the letter was sent while Elijah was still on earth. (See Lightfoot, *Chronicles*, &c. “Jehoram.” Other theories will be found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* 1075, and Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 187.)

<sup>4</sup> The grounds for this inference are given under ELISHA (p. 538). See also GILGAL.

<sup>5</sup> The Hebrew word “went down” is a serious difficulty, if Gilgal is taken to be the site of Joshua’s camp and the resting-place of the ark, since that is more than 3000 feet below Bethel. But this is avoided by adopting the other Gilgal to the N.W. of Bethel, and on still higher ground, which also preserves the sequence of the journey to Jordan. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 308, note.) Some considerations in favour of this adoption will be found under ELISHA.

וַיֵּדַע יְרֵמְיָהּ = “Also I know it;” *Kéryn* εἶπακα.

river.—Elijah in his mantle or cape of sheep-skin, Elisha in ordinary clothes (יָגַב, ver. 12). Fifty men of the sons of the prophets ascend the abrupt heights behind the town—the same to which a late tradition would attach the scene of our Lord's temptation—and which command the plain below, to watch with the clearness of Eastern vision what happens in the distance. Talking as they go, the two reach the river, and stand on the shelving bank beside its swift brown current. But they are not to stop even here. It is as if the aged Gileadite cannot rest till he again sets foot on his own side of the river. He rolls up<sup>1</sup> his mantle as into a staff, and with his old energy strikes the waters as Moses had done before him,—strikes them as if they were an enemy;<sup>2</sup> and they are divided hither and thither, and they two go over on dry ground. What follows is best told in the simple words of the narrative. "And it came to pass when they were" gone over, that Elijah said to Elisha, "Ask what I shall do for thee before I be taken away from thee." And Elisha said, "I pray thee let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me." And he said, "Thou hast asked a hard thing: if thou see me taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee, but if not, it shall not be so." And it came to pass as they still went on and talked, that, behold, a chariot of fire and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by the whirlwind into the skies."<sup>3</sup> Well might Elisha cry with bitterness, "My father, my father." He was gone who, to the discerning eye and loving heart of his disciple, had been "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof" for so many years; and Elisha was at last left alone to carry on a task to which he must often have looked forward, but to which in this moment of grief he may well have felt unequal. He saw him no more; but his mantle had fallen, and this he took up—at once a personal relic and a symbol of the double portion of the spirit of Elijah with which he was to be clothed. Little could he have realised, had it been then presented to him, that he whose greatest claim to notice was that he had "poured water on the hands of Elijah" should hereafter possess an influence which had been denied to his master—should,

instead of the terror of kings and people, be their benefactor, adviser, and friend, and that over his death-bed a king of Israel should be found to lament with the same words that had just burst from him on the departure of his stern and silent master, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!"

And here ends all the direct information which is vouchsafed to us of the life and work of this great Prophet. Truly he "stood up as a fire, and his word burnt as a lamp" (Ecclus. xlviii. 1). How deep was the impression which he made on the mind of the nation may be judged of from the fixed belief which many centuries after prevailed that Elijah would again appear for the relief and restoration of his country. The prophecy of Malachi (iv. 6)<sup>4</sup> was possibly at once a cause and an illustration of the strength of this belief. What it had grown to at the time of our Lord's birth, and how continually the great Prophet was present to the expectations of the people, we do not need the evidence of the Talmud to assure us,<sup>5</sup> it is patent on every page of the Gospels. Each remarkable person, as he arrives on the scene, be his habits and characteristics what they may—the stern John equally with his gentle Successor—is proclaimed to be Elijah (Matt. xvi. 14; Mark vi. 15; John i. 9). His appearance in glory on the Mount of Transfiguration does not seem to have startled the disciples. They were "sore afraid," but not apparently surprised. On the contrary, St. Peter immediately proposes to erect a tent for the Prophet whose arrival they had been so long expecting. Even the cry of our Lord from the Cross, containing as it did but a slight resemblance to the name of Elijah, immediately suggested him to the bystanders. "He calleth for Elijah." "Let be, let us see if Elijah will come to save him."

How far this expectation was fulfilled in John, and the remarkable agreement in the characteristics of these two men, will be considered under JOHN THE BAPTIST.

But on the other hand, the deep impression which Elijah had thus made on his nation only renders more remarkable the departure which the image conveyed by the later references to him

<sup>1</sup> יָגַב. The above is quite the force of the word.

<sup>2</sup> The word is יָגַב, used of smiting in battle; generally with the sense of wounding (Gen. 48:3).

<sup>3</sup> LXX. "As they were going over," ἐν τῷ διαβαίῃ.

<sup>4</sup> The statements of the text hardly give support to the usual conception of Elijah's departure as represented by painters and in popular discourses. It was not in the chariot of fire that he went up into the skies. The fire served to part the master from the disciple, to show that the severance had arrived, but Elijah was taken up by the fierce wind of the tempest. The word סַעַר involves no idea of whirling, and is frequently rendered in the A. V. "storm" or "tempest." The term "the skies" has been employed above to translate the Hebrew שָׁמַיִם, because we attach an idea to the word "heaven" which does not appear to have been present to the mind of the ancient Hebrews.

<sup>5</sup> פָּנָא, the word used amongst others for the "great and bitter cry" when the first-born were killed in Egypt.

<sup>6</sup> The expression in Malachi is "Elijah the Prophet." From this unusual title some have believed that another Elijah was intended. The LXX., how-

ever, either following a different Hebrew text from that which we possess, or falling in with the belief of their times, insert the usual designation, "the Tishbite." (See Lightfoot, *Exerc.* on Luke i. 17).

<sup>7</sup> He is recorded as having often appeared to the wise and good Rabbis—at prayer in the wilderness, or on their journeys—generally in the form of an Arabian merchant (Eisenmenger, i. 11; ii. 402-7). At the circumcision of a child a seat was always placed for him, that as the zealous champion and messenger of the "covenant" of circumcision (1 K. xix. 14; Mal. iii. 1) he might watch over the due performance of the rite. During certain prayers the door of the house was set open that Elijah might enter and announce the Messiah (Eisenmenger, i. 685). His coming will be three days before that of the Messiah, and on each of the three he will proclaim, in a voice which shall be heard all over the earth, peace, happiness, salvation, respectively (Eisenmenger, 698). So firm was the conviction of his speedy arrival, that when goods were found and no owner appeared to claim them, the common saying was, "Put them by till Elijah comes" (Lightfoot, *Exercit.* Matt. xvii. 10; John i. 21). The same customs and expressions are even still in use among the stricter Jews of this and other countries. (See *Revue des deux Mondes*, xxiv. 131, &c.)

evinces, from that so sharply presented in the records of his actual life. With the exception of the eulogiums contained in the catalogues of worthies in the book of Jesus the son of Sirach (xlvi.) and 1 Macc. ii. 58, and the passing allusion in Luke ix. 54, none of these later references allude to his works of destruction or of portent. They all set forth a very different side of his character to that brought out in the historical narrative. They speak of his being a man of like passions with ourselves (James v. 17); of his kindness to the widow of Sarepta (Luke iv. 25); of his "restoring all things" (Matt. xvii. 11); "turning the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just" (Mal. iv. 5, 6; Luke i. 17). The moral lessons to be derived from these facts must be expanded elsewhere than here; it will be sufficient in this place to call attention to the great differences which may exist between the popular and contemporary view of an eminent character, and the real settled judgment formed in the progress of time, when the excitement of his more brilliant but more evanescent deeds has passed away. Precious indeed are the scattered hints and faint touches which enable us thus to soften the harsh outlines or the discordant colouring of the earlier picture. In the present instance they are peculiarly so. That wild figure, that stern voice, those deeds of blood, which stand out in such startling relief from the pages of the old records of Elijah, are seen by us all silvered over with the "white and glistening" light of the Mountain of Transfiguration. When he last stood on the soil of his native Gilead<sup>f</sup> he was destitute, afflicted, tormented, wandering about "in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in deserts and mountains, and dens and caves of the earth." But these things have passed away into the distance, and with them has receded the fiery zeal, the destructive wrath, which accompanied them. Under that heavenly light they fall back into their proper proportions, and Ahab and Jezebel, Baal and Ashtoroth are forgotten, as we listen to the Prophet talking to our Lord—talking of that event which was to be the consummation of all that he had suffered and striven for—"talking of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem."

Elijah has been canonized in both the Greek and Latin churches. Among the Greeks *Mar Elyās* is the patron of elevated spots, and many a conspicuous summit in Greece is called by his name.<sup>g</sup> The service for his day—*Ἡλίας μεγάλωνυμος*—will be found in the *Menaion* on July 20, a date recognised by the Latin church also.<sup>h</sup> The convent bearing his name, *Deir Mar Elyās*, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, is well known to travellers in the Holy Land. It purports to be situated on the spot of his birth, as already observed. Other convents bearing his name once existed in Palestine: in *Jebel Ajlān*, the ancient Gilead (Ritter, *Syrien*, 1029, 1066, &c.); at *Ezra* in the *Haurān* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 59), and the more famous establishment on Carmel.

<sup>f</sup> See the considerations adduced by Stanley (*S. & P.*) in favour of the mountain of the Transfiguration being on the east of Jordan.

<sup>g</sup> See this fact noticed in Clark's *Peloponnesus and Morea*, p. 190.

<sup>h</sup> See the *Acta Sanctorum*, July 20. By Cornelius a Lapide it is maintained that his ascent happened on that day, in the 19th year of Jehoshaphat (Kell, 331).

It is as connected with the great Order of the barefooted Carmelites that Elijah is celebrated in the Latin church. According to the statements of the Breviary (*Off. B. Mariæ Virginis de Monte Carmelo, Julii* 16) the connexion arose from the dedication to the Virgin of a chapel on the spot from which Elijah saw the cloud (an accepted type of the Virgin Mary) rise out of the sea. But other legends trace the origin of the order to the great Prophet himself as the head of a society of anchorites inhabiting Carmel; and even as himself dedicating the chapel in which he worshipped to the Virgin!<sup>i</sup> These things are matters of controversy in the Roman church, Baronius and others having proved that the Order was founded in 1181, a date which is repudiated by the Carmelites (see extracts in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* 1077).

In the Mahometan traditions *Ilyās* is said to have drunk of the Fountain of Life, "by virtue of which he still lives, and will live to the day of Judgment." He is by some confounded with St. George and with the mysterious *el-Khidr*, one of the most remarkable of the Muslim saints (see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, Intro. note 2; also *Selections from the Kuran*, 221, 222). The Persian *Sofis* are said to trace themselves back to Elijah (Fabricius, 1077).

Among other traditions it must not be omitted that the words "Eye hath not seen," &c., 1 Cor. ii. 9, which are without doubt quoted by the Apostle from Isaiah lxiv. 4, were, according to an ancient belief, from "the Apocalypse, or mysteries of Elijah," τὰ Ἡλίας ἀποκρύφα. The first mention of this appears to be Origen (*Hom. on Matt.* xxvii. 9), and it is noticed with disapproval by Jerome, *ad Pammachium* (see Fabricius, 1072).

By Epiphanius, the words "awake, thou that sleepest," &c., Eph. v. 14, are inaccurately alleged to be quoted "from Elijah," i. e. the portion of the O. T. containing his history—*παρὰ τῷ Ἡλῷ* (comp. Rom. xi. 2).

Two monographs on Elijah must not be overlooked: (1.) that of Frischmuth, *De Eliae Prophetæ Nom., &c.*, in the *Critici Sacri*; and (2.) *Elias Thesbites*, by Aegidius Camartus, 4to. Paris, 1631. There are also dissertations of great interest on the ravens, the mantle, and Naboth, in the *Critici Sacri*. [G.]

**ELIKA** (עֲלִיקָא; Alex. *Evand*; *Elicia*), a Harodite, i. e. from some place called Harod; one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 25). The name is omitted in the corresponding list of 1 Chr. xi.—to account for which see Kennicott's conjecture (*Dissertation, &c.*, 182).

**ELIM** (אֵילֵּימ; *Ailaim*), mentioned Ex. xv. 27; Num. xxxii. 9, as the second station where the Israelites encamped after crossing the Red Sea. It is distinguished as having had "twelve wells (rather "fountains," מְיֻנוֹת) of water, and three-score and ten palm-trees." Laborde (*Geographical Commentary on Exod. xv. 27*) supposed *Wady*

<sup>i</sup> S. John of Jerusalem, as quoted by Mislin, *Lives Saints*, ii. 49; and the Bulls of various Popes enumerated by Quaresmius, vol. ii.

<sup>a</sup> Root עָלָה, or עָלָה, "to be strong," hence "a strong tree," properly either an "oak" or "terebinth," but also generally "tree;" here in plur. as "the trees of the desert" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 315, §76). *Eloth* or *Eath* is another plur. form of name.

*Useit* to be Elim, the second of four wadys lying between 29° 7', and 29° 20',<sup>b</sup> which descend from the range of et Tih (here nearly parallel to the shore), towards the sea, and which the Israelites, going from N.W. to S.E. along the coast would come upon in the following order:—*W. Ghurundel* (where the "low hills" begin, Stanley, *S. & P.* 35), *W. Useit*, *W. Thál*, and *W. Shubeikeh*; the last being in its lower part called also *W. Taiyibeh*, or having a junction with one of that name. Between *Useit* and *Taiyibeh*, the coast-range of these hills rises into the *Gebel Hummam*, "lofty and precipitous, extending in several peaks along the shore, apparently of chalky limestone, mostly covered with flints . . . its precipices . . . cut off all passage alongshore from the hot springs (lying a little W. of S. from the mouth of *Wady Useit*, along the coast) to the mouth of *W. Taiyibeh*" (Rob. i. 102; comp. Stanley, *S. & P.* 35). Hence, between the courses of these wadys the track of the Israelites must have been inland. Dr. Stanley says "Elim must be *Ghurundel*, *Useit*, or *Taiyibeh*," 35; elsewhere, 66, that "one of two valleys, or perhaps both, must be Elim;" these appear from the sequel to be *Ghurundel* and *Useit*, "fringed with trees and shrubs, the first vegetation he had met with in the desert;" among these are "wild palms," not stately trees, but dwarf or savage, "tamarisks," and the "wild acacia." Lepsius takes another view, that *Ghurundel* is Mara, by others identified with Howara (2½ hours N.W. from *Ghurundel*, and reached by the Israelites, therefore, before it), and that Elim is to be found in the last of the four above named, *W. Shubeikeh* (Lepsius, *Travels*, Berlin, 1845, 8. 1. 27 ff.) [WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING.] [H. H.]

**ELIM'ELÉCH** (עֲלִמֶלֶךְ, 'Elimélek), a man of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of the Hezronites and the kinsman of Boaz, who dwelt in Bethlehem-Ephrath in the days of the Judges. In consequence of a great dearth in the land he went with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, to dwell in Moab, where he and his sons died without posterity. Naomi returned to Bethlehem with Ruth, her daughter-in-law, whose marriage with Boaz, "a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Elimelech," "her husband's kinsman," forms the subject of the book of Ruth. (Ruth i. 2, 3, ii. 1, 3, iv. 3, 9.) [A. C. H.]

**ELIOENAI** (עֲלִיֹּנָאִי; 'Eliōnna; Alex. 'Eliōnna; and —η). 1. Head of one of the families of the sons of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 8).

2. Head of a family of the Simeonites (1 Chr. iv. 36).

3. (accr. ELIHOENAI, עֲלִיֹּנָאִי). Seventh son of Meshelemiah, the son of Hare, of the sons of Asaph, a Korhite Levite, and one of the doorkeepers of the "house of Jehovah" (1 Chr. xxvi. 3). It appears from ver. 14 that the lot fell to Meshelemiah (Shelemiah) to have the east-gate; and as we learn from ver. 9 that he had eighteen strong men of his sons and brethren under him, we may conclude that all his sons except Zechariah the first-

born (ver. 14) served with him, and therefore Elioenai likewise. There were six Levites daily on guard at the east-gate, whose turn would therefore come every third day.

4. Eldest son of Neurah, the son of Shemaiah, 1 Chr. iii. 23, 24. According to the present Heb. text he is in the seventh generation from Zerubbabel, or about contemporary with Alexander the Great; but there are strong grounds for believing that Shemaiah is identical with Shimei (ver. 19), Zerubbabel's brother. (See *Geneal. of our Lord*, 107-109, and ch. vii.)

5. A priest of the sons of Pashur, in the days of Ezra, one of those who had married foreign wives, but who, at Ezra's instigation, put them away with the children born of them, and offered a ram for a trespass offering (Ezr. x. 22). He is possibly the same as is mentioned in Neh. xii. 41, as one of the priests who accompanied Nehemiah with trumpets at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem. He is called ELIONAS, 1 Esdr. ix. 22.

6. (עֲלִיֹּנָאִי). An Israelite, of the sons of Zattu, who had also married a strange wife (Ezr. x. 27). From the position of Zattu in the lists, Ezr. ii. 8; Neh. vii. 13, x. 14, it was probably a family of high rank. ELIOENAI is corrupted to ELIADAS, 1 Esdr. ix. 28. [A. C. H.]

**ELIONAS**. 1. ('Eliōnna; Alex. 'Eliōnna; Vulg. omits), 1 Esdr. ix. 22. [ELIOENAI.]

2. ('Eliōnna; Noncas), 1 Esdr. ix. 32. [ELIEZER.]

**ELIPHAL** (עֲלִיפָאֵל; 'Eliφat, Alex. 'Eliφad; *Eliphai*), son of Ur; one of the members of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 35). In the parallel list in 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given ΕΛΙΦΕΛΕΓ, and the names in connexion with it are much altered. [U.]

**ELIPHAIAT** ('Eliφαλάτ; *Eliphulach*), 1 Esdr. ix. 33. [ELIPHELET.]

**ELIPHAIET** (עֲלִיפָאֵת; 'Eliφad, and 'Eliφal; *Eliphath*). 1. The last of the thirteen sons born to David, by his wives, after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 16; 1 Chr. xiv. 7). Elsewhere, when it does not occur at a pause, the name is given with the shorter vowel—ELIPHELET (1 Chr. iii. 8). Equivalent to Eliphath are the names ELPALET and PHALFIEL.

2. 1 Esdr. vii. 39. [ELIPHELET, 5.]

**ELIPHAZ** (עֲלִיפָאֵז; 'Eliφas; *Eliphaz*). 1. The son of Esau and Adah, and father of Teman (Gen. xxvi. 4; 1 Chr. i. 35, 36).

2. The chief of the "three friends" of Job. He is called "the Temanite;" hence it is naturally inferred that he was a descendant of Teman (the son of the first Eliphaz), from whom a portion of Arabia Petraea took its name, and whose name is used as a poetical parallel to Edom in Jer. xlix. 20. On him falls the main burden of the argument, that God's retribution in this world is perfect, and certain, and that consequently suffering must

<sup>b</sup> Seetzen (*Reisen*, 1854, iii. 114-117) traversed them all, and reached Howara in about a six hours' ride. He was going in the opposite direction to the routes of Robinson and Stanley; and it is interesting to compare his notes of the local features, caught in the inverse order, with theirs.

<sup>c</sup> Seetzen alleges that the scanty quantity of water at Howara is against this identity,—a weak reason, for the water supply of these regions is highly variable. He also rejects Ghurundel as the site of Elim (iii. 117).

be a proof of previous sin (Job iv. v. xv. xxi.). His words are distinguished from those of Bildad and Zophar by greater calmness and elaboration, and in the first instance by greater gentleness towards Job, although he ventures afterwards, apparently from conjecture, to impute to him special sins. The great truth brought out by him is the unapproachable majesty and purity of God (iv. 12-21, xv. 12-16). [JOB, BOOK OF.] But still, with the other two friends, he is condemned for having, in defence of God's providence, spoken of Him "the thing that was not right," i. e. by refusing to recognise the facts of human life, and by contenting himself with an imperfect retribution as worthy to set forth the righteousness of God. On sacrifice and the intercession of Job all three are pardoned. [A. B.]

**ELIPHELEH** (עֲלִיפְהֵלֶיךָ, i. e. *Eliphelchu*; 'Ελιφελᾶ, 'Ελιφαλού, Alex. 'Ελιφαλδ; *Eliphale*), a Merarite Levite; one of the gatekeepers (דְּשָׁרְיָו, A. V. "porters") appointed by David to play on the harp "on the Sheminith" on the occasion of bringing up the Ark to the city of David (1 Chr. xv. 18, 21).

**ELIPHELET** (עֲלִיפְהֵלֶיךָ; 'Ελιφαλέτ; *Eliphaleth, Eliphelct*).

1. ('Ελιφαλήθ, Alex. 'Ελιφαλέτ). The name of a son of David, one of the children born to him, by his wives, after his establishment in Jerusalem (1 Chr. iii. 6). In the list in 2 Sam. v. 15, 16, this name and another are omitted; while in another list in 1 Chr. xiv. 5, 6, it is given as **ELPALET**.

2. ('Ελιφαλδ), another son of David, belonging also to the Jerusalem family, and apparently the last of his sons (1 Chr. iii. 8). In the other list, occurring at the pause, the vowel is lengthened and the name becomes **ELIPHALET**.

It is believed by some that there were not two sons of this name; but that, like Nogah, one is merely a transcriber's repetition. The two are certainly omitted in Samuel, but on the other hand they are inserted in two separate lists in Chronicles, and in both cases the number of sons is summed up at the close of the list.

3. ('Αλιφαλέτ), son of Ahushai, son of the Maachathite. One of the thirty warriors of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). In the list in 1 Chr. xi. the name is abbreviated into **ELIPHAL**.

4. Son of Eshek, a descendant of king Saul through Jonathan (1 Chr. viii. 39).

5. One of the leaders of the Bene-Adonikam, who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 13). [**ELIPHALET**, 2.]

6. A man of the Bene-Hashum in the time of Ezra who had married a foreign wife and had to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 33). [**ELIPHALAT**.]

**ELISABETH** ('Ελισάβετ, Luke i. 5 ff.), the wife of Zacharias and mother of John the Baptist. She was herself of the priestly family, ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων 'Ααρών, and a relation (συγγενής, Luke i. 36) of the mother of our Lord. [MARY, 1.] She

is described as a person of great piety, and was the first to greet Mary, on her coming to visit her, as the mother of her Lord (Luke i. 42 ff.). [H. A.]

**ELISEUS** ('Ελισαί; N. T. Rec. Text with B C, 'Ελισσαίον; Lachm. with A D, 'Ελισαίον; *Eliseus*, but in Cod. Amiat. *Helisaeus*): the form in which the name **ELISHA** appears in the A. V. of the Apocrypha and the N. T. (Ecclus. xlviii. 12; Luke iv. 27).

**ELI'SHA** (עֲלִישָׁא; 'Ελισαί; Alex. 'Ελισσαι; Joseph. 'Ελισσαίος; *Elisaeus*), son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah. The attendant and disciple (καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διάκονος, Jos. Ant. viii. 13, §7) of Elijah, and subsequently his successor as prophet of the kingdom of Israel.

The earliest mention of his name is in the command to Elijah in the cave at Horeb (1 K. xix. 16, 17). But our first introduction to the future prophet is in the fields of his native place. Abel-meholah—the "meadow of the dance"—was probably in the valley of the Jordan, and, as its name would seem to indicate, in a moist or watered situation. [ABEL.] Elijah, on his way from Sinai to Damascus by the Jordan valley, lights on his successor engaged in the labours of the field, twelve yoke before him, i. e. either twelve ploughs at work in other parts of the field, or more probably twelve "yokes" of land already ploughed, and he himself engaged on the last. To cross to him, to throw over his shoulders the rough mantle—a token at once of investiture with the prophet's office, and of adoption as a son—was to Elijah but the work of an instant, and the prophet strode on as if what he had done were nothing<sup>b</sup>—"Go back again, for what have I done unto thee?"

So sudden and weighty a call, involving the relinquishment of a position so substantial, and family ties so dear, might well have caused hesitation. But the parley was only momentary. To use a figure which we may almost believe to have been suggested by this very occurrence, Elisha was not a man who, having put his hand to the plough, was likely to look back; he delayed merely to give the farewell kiss to his father and mother, and preside at a parting feast with his people, and then followed the great prophet on his northward road to become to him what in the earlier times of his nation Joshua<sup>d</sup> had been to Moses.

Of the nature of this connexion we know hardly anything. "Elisha the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah," is all that is told us. The characters of the two men were thoroughly dissimilar, but how far the lion-like daring and courage of the one had infused itself into the other, we can judge from the few occasions on which it blazed forth, while every line of the narrative of Elijah's last hours on earth bears evidence how deep was the personal affection which the stern, rough, reserved master had engendered in his gentle and pliant disciple.

Seven or eight years must have passed between the call of Elisha and the removal of his master, and during the whole of that time we hear nothing

<sup>a</sup> The story in the *Chron. Paschale* and Epiphanius is that when Elisha first saw the light the golden calf at Bethel roared, so loud as to be heard at Jerusalem, "He shall destroy their graven and their molten images" (Fabricius, 1071).

<sup>b</sup> So our translation, and so the latest Jewish rendering (Zunz). Other versions interpret the passage differently.

<sup>c</sup> According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §7) he began to prophesy immediately.

<sup>d</sup> The word עֲלִישָׁא (A. V. "ministered to him") is the same that is employed of Joshua. Gehazi's relation to Elisha, except once, is designated by a different word, עֲלִישָׁא = "lad" or "youth."

of him. But when that period had elapsed he reappears, to become the most prominent figure in the history of his country during the rest of his long life. In almost every respect Elisha presents the most complete contrast to Elijah. The copious collection of his sayings and doings which are preserved in the 3rd to the 9th chapter of the 2nd book of Kings, though in many respects deficient in that remarkable vividness which we have noticed in the records of Elijah, is yet full of testimonies to this contrast. Elijah was a true Bedouin child of the desert. The clefts of the Cherith, the wild shrubs of the desert, the cave at Horeb, the top of Carmel, were his haunts and his resting-places. If he enters a city, it is only to deliver his message of fire and be gone. Elisha, on the other hand, is a civilised man, an inhabitant of cities. He passed from the translation of his master to dwell (עָשָׂה, A. V. "tarry") at Jericho (2 K. ii, 18); from thence he "returned" to Samaria (ver. 25). At Samaria (v. 3, vi. 32, comp. ver. 24) and at Dothan (vi. 14) he seems regularly to have resided in a house (v. 9, 24, vi. 32, xiii. 17) with "doors" and "windows," in familiar intercourse with the sons of the prophets, with the elders (vi. 32), with the lady of Shuam, the general of Damascus, the king of Israel. Over the king and the "captain of the host" he seems to have possessed some special influence, capable of being turned to material advantage if desired (2 K. iv. 13). And as with his manners so with his appearance. The touches of the narrative are very slight, but we can gather that his dress was the ordinary garment of an Israelite, the *beyed*, probably similar in form to the long *albayeh* of the modern Syrians (2 K. ii. 12), that his hair was worn trimmed behind, in contrast to the disordered locks of Elijah (ii. 23, as explained below), and that he used a walking-staff (iv. 29) of the kind ordinarily carried by grave or aged citizens (Zech. viii. 4). What use he made of the rough mantle of Elijah, which came into his possession at their parting, does not anywhere appear, but there is no hint of his ever having worn it.

If from these external peculiarities we turn to the internal characteristics of the two, and to the results which they produced on their contemporaries, the differences which they present are highly instructive. Elijah was emphatically a destroyer. His mission was to slay and to demolish whatever opposed or interfered with the rights of Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts. The nation had adopted a god of power and force, and they were shown that he was feebleness itself compared with the God whom they had forsaken. But after Elijah the destroyer comes Elisha the healer. "There shall not be dew nor rain these years" is the proclamation of the one. "There shall not be from thence any dearth or barren land" is the first miracle of the other. What may have been the disposition of Elijah when not engaged in the actual service of his mission we have unhappily no means of knowing. Like most

men of strong stern character, he had probably affections no less strong. But it is impossible to conceive that he was accustomed to the practice of that beneficence which is so strikingly characteristic of Elisha, and which comes out at almost every step of his career. Still more impossible is it to conceive him exercising the tolerance towards the person and the religion of foreigners for which Elisha is remarkable,—in communication, for example, with Nauman or Hazael; in the one case calming with a word of peace the scruples of the new proselyte, anxious to reconcile the due homage to Rimmon with his allegiance to Jehovah; in the other case contemplating with tears, but still with tears only, the evil which the future king of Syria was to bring on his country. That Baal-worship was prevalent in Israel even after the efforts of Elijah, and that Samaria was its chief seat, we have the evidence of the narrative of Jehu to assure us (2 K. x. 18-27), but yet not one act or word in disapproval of it is recorded of Elisha. True, he could be as zealous in his feelings and as cutting in his words as Elijah. "What have I to do with thee?" says he to the son of Ahab—"this son of a murderer," as on another occasion he called him—"What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father and to the prophets of thy mother. As the Lord of hosts liveth before whom I stand"—the very formula of Elijah—"surely were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat king of Judah I would not look toward thee nor see thee!" But after this expression of wrath he allows himself to be calmed by the music of the minstrel, and ends by giving the three kings the counsel which frees them from their difficulty. So also he smites the host of the Syrians with blindness, but it is merely for a temporary purpose; and the adventure concludes by his preparing great provision for them, and sending these enemies of Israel and worshippers of false gods back unharmed to their master.

In considering these differences the fact must not be lost sight of that, notwithstanding their greater extent and greater detail, the notices of Elisha really convey a much more imperfect idea of the man than those of Elijah. The prophets of the nation of Israel—both the predecessors of Elisha, like Samuel and Elijah, and his successors, like Isaiah and Jeremiah—are represented to us as preachers of righteousness, or champions of Jehovah against false gods, or judges and deliverers of their country, or counsellors of their sovereign in times of peril and difficulty. Their miracles and wonderful acts are introduced as means towards these ends, and are kept in the most complete subordination thereto. But with Elisha, as he is pictured in these narratives, the case is completely reversed. With him the miracles are everything, the prophet's work nothing. The man who was for years the intimate companion of Elijah, on whom Elijah's mantle descended, and who was gifted with a double portion of his spirit,\* appears

\* The ordinary meaning put upon this phrase (see, for example, J. H. Newman, *Subj. of the Day*, p. 191) is that Elisha possessed double the power of Elijah. This, though sanctioned by the renderings of the Vulgate and Luther, and adopted by a long series of commentators from S. Ephraem Syrus to Pastor Krummacker, would appear not to be the real force of the words.

פִּי שְׁנַיִם, literally "a mouth of two"—a double mouthful—is the phrase employed in Dent. xxi. 17 to denote the amount of a seller's goods which were

the right and token of a firstborn son. Thus the gift of the "double portion" of Elijah's spirit was but the legitimate conclusion of the act of adoption which began with the casting of the mantle at Abel-meholah years before. This explanation is given by Grotius and others. (See Keil *ad loc.*) Ewald (*Genes. iii. 507*) gives it as *nur Zweidrittel, und auch dies kaum*—two-thirds, and hardly that. For a curious calculation by S. Peter Damianus, that Elijah performed 12 miracles and Elisha 24, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, July 20.

in these records chiefly as a worker of prodigies, a predictor of future events, a revealer of secrets, and things happening out of sight or at a distance. The working of wonders seems to be a natural accompaniment of false religions, and we may be sure that the Baal-worship of Samaria and Jezreel was not free from such arts. The story of 1 K. xxii. shows that even before Elisha's time the prophets had come to be looked upon as diviners, and were consulted, not on questions of truth and justice, nor even as depositaries of the purposes and will of the Deity, but as able to foretell how an adventure or a project was likely to turn out, whether it might be embarked in without personal danger or loss. But if this degradation is inherent in false worship, it is no less a principle in true religion to accommodate itself to a state of things already existing, and out of the forms of the alien or the false to produce the power of the true.<sup>f</sup> And thus Elisha appears to have fallen in with the habits of his fellow-countrymen. He wrought, without reward and without ceremonial, the cures and restorations for which the sooth-sayers of Baalzebub at Ekron were consulted in vain: he warned his sovereign of dangers from the Syrians which the whole four hundred of his prophets had not succeeded in predicting to Ahab, and thus in one sense we may say that no less signally than Elijah he vanquished the false gods on their own field. But still even with this allowance it is difficult to help believing that the anecdotes of his life (if the word may be permitted, for we cannot be said to possess his biography) were thrown into their present shape at a later period, when the idea of a prophet had been lowered from its ancient elevation to the level of a mere worker of wonders. A biographer who held this lower idea of a prophet's function would regard the higher duties above alluded to as comparatively unworthy of notice, and would omit all mention of them accordingly. In the eulogium of Elisha contained in the catalogue of worthies of Eccles. xlviii. 12-14—the only later mention of him save the passing allusion of Luke iv. 27—this view is more strongly brought out than in the earlier narrative:—"Whilst he lived, he was not moved by the presence of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection. No word could overcome him, and after his death his body prophesied. He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous."

But there are other considerations from which the incompleteness of these records of Elisha may be inferred:—(1.) The absence of marks by which to determine the dates of the various occurrences. The "king of Israel" is continually mentioned, but we are left to infer what king is intended (2 K. v. 5, 6, 7, &c., vi. 8, 9, 21, 26, vii. 2, viii. 3, 5, 6, &c.). This is the case even in the story of the important events of Naaman's cure, and the capture of the Syrian host at Dothan. The only exceptions are iii. 12 (comp. 6), and the narrative

of the visit of Jehoshaphat (xiii. 14, &c.), but this latter story is itself a proof of the disarrangement of these records, occurring as it does after the mention of the death of Jehoshaphat (ver. 13), and being followed by an account of occurrences in the reign of Jehoshaphat his father (ver. 22, 23). (2.) The absence of chronological sequence in the narratives. The story of the Shunammite embraces a lengthened period, from before the birth of the child till he was some years old. Gehazi's familiar communication with the king, and therefore the story which precedes it (viii. 1, 2), must have occurred before he was struck with leprosy, though placed long after the relation of that event (v. 27). (3.) The different stories are not connected by the form of words usually employed in the consecutive narrative of these books. (See Keil, *Kings*, 348, where other indications will be found.)

With this preface we pass to the consideration of the several occurrences preserved to us in the life of the prophet.

The call of Elisha seems to have taken place about four years before the death of Ahab. He died in the reign of Joash, the grandson of Jehu. This embraces a period of not less than 65 years, for certainly 55 of which he held the office of "prophet in Israel" (2 K. v. 8).<sup>g</sup>

1. After the departure of his master, Elisha returned to dwell<sup>h</sup> at Jericho (2 K. ii. 18). The town had been lately rebuilt (1 K. xvi. 34), and was the residence of a body of the "sons of the prophets" (2 K. ii. 5, 15). No one who has visited the site of Jericho can forget how prominent a feature in the scene are the two perennial springs which, rising at the base of the steep hills of Quarantain behind the town, send their streams across the plain towards the Jordan, scattering, even at the hottest season, the richest and most grateful vegetation over what would otherwise be a bare tract of sandy soil. At the time in question part at least of this charm was wanting. One of the springs was noxious—had some properties which rendered it unfit for drinking, and also prejudicial to the land (ii. 19, רַעֲוִי = bad, A. V. "naught").

At the request of the men of Jericho Elisha remedied this evil. He took salt in a new vessel, and cast it into the water at its source in the name of Jehovah. From the time of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, §3) to the present (Sæwulf, *Mod. Trav.* 17; Mandeville; Maundrell; Rob. i. 554, 5), the tradition of the cure has been attached to the large spring N.W. of the present town, and which now bears, probably in reference to some later event, the name of *Ain es-Sultân*.<sup>i</sup>

2. We next meet with Elisha at Bethel, in the heart of the country, on his way from Jericho to Mount Carmel (2 K. ii. 23). His last visit had been made in company with Elijah on their road down to the Jordan (ii. 2). Sons of the prophets resided there, but still it was the seat of

Out of the above Elijah lived probably 9 years; the 4 of Ahab, the 2 of Ahaziah, and say 3 of Joram: which leaves 56 years from the ascent of Elijah to the death of Elisha.

<sup>h</sup> Hebr. בְּיָשָׁן; A. V. generally "dwelt," but here "tarried."

<sup>i</sup> This, or *Ain Hasya*, in the same neighbourhood, is probably the spring intended by Scott in the opening chapter of the *Talesman*, under the name of the "Diamond of the Desert." But his knowledge of the topography is evidently most imperfect.

<sup>f</sup> See Stanley's, *Canterbury Sermons*, p. 320.

<sup>g</sup> The figures given above are arrived at as follows:—

Ahab's reign after Elisha's call, say	4 years.
Ahaziah's do. . . . .	2 "
Joram's do. . . . .	12 "
Jehu's do. . . . .	28 "
Jehoshaphat's do. . . . .	17 "
Joash, before Elisha's death, say	2 "

the calf-worship, and therefore a prophet of Jehovah might expect to meet with insult, especially if not so well known and so formidable as Elijah. The road to the town winds up the defile of the *Wady Suweinit*, under the hill which still bears what in all probability are the ruins of Ai, and which, even now retaining some trees, was at that date shaded by a forest, thick, and the haunt of savage animals.<sup>k</sup> Here the boys of the town were clustered, waiting, as they still wait at the entrance of the villages of Palestine, for the chance passer-by. In the short-trimmed locks of Elisha, how were they to recognise the successor of the prophet, with whose shaggy hair streaming over his shoulders they were all familiar? So with the license of the Eastern children they scoff at the new comer as he walks by—"Go up,<sup>m</sup> roundhead! go up, roundhead!" For once Elisha assumed the sternness of his master. He turned upon them and cursed them in the name of Jehovah, and we all know the catastrophe which followed. The destruction of these children has been always felt to be a difficulty. It is so entirely different from anything elsewhere recorded of Elisha—the one exception of severity in a life of mildness and beneficence—that it is perhaps allowable to conclude that some circumstances have been omitted in the narrative, or that some expression has lost its special force, which would have explained and justified the apparent disproportion of the punishment to the offence.

3. Elisha extricates Jehoram king of Israel, and the kings of Judah and Edom, from their difficulty in the campaign against Moab, arising from want of water (in. 4-27). The revolt of Moab occurred very shortly after the death of Ahab (iii. 5, comp. i. 1), and the campaign followed immediately—"the same day" (iii. 6; A. V. "time"). The prophet was with the army; according to Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 3, §1), he "happened to be in a tent (ἐν τῇ κατακκηνωσκάς) outside the camp of Israel." Joram he refuses to hear except out of respect for Jehoshaphat the servant of the true God; but a minstrel is brought, and at the sound of music the hand of Jehovah comes upon him, and he predicts a fall of rain, and advises a mode of procedure in connexion therewith which results in the complete discomfiture of Moab. This incident probably took place at the S.E. end of the Dead Sea.

4. The widow of one of the sons of the prophets—according to Josephus, of Obadiah, the steward of Ahab—is in debt, and her two sons are about to be taken from her and sold as slaves. She has no property but a pot of oil. This Elisha causes (in his absence, iv. 5) to multiply, until the widow has filled with it all the vessels which she could borrow. No invocation of Jehovah is mentioned, nor any place or date of the miracle.

5. The next occurrence is at Shunem and Mount Carmel (iv. 8-37). The story divides itself into two parts, separated from each other by several

years. (a.) Elisha, probably on his way between Carmel and the Jordan valley, calls accidentally at Shunem, now *Sokam*, a village on the southern slopes of *Jebel ed Duhy*, the little Hermon of modern travellers. Here he is hospitably entertained by a woman of substance, apparently at that time ignorant of the character of her guest. There is no occasion here to quote the details of this charming narrative, or the manner in which, as a recompense for her care of the prophet, she was saved from that childless condition which was esteemed so great a calamity by every Jewish wife, and permitted to "embrace a son."

(b.) An interval has elapsed of several years. The boy is now old enough to accompany his father to the corn-field, where the harvest is proceeding. The fierce rays of the morning sun are too powerful for him, and he is carried home to his mother only to die at noon. She says nothing of their loss to her husband, but depositing her child on the bed of the man of God, at once starts in quest of him to Mount Carmel. The distance is fifteen or sixteen miles, at least four hours' ride; but she is mounted on the best ass<sup>n</sup> in the stable, and she does not slacken rein. Elisha is on one of the heights of Carmel commanding the road to Shunem, and from his position opposite to her (עליו) he recognises in the distance the figure of the regular attendant at the services which he holds here at "new moon and sabbath" (comp. ver. 23). He sends Gehazi down to meet her, and inquire the reason of her unexpected visit. But her distress is for the ear of the master, and not of the servant, and she presses on till she comes up to the place where Elisha himself is stationed,<sup>o</sup> then throwing herself down in her emotion she clasps him by the feet. Misinterpreting this action, or perhaps with an ascetic feeling of the unholiness of a woman, Gehazi attempts to thrust her away. But the prophet is too profound a student of human nature to allow this—"Let her alone, for her soul is vexed within her; and Jehovah hath hid it from me, and hath not told me." "And she said"—with the enigmatical form of Oriental speech—"did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say to do I deceive me?" No explanation is needed to tell Elisha the exact state of the case. The heat of the season will allow of no delay in taking the necessary steps, and Gehazi is at once despatched to run back to Shunem with the utmost speed.<sup>p</sup> He takes the prophet's walking-staff in his hand which he is to lay on the face of the child. The mother and Elisha follow in haste. Before they reach the village the sun of that long, anxious, summer afternoon must have set. Gehazi meets them on the road, but he has no reassuring report to give, the placing of the staff on the face of the dead boy had called forth no sign of life. Then Elisha enters the house, goes up to his own chamber, "and he shut the door on them twain, and prayeth unto Jehovah."

<sup>k</sup> The "lion" and the "bear" are mentioned as not uncommon by Amos (v. 19), who resided certainly for some time in the neighbourhood of Bethel (see vii. 10; also iv. 4; v. 5, 6). The word used for the "forest" is עֵץ, *ya'ar*, implying a denser growth than *chorrah*, more properly a "wood" (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §73).

<sup>m</sup> עֲלֶה, "go up," can hardly, as Abarbanel would have it, be a scoff at the recent ascent of Elijah. The word rendered above by "roundhead" (קִרְיָה) is a

peculiar Hebrew term for shortness of hair at the back of the head, as distinguished from קִרְיָה, bald in front; A. V. "forehead-bald." This is due to Ewald (iii. 512).

<sup>n</sup> שֶׁאֲסָהּ = "the she-ass." She-asses were, and still are, most esteemed in the East.

<sup>o</sup> The A. V. in iv. 27, perversely renders קִרְיָה "the mount," by "the hill," thus obscuring the connexion with ver. 25, "Mount Carmel."

<sup>p</sup> "Gird up thy loins and go."

It was what Elijah had done on a similar occasion, and in this and his subsequent proceedings Elisha was probably following a method which he had heard of from his master. The child is restored to life, the mother is called in, and again falls at the feet of the prophet, though with what different emotions—"and she took up her son and went out."

There is nothing in the narrative to fix its date with reference to other events. We here first encounter Gehazi the "servant" of the man of God.<sup>3</sup> It must of course have occurred before the events of viii. 1-6, and therefore before the cure of Naaman, when Gehazi became a leper.

6. The scene now changes to Gilgal, apparently at a time when Elisha was residing there (iv. 38-41). The sons of the prophets are sitting round him. It is a time of famine, possibly the same seven years' scarcity which is mentioned in viii. 1, 2, and during which the Shunammite woman of the preceding story migrated to the Philistine country. The food of the party must consist of any herbs that can be found. The great caldron is put on at the command of Elisha, and one of the company brings his blanket (נָדָה; not "lap" as in A. V.) full of such wild vegetables as he has collected, and empties it into the pottage. But no sooner have they begun their meal than the taste betrays the presence of some noxious herb,<sup>4</sup> and they cry out, "there is death in the pot, oh man of God!" In this case the cure was effected by meal which Elisha cast into the stew, in the caldron. Here again there is no invocation of the name of Jehovah.

7. (iv. 42-44). This in all probability belongs to the same time, and also to the same place as the preceding. A man from Baal-shalisha brings the man of God present of the first-fruits, which under the law (Num. xviii. 8, 12, Deut. xviii. 3, 4) were the perquisite of the ministers of the sanctuary—20 loaves of the new barley, and some delicacy, the exact nature of which is disputed, but which seems most likely to have been roasted ears of corn not fully ripe,<sup>5</sup> brought with care in a sack or bag.<sup>6</sup> This moderate provision is by the word of Jehovah rendered more than sufficient for a hundred men.

This is one of the instances in which Elisha is the first to anticipate in some measure the miracles of Christ.

The mention of Baal-shalisha gives great support to the supposition that the Gilgal mentioned here (ver. 38) as being frequented by the sons of the prophets, and therefore the same place with that in ii. 1, was not that near Jericho; since Baal-shalisha or Beth-shalisha is fixed by Eusebius at

fifteen Roman miles north of Lydda, the very position in which we still find the name of Gilgal lingering as *Jiljilich*. [GILGAL.]

8. The simple records of these domestic incidents amongst the sons of the prophets are now interrupted by an occurrence of a more important character (v. 1-27).

The chief captain of the army of Syria, to whom his country was indebted for some signal success,<sup>7</sup> was afflicted with leprosy, and that in its most malignant form, the white variety (v. 27). In Israel this would have disqualified him from all employment and all intercourse (2 K. xv. 5; 2 Chr. xxvi. 20, 21). But in Syria no such practice appears to have prevailed; Naaman was still a "great man with his master," "a man of countenance." One of the members of his establishment is an Israelite girl, kidnapped by the marauders<sup>8</sup> of Syria in one of their forays over the border, and she brings into that Syrian household the fame of the name and skill of Elisha. "The prophet in Samaria," who had raised the dead, would, if brought "face to face" with the patient, have no difficulty in curing even this dreadful leprosy. The news is communicated by Naaman himself<sup>9</sup> to the king. Benhadad had yet to learn the position and character of Elisha. He writes to the king of Israel a letter very characteristic of a military prince, and curiously recalling words uttered by another military man in reference to the cure of his sick servant many centuries later—"I say to this one, go, and he goeth, and to my servant do this, and he doeth it." "And now"—so ran Benhadad's letter after the usual complimentary introduction had probably opened the communication—"and now, when this letter is come unto thee, behold I have sent Naaman, my slave, to thee, that thou mayest recover him of his leprosy." With this letter, and with a present, in which the rich fabrics,<sup>10</sup> for which Damascus has been always in modern times so famous, form a conspicuous feature, and with a full retinue of attendants (13, 15, 25), Naaman proceeds to Samaria. The king of Israel—his name is not given, but it was probably Joram—is dismayed at the communication. He has but one idea, doubtless the result of too frequent experience—"Consider how this man seeketh a quarrel against me!" The occurrence soon reaches the ears of the prophet, and with a certain dignity he "sends" to the king—"Let him come to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel." To the house of Elisha Naaman goes with his whole cavalcade, the "horses and chariot" of the Syrian general fixing themselves particularly in the mind of the chronicler. Elisha

<sup>3</sup> נָעֲרָ, i. e. the lad or youth, a totally different term to that by which the relation of Elisha to Elijah is designated—see above; though the latter is also occasionally applied to Gehazi.

<sup>4</sup> For a full discussion of the nature of this herb see the article "Pakyoth" by the late Dr. Forbes Royle in *Kitt's Cyclop.* One kind of small gourd has received the name *Cucumis prophetarum* in allusion to this circumstance; but Dr. R. inclines to favour *C. colocynthis*, the colocynth, or *Momordica elaterium*, the squirting cucumber. This is surely impossible.

<sup>5</sup> The Hebrew expression פֶּרֶךְ נֶאֱמָר seems to be elliptical for פֶּרֶךְ נֶאֱמָר (Lev. ii. 14; A. V. "green ears of corn"). The same ellipsis occurs in Lev. xxiii. 14 (A. V. "green ears"). The old Hebrew interpretation is "tender and fresh ears." Gesenius (*Thez.* 713)

makes it out to be grains or grits. The passage in Lev. ii. 14, compared with the common practice of the East in the present day, suggests the meaning given above.

<sup>6</sup> עֲקָלֹן; LXX. *ῥίπα*. The word occurs only here. The meaning given above is recognized by the majority of the versions and by Gesenius, and is stated in the margin of A. V.

<sup>7</sup> The tradition of the Jews is that it was Naaman who killed Ahab (*Midrash Tehillim*, p. 29 b, on Ps. lxxviii).

<sup>8</sup> Hebr. גִּזְדָּנִים, i. e. plunderers, always for irregular parties of marauders.

<sup>9</sup> So the Hebrew. A. V. "with."

<sup>10</sup> A. V. "one went in" is quite gratuitous.

<sup>11</sup> The word used is כְּבוֹשֶׁת = a dress of ceremony.

still keeps in the background, and while Naaman stands at the doorway, contents himself with sending out a messenger with the simple direction to bathe seven times in the Jordan. The independent behaviour of the prophet, and the simplicity of the prescription—not only devoid of any ceremonial, but absolutely insulting to the native of a city which boasted, as it still boasts, of the finest water-supply of any city of the East, all combined to outrage Naaman. His slaves, however, knew how to deal with the quick but not ungenerous temper of their master, and the result is that he goes down to the Jordan and dips himself seven times, “and his flesh came again like the flesh of a little child, and he was clean.” His first business after his cure is to thank his benefactor. He returns with his whole following (חֲנִיכָיו, i. e. “host,” or “camp”), and this time he will not be denied the presence of Elisha, but making his way in, and standing before him, he gratefully acknowledges the power of the God of Israel, and entreats him to accept the present which he has brought from Damascus. But Elisha is firm, and refuses the offer, though repeated with the strongest adjuration. Naaman, having adopted Jehovah as his God, begs to be allowed to take away some of the earth of His favoured country, of which to make an altar. He then consults Elisha on a difficulty which he foresees. How is he, a servant of Jehovah, to act when he accompanies the king to the temple of the Syrian god Rimmon? He must bow before the god; will Jehovah pardon this disloyalty? Elisha’s answer is “Go in peace,” and with this farewell the caravan moves off. But Gehazi, the attendant of Elisha, cannot allow such treasures thus to escape him. “As Jehovah liveth!”—an expression, in the lips of this vulgar Israelite, exactly equivalent to the oft-repeated *Wallah—*“by God”—of the modern Arabs, “I will run after this Syrian and take somewhat of him.” So he frames a story by which the generous Naaman is made to send back with him to Elisha’s house a considerable present in money and clothes. He then went in and stood before his master as if nothing had happened. But the prophet was not to be so deceived. His heart had gone after his servant through the whole transaction, even to its minutest details, and he visits Gehazi with the tremendous punishment of the leprosy, from which he has just relieved Naaman.

This cure of leprosy—the only one which he effected (Luke iv. 27)—is a second miracle in which Elisha, and Elisha only, anticipated our Lord.<sup>b</sup>

The date of the transaction must have been at least seven years after the raising of the Shunammite’s son. This is evident from a comparison of viii. 4, with 1, 2, 3. Gehazi’s familiar conversation with the king must have taken place before he was a leper.

9. (vi. 1-7). We now return to the sons of the prophets, but this time the scene appears to be changed, and is probably at Jericho, and during the residence of Elisha there. Whether from the increase of the scholars consequent on the estimation in which the

master was held, or from some other cause, their habitation had become too small—“the place in which we sit before thee is too narrow for us.” They will therefore move to the close neighbourhood of the Jordan, and cutting down beams—each man one, as with curious minuteness the text relates—make there a new dwelling-place. Why Jordan was selected is not apparent. Possibly for its distance from the distractions of Jericho—possibly the spot was one sanctified by the crossing of Israel with the ark, or of Elijah, only a few years before. Urged by his disciples the man of God consents to accompany them. When they reach the Jordan, descending to the level of the stream, they commence felling the trees<sup>c</sup> of the dense belt of wood in immediate contact with the water. [JORDAN.] As one of them was cutting at a tree overhanging the stream, the iron of his axe (a borrowed tool) flew off and sank into the water. His cry soon brought the man of God to his aid. The stream of the Jordan is deep up to the very bank, especially when the water is so low as to leave the wood dry, and is moreover so turbid that search would be useless. But the place at which the lost axe entered the water is shown to Elisha; he breaks off<sup>d</sup> a stick and casts it into the stream, and the iron appears on the surface, and is recovered by its possessor. No appeal to Jehovah is recorded here.

10. (vi. 8-23). Elisha is now residing at Dothan, halfway on the road between Samaria and Jezreel. The incursions of the Syrian marauding bands<sup>e</sup> (comp. v. 2) still continue: but apparently with greater boldness, and pushed even into places which the king of Israel is accustomed to frequent.<sup>f</sup> But their manoeuvres are not hid from the man of God, and by his warnings he saves the king “not once nor twice.” So baffled were the Syrians by these repeated failures, as to make their king suspect treachery in his own camp. But the true explanation is given by one of his own people—possibly one of those who had witnessed the cure wrought on Naaman, and could conceive no power too great to ascribe to so gifted a person: “Elisha, the prophet in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber.” So powerful a magician must be seized without delay, and a strong party with chariots is despatched to effect his capture: They march by night, and before morning take up their station round the base of the eminence on which the ruins of Dothan still stand. Elisha’s servant—not Gehazi, but apparently a new comer, unacquainted with the powers of his master—is the first to discover the danger. But Elisha remains unmoved by his fears; and at his request the eyes of the youth are opened to behold the spiritual guards which are protecting them, horses and chariots of fire filling the whole of the mountain. But this is not enough. Elisha again prays to Jehovah, and the whole of the Syrian warriors are struck blind. He then descends, and offers to lead them to the person and the place which they seek. He conducts them to Samaria. There, at the prayer of the prophet, their sight is restored, and they find

<sup>b</sup> The case of Miriam (Num. xii. 10-15) is different. Human agency appears to have done nothing towards her cure.

<sup>c</sup> So the Hebrew, חֲנִיכָיו.

<sup>d</sup> The Hebrew word שָׁבַע occurs only once besides this place. Its exact force is not clear, but the LXX. render it *detached*, “he pinched off.”

<sup>e</sup> חֲנִיכָיו, always with the force of irregular ravaging. See ver. 23.

<sup>f</sup> The expression is peculiar—“beware thou person not by such a place.” Josephus (ix. 4, §9) says that the king was obliged to give up hunting in consequence.

themselves not in a retired country village, but in the midst of the capital of Israel, and in the presence of the king and his troops. His enemies thus completely in his grasp, the king of Israel is eager to destroy them. "Shall I slay? shall I slay, my father?" But the end of Elisha has been answered when he has shown the Syrians how futile are all their attempts against his superior power. "Thou shalt not slay. Thou mayest slay those whom thou hast taken captive in lawful fight, but not these: feed them, and send them away to their master." After such a repulse it is not surprising that the marauding forays of the Syrian troops ceased.

11. (vi. 24—vii. 2). But the king of Syria could not rest under such dishonour. He abandons his marauding system, and gathers a regular army, with which he lays siege to SAMARIA. The awful extremities to which the inhabitants of the place were driven need not here be recalled. Roused by an encounter with an incident more ghastly than all, and which remained without parallel in Jewish records till the unspeakable horrors of the last days of Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 10, §3; 13, §7, &c.), the king vents his wrath on the prophet, probably as having by his share in the last transaction,<sup>a</sup> or in some other way not recorded, provoked the invasion; possibly actuated by the spite with which a weak bad man in difficulty often regards one better and stronger than himself. The king's name is not stated in the Bible, but there can be no doubt that Josephus is correct in giving it as Joram; and in keeping with this is his employment of the same oath which his mother Jezebel used on an occasion not dissimilar (1 K. xix. 2), "God do so to me and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat stand on him this day." No sooner is the word out of the king's mouth than his emissary starts to execute the sentence. Elisha is in his house, and round him are seated the elders of Samaria, doubtless receiving some word of comfort or guidance in their sore calamity. He receives a miraculous intimation of the danger. Ere the messenger could reach the house, he said to his companions, "See how this son of a murderer<sup>b</sup> hath sent to take away my head! Shut the door, and keep him from entering: even now I hear the sound of his master's feet behind him, hastening to stay the result of his rash exclamation!"<sup>c</sup> As he says the words the messenger arrives at the door, followed immediately, as the prophet had predicted, by the king and by one of his officers, the lord on whose hand he leaned. What follows is very graphic. The king's hereditary love of Baal bursts forth, and he cries, "This evil is from Jehovah," the ancient enemy of my house, "why should I wait for Jehovah any longer?" To this Elisha answers: "Hear the word of Jehovah"—"He who has sent famine can also send plenty"—"to-morrow at this time shall a measure of fine flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of this very city."

<sup>a</sup> This interpretation is that of the Targum, De Wette, and others, and gives a better sense than that of the A. V. The original will perhaps bear either.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 4, §4.

<sup>c</sup> Surely an allusion to Ahab (Joram's father) and Naboth.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4, §4).

<sup>e</sup> Instances of this are frequent in the *Arabian Nights*. Ibrahim Pacha, the famous son of Mehmet Ali, used to hold an open court in the garden of his

"This is folly," says the officer: "even if Jehovah were to make windows in heaven and pour down the provisions, it could not be." "It can, it shall," replies Elisha; "and you, you shall see it all, but shall not live even to taste it."

12. (viii. 1-6). We now go back several years to an incident connected with the lady of Shunem, at a period antecedent to the cure of Naaman and the transfer of his leprosy to Gehazi (v. 1, 27).

Elisha had been made aware of a famine which Jehovah was about to bring upon the land for seven years; and he had warned his friend the Shunammite thereof that she might provide for her safety. Accordingly she had left Shunem with her family, and had taken refuge in the land of the Philistines, that is in the rich corn-growing plain on the seacoast of Judah, where secure from want she remained during the dearth. At the end of the seven years she returned to her native place, to find that during her absence her house with the field-land attached to it—the corn-fields of the former story—had been appropriated by some other person. In Eastern countries kings are (or were) accessible to the complaints of the meanest of their subjects to a degree inconceivable to the inhabitants of the Western world.<sup>a</sup> To the king therefore the Shunammite had recourse, as the widow of Tekoah on a former occasion to King David (2 Sam. xiv. 4). And now occurred one of those rare coincidences which it is impossible not to ascribe to something more than mere chance. At the very moment the entrance of the woman and her son—clamouring, as Oriental suppliants alone clamour,<sup>b</sup> for her home and her land—the king was listening to a recital by Gehazi of "all the great things which Elisha had done," the crowning feat of all being that which he was then actually relating—the restoration to life of the boy of Shunem. The woman was instantly recognized by Gehazi. "My lord, O king, this is the woman and this is her son whom Elisha restored to life." From her own mouth the king hears the repetition of the wonderful tale, and, whether from regard to Elisha, or struck by the extraordinary coincidence, orders her land to be restored, with the value of all its produce during her absence.

13. (viii. 7-15). Hitherto we have met with the prophet only in his own country. We now find him at Damascus.<sup>c</sup> He is there to carry out the command given to Elijah on Iloreb to "anoint Hazael to be king over Syria." At the time of his arrival Benhadad was prostrate with his last illness. This marks the time of the visit as after the siege of Samaria, which was conducted by Benhadad in person (comp. vi. 24). The memory of the cure of Naaman, and of the subsequent disinterestedness of the prophet, were no doubt still fresh in Damascus; and no sooner does he enter the city than the intelligence is carried to the king—"the man of God is come hither." The king's first desire is naturally to ascertain his own

palace at Akka (Acre), for complaints of all kinds and from all classes.

<sup>a</sup> פִּיִּי (A. V. "cry"); a word denoting great vehemence.

<sup>b</sup> The traditional spot of his residence on this occasion is shown in the synagogue at Jobar (J. Hobah), a village about 2 miles E. of Damascus. The same village, if not the same building, also contains the cave in which Elijah was fed by ravens and the tomb of Gehazi (Stanley, 412; Quaracmius, ii. §61—"cave et mendacia Hebraeorum").

fate; and Hazael, who appears to have succeeded Naaman, is commissioned to be the bearer of a present to the prophet, and to ask the question on the part of his master, "Shall I recover of this disease?" The present is one of royal dimensions; a caravan of 40 camels,<sup>p</sup> laden with the riches and luxuries which that wealthy city could alone furnish. The terms of Hazael's address show the respect in which the prophet was held even in this foreign and hostile country. They are identical with those in which Naaman was addressed by his slaves, and in which the king of Israel in a moment of the deepest gratitude and reverence had addressed Elisha himself. "Thy son Benhadad hath sent me to thee, saying, 'Shall I recover of this disease?'" The reply, probably originally ambiguous, is doubly uncertain in the present doubtful state of the Hebrew text; but the general conclusion was unmistakable:—"Jehovah hath showed me that he shall surely die." But this was not all that had been revealed to the prophet. If Benhadad died, who would be king in his stead but the man who now stood before him? The prospect was one which drew forth the tears of the man of God. This man was no rash and imprudent leader, who could be baffled and deceived as Benhadad had so often been. Behind that "steelfast" impenetrable countenance was a steady courage and a persistent resolution, in which Elisha could not but foresee the greatest danger to his country. Here was a man who, give him but the power, would "oppress" and "cut Israel short," would "thresh Gilead with threshing instruments of iron," and "make them like the dust by threshing" as no former king of Syria had done, and that at a time when the prophet would be no longer alive to warn and to advise. At Hazael's request Elisha confesses the reason of his tears. But the prospect is one which has no sorrow for Hazael. How such a career presented itself to him may be inferred from his answer. His only doubt is the possibility of such good fortune for one so mean. "But what is thy slave," dog that he is, that he should do this great thing?" To which Elisha replies, "Jehovah hath showed me that thou wilt be king over Syria."

Returning to the king, Hazael tells him only half the dark saying of the man of God—"He told me that thou shouldst surely recover." But that was the last day of Benhadad's life. From whose hand he received his death, or what were the circumstances attending it, whether in the bath as has been recently suggested, we cannot tell. The general inference, in accordance with the account of Josephus, is that Hazael himself was the murderer, but the statement in the text does not necessarily bear that interpretation; and, indeed, from the mention of Hazael's name at the end of the passage, the conclusion is rather the reverse.

14. (ix. 1-10). Two of the injunctions laid on

<sup>p</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 4, §6.

<sup>q</sup> The A. V., by omitting, as usual, the definite article before "dog," and by its punctuation of the sentence, completely misrepresents the very characteristic turn of the original—given above—and also differs from all the versions. In the Hebrew the word "dog" has the force of *meanness*, in the A. V. of *cruelty*. For a long comment founded on the reading of the A. V., see *II. Blunt*, Lectures on Elisha, p. 222, &c.

<sup>r</sup> The word דָּוָם, A. V. "a thick cloth," has been variously conjectured to be a carpet, a mosquito-net (Michæalis), and a bath-mattress. The last is Ewald's suggestion (iii. 523, note), and, taken in con-

nexion with the "water," and with the inference to be drawn from the article attached to the Hebrew word, is more probable than the others. Abbas Pacha is said to have been murdered in the same manner. As to the person who committed the murder, Ewald justly remarks that as a high officer of state Hazael would have no business in the king's bath. Some suppose that Benhadad killed himself by accident, having laid a wet towel over his face while sleeping. See Kell, *ad loc.*

Elijah had now been carried out; the third still remained. Hazael had begun his attacks on Israel by an attempt to recover the stronghold of Ramoth-Gilead (viii. 28), or Ramah, among the mountains on the east of Jordan. But the fortress was held by the kings of Israel and Judah in alliance, and though the Syrians had wounded the king of Israel, they had not succeeded in capturing the place (viii. 28, ix. 15). One of the captains of the Israelite army in the garrison was Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi. At the time his name was mentioned to Elijah on Horeb he must have been but a youth; now he is one of the boldest and best known of all the warriors of Israel. He had seen the great prophet once, when with his companion Bidkar he attended Ahab to take possession of the field of Naboth, and the scene of that day and the words of the curse then pronounced no subsequent adventure had been able to efface (ix. 25, 38). The time was now come for the fulfilment of that curse by his being anointed king over Israel. Elisha's personal share in the transaction was confined to giving directions to one of the sons of the prophets, and the detailed consideration of the story will therefore be more fitly deferred to another place. [JENU.]

15. Beyond this we have no record of Elisha's having taken any part in the revolution of Jehu, or the events which followed it. He does not again appear till we find him on his deathbed in his own house (xiii. 14-19). Joash, the grandson of Jehu, is now king, and he is come to weep over the approaching departure of the great and good prophet. His words are the same as those of Elisha when Elijah was taken away—"My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" But it is not a time for weeping. One thought fills the mind of both king and prophet. Syria is the fierce enemy who is gradually destroying the country, and against Syria one final effort must be made before the aid of Elisha becomes unobtainable. What was the exact significance of the ceremonial employed, our ignorance of Jewish customs does not permit us to know, but it was evidently symbolic. The window is opened towards the hated country, the bow is pointed in the same direction, and the prophet laying his hands on the string as if to convey force to the shot, "the arrow of Jehovah's deliverance, the arrow of deliverance from Syria," is discharged. This done, the king takes up the bundle of arrows, and at the command of Elisha beats them on the ground. But he does it with no energy, and the successes of Israel, which might have been so prolonged as completely to destroy the foe, are limited to three victories.

16. (xiii. 20-23). The power of the prophet, however, does not terminate with his death. Even

in connexion with the "water," and with the inference to be drawn from the article attached to the Hebrew word, is more probable than the others. Abbas Pacha is said to have been murdered in the same manner.

As to the person who committed the murder, Ewald justly remarks that as a high officer of state Hazael would have no business in the king's bath. Some suppose that Benhadad killed himself by accident, having laid a wet towel over his face while sleeping. See Kell, *ad loc.*

<sup>s</sup> The connexion and the contrast between Elisha and Jehu are well brought out by Maurice (*Prophets and Kings*, serm. ix.).

in the tomb<sup>1</sup> he restores the dead to life. Moab had recovered from the tremendous reverse inflicted on her by the three kings at the opening of Elisha's career (2 K. iii.), and her marauding bands had begun again the work of depredation which Syria so long pursued (2 K. v. 2, vi. 23). The text perhaps infers that the spring—that is, when the early crops were ripening—was the usual period for these attacks; but, be this as it may, on the present occasion they invaded the land “at the coming in of the year.” A man was being buried in the cemetery which contained the sepulchre of Elisha. Seeing the Moabite spoilers in the distance, the friends of the dead man hastened to conceal his corpse in the nearest hiding-place. They chose—whether by design or by accident is not said—the tomb of the prophet, and as the body was pushed<sup>2</sup> into the cell, which formed the receptacle for the corpse in Jewish tombs, it came in contact with his bones. The mere touch of those hallowed remains was enough to effect that which in his lifetime had cost Elisha both prayers and exertions—the man “revived and stood up on his feet.” Other miracles of the prophet foreshadow, as we have remarked, the acts of power and goodness of our Saviour, but this may be rather said to recall the marvels of a later period—of the early ages of the Christian Church. It is in the story of SS. Gervasius and Protasius,<sup>3</sup> and not in any occurrence in the life of our Lord or of the Apostles, that we must look for a parallel to the last recorded miracle of Elisha.

Before closing this account of Elisha we must not omit to notice the parallel which he presents to our Lord—the more necessary because, unlike the resemblance between Elijah and John the Baptist, no attention is called to it in the New Testament. Some features of this likeness have already been spoken of.<sup>7</sup> But it is not merely because he healed a leper, raised a dead man, or increased the loaves, that Elisha resembled Christ, but rather because of that loving gentle temper and kindness of disposition—characteristic of him above all the saints of the O. T.—ever ready to soothe, to heal, and to conciliate, which attracted to him women and simple people, and made him the universal friend and “father,” not only consulted by kings and generals, but resorted to by widows and poor prophets in their little troubles and perplexities. We have spoken above of the fragmentary nature of the records of Elisha, and of the partial conception of his work as a prophet which they evince. Be it so. For that very reason we should the more gladly welcome those engaging traits of personal goodness which are so often to be found even in those fragments, and which give us a reflection, feeble it is true, but still a reflection, in the midst of the sternness of the Old dispensation, of the love and mercy of the New.

Elisha is canonized in the Greek Church; his day is the 14th June. Under that date his life, and a collection of the few traditions concerning him—few

<sup>1</sup> Josephus says that Elisha had a magnificent funeral (*ταφὴς μεγαλοπρεποῦς*, *Ant.* ix. 8, §6). Is this implied in the expression (xiii. 20), “they buried him”? The rich man in the Gospel is also particularly said to have been “buried” (Luke xvi. 22) i. e. probably in a style befitting his rank.

<sup>2</sup> The expression of the A. V. “let down” is founded on a wrong conception of the nature of an Eastern sepulchre, which is excavated in the vertical face of a rock, so as to be entered by a door; not sunk below the

indeed when compared with those of Elijah—will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*. In the time of Jerome a “mausoleum” containing his remains was shown at Samaria (Reland, 980). Under Julian the bones of Elisha were taken from their receptacle and burnt. But notwithstanding this his relics are heard of subsequently, and the church of S. Apollinaris at Ravenna still boasts of possessing his head. The Carmelites have a special service in honour of Elisha. [G.]

ELI'SHAH (עִלְיָשָׁה; 'Ελισά, 'Ελίσαι; Joseph. 'Ελισᾶς; *Elisa*), the eldest son of Javan (*Gen.* x. 4). The residence of his descendants is described in *Ex.* xxvii. 7, as the “isles of Elisha” (דִּישָׁן = *maritime regions*), whence the Phoenicians obtained their purple and blue dyes. Josephus identified the race of Elishah with the Æolians ('Ελισᾶς μὲν 'Ελίσαιος ἐκάλειεν, ὃν ἄρχεν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσὶν, *Ant.* i. 6, §1). His view is adopted by Knobel (*Völkertafel*, pp. 81 ff.) in preference to the more generally received opinion that Elisha = Elis, and in a more extended sense Peloponnesus, or even Hellas. It certainly appears correct to treat it as the designation of a *race* rather than of a locality; and if Javan represents the Ionians, then Elisha the Æolians, whose name presents considerable similarity (Αἰολεῖς having possibly been Αἰλεῖς), and whose predilection for maritime situations quite accords with the expression in Ezekiel. In early times the Æolians were settled in various parts of Greece, Thessaly, Boeotia, Actolia, Locris, Elis, and Messenia: from Greece they emigrated to Asia Minor, and in Ezekiel's age occupied the maritime district in the N.W. of that country, named after them Æolis, together with the islands Lesbos and Tenedos. The purple shell-fish was found on this coast, especially at Abydos (*Virg. Georg.* i. 207), Phœnea (*Ovid. Metam.* vi. 9), Sigeum and Lectum (Athenæus, iii. p. 88). Not much, however, can be deduced from this as to the position of the “isles of Elishah,” as that shell-fish was found in many parts of the Mediterranean, especially on the coast of Laconia (*Pausan.* iii. 21, §6). [W. L. B.]

ELISH'AMA (עִלְיָשָׁא; 'Ελισάμα, 'Ελισαμαί, 'Ελίσασ, κτλ.), the name of several men.

1. Son of Ammihud, the “prince” or “captain” (both עִלְיָשָׁא) of the tribe of Ephraim in the Wilderness of Sinai (*Num.* i. 10, ii. 18, vii. 48, x. 22). From the genealogy preserved in 1 Chr. vii. 26, we find that he was grandfather to the great Joshua.

2. A son of King David. One of the thirteen, or, according to the record of Samuel, the eleven, sons born to him of his wives after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 16; 1 Chr. iii. 8, xiv. 7).

3. ('Ελίσά). By this name is also given (in the Heb. text) in 1 Chr. iii. 6, another son of

surface of the ground like our graves. The Hebrew word עָלַי is simply “went,” as in the margin.

<sup>7</sup> Augustine's *Confessions* (ix. §16).

<sup>8</sup> These resemblances are drawn out, with great beauty, but in some instances rather fancifully, by J. H. Newman (*Sermons on Subj. of the Day*, Elisha a Type of Christ, &c.). See also Rev. Isaac Williams (*Old Test. Characters*).

the same family, who in the other lists is called ELISHUA.

4. A descendant of Judah; the son of Jekamiah (1 Chr. ii. 41). In the Jewish traditions preserved by Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 1 Chr. ii. 41), he appears to be identified with

5. The father of Nethaniah and grandfather of Ishmael "of the seed royal," who lived at the time of the great captivity (2 K. xiv. 25; Jer. xli. 1).

6. Scribe to King Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 20, 21).

7. A priest in the time of Jehoshaphat, one of the party sent by that king through the cities of Judah, with the book of the law, to teach the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

**ELISHAPHAT** (עֲלִישָׁפָת; ὁ Ελισαφάν, Alex. 'Ελισαφάτ; *Elisaphat*), son of Zichri; one of the "captains of hundreds," whom Jehoiada the priest employed to collect the Levites and other principal people to Jerusalem before bringing forward Josiah (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

**ELISHEBA** (עֲלִישֶׁבָּה; 'Ελισαβέθ; *Elisabeth*), the wife of Amnon (Ex. vi. 23). She was the daughter of Amminadab, and sister of Nalshon the captain of the host of Judah (Num. ii. 3), and her marriage to Aaron thus united the royal and priestly tribes. [W. A. W.]

**ELISHUA** (עֲלִישֻׁא; 'Ελισούε, 'Ελισά, Alex. 'Ελισαύ; *Elisua*), one of David's family by his later wives; born after his settlement in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chr. xiv. 5). In the list of 1 Chr. iii. 6, the name is given with a slight difference as ELISHAMA.

**ELISIMUS** ('Ελίσσιμος; *Lisimus*), 1 Esd. ix. 28. [ELIASHUB.]

**ELI'U** (Ἠλιοῦ = Hebr. *Elilu*), one of the forefathers of Judith (Jud. viii. 1), and therefore of the tribe of Simeon.

**ELI'UD** (Ἠλιοὺδ, from the Heb. *Elilu*), which however does not occur, *God of the Jews*, son of Achin in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 15), four generations above Joseph. His name is of the same formation as Abiud, and is probably an indication of descent from him. [A. C. H.]

**ELIZAPHIAN** (Ἠλισταφάν; 'Ελισαφάν; *Elisaphan*). 1. A Levite, son of Uzziel, chief of the house of the Kohathites at the time of the census in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. iii. 30). His family was known and represented in the days of King David (1 Chr. xv. 8), and took part in the revivals of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 13). His name is also found in the contracted form of ELIZAPHIAN.

2. Son of Parnach; "prince" (נָשִׂיךְ) of the tribe of Zebulun, one of the men appointed to assist Moses in apportioning the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 25).

**ELI'ZUR** (עֲלִיזֹר; 'Ελισόρ; *Elisur*), son of Shedeir; "prince" (נָשִׂיךְ) of the tribe, and over the host of Reuben, at the time of the census in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 5, ii. 10, vii. 30, 35, x. 18).

**ELKANAH** (עֲלִקָנָה; Ἐλκανά; *Elcana*). 1. Son of Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, according to Ex. vi. 24, where his brothers are represented as being Assir

and Abinaph. But in 1 Chr. vi. 22, 23 (Hebr. 7, 8) Assir, Elkanah, and Eliassaph are mentioned in the same order, not as the three sons of Korah, but as son, grandson, and great-grandson, respectively; and this seems to be undoubtedly correct. If so, the passage in Exodus must be understood as merely giving the families of the Korhites existing at the time the passage was penned, which must, in this case, have been long subsequent to Moses. In Num. xxvi. 58, "the family of the Korhites" (A. V. "Korathites") is mentioned as one family. As regards the fact of Korah's descendants continuing, it may be noticed that we are expressly told in Num. xxvi. 11, that when Korah and his company died, "the children of Korah died not."

2. A descendant of the above in the line of Ahimoth, otherwise Mahath, 1 Chr. vi. 26, 35 (Hebr. 11, 20). (See Hervey, *Genealogies*, 210, 214, *note*.)

3. Another Kohathite Levite, in the line of Heman the singer. He was son of Jeroham, and father of Samuel the illustrious Judge and Prophet (1 Chr. vi. 27, 34). All that is known of him is contained in the above notices and in 1 Sam. i. 1, 4, 8, 19, 21, 23, and ii. 2, 20, where we learn that he lived at Ramathaim-Zophim in Mount Ephraim, otherwise called Ramah; that he had two wives, Hannah and Peninnah, but had no children by the former, till the birth of Samuel in answer to Hannah's prayer. We learn also that he lived in the time of Eli the high-priest, and of his sons Hophni and Phinehas; that he was a pious man who went up yearly from Ramathaim-Zophim to Shiloh, in the tribe of Ephraim, to worship and sacrifice at the tabernacle there; but it does not appear that he performed any sacred functions as a Levite; a circumstance quite in accordance with the account which ascribes to David the establishment of the priestly and Levitical courses for the Temple service. He seems to have been a man of some wealth from the nature of his yearly sacrifice which enabled him to give portions out of it to all his family, and from the costly offering of three bullocks made when Samuel was brought to the House of the Lord at Shiloh. After the birth of Samuel, Elkanah and Hannah continued to live at Ramah (where Samuel afterwards had his house, 1 Sam. vii. 7), and had three sons and two daughters. This closes all that we know about Elkanah.

4. A Levite (1 Chr. ix. 16).

5. Another man of the family of the Korhites who joined David while he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 6). From the terms of ver. 2 it is doubtful whether this can be the well-known Levitical family of Korhites. Perhaps the same who afterwards was one of the doorkeepers for the ark, xv. 23.

6. An officer in the household of Ahaz, king of Judah, who was slain by Zichri the Ephraimite, when Pekah invaded Judah. He seems to have been the second in command under the prefect of the palace (2 Chr. xxviii. 7). [A. C. H.]

**ELKOSH** (עֲלִקֹשׁ), the birthplace of the prophet Nahum, hence called "the Elkoshite," Nah. i. 1 (ὁ Ἐλκωσιώτης; *Elcosenus*). Two widely differing Jewish traditions assign as widely different localities to this place. In the time of Jerome it was believed to exist in a small village of Galilee. The ruins of some old buildings were pointed out to this father by his guide as the remains of the ancient Elkosh (Jerome, *on Nah.* i. 1). Cyril of Alexandria (*Comm. on Nahum*) says that the

village of Elkosh was somewhere or other in the country of the Jews. Pseudo Epiphanius (*de Vitis prophetarum*, Op. ii. 247) places Elkosh on the east of the Jordan, at Bethnabar (*ἐἰς Βηθαβάρ*, *Chron. Pasch.* p. 150, Cod. B. has *ἐἰς Βηθαβαρὴν*), where he says the prophet died in peace. According to Schwartz (*Descr. of Palestine*, p. 188), the grave of Nahum is shown at *Kefr Tinchum*, a village 2½ English miles north of Tiberias. But mediaeval tradition, perhaps for the convenience of the Babylonian Jews, attached the fame of the prophet's burial place to Alkush, a village on the east bank of the Tigris, near the monastery of Rabban Hormuzd, and about two miles north of Mosul. Benjamin of Tudela (p. 53, ed. Asher) speaks of the synagogues of Nahum, Obadiah, and Jonah at Asshur, the modern *Mosul*. R. Petachia (p. 35, ed. Benisch) was shown the prophet's grave, at a distance of four parasangs from that of Baruch, the son of Nariah, which was itself distant a mile from the tomb of Ezekiel. It is mentioned in a letter of Masius, quoted by Asseman (*Bibl. Orient.* i. 525). Jews from the surrounding districts make a pilgrimage to it at certain seasons. The synagogue which is built over the tomb is described by Colonel Shiel, who visited it in his journey through Kurdistan (*Journ. Geog. Soc.* viii. 93). Rich evidently believed in the correctness of the tradition, considering the pilgrimage of the Jews as almost sufficient test (*Kurdistan*, i. 101). The tradition which assigns Elkosh to Galilee is more in accordance with the internal evidence afforded by the prophecy, which gives no sign of having been written in Assyria. [W. A. W.]

EL'LASAR (עֲלָסָר; 'Ελλάσαρ; *Pontus*) has been considered the same place with the Thelassar (תֵּלֶסָר) of 2 K. xix. 12, but this is very improbable. Ellasar—the city of Arioch (Gen. xiv. 1)—seems to be the Hebrew representative of the old Chaldean town called in the native dialect *Larsa* or *Larancha*, and known to the Greeks as *Larissa* (Λάρισσα) or *Larachôn* (Λαράχων). This emplacement suits the connexion with Elam and Shinar (Gen. xiv. 1); and the identification is orthographically defensible, whereas the other is not. *Larsa* was a town of Lower Babylonia or Chaldaea, situated nearly half-way between Ur (*Mugheir*) and Erech (*Warka*), on the left bank of the Euphrates. It is now *Senkerah*. The inscriptions show it to have been one of the primitive capitals—of earlier date, probably, than Babylon itself; and we may gather from the narrative in Gen. xiv. that in the time of Abraham it was the metropolis of a kingdom distinct from that of Shinar, but owing allegiance to the superior monarchy of Elam. That we hear no more of it after this time is owing to its absorption into Babylon, which took place soon afterwards. [G. R.]

ELM (עֵלֶם). Only once rendered *elms* in Hos. iv. 13. See OAK.

ELMO'DAM ('Ελωμόδαμ, or 'Ελωμάδαμ, apparently the same as the Heb. עֲמֹדָם, Gen. x. 26; 'Ελωμόδαμ, LXX.), son of Er, six generations above Zerubbabel, in the genealogy of Joseph (Luke iii. 28). [ALMO'DAD.] [A. C. H.]

EL'NAAM (עֲנָאִם; 'Ελλαδάμ, Alex. 'Ελανάμ; *Elnaem*), the father of Jeribai and Joshaviah, two of David's guard, according to the extended list in 1 Chr. xi. 46. In the LXX, the second

warrior is said to be the son of the first, and Elnaam is given as himself a member of the guard.

ELNATHAN (עֲלִנָּתָן; 'Ελνασθάν, 'Ιωνάθαν, *Ndhan*; *Elnathan*). 1. The maternal grandfather of Jehoiachin, distinguished as "E. of Jerusalem" (2 K. xxiv. 8). He is doubtless the same man with "Elnathan the son of Achbor," one of the leading men in Jerusalem in Jehoiakim's reign (Jer. xxvi. 22, xxxvi. 12, 25). The variations in the LXX. arise from the names Elnathan, Jonathan, and Nathan having the same sense, *God's gift* (Theodore). 2. The name of three persons, apparently Levites, in the time of Ezra (Ezr. viii. 16). In 1 Esdr. they are corrupted to ALNATHAN, and EUNATAN. [W. L. B.]

EL'ON, 1. (עֵלֹן; 'Ελών, *Alalóm*, Alex. 'Ελώμ; *Elon*), a Hittite, whose daughter was one of Esau's wives (Gen. xxvi. 34, xxxvi. 2). For the variation in the name of his daughter, see BASHEMATH.

2. (עֵלֹן; 'Αλλάων, Alex. 'Ασρών; *Elon*), the second of the three sons attributed to Zebulun (Gen. xli. 14; Num. xxvi. 26); and the founder of the family (תַּרְבִּיטִי) of the ELONITES (עֲלֹנִיתִים). From this tribe came

3. *Elon* the (not "a") Zebulonite (עֵלֹן; *Alalóm*; Joseph. 'Ηλων; *Ahalion*), who judged Israel for ten years, and was buried in Ajalon in Zebulun (Judg. xii. 11, 12). The names "Elon" and "Ajalon" in Hebrew, are composed of precisely the same letters, and differ only in the vowel points, so that the place of *Elon's* burial may have been originally called after him. It will be remarked that the Vulgate does assimilate the two.

ELON (עֵלֹן; 'Ελών; *Elon*), one of the towns in the border of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 43). To judge from the order of the list, its situation must have been between Ajalon (*Yálo*), and Ekron (*Áktr*); but no town corresponding in name has yet been discovered. The name in Hebrew signifies a great oak or other strong tree, and may therefore be a testimony to the wooded character of the district. It is possibly the same place as

EL'ON-BETH'-HANAN (עֵלֹן-בֵּית-חָנָן = "oak of the house of grace;" 'Ελών τῶς Βηθανάν, Alex. *Alalóm* & B.), which is named with two Danite towns as forming one of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 9). For "Beth-hanan" some Hebrew MSS. have "Ben-hanan," and some "and Beth-hanan;" the latter is followed by the Vulgate. [G.]

ELONITES, THE. Num. xxvi. 26. [ELON, 2.] ELOTH. 1 K. ix. 26; 2 Chr. viii. 17; xxvi. 2. [ELATH.]

EL'PAAL (עֲלֵפָאֵל; 'Αλφαάλ; *Elphaal*), a Benjaminite, son of Hushim and brother of Abitub (1 Chr. viii. 11). He was the founder of a numerous family. The Bene-Elpaal appear to have lived in the neighbourhood of Lydda (*Lod*), and on the outposts of the Benjamite hills as far as Ajalon (*Yálo*) (viii. 12-18), near the Danite frontier. Hushim was the name of the principal Danite family. If the forefather of Elpaal was the same person, his mention in a Benjamite genealogy is an evidence of an intermarriage of the two tribes.

EL'PALET (עֲלֵפָאֵל; 'Ελφαλάθ; *Eliphalet*), one of David's sons born in Jerusalem (1 Chr.

xiv. 5). In the parallel list, 1 Chr. iii. 6, the name is given more fully as ELIPHELET.

EL'TEKEH (עֶלְתֶּכֶּה; Ἀλκαθᾶ, and ἡ Ἐλκαθαίμ, Alex. Ἐλθεκᾶ; *Elthece*), one of the cities in the border of Dan (Josh. xix. 44), which with its "suburbs" (עֲרֻבֵּי) was allotted to the Kohathite Levites (xvi. 23). It is however omitted from the parallel list of 1 Chr. vi. No trace of the name has yet been discovered. [G.]

EL'TEKON (עֶלְתֶּקֶן; Θέκουμ, Alex. Ἐλθεκέν, *Eltecon*), one of the towns of the tribe of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 59). From its mention in company with HALHUL and BETH-ZUR, it was probably about the middle of the country of Judah, 3 or 4 miles north of Hebron; but it has not yet been identified. [G.]

EL'TOLAD (עֶלְתֹּלַד; Ἐλθωλᾶδ and Ἐρθωλᾶ, Alex. Ἐλθωλᾶδ and Ἐλθωλᾶδ; *Eltholaf*), one of the cities in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 30) allotted to Simeon (Josh. xix. 4); and in possession of that tribe until the time of David (1 Chr. iv. 29). It is named with Beersheba and other places which we know to have been in the extreme south, on the border of the country; but it has not yet been identified. In the passage of Chronicles above quoted, the name is given as TOLAD. [G.]

EL'UL (עֶלּוּל; δ' Ἐλῶλ, *Elul*), Neh. vi. 15; 1 Macc. xiv. 27. [MONTHS.]

EL'UZAI (עֶלְיָזַי; Ἀΐζαί, Alex. Ἐλῳζί; *Eluzai*), one of the warriors of Benjamin, who joined David at Ziklag while he was being pursued by Saul (1 Chr. xii. 5).

ELYMAE'ANS (Ἐλυμαῖος), Jud. i. 6. [ELYMITES.]

ELYMAS (Ἐλῡμας), the Arabic name of the Jewish mage or sorcerer Barjesus, who had attached himself to the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, when St. Paul visited the island (Acts xiii. 6 ff.). On his attempting to dissuade the proconsul from embracing the Christian faith, he was struck with miraculous blindness by the Apostle. The name Elymas, "the wise man," is from the same root as the Arabic "Ulema." On the practice generally then prevailing, in the decay of faith, of consulting Oriental impostors of this kind, see Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 177-180, 2nd ed. [H. A.]

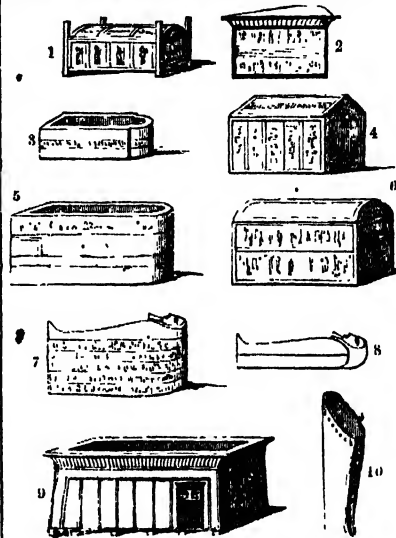
EL'ZABAD (עֶלְזָבָד; Ἐλῑζᾶβῆρ, Ἐλζαβᾶδ, Alex. Ἐλζαβᾶδ; *Elzabad*). 1. The ninth of the eleven Gadite heroes who came across the Jordan to David when he was in distress in the wilderness of Judah (1 Chr. xii. 12).

2. A Korhite Levite, son of Shemaiah and of the family of Obed-edom; one of the doorkeepers of the "house of Jehovah" (1 Chr. xxvi. 7).

EL'ZAPHAN (עֶלְזָפָן; Ἐλῑζαφᾶν; *Elzaphan*), second son of Uzziel, who was the son of Kohath son of Levi (Ex. vi. 22). He was thus cousin to Moses and Aaron, as is distinctly stated. Elzaphan assisted his brother Mithael to carry the unhappy Nadab and Abihu in their priestly tunics out of the camp (Lev. x. 4). The name is a contracted form of ELIZAPHAN, in which it most frequently occurs.

EMBALMING, the process by which dead bodies are preserved from putrefaction and decay.

The Hebrew word מִןחַ (chánat), employed to denote this process, is connected with the Arabic *hina*, which in conj. 1 signifies "to be red," as leather which has been tanned; and in conj. 2, "to preserve with spices." In the 1st and 4th conjugations it is applied to the ripening of fruit, and this meaning has been assigned to the Hebrew root in Cant. ii. 13. In the latter passage, however, it probably denotes the fragrant smell of the ripening figs. The word is found in the Chaldee and Syriac dialects, and in the latter *chánatto* is the equivalent of *μύγμα*, the confection of myrrh and aloes brought by Nicodemus (John xix. 39).

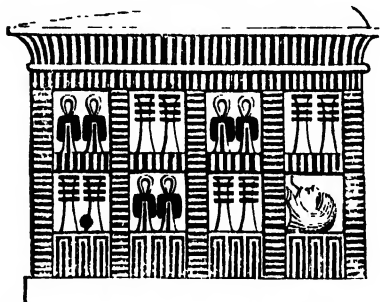


Different forms of mummy cases. (Wilkinson.)  
1, 2, 4. Of wood. 5, 6, 7, 8. Of stone.  
9. Of wood, and of early time—before the 18th dynasty.  
10. Of burnt earthenware.

The practice of embalming was most general among the Egyptians, and it is in connexion with this people that the two instances which we meet with in the O. T. are mentioned (Gen. i. 2, 26). Of the Egyptian method of embalming there remain two minute accounts, which have a general kind of agreement, though they differ in details.

Herodotus (ii. 86-89) describes three modes, varying in completeness and expense, and practised by persons regularly trained to the profession, who were initiated into the mysteries of the art by their ancestors. The most costly mode, which is estimated by Diodorus Siculus (i. 91) at a talent of silver, was said by the Egyptian priests to belong to him whose name in such a matter it was not lawful to mention, viz. Osiris. The embalmers first removed part of the brain through the nostrils, by means of a crooked iron, and destroyed the rest by injecting caustic drugs. An incision was then made along the flank with a sharp Ethiopian stone, and the whole of the intestines removed. The cavity was rinsed out with palm-wine, and afterwards scoured with pounded perfumes. It was then filled with pure myrrh pounded, cassia, and other aromatics, except frank-

incense. This done, the body was sewn up and steeped in natron for seventy days. When the seventy days were accomplished, the embalmers washed the corpse and swathed it in bands of linen, cut in strips and smeared with gum. They then gave it up to the relatives of the deceased, who provided for it a wooden case, made in the shape of a man, in which the dead was placed, and deposited in an erect position against the wall of the sepulchral chamber. Diodorus Siculus gives some particulars of the process which are omitted by Herodotus. When the body was laid out on the ground for the purpose of embalming, one of the operators, called the scribe (*γραμματεὺς*), marked out the part of the left flank where the incision was to be made. The dissector (*ραπαρχιτρὴς*) then, with a sharp Ethiopian stone (black flint, or Ethiopian agate, Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 141), hastily cut through as much flesh as the law enjoined, and fled, pursued by curses and volleys of stones from the spectators. When all the embalmers (*ραπίχευται*) were assembled, one of them extracted the intestines, with the exception of the heart and kidneys; another cleansed them one by one, and rinsed them in palm-wine and perfumes. The body was then washed with oil of cedar, and other things worthy of notice, for more than thirty days (according to some MSS. forty), and afterwards sprinkled with myrrh, cinnamon, and other substances, which possess the property not only of preserving the body for a long period, but also of communicating to it an agreeable smell. This process was so effectual that the features of the dead could be recognised. It is remarkable that Diodorus omits all mention of the steeping in natron.



The mummy's head, seen at an open panel of the coffin. (Wilkinson.)

The second mode of embalming cost about 20 minae. In this case no incision was made in the body, nor were the intestines removed, but cedar-oil was injected into the stomach by the rectum. The oil was prevented from escaping, and the body was then steeped in natron for the appointed number of days. On the last day the oil was withdrawn, and carried off with it the stomach and intestines in a state of solution, while the flesh was consumed by the natron, and nothing was left but the skin and bones. The body in this state was returned to the relatives of the deceased.

The third mode, which was adopted by the poorer classes, and cost but little, consisted in rinsing out the intestines with syrmene, an infusion of senna and cassia (Pettigrew, p. 69), and steeping the body for the usual number of days in natron.

Porphyry (*De Abst.* iv. 10) supplies an omission of Herodotus, who neglects to mention what was

done with the intestines after they were removed from the body. In the case of a person of respectable rank they were placed in a separate vessel and thrown into the river. This account is confirmed by Plutarch (*Sept. Sup. Conv.* c. 16).

Although the three modes of embalming are so precisely described by Herodotus, it has been found impossible to classify the mummies which have been discovered and examined under one or other of these three heads. Dr. Pettigrew, from his own observations, confirms the truth of Herodotus' statement that the brain was removed through the nostrils. But in many instances, in which the body was carefully preserved and elaborately ornamented, the brain had not been removed at all; while in some mummies the cavity was found to be filled with resinous and bituminous matter.

M. Rouyer, in his *Notice sur les Embaumements des Anciens Egyptiens*, quoted by Pettigrew, endeavoured to class the mummies which he examined under two principal divisions, which were again subdivided into others. These were—I. Mummies with the ventral incision, preserved, 1. by balsamic matter, and 2. by natron. The first of these are filled with a mixture of resin and aromatics, and are of an olive colour—the skin dry, flexible, and adhering to the bones. Others are filled with bitumen or asphaltum, and are black, the skin hard and shining. Those prepared with natron are also filled with resinous substances and bitumen. II. Mummies without the ventral incision. This class is again subdivided, according as the bodies were, 1. salted and filled with pissasphaltum, a compound of asphaltum and common pitch; or 2. salted only. The former are supposed to have been immersed in the pitch when in a liquid state.

The medicaments employed in embalming were various. From a chemical analysis of the substances found in mummies, M. Rouelle detected three modes of embalming—1. with asphaltum, or Jew's pitch, called also *funeral gum*, or *gum of mummies*; 2. with a mixture of asphaltum and cedar, the liquor distilled from the cedar; 3. with this mixture together with some resinous and aromatic ingredients. The powdered aromatics mentioned by Herodotus were not mixed with the bituminous matter, but sprinkled into the cavities of the body.

It does not appear that embalming, properly so called, was practised by the Hebrews. Asa was laid "in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art" (2 Chr. xvi. 14); and by the tender care of Nicodemus the body of Jesus was wrapped in linen cloths, with spices, "a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight . . . as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (John xix. 39, 40).

The account given by Herodotus has been supposed to throw discredit upon the narrative in Genesis. He asserts that the body is steeped in natron for seventy days, while in Gen. i. 3 it is said that only forty days were occupied in the whole process of embalming, although the period of mourning extended over seventy days. Diodorus, on the contrary, omits altogether the steeping in natron as a part of the operation, and though the time which, according to him, is taken up in washing the body with cedar oil and other aromatics is more than thirty days, yet this is evidently only a portion of the whole time occupied in the complete process. Hengstenberg (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*,

p. 69, Eng. tr.) attempts to reconcile this discrepancy by supposing that the seventy days of Herodotus include the whole time of embalming, and not that of steeping in natron only. But the differences in detail which characterize the descriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus, and the impossibility of reconciling these descriptions in all points with the results of scientific observation, lead to the natural conclusion that, if these descriptions be correct in themselves, they do not include every method of embalming which was practised, and that, consequently, any discrepancies between them and the Bible narrative cannot be fairly attributed to a want of accuracy in the latter. In taking this view of the case it is needless to refer to the great interval of time which elapsed between the date claimed for the events of Genesis and the age of Herodotus, or between the latter and the times of Diodorus. If the four centuries which separated the two Greek historians were sufficient to have caused such changes in the mode of embalming as are indicated in their different descriptions of the process, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the still greater interval by which the celebration of the funeral obsequies of the patriarch preceded the age of the father of history might have produced changes still greater both in kind and in degree.

It is uncertain what suggested to the Egyptians the idea of embalming. That they practised it in accordance with their peculiar doctrine of the transmigration of souls we are told by Herodotus. The actual process is said to have been derived from "their first merely burying in the sand, impregnated with natron and other salts, which dried and preserved the body" (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. p. 142). Drugs and bitumen were of later introduction, the latter not being generally employed before the 18th dynasty. When the practice ceased entirely is uncertain.

The subject of embalming is most fully discussed, and the sources of practical information well nigh exhausted, in Dr. Pettigrew's *History of Egyptian Mummies*. [W. A. W.]

**EMBROIDERER.** This term is given in the A. V. as the equivalent of *rokem* (רֹקֵם), the productions of the art being described as "needle-work" (רִקְמָה). In Exodus the embroiderer is contrasted with the "cunning workman," *chosheh* (חֹשֶׁה): and the consideration of one of these terms involves that of the other. Various explanations have been offered as to the distinction between them, but most of these overlook the distinction marked in the Bible itself, viz., that the *rokem* wove simply a variegated texture, without gold thread or figures, and that the *chosheh* interwove gold thread or figures into the variegated texture. We conceive that the use of the gold thread was for delineating figures, as is implied in the description of the corslet of Amasis (Her. iii. 47), and that the notices of gold thread in some instances and of figures in others were but different methods of describing the same thing. It follows, then, that the application of the term "embroiderer" to *rokem* is false; if it belongs to either it is to *chosheh*, or the "cunning workman," who added the figures. But if "embroidery" be strictly confined to the work of the needle, we doubt whether it can be applied to either, for the simple addition of gold thread, or of a figure, does not involve the use of the needle. The patterns may have been worked into the stuff

by the loom, as appears to have been the case in Egypt (Wilkinson, iii. 128; cf. Her. *loc. cit.*), where the Hebrews learned the art, and as is stated by Josephus (*ὡς ἐν ἑβραίωνται*, Ant. iii. 7, §2). The distinction, as given by the Talmudists, and which has been adopted by Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1311) and Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 266) is this—that *rikmah*, or "needlework," was where a pattern was attached to the stuff by being sewn on to it on one side, and the work of the *chosheh* when the pattern was worked into the stuff by the loom, and so appeared on both sides. This view appears to be entirely inconsistent with the statements of the Bible, and with the sense of the word *rikmah* elsewhere. The absence of the figure or the gold thread in the one, and its presence in the other, constitutes the essence of the distinction. In support of this view we call attention to the passages in which the expressions are contrasted. *Rikmah* consisted of the following materials, "blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen" (Ex. xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16, xxxvi. 37, xxxviii. 18, xxxix. 29). The work of the *chosheh* was either "fine twined linen, blue, purple, and scarlet, with cherubims" (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31; xxxvi. 8, 35), or "gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen" (xxviii. 6, 8, 15, xxxix. 2, 5, 8). Again, looking at the general sense of the words, we shall find that *chosheh* involves the idea of invention, or designing patterns; *rikmah* the idea of texture as well as variegated colour. The former is applied to other arts which demanded the exercise of inventive genius, as in the construction of engines of war (2 Chr. xxvi. 15); the latter is applied to other substances, the texture of which is remarkable, as the human body (Isa. cxxxix. 15). Further than this, *rikmah* involves the idea of a regular disposition of colours, which demanded no inventive genius. Beyond the instances already adduced it is applied to tessellated pavement (1 Chr. xxix. 2), to the eagle's plumage (Ex. xvii. 3), and, in the Targums, to the leopard's spotted skin (Jer. xlii. 23). In the same sense it is applied to the coloured sails of the Egyptian vessels (Ex. xxvii. 16), which were either chequered or worked according to a regularly recurring pattern (Wilkinson, iii. 211). Gesenius considers this passage as conclusive for his view of the distinction, but it is hardly conceivable that the patterns were on one side of the sail only, nor does there appear any ground to infer a departure from the usual custom of working the colours by the loom. The ancient versions do not contribute much to the elucidation of the point. The LXX. varies between *ποικιλτής* and *ραβιδευτής*, as representing *rokem*, and *ποικιλτής* and *ὀφάρτης* for *chosheh*, combining the two terms in each case for the work itself, ἡ ποικιλία τοῦ ραβιδευτοῦ for the first, ἔργον ὀφάρτην ποικιλτόν for the second. The distinction, as far as it is observed, consisted in the one being needle-work and the other loom-work. The Vulgate gives generally *plumarius* for the first, and *polymitaris* for the second; but in Ex. xxvi. 1, 31, *plumarius* is used for the second. The first of these terms (*plumarius*) is well chosen to express *rokem*, but *polymitaris*, i. e. a weaver who works together threads of divers colours, is as applicable to one as to the other. The rendering in Ex. xxvii. 16, *scutulata*, i. e. "chequered," correctly describes one of the productions of the *rokem*. We have lastly to notice the incorrect rendering of the word רֹקֵם in the A. V.—"broider," "embroider" (Ex.

xxviii. 4, 39'. It means stuff worked in a *tessellated* manner, i. e. with square cavities such as stones might be set in (comp. ver. 20). The art of embroidery by the loom was extensively practised among the nations of antiquity. In addition to the Egyptians, the Babylonians were celebrated for it, but embroidery in the proper sense of the term, i. e. with the needle, was a Phrygian invention of later date (Plin. viii. 48). [W. L. B.]

**EMERALD** (הַיָּסָד; LXX., ἀσπαρξ; N. T. and Apoc., σμαραγδός), a precious stone, first in the 2nd row on the breastplate of the high-priest (Ex. xxviii. 18, xxvii. 11), imported to Tyre from Syria (Ex. xxvii. 16), used as a seal or signet (Ecclus. xxxii. 6), as an ornament of clothing and bedding (Ex. xxviii. 13; Jud. x. 21), and spoken of as one of the foundations of Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 19; Tob. xiii. 16). The rainbow round the throne is compared to emerald in Rev. iv. 3, ὁμοίως ὁράσει σμαραγδίνην.

The etymology of הַיָּסָד is uncertain. Gesenius suggests a comparison with the word פָּחַד, a paint with which the Hebrew women stained their eye-lashes. Kalisch on Exodus xxviii. follows the LXX., and translates it *carbuncle*, transferring the meaning *emerald* to יָסָד in the same ver. 18. The Targum Jerusalem on the same ver. explains הַיָּסָד by כַּרְכַּנָּא = *carbodonius, carbuncle*. [W. D.]

**EMERODS** (עֲפָלִים; מַחֲזִוִּים; ἔμροα; ἄμνος, nates; Dr it. xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 4, 5, 11). The probabilities as to the nature of the disease are mainly dependent on the probable roots of these two Hebrew words; the former of which evidently means "a swelling"; the latter, though less certain, is most probably from a Syriac verb,

ܐܡܠܓ, meaning "*anhelavit sub onere, enixus est in exonerando ventre*" (Pakhurst and Gesenius); and

the Syriac noun ܐܡܠܓ from the same root, denotes, 1. such effort as the verb implies, and, 2. the *intestinum rectum*. Also, whenever the former word occurs in the Hebrew *Cetib*, the *Keri* gives the latter, except in 1 Sam. vi. 11, where the latter stands in the *Cetib*. Now this last passage speaks of the images of the emerods after they were actually made, and placed in the ark. It thus appears probable that the former word means the disease, and the latter the part affected, which must necessarily have been included in the actually existing image, and have struck the eye as the *essential* thing represented, to which the disease was an incident. As some morbid swelling, then, seems the most probable nature of the disease, so no more probable conjecture has been advanced than that *hemorrhoidal tumours*, or bleeding piles, known to the Romans as *mariscæ* (Juv. ii. 18), are intended. These are very common in Syria at present, oriental habits of want of exercise and improper food, producing derangement of the liver, constipation, &c., being such as to cause

them. The words of 1 Sam. v. 12, "the men that died not were smitten with emerods," show that the disease was not necessarily fatal. It is clear from its parallelism with "botch," and other diseases in Deut. xviii. 27, that עֲפָלִים is a disease, not a part of the body; but the translations of it by the most approved authorities are various and vague.\* Thus the LXX. and Vulg., as above, uniformly render the word as bearing the latter sense. The mention by Herodotus (i. 105) of the malady, called by him *θήλεια νοσος*, as afflicting the Scythians who robbed the temple (of the Syrian Venus) in Ascalon, has been deemed by some a proof that some legend containing a distortion of the Scriptural account was current in that country down to a late date. The Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 231) mentions a similar plague (followed by a similar subsequent propitiation to that mentioned in Scripture), as sent upon the Athenians by Barchus.<sup>d</sup> The opinion mentioned by Winer (s. v. *Philister*), as advanced by Lichtenstein, that the plague of emerods and that of mice are one and the same, the former being caused by an insect (*solpuga*) as large as a field-mouse, is hardly worth serious attention. [H. H.]

**EMIM** (עִמִּים; Ὀμμαῖοι, and Ὀμμι, a tribe or family of gigantic stature which originally inhabited the region along the eastern side of the Dead Sea. It would appear, from a comparison of Gen. xiv. 5-7 with Deut. ii. 10-12, 20-23, that the whole country east of the Jordan was, in primitive times, held by a race of giants, all probably of the same stock, comprehending the Rephaim on the north, next the Zuzim, after them the Emim, and then the Horim on the south; and that afterwards the kingdom of Bashan embraced the territories of the first; the country of the Ammonites the second; that of the Moabites the third; while Edom took in the mountains of the Horim. The whole of them were attacked and pillaged by the eastern kings who destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.

The Emim were related to the Anakim, and were generally called by the same name; but their conquerors the Moabites termed them Emin—that is "Terrible men" (Deut. ii. 11)—most probably on account of their fierce aspect. [REPHAIM; ANAKIM.] [J. L. P.]

**EMMANUEL** (Ἐμμανουήλ; *Emmanuel*), Matt. i. 23. [IMMANUEL.]

**EMMAUS** (Ἐμμαούς), the village to which the two disciples were going when our Lord appeared to them on the way, on the day of His resurrection (Luke xxiv. 13). Luke makes its distance from Jerusalem *sixty stadia* (A. V. "threescore furlongs"), or about 7½ miles; and Josephus mentions "a village called Emmaus" at the same distance (B. J. vii. 6, §6). These statements seem sufficiently definite; and one would suppose no great mistake could be made by geographers in fixing its site. It is remarkable, however, that from the earliest period of which we have any record, the opinion

\* Closely akin to it is the Arab. *جذع*, which means *tumor qui apud viros erit in postici partibus, apud mulieres in anteriore parte vulvae similis hernia virorum*.

<sup>b</sup> Pakhurst, however, s. v. עֲפָלִים, thinks, on the authority of Dr. Kennicott's *Codices*, that מַחֲזִוִּים is

in all these passages a very ancient Hebrew *varia lectio*.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 1, §1, *δυσεντερά*; Aquila, τὸ τῆς φλεγμῆς ἔλκος.

<sup>d</sup> Pollux, *Onom.* iv. 25, thus describes what he calls *βομβῖν*. οἰδῶμα μετὰ φλεγμονῆς αἰμαρροδοῦ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ἄβαν ἔντος, ἐντὶ δὲ ὁμοία μύρως ὁμοίως. comp. Bochart, *Hierozoic.* l. 381.

prevailed among Christian writers, that the Emmaus of Luke was identical with the Emmaus on the border of the plain of Philistia, afterwards called Nicopolis, and which was some 20 miles from Jerusalem. Both Eusebius and Jerome adopted this view (*Onom.* s. v. *Emmaus*); and they were followed by all geographers down to the commencement of the 14th century (Reland, p. 758). Then, for some reason unknown to us, it began to be supposed that the site of Emmaus was at the little village of *Kubeibeh*, about 3 miles west of *Noby Samwil* (the ancient *Mizpeh*), and 9 miles from Jerusalem (Sir J. Maund. in *Early Travels in Palestine*, 175; Ludolph. de Suchem, *Itin.*; Quaresmius, ii. 719). There is not, however, a shadow of evidence for this supposition. In fact the site of Emmaus remains yet to be identified.

Dr. Robinson has recently revived the old theory, that the Emmaus of Luke is identical with Nicopolis; and has supported it with his wonted learning, but not with his wonted conclusiveness. He first endeavours to cast doubts on the accuracy of the reading *ἐξήκοστα* in Luke xiv. 13, because two uncial MSS. (K and N), and a few unimportant cursive MSS. insert *ἑκατόν*, thus making the distance 160 stadia, which would nearly correspond to the distance of Nicopolis. But the best MSS. have not this word, and the best critics regard it as an interpolation. There is a strong probability that some copyist who was acquainted with the city, but not the village of Emmaus, tried thus to reconcile Scripture with his ideas of geography. The opinions of Eusebius, Jerome, and their followers, on a point such as this, are not of very great authority. When the *name* of any noted place agreed with one in the Bible, they were not always careful to see whether the *position* corresponded in like manner. [FDRLE.] Emmaus-Nicopolis being a noted city in their day, they were led somewhat rashly to confound it with the Emmaus of the Gospel. The circumstances of the narrative are plainly opposed to the identity. The two disciples having journeyed from Jerusalem to Emmaus in part of a day (Luke xxiv. 28, 29), left the latter again after the evening meal, and reached Jerusalem before it was very late (verses 33, 42, 43). Now, if we take into account the distance, and the nature of the road, leading up a steep and difficult mountain, we must admit that such a journey could not be accomplished in less than from six to seven hours, so that they could not have arrived in Jerusalem till long past midnight. This fact seems to us conclusive against the identity of Nicopolis and the Emmaus of Luke. (Robinson, iii. 147, sq.; Reland, *Pal.* 427, sq.) [J. L. P.]

EMMAUS, or NICOPOLIS (*Ἐμμαους*, 1 Macc. iii. 40; *Ἀμμαούς*, Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 20, §4), a town in the plain of Philistia, at the foot of the mountains of Judah, 22 Roman miles from Jerusalem, and 10 from Lydda (*Itin. Hieros.*; Reland, 309). The name does not occur in the O. T.; but the town rose to importance during the later history of the Jews, and was a place of note in the wars of the Asmoneans. It was fortified by Bacchides, the general of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he was engaged in the war with Jonathan Maccabæus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, §3; 1 Macc. ix. 50). It was in the plain beside this city that Judas Maccabæus so signally defeated the Syrians with a mere handful of men, as related in 1 Macc. iii. 57, iv. 3, &c. Under the Romans Emmaus became the capital of a toparchy (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §5; Plin. v. 14).

It was burned by the Roman general Varus about A.D. 4. In the 3rd century (about A.D. 220) it was rebuilt through the exertions of Julius Africanus, the well-known Christian writer; and then received the name Nicopolis. Eusebius and Jerome frequently refer to it in defining the positions of neighbouring towns and villages (*Chron. Pas.* ad A.C. 223; Reland, p. 759). Early writers mention a fountain at Emmaus, famous far and wide for its healing virtues; the cause of this Theophaues ascribes to the fact, that Our Lord on one occasion washed His feet in it (*Chron.* 41.) The Crusaders 'confounded Emmaus with a small fortress further south, on the Jerusalem road now called *Latrôn* (Will. Tyr. *Hist.* vii. 24). A small miserable village called *'Anwās* still occupies the site of the ancient city. It stands on the western declivity of a low hill, and contains the ruins of an old church. The name Emmaus was also borne by a village of Galilee close to Tiberias; probably the ancient HAMMATH, i. e. hot springs—of which name Emmaus was but a corruption. The hot springs still remained in the time of Josephus, and are mentioned by him as giving its name to the place (*B. J.* iv. 1, §3; *Ant.* xviii. 2, §3). [J. L. P.]

EMMER (*Ἐμμήρ*; *Semmeri*), 1 Esd. ix. 21. [IMMER.]

EMMOR (Heb. Text with E, *Ἐμμόρ*; Lachm. with A B C D, *Ἐμμώρ*; *Emmor*), the father of Sychem (*Acts* vii. 16). [HAMOR.]

ENAM (with the article, *הַנֶּיֶם* = "the double spring;" Ges. *Thes.* 1019 a, *Maasari*; Alex. *Ἡναίμ*; *Enaim*, one of the cities of Judah in the *Shefelah* or lowland (*Josh.* xv. 34). From its mention with towns (Barmuth and Eshtaol for instance) which are known to have been near Timnath, this is very probably the place in the "doorway" of which Tamar sat before her interview with her father-in-law (*Gen.* xxxviii. 14). In the A. V. the words *Pathach enayim* (*פֶּתַח עֵינַיִם*) are not taken as a proper name, but are rendered "an open place," lit. "the doorway of Enayim," or the double spring, a translation adopted by the LXX. (*ταῖς πύλαις Αἰνῶν*) and now generally. In *Josh.* xv. 34, for "Tappuah and Enam," the Peschito has "Pathuch-Elam," which supports the identification suggested above. [AIN.] [G.]

ENAN (*אֶנָּן*; *Ainān*; *Enam*). Ahira ben-Enan was "prince" of the tribe of Naphtali at the time of the numbering of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai (*Num.* i. 15).

ENASIBUS (*Ἐνὰσιβος*; *Eliasib*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [ELIASIB.]

ENCAMPMENT (*מַחֲנֶה*, *machāneh*, in all places except 2 K. vi. 8, where *לַחֲנֹת*, *luchānōth*, is used). The word primarily denoted the resting-place of an army or company of travellers at night" (*Ex.* xvi. 13; *Gen.* xxii. 21), and was hence applied to the army or caravan when on its march (*Ex.* xiv. 19; *Josh.* x. 5, xi. 4; *Gen.* xxxii. 7, 8). Among nomadic tribes war never attained to the dignity of a science, and their encampments were consequently devoid of all the appliances of more systematic warfare. The description of the camp of the Israelites, on their march from Egypt (*Num.* ii., iii.), supplies the greatest amount of

\* Whence *חַנּוּת הַיּוֹם* (*chānōth hayyōm*), "the camping-time of day," i. e. the evening, *Judg.* xix. 9.

information on the subject: whatever else may be gleaned is from scattered hints. The tabernacle, corresponding to the chieftain's tent of an ordinary encampment, was placed in the centre, and around and facing it (Num. ii. 1),<sup>b</sup> arranged in four grand divisions, corresponding to the four points of the compass, lay the host of Israel, according to their standards (Num. i. 52, ii. 2). On the east the post of honour was assigned to the tribe of Judah, and round its standard rallied the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun, descendants of the sons of Leah. On the south lay Reuben and Simeon, the representatives of Leah, and the children of Gad, the son of her handmaid. Rachel's descendants were encamped on the western side of the tabernacle, the chief place being assigned to the tribe of Ephraim. To this position of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, allusions are made in Judg. v. 14, and Ps. lxxx. 2. On the north were the tribes of Dan and Naphtali, the children of Bilhah, and the tribe of Asher, Gad's younger brother. All these were encamped around their standards, each according to the ensign of the house of his fathers. In the centre, round the tabernacle, and with no standard but the cloudy or fiery pillar which rested over it, were the tents of the priests and Levites. The former, with Moses and Aaron at their head, were encamped on the eastern side. On the south were the Kohathites, who had charge of the ark, the table of shewbread, the altars and vessels of the sanctuary. The Gershonites were on the west, and when on the march carried the tabernacle and its lighter furniture; while the Merarites, who were encamped on the north, had charge of its heavier appurtenances. The order of encampment was preserved on the march (Num. ii. 17), the signal for which was given by a blast of the two silver trumpets (Num. x. 5). The details of this account supply Prof. Blunt with some striking illustrations of the undesigned coincidences of the books of Moses (*Undes. Coincid.* pp. 75-86).

In this description of the order of the encampment no mention is made of sentinels, who, it is reasonable to suppose, were placed at the gates (Ex. xxxii. 26, 27) in the four quarters of the camp. This was evidently the case in the camp of the Levites (comp. 1 Chr. ix. 18, 24; 2 Chr. xxxi. 2).

The sanitary regulations of the camp of the Israelites were enacted for the twofold purpose of preserving the health of the vast multitude and the purity of the camp as the dwelling-place of God (Num. v. 3; Deut. xxiii. 14). With this object the dead were buried without the camp (Lev. x. 4, 5); lepers were excluded till their leprosy departed from them (Lev. xiii. 46, xiv. 3; Num. xii. 14, 5), as were all who were visited with loathsome diseases (Lev. xiv. 3). All who were defiled by contact with the dead, whether these were slain in battle or not, were kept without the camp for seven days (Num. xxxi. 19). Captives taken in war were compelled to remain for a while outside (Num. xxxi. 19; Josh. vi. 23). The ashes from the sacrifices were poured out without the camp at an appointed place, whither all uncleanness was removed (Deut. xxiii. 10, 12), and where the entrails, skins, horns, &c., and all that was not offered in sacrifice were burnt (Lev. iv. 11, 12, vi. 11, viii. 17).

<sup>b</sup> The form of the encampment was evidently circular, and not square, as it is generally represented.

The execution of criminals took place without the camp (Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35, 36; Josh. vii. 24), as did the burning of the young bullock for the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 12). These circumstances combined explain Heb. xiii. 12, and John xix. 17, 20.

The encampment of the Israelites in the desert left its traces in their subsequent history. The temple, so late as the time of Hezekiah, was still "the camp of Jehovah" (2 Chr. xxxi. 2; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 28); and the multitudes who flocked to David were "a great camp, like the camp of God" (1 Chr. xii. 22).

High ground appears to have been uniformly selected for the position of a camp, whether it were on a hill or mountain side, or in an inaccessible pass (Judg. vii. 18). So, in Judg. x. 17, the Ammonites encamped in Gilead, while Israel pitched in Mizpeh. The very names are significant. The camps of Saul and the Philistines were alternately in Gibeah, the "height" of Benjamin, and the plains of Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 2, 3, 16, 23). When Goliath defied the host of Israel, the contending armies were encamped on hills on either side of the valley of Elah (1 Sam. xvii. 3); and in the fatal battle of Gilboa Saul's position on the mountain was stormed by the Philistines who had pitched in Shunem (1 Sam. xxviii. 4), on the other side of the valley of Jezreel. The carelessness of the Midianites in encamping in the plain exposed them to the night surprise by Gideon, and resulted in their consequent discomfiture (Judg. vi. 33, vii. 8, 12). But another important consideration in fixing upon a position for a camp was the proximity of water: hence it is found that in most instances camps were pitched near a spring or well (Judg. vii. 3; 1 Macc. ix. 33). The Israelites at Mount Gilboa pitched by the fountain in Jezreel (1 Sam. xxi. 1), while the Philistines encamped at Aphek, the name of which indicates the existence of a stream of water in the neighbourhood, which rendered it a favourite place of encampment (1 Sam. iv. 1; 1 K. xx. 26; 2 K. xiii. 17). In his pursuit of the Amalekites, David halted his men by the brook Besor, and there left a detachment with the camp furniture (1 Sam. xxx. 9). One of Joshua's decisive engagements with the nations of Canaan was fought at the waters of Merom, where he surprised the confederate camp (Josh. xi. 5, 7; comp. Judg. v. 19, 21). Gideon, before attacking the Midianites, encamped beside the well of Harod (Judg. vii. 1), and it was to draw water from the well at Bethlehem that David's three mighty men cut their way through the host of the Philistines (2 Sam. xxiii. 16).

The camp was surrounded by the *מַחֲנֶה*, *ma'-gádh* (1 Sam. xvii. 20), or *מַחֲנֶה*, *ma'-gál* (1 Sam. xxvi. 5, 7), which some, and Thenius among them, explain as an earthwork thrown up round the encampment, others as the barrier formed by the baggage-waggons. The etymology of the word points merely to the circular shape of the enclosure formed by the tents of the soldiers pitched around their chief, whose spear marked his resting-place (1 Sam. xxvi. 5, 7), and it might with propriety be used in either of the above senses, according as the camp was fixed or temporary. We know that, in the case of a siege, the attacking army, if possible, surrounded the place attacked (1 Macc. xiii. 43), and drew about it a line of circumvallation (*פָּרָק*, *dâyék*, 2 K. xxv. 1), which was marked by

breastwork **סללה** *sol'lah*, Is. lxii. 10; **סללה**, *sol'lah*, Ez. xxi. 27 (22); comp. Job xix. 12), for the double purpose of preventing the escape of the besieged and of protecting the besiegers from their sallies.<sup>6</sup> But there was not so much need of a formal entrenchment, as but few instances occur in which engagements were fought in the camps themselves, and these only when the attack was made at night. Gideon's expedition against the Midianites took place in the early morning (Judg. vii. 19), the time selected by Saul for his attack upon Nahash (1 Sam. xi. 11), and by David for surprising the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 17; comp. Judg. ix. 33). To guard against these night attacks, sentinels (**שומרים**, *shom'rim*) were posted (Judg. vii. 20; 1 Macc. xii. 27) round the camp, and the neglect of this precaution by Zebah and Zalmunna probably led to their capture by Gideon and the ultimate defeat of their army (Judg. vii. 19).

The valley which separated the hostile camps was generally selected as the fighting ground (**שדה**, *sadeh*, "the battle-field," 1 Sam. iv. 2, xiv. 15; 2 Sam. xviii. 6), upon which the contest was decided, and hence the valleys of Palestine have played so conspicuous a part in its history (Josh. viii. 13; Judg. vi. 33; 2 Sam. v. 22, viii. 13, &c.). When the fighting men went forth to the place of marshalling (**מערבה**, *ma'ar'abah*, 1 Sam. xvii. 20), a detachment was left to protect the camp and baggage (1 Sam. xvii. 22, xxx. 24). The beasts of burden were probably tethered to the tent pegs (2 K. vii. 10; Zech. xiv. 15).

The **מחנה**, *machaneh*, or moveable encampment, is distinguished from the **מצב**, *mitsab*, or **נציב**, *n'tsib* (2 Sam. xxiii. 14; 1 Chr. xi. 16), which appear to have been studding camps, like those which Jeho-haphat established throughout Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 2), or advanced posts in an enemy's country (1 Sam. xiii. 17; 2 Sam. viii. 6), from which skirmishing parties made their predatory excursions and ravaged the crops. It was in resisting one of these expeditions that Shammah won himself a name among David's heroes (2 Sam. xvi. 12). *Machaneh* is still further distinguished from **מבצר**, *mibtsar*, "a fortress" or "walled town" (Num. xiii. 19).

Camps left behind them a memorial in the name of the place where they were situated, as among ourselves (cf. *Chester*, *Grantchester*, &c.). Mahaneh-Dan (Judg. xiii. 25) was so called from the encampment of the Danites mentioned in Judg. xvii. 12. [MAHANAIM.] The more important camps at Gilgal (Josh. v. 10, ix. 6) and Shiloh (Josh. xvii. 9; Judg. xxi. 12, 19) left no such impress; the military traditions of these places were eclipsed by the greater splendour of the religious associations which surrounded them. [W. A. W.]

**ENCHANTMENTS**, **למים**, **לחיים**, Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7; **φαρμακείαι**, LXX. (Grotius compares the word with the Greek *λατα*); secret arts, from **לבוש**, *to cover*; though others incorrectly connect it with **לחם**, *a flame*, or the glittering

<sup>6</sup> The Chaldee renders **סללה** (1 Sam. xvii. 20) and **דיוק** (2 K. xxv. 1) by the same word, **פרקום**, or **פרקומא**, the Greek *χαράτωμα*.

blade of a sword, as though it implied a sort of dazzling celerity which deceives spectators. Several versions render the word by "whisperings," *insusurrations*, but it seems to be a more general word, and hence is used of the various means (some of them no doubt of a quasi-scientific character) by which the Egyptian Chartummin imposed on the credulity of Pharaoh.

2. **כְּשָׁפִים**; **φαρμακείαι**, **φάρμακα**, LXX. (2 K. ix. 22; Mic. v. 12; Nah. iii. 4); **veneficia**, *maleficia*, Vulg.; "maleficia artes," "pnestigiae," "muttered spells." Hence it is sometimes rendered by *ερασιδαι* as in Is. xlvii. 9, 12. The belief in the power of certain formulae was universal in the ancient world. Thus there were *carmina* to evoke the tutelary gods out of a city (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* iii. 4), others to devote hostile armies (*Id.*), others to raise the dead (Maimon, *de Idol.* xi. 15; Seneca, *Oedip.* 547), or bind the gods (*θεσποιοθεων*) and men (Aesch. *Eur.* 331), and even influence the heavenly bodies (Ov. *Met.* vii. 207 sq., xii. 263; "Te quoque Luna traho," Virg. *Ecl.* viii., *Aen.* iv. 489; Hor. *Epod.* v. 45). They were a recognised part of ancient medicine, even among the Jews, who regarded certain sentences of the Law as efficacious in healing. The Greeks used them as one of the five chief remedies of pharmacy (Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 8, 9; Soph. *Aj.* 582), especially in obstetrics (Plat. *Theat.* p. 145) and mental diseases (Galen *de Similit.* *tenuia*, l. 8). Homer mentions them as used to check the flow of blood (*Od.* xiv. 456), and Cato even gives a charm to cure a dis-jointed limb (*De Re Rust.* 160; cf. Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 2). The belief in charms is still all but universal in uncivilised nations; see Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 300, 306, &c., ii. 177, &c.; Beckmann's *Voyage to Horne*, ch. ii.; Meißner's *Congo* (in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, xvi. pp. 221, 273); Hue's *China*, i. 223, ii. 326; Taylor's *New Zealand*, and Livingstone's *Africa*, passim, &c.; and hundreds of such remedies still exist, and are considered efficacious among the uneducated.

3. **כְּשָׁפִים**, Eccl. x. 11; **ψυχοπομπάς**, LXX., from **לחש**. This word is especially used of the charming of serpents, Jer. viii. 17 (cf. Is. lviii. 5; Ecclus. xii. 13, Eccl. 11, Luc. ix. 891—a parallel to "cantando rumpitur anguis," and "Viperæ rumpo verbis et carmine fauces," Ov. *Met.* l. c.). Maimonides (*de Idol.* xi. 2) expressly defines an enchanter as one "who uses strange and meaningless words, by which he imposes on the folly of the credulous. They say, for instance, that if one utter the words before a serpent or scorpion it will do no harm" (Carpov. *Annot. in Godefridum*, iv. 11). An account of the Musri who excelled in this art is given by Augustin (*ad Gen.* ix. 28), and of the Pylli by Arnobius (*ad Nat.* ii. 32); and they are alluded to by a host of other authorities (Plin. vii. 2, xlviii. 6; Aelian. *H. A.* i. 57; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 750; Sil. Ital. viii. 495). They were called *ᾠσοδοῦνται*. The secret is still understood in the East (Lane, ii. 106).

4. The word **כְּשָׁפִים** is used of the enchantments sought by Balaam, Num. xxiv. 1. It properly alludes to orphomaney, but in this place has a general meaning of endeavouring to gain omens (*εις συνδραστην τοις ολωοις*, LXX.).

5. **כַּבֵּר** is used for magic, Is. xlviii. 9, 12. It comes from **כַּבֵּר**, *to bind* (cf. *καταβέω*, *basculare*,

bannen), and means generally the process of acquiring power over some distant object or person; but this word seems also to have been sometimes used expressly of serpent charmers, for R. Sol. Jarchi on Dent. xviii. 11, defines the חֹבֵר חֹבֵר to be one "who congregates serpents and scorpions into one place."

Any resort to these methods of imposture was strictly forbidden in Scripture (Lev. xix. 26; Is. xlvii. 9, &c.), but to eradicate the tendency is almost impossible (2 K. xvii. 17; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 6), and we find it still flourishing at the Christian era (Acts xiii. 6, 8, viii. 9, 11, γοητεία; Gal. v. 20; Rev. ix. 21).

The chief sacramenta daemonica were a rod, a magic circle, dragon's eggs, certain herbs, or "insane roots," like the henbane, &c. The fancy of poets both ancient and modern has been exerted in giving lists of them (Ovid, and Hor. *ll. cc.*; Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act iv. 1; Kirke White's *Gondoline*; Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, Cant. iv. &c.). [WITCHCRAFTS; AMULETS; DIVINATION.] [F. W. F.]

EN-DOR (עֵינֹדֹר = "spring of Dor;" אַעֲדֹר; *Eulor*), a place which with its "daughter-towns" (בְּנוֹת) was in the territory of Issachar, and yet possessed by Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 11). This was the case with five other places which lay partly in Asher, partly in Issachar, and seem to have formed a kind of district of their own called "the three, or the triple, *Nepheth*."

Endor was long held in memory by the Jewish people as connected with the great victory over Sisera and Jabin. Tanaach, Megiddo, and the tower Kishon all witnessed the discomfiture of the huge host, but it was emphatically to Endor that the tradition of the death of the two chiefs attached itself (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). Possibly it was some recollection of this, some fame of sanctity or good omen in Endor, which drew the unhappy Saul thither on the eve of his last engagement with an enemy no less hateful and no less destructive than the Midianites (1 Sam. xxviii. 7). Endor is not again mentioned in the Scriptures; but it was known to Eusebius, who describes it as a large village 4 miles S. of Tabor. Here to the north of *Jebel Duhy* (the "Little Hermon" of travellers), the name still lingers, attached to a considerable but now deserted village. The rock of the mountain, on the slope of which *Endôr* stands, is hollowed into caves, one of which may well have been the scene of the incantation of the witch (Van de Velde, ii. 383; Rob. ii. 360; Stanley, 345). The distance from the slopes of Gilboa to Endor is 7 or 8 miles, over difficult ground. [G.]

EN-EGLA'IM (עֵינֵי עֵגְלַיִם = "spring of two heifers;" Ἐνγαλλεῖα; *Engallim*), a place named only by Ezekiel (xlvi. 10), apparently as on the Dead Sea; but whether near to or far from Engedi, on the west or east side of the Sea, it is impossible to ascertain from the text. In his comment on the passage, Jerome locates it at the embouchure of the Jordan; but this is not supported by other evidence. By some (e.g. Gesenius, *Thes.* 1019) it is thought to be identical with EGLAIM, but the two words are different, En-eglam containing the *Ain*, which is rarely changed for any other aspirate. [G.]

ENEMES'SAR (Ἐνεμίσσαρ, Ἐνεμίσσαρος) is the name under which Shalmaneser appears in the book of Tobit (i. 2, 15, &c.). This book is not of any historical authority, being a mere work of

imagination composed probably by an Alexandrian Jew, not earlier than B.C. 300. The change of the name is a corruption—the first syllable *Shal* being dropped (compare the Bupalussor of Abydenus, which represents Nabopolassar), and the order of the liquids *m* and *n* being reversed. The author of Tobit makes Enemessar lead the children of Israel into captivity (i. 2), following the apparent narrative of the book of Kings (2 K. xvii. 3-6, xviii. 9-11). He regards Sennacherib not only as his successor but as his son (i. 15), for which he has probably no authority beyond his own speculations upon the text of Scripture. As Sennacherib is proved by the Assyrian inscriptions to be the son of Sargon, no weight can be properly attached to the historical statements in Tobit. The book is, in the fullest sense of the word, *apocryphal*. [G. L.]

ENE'NIUS (Ἐννεύς; *Emmanius*), one of the leaders of the people who returned from captivity with Zerobabel (1 Esdr. v. 8). There is no name corresponding in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

ENGAD'DI (ἐν αἰγιάλοις; *in Cades*), Ecclus. xxiv. 14. [ENGEDI.]

EN-GAN'NIM (עֵינֵי גַנִּים = "spring of gardens"). 1. A city in the low country of Judah, named between Zanoah and Tappuah (Josh. xv. 34). The LXX. in this place is so different from the Hebrew that the name is not recognizable. Vulg. *Aen-Gannim*.

2. A city on the border of Issachar (Josh. xix. 21; Ἰσάκ καὶ Τορμάδ, Alex. ἡ Γαννίμ; *En-Gannim*); allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xxi. 29; Πηγὴ γαρμύδων; *En-Gannim*). These notices contain no indication of the position of Engannim with reference to any known place, but there is great probability in the conjecture of Robinson (ii. 315) that it is identical with the Ginnia of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, §1), which again, there can be little doubt, survives in the modern *Jenin*, the first village encountered on the ascent from the great plain of Esdraelon into the hills of the central country. *Jenin* is still surrounded by the "orchards" or "gardens" which interpret its ancient name, and the "spring" is to this day the characteristic object in the place (Rob. ii. 315; Stanley, 349, note; Van de Velde, 359). The position of *Jenin* is also in striking agreement with the requirements of Beth-hag-Gan (A. V. "the garden-house;" Βαθγάδ) in the direction of which Ahaziah fled from Jehu (2 K. ix. 27). The rough road of the ascent was probably too much for his chariot, and keeping the more level ground he made for Megiddo, where he died (see Stanley, 349).

In the lists of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi. ANEM is substituted for Engannim. Possibly it is merely a contraction. [G.]

ENGEDI (עֵינֵי הַיַּד, "the fountain of the kid;"

Ἐγγεδδὶ and Ἐγγαδδὶ; Arabic, عَيْن جَدِي), a town in the wilderness of Judah (Josh. xv. 62), on the western shore of the Dead Sea (Ezek. xlvi. 10). Its original name was Hazazon-Tamar (חֲזָזֹן תַּמָּר, "the pruning of the palm"), doubtless, as Josephus says, on account of the palm groves which surrounded it (2 Chr. xx. 2; Ecclus. xxiv. 14; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 1, §2). Some doubt seems to have existed in the early centuries of our era as to its true position. Stephanus places it near

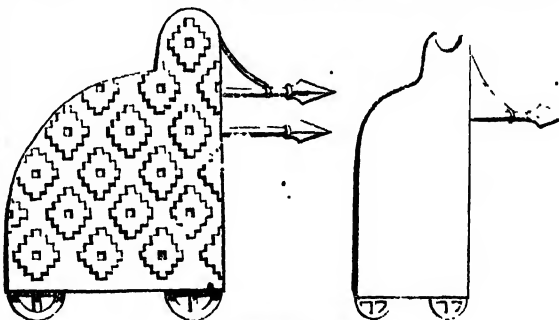
Sodom (Steph. B. s. v.); Jerome at the south end of the Dead Sea (*Comm. in Ezek. xlvii.*); but Josephus more correctly, at the distance of 300 stadia from Jerusalem (*Ant. ix. 1, §2*). Its site is now well known. It is about the middle of the western shore of the lake. Here is a rich plain, half a mile square, sloping very gently from the base of the mountains to the water, and shut in on the north by a lofty promontory. About a mile up the western acclivity, and at an elevation of some 400 feet above the plain, is the fountain of *Ain Jidy*, from which the place gets its name. The water is sweet, but the temperature is 81° Fah. It bursts from the limestone rock, and rushes down the steep descent, fretted by many a rugged crag, and joining its spray over verdant borders of acacia, mimosa, and lotus. On reaching the plain, the brook crosses it in nearly a straight line to the sea. During a greater part of the year, however, it is absorbed in the thirsty soil. Its banks are now cultivated by a few families of Arabs, who generally pitch their tents near this spot. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and in such a climate it might be made to produce the rarest fruits of tropical climes. Traces of the old city exist upon the plain and lower declivity of the mountain, on the south bank of the brook. They are rude and uninteresting, consisting merely of foundations and shapeless heaps of unhewn stones. A sketch by M. Baily, taken from the fountain, and embracing the plain on the shore, and the southwest border of the Dead Sea, will be found in the Atlas of Plates accompanying the original edition of De Sauley's *Voyage*, pl. viii.

The history of Engedi, though it reaches back nearly 4000 years, may be told in a few sentences. It was immediately after an assault upon the "Amorites, that dwelt in Hazazon-Tamar," that the five Mesopotamian kings were attacked by the rulers of the plain of Sodom (*Gen. xiv. 7; comp. 2 Chr. xx. 2*). It is probable that the fountain was always called Engedi, and that the ancient town built on the plain below it got in time the same name. Saul was told that David was in the "wilderness of Engedi;" and he took "3000 men, and went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats" (*1 Sam. xxiv. 1-4*). These animals still frequent the cliffs above and around the fountain; the Arabs call them *Beden*. At a later period Engedi was the gathering-place of the Moabites and Ammonites who went up against Jerusalem, and fell in the valley of Berachah (*2 Chr. xx. 2*). It is remarkable that this is the usual route taken in the present day by such predatory bands from Moab as make incursions into Southern Palestine. They pass round the southern end of the Dead Sea, then up the road along its western shore to Ain Jidy, and thence toward Hebron, Tekoa, or Jerusalem, as the prospects of plunder seem most inviting.

The vineyards of Engedi were celebrated by Solomon (*Cant. i. 14*); its balsam by Josephus (*Ant. ix. 1, §2*), and its palms by Pliny—"Engadda oppidum fuit, secundum ab Hierosolymis

fertilitate palmeturumque nemoribus" (*v. 17*). But vineyards no longer clothe the mountain-side, and neither palm-tree nor balsam is seen on the plain. In the fourth century there was still a large village at Engedi (*Onom. s. v.*); it must have been abandoned very soon afterwards, for there is no subsequent reference to it in history, nor are there any traces of recent habitation (*Porter's Handbook, 242; Rob. i. 507*). There is a curious reference to it in Mandeville (*Early Trav. 179*), who says that the district between Jericho and the Dead Sea is "the land of Dengudda" (*Fr. d'Engudda*), and that the balm trees were "still called vines of Gady." [*J. L. P.*]

ENGINE, a term exclusively applied to military affairs in the Bible. The Hebrew *חֶשְׁבֹן* (*2 Chr. xxvi. 15*) is its counterpart in etymological meaning, each referring to the *ingenuity* (engine, from *ingenium*) displayed in the contrivance. The engines to which the term is applied in *2 Chr.* were designed to propel various missiles from the walls of a besieged town; one, like the *b-distu*, was for stones, consisting probably of a strong spring and a tube to give the right direction to the stone; another, like the *catapult*, for arrows, an enormous stationary bow. The invention of these is assigned to Uzziah's time—a statement, which is supported both by the absence of such contrivances in the representations of Egyptian and Assyrian warfare, and by the traditional belief that the *balista* was invented in Syria (*Pliny, vii. 56*). Luther gives *brustschutzen*, i. e. "parapets," as the meaning of the term. Another war-engine, with which the Hebrews were acquainted, was the battering-ram, described in *Ez. xxvi. 9*, as *מָחִי קֶבֶל*, lit. a beating of that which is in front, hence a ram for



Assyrian war-engines, from Holin, pl. 160.

striking walls; and still more precisely in *Ez. iv. 2, xxi. 22*, as *רָמָה*, a ram. The use of this instrument was well known both to the Egyptians (*Wilkinson, i. 359*) and the Assyrians. The references in Ezekiel are to the one used by the latter people, consisting of a high and stoutly built framework on four wheels, covered in at the sides in order to protect the men moving it, and armed with one or two pointed weapons. Their appearance was very different from that of the Roman *aries* with which the Jews afterwards became acquainted (*Joseph. B. J. iii. 7, §19*). No notice is taken of the *testudo* or the *vineu* (*cf. Ez. xxvi. 9, Vulg.*); but it is not improbable that the Hebrews were acquainted with them (*cf. Wilkinson, i. 361*). The marginal rendering "engines of shot" (*Jer. vi. 6, xxiii. 24; Ez. xxvi. 8*) is incorrect. [*W. L. B.*]

**ENGRAVER.** The term חָרֵשׁ, so translated in the A. V., applies broadly to any *artificer*, whether in wood, stone, or metal: to restrict it to the *engraver* in Ex. xxxv. 35, xxxviii. 23, is improper: a similar latitude must be given to the term חָרֵשׁ, which expresses the operation of the artificer: in Zech. iii. 9, ordinary stone-cutting is evidently intended. The specific description of an *engraver* was חָרֵשׁ אֶבֶן (Ex. xxviii. 11), and his chief business was cutting names or devices on rings and seals; the only notices of engraving are in connexion with the high-priest's dress—the two onyx-stones, the twelve jewels, and the mitre-plate having inscriptions on them (Ex. xxviii. 11, 21, 36). The previous notices of signets (Gen. xxxviii. 18, xli. 42) imply engraving. The art was widely spread throughout the nations of antiquity, particularly among the Egyptians (Diod. i. 78; Wilkinson, iii. 373), the Aethiopians (Her. vii. 69), and the Indians (Von Bohlen. *Indien*, ii. 122). [W. L. B.]

**EN-HAD'DAH** (עֵין הַדָּהַד) = "sharp, or swift spring;" Gesen. *Aimadik*; Alex. *ἤν Ἀδδα*, one of the cities on the border of Issachar named next to Engannim (Josh. xix. 21). Van de Velde (i. 315) would identify it with *Ain-haud* on the western side of Carmel, and about 2 miles only from the sea. But this is surely out of the limits of the tribe of Issachar, and rather in Asher or Manasseh. [G.]

**EN-HAK-KORE** (עֵין הַקֹּרֶה) = "the spring of the crier;" *πηγή τοῦ ἐκκαλουμένου*, the spring which burst out in answer to the "cry" of Samson after his exploit with the jawbone (Judg. xv. 19). The name is a pun founded on the word in verse 18, *yikera* (יִקְרָה, A. V. "he called"). The word *Muktesh*, which in the story denotes the "hollow place" (literally, the "moor") in the jaw, and also that for the "jaw" itself, *Lechi*, are both names of places. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 343) endeavours to identify Lechi with *Tell-el-Lechiyeh* 4 miles N. of Beersheba, and Enhakkore, with the large spring between the Tell and *Khewefseh*. But Samson's adventures appear to have been confined to a narrow circle, and there is no ground for extending them to a distance of some 30 miles from Gaza, which *Lechiyeh* is, even in a straight line. [G.]

**EN-HA'ZOR** (עֵין הָצוֹר) = "spring of the village;" *πηγή Ἀσὺρ*; *En-Asor*, one of the "fenced cities" in the inheritance of Naphtali, distinct from Hazor, named between Edrei and Iron, and apparently not far from Kedesh (Josh. xix. 37). It has not yet been identified. [G.]

**EN-MISHPAT** (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט) = *ἡ πηγή τῆς κρισεως*, Gen. xiv. 7. [KADESH.]

**EN-RIMMON** (עֵין רִמּוֹן); Vnt. omits, Alex. *ἐν Ῥεμμὼν*; *et in Rimmon*), one of the places which the men of Judah re-inhabited after their return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 29). From the towns in company with which it is mentioned, it seems very probable that the name is the same which in the earlier books is given in the Hebrew and A. V. in the separate form of "Ain and Rimmon" (Josh. xv. 32), "Ain, Remmon" (xix. 7; and see 1 Chr. iv. 32), but in the LXX. combined, as in *Nehe-miah*. [AIN; 2.] [G.]

**ENOCH**, and once **HE'NOCH** (הֵנוֹחַ = *Chando*; Philo, *de Post. Caini*, §11, *ἐμπροθέρας*

*Ἐνὼχ χάρις σου*; *Ἐνὼχ*; Joseph. *Ἀνωχος*; *Henoch*). 1. The eldest son of Cain (Gen. iv. 17), who called the city which he built after his name (18). Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 35*i note*) fancies that there is a reference to the Phrygian Iconium, in which city a legend of *"Anvachos"* was preserved, evidently derived from the Biblical account of the father of Methuselah (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἰκόνιον*, Suid. s. v. *Νάννακος*). Other places have been identified with the site of Enoch with little probability; e.g. *Amuchta* in Susiana, the *Heniochi* in the Caucasus, &c.

2. The son of Jared (יָרֵד, a *descent*, cf. *Jordan*), and father of Methuselah (מֶתוֹשֶׁלַח, a *man of arms*, Philo. l. c. §12, *Μαθουσαλὴν ἑξαποστολὴ θαντροῦ* (Gen. v. 21 ff.; Luke iii. 28). In the Epistle of Jude (v. 14, cf. Enoch, ix. 9) he is described as "the seventh from Adam," and the number is probably noticed as conveying the idea of divine completion and rest (cf. August. c. *Fiust.* xii. 14), while Enoch was himself a type of perfected humanity, "a man raised to heaven by pleasing God, while angels fell to earth by transgression" (Iren. iv. 16, 2). The other numbers connected with his history appear too symmetrical to be without meaning. He was born when Jared was 162 (9×6×3) years old, and after the birth of his eldest son in his 65th (5×6+7) year he lived 300 years. From the period of 365 years assigned to his life, Ewald (i. 358), with very little probability, regards him as "the god of the new-year," but the number may have been not without influence on the later traditions which assigned to Enoch the discovery of the science of astronomy (*ἀστρολογία*, Eusebius ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17, where he is identified with Atlas). After the birth of Methuselah it is said (Gen. v. 22-4) that Enoch "walked with God 300 years . . . and he was not; for God took him" (חָפָץ, *μετέθηκεν*, LXX. (here only); *tulit*, Vulg.). The phrase "walked with God" (חָפָץ אֱלֹהִים) is elsewhere only used of Noah (Gen. vi. 9; cf. Gen. xvii. 1, &c.), and is to be explained of a prophetic life spent in immediate converse with the spiritual world (Enoch, xii. 2. "All his action was with the holy ones, and with the watchers during his life"). There is no further mention of Enoch in the O. T., but in Ecclesiasticus (xlix. 14) he is brought forward as one of the peculiar glories (*οὐδὲ εἰς ἐκτίσθη ὅλος ἔ.ε.*) of the Jews, for he was taken up (*ἀνελήφθη*, Alex. *μετετέθη*) from the earth. "He pleased the Lord and was translated [into Paradise, Vulg.] being a pattern of repentance" (Eccles. xlv. 14). In the epistle to the Hebrews the spring and issue of Enoch's life are clearly marked. "By faith Enoch was translated (*μετετέθη*, *translatus est*, Vulg.) that he should not see death . . . for before his translation (*μεταθέσεως*) he had this testimony, that he pleased God." The contrast to this divine judgment is found in the constrained words of Josephus: "Enoch departed to the Deity (*ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*), whence [the sacred writers] have not recorded his death" (*Ant.* 1, 3, 4).

The biblical notices of Enoch were a fruitful source of speculation in later times. Some theologians disputed with subtilty as to the place to which he was removed; whether it was to paradise or to the immediate presence of God (cf. *Pevarien-tius ad Iren.* v. 5), though others more wisely

declined to discuss the question (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. N. T.*, p. 758). On other points there was greater unanimity. Both the Latin and Greek fathers commonly coupled Enoch and Elijah as historic witnesses of the possibility of a resurrection of the body and of a true human existence in glory (Iren. iv. 5, 1; Tertull. *de Resurr. Carn.* 58; Hieron. c. *Joan. Hierosol.* §§29, 32, pp. 437, 440); and the voice of early ecclesiastical tradition is almost unanimous in regarding them as "the two witnesses" (Rev. xi. 3 ff.) who should fall before "the beast," and afterwards be raised to heaven before the great judgment (Hippol. *Frag. in Dan.* xxii.; *de Antichr.* xliii. Cosmas Indic. p. 75, ap. Thilo, *κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν*; Tertull. *de Anima*, 59; Ambros. in *Psalm.* xlv. 4; Eoang. Nicod. c. xxv. on which Thilo has almost exhausted the question: *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* pp. 765 f.). This belief removed a serious difficulty which was supposed to attach to their translation; for thus it was made clear that they would at last discharge the common debt of a sinful humanity, from which they were not exempted by their glorious removal from the earth (Tertull. *de Anima*, l. c.; August. *Op. imp. c. Jul.* vi. 30).

In later times Enoch was celebrated as the inventor of writing, arithmetic, and astronomy (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17). He is said to have filled 300 books with the revelations which he received, and is commonly identified with *Edris* (i. e. the learned), who is commemorated in the Koran (cap. 19) as one "exalted [by God] to a high place" (cf. Sala, l. c.; Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 30 ff.). But these traditions were probably due to the apocryphal book which bears his name (cf. Fabric. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 215 ff.).

Some (Buttm. *Mythol.* i. 176 ff.; Ewald, l. c.) have found a trace of the history of Enoch in the Phrygian legend of Anaxakos (*Ἀναξῶκος, Νάννακος*), who was distinguished for his piety, lived 300 years, and predicted the deluge of Deucalion. [ENOCH, 1.] In the A. V. of 1 Chr. i. 3, the name is given as HENOCH.

3. The third son of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 4, A. V. *Hanoch*; 1 Chr. i. 33, A. V. *Henoch*).

4. The eldest son of Reuben (A. V. *Hanoch*; Gen. xlv. 9; Ex. vi. 14; 1 Chr. v. 3), from whom came "the family of the Hanochites" (Num. xvi. 5).

5. In 2 Esdr. vi. 49, 51, *Enoch* stands in the Latin (and Eng.) Version for *Behemoth* in the Ethiopic. [B. F. W.]

ENOCH, THE BOOK OF, is one of the most important remains of that early apocalyptic literature of which the book of Daniel is the great prototype. From its vigorous style and wide range of speculation the book is well worthy of the attention which it received in the first ages; and recent investigations have still left many points for further inquiry.

1. The history of the book is remarkable. The first trace of its existence is generally found in the Epistle of St. Jude (14, 15; cf. Enoch, i. 9), but the words of the Apostle leave it uncertain whether he derived his quotation from tradition (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 420) or from writing (*ἡ προφῆτευς* . . . *Ἐνὸς λέγων*), though the wide spread of the book in the second century seems almost decisive in favour of the latter supposition. It appears to have been known to Justin (*Apol.* ii. 5), Irenæus

(*Adv. Hæc.* iv. 16, 2), and Anatolius (Euseb. *H. F.* vii. 32). Clement of Alexandria (*Eclog.* p. 801) and Origen (yet comp. c. *Cels.* v. p. 267, ed. Spenc.) both make use of it, and numerous references occur to the "writing," "books," and "words" of Enoch in the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, which present more or less resemblance to passages in the present book (Fabr. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 161 ff.; Gfrörer, *Proph. Pseudep.* 273 f.). Tertullian (*De Cult. Fem.* i. 3; cf. *De Idol.* 4) expressly quotes the book as one which was "not received by some, nor admitted into the Jewish canon" (in *armarium Judaicum*), but defends it on account of its reference to Christ (*legimus omnem scripturam aedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari*). Augustine (*De Civ.* xv. 23, 4) and an anonymous writer whose work is printed with Jerome's (*Brev. in Psalm.* cxxii. 2; cf. Hil. *ad Psalm.* l. c.) were both acquainted with it; but from their time till the revival of letters it was known in the Western Church only by the quotation in St. Jude (Dillmann, *Eint.* lvi.). In the Eastern Church it was known some centuries later. Considerable fragments are preserved in the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncellus (c. 792 A.D.), and these, with the scanty notices of earlier writers, constituted the sole remains of the book known in Europe till the close of the last century. Meanwhile, however, a report was current that the entire book was preserved in Abyssinia; and at length, in 1773, Bruce brought with him on his return from Egypt three MSS., containing the complete Ethiopic translation. Notwithstanding the interest which the discovery excited, the first detailed notice of this translation was given by Silvestre de Sacy in 1800, and it was not published till the edition of Archbishop Lawrence in 1838 (*Libri Enoch versio Aethiopica* . . . Oxon.). But in the interval Lawrence published an English translation, with an introduction and notes, which passed through three editions (*The Book of Enoch*, &c. by R. Lawrence. Oxford, 1821, 1833, 1838). The translation of Lawrence formed the basis of the German edition of Hoffmann (*Des Buch Henoch*, . . . A. E. Hoffmann, Jena, 1833-38); and Gfrörer, in 1840, gave a Latin translation constructed from the translations of Lawrence and Hoffmann (*Prophetæ veteres Pseudepigraphi* . . . ed. A. F. Gfrörer, Stuttgartiae, 1840). All these editions were superseded by those of Dillmann, who edited the Ethiopic text from five MSS. (*Liber Henoch, Aethiopice*, Lipsiae, 1851), and afterwards gave a German translation of the book with a good introduction and commentary (*Das Buch Henoch*, . . . von Dr. A. Dillmann, Leipzig, 1853). The work of Dillmann gave a fresh impulse to the study of the book. Among the essays which were called out by it the most important were those of Ewald (*Ueber das Aethiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung*, &c., Göttingen, 1836) and Hilgenfeld (*D. Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857). The older literature on the subject is reviewed by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 199 ff.).

2. The Ethiopic translation was made from the Greek, and it was probably made about the same time as the translation of the Bible with which it was afterwards connected, or in other words, towards the middle or close of the fourth century. The general coincidence of the translation with the patristic quotations of corresponding passages shows satisfactorily that the text from which it was derived was the same as that current in the early

Church, though one considerable passage quoted by Georg. Syncell. is wanting in the present book (Dillm. p. 85). But it is still uncertain whether the Greek text was the original, or itself a translation. One of the earliest references to the book occurs in the Hebrew *Book of Jubilees* (Dillm. in Ewald's *Jahrb.* 1850, p. 90), and the names of the angels and winds are derived from Aramaic roots (cf. Dillm. pp. 236 ff.). In addition to this a Hebrew book of Enoch was known and used by Jewish writers till the thirteenth century (Dillm. *Eint.* lvii.), so that on these grounds, among others, many have supposed (J. Scaliger, Lawrence, Hofmann, Dillmann) that the book was first composed in Hebrew (Aramaean). In such a case no stress can be laid upon the Hebraizing style, which may be found as well in an author as in a translator; and in the absence of direct evidence it is difficult to weigh mere conjectures. On the one hand, if the book had been originally written in Hebrew it might seem likely that it would have been more used by Rabbinical teachers; but, on the other hand, the writer certainly appears to have been a native of Palestine,\* and therefore likely to have employed the popular dialect. If the hypothesis of a Hebrew original be accepted, which as a hypothesis seems to be the more plausible, the history of the original and the version finds a good parallel in that of the Wisdom of Sirach. [ECCLIASTICUS.]

3. In its present shape the book consists of a series of revelations supposed to have been given to Enoch and Noah, which extend to the most varied aspects of nature and life, and are designed to offer a comprehensive vindication of the action of Providence. [ENOCII.] It is divided into five parts. The *first part* (Cc. 1-36 Dillm.), after a general introduction, contains an account of the fall of the angels (Gen. vi. 1) and of the judgment to come upon them and upon the giants, their offspring (6-16); and this is followed by the description of the journey of Enoch through the earth and lower heaven in company with an angel, who showed to him many of the great mysteries of nature, the treasure-houses of the storms and winds, and fires of heaven, the prison of the fallen and the land of the blessed (17-36). The *second part* (37-71) is styled "a vision of wisdom," and consists of three "parables," in which Enoch relates the revelations of the higher secrets of heaven and of the spiritual world which were given to him. The first parable (38-44) gives chiefly a picture of the future blessings and manifestation of the righteous, with further details as to the heavenly bodies: the second (45-57) describes in splendid imagery the coming of Messiah and the results which it should work among "the elect" and the gainsayers: the third (58-69) draws out at further length the blessedness of "the elect and holy," and the confusion and wretchedness of the sinful rulers of the world. The *third part* (72-82) is styled "the book of the course of the lights of heaven," and deals with the motions of the sun and moon, and the changes of the seasons; and with this the narrative of the journey of Enoch closes. The *fourth part* (83-91) is not distinguished by any special name, but contains the record of a dream which was granted to Enoch in his youth, in which he saw the history of the kingdoms of God and of the world up to the

final establishment of the throne of Messiah. The *fifth part* (92-105) contains the last addresses of Enoch to his children, in which the teaching of the former chapters is made the ground-work of earnest exhortation. The signs which attended the birth of Noah are next noticed (106-7); and another short "writing of Enoch" (108) forms the close to the whole book (cf. Dillm. *Eint.* i. ff.; Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständ. Eint.* &c., i. 93 ff.).

4. The general unity which the book possesses in its present form marks it, in the main, as the work of one man. The several parts, while they are complete in themselves, are still connected by the development of a common purpose. But internal coincidence shows with equal clearness that different fragments were incorporated by the author into his work, and some additions have been probably made afterwards. Different "books" are mentioned in early times, and variations in style and language are discernible in the present book. To distinguish the original elements and later interpolations is the great problem which still remains to be solved, for the different theories which have been proposed are barely plausible. In each case the critic seems to start with preconceived notions as to what was to be expected at a particular time, and forms his conclusions to suit his prejudices. Hofmann and Weiss place the composition of the whole work after the Christian era, because the one thinks that St. Jude could not have quoted an apocryphal book (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 420 ff.), and the other seeks to detach Christianity altogether from a Jewish foundation (Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, 214 ff.). Stuart (*American Bibl. Repert.* 1840) so far anticipated the argument of Weiss as to regard the Christology of the book as a clear sign of its post-Christian origin. Ewald, according to his usual custom, picks out the different elements with a daring confidence, and leaves a result so complicated that no one can accept it in its details, while it is characterised in its great features by masterly judgment and sagacity. He places the composition of "the ground-work of the book at various intervals between 144 B.C. and cir. 120 B.C., and supposes that the whole assumed its present form in the first half of the century before Christ. Lücke (2nd ed.) distinguishes two great parts, an older part including cc. 1-36, and 72-105, which he dates from the beginning of the Maccabean struggle, and a later, cc. 37-71, which he assigns to the period of the rise of Herod the Great (141, &c.). He supposes, however, that later interpolations were made without attempting to ascertain their date. Dillmann upholds more decidedly the unity of the book, and assigns the chief part of it to an Aramaean writer of the time of John Hyrcanus (c. 110 B.C.). To this, according to him, "historical" and "Noachian additions" were made, probably in the Greek translation (*Eint.* lii.). Köstlin (quoted by Hilgenfeld, 96, &c.) assigns cc. 1-16, 21-36, 72-105, to about 110 B.C.; cc. 37-71 to c. B.C. 100-64; and the "Noachian additions" and c. 108 to the time of Herod the Great. Hilgenfeld himself places the original book (cc. 1-16; 20-36; 72-90; 91, 1-19; 93; 94-105) about the beginning of the first century before Christ (a. a. O. p. 145 n.). This book he supposes to have passed through the hands of a

\* The astronomical calculations by which Lawrence endeavoured to fix the locality of the writer in the

neighbourhood of the Caspian are inconclusive. Cf. Dillm. p. li.

Christian writer who lived between the times "of Saturninus and Marcion" (p. 181), who added the chief remaining portions, including the great Messianic section, cc. 37-71. In the face of these conflicting theories it is evidently impossible to dogmatize, and the evidence is insufficient for conclusive reasoning. The interpretation of the Apocalyptic histories (cc. 56, 57; 85-90), on which the chief stress is laid for fixing the date of the book, involves necessarily minute criticism of details, which belongs rather to a commentary than to a general Introduction; but notwithstanding the arguments of Hlilgenfeld and Jost (*Gesch. Jud.* ii. 218 n.), the whole book appears to be distinctly of Jewish origin. Some inconsiderable interpolations may have been made in successive translations, and large fragments of a much earlier date were undoubtedly incorporated into the work, but as a whole it may be regarded as describing an important phase of Jewish opinion shortly before the coming of Christ.

5. In doctrine the Book of Enoch exhibits a great advance of thought within the limits of revelation in each of the great divisions of knowledge. The teaching on nature is a curious attempt to reduce the scattered images of the O. T. to a physical system. The view of society and man, of the temporary triumph and final discomfiture of the oppressors of God's people, carries out into elaborate detail the pregnant images of Daniel. The figure of the Messiah is invested with majestic dignity as "the Son of God" (c. 105, 2 only), "whose name was named before the sun was made" (48, 3), and who existed "foretime in the presence of God" (62, 6; cf. Lawrence, *Prel. Diss.* li. f.). And at the same time His human attributes as "the son of man," "the son of woman" (c. 62, 5 only), "the elect one," "the righteous one," "the anointed," are brought into conspicuous notice. The mysteries of the spiritual world, the connexion of angels and men, the classes and ministries of the hosts of heaven, the power of Satan (40, 7; 65, 6), and the legions of darkness, the doctrines of resurrection, retribution, and eternal punishment (c. 22, cf. Dillm. p. xix.), are dwelt upon with growing earnestness as the horizon of speculation was extended by intercourse with Greece. But the message of the book is emphatically one of "faith and truth" (cf. Dillm. p. 32), and while the writer combines and repeats the thoughts of scripture, he adds no new element to the teaching of the prophets. His errors spring from an undisciplined attempt to explain their words, and from a proud exultation in present success. For the great characteristic by which the book is distinguished from the later apocalypse of Ezra [*ESDRAS, 2ND BOOK*] is the tone of triumphant expectation by which it is pervaded. It seems to repeat in every form the great principle that the world, natural, moral, and spiritual, is under the immediate government of God. Hence it follows that there is a terrible retribution reserved for sinners, and a glorious kingdom prepared for the righteous, and Messiah is regarded as the divine mediator of this double issue (c. 90, 91). Nor is it without a striking fitness that a patriarch translated from earth, and admitted to look upon the divine majesty, is chosen as "the herald of wisdom, righteousness, and judgment to a people who, even in suffering, saw in their tyrants only the victims of a coming vengeance."

6. Notwithstanding the quotation in St. Jude, and the wide circulation of the book itself, the

apocalypse of Enoch was uniformly and distinctly separated from the canonical scriptures. Tertullian alone maintained its authority (l. c.), while he admitted that it was not received by the Jews, Origen, on the other hand (*c. Cels.* v. p. 267, cf. Spenc.), and Augustine (*de Civ.* xv. 23, 4), definitively mark it as apocryphal, and it is reckoned among the apocryphal books in the Apostolic Constitutions (vi. 16), and in the catalogues of the *Synopsis S. Scripturæ*, Nicphorus (Crodner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* 145), and Montfaucon (*Bibl. Coislin.* p. 193).

7. The literature of the subject has been already noticed incidentally. The German edition of Dillmann places within the reach of the student all the most important materials for the study of the book. Special points are discussed by Gfrörer, *Das Jahrh. d. Heils.* i. 3 ff.; C. Wieseler, *Die 70 Wochen des Daniel*, 1839. An attempt was made by the Rev. E. Murray (*Enoch restitutus*, &c., Lond. 1838) to "separate from the books of Enoch the book quoted by St. Jude," which met with little favour. [B. F. W.]

ENOCH, CITY. [ENOCH, No. 1.]

ENON. [AENON.]

EN-ROGEL (עֵן רֹגֵל; *πηγή Ρωγήλ*; *Fons Rogel*), a spring which formed one of the landmarks on the boundary-line between Judah (Josh. xv. 7) and Benjamin (xviii. 16). It was the point next to Jerusalem, and at a lower level, as is evident from the use of the words "ascended" and "descended" in these two passages. Here, apparently concealed from the view of the city, Jonathan and Ahimaz remained, after the flight of David, awaiting intelligence from within the walls (2 Sam. xvii. 17), and here, "by the stone Zoheleth, which is 'close to' (עֵן) En-rogel," Adonijah held the feast, which was the first and last act of his attempt on the crown (1 K. i. 9). These are all the occurrences of the name in the Bible. By Josephus on the last incident (*Ant.* vii. 14, §4) its situation is given as "without the city, in the royal garden," and it is without doubt referred to by him in the same connexion, in his description of the earthquake which accompanied the miracle of Uzziah (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4), and which, "at the place called Eroge," "shook down a part of the Eastern hill, "so as to obstruct the roads, and the royal gardens."

In the Targum, and the Arabic and Syriac versions, the name is commonly given as "the spring of the fuller" (עֵן רֹגֵל), and this is generally

accepted as the signification of the Hebrew name—*Rogel* being derived from *Ragal*, to tread, in allusion to the practice of the Orientals in washing linen.

In more modern times, a tradition, apparently first recorded by Brocardus, would make En-rogel the well of Job or Nehemiah (*Bir Eyub*), below the junction of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, and south of the Pool of Siloam. In favour of this is the fact that in the Arabic version of Josh. xv. 7 the name of Ain-Eyub, or "spring of Job," is given for En-rogel, and also that in an early Jewish Itinerary (Uri of Biel, in Hottinger's *Cippi Hebraici*) the name is given as "well of *Joab*," as if retaining the memory of Joab's connexion with Adonijah—a name

\* This natural interpretation of a name only slightly corrupt appears to have first suggested itself to Stanley (S. & P. 184).

which it still retains in the traditions of the Greek Christians (Williams, *Holy City*, 490). Against this general belief, some strong arguments are urged by Dr. Bouar in favour of identifying En-rogel with the present "Fountain of the Virgin," *Ain Ummud-Daraj* = "spring of the mother of steps"—the perennial source from which the Pool of Siloam is supplied (*Land of Promise*, App. v.). These arguments are briefly as follows:—

1. The *Bir Eyub* is a well and not a spring (En), while, on the other hand, the "Fountain of the Virgin" is the only real spring close to Jerusalem. Thus if the latter be not En-rogel, the single spring of this locality has escaped mention in the Bible.

2. The situation of the Fountain of the Virgin agrees better with the course of the boundary of Benjamin than that of the *Bir Eyub*, which is too far south.

3. *Bir Eyub* does not suit the requirements of 2 Sam. xvii. 17. It is too far off both from the city, and from the direct road over Olivet to the Jordan; and is in full view of the city (Van de Velde, i. 475), which the other spot is not.

4. The martyrdom of St. James was effected by casting him down from the temple wall into the valley of Kedron, where he was finally killed by a fuller with his washing-stick. The natural inference is that St. James fell near where the fullers were at work. Now *Bir Eyub* is too far off from the site of the temple to allow of this, but it might very well have happened at the Fountain of the Virgin. (See Stanley's *Sermons on the Apost. Age*, p. 333-4.)

5. *Daraj* and *Rogel* are both from the same root, and therefore the modern name may be derived from the ancient one, even though at present it is taken to allude to the "steps" by which the reservoir of the Fountain is reached.

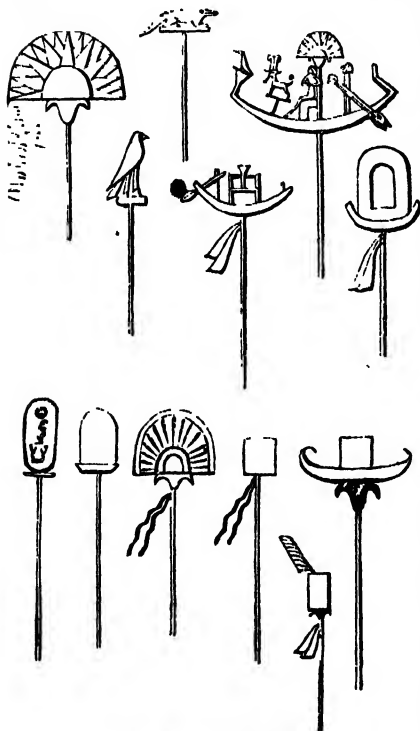
Add to these considerations (what will have more significance when the permanence of Eastern habits is recollected)—6. That the Fountain of the Virgin is still the great resort of the women of Jerusalem for washing and treading their clothes; and also—7. That the level of the king's gardens must have been above the *Bir Eyub*, even when the water is at the mouth of the well—and it is generally seventy or eighty feet below; while they must have been lower than the Fountain of the Virgin, which thus might be used without difficulty to irrigate them. (See Robinson, i. 331-334; and for the best description of the *Bir Eyub*, see Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 489-495.) [JERUSALEM.] [G.]

EN-SHEMESH (שֶׁמֶשׁ) = "spring of the sun;" ἡ πηγή τοῦ ἡλίου, πηγή Βαρθολομαῖος; *En-semes*, *id est*, *Fons Solis*), a spring which formed one of the landmarks on the north boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 7) and the south boundary of Benjamin (xviii. 17). From these notices it appears to have been between the "ascent of Adummim"—the road leading up from the Jordan valley south of the *Wady Kelt*—and the spring of En-rogel, in the valley of Kedron. It was therefore east of Jerusalem and of the Mount of Olives. The only spring at present answering to this position is the *Ain-Haud* or *Ain-Chôt*—the "Well of the Apostles,"—about a mile below Bethany, the traveller's first halting-place on the road to Jericho. Accordingly this spring is generally identified with En-Shemesh. The aspect of *Ain-Haud* is such that the rays of the sun are on it the whole day. This is not inappropriate in a fountain dedicated to that luminary. [G.]

ENSIGN (עֲנִיָּן; in the A. V. generally "ensign," sometimes "standard;" עֲנִיָּן, "standard," with the exception of Cant. ii. 4, "banner;" עֲנִיָּן, "ensign"). The distinction between these three Hebrew terms is sufficiently marked by their respective uses: *nes* is a *signal*; *degel* a *military standard for a large division of an army*; and *oth*, the same for a *small* one. Neither of them, however, expresses the idea which "standard" conveys to our minds, viz., a *flag*; the standards in use among the Hebrews probably resembled those of the Egyptians and Assyrians—a figure or device of some kind elevated on a pole. (1.) The notices of the *nes* or "ensign" are most frequent; it consisted of some well understood signal which was exhibited on the top of a pole from a bare mountain top (Is. xlii. 2, xviii. 3)—the very emblem of conspicuous isolation (Is. xxx. 17). Around it the inhabitants mustered, whether for the purpose of meeting an enemy (Is. v. 26, xviii. 3, xxxi. 9), which was sometimes notified by the blast of a trumpet (Jer. iv. 21, li. 27); or as a token of rescue (Ps. lx. 4; Is. xl. 10; Jer. iv. 6); or for a public proclamation (Jer. l. 2); or simply as a gathering point (Is. xlix. 22, lxii. 10). What the nature of the signal was, we have no means of stating; it has been inferred from Is. xxxii. 23, and Ez. xxvii. 7, that it was a flag; we do not observe a flag depicted either in Egyptian or Assyrian representations of vessels (Wilkinson, iii. 211; Bonomi, pp. 166, 167); but, in lieu of a flag, certain devices, such as the phoenix, flowers, &c., were embroidered on the sail; whence it appears that the device itself, and perhaps also the sail bearing the device, was the *nes* or "ensign." It may have been sometimes the name of a leader, as implied in the title which Moses gave to his altar "Jehovah-nissi" (Ex. xvii. 15). It may also have been, as Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1648) suggests, a blazing torch. The important point, however, to be observed is, that the *nes* was an occasional signal, and not a military standard, and that *elevation* and *conspicuity* are implied in the use of the term; hence it is appropriately applied to the "pole" on which the brazen serpent hung (Num. xxi. 8), which was indeed an "ensign" of deliverance to the pious Israelite; and again to the censers of Korah and his company, which became a "sign" or beacon of warning to Israel (Num. xvi. 38). (2.) The term *degel* is used to describe the standards which were given to each of the four divisions of the Israelite army at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 52, ii. 2 ff., x. 14 ff.). Some doubt indeed exists as to its meaning in these passages, the LXX. and Vulgate regarding it not as the standard itself, but as a certain military division annexed to a standard, just as *velitum* is sometimes used for a body of soldiers (Tac. *Hist.* i. 70; Liv. viii. 8). The sense of *compact* and *martial array* does certainly seem to lurk in the word; for in Cant. vi. 4, 10, the brilliant glances of the bride's eyes are compared to the destructive advance of a well-arranged host, and a similar comparison is employed in reference to the bridegroom (Cant. v. 10); but on the other hand, in Cant. ii. 4, no other sense than that of a "banner" will suit, and we therefore think the rendering in the A. V. correct. No reliance can be placed on the term in Ps. xx. 5, as both the sense and the text are matters of doubt (see Olshausen and Hengstenberg, *in loc.*). A standard implies, of course, a standard-bearer; but the supposed notice to that officer in Is. x. 18, is incorrect,

the words meaning rather "as a sick man pineth away;" in a somewhat parallel passage (Is. lix. 19) the marginal version is to be followed, rather than the text. The character of the Hebrew military standards is quite a matter of conjecture; they probably resembled the Egyptian, which consisted of a sacred emblem such as an animal, a boat, or the king's name (Wilkinson, i. 294). Rabbinical writers state the devices to have been as follows: for the tribe of Judah a lion; for Reuben a man; for Ephraim an ox; and for Dan an eagle (Cuzov, *Crit. App.* p. 667); but no reliance can be placed on this. As each of the four divisions, consisting of three tribes, had its standard, so had each tribe its "sign" (*oth*) or "ensign," probably in imitation of the Egyptians, among whom not only each battalion, but even each company had its particular ensign (Wilkinson, *l. c.*). We know nothing of its nature. The word occurs figuratively in Ps. lxxiv. 4, apparently in reference to the images of idol gods.

[W. L. B.]



Egyptian Standards, from Wilkinson.

**EN-TAPPUAH** (עֲנַתְּפֻאָה) = "spring of apple," or "citron;" עֲנַתְּפֻאָה *En-tappuah*. The boundary of Manasseh went from facing Shechem "to the inhabitants of En-tappuah" (Josh. xvii. 7). It is probably identical with Tappuah, the position of which will be elsewhere examined. [TAPPUAH.] This place must not be confounded with BETH-TAPPUAH in the mountain of Judah. [G.]

**EPHÆNETUS** (*Ἐφαηνέτος*), a Christian at Rome, greeted by St. Paul in Rom. xvi. 5, and

designated as his beloved, and the first fruit of Asia (so the majority of ancient MSS., and the critical editors: the received text has 'Ἀχάτας) unto Christ. The Synopsis of the Pseudo-Dorotheus makes him first bishop of Carthage, but Justinian remarks that the African churches do not recognise him. [H. A.]

**EP'APHRAS** (*Ἐπαφρᾶς*), a fellow-labourer with the Apostle Paul, mentioned Col. i. 7, as having taught the Colossian church the grace of God in truth, and designated a faithful minister (*διδάσκων*) of Christ on their behalf. (On the question whether Epaphras was the founder of the Colossian church, see the prolegomena to the Epistle, in Alford's *Greek Testament*, iii. 35 ff.) He was at that time with St. Paul at Rome (Col. iv. 12), and seems by the expression *ὁ ἐξ ὁμῶν*, there used, to have been a Colossian by birth. We find him again mentioned in the Epistle to Philemon (ver. 23), which was sent at the same time as that to the Colossians. St. Paul there calls him *ὁ συναρχμαρτύρος μου*, but whether the word represents matter of fact, or is only a tender and delicate expression of Epaphras's attention to the Apostle in his imprisonment (cf. Rom. xvi. 13), we cannot say.

Epaphras may be the same as Epaphroditus, who is called, in Phil. ii. 25, the Apostle of the Philippians, and having come from Philippi to Rome with contributions for St. Paul, was sent back with the Epistle. It has been supposed by many, and among them by Grotius. In all probability the name Epaphras is an abbreviation of Epaphroditus: but on the question of the identity of the persons, the very slight notices in the N. T. do not enable us to speak with any confidence. The name Epaphroditus was sufficiently common: see Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 55; Sueton. *Domit.* 14; Joseph. *Life*, §76. The martyrologies make Epaphras to have been first bishop of Colossae, and to have suffered martyrdom there. [H. A.]

**EPAPHRODITUS** (*Ἐπαφρόδιτος*, Phil. ii. 25, iv. 18). See above under EPAPHRAS. [H. A.]

**EPHAH** (עֶפְאָה; *Ἐφέα, Γαιφά, Ephā*), the first, in order, of the sons of Midian (Gen. xxv. 4, 1 Chr. i. 33), afterwards mentioned by Isaiah in the following words:—"The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall shew forth the praises of the Lord. All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee; they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory" (Is. lx. 6, 7). This passage clearly connects the descendants of Ephah with the Midianites, the Keturahite Sheba, and the Ishmaelites, both in the position of their settlements, and in their wandering habits; and shows that, as usual, they formed a tribe bearing his name. But no satisfactory identification of this tribe has been discovered. The

Arabic word *عَفْهَة* (*Gheyyfeh*), which has been supposed to be the same as Ephah, is the name of a town, or village, near *Bulbeys* (the modern Bilbey), a place in Egypt, in the province of the Sharkeyeh, not far from Cairo: but the tradition that Ephah settled in Africa does not rest on sufficient authority. [MIDIAN; SHEBA.] [E. S. P.]

**EPHAH** (עֶפְאָה; *Ἐφέα, Ephā*). 1. Cubit of Caleb, in the line of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 46).

2. Son of Jahdal; also in the line of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 47).

### EPHAIH. [MEASURES.]

E'PHAI (following the *Keri*, עִפְי; but the original text is עִפְי = OPHAI; and so LXX. Ὀφεί; *Ophi*), a Netophathite, whose sons were among the "captains" (מְצָנִים) of the forces" left in Judah after the deportation to Babylon (Jer. xl. 8). They submitted themselves to Gedaliah, the Babylonian governor, and were apparently massacred with him by Ishmael (xii. 3, comp. xl. 13).

E'PHER (עִפְר; 'Apher, 'Opher; *Opher*, *Epher*), the second, in order, of the sons of Midian (Gen. xxv. 4, 1 Chr. i. 33), not mentioned in the Bible except in these genealogical passages. His settlements have not been identified with him by probability. According to Gesenius, the name is

equivalent to the Arabic *Ghifir*, غِفْر, signifying

"a calf;" and "a certain little animal, or insect, or animalcule." Two tribes bear a similar appellation,

*Ghifur* (غِفْر); but one was a branch of the first

Amalek, the other of the Ishmaelite Kināneh (cf. Causin, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, i. 20, 297, and 298; and Abulfedā, *Hist. Antislamica*, ed. Fleischer, 196); neither is ascribed to Midian. The first settled about Yethrib (El-Medeenah); the second, in the neighbourhood of Mekkeh. [E. S. P.]

### EPHER (עִפְר; 'Apher, Alex. Γαφέρ; *Epher*).

1. A son of Ezra, among the descendants of Judah; possibly, though this is not clear, of the family of the great Caleb (1 Chr. iv. 17).

2. ('Opher). One of the heads of the families of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24). The name may be compared with that of Ophrah, the native place of Gideon, in Manasseh, on the west of Jordan. In the original the two are identical except in termination (עִפְר, עִפְרָה); and according to the LXX. (as above) the vowel-points were once the same. [G.]

### EPHES-DAM MIM (עִפְרִי דָמִימ; 'Epherēm; Alex. Ἐφεσδομμειν; in *finibus Dommin*), a place

between Socoh and Azekah, at which the Philistines were encamped before the affray in which Goliath was killed (1 Sam. xvii. 1). The meaning of the word is uncertain, but it is generally explained as the "epi" or "boundary of blood," in that case probably derived from its being the scene of frequent sanguinary encounters between Israel and the Philistines. Under the shorter form of PAS-DAMMIM it occurs once again in a similar connexion (1 Chr. xi. 13). For the situation of the place see ELATH, VALLEY OF. [G.]

EPHESIANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE, was written by the apostle St. Paul during his first captivity at Rome (Acts xxviii. 16), apparently immediately after he had written the epistle to the Colossians [COLOSSIANS, EP. TO], and during that period (perhaps the early part of A.D. 62) when his imprisonment had not assumed the severer character which seems to have marked its close.

This sublime epistle was addressed to the Christian church at the ancient and famous city of

### EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE

Ephesus (see below), that church which the apostle had himself founded (Acts xix. 1 sq., comp. xviii. 19), with which he abode so long (τρίτην, Acts xx. 31), and from the elders of which he parted with such a warm-hearted and affecting farewell (Acts xx. 18-35). It does not seem to have been called out by any special circumstances, nor even to have involved any distinctly precautionary teaching (comp. Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 135 sq.), whether against Oriental or Judaistic theosophy, but to have been suggested by the deep love which the apostle felt for his converts at Ephesus, and which the mission of Tychicus, with an epistle to the Church of Colossae, afforded him a convenient opportunity of evincing in written teaching and exhortation. The epistle thus contains many thoughts that had pervaded the nearly contemporaneous epistle to the Colossians, reiterates many of the same practical warnings and exhortations, bears even the tinge of the same diction, but at the same time enlarges upon such profound mysteries of the divine counsels, displays so fully the *origin and developments of the Church in Christ*, its union, communion, and aggregation in Him, that this majestic epistle can never be rightly deemed otherwise than one of the most sublime and consolatory outpourings of the Spirit of God to the children of men. To the Christian at Ephesus dwelling under the shadow of the great temple of Diana, daily seeing its outward grandeur, and almost daily hearing of its pompous ritualism, the allusions in this epistle to that mystic building of which Christ was the corner-stone, the apostles the foundations, and himself and his fellow Christians portions of the august superstructure (ch. ii. 19-22), must have spoken with a force, an appropriateness, and a reassuring depth of teaching that cannot be over estimated.

The contents of this epistle easily admit of being divided into two portions, the first mainly *doctrinal* (ch. i.—iii.), the second *hortatory and practical*.

The doctrinal portion opens with a brief address to the saints in Ephesus (see below), and rapidly passes into a sublime ascription of praise to God the Father, who has predestinated us to the adoption of sons, blessed and redeemed us in Christ, and made known to us His eternal purpose of uniting all in Him (ch. i. 3-14). This not unnaturally evokes a prayer from the apostle that his converts may be enlightened to know the hope of God's calling, the riches of His grace, and the magnitude of that power which was displayed in the resurrection and transcendent exaltation of Christ,—the Head of His body, the Church (ch. i. 15-23). Then, with a more immediate address to his converts, the apostle reminds them how, dead as they had been in sin, God had quickened them, raised them, and even enthroned them with Christ,—and how all was by grace, not by works (ch. ii. 1-10). They were to remember, too, how they had once been alienated and yet were now brought nigh in the blood of Christ; how He was their Peace, how by Him both they and the Jews had access to the Father, and how on Him as the corner-stone they had been built into a spiritual temple to God (ch. ii. 11-22). On this account, having heard, as they must have done, how to the apostle was revealed the profound mystery of this call of the Gentile world, they were not to faint at his troubles (ch. iii. 1-13): nay, he prayed to the great Father of all to give them inward strength to teach them with the love of Christ and fill them with the fulness of God (ch. iii. 13-19). The prayer is concluded by

a sublime doxology (ch. iii. 20, 21), which serves to usher in the more directly practical portion.

This the apostle commences by entreating them to walk worthy of this calling, and to keep the unity of the Spirit: there was but one body, one Spirit, one Lord, and one God (ch. iv. 1-6). Each too had his portion of grace from God (ch. iv. 7-10), who had appointed ministering orders in the Church, until all come to the unity of the faith, and grow up and become united with the living Head, even Christ (ch. iv. 11-16). Surely then they were to walk no longer as darkened, feelingless heathen; they were to put off the old man, and put on the new (ch. iv. 17-24). This too was to be practically evinced in their outward actions; they were to be truthful, gentle, honest, pure, and forgiving; they were to walk in love (ch. iv. 25-v. 2). Fornication, covetousness, and impurity, were not even to be named; they were once in heathen darkness, now they are light, and must reprove the deeds of the past (ch. v. 3-14). Thus were they to walk exactly, to be filled with joy, to sing, and to give thanks (ch. v. 15-21). Wives were to be subject to their husbands, husbands to love and cleave to their wives (ch. v. 22-33); children were to honour their parents, parents to bring up holily their children (ch. vi. 1-4); servants and masters were to perform to each other their reciprocal duties (ch. vi. 5-9).

With a noble and vivid exhortation to arm themselves against their spiritual foes with the armour of God (ch. vi. 10-20), a brief notice of the coming of Tychicus (ch. vi. 21, 22), and a twofold doxology (ch. vi. 23, 24), this sublime epistle comes to its close.

With regard to the *authenticity* and *genuineness* of this epistle, it is not too much to say that there are no just grounds for doubt. The testimonies of antiquity are unusually strong. Even if we do not press the supposed allusions in Ignatius, *Eph.* ch. 12, and Polycarp, *Philipp.* ch. 12, we can confidently allude Irenæus, *Haer.* v. 2, 3, v. 14, 3, Clem. Alex. *Pædagog.* i. p. 108 (ed. Pott.), *Strom.* iv. p. 592 (ed. Pott.), Origen, *Contr. Cels.* iii. 20, Tertull. *de Præscr. Haer.* ch. 36, and after them the constant and persistent tradition of the ancient Church. Even Marcion did not deny that the epistle was written by St. Paul, nor did heretics refuse occasionally to cite it as confessedly due to him as its author; comp. Irenæus, *Haer.* i. 8, 5. In recent times, however, its genuineness has been somewhat vehemently called in question. De Wette, both in the introductory pages of his *Commentary* on this Ep. (ed. 2, 1847), and in his *Introduction to the N. T.* (ed. 5, 1848), labours to prove that it is a mere spiritless expansion of the Ep. to the Colossians, though compiled in the Apostolic age: Schwieger (*Nachapost. Zeitalt.* ii. 330 sq.); Baur (*Paulus*, p. 418 sq.), and others advance a step further and reject both epistles as of no higher antiquity than the age of Montanism and early Gnosticism. Without here entering into the details, it seems just to say that the adverse arguments have been urged with a certain amount of specious plausibility, but that the replies have been so clear, satisfactory, and in some cases crushing, as to leave no reasonable and impartial inquirer in doubt as to the authorship of the epistle. On the one hand we have mere subjective judgments, not unmarked by arrogance, relying mainly on supposed divergences in doctrine and presumed insipidities of diction, but wholly destitute of any sound historical basis; on

the other hand we have unusually convincing counter-investigations, and the unvarying testimony of the ancient Church. If the discrepancies in matter and style are so decided as to lead a writer of the 19th century to deny confidently the genuineness of this epistle, how are we to account for its universal reception by writers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, who spoke the language in which it was written, and who were by no means unacquainted with the phenomena of pious fraud and literary imposture?

For a detailed reply to the arguments of De Wette and Baur, the student may be referred to Meyer, *Kinleit. z. Eph.* p. 19 sq. (ed. 2), Davidson, *Introd. to N. T.* ii. p. 352 sq., and Alford, *Prolegomena*, p. 8.

Two special points require a brief notice.

(1.) The *readers* for whom this epistle was designed. In the opening words, Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ὁσίν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are omitted by B. 67, Basil (expressly), and possibly Tertullian. This, combined with the somewhat noticeable omission of all greetings to the members of a Church with which the apostle stood in such affectionate relation, and some other internal objections, have suggested a doubt whether these words really formed a part of the original text. At first sight these doubts seem plausible; but when we oppose to them (a) the overwhelming weight of diplomatic evidence for the insertion of the words, (b) the testimony of all the versions, (c) the universal designation of this epistle by the ancient Church (Marcion standing alone in his assertion that it was written to the Laodiceans) as an epistle to the *Ephesians*, (d) the extreme difficulty in giving any satisfactory meaning to the isolated participle, and the absence of any parallel usage in the Apostle's writings,—we can scarcely feel any doubt as to the propriety of removing the brackets in which these words are enclosed in the 2nd edition of *Tischendorf*, and of considering them an integral part of the original text. If called upon to supply an answer to, or an explanation of the internal objections, we must record the opinion that none on the whole seems so free from objection as that which regards the Epistle as also designed for the benefit of churches either continuous to, or dependent on that of Ephesus. The counter-arguments of Meyer, though ably urged, are not convincing. Nor can an appeal to the silence of writers of the ancient church on this further destination be conceived of much weight, as their references are to the usual and titular designation of the Epistle, but do not, and are not intended to affect the question of its wider or narrower destination. It is not unnatural to suppose that the special greetings might have been separately entrusted to the bearer Tychicus, possibly himself an Ephesian, and certainly commissioned by the Apostle (ch. vi. 22) to inform the Ephesians of his state and circumstances.

(2.) The question of priority in respect of composition between this Epistle and that to the Colossians is very difficult to adjust. On the whole, both internal and external considerations seem somewhat in favour of the priority of the Epistle to the Colossians. Comp. Neander, *Planting*, i. 329 (Bohn), Schleiermacher, *Stud. u. Krit.* for 1832, p. 500, and Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 450, sq. On the similarity of contents, see COLOSSIANS, Ep. TO.

(3.) The opinion that this Epistle and those to the

Colossians and to Philemon were written during the Apostle's imprisonment at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 27-xxvi. 32) has already been noticed [COLOSSIANS, Ep. to], and on deliberation rejected. The weight of probability seems distinctly on the side of the opinion of the ancient Church, that the present Epistle was written during the Apostle's first imprisonment in Rome.

The editions of this Epistle have been numerous. We may specify those of Rückert (Leipz. 1834), Haless (Eal. 1834),—an admirable edition, completely undervalued by De Wette; Olshansen (Königsb. 1840), De Wette (Leipz. 1847), Stier (Berl. 1848), Meyer (Gött. 1853); and in our own country those of Edlie (Glasg. 1854), Ellicott (Lond. 1855), and Alford (Lond. 1857). [C. J. E.]

**EPHESUS** (Ἐφεσός), an illustrious city in the district of Ionia (πόλις Ἰωνίας ἐπιφανεστάτη, Steph. Byz. s. v.), nearly opposite the island of Samos, and about the middle of the western coast of the peninsula commonly called Asia Minor. Not that this geographical term was known in the first century. The ASIA of the N. T. was simply the Roman province which embraced the western part of the peninsula. Of this province Ephesus was the capital. [EPHESIUS.]

Among the more marked physical features of the peninsula are the two large rivers, Hermus and Maeander, which flow from a remote part of the interior westward to the Archipelago, Smyrna (Rev. ii. 8) being near the mouth of one and Miletus (Acts xx. 17) of the other. Between the valleys drained by these two rivers is the shorter stream and smaller basin of the Cayster, called by the Turks *Aÿtschuk-Mendere*, or the Little Maeander. Its upper level (often called the Caystrian meadows) was closed to the westward by the gorge between Galleus and Pactyas, the latter of these mountains being a prolongation of the range of Messogis which bounds the valley of the Maeander on the north, the former more remotely connected with the range of Tmolus which bounds the valley of the Hermus on the south. Beyond the gorge and towards the sea the valley opens out again into an alluvial flat (Herod. ii. 10), with hills rising abruptly from it. The plain is now about 5 miles in breadth, but formerly it must have been smaller and some of the hills were once probably islands. Here Ephesus stood, partly on the level ground and partly on the hills.

Of the hills, on which a large portion of the city was built, the two most important were Pion and



Site of Ephesus. From Laborde.

Coreossus, the latter on the S. of the plain, and being in fact almost a continuation of Pactyas, the former being in front of Coreossus and near it, though separated by a deep and definite valley. Further to the N.E. is another conspicuous eminence. It seems to be the hill mentioned by Procopius (*de Aedif.* v. i.) as one on which a church dedicated to St. John was built; and its present name *Ayasuluk* is thought to have reference to him, and to be a corruption of ὁ ἅγιος θεόλογος. Ephesus is closely connected with this apostle, not only as being the scene (Rev. i. 11, ii. 1) of the most prominent of the churches of the Apocalypse, but also in the story of his later life as given by Eusebius. Possibly his Gospel and Epistles were written here. There is a tradition that the mother of our Lord was buried at Ephesus, as also Timothy and St. John; and Ignatius addressed one of his epistles to the church of this place (τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγιομακαρίστῃ, τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, *He-fule, Pat. Apostol.* p. 154), which held a conspicuous

position during the early ages of Christianity, and was in fact the metropolis of the churches of this part of Asia. But for direct Biblical illustration we must turn to the life and writings of St. Paul, in following which minutely it is remarkable how all the most characteristic features of ancient Ephesus come successively into view.

1. *Geographical Relations.*—These may be viewed in connexion, first with the sea and then with the land.

All the cities of Ionia were remarkably well situated for the growth of commercial prosperity (Herod. i. 142), and none more so than Ephesus. With a fertile neighbourhood and an excellent climate, it was also most conveniently placed for traffic with all the neighbouring parts of the Levant. In the time of Augustus it was the great emporium of all the regions of Asia within the Taurus (Strab. xiv. p. 950): its harbour (named Panormus) at the mouth of the Cayster, was elaborately constructed; though alluvial matter caused serious hindrances

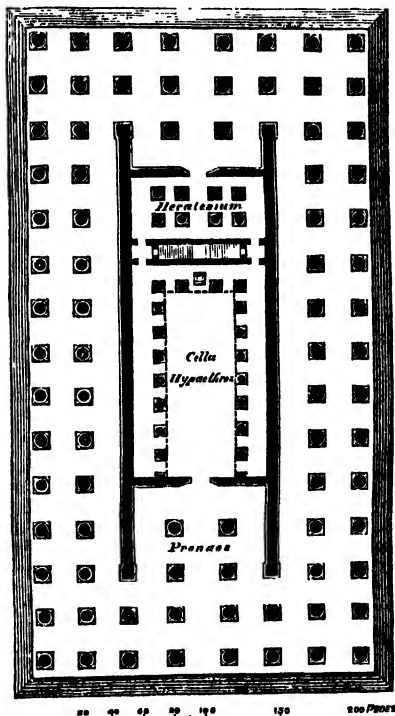
both in the time of Attalus, and in St. Paul's own time (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 23). The Apostle's life alone furnishes illustrations of its mercantile relations with Achaia on the W., Macedonia on the N., and Syria on the E. At the close of his second missionary circuit, he sailed across from Corinth to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19) when on his way to Syria (ib. 21, 22); and there is some reason for believing that he once made the same short voyage over the Aegean in the opposite direction at a later period [CORINTHIANS, FIRST EP. TO]. On the third missionary circuit, besides the notice of the journey from Ephesus to Macedonia (xix. 21, xx. 1), we have the coast voyage on the return to Syria given in detail (xx. xxi.) and the geographical relations of this city with the islands and neighbouring parts of the coast minutely indicated (xx. 15-17). To these passages we must add 1 Tim. i. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 12, 20; though it is difficult to say confidently whether the journeys implied there were by land or by water. See likewise Acts xix. 27, xx. 1.

As to the relations of Ephesus to the inland regions of the continent, these also are prominently brought before us in the Apostle's travels. The "upper coasts" (*τὰ ἀνωτρεπικὰ μέρη*, Acts xix. 1) through which he passed, when about to take up his residence in the city, were the Phrygian table-lands of the interior; and it was probably in the same district that on a previous occasion (Act xvi. 6) he formed the unsuccessful project of preaching the Gospel in the district of Asia. Two great roads at least, in the Roman times, led eastward from Ephesus; one through the passes of Tmolus to Sardis (Rev. iii. 1) and thence to Galatia and the N.E., the other round the extremity of Pactyas to Magnesia, and so up the valley of the Maeander to Iommum, whence the communication was direct to the Euphrates and to the Syrian Antioch. There seem to have been Sardian and Magnesian gates on the E. side of Ephesus corresponding to these roads respectively. There were also coast-roads leading northwards to Smyrna and southwards to Miletus. By the latter of these it is probable that the Ephesian elders travelled, when summoned to meet Paul at the latter city (Acts xx. 17, 18). Part of the pavement of the Sardian road has been noticed by travellers under the cliffs of Gallaeus. All these roads, and others, are exhibited on the map in Leake's *Asia Minor*.

2. *Temple and worship of Diana.*—Conspicuous at the head of the harbour of Ephesus was the great temple of Diana or Artemis, the tutelary divinity of the city. This building was raised on immense substructions, in consequence of the swampy nature of the ground. The earlier temple, which had been begun before the Persian war, was burnt down in the night when Alexander the Great was born; and another structure, raised by the enthusiastic co-operation of all the inhabitants of "Asia" had taken its place. Its dimensions were very great. In length it was 425 feet, and in breadth 220. The columns were 127 in number, and each of them was 60 feet high. In style too it constituted an epoch in Greek art (Vitruv. iv. 1); since it was here first that the graceful Ionic order was perfected. The magnificence of this sanctuary was a proverb throughout the civilised world. ('Ο τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μόνος ἐστὶ θεῶν οἶκος, Philo Byz. *Spect. Mund.* 7.) All these circumstances gave increased force to the architectural allegory in the great epistle which St. Paul

wrote in this place (1 Cor. iii. 9-17), to the passages where imagery of this kind is used in the epistles addressed to Ephesus (Ephes. ii. 19-22; 1 Tim. iii. 15, vi. 19; 2 Tim. ii. 19, 20), and to the words spoken to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 32).

The chief points connected with the uproar at Ephesus (Acts xix. 23-41) are mentioned in the article DIANA; but the following details must be added. In consequence of this devotion the city of Ephesus was called *νεώκοπος* (ver. 35) or "warden" of Diana. This was a recognised title applied in such cases, not only to individuals, but to communities. In the instance of Ephesus, the term is abundantly found both on coins and on inscriptions. Its *neocorate* was, in fact, as the "town-clerk" said, proverbial. Another consequence of the celebrity of Diana's worship at Ephesus was, that a



Plan of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus (From Guhl's *Ephesus*.)

large manufactory grew up there of portable shrines (*ναοὶ*, ver. 24, the *ἀφιδρωματα* of Dionys. Halicarn. ii. 2, and other writers) which strangers purchased, and devotees carried with them on journeys or set up in their houses. Of the manufacturers engaged in this business, perhaps Alexander the "coppersmith" (*ὁ χαλκεύς*, 2 Tim. iv. 14) was one. The case of Demetrius the "silversmith" (*ἀργυροποιός* in the Acts) is explicit. He was alarmed for his trade, when he saw the Gospel, under the preaching of St. Paul, gaining ground upon idolatry and superstition; and he spread a panic among the craftsmen of various grades, the *τέχνιται* (ver. 24) or designers, and the *ἐργάται*

(v. 25) or common workmen, if this is the distinction between them.

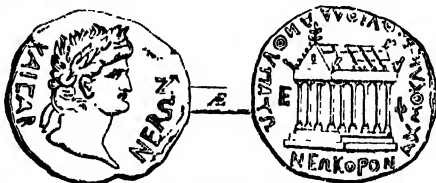
3. *The Asiarchs*.—Public games were connected with the worship of Diana at Ephesus. The month of May was sacred to her. The uproar mentioned in the Acts very probably took place at this season. St. Paul was certainly at Ephesus about that time of the year (1 Cor. xvi. 8); and Demetrius might well be peculiarly sensitive, if he found his trade failing at the time of greatest concourse. However this may be, the Asiarchs (*Ἀσιάρχαι*, A. V. "chiefs of Asia," were present (Acts xix. 31). These were officers appointed, after the manner of the aediles at Rome, to preside over the games which were held in different parts of the province of Asia, just as other provinces had their *Galatarchs*, *Lycaurachs*, &c. Various cities would require the presence of these officers in turn. In the account of Polycarp's martyrdom at Smyrna (Hefele, *Pat. Apost.* p. 286) an important part is played by the Asiarch Philip. It is a remarkable proof of the influence which St. Paul had gained at Ephesus, that the Asiarchs took his side in the disturbance. See Dr. Wordsworth's note on Acts xix. 31. [ASIAARCHÆ.]

4. *Study and practice of magic*.—Not unconnected with the preceding subject was the remarkable prevalence of magical arts at Ephesus. This also comes conspicuously into view in St. Luke's narrative. The peculiar character of St. Paul's miracles (*δυνάμεις οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας*, ver. 11) would seem to have been intended as antagonistic to the prevalent superstition. In illustration of the magical books which were publicly burnt (ver. 19) under the influence of St. Paul's preaching, it is enough here to refer to the *Ἐφέσια γράμματα* (mentioned by Plutarch and others), which were regarded as a charm when pronounced, and when written down were carried about as amulets. The faith in these mystic syllables continued, more or less, till the sixth century. See the Life of Alexander of Tralles in the *Dict. of Bios*.

5. *Provincial and municipal government*.—It is well known that Asia was a proconsular province; and in harmony with this fact we find proconsuls (*ἀνθύπατοι*, "deputies," A. V.) specially mentioned (ver. 38). Nor is it necessary to inquire here whether the plural in this passage is generic, or whether the governors of other provinces were present in Ephesus at the time. Again we learn from Pliny (v. 31) that Ephesus was an assize-town (*forum* or *conventus*); and in the sacred narrative (ver. 38) we find the court-days alluded to as actually being held (*ἀγόραισι ἄνοιγται*, A. V. "the law is open") during the uproar; though perhaps it is not absolutely necessary to give the expression this exact reference as to time (see Wordsworth). Ephesus itself was a "free city," and had its own assemblies and its own magistrates. The senate (*γερονσία* or *βουλὴ*) is mentioned, not only by Strabo, but by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §25, xvi. 6, §§4, 7); and St. Luke, in the narrative before us, speaks of the *δῆμος* (ver. 30, 33, A. V. "the people") and of its customary assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*, ver. 39, A. V. "a lawful assembly"). That the tumultuary meeting which was gathered on the occasion in question should take place in the theatre (ver. 29, 31) was nothing extraordinary. It was at a meeting in the theatre at Cæsarea that Agrippa I. received his death-

stroke (Acts xii. 23), and in Greek cities this was often the place for large assemblies (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 80; *Val. Max.* ii. 2). We even find conspicuous mention made of one of the most important municipal officers of Ephesus, the "Town-Clerk" (*γραμματεὺς*) or keeper of the records, whom we know from other sources to have been a person of great influence and responsibility.

It is remarkable how all these political and religious characteristics of Ephesus, which appear in the sacred narrative, are illustrated by inscriptions and coins. An *ἀρχεῖον* or state-paper office is mentioned on an inscription in Chishull. The *γραμματεὺς* frequently appears; so also the *Ἀσισάρχαι* and *ἀνθύπατοι*. Sometimes these words are combined in the same inscription: see for instance Bockh, *Corp. Insc.* 2999, 2994. The following is worth quoting at length, as containing also the words *δῆμος* and *νεώκορος*:—"Ἡ φιλοσεβαστὸς Ἐφεσίων βουλὴ καὶ ὁ νεώκορος δῆμος καθιέρωσαν ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Πεδουκαίου Πρεσκέιου ψηφισαμένου Τιβ. Κλ. Ἰταλικοῦ τοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ δῆμου. 2966. The coins of Ephesus are full of allusions to the worship of Diana in various aspects. The word *νεώκορος* is of frequent occurrence. That which is given below has also the word *ἀνθύπατος*: it exhibits an image of the temple, and, bearing as it does the name and head of Nero, it must have been struck about the time of St. Paul's stay in Ephesus.



Coins of Ephesus, exhibiting the Temple of Diana

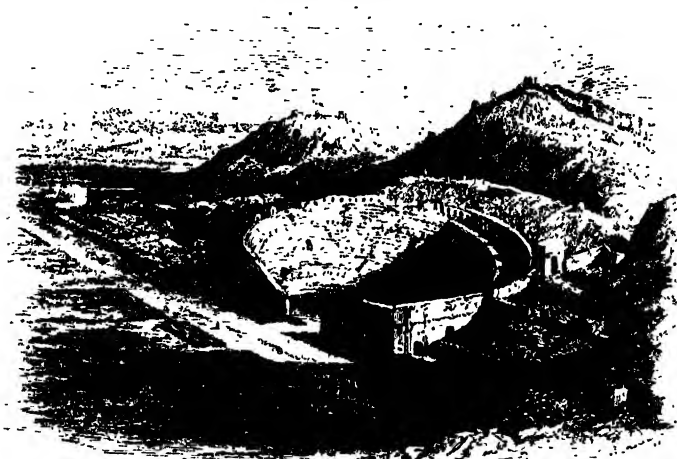
We should enter on doubtful ground if we were to speculate on the Gnostic and other errors which grew up at Ephesus in the later Apostolic age, and which are foretold in the address at Miletus, and indicated in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and more distinctly in the Epistles to Timothy. It is more to our purpose if we briefly put down the actual facts recorded in the N. T. as connected with the rise and early progress of Christianity in this city.

That Jews were established there in considerable numbers is known from Josephus (*ll. c.*), and might be inferred from its mercantile eminence; but it is also evident from Acts ii. 9, vi. 9. In harmony with the character of Ephesus as a place of concourse and commerce, it is here, and here only, that we find disciples of John the Baptist explicitly mentioned after the ascension of Christ (Acts xviii. 25, xix. 3). The case of Apollos (xviii. 24) is an exemplification further of the intercourse between this place and Alexandria. The first seeds of Christian truth were possibly sown at Ephesus immediately after the Great Pentecost (Acts ii.). Whatever previous plans St. Paul may have entertained (xvi. 6), his first visit was on his return from the second missionary circuit (xviii. 19-21); and his stay on that occasion was very short: nor is there any proof that he found any Christians at Ephesus; but he left there Aquila and Priscilla (ver. 19), who both then and at a later period (2 Tim. iv. 19) were of signal service. In St.

Paul's own stay of more than two years (xix. 8, 10, xx. 31), which formed the most important passage of his third circuit, and during which he laboured, first in the synagogue (xix. 8), and then in the school of Tyrannus (ver. 9), and also in private houses (xx. 20), and during which he wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we have the period of the chief evangelization of this shore of the Aegean. The direct narrative in Acts xix. receives but little elucidation from the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was written after several years from Rome; but it is supplemented in some important particulars (especially as regards the Apostle's personal habits of self-denial, xx. 34) by the address at Miletus. This address shows that the church at Ephesus was thoroughly organised under its presbyters. At a later period TIMOTHY was set over them, as we learn from the two epistles addressed to him. Among St. Paul's other companions, two, Trophimus and Tychicus, were natives of Asia (vv. 4), and the latter probably (2 Tim. iv. 12), the former certainly (Acts xxi. 29), natives of Ephesus. In the same connexion we ought to mention Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 16-18) and his household (iv. 19). On the other hand must be noticed

certain specified Ephesian antagonists of the Apostle, the sons of Sceva and his party (Acts xix. 14), Hymeneus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 14), and Phygellus and Hermogenes (2 Tim. i. 15).

The site of ancient Ephesus has been visited and examined by many travellers during the last 200 years; and descriptions, more or less copious, have been given by Pococke, Tournefort, Spon and Wheler, Chandler, Ponsjoulat, Prokock, Beaujour, Schubert, Arundell, Follows, and Hamilton. The fullest accounts are, among the older travellers, in Chandler, and among the more recent, in Hamilton. Some views are given in the second volume of the *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the Dilettanti Society. Lenke, in his *Asia Minor*, has a discussion on the dimensions and style of the Temple. The whole place is now utterly desolate, with the exception of the small Turkish village at *Ayasuluk*. The ruins are of vast extent, both on Coressus and on the plain; but there is great doubt as to many topographical details. In Kiepert's *Hellas* is a map, more or less conjectural, the substance of which will be found in the *Dict. of Geog. s. v. Ephesus*. Guhl's plans also are mostly from Kiepert.



View of the theatre at Ephesus. (from Laborde)

It is satisfactory, however, that the position of the theatre on Mount Prion is absolutely certain. Follows says it must have been one of the largest in the world. A view of it, from Laborde, is given above. The situation of the temple is doubtful, but it probably stood where certain large masses remain on the low ground, full in view of the theatre. The disappearance of the temple may easily be accounted for, partly by the rising of the soil, and partly by the incessant use of its materials for mediæval buildings. Some of its columns are said to be in St. Sophia at Constantinople, and even in the cathedrals of Italy.

To the works above referred to must be added, Perry, *De rebus Ephesiensibus* (Gött. 1837), a slight sketch; Guhl, *Ephesiaca* (Berl. 1843), a very elaborate work; Hemsen's *Pantheus* (Gött. 1830), which contains a good chapter on Ephesus; Biscoe *On the Acts* (Oxf. 1829), pp. 274-285; Mr. Akerman's paper on the Coins of Ephesus in the *Trans.*

of the Numismatic Soc. 1841; Gronov. *Antiq. Græc.* vii. 387-401; and an article by Ampère in the *Rev. des Deux Mondes* for Jan. 1842.

An elaborate work on Ephesus is understood to be in preparation by Mr. Falkener. [J. S. H.]

**EPH'AL** (עֶפְרָא; Ἀφαῖα; Alex. Ὀφλάδ; *Ophlat*), a descendant of Judah, of the family of Hezon and of Jehuameel (1 Chr. ii. 37).

**EPHOD** (תֵּיֶשֶׁת), a sacred vestment originally appropriate to the High-priest (Ex. xxviii. 4), but afterwards worn by ordinary priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18), and deemed characteristic of the office (1 Sam. ii. 28, xiv. 3; Hos. iii. 4). For a description of the robe itself see HIGH-PRIEST. A kind of ephod was worn by Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David, when he brought the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Chr. xv. 27); it differed from the priestly ephod in material, being made of ordinary linen (*bad*), whereas the other was of fine

linen (*shesh*); it is noticeable that the LXX. does not give *ἐπωμίδις* or *Ἐφωδὶ* in the passages last quoted, but terms of more general import, *στολή* *ἐξάλλος*, *στολή* *βυσσίνη*. Attached to the ephod of the High-priest was the breast-plate with the Urim and Thummim; this was the ephod *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, which Abiathar carried off (1 Sam. xxii. 6) from the tabernacle at Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 9), and which David consulted (1 Sam. xxiii. 9, xxx. 7). The importance of the ephod as the receptacle of the breast-plate led to its adoption in the idolatrous forms of worship instituted in the time of the Judges (Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, xviii. 14 ff.). The amount of gold used by Gideon in making his ephod (Judg. viii. 26) has led Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 135), following the Peshito version, to give the word the meaning of an idol-image, as though that and not the priest was clothed with the ephod: but there is no evidence that the idol was so invested, nor does such an idea harmonise with the general use of the ephod. The ephod itself would require a considerable amount of gold (Ex. xxviii. 6 ff., xxxix. 2 ff.); but certainly not so large a sum as is stated to have been used by Gideon; may we not therefore assume that to *make an ephod* implied the introduction of a new system of worship with its various accessories, such as the graven image, which seems from the prominence assigned to it in Judg. xvii. 31 to represent the Urim and Thummim, the molten image, and the Teraphim (xvii. 4, 5), which would require a large consumption of metal? [W. L. B.]

#### EPHOD (עֶפֹד; *Σουφί*, Alex. Ουφίδ; *Ephod*).

Hanniel the son of Ephod, as head of the tribe of Manasseh, was one of the men appointed to assist Joshua and Eleazar in the apportionment of the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 23).

EPHRAIM (עִפְרַיִם; *Ἐφραΐμ*; Joseph. *Ἐφραΐμης*; *Ephraim*), the second son of JOSEPH by his wife Asenath. He was born during the seven years of plenty, and an allusion to this is possibly latent in the name, though it may also allude to Joseph's increasing family:—"The name of the second he called Ephraim (i. e. double fruitfulness), for God hath caused me to be fruitful" (עִפְרַיִם, *hiphrani*) in the land of my affliction" (Gen. xli. 52, xlv. 20).<sup>a</sup>

The first indication we have of that ascendancy over his elder brother Manasseh, which at a later period the tribe of Ephraim so unmistakably possessed, is in the blessing of the children by Jacob, Gen. xlviii.—a passage on the age and genuineness of which the severest criticism has cast no doubt (Tuch, *Genesis*, 548; Ewald, i. 534, note). Like his own father, on an occasion not dissimilar, Jacob's eyes were dim so that he could not see (xlviii. 10,

<sup>a</sup> Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 6, §1) gives the derivation of the name somewhat differently—"restorer, because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers;" ἀποδοῦναι . . . διὰ τὸ ἀποδοῦναι εἶλα.

<sup>b</sup> "I will make thee fruitful," עִפְרַיִם, *Maphraeh*, Gen. xlviii. 4; "Be thou fruitful," עִפְרַיִם, *Phreh*, xxxv. 11; both from the same root as the name *Ephraim*.

<sup>c</sup> There seems to have been some connexion between Ephraim, or Bethlehem, and Ephraim, the clue to which is now lost (Ewald, *Genes.* i. 493, note).

The expression "Ephraimite" is generally applied to a native of Ephraim, i. e. Bethlehem; but there are some instances of its meaning an Ephraimite.

comp. xvii. 1). The intention of Joseph was evidently that the right hand of Jacob should convey its ampler blessing to the head of Manasseh, his first-born, and he had so arranged the young men. But the result was otherwise ordained. Jacob had been himself a younger brother, and his words show plainly that he had not forgotten this, and that his sympathies were still with the younger of his two grandchildren. He recalls the time when he was flying with the birthright from the vengeance of Esau; the day when, still a wanderer, God Almighty had appeared to him at "Luz in the land of Canaan," and blessed him in words which foreshadowed the name of <sup>b</sup> Ephraim; the still later day when the name of Ephraim <sup>c</sup> became bound up with the sorest trial of his life (xlviii. 7, xxxv. 16). And thus, notwithstanding the pre-arrangement and the remonstrance of Joseph, for the second time in that family, the younger brother was made greater than the elder—Ephraim was set before Manasseh (xlviii. 19, 20).

Ephraim would appear at that time to have been about 21 years old. He was born before the beginning of the seven years of famine, towards the latter part of which Jacob had come to Egypt, 17 years before his death (Gen. xlvii. 28). Before Joseph's death Ephraim's family had reached the third generation (Gen. i. 23), and it must have been about this time that the affray mentioned in 1 Chr. vii. 21 occurred, when some of the sons were killed on a plundering expedition along the sea-coast to rob the cattle of the men of Gath, and when Ephraim named a son Beriah, to perpetuate the memory of the disaster which had fallen on his house. [BERIAH.] Obscure as is the interpretation of this fragment, it enables us to catch our last glimpse of the Patriarch, mourning inconsolable in the midst of the circle of his brethren, and at last commemorating his loss in the name of the new child, who, unknown to him, was to be the progenitor of the most illustrious of all his descendants—Jehoshua, or Joshua, the son of Nun (1 Chr. vii. 27; see Ewald, i. 491). To this early period too must probably be referred the circumstance alluded to in Ps. lxxviii. 9, when the "children of Ephraim, carrying slack bows," turned back in the day of battle." Certainly no instance of such behaviour is recorded in the later history.

The numbers of the tribe do not at once fulfil the promise of the blessing of Jacob. At the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 32, 33, ii. 19) its numbers were 40,500, placing it at the head of the children of Rachel—Manasseh's number being 32,200, and Benjamin's 35,400. But forty years later, on the eve of the conquest (Num. xxvi. 37), without any apparent cause, while Manasseh had advanced to 52,700, and Benjamin to 45,600, Ephraim had decreased to 32,500, the only smaller number

These are 1 Sam. i. 1, 1 K. xi. 26; in both of which the word is accurately transferred to our version. But in Judg. xii. 5, where the Hebrew word is the same, and with the definite article (עִפְרַיִמִּי), it is incorrectly rendered "an Ephraimite." In the other occurrences of the word "Ephraimite" in vers. 4, 5, 6 of the same chapter, the Hebrew is "Ephraim." This narrative raises the curious inquiry, which we have no means of satisfying, whether the Ephraimites had not a peculiar accent or *patois*—similar to that which in later times caused "the speech" of the Galileans to "betray" them to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

<sup>d</sup> This is the rendering of Ewald.

being that of Simeon, 22:200. At this period the families of both the brother tribes are enumerated, and Manasseh has precedence over Ephraim in order of mention. During the march through the wilderness the position of the sons of Joseph and Benjamin was on the west side of the tabernacle (Num. ii. 18-24), and the prince of Ephraim was Elishama the son of Ammihud (Num. i. 10).

It is at the time of the sending of the spies that we are first introduced to the great hero to whom the tribe owed much of its subsequent greatness. The representative of Ephraim on this occasion was "Oshen the son of Nun," whose name was at the termination of the affair changed by Moses to the more distinguished form in which it is familiar to us. As among the founders of the nation Abram had acquired the name of Abraham, and Jacob of Israel, so Oshen, "help," became Jehoshua or Joshua, "the help of Jehovah" (Ewald, ii. 306).

Under this great leader, and in spite of the smallness of its numbers, the tribe must have taken a high position in the nation, to judge from the tone which the Ephraimites assumed on occasions shortly subsequent to the conquest. These will be referred to in their turn.

According to the present arrangement of the records of the book of Joshua—the "Domestic book of Palestine"—the two great tribes of Judah and Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) first took their inheritance; and after them, the seven other tribes entered on theirs (Josh. xv., xvi., xvii., xviii. 5). The boundaries of the portion of Ephraim are given in xvi. 1-10. The passage is evidently in great disorder, and in our ignorance of the landmarks, and of the force of many of the almost technical terms with which these descriptions abound, it is unfortunately impossible to arrive at more than an approximation to the case. The south boundary was coincident for part of its length with the north boundary of Benjamin. Commencing at the Jordan, at the reach opposite Jericho, it ran to the "water of Jericho," probably the *Ain Dik* or *Ain Sultan*; thence by one of the ravines, the *Wady Harith* or *W. Suweihil*, it ascended through the wilderness—*Middur*, the uncultivated waste hills—to Mount Bethel and Luz; and thence by Ataroth, "the Japhletite," Bethoron the lower, and Gezer—all with one exception unknown—to the Mediterranean, probably about Joppa. This agrees with the enumeration in 1 Chr. vii., in which Bethel is given as the Eastern, and Gezer—somewhere about *Ramleh*—as the Western, limit. The general direction of this line is N.E. by E. In Josh. xvi. 8, we probably have a fragment of the northern boundary (comp. xvii. 10), the torrent Kanah being the *Nahr el Akhdar* just below the ancient Caesarea. But it is very possible that there never was any definite subdivision of the territory assigned to the two brother tribes. Such is certainly the inference to be drawn from the very old fragment preserved in Josh. xvii. 14-18, in which the two are represented as complaining that only one portion had been allotted to them. At any rate if any such subdivision did exist, it is not possible now to make out what it was, except, generally, that Ephraim lay to the south and Manasseh to the north. Among the towns named as Manasseh's were Bethshean in the Jordan Valley, Endor on

the slopes of the "Little Hermon," Taanach on the north side of Carmel, and Dor on the sea-coast south of the same mountain. Here the boundary—the north boundary—joined that of Asher, which dipped below Carmel to take in an angle of the plain of Sharon: N. and N.W. of Manasseh lay Zebulun and Issachar respectively. The territory thus allotted to the "house of Joseph" may be roughly estimated at 55 miles from E. to W. by 70 from N. to S., a portion about equal in extent to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk combined. But though similar in size, nothing can be more different in its nature from those level counties than this broken and hilly tract. Central Palestine consists of an elevated district which rises from the flat rungs of the wilderness on the south of Judah, and terminates on the north with the slopes which descend into the great plain of Esdraelon. On the west a flat strip separates it from the sea, and on the east another flat strip forms the valley of the Jordan. Of this district the northern half was occupied by the great tribe we are now considering. This was the *Har-Ephraim*, the "Mount Ephraim," a district which seems to extend as far south as Lunnah and Bethel (1 Sam. i. 1, vii. 17; 2 Chr. xxi. 4, 19, compared with xv. 8), places but a few miles north of Jerusalem, and within the limits of Benjamin. In structure it is limestone—rounded hills separated by valleys of denudation, but much less regular and monotonous than the part more to the south, about and below Jerusalem; with "wide plains in the heart of the mountains, streams of running water, and continuous tracts of vegetation" (Stanley, 229). All travellers bear testimony to the "general growing richness" and beauty of the country in going northwards from Jerusalem, the "innumerable fountains" and streamlets, the villages more thickly scattered than anywhere in the south, the continuous cornfields and orchards, the moist, vapoury atmosphere (Martineau, 516, 521; Van de Velde, i. 386, 8; Stanley, 234, 5). These are the "precious things of the earth, and the fulness thereof," which are invoked on the "ten thousands of Ephraim" and the "thousands of Manasseh" in the blessing of Moses. These it is which, while Dan, Judah, and Benjamin are personified as lions and wolves, making their lair and tearing their prey among the barren rocks of the south, suggested to the Lawgiver, as they had done to the Patriarch before him, the patient "bullock" and the "bough by the spring, whose branches ran over the wall" as fitter images for Ephraim (Gen. xlix. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 17). And centuries after, when its great disaster had fallen on the kingdom of Israel, the same images recur to the prophets. The "flowers" are still there in the "olive valleys," "faded" though they be (Is. xxviii. 1). The vine is an empty unprofitable vine, whose very abundance is evil (Hos. x. 1); Ephraim is still the "bullock," now "unaccustomed to the yoke," but waiting a restoration to the "pleasant places" of his former "pasture" (Jer. xxxi. 18; Hos. ix. 13, iv. 16)—"the heifer that is taught and loveth to tread out the corn," the heifer with the "beautiful neck" (Hos. x. 11), or the "kine of Bashan on the mountain of Samaria" (Amos iv. 1).

The wealth of their possession had not the same immediately degrading effect on this tribe that it had on some of its northern brethren. [ASHER.] Various causes may have helped to avert this evil. 1. The central situation of Ephraim, in the highway of all communications from one part of the country to another. From north to south, from Jordan to the

\* The expression "Jordan-Jericho" is a common one (Num. xxvi. 3, 63; xxxiii. 48, &c.): the "by" or "near" in the A. V. has no business there.

Sea—from Galilee, or still more distant Damascus, to Philistia and Egypt—these roads all lay more or less through Ephraim, and the constant traffic along them must have always tended to keep the district from sinking into stagnation. 2. The position of Shechem, the original settlement of Jacob, with his well and his "parcel of ground," with the two sacred mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, the scene of the impressive and significant ceremonial of blessing and cursing; and of Shiloh, from whence the division of the land was made, and where the ark remained from the time of Joshua to that of Eli; and further of the tomb and patrimony of Joshua, the great hero not only of Ephraim but of the nation—the fact that all these localities were deep in the heart of the tribe, must have made it always the resort of large numbers from all parts of the country—of larger numbers than any other place, until the establishment of Jerusalem by David. 3. But there was a spirit about the tribe itself which may have been both a cause and a consequence of these advantages of position. That spirit, though sometimes taking the form of noble remonstrance and reparation (2 Chr. xxviii. 9-15), usually manifests itself in jealous complaint at some enterprise undertaken or advantage gained in which they had not a chief share. To Gideon (Judg. viii. 1), to Jephthah (xii. 1), and to David (2 Sam. xix. 41-43), the cry is still the same in effect—almost the same in words—"Why did ye despise us that our advice should not have been first had?" "Why hast thou served us thus that thou calledst us not?" The unsettled state of the country in general, and of the interior of Ephraim in particular (Judg. ix.), and the continual incursions of foreigners, prevented the power of the tribe from manifesting itself in a more formidable manner than by these murmurs, during the time of the Judges and the first stage of the monarchy. Samuel, though Levite, was a native of Ramah in Mount Ephraim, and Saul belonged to a tribe closely allied to the family of Joseph, so that during the priesthood of the former and the reign of the latter the supremacy of Ephraim may be said to have been practically maintained. Certainly in neither case had any advantage been gained by their great rival in the south. Again, the brilliant successes of David and his wide influence and religious zeal, kept matters smooth for another period, even in the face of the blow given to both Shechem and Shiloh by the concentration of the civil and ecclesiastical capitals at Jerusalem. Twenty thousand and eight hundred of the choice warriors of the tribe, "men of name throughout the house of their father," went as far as Hebron to make David king over Israel (1 Chr. xii. 30). Among the officers of his court we find more than one Ephraimite (1 Chr. xvii. 10, 14), and the attachment of the tribe to his person seems to have been great (2 Sam. xix. 41-43). But this could not last much longer, as the reign of Solomon, splendid in appearance but oppressive to the people, developed both the circumstances of revolt, and the leader who was to turn them to account. Solomon saw through the crisis, and if he could have succeeded in killing Rehoboam as he tried to do (1 K. xi. 40), the disruption might have been postponed for another century. As it was, the outbreak was deferred for a time, but the irritation was not allayed, and the insane folly of his son brought the mischief to a head. Rehoboam probably selected Shechem—the old capital of the country—for his coronation, in

he hope that his presence and the ceremonial might make a favourable impression, but in this he failed utterly, and the tumult which followed shows how complete was the breach—"To your tents, O Israel! now see to thine own house, David!" Rehoboam was certainly not the last king of Judah whose chariot went as far north as Shechem, but he was the last who visited it as a part of his own dominion, and he was the last who, having come so far, returned unmolested to his own capital. Jehoahaphat escaped, in a manner little short of miraculous, from the risks of the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, and it was the fate of two of his successors, Ahaziah and Josiah—differing in everything else, and agreeing only in this—that they were both carried dead in their chariots from the plain of Esdraelon to Jerusalem.

Henceforward in two senses the history of Ephraim is the history of the kingdom of Israel, since not only did the tribe become a kingdom, but the kingdom embraced little besides the tribe. This is not surprising, and little susceptible of explanation. North of Ephraim the country appears never to have been really taken possession of by the Israelites. Whether from want of energy on their part, or great stubbornness of resistance on that of the Canaanites, certain it is that of the list of towns from which the original inhabitants were not expelled, the great majority belong to the northern tribes, Manasseh, Asher, Issachar, and Naphtali. And in addition to this original defect there is much in the physical formation and circumstances of the upper portion of Palestine to explain why those tribes never took any active part in the kingdom. They were exposed to the inroads and seductions of their surrounding heathen neighbours—on one side the luxurious Phœnicians, on the other the plundering Bedouins of Midian; they were open to the attacks of Syria and Assyria from the north, and Egypt from the south; the great plain of Esdraelon, which communicated more or less with all the northern tribes, was the natural outlet of the no less natural high loads of the maritime plain from Egypt, and the Jordan valley for the tribes of the East, and formed an admirable base of operations for an invading army.

But on the other hand the position of Ephraim was altogether different. It was one at once of great richness and great security. Her fertile plains and well watered valleys could only be reached by a laborious ascent through steep and narrow ravines, all but impassable for an army. There is no record of any attack on the central kingdom, either from the Jordan valley or the maritime plain. On the north side, from the plain of Esdraelon, it was more accessible, and it was from this side that the final invasion appears to have been made. But even on that side the entrance was so difficult and so easily defensible—as we learn from the description in the book of Judith (iv. 6, 7)—that, had the kingdom of Samaria been less weakened by internal dissensions, the attacks even of the great Shalmaneser might have been resisted, as at a later date were those of Holofernes. How that kingdom originated, how it progressed, and how it fell, will be elsewhere considered. [ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF.] There are few things more mournful in the sacred story than the descent of this haughty and jealous tribe, from the culminating point at which it stood when it entered on the finest portion of the Land of Promise—the chief sanctuary and the chief settlement of the nation within its limits, its leader the leader of the whole people—through the distant which marked its intercourse with its fellow-

while it was a member of the confederacy, and the tumult, dissension, and ungodliness which characterised its independent existence, down to the sudden captivity and total oblivion which closed its career. Judah had her times of revival and of recurring prosperity, but here the course is uniformly downward—a sad picture of opportunities wasted and personal gifts abused. "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. . . . I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms, but they knew not that I healed them. I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love. . . . but the Assyrian shall be their king, because they refused to return. . . . How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim?" (Hos. xi. 1-8). [G.]

**EPHRAIM** (עֲפְרַיִם; 'Ephraim; Ephraim). In "Baal-hazor which is 'by' Ephraim" was Absalom's sheep-farm, at which took place the murder of Amnon, one of the earliest precursors of the great revolt (2 Sam. xiii. 23). The Hebrew particle עַל, rendered above "by" (A. V. "beside"), always seems to imply actual proximity, and therefore we should conclude that Ephraim was not the tribe of that name, but a town. Ewald conjectures that it is identical with EPHRAIM, EPHRON, and OPHRAH of the O. T., and also with the EPHRAIM which was for a time the residence of our Lord (*Gesch.* iii. 219, note). But with regard to the three first names there is the difficulty that they are spelt with the guttural letter *ain*, which is very rarely exchanged for the *aleph*, which commences the name before us. There is unfortunately no clue to its situation. The LXX. make the following addition to verse 34:—"And the watchman went and told the king, and said, I have seen men on the road of the Oronen (τῆς ὄρωνης, Alex. τῶν ὄρωνης) by the side of the mountain." Ewald considers this to be a genuine addition, and to refer to Beth-horon, N.W. of Jerusalem, off the Nablús road, but the indication is surely too slight for such an inference. Any force it may have is against the identity of this Ephraim with that in John xi. 54, which was probably in the direction N.E. of Jerusalem. [G.]

**EPHRAIM** (Ἐφραΐμ; Ephrem; Cod. Amint. *Efrem*), a city (Ἐ. λεγομένη πόλις) "in the district near the wilderness," to which our Lord retired with His disciples when threatened with violence by the priests (John xi. 54). By the "wilderness" (ἐρήμος) is probably meant the wild uncultivated hill-country N.E. of Jerusalem, lying between the central towns and the Jordan valley. In this case the conjecture of Dr. Robinson is very admissible that Ophrah and Ephraim are identical, and that their modern representation is *et-Taiyibeh*, a village on a conspicuous conical hill, commanding a view "over the whole eastern slope, the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea" (Rob. i. 444). It is situated 4 or 5 miles east of Bethel, and 16 from Jerusalem; a position agreeing tolerably with the indications of Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (*Ephraim, Ephron*), and is too conspicuous to have escaped mention in the Bible. [G.]

**EPHRAIM, GATE OF** (שַׁעַר עֲפְרַיִם; *sha'ar 'Ephraim*; *porta Ephraim*), one of the gates of the city of Jerusalem (2 K. xiv. 13; 2 Chr. xxv. 23; Neh. viii. 16, xii. 39), doubtless, according to the Oriental practice, on the side looking towards the

locality from which it derived its name, and therefore at the north, probably at or near the position of the present "Damascus gate." [JERUSALEM.] [G.]

**EPHRAIM, THE WOOD OF** (יַעַר עֲפְרַיִם; *deruds 'Ephraim*; *saltus Ephraim*), a wood, or rather a forest (the word *yair* implying dense growth), in which the fatal battle was fought between the armies of David and of Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 6), and the entanglement in which added greatly to the slaughter of the latter (ver. 8). It would be very tempting to believe that the forest derived its name from the place near which Absalom's sheep-farm was situated (2 Sam. xiii. 23), and which would have been a natural spot for his head-quarters before the battle, especially associated as it was with the murder of Amnon. But the statements of xvii. 24, 26, and also the expression of xviii. 3, "that thou send us out of the city," i. e. Mahanaim, allow no escape from the conclusion that the locality was on the east side of Jordan, though it is impossible to account satisfactorily for the presence of the name of Ephraim on that side of the river. The suggestion is due to Grotius that the name was derived from the slaughter of Ephraim at the fords of Jordan by the Gileadites under Jephthah (Judg. xii. 1, 4, 5); but that occurrence took place at the very brink of the river itself, while the city of Mahanaim and the wooded country must have lain several miles away from the stream, and on the higher ground above the Jordan valley. Is it not at least equally probable that the forest derived its name from this very battle? The great tribe of Ephraim, though not specially mentioned in the transactions of Absalom's revolt, cannot fail to have taken the most conspicuous part in the affair, and the reverse was a more serious one than had overtaken the tribe for a very long time, and possibly combined with other circumstances to retard materially their rising into an independent kingdom. [G.]

**EPHRAIM** (עֲפְרַיִם, Ephraim; *Keri*, עֲפְרַיִם; *'Ephraim*; *Ephron*), a city of Israel, which with its dependent hamlets (בָּנוֹת = "daughters," A. V. "towns") Abijah and the army of Judah captured from Jeroboam (2 Chr. xiii. 19). It is mentioned with Bethel and Jeshuah, but the latter not being known, little clue to the situation of Ephraim is obtained from this passage. It has been conjectured that this Ephraim or Ephron is identical with the Ephraim by which Absalom's sheep-farm of Baal-hazor was situated; with the city called Ephraim near the wilderness in which our Lord lived for some time; and with Ophrah (עֲפְרָה), a city of Benjamin, apparently not far from Bethel (Josh. xviii. 23; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, §9), and which has been located by Dr. Robinson (i. 447), with some probability, at the modern village of *et-Taiyibeh*. But nothing more than conjecture can be arrived at on these points. (See Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. 219, 466, v. 365; Stanley, 214.) [G.]

**EPH'RATAH**, or EPH'RATH (אֶפְרַתָּה, or אֶפְרַת; *'Ephrath* and *'Ephd*; *Ephratha*, Jerom.). 1. Second wife of Caleb the son of Hezion, mother of Hur, and grandmother of Caleb the spy, according to 1 Chr. ii. 19, 50, and probably 24, and iv. 4. [CALEB-EPHRATAH.]

2. The ancient name of Bethlehem-Judah, as is manifest from Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, xlviii. 7, both which passages distinctly prove that it was called Ephrath or Ephratah in Jacob's time, and use the

regular formula for adding the modern name, **בֵּית לֶחֶם**, which is *Bethlehem*, comp. *e. g.* Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27; Josh. xv. 10. It cannot therefore have derived its name from Ephratah, the mother of Hur, as the author of *Quest. Hebr. in Paralip.* says, and as one might otherwise have supposed from the connexion of her descendants, Salma and Hur, with Bethlehem, which is somewhat obscurely intimated in 1 Chr. ii. 50, 51, iv. 4. It seems obvious therefore to infer that, on the contrary, Ephratah the mother of Hur was so called from the town of her birth, and that she probably was the owner of the town and district. In fact, that her name was really gentilitious. But if this be so, it would indicate more communication between the Israelites in Egypt and the Canaanites than is commonly supposed. When, however, we recollect that the land of Goshen was the border country on the Palestine side; that the Israelites in Goshen were a tribe of sheep and cattle drovers (Gen. xlvii. 3); that there was an easy communication between Palestine and Egypt from the earliest times (Gen. xii. 10, xvi. 1, xxi. 21, &c.); that there are indications of communications between the Israelites in Egypt and the Canaanites, caused by their trade as keepers of cattle, 1 Chr. vii. 21, and that in the nature of things the owners or keepers of large herds and flocks in Goshen would have dealings with the nomad tribes in Palestine, it will perhaps seem not impossible that a son of Hezron may have married a woman having property in Ephratah. Another way of accounting for the connexion between Ephratah's descendants and Bethlehem, is to suppose that the elder Caleb was not really the son of Hezron, but merely reckoned so as the head of a Hezronite house. He may in this case have been one of an Edomitish or Horite tribe, an idea which is favoured by the name of his son Hur [CALEB], and have married an Ephrathite. Caleb the spy may have been their grandson. It is singular that "Salma the father of Bethlehem" should have married a Canaanitish woman. Could she have been of the kindred of Caleb in any way? If she were, and if Salma obtained Bethlehem, a portion of Hur's inheritance, in consequence, this would account for both Hur and Salma being called "father of Bethlehem." Another possible explanation is, that *Ephratah* may have been the name given to some daughter of Benjamin to commemorate the circumstance of Rachel his mother having died close to Ephrath. This would receive some support from the son of Rachel's other son Joseph being called *Ephraim*, a word of identical etymology, as appears from the fact that **אֶפְרַיִם** means indifferently an Ephrathite, i. e. *Bethlemitate* (Ruth i. 1, 2), or an *Ephraimite* (1 Sam. i. 1). But it would not account for Ephratah's descendants being settled at Bethlehem. The author of the *Quest. Hebr. in Paralip.* derives *Ephratah* from *Ephraim*, "Ephrath, quia de Ephraim fuit." But this is not consistent with the appearance of the name in Gen. It is perhaps impossible to come to any certainty on the subject. It must suffice therefore to note, that in Gen., and perhaps in Chron., it is called *Ephrath* or *Ephrata*, in Ruth, *Bethlehem-Judah*, but the inhabitants, *Ephrathites*; in Micah (v. 2), *Bethlehem-Ephratah*; in Matt. ii. 6, *Bethlehem in the land of Juda*. Jerome, and after him Kalsch, observe that *Ephratah, fruitful*, has the same meaning as *Bethlehem, house of bread*; a view which is favoured by Stanley's description of the neighbouring

corn-fields (*Palest. & Sin.* p. 164). [BETHLEHEM.]

3. Gesenius thinks that in Ps. cxxii. 6, *Ephratah* means *Ephraim*. [A. C. H.]

**EPIHRATHITE** (אֶפְרַתִּי; *Ἐφραθαῖος; Ephrathæus*). 1. An inhabitant of Bethlehem (Ruth i. 2). 2. An Ephraimite (1 Sam. i. 1; Jud. xi. 4, &c.). [A. C. H.]

**EPHRON** (עֶפְרוֹן; *Ἐφρών; Ephron*), the son of Zohar, a Hittite; the owner of a field which lay facing Mamre or Hebron, and of the cave therein contained, which Abraham bought from him for 400 shekels of silver (Gen. xlviii. 8-17; xxv. 9; xlix. 29, 30, l. 13) By Josephus (*Ant.* i. 14) the name is given as Ephraim; and the purchase-money 40 shekels.

**EPHIRON** (Ἐφρών; *Ephron*), a very strong city (πόλις μεγάλη ὄχυρά σφόδρα) on the east of Jordan between Carnaim (Ashteroth-Karnaim) and Bethshean, attacked and demolished by Judas Macabæus (1 Macc. v. 48-52; 2 Macc. xii. 27). From the description in the former of these two passages it appears to have been situated in a defile or valley, and to have completely occupied the pass. Its site has not been yet discovered. [G.]

**EPHRON, MOUNT** (הַר עֶפְרוֹן; *δὲ ὄρος Ἐφρών; Mons Ephron*). The "cities of Mount Ephron" formed one of the landmarks on the northern boundary of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 9), between the "water of Nephtoi" and Kijath-jearim. As these latter are with great probability identified with *Ain Lifta* and *Kuriet el-enab*, Mount Ephron is probably the range of hills on the west side of the *Wady Beit-Humna* (traditional valley of the Terebinth), opposite *Lifta*, which stands on the eastern side. It may possibly be the same place as **EPIHRAIN**. [G.]

**EPICUREANS, THE** (Ἐπικουρεῖοι) derived their name from Epicurus (342-271 B.C.), a philosopher of Attic descent, whose "Garden" at Athens rivalled in popularity the "Porch" and the "Academy." The doctrines of Epicurus found wide acceptance in Asia Minor (*Lampsacus, Mitylene, Tarsus*, Diog. L. x. 1, 11 ff.) and Alexandria (Diog. L. l. c.), and they gained a brilliant advocate at Rome in Lucetius (95-50 B.C.). The object of Epicurus was to find in philosophy a practical guide to happiness (*ἐνέργεια . . . τὴν εὐδαιμονία βίον περιποιούσα*, Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* xi. 169). True pleasure and not absolute truth was the end at which he aimed; experience and not reason the test on which he relied. He necessarily cast aside dialectics as a profitless science (Diog. L. x. 30, 31), and substituted in its place (as τὸ κανονικόν, Diog. L. x. 19) an assertion of the right of the senses, in the widest acceptance of the term, to be considered as the criterion of truth (*κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς προλήψεις* (general notions) καὶ τὰ πάθη). He made the study of physics subservient to the uses of life, and especially to the removal of superstitious fears (Lucr. i. 146 ff.); and maintained that ethics are the proper study of man, as leading him to that supreme and lasting pleasure which is the common object of all.

It is obvious that a system thus framed would degenerate by a natural descent into mere materialism; and in this form Epicureism was the

popular philosophy at the beginning of the Christian era (cf. *Diog. L. x. 5, 9*). When St. Paul addressed "Epicureans and Stoics" (*Acts xvii. 18*) at Athens, the philosophy of life was practically reduced to the teaching of those two antagonistic schools, which represented in their final separation the distinct and complementary elements which the Gospel reconciled. For it is unjust to regard Epicureism as a mere sensual opposition to religion. It was a necessary step in the development of thought, and prepared the way for the reception of Christianity, not only negatively but positively. It not only weakened the hold which polytheism retained on the mass of men by daring criticism, but it maintained with resolute energy the claims of the body to be considered a necessary part of man's nature co-ordinate with the soul, and affirmed the existence of individual freedom against the Stoic doctrines of pure spiritualism and absolute fate. Yet outwardly Epicureism appears further removed from Christianity than Stoicism, though essentially it is at least as near; and in the address of St. Paul (*Acts xvii. 22 ff.*) the affirmation of the doctrines of creation (v. 24), providence (v. 26), inspiration (v. 28), resurrection, and judgment (v. 31), appears to be directed against the cardinal errors which it involved.

The tendency which produced Greek Epicureism, when carried out to its fullest development, is peculiar to no age or country. Among the Jews it led to Sadduceeism [*SADDUCEES*], and Josephus appears to have drawn his picture of the sect with a distinct regard to the Greek prototype (*Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1, §4; de B. J. ii. 8, §14; cf. Ant. x. 11, §7, de Epicureis*). In modern times the essay of Gassendi (*Syntagma Philosophiae Epicuri*, Hag. Com. 1659) was a significant symptom of the restoration of sensationalism.

The chief original authority for the philosophy of Epicurus is Diogenes Laertius (*Lib. x.*), who has preserved some of his letters and a list of his principal writings. The poem of Lucetius must be used with caution, and the notices in Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch are undisguisedly hostile. [B. F. W.]

**EPIPHANES** (1 Macc. i. 10, x. 1). [*ANTI-CHUS EPIPHANES*.]

**EPIPHI** (Ἐπιφή, 3 Macc. vi. 38), name of the eleventh month of the Egyptian Vague year, and the Alexandrian or Egyptian Julian year: Copt.

**ΕΠΗΛ**; Arab. أَيْيَب. In ancient Egyptian it

is called "the third month [of] the season of the waters." [*EGYPT*.] The name Epiphi is derived from that of the goddess of the month, Apap-t (*Lepsius, Chron. d. Aeg. i. 141*). The supposed derivation of the Hebrew month-name Abib from Epiphi is discussed in other articles. [*CHRONOLOGY; MONTHS*.] [R. S. P.]

**EPISTLE**. The Epistles of the N. T. are described under the names of the Apostles by whom, or the churches to whom, they were addressed. It is proposed in the present article to speak of the Epistle or letter as a means of communication.

The use of written letters implies, it needs hardly be said, a considerable progress in the development of civilised life. There must be a recognised system of notation, phonetic or symbolic; men must be taught to write, and have writing materials at hand. In the early nomadic stages of society

accordingly, like those which mark the period of the patriarchs of the O. T., we find no traces of any but oral communications. Messengers are sent instructed what to say from Jacob to Esau (*Gen. xxxii. 3*), from Balak to Balaam (*Num. xxii. 5, 7, 16*), bringing back in like manner a verbal, not a written answer (*Num. xxiv. 12*). The negotiations between Jephthah and the king of the Ammonites (*Judg. xi. 12, 13*) are conducted in the same way. It is still the received practice in the time of Saul (*1 Sam. xi. 7, 9*). The reign of David, bringing the Israelites, as it did, into contact with the higher civilisation of the Phœnicians, witnessed a change in this respect also. The first recorded letter (פָּקֶד = "book;" comp. use of βιβλίον, *Herod. i. 123*) in the history of the O. T. was that which "David wrote to Joab, and sent by the hand of Uriah" (*2 Sam. xi. 14*), and this must obviously, like the letters that came into another history of crime (in this case also in traceable connexion with Phœnician influence, *1 K. xxi. 8, 9*), have been "sealed with the king's seal," as at once the guarantee of their authority, and a safeguard against their being read by any but the persons to whom they were addressed. The material used for the impression of the seal was probably the "clay" of *Job xxxviii. 14*. The act of sending such a letter is, however, pre-eminently, if not exclusively, a kingly act, where authority and secrecy were necessary. Joab, *e.g.* answers the letter which David had sent him after the old plan, and receives a verbal message in return. The demand of Ben-hadad and Ahab's answer to it are conveyed in the same way (*1 K. xx. 2, 5*). Written communications, however, become more frequent in the later history. The king of Syria sends a letter to the king of Israel (*2 K. v. 5, 6*). Elijah the prophet sends a writing (כְּתָבָא) to Jehoram (*2 Chr. xxi. 12*). Hezekiah introduces a system of couriers like that afterwards so fully organised under the Persian kings (*2 Chr. xxx. 6, 10; comp. Herod. viii. 98, and Esth. viii. 10, 14*), and receives from Sennacherib the letter which he "spreads before the Lord" (*2 K. xix. 14*). Jeremiah writes a letter to the exiles in Babylon (*Jer. xxix. 1, 3*). The books of Ezra and Nehemiah contain or refer to many such documents (*Ezr. iv. 6, 7, 11, v. 6, vii. 11; Neh. ii. 7, 9, vi. 5*). The stress laid upon the "open letter" sent by Sanballat (*Neh. vi. 5*) indicates that this was a breach of the customary etiquette of the Persian court. The influence of Persian, and yet more, perhaps, that of Greek civilisation, led to the more frequent use of letters as a means of intercourse. Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the genuineness of the Epistles themselves, their occurrence in 1 Macc. xi. 30, xii. 6, 20, xv. 1, 16; 2 Macc. xi. 16, 34, indicates that they were recognised as having altogether superseded the older plan of messages orally delivered. The two stages of the history of the N. T. present in this respect a very striking contrast. The list of the Canonical Books shows how largely Epistles were used in the expansion and organisation of the Church. Those which have survived may be regarded as the representatives of many others that are lost. We are perhaps too much in the habit of forgetting that the absence of all mention of written letters from the Gospel history is just as noticeable. With the exception of the spurious letter to Abgarus of Edessa (*Euseb. H. E. i. 13*) there are no Epistles of Jesus. The explanation of this is to be found

partly in the circumstances of one who, known as the "carpenter's son," was training as His disciples, those who, like himself, belonged to the class of labourers and peasants, partly in the fact that it was by personal, rather than by written, teaching that the work of the prophetic office, which He reproduced and perfected, had to be accomplished. The Epistles of the N. T. in their outward form are such as might be expected from men who were brought into contact with Greek and Roman customs, themselves belonging to a different race, and so reproducing the imported style with only partial accuracy. They begin (the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 John excepted) with the names of the writer, and of those to whom the Epistle is addressed. Then follows the formula of salutation (analogous to the *εὖ πρᾶττεν* of Greek, the *S., S. D., or S. D. M., salutem, salutem dicit, salutem dicit multum*, of Latin correspondence)—generally in St. Paul's Epistles in some combination of the words *χαρίς, εἰς, εἰρήνη*; in others, as in Acts xv. 23, *Jan.* 1. 1, with the closer equivalent of *χαίρειν*. Then the letter itself commences, in the first person, the singular and plural being used, as in the letters of Cicero, indiscriminately (comp. 1 Cor. ii.; 2 Cor. i. 8, 13; 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2; and *passim*). Then when the substance of the letter has been completed, questions answered, truths enforced, come the individual messages, characteristic, in St. Paul's Epistles especially, of one who never allowed his personal affections to be swallowed up in the greatness of his work. The conclusion in this case was probably modified by the fact that the letters were dictated to an amanuensis. When he had done his work, the Apostle took up the pen or reed, and added, in his own large characters (Gal. vi. 11), the authenticating autograph, sometimes with special stress on the fact that this was his writing (1 Cor. xvi. 21; Gal. vi. 11; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thess. iii. 17), always with one of the closing formulae of salutation, "Grace be with thee"—"the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit." In one instance, Rom. xvi. 22, the amanuensis in his own name adds his salutation. In the *ἔρρωσθε* of Acts xxiii. 30, the *ἔρρωσθε* of Acts xv. 29 we have the equivalents to the *vale, valete*, which formed the customary conclusion of Roman letters. It need hardly be said that the fact that St. Paul's Epistles were dictated in this way accounts for many of their most striking peculiarities, the frequent digressions, the long parentheses, the vehemence and energy as of a man who is speaking strongly as his feelings prompt him rather than writing calmly. An allusion in 2 Cor. iii. 1 brings before us another class of letters which must have been in frequent use in the early ages of the Christian Church, the *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί*, by which travellers or teachers were commended by one church to the good offices of others. Other persons (there *may be* a reference to Apollos, Acts xviii. 27) had come to the Church of Corinth relying on these. St. Paul appeals to his converts, as the *ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ* (2 Cor. iii. 3), written "not with ink but with the spirit of the living God." For other particulars as to the material and implements used for Epistles, see WRITING.

[E. H. P.]

**ER** (עֶר, *vachful*; *Hp*: *Iler*). 1. First-born of Judah. His mother was Bath-Shuah (daughter of Shuah), a Canaanite. His wife was Tamar, the mother, after his death, of Pharez and Zarah, by Judah. Er "was wicked in the sight of the Lord;

and the Lord slew him." It does not appear what the nature of his sin was; but, from his Canaanitish birth on the mother's side, it was probably connected with the abominable idolatries of Canaan (Gen. xxxviii. 3-7; Num. xxvi. 19).

2. Descendant of Shelah the son of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 21).

3. With a final *god*, **ERİ**, perhaps designating a family, son of Gad (Gen. xli. 16).

4. Son of Jose, and father of Elmodam, in our Lord's genealogy (Luke iii. 28), about contemporary with Uziah king of Judah. [A. C. H.]

**E'ERAN** (עֶרָן; but Sam. and Syr. עֶרָן *Edan*; *E'dén*; *Ileran*), son of Shuthelah, eldest son of Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 36). The name does not occur in the genealogies of Ephraim in 1 Chr. vii. 20-29, though a name, **EZER** (עֶזֶר), is found which may possibly be a corruption of it. Eran was the head of the family of

**ERANITES**, **TIRE** (עֶרָנִי; Sam. עֶרָנִי; *E'dén*; *Hermitae*), Num. xxvi. 36.

**E'RECH** (עֶרֶךְ; *Opéx*; *Arach*), one of the cities of Nimrod's kingdom in the land of Shinar (Gen. x. 10). Until recently, the received opinion, following the authority of St. Ephrem, Jerome, and the Targumists, identified it with Edessa or Callirhoë (*Urfah*), a town in the north-west of Mesopotamia. This opinion is supported by Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* p. 233), who connects the name Callirhoë with the Biblical Erēch through the Syrian form *Eurhok*, suggesting the Greek word *ἐρρῶκος*. This identification is, however, untenable: Edessa was probably built by Seleucus, and could not, therefore, have been in existence in Ezia's time (Ezr. iv. 9), and the extent thus given to the land of Shinar presents a great objection. Erēch must be sought in the neighbourhood of Babylon: Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 151) identifies it with Araca on the Tigris in Susiana; but it is doubtless the same as Orchoë, 82 miles S., and 4½ E. of Babylon, the modern designation of the site, *Warka, Irki, and Irak*, bearing a considerable affinity to the original name. This place appears to have been the necropolis of the Assyrian kings, the whole neighbourhood being covered with mounds, and strewn with the remains of bricks and columns. Some of the bricks bear a monogram of "the moon," and Col. Rawlinson surmises that the name Erēch may be nothing more than a form of עֶרָךְ (Bonomi, *Ninereh*, p. 45, 508). The inhabitants of this place were among those who were transplanted to Samaria by Assuapper (Ezr. iv. 9). [W. L. B.]

**ESA'IAS** (Rec. T. *Hsaías*; Lachm. with B *Hsaías*; *Isaiás*; Cod. Amiat. *Emaiás*), Matt. iii. 3, iv. 14, xvii. 17, xii. 17, xii. 14, xv. 7; Mark vii. 6; Luke iii. 4, iv. 17; John i. 23, xii. 38, 39, 41; Acts vii. 28, 30; xxviii. 25; Rom. ix. 27, 29; x. 16, 20; xv. 12. [ISAIAH.]

**ES'AR-HA'DDON** (עֶסֶר־חַדְדֹן; *Asorodán*; *Zaxepdonós*, LXX.; *Asaridanos*, Ptol.; *Assur-akh-iddina*, Assy.; *Asur-haddon*), one of the greatest of the kings of Assyria. He was the son of Sennacherib (2 K. xiv. 37) and the grandson of Sargon who succeeded Shalmaneser. It has been generally thought that he was Sennacherib's eldest son; and this seems to have been the view of Polyhistor, who made Sennacherib place a son,

*Asordanes*, on the throne of Babylon during his own lifetime (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5). The contrary, however, appears by the inscriptions, which show the Babylonian viceroys—called *Asordanes* by Polyhistor, but *Assaradadius* (Assaradadius?) by Ptolemy—to have been a distinct person from Esar-haddon. Thus nothing is really known of Esar-haddon until his succession (ab. B.C. 680), which seems to have followed quietly and without difficulty on the murder of his father and the flight of his guilty brothers (2 K. xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38). It may, perhaps, be concluded from this that he was at the death of his father the eldest son, Assaradadius, the Babylonian viceroy, having died previously.

Esar-haddon appears by his monuments to have been one of the most powerful—if not the most powerful—of all the Assyrian monarchs. He carried his arms over all Asia between the Persian Gulf, the Armenian mountains, and the Mediterranean. Towards the east he engaged in wars with Median tribes, “of which his fathers had never heard the name;” towards the west he extended his influence over Cilicia and Cyprus; towards the south he claims authority over Egypt and over Ethiopia. In consequence of the disaffection of Babylon, and its frequent revolts from former Assyrian kings, Esar-haddon, having subdued the sons of Merodach-Baladan who headed the national party, introduced the new policy of substituting for the former government by viceroys, a direct dependence upon the Assyrian crown. He did not reduce Babylonia to a province, or attempt its actual absorption into the empire, but united it to his kingdom in the way that Hungary was, until 1848, united to Austria, by holding both crowns himself and residing now at one and now at the other capital. He is the only Assyrian monarch whom we find to have actually reigned at Babylon, where he built himself a palace, bricks from which have been recently recovered bearing his name. His Babylonian reign lasted thirteen years, from B.C. 680 to B.C. 667; and it was undoubtedly within this space of time that Manasseh, king of Judah, having been seized by his captains at Jerusalem on a charge of rebellion, was brought before him at Babylon (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11) and detained for a time as prisoner there. Eventually Esar-haddon, persuaded of his innocence, or excusing his guilt, restored him to his throne, thus giving a proof of clemency not very usual in an Oriental monarch. It seems to have been in a similar spirit that Esarhaddon, according to the inscriptions, gave a territory upon the Persian Gulf to a son of Merodach-Baladan, who submitted to his authority and became a refugee at his court.

As a builder of great works Esar-haddon is particularly distinguished. Besides his palace at Babylon, which has been already mentioned, he built at least three others in different parts of his dominions, either for himself or his son; while in a single inscription he mentions the erection by his hands of no fewer than thirty temples in Assyria and Mesopotamia. His works appear to have possessed a peculiar magnificence. He describes his temples as “shining with silver and gold,” and boasts of his Nineveh palace that it was “a building such as the kings his fathers who went before him had never made.” The south-west palace at Nimrud is the best preserved of his constructions. This building, which was excavated by Mr. Layard, is remarkable from the peculiarity

of its plan as well as from the scale on which it is constructed. It corresponds in its general design almost exactly with the palace of Solomon (1 K. vii. 1-12), but is of larger dimensions, the great hall being 220 feet long by 100 broad (Layard's *Nin. & Bab.* p. 634), and the porch or antechamber 160 feet by 60. It had the usual adornment of winged bulls, colossal sphinxes, and sculptured slabs, but has furnished less to our collections than many inferior buildings, from the circumstance that it had been originally destroyed by fire, by which the stones and alabaster were split and calcined. This is the more to be regretted as there is reason to believe that Phœnician and Greek artists took part in the ornamentation.

It is impossible to fix the length of Esar-haddon's reign or the order of the events which occurred in it. Little is known to us of his history but from his own records, and they have not come down to us in the shape of annals, but only in the form of a general summary. That he reigned thirteen years at Babylon is certain from the Canon of Ptolemy, and he cannot have reigned a shorter time in Assyria. He may, however, have reigned longer; for it is not improbable that after a while he felt sufficiently secure of the affections of the Babylonians to re-establish the old system of vice-regal government in their country. Sardanapalus may have been set up as ruler of Babylon by his authority in B.C. 667, and he may have withdrawn to Nineveh and continued to reign there for some time longer. His many expeditions and his great works seem to indicate, if not even to require, a reign of some considerable duration. It has been conjectured that he died about B.C. 660, after occupying the throne for twenty years. He appears to have been succeeded by his son *Assur-bani-pal*, or Sardanapalus II., the prince for whom he had built a palace in his own lifetime. [G. R.]

**ESAU**, the oldest son of Isaac, and twin-brother of Jacob. The singular appearance of the child at his birth originated the name: “And the first came out red (*אֶדְמוֹנִי*), all over like a hairy garment, and they called his name *Esau*” (*עֵשָׂו*, i. e. “hairy,” “rough,” Gen. xxv. 25). This was not the only remarkable circumstance connected with the birth of the infant. Even in the womb the twin-brothers struggled together (xxv. 22). Esau was the first-born; but as he was issuing into life Jacob's hand grasped his heel. The bitter enmity of two brothers, and the increasing strife of two great nations, were thus foreshadowed (xxv. 23, 26). Esau's robust frame and “rough” aspect were the types of a wild and daring nature. The peculiarities of his character soon began to develop themselves. Scorning the peaceful and commonplace occupations of the shepherd, he revelled in the excitement of the chase, and in the martial exercises of the Cannanites (xxv. 27). He was, in fact, a thorough *Bedawy*, a “son of the desert” (so we may translate *אִישׁ שָׂדֶה*), who delighted to roam free as the wind of heaven, and who was impatient of the restraints of civilized or settled life. His old father, by a caprice of affection not uncommon, loved his wilful, vagrant boy; and his keen relish for savoury food being gratified by Esau's venison, he liked him all the better for his skill in hunting (xxv. 28). An event occurred which exhibited the reckless character of Esau on the one hand, and the selfish, grasping nature of his

brother on the other. The former returned from the field, exhausted by the exercise of the chase, and faint with hunger. Seeing some pottage of lentiles which Jacob had prepared, he asked for it. Jacob only consented to give the food on Esau's swearing to him that he would in return give up his birthright. There is something revolting in this whole transaction. Jacob takes advantage of his brother's distress to rob him of that which was dear as life itself to an Eastern patriarch. The birthright not only gave him the headship of the tribe, both spiritual and temporal, and the possession of the great bulk of the family property, but it carried with it the *covenant blessing* (xxvii. 28, 29, 36; Heb. xii. 16, 17). Then again whilst Esau, under the pressure of temporary suffering, despises his birthright by selling it for a mess of pottage (Gen. xxv. 34), he afterwards attempts to secure that which he had deliberately sold (xxvii. 4, 34, 38; Heb. xii. 17).

It is evident the whole transaction was public, for it resulted in a new name being given to Esau. He said to Jacob, "Feed me with that same *red* (הָאֵדֹם); therefore was his name called *Edom*" (עֲדוֹם, Gen. xxv. 30). It is worthy of note, however, that this name is seldom applied to Esau himself, though almost universally given to the country he settled in, and to his posterity. [EDOM; EDMITES.] The name "Children of Esau" is in a few cases applied to the Edomites (Deut. ii. 4; Jer. xlix. 8; Obad. 18); but it is rather a poetical expression.

Esau married at the age of 40, and contrary to the wish of his parents. His wives were both Canaanites; and they "were bitterness of spirit unto Isaac and to Rebekah" (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35).

The next episode in the history of Esau and Jacob is still more painful than the former, as it brings fully out those bitter family rivalries and divisions, which were all but universal in ancient times, and which are still a disgrace to Eastern society. Jacob, through the craft of his mother, is again successful, and secures irrevocably the covenant blessing. Esau vows vengeance. But fearing his aged father's patriarchal authority, he secretly congratulates himself: "The days of mourning for my father are at hand, then will I slay my brother Jacob" (Gen. xxvii.). Thus he imagined that by one bloody deed he would regain all that had been taken from him by artifice. But he knew not a mother's watchful care. Not a sinister glance of his eyes, not a hasty expression of his tongue, escaped Rebekah. She felt that the life of her darling son, whose gentle nature and domestic habits had won her heart's affections, was now in imminent peril; and she advised him to flee for a time to her relations in Mesopotamia. The sins of both mother and child were visited upon them by a long and painful separation, and all the attendant anxieties and dangers. By a characteristic piece of domestic policy Rebekah succeeded both in exciting Isaac's anger against Esau, and obtaining his consent to Jacob's departure—"and Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob take a wife such as these, what good shall my life do me?" Her object was attained at once. The blessing was renewed to Jacob, and he received his father's commands to go to Padan-aram (Gen. xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1-5).

When Esau heard that his father had commanded Jacob to take a wife of the daughters of his kinsman Laban, he also resolved to try whether by a

new alliance he could propitiate his parents. He accordingly married his cousin Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael (xxviii. 8, 9). This marriage appears to have brought him into connexion with the Ishmaelitic tribes beyond the valley of Arabah. He soon afterwards established himself in Mount Seir; still retaining, however, some interest in his father's property in Southern Palestine. It is probable that his own habits, and the idolatrous practices of his wives and rising family, continued to excite and even increase the anger of his parents; and that he, consequently, considered it more prudent to remove his household to a distance. He was residing in Mount Seir when Jacob returned from Padan-aram, and had then become so rich and powerful that the impressions of his brother's early offences seem to have been almost completely effaced. His reception of Jacob was cordial and honest; though doubts and fears still lurked in the mind of the latter, and betrayed him into something of his old duplicity; for while he promises to go to Seir, he carefully declines his brother's escort, and immediately after his departure, turns westward across the Jordan (Gen. xxxii. 7, 8, 11; xxxiii. 4, 12, 17).

It does not appear that the brothers again met until the death of their father, about 20 years afterwards. Mutual interests and mutual fear seem to have constrained them to act honestly, and even generously towards each other at this solemn interview. They united in laying Isaac's body in the cave of Machpelah. Then "Esau took all his cattle, and all his substance, which he had got in the land of Canaan"—such, doubtless, as his father with Jacob's consent had assigned to him—"and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob" (xxxv. 29; xxvii. 6). He now saw clearly that the covenant blessing was Jacob's; that God had inalienably allotted the land of Canaan to Jacob's posterity; and that it would be folly to strive against the Divine will. He knew also that as Canaan was given to Jacob, Mount Seir was given to himself (comp. xxvii. 39, xxiii. 3; and Deut. ii. 5); and he was, therefore, desirous with his increased wealth and power to enter into full possession of his country, and drive out its old inhabitants (Deut. ii. 12). Another circumstance may have influenced him in leaving Canaan. He "lived by his sword" (Gen. xxvii. 40); and he felt that the rocky fastnesses of Edom would be a safer and more suitable abode for such as by their habits provoked the hostilities of neighbouring tribes, than the open plains of Southern Palestine.

There is a difficulty connected with the names of Esau's wives, which is discussed under AHOLIBAMAH and BASHEMATHI. Of his subsequent history nothing is known; for that of his descendants see EDMOM and EDMITES.

[J. L. P.]

ESAU ('Həab; Sel), 1 Esd. v. 29. [ZIDAA.]

ESAY ('Həaas; Isai, Iaius), Eccles. xlviii. 20, 22; 2 Esd. ii. 18. [ISAIAH.]

ESDRAELON. This name is merely the Greek form of the Hebrew word JEZREEL. It occurs in this exact shape only twice in the A. V.—(Jud. iii. 9, iv. 6). In Jud. iii. 3 it is ESDRAELOM, and in i. 8 ESDRELOM, with the addition of "the great plain." In the O. T. the plain is called the VALLEY OF JEZREEL; by Josephus the great plain, τὸ πεδίον μέγα. The name is derived from the old royal city of JEZREEL, which occupied a

commanding site, near the eastern extremity of the plain, on a spur of Mount Gilboa.

"The Great plain of Esdraelon" extends across Central Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, separating the mountain ranges of Carmel and Samaria from those of Galilee. The western section of it is properly the plain of *Accho*, or *'Akka*. The main body of the plain is a triangle. Its base on the east extends from *Jenin* (the ancient Engannin) to the foot of the hills below Nazareth, and is about 15 miles long; the north side, formed by the hills of Galilee, is about 12 miles long; and the south side, formed by the Samaria range, is about 18 miles. The apex on the west is a narrow pass opening into the plain of *'Akka*. This vast expanse has a gently undulating surface—in spring all green with corn where cultivated, and rank weeds and grass where neglected—dotted with several low gray tells, and near the sides with a few olive groves. This is that *Valley of Megiddo* (מִגְדּוֹ *Megiddo*), so called from the city of *Megiddo*, which stood on its southern border), where Barak triumphed, and where king Josiah was defeated and received his death wound (Judg. v.; 2 Chr. xxxv.). Probably, too, it was before the mind of the Apostle John when he figuratively described the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil who were gathered to a place called *Armageddon* (Ἀρμαγεδδών, from the Heb. עַר מִגְדּוֹ, that is, the city of *Megiddo*; Rev. xvi. 16). The river *Kishon*—"that ancient river" so fatal to the army of Sisera (Judg. v. 21)—drains the plain, and flows off through the pass westward to the Mediterranean.

From the base of this triangular plain three branches stretch out eastward, like fingers from a hand, divided by two bleak, grey ridges—one bearing the familiar name of Mount Gilboa; the other called by Franks Little Hermon, but by natives *Jebel ed-Duhy*. The northern branch has Tabor on the one side, and Little Hermon on the other; into it the troops of Barak defiled from the heights of Tabor (Judg. iv. 6); and on its opposite side are the sites of Naun and Endor. The southern branch lies between *Jenin* and Gilboa, terminating in a point among the hills to the eastward; it was across it Ahaziah died from Jehu (2 K. ix. 27). The central branch is the richest as well as the most celebrated; it descends in green, fertile slopes to the banks of the Jordan, having Jezreel and Shuenn on opposite sides at the western end, and Bethshean in its midst towards the east. This is the "Valley of Jezreel" proper—the battle-field on which Gideon triumphed, and Saul and Jonathan were overthrown (Judg. vii. 1, sq.; 1 Sam. xxix. and xxxi.).

Two things are worthy of special notice in the plain of Esdraelon. 1. its wonderful richness. Its unbroken expanse of verdure contrasts strangely with the grey, bleak crowns of Gilboa, and the rugged ranges on the north and south. The gigantic thistles, the luxuriant grass, and the exuberance of the crops on the few cultivated spots, show the fertility of the soil. It was the frontier of Zebulun—"Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out" (Deut. xxxiii. 18). But it was the special portion of Issachar—"And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute" (Gen. xlix. 15). 2. its desolation. If we except the eastern branches, there is not a single inhabited village on this whole surface, and not more than one-

sixth of its soil is cultivated. It is the home of the wild, wandering Bedawin, who scour its smooth turf on their fleet horses in search of plunder; and when hard pressed can speedily remove their tents and flocks beyond the Jordan, and beyond the reach of a weak government. It has always been insecure since history began. The old Canaanite tribes drove victoriously through it in their iron chariots (Judg. iv. 3, 7); the nomad Midianites and Amalekites—those "children of the east," who were "as grasshoppers for multitude," whose "camels were without number"—devoured its rich pastures (Judg. vi. 1-6, vii. 1); the Philistines long held it, establishing a stronghold at Bethshean (1 Sam. xix. 1, xvi. 10); and the Syrians frequently swept over it with their armies (1 K. xx. 26; 2 K. xiii. 17). In its condition, thus exposed to every hasty incursion, and to every shock of war, we read the fortunes of that tribe which for the sake of its richness consented to sink into a half-nomadic state—"Rejoice, O Issachar, in thy tents. . . Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens; and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute" (Gen. xlix. 14, 15; Deut. xxxiii. 18). Once only did this tribe shake off the yoke; when under the heavy pressure of Sbeem, "the chiefs of Issachar were with Deborah" (Judg. v. 15). Their exposed position and valuable possessions in this open plain made them anxious for the succession of David to the throne, as one under whose powerful protection they would enjoy that peace and rest they loved; and they joined with their neighbours of Zebulun and Naphtali in sending to David presents of the richest productions of their rich country (1 Chr. xii. 32, 40).

The whole borders of the plain of Esdraelon are dotted with places of high historic and sacred interest. Here we group them together, while referring the reader for details to the separate articles. On the east we have *Endor*, *Naun*, and *Shuenn*, ranged round the base of the "hill of Moreh"; then *Bethshean* in the centre of the "Valley of Jezreel"; then *Gilboa*, with the "well of Hinnat," and the ruins of *Jezreel* at its western base. On the south are *Engannin*, *Tinnach*, and *Megiddo*. At the western apex, on the overhanging brow of *Carmel*, is the scene of Elijah's sacrifice; and close by the foot of the mountain below, runs the *Kishon*, on whose banks the false prophets of Baal were slain. On the north, among places of less note, are *Nazareth* and *Tabor*. The modern Syrians have forgotten the ancient name as they have forgotten the ancient history of Esdraelon; and it is now known among them only as *Merj ibn 'Amer*, "the Plain of the Son of 'Amer." A graphic sketch of Esdraelon is given in Stanley's *S. & P.* 335, sq. See also the *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 351, sq.; Robinson, ii. 315-30, 366, iii. 113, sq. [J. L. P.]

ESDRAS (*Ἐσδρας*; *Esdra*), 1 Esd. viii. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 19, 23, 25, 91, 92, 96; ix. 1, 7, 16, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 49; 2 Esd. i. 1; ii. 10, 33, 42; vi. 10; vii. 2, 25; viii. 2, 19; xiv. 1, 38. [EZRA.]

ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF, the first in order of the Apocryphal books in the English Bible, which follows Luther and the German Bibles in separating the Apocryphal from the Canonical books, instead of binding them up together according to

historical order. (Walton's *Prolegom. de vers. Græc.* §9). The classification of the 4 books which have been named after Ezra is particularly complicated. In the Vatican and other quasi-modern editions of the LXX., our 1st Esdr. is called the first book of Esdras, in relation to the Canonical book of Ezra which follows it, and is called the second Esdras. But in the Vulgate, 1st Esdr. means the canonical Book of Ezra, and 2nd Esdr. means *Nehemiah*, according to the primitive Hebrew arrangement, mentioned by Jerome, in which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* made up two parts of the one book of Ezra; and 3rd and 4th Esdr. are what we now call 1 and 2 Esdras. These last, with the prayer of Manasse, are the only apocryphal books admitted *eo nomine* into the Romish Bibles, the other apocrypha being declared canonical by the Council of Trent. The reason of the exclusion of 3rd Esdras from the Canon seems to be that the Tridentine fathers in 1546, were not aware that it existed in Greek. For it is not in the Complutensian edition (1515), nor in the Biblia Regia; Vatablus (about 1540) had never seen a Greek copy, and, in the preface to the apocryphal books, speaks of it as only existing in some MSS and printed Latin Bibles.\* Baduel also, a French Protestant divine (*Bibl. Crit.*) (about 1550), says that he knew of no one who had ever seen a Greek copy. For this reason it seems it was excluded from the Canon, though it has certainly quite as good a title to be admitted as Tobit, Judith, &c. It has indeed been stated (Bp. Marsh, *Comp. View*, ap. Soames *Hist. of Ref.* ii. 608) that the Council of Trent in excluding the 2 Books of Esdras followed Augustine's Canon. But this is not so. Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ.* lib. ii. 13) distinctly mentions among the libri Canonici, *Esdras duo*,<sup>b</sup> and that one of these was our first Esdras is manifest from the quotation from it given below from *De Civit. Dei*. Hence it is also sure that it was included among those pronounced as Canonical by the 3rd Council of Carthage A.D. 397, or 419, where the same title is given, *Esdras libri duo*: where it is to be noticed by the way that Augustine and the Council of Carthage use the term Canonical in a much broader sense than we do; and that the manifest ground of considering them Canonical in any sense, is their being found in the Greek copies of the LXX. in use at that time. In all the earlier editions of the English Bible the books of Esdras are numbered as in the Vulgate. In the 6th Article of the Church of England (first introduced in 1571) the first and second books denote Ezra and Nehemiah, and the 3rd and 4th, among the Apocrypha, are our present 1st and 2nd. In the list of revisers or translators of the *Bishops' Bible*, sent by Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil, with the portion revised by each, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the apocryphal books of Esdras, seem to be all comprised under the one title of ESDRAS. Barlow, Bp. of Chichester, was the translator, as also of the books of Judith, Tobias, and Sapientia (Corresp. of Archbp. Parker, Park. Soc. p. 335). The Geneva Bible first adopted the classification used in our present Bibles, in which EZRA and NEHEMIAH

give their names to the two Canonical books, and the two Apocryphal become 1 and 2 Esdras; where the Greek form of the name marks that these books do not exist in Hebrew or Chaldee.

As regards the antiquity of this book and the rank assigned to it in the early Church, it may suffice to mention that Josephus quotes largely from it, and follows its authority, even in contradiction to the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, by which he has been led into hopeless historical blunders and anachronisms. It is quoted also by Clement Alexander (*Strom.* i.); and the famous sentence "Veritas manet, et invalescit in æternum, et vivit et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum:" is cited by Cyprian as from Esdras, prefixed by, *ut scriptum est*: (*Epist.* lxxiv.). Augustine also refers to the same passage (*De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 36), and suggests that it may be prophetic of Christ who is the truth. He includes under the name of Esdras our 1 Esdr., and the Canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. 1 Esdr. is also cited by Athanasius and other fathers; and perhaps there is no sentence that has been more widely divulged than that of 1 Esdr. iv. 41, "Magna est veritas et prævalebit." But though it is most strange that the Council of Trent should not have admitted this book into their wide Canon, nothing can be clearer on the other hand than that it is rightly included by us among the Apocrypha, not only on the ground of its historical inaccuracy, and contradiction of the true Ezra, but also on the external evidence of the early Church. That it was never known to exist in Hebrew, and formed no part of the Hebrew Canon, is admitted by all. Jerome, in his preface to *Ezr.* and *Neh.*, speaks contemptuously of the dreams (*somnia*) of the 3rd and 4th Esdras, and says they are to be utterly rejected. In his *Prologus Galeatus* he clearly defines the number of books in the Canon, xxi., corresponding to the xxi letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and says that all others are Apocryphal. This of course excludes 1 Esdras. Meho, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary of Poitiers, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Council of Laodicea, and many other fathers, expressly follow the same Canon, counting as apocryphal whatever is not comprehended in it.

As regards the contents of the book, and the author or authors of it—the first chapter is a transcript of the two last chapters of 2 Chr. for the most part *verbatim*, and only in one or two parts slightly abridged and paraphrased, and showing some corruptions of the text, the use of a different Greek version, and some various readings, as e.g. 1. 5 *μεγαλειότητα*, for *διὰ χειρὸς*, indicating a various reading in the Hebrew; perhaps פְּכָדָר for מְכָתֵב, or, as Bretschneider suggests, מְכָתֵב; פְּרִוִּיּוֹן (פְּרָר), for the Heb. of 2 Chr. xxxv. 12, פְּכָר, "with the oxen," &c. Chapters iii., iv., and v., to the end of v. 6, are the *original* portions of the book, containing the legend of the three young Jews at the court of Darius; and the rest is a transcript more or less exact of the book of Ezra, with the chapters transposed and quite otherwise arranged, and a portion of Nehemiah.

\* "Oratio Manasse, necnon libri duo qui sub libri tertii et quarti Esdræ nomine circumferuntur, hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canoniceorum librorum, quos sancta Tridentina synodus suscepit, et pro canonice suscipiendos delevit, sepositi sunt, ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui à nonnullis sanctis Patribus

interdum citantur, et in aliquibus Bibliis Latinis, tam manuscriptis quam impressis, reperiuntur."

<sup>b</sup> Jerome, in his preface to his Latin version of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, says, "Unus à nobis liber editus est," etc.; though he implies that they were sometimes called 1 and 2 Esdras.

Hence a twofold design in the compiler is discernible. One to introduce and give Scriptural sanction to the legend about Zerubbabel, which may or may not have an historical base, and may have existed as a separate work; the other to explain the great obscurities of the book of Ezra, and to present the narrative, as the author understood it, in historical order, in which however he has signally failed. For, not to advert to innumerable other contradictions, the introducing the opposition of the heathen, as offered to Zerubbabel after he had been sent to Jerusalem in such triumph by Darius, and the describing that opposition as lasting "until the reign of Darius" (v. 73), and as put down by an appeal to the decree of Cyrus, is such a palpable inconsistency, as is alone sufficient quite to discredit the authority of the book. It even induces the suspicion that it is a farrago made up of scraps by several different hands. At all events, attempts to reconcile the different portions with each other, or with Scripture, is lost labour.

As regards the time and place when the compilation was made, the *original* portion is that which alone affords much clue. This seems to indicate that the writer was thoroughly conversant with Hebrew, even if he did not write the book in that language. He was well acquainted too with the books of Esther and Daniel (1 Esdr. iii. 1, 2 sqq.), and other books of Scripture (*ib.* 20, 21, 39, 41, &c.), and 45 compared with Ps. cxxvii. 7. But that he did not live under the Persian kings, and was not contemporary with the events narrated, appears by the indiscriminating way in which he uses promiscuously the phrase *Medes and Persians*, or, *Persians and Medes*, according as he happened to be imitating the language of Daniel or of the book of Esther. The allusion in ch. iv. 23 to "sailing upon the sea and upon the rivers," for the purpose of "robbing and stealing," seems to indicate residence in Egypt, and acquaintance with the lawlessness of Greek pirates there acquired. The phraseology of v. 73 savours also strongly of Greek rather than Hebrew. If, however, as seems very probable, the legend of Zerubbabel appeared first as a separate piece, and was afterwards incorporated into the narrative made up from the book of Ezra, this Greek sentence from ch. v. would not prove anything as to the language in which the original legend was written. The expressions in iv. 40, "She is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages," is very like the doxology found in some copies of the Lord's Prayer, and retained by us, "thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory for ever." But Lightfoot says that the Jews in the temple service, instead of saying Amen, used this antiphon, Blessed be the Name of the Glory of His Kingdom for ever and ever (vi. 427). So that the resemblance may be accounted for by their being both taken from a common source.

For a further account of the history of the times embraced in this book, see EZRA; ESDRAS 2; Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xi.; Hervey's *Genealog. of our L. J. Chr.* ph. xi.; Bp. Cosin on the *Canon of Scr.*; Fulke's *Defence of Transl. of Bible*; Park. Soc. p. 18 sqq.; Kitto, *Bibl. Cyclop. Esdras*; and the authorities cited in the course of this article. [A. C. H.]

ES'DRAS, THE SECOND BOOK OF, in the English Version of the Apocrypha, and so called by the author (2 Esdr. i. 1), is more commonly known, according to the reckoning of the Latin Version, as the *fourth* book of Ezra [see above, ESDRAS 1.]; but the arrangement in the Latin MSS. is not uniform, and in the Arabic and Aethiopic versions the book is called the first of Ezra. The original title, Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐσδρά (or προφητεία Ἐσδρά), "the Revelation of Ezra," which is preserved in some old catalogues of the canonical and apocryphal books (Nicephorus, ap. Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V. T.*, ii. 176. Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coislin.* p. 194) is far more appropriate, and it were to be wished that it could be restored.\*

1. For a long time this Book of Ezra was known only by an old Latin version, which is preserved in some MSS. of the Vulgate. This version was made by Ambrose, and, like the other parts of the *Vetus Latina*, is probably older than the time of Tertullian. A second Arabic text was discovered by Mr. Gregory about the middle of the 17th century in two Bodleian MSS., and an English version made from this by Simon Ockley was inserted by Whiston in the last volume of his *Primitive Christianity* (London, 1711). Fabricius added the various readings of the Arabic text to his edition of the Latin in 1723 (*Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* ii. 174 ff.). A third Aethiopic text was published in 1820 by [Archbp.] Lawrence with English and Latin translations, likewise from a Bodleian MS. which had remained wholly disregarded, though quoted by Ludolf in his Dictionary (*Primi Esrae libri, versio Aethiopica . . . Latine Anglicaeque redditae*. Oxon. 1820). The Latin translation has been reprinted by Gröser, with the various readings of the Latin and Arabic (*Praef. Pseudep.* Stuttg. 1840, 66 ff.); but the original Arabic text had not yet been published.

2. The three versions are all made directly from a Greek text. This is evidently the case with regard to the Latin (Lücke, *Versuch einer vollst. Einleitung*, i. 149) and the Aethiopic (Van der Vliet, *Disputatio critica de Esrae lib. apocr.* Amstel., 1839, 75 ff.), and apparently so with regard to the Arabic. A clear trace of a Greek text occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas (c. xii. = 2 Esr. v. 5), but the other supposed references in the Apostolic Fathers are very uncertain (e. g. Clem. i. 20; Herm. *Past.* i. 1, 3, &c.). The next witness to the Greek text is Clement of Alexandria, who expressly quotes the book as the work of "the prophet Ezra" (*Strom.* iii. 16. §100). A question, however, has been raised whether the Greek text was not itself a translation from the Hebrew (Brethschneider, in Henke's *Mus.* iii. 478 ff. ap. Lücke l. c.); but the arguments from language by which the hypothesis of a Hebrew (Aramaic) original is supported, are wholly unsatisfactory; and in default of direct evidence to the contrary, it must be supposed that the book was composed in Greek. This conclusion is further strengthened by its internal character, which points to Egypt as the place of its composition.

3. The common Latin text, which is followed in the English version, contains two important interpolations (Ch. i. ii.; xv. xvi.) which are not found in the Arabic and Aethiopic versions, and are sepa-

\* Gröser obtained a transcript of a Greek MS. at Paris, bearing the title, which proved to be a worthless compilation of late date. *Jahrbuch d. Hellst.* i. 70, n.;

comp. Van der Vliet, *Disp. crit. de Esrae lib. apocr.* Pref. pp. 6 ff.

rated from the genuine Apocryphse in the best Latin MSS. Both of these passages are evidently of Christian origin: they contain traces of the use of the Christian Scriptures (c. g. 1. 30, 33, 37, ii. 13, 26, 45 ff., xv. 8, 35, xvi. 54), and still more they are pervaded by an anti-Jewish spirit. Thus, in the opening chapter, Ezra is commanded to reprove the people of Israel for their continual rebellions (i. 1-25), in consequence of which God threatens to cast them off (i. 24-34) and to "give their houses to a people that shall come." But in spite of their desertion, God offers once more to receive them (ii. 1-32). The offer is rejected (ii. 33), and the heathen are called. Then Ezra sees "the Son of God" standing in the midst of a great multitude "wearing crowns and bearing palms in their hands" in token of their victorious confession of the truth. The last two chapters (xv. xvi.) are different in character. They contain a stern prophecy of the woes which shall come upon Egypt, Babylon, Asia, and Syria, and upon the whole earth, with an exhortation to the chosen to guard their faith in the midst of all the trials with which they shall be visited (? the Decian persecution. Cf. Lucke, 186, &c.). Another smaller interpolation occurs in the Latin version in vii. 28, where *Jesus meus Jesus* answers to "*My Messiah*" in the Aethiopic, and to "*My Son Messiah*" in the Arabic (cf. Lücke, 170 n. &c.). On the other hand, a long passage occurs in the Aethiopic and Arabic versions after vii. 35, which is not found in the Latin (Aethiop. c. vi.), though it bears all the marks of genuineness, and was known to Ambruse (*de bono mort.* 10, 11). In this case the omission was probably due to doctrinal causes. The chapter contains a strange description of the intermediate state of souls, and ends with a peremptory denial of the efficacy of human intercession after death. Vigilantius appealed to the passage in support of his views, and called down upon himself by this the severe reproof of Jerome (*Lib. c. Vigil.* c. 7). This circumstance, combined with the Jewish complexion of the narrative, may have led to its rejection in later times (cf. Lücke, 155 ff.).

4. The original Apocalypse (iii.-xiv.) consists of a series of angelic revelations and visions in which Ezra is instructed in some of the great mysteries of the moral world, and assured of the final triumph of the righteous. The *first revelation* (iii.-v. 15, according to the A. V.) is given by the angel Uriel to Ezra, in "the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city," in answer to his complaints (c. iii.) that Israel was neglected by God while the heathen were lords over them; and the chief subject is the unsearchableness of God's purposes, and the signs of the last age. The *second revelation* (v. 20-vi. 34) carries out this teaching yet further, and lays open the gradual progress of the plan of Providence, and the nearness of the visitation before which evil must attain its most terrible climax. The *third revelation* (vi. 35-ix. 25) answers the objections which arise from the apparent narrowness of the limits within which the hope of blessedness is confined, and describes the coming of Messiah and the last scene of Judgment. After this follow three visions.<sup>b</sup> The *first vision* (ix. 26-x. 59) is of a woman (Sion) in deep sorrow, lamenting the

death, upon his bridal day, of her only son (the city built by Solomon), who had been born to her after she had had no child for thirty years. But while Ezra looked, her face "upon a sudden shined exceedingly," and "the woman appeared no more, but there was a city builded." The *second vision* (xi.-xii.), in a dream, is of an eagle (Rome) which "came up from the sea" and "spread her wings over all the earth." As Ezra looked, the eagle suffered strange transformations, so that at one time "three heads and six little wings" remained; and at last only one head was left, when suddenly a lion (Messiah) came forth, and with the voice of a man rebuked the eagle, and it was burnt up. The *third vision* (xiii.), in a dream, is of a man (Messiah) "flying with the clouds of heaven," against whom the nations of the earth are gathered, till he destroys them with the blast of his mouth, and gathers together the lost tribes of Israel and offers Sion, "prepared and builded," to his people. The last chapter (xiv.) recounts an appearance to Ezra of the Lord who showed Himself to Moses in the bush, at whose command he receives again the law which had been burnt, and with the help of scribes writes down ninety-four books (the twenty-four canonical books of the O. T. and seventy books of secret mysteries), and thus the people is prepared for its last trial, guided by the recovered Law.

5. The date of the book is much disputed, though the limits within which opinions vary are narrower than in the case of the book of Enoch. Lücke (*Versuch einer vollst. Einl.* &c., ed. 2, i. 209) places it in the time of Caesar; Van der Vlis (*Disput. crit.* l. c.) shortly after the death of Caesar. Lawrence (l. c.) brings it down somewhat lower, to 28-25 B.C., and Hilgenfeld (*Jud. Apok.* p. 221) agrees with this conclusion, though he arrives at it by very different reasoning. On the other hand Gfrörer (*Jahrh. d. Heils.* i. 69 f.) assigns the book to the time of Domitian, and in this he is followed by Wieseler and by Baner (Lücke, p. 189, &c.), while Lücke in his first edition had regarded it as the work of a Hellenist of the time of Trajan. The interpretation of the details of the vision of the eagle, which furnishes the chief data for determining the time of its composition, is extremely uncertain from the difficulty of regarding the history of the period from the point of view of the author; and this difficulty is increased by the allusion to the desolation of Jerusalem, which may be merely suggested by the circumstances of Ezra, the imaginary author: or, on the contrary, the last destruction of Jerusalem may have suggested Ezra as the medium of the new revelation. (Cf. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* ii. pp. 189 ff. and Lücke, 187 n. &c., for a summary of the earlier opinions on the composition of the book.)

6. The chief characteristics of the "three-headed eagle," which refer apparently to historic details,<sup>b</sup> are "twelve feathered wings" (*duodecim alae pennarum*), "eight counter-feathers" (*contraive pennae*), and "three heads;" but though the writer expressly interprets these of kings (xii. 14, 20) and "kingdoms" (xii. 23), he is, perhaps intentionally, so obscure in his allusions, that the interpretation only increases the difficulties of the vision itself.

<sup>b</sup> The description of the duration of the world as "divided into twelve (*ten Aeth.*) parts, of which ten parts are gone already, and half of a tenth part"

(xiv. 11), is so uncertain in its reckoning, that no argument can be based upon it.

One point only may be considered certain,—the eagle can typify no other empire than Rome. Notwithstanding the identification of the eagle with the fourth empire of Daniel (cf. Barn. *ep.* 4; DANIEL, BOOK OF), it is impossible to suppose that it represents the Greek kingdom (Hilgenfeld; cf. Volkmar, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, pp. 36 ff. Zürich, 1858). The power of the Ptolemies could scarcely have been described in language which may be rightly applied to Rome (xi. 2, 6, 40); and the succession of kings quoted by Hilgenfeld to represent “the twelve wings” preserves only a faint resemblance to the imagery of the vision. But when it is established that the interpretation of the vision is to be sought in the history of Rome, the chief difficulties of the problem begin. The second wing (*i. e.* king) rules twice as long as the other (xi. 17). This fact seems to point to Octavian and the line of the Caesars; but thus the line of “twelve” leads to no plausible conclusion. If it is supposed to close with Trajan (Lücke, *1te Aufl.*), the “three heads” receive no satisfactory explanation. If, again, the “three heads” represent the three Flavii, then “the twelve” must be composed of the nine Caesars (Jul. Caesar—Vitellius) and the three pretenders Piso, Vindex, and Nymphidius (Grörrer), who could scarcely have been brought within the range of a Jewish Apocalypse. Volkmar proposes a new interpretation, by which two wings are to represent one king, and argues that this symbol was chosen in order to conceal better from strange eyes the revelation of the secret. The twelve wings thus represent the six Caesars (Caesar—Nero); the eight “counter-fraternal,” the usurping emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Nerva; and the three heads the three Flavii. This hypothesis offers many striking coincidences with the text, but at the same time it is directly opposed to the form of interpretation given by Ezra (xii. 14 *regnabant . . . duodecim reges . . . v. 18 octo reges*), and Volkmar’s hypothesis that the *twelve* and *eight* were marked in the original MS. in some way so as to suggest the notion of division, is extremely improbable. Van der Vlis and Lücke in his later edition regard the twelve kings as only generally symbolic of the Roman power; and while they identify the three heads with the Triumvirs, seek no explanation of the other details. All is evidently as yet vague and uncertain, and will probably remain so till some clearer light can be thrown upon Jewish thought and history during the critical period 100 B.C.—100 A.C.

7. But while the date of the book must be left undetermined, there can be no doubt that it is a genuine product of Jewish thought. Weiss (Evangeliensfrage, 222) alone dissents on this point from the unanimous judgment of recent scholars (Hilgenfeld, 190, &c.); and the contrast between the tone and style of the Christian interpolations and the remainder of the book is in itself sufficient to prove the fact. The Apocalypse was probably written in Egypt; the opening and closing chapters certainly were.

8. In tone and character the Apocalypse of Ezra offers a striking contrast to that of Enoch [THE BOOK OF ENOCH]. Triumphant anticipations are overshadowed by gloomy forebodings of the destiny of the world. The idea of victory is lost in that of revenge. Future blessedness is reserved only for “a very few” (vii. 70, viii. 1, 3, 52–55), vii. 1–13). The great question is “not how the

ungodly shall be punished, but how the ‘righteous shall be saved, for whom the world is created’” (ix. 13). The “woes of Messiah” are described with a terrible minuteness which approaches the despairing traditions of the Talmud (v., xiv. 10 ff.; ix. 3 ff.); and after a reign of 400 years (vii. 28–35; the clause is wanting in Aeth. v. 29) “Christ,” it is said, “My Son, shall die (*Arab.* omits), and all men that have breath; and the world shall be turned into the old silence seven days, like as in the first beginning, and no man shall remain” (vii. 29). Then shall follow the resurrection and the judgment, “the end of this time and the beginning of immortality” (vii. 43). In other points the doctrine of the book offers curious approximations to that of St. Paul, as the imagery does to that of the Apocalypse (*c. g.* 2 Esdr. xiii. 43 ff.; v. 4). The relation of “the first Adam” to his sinful posterity, and the operation of the Law (iii. 20 ff., vii. 48, ix. 36); the transitoriness of the world (iv. 26); the eternal counsels of God (vi. 8); His Providence (vii. 11) and long-suffering (vii. 64); His sanctification of His people “from the beginning” (ix. 8) and their peculiar and lasting privileges (vi. 59) are plainly stated; and on the other hand the efficacy of good works (viii. 33) in conjunction with faith (ix. 7) is no less clearly affirmed.

9. One tradition which the book contains obtained a wide reception in early times, and served as a pendant to the legend of the origin of the LXX. Ezra, it is said, in answer to his prayer, that he might be inspired to write again all the Law which was burnt, received a command to take with him tablets and five men, and retire for forty days. In this retirement a cup was given him to drink, and forthwith his understanding was quickened and his memory strengthened; and for forty days and forty nights he dictated to his scribes, who wrote ninety-four books (*Latin*, 204), of which twenty-four were delivered to the people in place of the books which were lost (xiv. 20–48). This strange story was repeated in various forms by Irenaeus (*ado. Haer.* iii. 2), Tertullian (*De cult. foem.* i. 3; *omne instrumentum Judaicae literaturae per Esdram constat restauratum*), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 22, p. 410, P. cf. p. 392), Jerome (*ado. Helv.* 7, cf. Pseudo-Augustine, *de Mirab. S. Scr.* ii. 32), and many others; and probably owed its origin to the tradition which regarded Ezra as the representative of the men of “the Great Synagogue,” to whom the final revision of the canonical books was universally assigned in early times. [CANON.]

10. Though the book was assigned to the “prophet” Ezra by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 16, p. 556 P.) and quoted with respect by Irenaeus (*l. c.*), Tertullian (*?* *l. c.* Cf. *adv. Marc.* iv. 16), and Ambrose (*Ep.* xxxiv. 2; *de bono Mortis*, 10 ff.), it did not maintain its ecclesiastical position in the Church. Jerome speaks of it with contempt, and it is rarely found in MSS. of the Latin Bible. Archbishop Lawrence examined 180 MSS. and the book was contained only in thirteen, and in these it was arranged very differently. It is found, however, in the printed copies of the Vulgate older than the Council of Trent, by which it was excluded from the Canon; and quotations from it still occur in the Roman services (Bassage, *ap. Fabr. Cod. Pseud.* ii. 191). On the other hand, though this book is included among those which are “read for examples of life” by the English

(church, no use of it is there made in public worship. Luther and the Reformed Church rejected the book entirely; but it was held in high estimation by numerous mystics (Fabric. l. c. 178 ff.) for whom its contents naturally had great attractions.

11. The chief literature of the subject has been noticed in the course of the article. Lücke has, perhaps, given the best general account of the book; but the essay of Van der Vlis is the most important contribution to the study of the text, of which a critical edition is still needed, though the Latin materials for its construction are abundant. [B. F. W.]

ES'EBOŃ, THEY OF (τοὺς Ἑσβεωνίτας, Alex. τοὺς Ἑσβεών; *Hesebon*), Jud. v. 15. [HESIBON.]

ES'EBRIAS (Ἑσπερίας; *Sedebias*), 1 Esd. viii. 54. [SHEREBIAH.]

ESEK (עֶשֶׂק; Ἀδία; *Adunnit*), a well (נַחַל) containing a spring of water; which the herdsmen of Isaac dug in the valley of Giear, and which received its name of Esék, or "strife," because the herdsmen of Giear "struve" (אִרְבְּעָה) with him for the possession of it\* (Gen. xvi. 20).

ESH-BAAL (עֶשְׁבָּאֵל = "Baal's man;," Ἀσβαδά, Alex. Ἰσβαδά; *Eshaut*), the fourth son of Saul, according to the genealogy of 1 Chr. viii. 33 and ix. 39. He is doubtless the same person as ISH-BOSIETH, since it was the practice to change the obnoxious name of Baal into Boseth or Besheth, as in the case of Jerub-besheth for Jerub-baal, and (in this very genealogy) of Merib-baal for Mephibosheth; compare also Hos. ix. 10, where Bosheth (A. V. "shame") appears to be used as a synonym for Baal. If Esh-baal is not identical with Ish-bosheth, the latter has been omitted entirely from these lists of Saul's descendants, which, considering his position, is not likely. Which of the two names is the earlier it is not possible to decide. [G.]

ESH'BAN (עֶשְׁבָּן; Ἀσβάν, Ἀρεβών, Alex. Ἀρεβάν; *Eschim*), a Horite, one of the four sons of DISHAN (so the Hebrew in Gen.; but A. V. has Dishon), the son of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26; 1 Chr. i. 41). No trace of the name appears to have been discovered among the modern tribes of Idumaea.

ESH'COL (עֶשְׂקוֹל; Ἑσχαλά; Josephus Ἑσχαλής; *Eschof*), brother of Mamre the Amorite, and of Aner; and one of Abraham's companions in his pursuit of the four kings who had carried off Lot (Gen. xiv. 13, 24). According to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, §2) he was the foremost of the three brothers, but the Bible narrative leaves this quite uncertain (comp. 13 with 24). Their residence was at Hebron (xiii. 18), and possibly the name of Eshcol remained attached to one of the fruitful valleys in that district till the arrival of the Israelites, who then interpreted the appellation as significant of the gigantic "cluster" (in Hebr. *Eshcol*) which they obtained there.

ESH'COL, THE VALLEY, OR THE BROOK, OF (עֶשְׂקוֹל וְנַחַל; עֶשְׂקוֹל; *φάραγξ Βότρυος*; *Nehelacool*, *id est torrens botri*), a wady in the neighbourhood of Hebron, explored by the spies who were sent by Moses from Kadesh-barnea. From

the terms of two of the notices of this transaction (Num. xxxiii. 9; Dent. i. 24) it might be gathered that Eshcol was the furthest point to which the spies penetrated. But this would be to contradict the express statement of Num. xiii. 21, that they went as far as Rehob. From this fruitful valley they brought back a huge cluster of grapes, an incident which, according to the narrative, obtained for the place its appellation of the "valley of the cluster" (Num. xiii. 23, 24). It is true that in Hebrew *Eshcol* signifies a cluster or bunch, but the name had existed in this neighbourhood centuries before, when Abraham lived there with the chiefs Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, not Hebrews but Amorites; and this was possibly the Hebrew way of appropriating the ancient name derived from that hero into the language of the conquerors, consistently with the patronymic turns so much in favour at that time, and with a practice of which traces appear elsewhere.

In the Onomasticon of Eusebius the *φάραγξ Βότρυος* is plural, with some hesitation, at Gophna, fifteen miles north of Jerusalem, on the Neapolis road. By Jerome it is given as north of Hebron, on the road to Bethsur (*Epitaph. Pauline*). The Jewish traveller Ha-Parchi speaks of it as north of the mountain on which the (ancient) city of Hebron stood (Benjamin of Tudela, *Asher*, ii. 437); and here the name has been lately observed still attached to a spring of remarkably fine water called *Áin-Eshkoli*, in a valley which crosses the vale of Hebron N.E. and S.W., and about two miles north of the town (Van de Velde, ii. 64). It is right to say that this interesting intelligence has not been yet confirmed by other observers. [G.]

ESHT'AN (עֶשְׁתָּן; *Soud*, Alex. Ἑσάν; *Esaan*), one of the cities of Judah, in the mountainous district, and in the same group with Hebron (Josh. xv. 52). The name does not occur again, nor has it been met with in modern times. [G.]

E'SHEK (עֶשֶׁק; Ἀσθήλ, Alex. Ἑσελέκ; *Esec*), a Benjamite, one of the late descendants of Saul; the founder of a large and noted family of archers, lit. "treaders of the bow" (1 Chr. viii. 39). The name is omitted in the parallel list of 1 Chr. ix.

ESHKAL'ONITES, THE (accurately "the Eshklonite," עֶשְׂקוֹלִי, in the singular number; *τῶ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ*; *Ascalonitas*), Josh. xiii. 3. [ASHKELON.]

ESH'TAOL (עֶשְׂתָּאֵל and עֶשְׂתָּאֵל; Ἀσταάλ, Ἀσά, Ἑσθαάλ; *Eshuol*, *Ashuol*), a town in the low country—the *Shefelah*—of Judah. It is the first of the first group of cities in that district (Josh. xv. 33) enumerated with Zoreah (Heb. *Zureah*), in company with which it is commonly mentioned. Zorah and Eshtaol were two of the towns allotted to the tribe of Dan out of Judah (Josh. xix. 41). Between them, and behind Kirjath-jearim, was situated Mahaneh-Dan, the camp or stronghold which formed the head-quarters of that little community during their constant encounters with the Philistines. Here, among the old warriors of the tribe, Samson spent his boyhood, and experienced the first impulses of the Spirit of Jehovah; and hither after his last exploit his body was brought, up the long slopes of the western hills, to its last rest

\* The word rendered "strive" (אִרְבֵּה) in the former part of ver. 20, and in 21 and 22 is not the same as that from which *Esek* derived its name, and should

be translated by a different English word. Such points, though small, are anything but unimportant in connexion with these ancient and peculiar records.

in the burying-place of Manohah his father (Judg. xiii. 25, xvi. 31, xviii. 2, 8, 11, 12). [DAN.] In the genealogical records of 1 Chron. the relationship between Eshtaul, Zareah, and Kirjath-jearim is still maintained. [ESHTAULITES.]

In the *Onomasticum* of Eusebius and Jerome Eshtaul is twice mentioned—(1) as Astaul of Judah, deified as then existing between Azotus and Ascalon under the name of *Astho*; (2) as Esthauil of Dan, ten miles N. of Elentheopolis. The latter position is quite in accordance with the indications of the Bible. In more modern times, however, the name has vanished. Zorah has been recognized as *Sārith* (Rob. ii. 14, 16, 224, iii. 153), but the identification of Eshtaul has yet to be made. Schwarz (102) mentions a village named *Stual*, west of Zorah, but, apart from the fact that this is corroborated by no other traveller and by no map, the situation is too far west to be "behind Kirjath-jearim" if *Kuryet el-enab* be Kirjath-jearim. The village marked on the maps of Robinson and Van de Velde, *Yeshāu*, and alluded to by the former (iii. 155), is nearer the requisite position; but the resemblance between the two names is too faint to admit of identification. [G.]

**ESHTAULITES, THE** (Ἐσθαυλίται, accur. "the Eshtauleite," in sing. number; *ἰδιὸν Ἐσθαυλίτου*, Alex. of Ἐσθαυλίται; *Eshtautilite*), with the Zareathites, were among the families of Kirjath-jearim (1 Chr. ii. 53). [ESHTAUL.]

**ESHTEMO'A**, and in shorter form, without the final guttural, **ESHTEMOH** (Ἐσθεμὼς and Ἐσθεμὼν; the latter occurs in Josh. xv. only; *Ἐσθεμὼς*; Alex. *Ἐσθεμὼς*; corruptly *Ἐσ καὶ Μὲν*; καὶ τῶν Τέμα, *Ἐσθιέ*; *Estemo*, *Estemo*), a town of Judah, in the mountains; one of the group containing **DEBIR** (Josh. xv. 50). With its "suburbs" Eshtemoa was allotted to the priests (xvi. 14; 1 Chr. vi. 57). It was one of the places frequented by David and his followers during the long period of their wanderings; and to his friends there he sent presents of the spoil of the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 28, comp. 31). The place was known in the time of Eusebius and Jerome (*praegranda vicinis*), though their description of its locality is too vague to enable us to determine it (*Onom. Eshtemo*). But there is little doubt that it has been discovered by Dr. Robinson at *Semū'a*, a village seven miles south of Hebron, on the great road from *el-Milh*, containing considerable ancient remains, and in the neighbourhood of other villages still bearing the names of its companions in the list of Josh. xv.; Anab, Socoh, Juttir, &c. (See Robinson, i. 494, ii. 204, 5; Schwarz, 105.)

In the lists—half genealogical, half topographical—of the descendants of Judah in 1 Chron. Eshtemoa occurs as derived from Ishbah, "the father of Eshtemoa" (1 Chr. iv. 17); Gedor, Socoh, and Zanoah, all towns in the same locality being named in the following verse. Eshtemoa appears to have been founded by the descendants of the Egyptian wife of a certain Merod, the three other towns by those of his Jewish wife. See the explanations of Bertheau (*Chronik, ad loc.*). In verse 19 the name appears to belong to an actual person, **ESHTEMO'A** the Manchathite. [G.]

**ESHTON** (Ἐσθὼν; Ἀσθαθὼν; *Esthon*), a name which occurs in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 11, 12). Mehir was "the father of

Eshton," and amongst the names of his four children are two—Beth-rapah and Ir-nahash—which have the appearance of being names, not of persons, but of places. [G.]

**ES'LI** (Rec. T. Ἐσλί, B Ἐσλε, probably = Ἐσλί, AZALIAH; *Esli*, Cod. Amiat. *Hesli*), son of Nagge or Naggai, and father of Naum, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 25). See Hervey, *Genealogies, &c.*, 136.

**ESO'RA** (Αἰσώρα; Vulg. omits: the Peschito Syriac reads *Bethchorn*), a place fortified by the Jews on the approach of the Assyrian army under Holofernes (Jud. iv. 4). The name may be the representative of the Hebrew word *Hazor*, or *Zorah* (Simonis, *Onom. N. T.* 19), but no identification has yet been arrived at. The Syriac reading suggests *Beth-horon*, which is not impossible.

**ES'RIL** (Ἐσρίλ, Alex. Ἐρίλ; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [AZAREEL, or SIALAL.]

**ES'ROM** (Rec. T. Ἐσρώμ; in Luke, Luchm. with B, Ἐσρώμ; *Esrom*), Matt. i. 3; Luke iii. 33. [HIZRON.]

**ESSENESES**. 1. In describing the different sects which existed among the Jews in his own time, Josephus dwells at great length and with especial emphasis on the faith and practice of the *Essenes*, who appear in his description to combine the ascetic virtues of the Pythagoreans and Stoics with a spiritual knowledge of the Divine Law. An analogous sect, marked, however, by characteristic differences, appears in the Egyptian *Therapeutae*, and from the detailed notices of Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 8; *Ant.* xiii. 5, §9, xv. 10, §4 f., xviii. 1, §2 ff.) and Philo (*Quod omni. prob.* *liber*, §12 ff. *Fragmenta*. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Eccl. De vita contemplativa*), and the casual remarks of Pliny (*H. N.* v. 17), later writers have frequently discussed the relation which these Jewish mystics occupied towards the popular religion of the time, and more particularly towards the doctrines of Christianity. For it is a most remarkable fact that the existence of such sects appears to be unrecognised both in the Apostolic writings and in early Hebrew literature.

2. The name *Essene* (Ἐσσηνοί, Joseph. *Esseni*, Plin.) or *Essæum* (Ἐσσηαῖοι Philo; *Jos. B. J.* i. 3, 5, &c.) is itself full of difficulty. Various derivations have been proposed for it, and all are more or less open to objection. Some have connected it with ἱσθίς (Ἀσθαθὼς) "puritan," or ἰσχυρῶς, "the retiring," or ἰσθίς, "the servant (of God)"; others, again, find the root in ἔσθω "to eat" (Baur), or ἔσθω "to bathe" (Grätz). Philo, according to his fashion, saw in the word a possible connexion with the Greek ἅγιος, *holy* (*Quod omni. prob. lib.* §12); and Epiphanius interpreted the collateral form Ὀσσηνοί as meaning "the stout race" (στυβαρὸν γένος, *Haec. xix. i. e.* ἱσθίς). It seems more likely that Essene represents ἰσθίς, "seers" (so Suidas = θεωρητικοί, Hilgenfeld) or ἰσθίς, "the silent, the mysterious" (Jost). Josephus represents ἰσθίς (LXX. *λογιστήρ*), "the High Priest's breastplate," by Ἐσσηνός, interpreting the word as equivalent to ἁγιώτης "ancient" (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5). Comp. Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 207 n.; Hilgenfeld, *Jud. Apok.* 277 f.; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iv. 420 n.

2. The obscurity of the Essenes as a distinct body arises from the fact that they represented originally a tendency rather than an organisation. The communities which were formed out of them

were a result of their practice, and not a necessary part of it. As a sect they were distinguished by an aspiration after ideal purity rather than by any special code of doctrines; and like the Chasidim of earlier times [ASSIDEANS], they were confounded in the popular estimation with the great body of the zealous observers of the Law (Pharisees). The growth of Essenism was a natural result of the religious feeling which was called out by the circumstances of the Greek dominion; and it is easy to trace the process by which it was matured. From the Maccabean age there was a continuous effort among the stricter Jews to attain an absolute standard of holiness. Each class of devotees was looked upon as practically impure by their successors, who carried the laws of purity still further; and the Essenes stand at the extreme limit of the mystic asceticism which was thus gradually reduced to shape. The associations of the "Scillites and Pharisees" (הכריתים "the companions, the wise") gave place to others bound by a more rigid rule; and the rule of the Essenes was made gradually stricter. Julius, the earliest Essene who is mentioned (c. 110 B.C.), appears living in ordinary society (Jos. B. J. i. 3, §5). Menahem, according to tradition a colleague of Hillel, was a friend of Herod, and brought upon his sect the favour of the king (Jos. Ant. xv. 10, §5). But by a natural impulse the Essenes withdrew from the dangers and distractions of business. From the cities they retired to the wilderness to realize the conceptions of religion which they formed, but still they remained on the whole true to their ancient faith. To the Pharisees they stood nearly in the same relation as that in which the Pharisees themselves stood with regard to the mass of the people. The differences lay mainly in rigour of practice, and not in articles of belief.

3. The traces of the existence of Essenes in common society are not wanting nor confined to individual cases. Not only was a gate at Jerusalem named from them (Jos. B. J. v. 4, §2, *ἑσσηνίων πύλη*), but a later tradition mentions the existence of a congregation there which devoted "one third of the day to study, one third to prayer, and one third to labour" (Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 458). Those, again, whom Josephus speaks of as allowing marriage may be supposed to have belonged to such bodies as had not yet withdrawn from intercourse with their fellow-men. But the practice of the extreme section was afterwards regarded as characteristic of the whole class, and the isolated communities of Essenes furnished the type which is preserved in the popular descriptions. These were regulated by strict rules, analogous to those of the monastic institutions of a later date. The candidate for admission first passed through a year's novitiate, in which he received, as symbolic gifts, an axe, an apron, and a white robe, and gave proof of his temperance by observing the ascetic rules of the order (*τῶν ἀσκήν διατάων*). At the close of this probation, his character (*τὸ ἥθος*) was submitted to a fresh trial of two years, and meanwhile he shared in the laudal rites of the initiated, but not in their meals. The full membership was imparted at the end of this second period when the novice bound himself "by awful oaths"—though oaths were absolutely forbidden at all other times—to observe piety, justice, obedience, honesty, and secrecy, "preserving alike the books of their sect, and the names of the angels" (Joseph. B. J. ii. 8, §7).

4. The order itself was regulated by an internal

jurisdiction. Excommunication was equivalent to a slow death, since an Essene could not take food prepared by strangers for fear of pollution. All things were held in common, without distinction of property or house; and special provision was made for the relief of the poor. Self-denial, temperance, and labour—especially agriculture—were the marks of the outward life of the Essenes; purity and divine communion the objects of their aspiration. Slavery, war, and commerce were alike forbidden (Philo, *Quod om. prob. l.* §12, p. 877 M.); and, according to Philo, their conduct generally was directed by three rules, "the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man" (Philo, *l. c.*).

5. In doctrine, as has been seen already, they did not differ essentially from strict Pharisees. Moses was honoured by them next to God (Joseph. B. J. ii. 8, 9). They observed the Sabbath with singular strictness; and though they were unable to offer sacrifices at Jerusalem, probably from regard to purity (*διαφοροῦντι ἀγνείων*), they sent gifts thither (Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 5); at the same time, like most ascetics, they turned their attention specially to the mysteries of the spiritual world, and looked upon the body as a mere prison of the soul. They studied and practised with signal success, according to Josephus, the art of prophecy (Joseph. B. J. ii. 8; cf. Ant. xv. 10, §5; B. J. i. 3, §5); and familiar intercourse with nature gave them an unusual knowledge of physical truths. They assented with peculiar boldness the absolute power and foreknowledge of God (Joseph. Ant. xiii. 5, §9, xviii. 1, §5); and disparaged the various forms of mental philosophy as useless or beyond the range of man (Philo, *l. c.* p. 877).

6. The number of the Essenes is roughly estimated by Philo at 4000 (Philo, *l. c.*), and Josephus says that there were "more than 4000" who observed their rule (Ant. xvii. 2, §5). Their best-known settlements were on the N.W. shore of the Dead Sea (Philo; Plin. ll. cc.), but others lived in scattered communities throughout Palestine, and perhaps also in cities (Jos. B. J. ii. 8, §4. Cf. Hippol. *Philos.* ix. 20).

7. In the Talmudic writings there is, as has been already said, no direct mention of the Essenes, but their existence is recognised by the notice of peculiar points of practice and teaching. Under the titles of "the pious," "the weakly" (i. e. with study), "the retiring," their maxims are quoted with respect, and many of the traits preserved in Josephus find parallels in the notices of the Talmud (Z. Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, Dec. 1846, pp. 451 ff. *Monatsschrift*, 1853, pp. 37 ff.). The four stages of purity which are distinguished by the doctors (*Chajim*, 18 a, ap. Frankel, *l. c.* 451) correspond in a singular manner with the four classes into which the Essenes are said to have been divided (Joseph. B. J. ii. 8, §10); and the periods of probation observed in the two cases offer similar coincidences.

8. But the best among the Jews felt the peril of Essenism as a system, and combined to discourage it. They shrank with an instinctive dread from the danger of connecting asceticism with spiritual power, and cherished the great truth which lay in the saying "Doctrine is not in heaven." The miraculous energy which was attributed to mystics was regarded by them rather as a source of suspicion than of respect; and theosophic speculations were condemned with emphatic distinctness (Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, pp. 63 ff., 68, 71).

9. The character of Essenism limited its spread. Out of Palestine, Levitical purity was impossible, for the very land was impure; and thus there is no trace of the sect in Babylonia. The case was different in Egypt, where Judaism assumed a new shape from its intimate connexion with Greece. Here the original form in which it was moulded was represented not by direct copies, but by analogical forms; and the tendency which gave birth to the Essenes found a fresh development in the pure speculation of the Therapeutae. These Alexandrine mystics abjured the practical labours which rightly belonged to the Essenes, and gave themselves up to the study of the inner meaning of the Scriptures. The impossibility of fulfilling the law naturally led them to substitute a spiritual for a literal interpretation; and it was their object to ascertain its meaning by intense labour, and then to satisfy its requirements by absolute devotion. The "whole day, from sunrise to sunset, was spent in mental discipline." Bodily wants were often forgotten in the absorbing pursuit of wisdom, and "meat and drink" were at all times held to be unworthy of the light (*Philo, De vit. contempl. §4*).

10. From the nature of the case Essenism in its extreme form could exercise very little influence on Christianity. In all its practical bearings it was diametrically opposed to the Apostolic teaching. The dangers which it involved were far more clear to the eye of the Christian than they were to the Jewish doctors. The only real similarity between Essenism and Christianity lay in the common element of true Judaism; and there is little excuse for modern writers who follow the error of Eusebius, and confound the society of the Therapeutae with Christian brotherhoods. Nationally, however, the Essenes occupy the same position as that to which John the Baptist was personally called. They mark the close of the old, the longing for the new, but in this case without the promise. In place of the message of the coming "kingdom" they could proclaim only individual purity and isolation. At a later time traces of Essenism appear in the Clementines, and the strange account which Epiphanius gives of the *Osseni* (*Ὀσσηνοί*) appears to point to some combination of Essene and pseudo-Christian doctrines (*Haer. xix.*). After the Jewish war the Essenes disappear from history. The character of Judaism was changed, and ascetic Pharisaism became almost impossible.

11. The original sources for the history of the Essenes have been already noticed. Of modern essays, the most original and important are those of Frankel in his *Zeitschrift*, 1846, pp. 441-461, and *Monatsschrift*, 1853, 30 ff., taken in conjunction with the wider view of Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 207 ff. The account of Hilgenfeld (*Jud. Apokalypitk.* 245 ff.) is interesting and ingenious, but essentially one-sided and subservient to the writer's theory (cf. Volkmar, *Das vierte B. Ezra*, 60). Gfrörer (*Philo*, ii. 299 ff.), Dähne (*Jud.-Alox. Reliq.-Philos.* i. 467 ff.), and Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* iv. 420 ff.), all contribute important sketches from their respective points of view. The earlier literature, as far as it is of any value, is embodied in these works. [B. F. W.]

**ESTHER** (**אֶסְתֵּר**, the planet Venus; **עֶשְׂתֵּר**), the Persian name of HADASSAH, daughter of Abihail the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite [*MORDECAI*, and cousin of Mordecai]. The explanation of her old name Hadassah, by the addition

of her new name, by which she was better known, with the formula, **אֶסְתֵּר אֵיךְ**, "that is Esther" (*Est. ii. 7*), is exactly analogous to the usual addition of the modern names of towns to explain the use of the old obsolete ones (*Gen. xxxv. 19, 27; Josh. xv. 10, &c.*). Esther was a beautiful Jewish maiden, whose ancestor Kish had been among the captives led away from Jerusalem (part of which was in the tribe of Benjamin) by Nebuchadnezzar when Jehoiachin was taken captive. She was an orphan without father or mother, and had been brought up by her cousin Mordecai, who had an office in the household of Ahasuerus king of Persia, and dwelt at "Shushan the palace." When Vashti was dismissed from being queen, and all the fairest virgins of the kingdom had been collected at Shushan for the king to make choice of a successor to her from among them, the choice fell upon Esther, and she was crowned queen in the room of Vashti with much pomp and rejoicing. The king was not aware, however, of her race and parentage; and so, with the careless profusion of a sensual despot, on the representation of Haman the Agagite, his prime minister, that the Jews scattered through his empire were a pernicious race, he gave him full power and authority to kill them all, young and old, women and children, and take possession of all their property. The means taken by Esther to avert this great calamity from her people and her kindred, at the risk of her own life, and to turn upon Haman the destruction he had plotted against the Jews, and the success of her scheme, by which she changed their mourning, fasting, weeping, and wailing, into light and gladness and joy and honour, and became for ever especially honoured amongst her countrymen, are fully related in the book of Esther. The feast of Purim, i. e. of *Iots*, was appointed by Esther and Mordecai to be kept on the 14th and 15th of the month Adar (February and March) in commemoration of this great deliverance. [*PURIM*.] The decree of Esther to this effect is the last thing recorded of her (v. 32). The continuous celebration of this feast by the Jews to the present day is thought to be a strong evidence of the historical truth of the book. [*ESTHER, BOOK OF*.]

The questions which arise in attempting to give Esther her place in profane history are—

I. Who is Ahasuerus? This question is answered under *AHASUERUS*, and the reasons there given lead to the conclusion that he was Xerxes the son of Darius Hystaspes.

II. The second inquiry is, who then was Esther? Artaxana, Atossa, and others are indeed excluded by the above decision; but are we to conclude with Scaliger, that because Ahasuerus is Xerxes, therefore Esther is Amestris? Surely not. None of the historical particulars related by Herodotus concerning Amestris make it possible to identify her with Esther. Amestris was the daughter of Otanes (Onophas in Ctesias), one of Xerxes' generals, and brother to his father Darius (*Herod. vii. 61, 82*). Esther's father and mother had been Jews. Amestris was wife to Xerxes before the Greek expedition (*Herod. vii. 61*), and her sons accompanied Xerxes to Greece (*Herod. vii. 39*), and had all three come to man's estate at the death of Xerxes in the 20th year of his reign. Darius, the eldest, had married immediately after the return from Greece. Esther did not enter the king's palace till his 7th year, just the time of Darius's marriage. These objections are conclusive, without adding the difference of character of the two queens. The truth is that his-

tory is wholly silent both about Vashti and Esther. Herodotus only happens to mention one of Xerxes' wives; Scripture only mentions two, if indeed either of them were wives at all. But since we know that it was the custom of the Persian kings before Xerxes to have several wives, besides their concubines; that Cyrus had several (Herod. iii. 3); that Cambyses had four whose names are mentioned, and others besides (iii. 31, 32, 68); that Smerdis had several (ib. 68, 69); and that Darius had six wives, whose names are mentioned (ib. passim), it is most improbable that Xerxes should have been content with one wife. Another strong objection to the idea of Esther being his one legitimate wife, and perhaps to her being strictly his wife at all, is that the Persian kings selected their wives not from the harem, but, if not foreign princesses, from the noblest Persian families, either their own nearest relatives, or from one of the seven great Persian houses. It seems therefore natural to conclude that Esther, a captive, and one of the harem, was not of the highest rank of wives, but that a special honour, with the name of queen, may have been given to her, as to Vashti before her, as the favourite concubine or inferior wife, whose offspring, however, if she had any, would not have succeeded to the Persian throne. This view, which seems to be strictly in accordance with what we know of the manners of the Persian court, removes all difficulty in reconciling the history of Esther with the scanty accounts left us by profane authors of the reign of Xerxes.

It only remains to remark on the character of Esther as given in the Bible. She appears there as a woman of deep piety, faith, courage, patriotism, and caution, combined with resolution; a dutiful daughter to her adoptive father, docile and obedient to his counsels, and anxious to share the king's favour with him for the good of the Jewish people. That she was a virtuous woman, and, as far as her situation made it possible, a good wife to the king, her continued influence over him for so long a time warrants us to infer. And there must have been a singular grace and charm in her aspect and manners, since she "obtained favour in the sight of all that looked upon her" (ii. 15). That she was raised up as an instrument in the hands of God to avert the destruction of the Jewish people, and to afford them protection, and forward their wealth and peace in their captivity, is also manifest from the Scripture account. But to impute to her the sentiments put into her mouth by the apocryphal author of ch. xiv., or to accuse her of cruelty because of the death of Haman and his sons, and the second day's slaughter of the Jews' enemies at Shushan, is utterly to ignore the manners and feelings of her age and nation, and to judge her by the standard of Christian morality in our own age and country instead. In fact the simplicity and truth to nature of the Scriptural narrative afford a striking contrast, both with the forced and florid amplifications of the apocryphal additions, and with the sentiments of some later commentators. It may be convenient to add that the 3rd year of Xerxes was B.C. 488, his 7th, 479, and his 12th, 474 (Clinton, *F. H.*), and that the simultaneous battles of Plataea and Mycale, which frightened Xerxes from Sardis (Diod. Sic. xi. §36) to Susa, happened, according to

Prideaux and Clinton, in September of his 7th year. For a fuller discussion of the identity of Esther, and different views of the subject, see Prideaux's *Connection*, i. 236, 243, 297, sqq., and Petav. *de doct. temp.* xii. 27, 28, who make Esther wife of Artaxerxes Longim., following Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 6, as he followed the LXX. and the apocryphal Esther; J. Scalig. (*de emend. temp.* vi. 591; *Animadv.* Euseb. 100) making Ahasuerus, Xerxes; Usher (*Annal. Vet. Test.*) making him Darius Hystaspis; Loftus, *Chaldea*, &c. Eusebius (*Canon. Chron.* 338, ed. Medioli.) rejects the hypothesis of Artaxerxes Longim., on the score of the silence of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and adopts that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, following the Jews, who make Darius Colomanus to be the same as Darius Hystaspis, and the son of Artaxerxes by Esther! It is most observable that all Petavius's and Prideaux's arguments against Scaliger's view apply solely to the statement that Esther is Amestris. [A. C. H.]

**ESTHER, BOOK OF**, one of the latest of the canonical books of Scripture, having been written late in the reign of Xerxes, or early in that of his son Artaxerxes Longimanus. The author is not known, but may very probably have been Mordecai himself. The minute details given of the great banquet, of the names of the chamberlains and eunuchs, and Haman's wife and sons, and of the customs and regulations of the palace, betoken that the author lived at Shushan, and probably at court, while his no less intimate acquaintance with the most private affairs both of Esther and Mordecai well suits the hypothesis of the latter being himself the writer. It is also in itself probable that as Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, who held high offices under the Persian kings, wrote an account of the affairs of their nation, in which they took a leading part, so Mordecai should have recorded the transactions of the book of Esther likewise. The termination of the book with the mention of Mordecai's elevation and government, agrees also well with this view, which has the further sanction of many great names, as Aben Ezra, and most of the Jews, Vatablus, Carpzovius, and many others. Those who ascribe it to Ezra, or the men of the great Synagogue, may have merely meant that Ezra edited and added it to the canon of Scripture, which he probably did, bringing it, and perhaps the book of Daniel, with him from Babylon to Jerusalem.

The book of Esther appears in a different form in the LXX.,\* and the translations therefrom, from that in which it is found in the Hebrew Bible. In speaking of it we shall first speak of the canonical book found in Hebrew, to which also the above observations refer; and next of the Greek book with its apocryphal additions. The canonical **ESTHER** then is placed among the hagiographa or כְּתוּבֵי חִשְׁמוֹ by the Jews, and in that first portion of them which they call the five volumes, מִגִּילָה. It is sometimes emphatically called *Megillah*, without other distinction, and was held in such high repute by the Jews that it is a saying of Maimonides that in the days of Messiah the prophetic and hagiographical books will pass away, except the book of Esther, which will remain with the Pentateuch. This book is read through by the Jews in their synagogues at the feast of Purim, when it was, and

\* It is not intended by this expression to imply that the translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek were also the authors of the apocryphal additions.

The term LXX. is used to indicate the whole Greek volume as we now have it.

is still in some synagogues, the custom at the mention of Haman's name to hiss, and stamp, and clench the fist, and cry, Let his name be blotted out, may the name of the wicked rot. It is said also that the names of Haman's ten sons are read in one breath, to signify that they all expired at the same instant of time. Even in writing the names of Haman's sons in the 7th, 8th, and 9th verses of Esth. ix., the Jewish scribes have contrived to express their abhorrence of the race of Haman. For these ten names are written in three perpendicular columns of 3, 3, 4, as if they were hanging upon three parallel cords, three upon each cord, one above another, to represent the hanging of Haman's sons (Stehelin's *Rabbia. Literat.* vol. ii. p. 349). The Targum of Esth. ix., in Walton's Polyglott,<sup>b</sup> inserts a very minute account of the exact position occupied by Haman and his sons on the gallows, the height from the ground, and the interval between each; according to which they all hung in one line, Haman at the top, and his ten sons at intervals of half a cubit under him. It is added that Zeresh and Haman's seventy sons fled, and begged their bread from door to door, in evident allusion to Ps. cix. 9, 10. It has often been remarked as a peculiarity of this book that the name of God does not once occur in it. Some of the ancient Jewish teachers were somewhat staggered at this, but others accounted for it by saying that it was a transcript, under Divine inspiration, from the Chronicles of the Medes and Persians, and that being meant to be read by heathen, the Sacred name was wisely omitted. Baxter (*Saint's Rest*, pt. iv. ch. iii.) speaks of the Jews using to cast to the ground the book of Esther, because the name of God was not in it. But Wolf (*B. H.* pt. ii. p. 90) denies this, and says that if any such custom prevailed among the Oriental Jews, to whom it is ascribed by Sanly's, it must have been rather to express their hatred of Haman. Certain it is that this book was always reckoned in the Jewish canon, and is named or implied in almost every enumeration of the books composing it, from Josephus downwards. Jerome mentions it by name in the *Prolog. Gal.*, in his Epistle to Paulinus, and in the preface to Esther; as does Augustine, *de Civit. Dei*, and *de Doctr. Christ.*, and Origen, as cited by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25), and many others. Some modern commentators, both English and German, have objected to the contents of the book as improbable; but if it be true, as Diodorus Sic. relates, that Xerxes put the Medians foremost at Thermopylae on purpose that they might be all killed, because he thought they were not thoroughly reconciled to the loss of their national supremacy, it is surely not incredible that he should have given permission to Haman to destroy a few thousand strange people like the Jews, who were represented to be injurious to his empire, and disobedient to his laws. Nor again, when we remember what Herodotus relates of Xerxes in respect to promises made at banquets, can we deem it incredible that he should perform his promise to Esther to reverse the decree in the only way that seemed practicable. It is likely too that the secret friends and adherents of Haman would be the persons to attack the Jews, which would be a reason why Ahasuerus would rather rejoice at their destruction. In all other re-

spects the writer shows such an accurate acquaintance with Persian manners, and is so true to history and chronology, as to afford the strongest internal evidences to the truth of the book. The casual way in which the author of 2 Macc. xv. 36 alludes to the feast of Purim, under the name of "Mardocheus's day," as kept by the Jews in the time of Nicanor, is another strong testimony in its favour, and tends to justify the strong expression of Dr. Lee (quoted in Whiston's *Josephus*, xi. ch. vi.), that "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day."<sup>c</sup>

The style of writing is remarkably chaste and simple, and the narrative of the struggle in Esther's mind between fear and the desire to save her people, and of the final resolve made in the strength of that help, which was to be sought in prayer and fasting, is very touching and beautiful, and without any exaggeration. It does not in the least savour of romance. The Hebrew is very like that of Ezra and parts of the Chronicles; generally pure, but mixed with some words of Persian origin, and some of Chaldaic affinity, which do not occur in older Hebrew, such as *מִאֲמָר*, *בָּיִן*, *פְּתִיחַן*, *שְׁבִיט*.

In short it is just what one would expect to find in a work of the age which the book of Esther pretends to belong to.

As regards the LXX. version of the book (of which there are two texts, called by Dr. Fritzsche, A. and B.), it consists of the canonical Esther with various interpolations prefixed, interspersed,<sup>d</sup> and added at the close. Read in Greek it makes a complete and continuous history, except that here and there, as *e.g.* in the repetition of Mordecai's pedigree, the patch-work betrays itself. The chief additions are, Mordecai's pedigree, his dream, and his appointment to sit in the king's gate, in the second year of Artaxerxes, prefixed. Then, in the third chapter, a pretended copy of Artaxerxes's decree for the destruction of the Jews added, written in thorough Greek style, a prayer of Mordecai inserted in the fourth chapter, followed by a prayer of Esther, in which she excuses herself for being wife to the uncircumcised king, and denies having eaten anything or drunk wine at the table of Haman; an amplification of v. 1-3; a pretended copy of Artaxerxes's letter for reversing the previous decree, also of manifestly Greek origin in ch. viii., in which Haman is called a Macedonian, and is accused of having plotted to transfer the empire from the Persians to the Macedonians, a palpable proof of this portion having been composed after the overthrow of the Persian empire by the Greeks; and lastly an addition to the tenth chapter, in which Mordecai shows how his dream was fulfilled in the events that had happened, gives glory to God, and prescribes the observations of the feast of the 14th and 15th Adar. The whole book is closed with the following entry:—"In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemy his son, brought this epistle of Phnim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemy, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it." This entry was apparently intended to give authority to this Greek version of

<sup>b</sup> There are two Targums to Esther, both of late date. See Wolf's *Bibl. Hebr.* Pars 11, 1171-81.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. W. Lee also has some remarks on the proof of the *historical* character of the book derived from

the feast of Purim, as well as on other points (*Inspir. of H.* S. 430, seq.).

<sup>d</sup> The Targum to Esther contains other copious embellishments and amplifications. [MORDECAI.]

ESTHER, by pretending that it was a certified translation from the Hebrew original. Ptolemy Philometor, who is here meant,\* began to reign B.C. 181. Though, however, the interpolations of the Greek copy are thus manifest, they make a consistent and intelligible story. But the Apocryphal additions as they are inserted in some editions of the Latin Vulgate, and in the English Bible, are incomprehensible; the history of which is this:—When Jerome translated the book of Esther, he first gave the version of the Hebrew alone as being alone authentic. He then added at the end a version in Latin of those several passages which he found in the LXX., and which were not in the Hebrew, stating where each passage came in, and marking them all with an obelus. The first passage so given is that which forms the continuation of chapter x. (which of course immediately precedes it), ending with the above entry about Dositheus. Having annexed this conclusion, he then gives the *Prooemium*, which he says forms the beginning of the Greek Vulgate, beginning with what is now verse 2 of chapter xi.; and so proceeds with the other passages. But in subsequent editions all Jerome's explanatory matter has been swept away, and the disjointed portions have been printed as chapters xi., xii., xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., as if they formed a narrative in continuance of the Canonical book. The extreme absurdity of this arrangement is nowhere more apparent than in chapter xi., where the verse (1), which closes the whole book in the Greek copies, and in St. Jerome's Latin translation, is actually made immediately to precede that (ver. 2), which is the very first verse of the *Prooemium*. As regards the place assigned to Esther in the LXX., in the Vatican edition, and most others, it comes between Judith and Job. Its place before Job is a remnant of the Hebrew order, Esther there closing the historical, and Job beginning the metrical *Megilloth*. Tobit and Judith have been placed between it and Nehemiah, doubtless for chronological reasons. But in the very ancient Codex published by Tischendorf, and called *C. Friderico-Augustanus*, Esther immediately follows Nehemiah (included under E-chas B), and precedes Tobit. This Codex, which contains the Apocryphal additions to Esther, was copied from one written by the martyr Pamphilus with his own hand, as far as to the end of Esther, and is ascribed by the editor to the fourth century.

As regards the motive which led to these additions, one seems evidently to have been to supply what was thought an omission in the Hebrew book, by introducing copious mention of the name of God. It is further evident from the other Apocryphal books, and additions to Canonical Scripture, which appear in the LXX., such as Bel and the Dragon, Susannah, the Song of the Three Children, &c., that the Alexandrian Jews loved to dwell upon the events of the Babylonish captivity, and especially upon the Divine interpositions in their behalf, probably as being the latest manifestations of God's special care for Israel. Traditional stories would be likely to be current among them, and these would be sure sooner or later to be committed to writing, with additions according to the fancy of the writers.

The most popular among them, or those which had most of an historical basis, or which were written by men of most weight, or whose origin was lost in the most remote antiquity, or which most gratified the national feelings, would acquire something of sacred authority (especially in the absence of real inspiration dictating fresh Scriptures), and get admitted into the volume of Scripture, less rigidly fenced by the Hellenistic than by the Hebrew Jews. No subject would be more likely to engage the thoughts, and exercise the pens of such writers, than the deliverance of the Jews from utter destruction by the intervention of Esther and Mordecai, and the overthrow of their enemies in their stead. Those who made the additions to the Hebrew narrative according to the religious taste and feeling of their own times, probably acted in the same spirit as others have often done, who have added florid architectural ornaments to temples which were too plain for their own corrupted taste. The account which Josephus follows seems to have contained yet further particulars, as, e.g. the name of the Eunuch's servant, a Jew, who betrayed the conspiracy to Mordecai; other passages from the Persian Chronicles read to Xanxerxes, besides that relating to Mordecai, and amplifications of the king's speech to Haman, &c. It is of this LXX. version that Athanasius (*Fest. Epist.* 39, Oxf. transl.) spoke when he ascribed the book of Esther to the non-canonical books; and this also is perhaps the reason why in some of the lists of the Canonical books, Esther is not named, as, e.g. in those of Melito of Sardis and Gregory Nazianzen, unless in these it is included under some other book, as Ruth, or Esdras<sup>f</sup> (see Whitaker, *Disput. on II. Scr. Park. Soc.* 57, 58; Cosins on the *Canon of Scr.* 49, 56). Origen, singularly enough, takes a different line in his *Ep. to Africanus* (*Oper.* i. 14). He defends the canonicity of these Greek additions, though he admits they are not in the Hebrew. His sole argument, unworthy of a great scholar, is the use of the LXX. in the churches, an argument which embraces equally all the Apocryphal books. Africanus, in his *Ep. to Origen*, had made the being in the Hebrew essential to canonicity, as Jerome did later. The Council of Trent pronounces the whole book of Esther to be canonical, and Vatablus says that prior to that decision it was doubtful whether or no Esther was to be included in the Canon, some authors affirming, and some denying it. He afterwards qualifies the statement by saying that at all events the seven last chapters were doubtful. Sixtus Senensis, in spite of the decision of the Council, speaks of these additions, after the example of Jerome, as "*laciniis hinc inde quorundam scriptorum temeritate insertis*," and thinks that they are chiefly derived from Josephus, but this last opinion is without probability. The manner and the order in which Josephus cites them (*Ant.* xi. vi.) show that they had already in his days obtained currency among the Hellenistic Jews as portions of the Book of Esther; as we know from the way in which he cites other Apocryphal books that they were current likewise; with others which are now lost. For it was probably from such that Josephus derived his stories

\* He is the same as is frequently mentioned in 1 Macc. i. c. g. x. 57, xi. 12; cf. Joseph. *A. J.* xiii. 4, § 1, and Clinton *F. H.* iii. p. 393. Dositheus seems to be a Greek version of Mattithiah; Ptolemy

was also a common name for Jews at that time.

<sup>f</sup> "This book of Esther, or sixth of Esdras, as it is placed in some of the most ancient copies of the Vulgate."—Lee's *Dissert.* on 2d Esdras, p. 25.

about Moses, about Sanballat, and the temple on Mount Gerizim, and the meeting of the High-priest and Alexander the Great. But these, not having happened to be bound up with the LXX., perished. However, the marvellous purity with which the Hebrew Canon has been preserved, under the Providence of God, is brought out into very strong light, by the contrast of the Greek volume. Nor is it uninteresting to observe how the relaxation of the peculiarity of their national character, by the Alexandrian Jews, implied in the adoption of the Greek language, and Greek names, seems to have been accompanied with a less jealous, and consequently a less trustworthy guardianship of their great national treasure, "the oracles of God."

See further, Bishop Cosins, on the *Canon of H. S.*; Wolf's *Bibl. Hebr.* 11, 88, and *passim*; Hotting. *Thesaur.* 494; Walton, *Proleg.* ix. §13; Whitaker, *Disput. of Script.* ch. viii.; Dr. O. F. Fritzsche, *Zusätze zum Buche Esther*; Baumgarten de *Fido Lib. Esther*, &c. [A. G. H.]

**ETAM** (עֵתָם; *Aṭm*; *Etam*). 1. A village (עֵתָם) of the tribe of Simeon, specified only in the list in 1 Chr. iv. 32 (comp. Josh. xix. 7); but that it is intentionally introduced appears from the fact that the number of places is summed as five, though in the parallel list as four. The cities of Simeon appear all to have been in the extreme south of the country (see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, §22). Different from this, therefore, was:—

2. A place in Judah, fortified and garrisoned by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 6). From its position in this list we may conclude that it was near Bethlehem and Tekoa; and in accordance with this is the mention of the name among the ten cities which the LXX. insert in the text of Josh. xv. 60, "Thecua and Ephratha which is Bethlehem, Phagor and Aitan (Ethan)." Reasons are shown below for believing it possible that this may have been the scene of Samson's residence, the cliff Etam being one of the numerous bold eminences which abound in this part of the country; and the spring of En-hak-kore one of those abundant fountains which have procured for Etam its chief fame. For here, according to the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, §3) and the Talmudists, were the sources of the water from which Solomon's gardens and pleasure-grounds were fed, and Bethlehem and the Temple supplied. (See Lightfoot, on *John* v.)

3. A name occurring in the lists of Judah's descendants (1 Chr. iv. 3), but probably referring to the place named above (2), Bethlehem being mentioned in the following verse.

**ETAM, THE ROCK** (עֵתָם הַסֵּלֶ; ἡ πέτρα; *Hētra*, for Alex. see below; Joseph. *Aṭm*; *Petra*, and *silex*, *Etam*), a cliff or lofty rock (such seems to be the special force of *Sclā*) into a cleft, or chasm (עֵתָם; A. V. "top") of which, Samson retired after his slaughter of the Philistines, in revenge for their burning the Timnite woman who was to have been his wife (*Judg.* xv. 8, 11\*). This natural stronghold (πέτρα δ' ἐστὶν ὄχυρά, *Jos. Ant.* v. 8, §8) was in the tribe of Judah; and near it, probably at its foot, was Lehi or Hamath-lehi, and En-hak-kore (*xv.* 9, 14, 17, 19). These names have all vanished; at any rate none of them have been yet discovered within that com-

paratively narrow circle to which Samson's exploits appear to have been confined. Van de Velde (ii. 141) would identify Lehi with *Lekiyeh*, a short distance north of Beersheba, but this has nothing beyond its name to recommend it. The name Etam, however, was held by a city in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 6), and which from other sources is known to have been situated in the extremely uneven and broken country round the modern *Urtas*. Here is a fitting scene for the adventure of Samson. It was sufficiently distant from Timnah to have seemed a safe refuge from the wrath of the Philistines, while on the other hand it was not too far for them to reach in search of him; for even at Bethlehem, still more distant from Philistia, they had a garrison, and that in the time of their great enemy king David. In the abundant springs and the numerous eminences of the district round *Urtas*, the cliff Etam, Ramath-lehi, and En-hak-kore may be yet found. [G.]

**ETHAN.** [EXODUS, THE, p. 599.]

**ETHAN** (אֵתָן; Ἰθάν; *Aṭm*; *Ethm*). The name of several persons. 1. ETHAN THE EZRAHITE, one of the four sons of Muhl, whose wisdom was excelled by Solomon (1 K. iv. 31). His name is in the title of Ps. lxxxix. There is little doubt that this is the same person who in 1 Chr. ii. 6 is mentioned—with the same brothers as before—as a son of Zerah, the son of Judah. [DARDA; EZRAHITE.] But being a son of Judah he must have been a different person from

2. Son of Kishi or Kishuiah; a Merarite Levite, head of that family in the time of king David (1 Chr. vi. 44; hebr. 29), and spoken of as a "singer." With Heman and Asaph the heads of the other two families of Levites Ethan was appointed to sound with cymbals (*xv.* 17, 19). From the fact that in other passages of these books the three names are given as Asaph, Heman, and JEDUTHUN, it has been conjectured that the two names both belonged to the one man, or are identical; but there is no direct evidence of this, nor is there any thing to show that Ethan the singer was the same person as Ethan the Ezrahite, whose name stands at the head of Ps. lxxxix., though it is a curious coincidence that there should be two persons named Heman and Ethan so closely connected in two different tribes and walks of life.

3. A Gershonite Levite, one of the ancestors of Asaph the singer (1 Chr. vi. 42, heb. 27). In the reversed genealogy of the Gershonites (ver. 1 of this chap.) Josh stands in the place of Ethan as the son of Zimnah.

**ETHANIM.** [MONTHS.]

**ETHBAAL** (עֶתְבַּאֵל; Ἐθβαλ; Joseph. *Ἰθβαλ*; *Ethbaal*), king of Sidon and father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 31). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §1) represents him as king of the Tyrians as well as the Sidonians. We may thus identify him with Ethobalus (Ἐθόβαλος), noticed by Menander (Joseph. c. *Apion.* i. 18), a priest of Asiate, who, after having assassinated Phelos, usurped the throne of Tyre for 32 years. As 50 years elapsed between the deaths of Hiram and Phelos, the date of Ethbaal's reign may be given as about B.C. 940-908. The variation in the name

\* There is some uncertainty about the text of this passage, the Alex. MS. of the LXX. inserting the words *παρὰ τοῦ χειμαρρῶν*, "by the torrent," before

the mention of the rock. In ver. 11 the reading agrees with the Hebrew.

is easily explained; Ethbual = *with Baul*; Ithobalus (*אֶתְבוּאֵל*) = *Baul with him*, which is preferable in point of sense to the other. The position which Ethbual held explains, to a certain extent, the blatant zeal which Jezebel displayed. [W. L. B.]

**ETHER** (*עֶתֶר*; *Ἰθέρ*, Alex. *Ἰθέρ*, Be<sup>th</sup>ér; *Éther*, *Atkar*), one of the cities of Judah in the low country, the *Shefelah* (Josh. xv. 42) allotted to Simeon (xix. 7). In the parallel list of the towns of Simeon in 1 Chr. iv. 32, TOCHEN is substituted for Ether. In his *Onomasticon* Eusebius mentions it twice, as Ether and as Jether (in the latter case confounding it with JATTIN, a city of priests and containing friends of David during his troubles under Saul). It was then a considerable place (*κώμη μεγάλη*), retaining the name of Jethira or Etera, very near Malatha in the interior of the district of Daroma, that is in the desert country below Hebron and to the east of Beersheba. The name of Ether has not yet been identified with any existing remains; but Van de Velde heard of a *Tel Athur* in this direction (*Memoir*, 311). [G.]

**ETHIOPIA** (*ἠθιοπία*; *Aithiopia*; *Aethiopia*). The country, which the Greeks and Romans described as "Aethiopia" and the Hebrews as "Cush," lay to the S. of Egypt, and embraced, in its most extended sense, the modern *Nubia*, *Sennar*, *Kordofan*, and northern *Abyssinia*, and in its more definite sense the kingdom of Meroë, from the junction of the Blue and White branches of the Nile to the border of Egypt. The only direction in which a clear boundary can be fixed is in the N., where Syene marked the division between Ethiopia and Egypt (Ez. xix. 10); in other directions the boundaries can be only generally described as the Red Sea on the E., the Libyan desert on the W., and the Abyssinian highlands on the S. The name "Ethiopia" is probably an adaptation of the native Egyptian name "Ethaush," which bears a tolerably close resemblance to the gentile form "Aethiops;" the Greeks themselves regarded it as expressive of a dark complexion (from *αἶθω*, "to burn," and *ῥῶψ*, "a countenance"). The Hebrews transformed the ethnical designation "Cush" into a territorial one, restricting it, however, in the latter sense to the African settlements of the Cushite race. [CUSH.] The Hebrews do not appear to have had much practical acquaintance with Ethiopia itself, though the Ethiopians were well known to them through their intercourse with Egypt. They were, however, perfectly aware of its position (Ez. xix. 10); and they describe it as a well-watered country lying "by the side of" (A. V. "beyond") the waters of Cush (Is. xviii. 1; Zeph. iii. 10), being traversed by the two branches of the Nile, and by the Astaboras or *Tacaze*. The Nile descends with a rapid stream in this part of its course, forming a series of cataracts; its violence seems to be referred to in the words of Is. xviii. 2, "whose land the rivers have spoiled." The Hebrews seem also to have been aware of its tropical characteristics, the words translated in A. V. "the land shadowing with wings" (Is. xlviii. 1), admitting of the sense "the land of the shadow of both sides," the shadows falling towards the north and south at different periods of the year—a feature which is noticed by many early writers (comp. the expression in Strabo, ii. p. 133, *ἀμφεκρίσις*; Virg. *Ecl.* x. 68; Plin. ii. 75). The papyrus boats ("vessels of bulrushes," Is. xlviii. 2), which were peculiarly adapted to the navigation of the Upper Nile, admitting of being carried on

men's backs when necessary, were regarded as a characteristic feature of the country. The Hebrews carried on commercial intercourse with Ethiopia, its "merchandise" (Is. xlv. 14) consisting of ebony, ivory, frankincense and gold (Herod. iii. 97, 114), and precious stones (Job xxviii. 19; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, §5). The country is for the most part mountainous, the ranges gradually increasing in altitude towards the S., until they attain an elevation of about 8000 feet in *Abyssinia*.

The inhabitants of Ethiopia were a Hamitic race (Gen. x. 6), and are described in the Bible as a dark-complexioned (Jer. xiii. 23) and stalwart race (Is. xlv. 14, "men of stature;" xviii. 2, for "scattered," substitute "tall"). Their stature is noticed by Herodotus (iii. 20, 114), as well as their handsomeness. Not improbably the latter quality is intended by the term in Is. xviii. 2, which in the A. V. is rendered "peeled," but which rather means "fine-looking." Their appearance led to their being selected as attendants in royal households (Jer. xxxviii. 7). The Ethiopians are on one occasion coupled with the Arabians, as occupying the opposite shores of the Red Sea (2 Chr. xxi. 16); but elsewhere they are connected with African nations, particularly Egypt (Ps. lxxviii. 31; Is. xx. 3, 4, xliii. 3, xlv. 14), Phut (Jer. xlv. 9), Lub and Lud (Ez. xxx. 5), and the Sukkians (2 Chr. xii. 3). They were divided into various tribes, of which the Sabeans were the most powerful. [SEBA; SUKKIIM.]

The history of Ethiopia is closely interwoven with that of Egypt. The two countries were not infrequently united under the rule of the same sovereign. The first Egyptian king who governed Ethiopia was one of the 12th dynasty, named Osirtasen I., the Sesostris of Herod. ii. 110. During the occupation of Egypt by the Hyksos, the 13th dynasty retired to the Ethiopian capital, Napata; and again we find the kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties exercising a supremacy over Ethiopia, and erecting numerous temples, the ruins of which still exist at *Senneh*, *Anada*, *Soleb*, *Abosimbel*, and *Jebel Berhel*. The tradition of the successful expedition of Moses against the Ethiopians, recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10), was doubtless founded on the general superiority of the Egyptians over the Ethiopians at that period of their history. The 22nd dynasty still held sway over Ethiopia, as we find Ethiopians forming a portion of Shishak's army (2 Chr. xii. 3), and his successor Osorkon apparently described as Zerah "the Ethiopian" (2 Chr. xiv. 9). The kings of the 25th dynasty were certainly Ethiopians, who ruled the whole of Upper Egypt, and at one period Lower Egypt also, from their northern capital, Napata. Two of these kings are connected with sacred history, viz., So, probably *Sebichus*, who made an alliance with Hoshea king of Israel (2 K. xvii. 4), and Tirhakah, or *Tarcus*, who advanced against Sennacherib in aid of Hezekiah king of Judah (2 K. xix. 9). The prophets appear to refer to a subjection of Ethiopia by the Assyrians as occurring about this period (Is. xx. 4), and particularly to the capture of Thebes at a time when the Ethiopians were among its defenders (Nah. iii. 8, 9). We find, in confirmation of these notices, that Esarhaddon is stated in the Assyrian inscriptions to have conquered both Egypt and Ethiopia. At the time of the conquest of Egypt, Cambyes advanced against Meroë and subdued it; but the Persian rule did not take any root there, nor did the influence of the Ptolemies generally extend beyond northern Ethiopia. Shortly before our Saviour's birth, a native dynasty

of females, holding the official title of Candace (Plin. vi. 35), held sway in Ethiopia, and even resisted the advance of the Roman arms. One of these is the queen noticed in Acts viii. 27. [CANDACE.] [W. L. B.]

ETI'MA (Ἐτιμά, Alex. *Noqúd*; *Nobei*), 1 Esd. ix. 35; apparently a corruption of ΝΕΒΟ in the parallel list of Ezra x. 43.

ETH'NAN (Ἐθνάν; 'Εσθαδάμ, Alex. 'Εσθαδ; *Ethnan*), a descendant of Judah; one of the sons of Helah the wife of Ashur, "the father of Tekoa" (1 Chr. iv. 7).

ETH'NI (Ἐθνί; 'Αθανί, Alex. 'Αθαυεί; *Athanai*), a Gershonite Levite, one of the forefathers of Asaph the singer (1 Chr. vi. 41; Heb. 26).

EUBULUS (Εὐβούλος), a Christian at Rome mentioned by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 21).

EUERGETES (Εὐεργέτης, a benefactor; *Ptolemæus Euergetes*), a common surname and title of honour (cf. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 506 C, and Stallb. *ad loc.*) in Greek states, conferred at Athens by a public vote (Dem. p. 475), and so notorious as to pass into a proverb (Luke xii. 25). The title was borne by two of the Ptolemies, Ptol. III., Euergetes I., B.C. 247-222, and Ptol. VII., Euergetes II., B.C. (170) 146-117. The Euergetes mentioned in the prologue to *Eccelesiasticus* has been identified with each of these, according to the different views taken of the history of the book. [ECCLESIASTICUS; JESUS SON OF SIRACH.] [B. F. W.]

EUMENES II. (Εὐμένης), king of Pergamus, succeeded his father Attalus I., B.C. 197, from whom he inherited the favour and alliance of the Romans. In the war with Antiochus the Great he rendered the most important services to the growing republic; and at the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190) commanded his contingent in person (Just. xvi. 8, 5; App. *Syr.* 34). After peace was made (B.C. 189) he repaired to Rome to claim the reward of his loyalty; and the Senate conferred on him the provinces of Mysia, Lydia, and Ionia (with some exceptions), Phrygia, Lyconia, and the Thracian Chersonese (App. *Syr.* 44; Polyb. xvii. 7; Liv. xxxviii. 56). His influence at Rome continued uninterrupted till the war with Perseus, with whom he is said to have entertained treasonable correspondence (Liv. xxiv. 24, 25); and after the defeat of Perseus (B.C. 167) he was looked upon with suspicion which he vainly endeavoured to remove. The exact date of his death is not mentioned, but it must have taken place in B.C. 159.

The large accession of territory which was granted to Eumenes from the former dominions of Antiochus is mentioned 1 Macc. viii. 8, but the present reading of the Greek and Latin texts offers insuperable difficulties. "The Romans gave him," it is said, "the country of India and Media, and Lydia and parts of his (Antiochus) fairest countries (ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων χωρῶν αὐτοῦ)." Various conjectures have been proposed to remove these obvious errors; but though it may be reasonably allowed that Mysia may have stood originally for Media ('מדיה' *Michaëlis*), it is not equally easy to explain the origin of *χωρῶν τῆν Ἰνδιάνην*. It is

barely possible that 'Ἰνδιάνην may have been substituted for Ἰωνικὴν after Μηδίας was already established in the text. Other explanations are given by Grimm, *Exeg. Handb. ad loc.*; Wernsdorf, *De fide Libr. Macc.* p. 50 ff., but they have little plausibility. [B. F. W.]

EUNATAN ('Εννατάν, Alex. 'Ελναθάν; *En-nathan*), 1 Esd. viii. 44. [ELNATHAN.]

EUNICE (Εὐνίκη), mother of Timotheus, 2 Tim. i. 5; there spoken of as possessing unfeigned faith; and described in Acts xvi. 1, as a *γυνὴ Ἰουδαία πιστή*. [H. A.]

EUNUCH (Εὐνοῦχος; *eunouchos*, *thalasias*; *spado*, variously rendered in the A.V. "eunuch," "officer," and "chamberlain," apparently as though the word intended a class of attendants who were not always mutilated).<sup>a</sup> The original Hebrew word (root *Arub*.

אָרַב, *impotens esse ad tenerem*, Gesen. s. v.) clearly implies the incapacity which mutilation involves, and perhaps includes all the classes mentioned in Matt. xix. 12, not signifying, as the Greek *eunouchos*, an office merely. The law, Deut. xxiii. 1 (comp. Lev. xxii. 24), is repugnant to thus treating any Israelite; and Samuel, when describing the arbitrary power of the future king (1 Sam. viii. 13, marg.), mentions "his eunuchs," but does not say that he would make "their sons" such. This, if we compare 2 K. xx. 18, Is. xxxix. 7, possibly implies that these persons would be foreigners. It was a barbarous custom of the East thus to treat captives (Herod. iii. 49, vi. 32), not only of tender age (when a non-development of beard, and feminine mould of limbs and modulation of voice ensues), but, it should seem, when past puberty, which then occurs at an early age. Physiological considerations lead to the supposition that in the latter case a remnant of animal feeling is left; which may explain Eccles. xx. 4, xxv. 20 (comp. Juv. vi. 366, and Mart. vi. 67; Philostr. *Apoll.* Tyan. i. 37; Ter. *Ecan.* iv. 3, 24), where a sexual function, though fruitless, is implied. Busbequius (*Ep.* iii. 122, Ox. 1660) seems to ascribe the absence or presence of this to the total or partial character of the mutilation; but modern surgery would rather assign the earlier or later period of the operation as the real explanation. It is total among modern Turks (Tournefort, ii. 8, 9, 10, ed. Par. 1717, *taillées à fleur de ventre*); a precaution arising from mixed ignorance and jealousy. The "officer" Potiphar (Gen. xxxvii. 36, xxxix. 1, marg. "eunuch") was an Egyptian, was married, and was the "captain of the guard;" and in the Assyrian monuments an eunuch often appears, sometimes armed, and in a warlike capacity, or as a scribe, noting the number of heads and amount of spoil, as receiving the prisoners, and even as officiating in religious ceremonies (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 324-6, 334). A blond beardless face and double chin is there their conventional type. Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, ii. 283, ed. Amsterd. 1711) speaks of eunuchs having a harem of their own. If Potiphar had become such by operation for disease, by accident, or even by malice, such a marriage seems, therefore, according to Eastern notions, supposable.<sup>b</sup> (See Grotius on Deut. xxiii. 1; comp. Burekhardt, *Trav. in Arab.*

<sup>a</sup> So Whiston, *Joseph. Ant.* x. 10, §2, note.

<sup>b</sup> The Jewish tradition is that Joseph was made a eunuch on his first introduction to Egypt; and yet the accusation of Potiphar's wife, his marriage and

the birth of his children, are related subsequently without any explanation. See Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. xxxix. 1, xli. 50, and the details given at xxvix. 13.

i. 290.) Nor is it wholly repugnant to that barbarous social standard to think that the prospect of rank, honour, and royal confidence, might even induce parents to thus treat their children at a later age, if they showed an aptness for such preferment. The characteristics as regards beard, voice, &c., might then perhaps be modified, or might gradually follow. The Poti-pherah of Gen. xli. 50, whose daughter Joseph married, was "priest of On," and no doubt a different person.

The origination of the practice is ascribed to Semiramis (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 6), and is no doubt as early, or nearly so, as Eastern despotism itself. Their incapacity, as in the case of mutes, is the ground of reliance upon them (Clarke's *Travels*, part ii. §1, 13; Busheq. *Ep.* i. p. 33). By reason of the mysterious distance at which the sovereign sought to keep his subjects (Herod. i. 99, comp. Esth. iv. 11), and of the malignant jealousy fostered by the debased relation of the sexes, such wretches, detached from social interests and hopes of issue (especially when, as commonly, and as amongst the Jews, foreigners), the natural slaves of either sex (Esth. iv. 5), and having no prospect in rebellion save the change of masters, were the fittest props of a government resting on a servile relation, the most complete *δρανα ἐμψυχα* of its despotism or its lusts the surest (but see Esth. ii. 21) guardians (Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, §15; Herod. viii. 105) of the monarch's person, and the sole confidential witnesses of his unguarded or undignified moments. Hence they have in all ages frequently risen to high offices of trust. Thus the "chief" of the cup-bearers and of the cooks of Pharaoh were eunuchs, as being near his person, though their inferior agents need not have been so (Gen. xl. 1). The complete assimilation of the kingdom of Israel, and latterly of Judah, to the neighbouring models of despotism, is traceable in the rank and prominence of eunuchs (2 K. vii. 6, ix. 32, xviii. 11, xxv. 19; Is. lvi. 3, 4; Jer. xxix. 2, xxiv. 19, xxviii. 7, xli. 16, lii. 25). They mostly appear in one of two relations, either military as "set over the men of war," greater trustworthiness possibly counterbalancing inferior courage and military vigour, or associated, as we mostly recognise them, with women and children. We find the Assyrian Rab-Saris, or chief eunuch (2 K. xviii. 17), employed together with other high officials as ambassador. Similarly, in the details of the travels of an embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein (p. 136), we find a eunuch mentioned as sent on occasion of a state-marriage to negotiate, and of another (p. 273) who was the *Mecher*, or chamberlain of Shah Abbas, who was always near his person, and had his ear (comp. Chardin, iii. 37), and of another, originally a Georgian prisoner, who officiated as supreme judge. Fryer (*Travels in India and Persia*, 1698) and Chardin (ii. 283) describe them as being the base and ready tools of licentiousness, as tyrannical in humour, and pertinacious in the authority which they exercise; Clarke (*Travels in Europe, &c.*, part ii. §1, p. 22), as eluded and ridiculed by those whom it is their office to guard. A great number of them

accompany the Shah and his ladies when hunting, and no one is allowed, on pain of death, to come within two leagues of the field, unless the king sends an eunuch for him. So eunuchs run before the closed arabahs of the sultanas when abroad, crying out to all to keep at a distance. This illustrates Esth. i. 10, 12, 15, 16, ii. 3, 8, 14. The moral tendency of this sad condition is well known to be the repression of courage, gentleness, shame, and remorse, the development of malice, and often of melancholy, and a disposition to suicide. The favourable description of them in Xenophon (*l. c.*) is overcharged, or at least is not confirmed by modern observation. They are not more liable to disease than others, unless of such as often follows the foul vices of which they are the tools. The operation itself, especially in infancy, is not more dangerous than an ordinary amputation. Chardin (ii. 285) says that only one in four survives; and Clot Bey, chief physician of the Pasha, states that two-thirds die. Buckhardt, therefore (*Nub.* 329), is mistaken, when he says that the operation is only fatal in about two out of a hundred cases.

It is probable that Daniel and his companions were thus treated, in fulfilment of 2 K. xv. 17, 18; Is. xxxix. 7; comp. Dan. i. 3, 7. The court of Herod of course had its eunuchs (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 8, §1, xv. 7, §1), as had also that of Queen Candace (Acts viii. 27). Michaelis (ii. 180) regards them as the proper consequence of the gross polygamy of the East, although his further remark that they tend to balance the sexual disparity which such monopoly of women causes is less just, since the countries despoiled of their women for the one purpose are not commonly those which furnish male children for the other.

In the three classes mentioned in Matt. xix. 12 the first is to be ranked with other examples of defective organisation, the last, if taken literally, as it is said to have been personally exemplified in Origena (Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* vi. 8), is an instance of human ways and means of ascetic devotion being valued by the Jews above revealed precept (see Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. 159). But a figurative sense of *εὐνοῦχος* (comp. 1 Cor. vii. 32, 34) is also possible.

In the A. V. of Esther the word "chamberlain" (margin, "eunuch") is the constant rendering of *סרס*; and as the word also occurs in Acts xii. 20 and Rom. xvi. 23, where the original expressions are very different, some caution is required. In Acts xii. 20 *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως* may mean a "chamberlain" merely. Such were persons of public influence, as we learn from a Greek inscription, preserved in Walpole's *Turkey* (ii. 559), in honour of P. Aelius Alcibiades, "chamberlain of the emperor" (*ἐπὶ κοιτῶνος Σεβ.*), the epithets in which exactly suggest the kind of patronage expressed. In Rom. xvi. 23 the word *ἐπίτροπος* is the one commonly rendered "steward" (*s. g.* Matt. xx. 8; Luke viii. 3), and means the one to whom the care of the city was committed. For further information, Selden, *Orig. Theol. de Eunuchis*, may be consulted. [H. H.]

\* Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt*, ii. 61) denies the use of eunuchs in Egypt. Herodotus, indeed (ii. 92), confirms his statement as regards Egyptian monogamy; but if this as a rule applied to the kings, they seemed at any rate to have allowed themselves concubines (ib. 181). From the general beardless character of Egyptian heads it is not easy to pro-

nounce whether any eunuchs appear in the sculptures or not.

† 2 Chr. xxviii. 1, is remarkable as ascribing eunuchs to the period of David, nor can it be doubted that Solomon's polygamy made them a necessary consequence; but in the state they do not seem to have played an important part at this period.

**EUODIAS** (Εὐδία), a Christian woman at Philippi (Phil. iv. 2). The name however is correctly EUODIA, that being the nominative case of Εὐδοία. The two persons whom St. Paul there wishes to bring into accordance are both women, referred to in the following verse by *abraits* and *aitives*. [H. A.]

**EUPHRATES** (פְּרָת; Ἐϋφράτης; *Euphrates*) is probably a word of Arian origin, the initial element being 'u, which is in Sanscrit *su*, in Zend *ku*, and in Greek *eu*; and the second element being *fra*, the particle of abundance. The Euphrates is thus "the good and abounding river." It is not improbable that in common parlance the name was soon shortened to its modern form of *Frāt*, which is almost exactly what the Hebrew literature expresses. But it is most frequently denoted in the Bible by the term הַנָּהָר, *han-nahar*, i. e. "the river," the river of Asia, in grand contrast to the shortlived torrents of Palestine. (For a list of the occurrences of this term, see Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §34.)

The Euphrates is the largest, the longest, and by far the most important of the rivers of Western Asia. It rises from two chief sources in the Armenian mountains, one of them at *Dumli*, 25 miles N.E. of Erzeroum, and little more than a degree from the Black Sea; the other on the northern slope of the mountain range called *Ala-Tugh*, near the village of *Diyadin*, and not far from Mount Ararat. The former, or Northern Euphrates, has the name *Frāt* from the first, but is known also as the *Haris-Su* (Black River); the latter, or Southern Euphrates, is not called the *Frāt* but the *Mural Chai*, yet it is in reality the main river. Both branches flow at first towards the west or south-west, passing through the wildest mountain-districts of Armenia; they meet at *Keblan-Maden*, nearly in long. 39° E. from Greenwich, having run respectively 400 and 270 miles. Here the stream formed by their combined waters is 120 yards wide, rapid, and very deep; it now flows nearly southward, but in a tortuous course, forcing a way through the ranges of Taurus and anti-Taurus, and still seeming as if it would empty itself into the Mediterranean; but prevented from so doing by the longitudinal ranges of Amanus and Lebanon, which here run parallel to the Syrian coast, and at no great distance from it; the river at last desists from its endeavour, and in about lat. 36° turns towards the south-east, and proceeds in this direction for above 1000 miles to its embouchure in the Persian Gulf. The last part of its course, from *Hit* downwards, is through a low, flat, and alluvial plain, over which it has a tendency to spread and stagnate; above *Hit*, and from thence to *Sumcisat* (*Sumosata*), the country along its banks is for the most part open but hilly; north of *Sumcisat*, the stream runs in a narrow valley among high mountains, and is interrupted by numerous rapids. The entire course is calculated at 1780 miles, nearly 650 more than that of the Tigris, and only 200 short of that of the Indus; and of this distance more than two-thirds (1200 miles) is navigable for boats, and even, as the expedition of Col. Chesney proved, for small steamers. The width of the river is greatest at the distance of 700 or 800 miles from its mouth—that is to say, from its junction with the *Khabour* to the village of *Werau*. It there averages 400 yards, while lower down, from *Werdi* to *Lambun*, it continually decreases, until at the last named place its width is not more than 120 yards,

its depth having at the same time diminished from an average of 18 to one of 12 feet. The causes of this singular phenomenon are the entire lack of tributaries below the *Khabour*, and the employment of the water in irrigation. The river has also in this part of its course the tendency already noted, to run off and waste itself in vast marshes, which every year more and more cover the alluvial tract west and south of the stream. From this cause its lower course is continually varying, and it is doubted whether at present, except in the season of the inundation, any portion of the Euphrates water is poured into the *Shut-el-Arab*.

The annual inundation of the Euphrates is caused by the melting of the snows in the Armenian highlands. It occurs in the month of May. The rise of the Tigris is earlier, since it drains the southern flank of the great Armenian chain. The Tigris scarcely ever overflows [*Ἰνδὸκελλ*], but the Euphrates inundates large tracts on both sides of its course from *Hit* downwards. The great hydraulic works ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar (Abyden. Fr. 8) had for their great object to control the inundation by turning the waters through sluices into canals, prepared for them, and distributing them in channels over a wide extent of country.

The Euphrates has at all times been of some importance as furnishing a line of traffic between the East and the West. Herodotus speaks of persons, probably merchants, using it regularly on their passage from the Mediterranean to Babylon (*Her.* i. 185). He also describes the boats which were in use upon the stream (i. 194)—and mentions that their principal freight was wine, which he seems to have thought was furnished by Armenia. It was, however, more probably Syrian, as Armenia is too cold for the vine. Boats such as he describes, of wicker work, and coated with bitumen, or sometimes covered with skins, still abound on the river. Alexander appears to have brought to Babylon by the Euphrates route vessels of some considerable size, which he had had made in Cyprus and Phœnicia. They were so constructed that they could take to pieces, and were thus carried piecemeal to Thapsacus, where they were put together and launched (*Aristobol.* ap. Strab. xvi. 1, §11). The disadvantage of the route was the difficulty of conveying return cargoes against the current. According to Herodotus the boats which descended the river were broken to pieces and sold at Babylon, and the owners returned on foot to Armenia, taking with them only the skins (i. 194). Aristobolus however related (ap. Strab. xvi. 3, §3) that the Geræans ascended the river in their rafts not only to Babylon, but to Thapsacus, whence they carried their wares on foot in all directions. The spices and other products of Arabia formed their principal merchandise. On the whole there are sufficient grounds for believing that throughout the Babylonian and Persian periods this route was made use of by the merchants of various nations, and that by it the east and west continually interchanged their most important products. (See Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 536-7.)

The Euphrates is first mentioned in Scripture as one of the four rivers of Eden (*Gen.* ii. 14). Its celebrity is there sufficiently indicated by the absence of any explanatory phrase, such as accompanies the names of the other streams. We next hear of it in the covenant made with Abraham (*Gen.* xv. 18), where the whole country from "the great river, the river Euphrates" to the river of

Egypt is promised to the chosen race. In Deuteronomy and Joshua we find that this promise was borne in mind at the time of the settlement in Canaan (Deut. i. 7; xi. 24; Josh. i. 4); and from an important passage in the first Book of Chronicles it appears that the tribe of Reuben did actually extend itself to the Euphrates in the times anterior to Saul (1 Chr. v. 9). Here they came in contact with the Hagrites, who appear upon the middle Euphrates in the Assyrian inscriptions of the later empire. It is David, however, who seems for the first time to have entered on the full enjoyment of the promise, by the victories which he gained over Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and his allies, the Syrians of Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 3-8; 1 Chr. xviii. 3). The object of his expedition was "to recover his border," and "to establish his dominion by the river Euphrates;" and in this object he appears to have been altogether successful; in so much that Solomon, his son, who was not a man of war, but only inherited his father's dominions, is said to have "reigned over all kingdoms from the river (i. e. the Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt" (1 K. iv. 21; compare 2 Chr. ix. 26). Thus during the reigns of David and Solomon the dominion of Israel actually attained to the full extent both ways of the original promise, the Euphrates forming the boundary of their empire to the north-east, and the river of Egypt (*torrens Aegypti*) to the south-west. This wide-spread dominion was lost upon the disruption of the empire under Rehoboam; and no more is heard in Scripture of the Euphrates until the expedition of Necho against the Babylonians in the reign of Josiah. The "Great River" had meanwhile served for some time as a boundary between Assyria and the country of the Hittites (see ASSYRIA), but had been repeatedly crossed by the armies of the Ninevite kings, who gradually established their sway over the countries upon its right bank. The crossing of the river was always difficult; and at the point where certain natural facilities fixed the ordinary passage, the strong fort of Carchemish had been built, probably in very early times, to command the position. [CARCHEMISH.] Hence, when Necho determined to attempt the permanent conquest of Syria, his march was directed upon "Carchemish by Euphrates" (2 Chr. xxxv. 20), which he captured and held, thus extending the dominion of Egypt to the Euphrates, and renewing the old glories of the Ramesside kings. His triumph, however, was short-lived. Three years afterwards the Babylonians—who had inherited the Assyrian dominion in these parts—made an expedition under Nebuchadnezzar against Necho, defeated his army, "which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish" (Jer. xli. 2), and recovered all Syria and Palestine. Then "the king of Egypt came no more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt" (2 K. xxiv. 7).

These are the chief events which Scripture distinctly connects with the "Great River." It is probably included among the "rivers of Babylon," by the side of which the Jewish captives "remembered Zion" and "wept" (Ps. cxxxvii. 1); and no doubt is glanced at in the threats of Jeremiah against the Chaldean "waters" and "springs," upon which there is to be a "drought," that shall "dry them up" (Jer. l. 38; li. 26). The fulfilment of these prophecies has been noticed under the

head of CHALDÆA. The river still brings down as much water as of old, but the precious element is wasted by the neglect of man; the various water-courses along which it was in former times conveyed are dry; the main channel has shrunk; and the water stagnates in unwholesome marshes.

It is remarkable that Scripture contains no clear and distinct reference to that striking occasion, when, according to profane historians (Herod. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5), the Euphrates was turned against its mistress, and used to effect the ruin of Babylon. The brevity of Daniel (v. 30-31) is perhaps sufficient to account for his silence on the point; but it might have been expected from the fulness of Jeremiah (chs. l. and li.) that so remarkable a feature of the siege would not have escaped mention. We must, however, remember, in the first place, that a clear prophecy may have been purposely withheld, in order that the Babylonians might not be put upon their guard. And secondly, we may notice, that there does seem to be at least one reference to the circumstance, though it is covert, as it was necessary that it should be. In immediate conjunction with the passage which most clearly declares the taking of the city by a surprise is found an expression, which reads very obscurely in our version—"the passages are stopped" (Jer. li. 32). Here the Hebrew term used (מַעְרָזִים) applies most properly to "fords or ferries over rivers" (comp. Judg. iii. 28); and the whole passage may best be translated, "the ferries are seized" or "occupied;" which agrees very well with the entrance of the Persians by the river, and with the ordinary mode of transit in the place, where there was but one bridge (Herod. i. 186).

(See, for a general account of the Euphrates, Col. Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i.; and for the lower course of the stream, compare Loftus's *Chaldea and Susiana*. See also Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. Essay ix., and Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chs. xxi. and xxii.) [G. R.]

ΕΥΡΟΙ/ΕΜΟΣ (Εὐρόλεμος), the "son of John, the son of Acos" ('Ακκός; cf. Neh. iii. 4, 21, &c.), one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus, cir. B.C. 161 (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, §8). He has been identified with the historian of the same name (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17 ff.); but it is by no means clear that the historian was of Jewish descent (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 23; yet cf. Hieron. *de l. ir. Illustr.* 38). [B. F. W.]

ΕΥΡΟΚΛΥΔΟΝ (Εὐροκλύδων), the name given (Acts xxi. 14) to the gale of wind, which off the South coast of Crete seized the ship in which St. Paul was ultimately wrecked on the coast of Malta. The circumstances of this gale are described with much particularity; and they admit of abundant illustration from the experience of modern seamen in the Levant. In the first place it came down from the island (κατ' ἀνῆς), and therefore must have blown, more or less, from the Northward, since the ship was sailing along the South coast, not far from Mount Ida, and on the way from FAIR-HAVENS toward PHOENICE. So Captain Spratt, R.N., after leaving Fair-Havens with a light southerly wind, fell in with "a strong northerly breeze, blowing direct from Mount Ida" (Smith, *Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1856, pp. 87, 245). Next, the wind is described as being like a typhoon or whirlwind (τυφωνικός, A. V. "tempestuous"); and the same authority speaks of

such gales in the Levant as being generally "accompanied by terrific gusts and squalls from those high mountains" (*Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1856, ii. 401). It is also observable that the change of wind in the voyage before us (xxvii. 13, 14) is exactly what might have been expected; for Captain J. Stewart, R.N., observes, in his remarks on the Archipelago, that "it is always safe to anchor under the lee of an island with a northerly wind, as it dies away gradually, but it would be extremely dangerous with southerly winds, as they almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind" (*Purdy's Sailing Directory*, pt. ii. p. 61). The long duration of the gale ("the fourteenth night," 27), the overclouded state of the sky ("neither sun nor stars appearing," 20), and even the heavy rain which concluded the storm (τὸν ὕεθν, xxviii. 2) could easily be matched with parallel instances in modern times (see *Voy. and Shipwreck*, p. 144; *Life and Epp.* p. 412). We have seen that the wind was more or less northerly. The context gives us full materials for determining its direction with great exactitude. The vessel was driven from the coast of Crete to TAUDA (xxvii. 16), and apprehension was felt that she would be driven into the African Syrtis (v. 17). Combining these two circumstances with the fact that she was less than half way from Fair-Havens to Phoenix when the storm began (v. 14), we come to the conclusion that it came from the N.E. or E.N.E. This is quite in harmony with the natural sense of Εὐρακῶων (*Evragiōōn*, Vulg.), which is regarded as the true reading by Bentley, and is found in some of the best MSS.; but we are disposed to adhere to the received Text, more especially as it is the more difficult reading, and the phrase used by St. Luke (ὁ καλούμενος Εὐροκλύδων) seems to point to some peculiar word in use among the sailors. Dean Alford thinks that the true name of the wind was εὐροκλύδων, but that the Greek sailors, not understanding the Latin termination, corrupted the word into εὐροκλύδων, and that so St. Luke wrote it. [WINDS.]

[J. S. II.]

EUTYCHUS (Εὐτυχῆς), a youth at TROAS (Acts xx. 9), who sitting in a window, and having fallen asleep while St. Paul was discoursing far into the night, fell from the third story, and being taken up dead, was miraculously restored to life by the Apostle. The plain statement, ἦρθη νεκρός, and the proceeding of St. Paul with the body (cf. 2 K<sup>o</sup> iv. 34), forbid us for a moment to entertain the view of De Wette, Meyer, and Olshausen, who suppose that animation was merely suspended. [H. A.]

EVANGELIST. The constitution of the Apostolic Church included an order or body of men known as Evangelists. The absence of any detailed account of the organisation and practical working of the Church of the first century leaves us in some uncertainty as to their functions and positions. The meaning of the name, "The publishers of glad tidings," seems common to the work of the Christian ministry generally, yet in Eph. iv. 11 the εὐαγγελισταὶ appear on the one hand after the ἀποστολοὶ and πρόφῃται; on the other before the ποιμένες and διδάσκαλοι. Assuming that the Apostles here, whether limited to the Twelve or not, are those who were looked on as the special delegates and representatives of Christ, and therefore higher than all others in their authority, and that the Prophets were men speaking under the immediate impulse of the Spirit words

that were mighty in their effects on men's hearts and consciences, it would follow that the Evangelists had a function subordinate to theirs, yet more conspicuous, and so far higher than that of the Pastors who watched over a church that had been founded, and of the Teachers who carried on the work of systematic instruction. This passage accordingly would lead us to think of them as standing between the two other groups—sent forth as missionary preachers of the Gospel by the first, and as such preparing the way for the labours of the second. The same inference would seem to follow the occurrence of the word as applied to Philip in Acts xxi. 8. He had been one of those who had gone everywhere, εὐαγγελίζόμενοι τὸν λόγον (Acts xviii. 4), now in one city, now in another (viii. 40); but he has not the power or authority of an Apostle, does not speak as a prophet himself, though the gift of prophecy belongs to his four daughters (xxi. 9), exercises apparently no pastoral superintendence over any portion of the flock. The omission of Evangelists in the list of 1 Cor. xii. may be explained on the hypothesis that the nature of St. Paul's argument led him there to speak of the settled organisation of a given local Church, which of course presupposed the work of the missionary preacher as already accomplished, while the train of thought in Eph. iv. 11 brought before his mind all who were in any way instrumental in building up the Church universal. It follows from what has been said that the calling of the Evangelist is expressed by the word κηρύσσειν rather than διδάσκειν, or παρακαλεῖν; it is the proclamation of the glad-tidings to those who have not known them, rather than the instruction and pastoral care of those who have believed and been baptised. And this is also what we gather from 2 Tim. iv. 2, 5, Timotheus is "to preach the word;" in doing this he is to fulfil "the work of an Evangelist." It follows also that the name denotes a *work* rather than an *order*. The Evangelist might or might not be a Bishop-Elder or a Deacon. The Apostles, so far as they evangelized (Acts viii. 25, xiv. 7; 1 Cor. i. 17), might claim the title, though there were many evangelists who were not Apostles. The brother, "whose praise was in the Gospel" (2 Cor. viii. 18), may be looked on as one of St. Paul's companions in this work, and known probably by the same name. In this, as in other points connected with the organisation of the Church in the Apostolic age, but little information is to be gained from later writers. The name was no longer explained by the presence of those to whom it had been specially applied, and came to be variously interpreted. Theodoret (on Eph. iv. 11) describes the Evangelists (as they have been described above) as travelling missionaries. Chrysostom, as men who preached the Gospel μὴ περιόχοντες πανταχοῦ. The account given by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 37), though somewhat rhetorical and vague, gives prominence to the idea of itinerant missionary preaching. Men "do the work of Evangelists," leaving their homes to proclaim Christ, and deliver the written Gospels to those who were ignorant of the faith." The last clause of this description indicates a change in the work, which before long affected the meaning of the name. If the Gospel was a written book, and the office of the Evangelists was to read or distribute it, then the writers of such books were κατ' ἐξοχὴν THE Evangelists. It is thus accordingly that Eusebius (*l. c.*) speaks of them,

though the old meaning of the word (as in *H. E.* v. 10, where he applies it to Pantæus) is not forgotten by him. Soon this meaning so overshadowed the old that Occumenius (Estius on Eph. iv. 11) has no other notion of the Evangelists than as those who have written a Gospel (comp. Harless on Eph. iv. 11). Augustine, though commonly using the word in this sense, at times remembers its earlier signification (*Serm.* xcix. and cclxvi.). Ambrosianus (Estius, *l. c.*) identifies them with Deacons. In later liturgical language the work was applied to the reader of the Gospel for the day. (Comp. Neander, *Pflanz. u. Leit.* iii. 5; Hooker, *E. P. Bk.* lxxviii. 7, 9.) [E. H. P.]

**EVE** (חַוָּה, i. e. *Chavvah*, LXX. in Gen. iii. 20, *Zōh*, elsewhere *Eḏa*; *Hēva*), the name given in Scripture to the first woman. It is simply a feminine form of the adjective חַי, *living*, *alive*, which more commonly makes חַיִּים; or it may be regarded as a variation of the noun חַיִּים, which means *life*. The account of Eve's creation is found at Gen. ii. 21, 22. Upon the failure of a companion suitable for Adam among the creatures which were brought to him to be named, the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and took one of his ribs from him, which he fashioned into a woman, and brought her to the man. Various explanations of this narrative have been offered. Perhaps that which we are chiefly intended to learn from it is the foundation upon which the union between man and wife is built, viz. identity of nature and oneness of origin.

Through the subtlety of the serpent, Eve was beguiled into a violation of the one commandment which had been imposed upon her and Adam. She took of the fruit of the forbidden tree and gave it her husband (Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14). [ADAM]. The different aspects under which Eve regarded her mission as a mother are seen in the names of her sons. At the birth of the first she said "I have gotten a man from the Lord," or perhaps, "I have gotten a man, *even* the Lord," mistaking him for the Redeemer. When the second was born, finding her hopes frustrated, she named him Abel, or *vanity*. When his brother had slain him, and she again bare a son, she called his name Seth, and the joy of a mother seemed to outweigh the sense of the vanity of life: "For God," said she, "hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, for Cain slew him." The Scripture account of Eve closes with the birth of Seth. [S. L.]

**EVI** (עֵוִי; *Eḏi*; *Evi*, *Hevaeus*), one of the five kings or princes of Midian, slain by the Israelites in the war after the matter of Baal-peor, and whose lands were afterwards allotted to Reuben (Num. xxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 21). [MIDIAN.] [E. S. P.]

**E'VIL-MER'ODACH** (עֵוִיל מֶרֶדָּח; *Eḏial-marōdāc*. *Οὐλαιμαρδᾶχος*; Ahyden. *Ἀμιλμαρῶδοκος*; Beross. *Ἐβειλμαρδουχος*; *Eḏilmerodach*), according to Berossus and Abydenus, was the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar. We learn from the second book of Kings (2 K. xxv. 27) and from Jeremiah (Jer. lii. 31), that in the first year of his reign this king had compassion upon his father's enemy, Jehoiachin, and released him from prison where he had languished for thirty-seven years, "spoke kindly to him," and gave him a portion at his table for the rest of his life. He reigned but a short time having ascended the throne

on the death of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 581, and being himself succeeded by Neriglissar in B.C. 559. (See the Canon of Ptolemy; given under BABYLON.) He thus appears to have reigned but two years, which is the time assigned to him by Abydenus (Fr. 9) and Berossus (Fr. 14). At the end of this brief space Evil-Merodach was murdered by Neriglissar [NERGAL-SHAREZER]—a Babylonian noble married to his sister—who then seized the crown. According to Berossus, Evil-Merodach provoked his fate by lawless government and intemperance. Perhaps the departure from the policy of his father, and the substitution of mild for severe measures, may have been viewed in this light. [G. R.]

#### EXECUTIONER (חַבֵּשׁ; *σπεκουλάτωρ*).

The Hebrew *ḥabbash* describes in the first instance the office of executioner, and, secondarily, the general duties of the body-guard of a monarch. Thus Potiphar was "captain of the executioners" (Gen. xxxvii. 36; see margin), and had his official residence at the public gaol (Gen. xl. 3). Nebuzaradan (2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9) and Arioch (Dan. ii. 14) held the same office. That the "captain of the guard" himself occasionally performed the duty of an executioner appears from 1 K. ii. 25, 34. Nevertheless the post was one of high dignity, and something beyond the present position of the *zabit* of modern Egypt (comp. Lane, i. 163), with which Wilkinson (ii. 45) compares it. It is still not unusual for officers of high rank to inflict corporal punishment with their own hands (Wilkinson, ii. 43). The LXX. takes the word in its original sense (cf. 1 Sam. ix. 23), and terms Potiphar *chief-cook*, ἀρχιμαγειρος.

The Greek *σπεκουλάτωρ* (Mark vi. 27) is borrowed from the Latin *speculator*; originally a military spy or scout, but under the emperors transferred to the *body-guard*, from the vigilance which their office demanded (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11; Suet. *Claud.* 35). [W. L. B.]

#### EXILE. [CAPTIVITY.]

**EX'ODUS** (עֲצוּדָה, being the first words of the Book, or abbr. עֲצוּדָה; in the Masora to Gen. xxiv. 8 called עֲצוּדָה, see Buxt. *Lex. Tul.* p. 1325; *Ἔξοδος*; *Exodus*), the second book of the Law or Pentateuch.

A. *Contents*.—The book may be divided into two principal parts, I. Historical, i. 1—xviii. 27; and II. Legislative, xix. 1—xl. 38. The former of these may be subdivided into (1.) the preparation for the deliverance of Israel from their bondage in Egypt; (2.) the accomplishment of that deliverance.

I. (1.) The first section (i. 1—xii. 36) contains an account of the following particulars:—The great increase of Jacob's posterity in the land of Egypt, and their oppression under a new dynasty, which occupied the throne after the death of Joseph (ch. i.); the birth, education, and flight of Moses (ii.); his solemn call to be the deliverer of his people (iii. 1—iv. 17), and his return to Egypt in consequence (iv. 18—31); his first ineffectual attempt to prevail upon Pharaoh to let the Israelites go, which only resulted in an increase of their burdens (v. 1—21); a further preparation of Moses and Aaron for their office, together with the account of their genealogies (v. 22—vii. 7); the successive signs and wonders, by means of which the deliverance of Israel from the land of bondage is at length accomplished, and the institution of the Passover (vii. 8—xii. 36).

(2.) A narrative of events from the departure out of Egypt to the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai. We have in this section (a.) the departure and (mentioned in connexion with it) the injunctions then given respecting the Passover and the sanctification of the first-born (xii. 37—xiii. 16); the march to the Red Sea, the passage through it, and the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the midst of the sea, together with Moses' song of triumph upon the occasion (xiii. 17—xv. 21); (b.) the principal events on the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, the bitter waters at Marah, the giving of quails and of the manna, the observance of the sabbath, the miraculous supply of water from the rock at Rephidim, and the battle there with the Amalekites (xv. 22—xvii. 16); the arrival of Jethro in the Israelitish camp, and his advice as to the civil government of the people (xviii.).

II. The solemn establishment of the Theocracy on Mount Sinai. The people are set apart to God as "a kingdom of priests and an holy nation" (xix. 6); the ten commandments are given, and the laws which are to regulate the social life of the people are enacted (xxi. 1—xxiii. 19); an Angel is promised as their guide to the Promised Land, and the covenant between God and Moses, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders, as the representatives of the people, is most solemnly ratified (xxiii. 20—xxiv. 18); instructions are given respecting the tabernacle, the ark, the mercy-seat, the altar of burnt-offering, the separation of Aaron and his sons for the priest's office, the vestments which they are to wear, the ceremonies to be observed at their consecration, the altar of incense, the laver, the holy oil, the selection of Bezaleel and Aholiab for the work of the tabernacle, the observance of the sabbath and the delivery of the two tables of the Law into the hands of Moses (xxv. 1—xxx. 18); the sin of the people in the matter of the golden calf, their rejection in consequence, and their restoration to God's favour at the intercession of Moses (xxxii. 1—xxxiv. 35); lastly, the construction of the tabernacle, and all pertaining to its service in accordance with the injunctions previously given (xxxv. 1—xl. 38).

This Book in short gives a sketch of the early history of Israel as a nation: and the history has three clearly marked stages. First we see a nation enslaved; next a nation redeemed; lastly a nation set apart, and through the blending of its religious and political life consecrated to the service of God.

B. *Integrity.* — According to von Lengerke (*Kennan*, lxxxviii. xc.) the following portions of the book belong to the original or Elohist document:—Chap. i. 1-14, ii. 23-25, vi. 2—vii. 7, vi. 1-28, 37, 38, 40-51 (xiii. 1, 2, perhaps), xvi., xix. 1, xx., xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl. Stähelin (*Krit. Unters.*) and De Wette (*Eindeutung*) agree in the main with this division. Knobel, the most recent writer on the subject, in the introduction to his commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, has sifted these books still more carefully, and with regard to many passages has formed a different judgment. He assigns to the Elohist:—i. 1-7, 13, 14, ii. 23-25 from יאֲמָרוּ, vi. 2—vii. 7, except vi. 8, vii. 8-13, 19-22, viii. 1-3, 11 from לָא, and 12-15, ix. 8-12 and 35, xi. 9, 10, xii. 1-23, 28, 37 a, 40-42, 43-51, xiii. 1, 2, 20, xiv. 1-4, 8, 9, 15-18, (except מִה תַּעֲשֶׂה אֵלַי in ver. 15, and דָּרֵם אַתָּה in ver. 16), 21-23, and 26-29 (except 27 from

וַיִּשָּׁב), xv. 19, 22, 23, 27, xvi. 1, 2, 9-26, 31-36, xvii. 1, xix. 2 a, xxv.—xxxi. 11, 12-17 in the main; xxxv. 1—xl. 38.

A mere comparison of the two lists of passages selected by these different writers as belonging to the original document is sufficient to show how very uncertain all such critical processes must be. The first, that of v. Lengerke, is open to many objections, which have been urged by Hävernick (*Einal. in der Pent.* §117), Ranke, and others. Thus, for instance, chap. vi. 6, which all agree in regarding as Elohist, speaks of "great judgments" (מִשְׁפָּטִים גְּדוֹלִים in the plur.), whereas with God would redeem Israel, and yet not a word is said of these in the so-called original document. Again xii. 12, 23, 27 contains the announcement of the destruction of the first-born of Egypt, but the fulfilment of the threat is to be found, according to the critics, only in the later Jehovistic additions. Hupfeld has tried to escape this difficulty by supposing that the original documents did contain an account of the slaying of the first-born, as the institution of the Passover in xii. 12, &c., has clearly a reference to it: only he will not allow that the story as it now stands is that account. But even then the difficulty is only partially removed, for thus *one* judgment only is mentioned, not *many* (vi. 6). Knobel has done his best to obviate this glaring inconsistency. Feeling no doubt that the ground taken by his predecessors was not tenable, he retains as a part of the original work much which they had rejected. It is especially worthy of notice that he considers some at least of the miraculous portions of the story to belong to the older document, and so accounts for the expression in vi. 6. The changing of Aaron's rod into a serpent, of the waters of the Nile into blood, the plague of frogs, of mosquitoes (A. V. lice), and of boils, and the destruction of the first-born, are, according to Knobel, Elohist. He points out what he considers here links of connexion, and a regular sequence in the narrative. He bids us observe that Jehovah always addresses Moses, and that Moses directs Aaron how to act. The miracles, then, are arranged in order of importance: first there is the sign which serves to accredit the mission of Aaron; next follow three plagues, which, however, do not touch men, and these are sent through the instrumentality of Aaron; the fourth plague is a plague upon man, and here Moses takes the most prominent part; the fifth and last is accomplished by Jehovah himself. Thus the miracles increase in intensity as they go on. The agents likewise rise in dignity. If Aaron with his rod of might begins the work, he gives way afterwards to his greater brother, whilst for the last act of redemption Jehovah employs no human agency, but Himself with a mighty hand and outstretched arm effects the deliverance of his people. The passages thus selected have no doubt a sort of connexion, but it is in the highest degree arbitrary to conclude that because portions of a work may be omitted without seriously disturbing the sense, these portions do not belong to the original work, but must be regarded as subsequent embellishments and additions.

Again all agree in assigning chaps. iii. and iv. to the Jehovist. The call of Moses, as there described, is said to be merely the Jehovistic parallel to vi. 2—vii. 7. Yet it seems improbable that the Elohist should introduce Moses with the bare words, "And God spake to Moses," vi. 2, without a single word

as to the previous history of so remarkable a man. So argues Hävernick, and as it appears to us, not without reason. It will be observed that none of these critics attempt to make the Divine names a criterion whereby to distinguish the several documents. Thus in the Jehovistic portion, chap. i. 15-22, De Wette is obliged to remark, with a sort of uneasy candour, "but vers. 17, 20, *Elohim* (?)," and again chap. iii. 4, 6, 11-15, "here seven times *Elohim*." In other places there is the same difficulty as in chap. xix. 17, 19, which Stähelin, as well as Knobel, gives to the Jehovist. In the passages in chaps. vii., viii., ix., which Knobel classes in the earlier record, the name Jehovah occurs throughout. It is obvious then that there must be other means of determining the relative antiquity of the different portions of the book, or the attempt to ascertain which are earlier and which are later must entirely fail. Accordingly certain peculiarities of style are supposed to be characteristic of the two documents. Thus, for instance, De Wette (*Eint.* §151, S. 183) appeals to פרה ורבה, i. 7, הזח, בעצם ה' הזה, xii. 17, 41, וקום בית, vi. 4, the formula לא כשה לאמר, xxi. 1, xxx. 11, &c., צבאות, vi. 26, vi. 4, xii. 17, 41, 51; בין הערבים, xii. 6, xxi. 41, xxx. 8, and other expressions, as decisive of the Elohist. Stähelin also proposes on very similar grounds to separate the first from the second legislation. Wherever, he says, I find mention of a pillar of fire, or of a cloud, Ex. xxxiii. 9, 10, or an "Angel of Jehovah," as Ex. xxxiii., xxxiv., or the phrase "flowing with milk and honey," as Ex. xiii. 5, xxxiii. 3 . . . where mention is made of a coming down of God, as Ex. xix., xxxiv. 5, or where the Canaanite nations are numbered, or the tabernacle supposed to be without the camp, Ex. xxxiii. 7, I feel tolerably certain that I am reading the words of the Author of the Second Legislation (i. e. the Jehovist)." But these nice critical distinctions are very precarious, especially in a stereotyped language like the Hebrew.

Unfortunately, too, dogmatical prepossessions have been allowed some share in the controversy. De Wette and his school chose to set down every thing which savoured of a miracle as proof of later authorship. The love of the marvellous, which is all they see in the stories of miracles, according to them could not have existed in an earlier and simpler age. But on their own hypothesis this is a very extraordinary view. For the earlier traditions of a people are not generally the least wonderful, but the reverse. And one cannot, thus, acquit the second writer of a *design* in embellishing his narrative. However, this is not the place to argue with those who deny the possibility of a miracle, or who make the narration of miracles proof sufficient of later authorship. Into this error Knobel it is true has not fallen. By admitting some of the plagues into his Elohist catalogue, he shows that he is at least free from the dogmatic prejudices of critics like De Wette. But his own critical tests are not conclusive. And the way in which he cuts verses to pieces, as in viii. 11, and xiii. 15, 16, 27, where it suits his purpose, is so completely arbitrary, and results so evidently from the stern constraint of a theory, that his labours in this direction are not more satisfactory than those of his predecessors.

On the whole there seems much reason to doubt whether critical acumen will ever be able plausibly to distinguish between the original and the supplement in the book of Exodus. There is nothing in-

deed forced or improbable in the supposition, either that Moses himself incorporated in his memoirs ancient tradition whether oral or written, or that a writer later than Moses made use of materials left by the great legislator in a somewhat fragmentary form. There is an occasional abruptness in the narrative, which suggests that this may possibly have been the case, as in the introduction of the genealogy vi. 13-27. The remarks in xi. 3, xvi. 35, 36 lead to the same conclusion. The apparent confusion at xi. 1-3 may be explained by regarding these verses as parenthetical.

We shall give reasons hereafter for concluding that the Pentateuch in its present form was not altogether the work of Moses. [PENTATEUCH.] For the present it is sufficient to remark, that even admitting the hand of an editor or compiler to be visible in the book of Exodus, it is quite impossible accurately to distinguish the documents from each other, or from his own additions.

C. Credibility.—Almost every historical fact mentioned in Exodus has at some time or other been called in question. But it is certain that all investigation has hitherto tended only to establish the veracity of the narrator. A comparison with other writers and an examination of the monuments confirm, or at least do not contradict, the most material statements of this book. Thus, for instance, Manetho's story of the Hyksos, questionable as much of it is, and differently as it has been interpreted by different writers, points at least to some early connexion between the Israelites and the Egyptians, and is corroborative of the fact implied in the Pentateuch that, at the time of the Israelish sojourn, Egypt was ruled by a foreign dynasty. [EGYPT.] Manetho speaks, too, of strangers from the East who occupied the eastern part of Lower Egypt. And his account shows that the Israelites had become a numerous and formidable people. According to Ex. xii. 37, the number of men beside women and children who left Egypt was 600,000. This would give for the whole nation about two millions and a half. There is no doubt some difficulty in accounting for this immense increase, if we suppose (as on many accounts seems probable) that the actual residence of the children of Israel was only 215 years. We must remember indeed that the number who went into Egypt with Jacob was considerably more than "threescore and ten souls" [see CHRONOLOGY]; we must also take into account the extraordinary fruitfulness of Egypt\* (concerning which all writers are agreed), and especially of that part of it in which the Israelites dwelt. Still it would be more satisfactory if we could allow 430 years for the increase of the nation rather than any shorter period.

According to De Wette, the story of Moses' birth is mythical, and arises from an attempt to account etymologically for his name. But the beautiful simplicity of the narrative places it far above the stories of Romulus, Cyrus, and Semiramis, with which it has been compared (Knobel, p. 14). And as regards the etymology of the name, there can be very little doubt that it is Egyptian (from the Copt. *ⲉⲙⲱ*, "water," and *ⲭⲓ* or *Ⲑⲓ*, "to take;" cf. Gesen. *Thes.* in v., and Knobel, *Comm.* in loc.); and if so, the author has either played upon the

\* Cf. Strabo, xv. p. 478; Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* vii. 4; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 3; Seneca, *Qu. Nat.* iii. 27, quoted by Hävernick.

name or is mistaken in his philology. But this does not prove that the whole story is nothing but a myth. Philology as a science is of very modern growth, and the truth of history does not stand or fall with the explanation of etymologies. The same remark applies to De Wette's objection to the etymology in ii. 22.

Other objections are of a very arbitrary kind. Thus Knobel thinks the command to destroy the male children (i. 15 ff.) extremely improbable, because the object of the king was not to destroy the people, but to make use of them as slaves. To require the midwives to act as the enemies of their own people, and to issue an injunction that every son born of Israelitish parents should be thrown into the Nile, was a piece of downright madness of which he thinks the king would not be guilty. But we do not know that the midwives were Hebrew, they may have been Egyptian; and kings, like other slave-owners, may act contrary to their interest in obedience to their fears or their passions; indeed, Knobel himself compares the story of King Bocchoris, who commanded all the unclean in his land to be cast into the sea (*Lysim. ap. Joseph. c. Apion. i. 34*), and the destruction of the Syntian Helots (*Plutarch, Lycorg. 28*). He objects further that it is not easy to reconcile such a command with the number of the Israelites at their exodus. But we may suppose that in very many instances the command of the king would be evaded, and probably it did not long continue in force.

Again, De Wette objects to the call of Moses that he *could not* have thus formed the resolve to become the saviour of his people—which, as Hävernick justly remarks, is a dogmatical, not a critical decision.

The ten plagues are physically, many of them, what might be expected in Egypt, although in their intensity and in their rapid succession, they are clearly supernatural. Even the order in which they occur is an order in which physical causes are allowed to operate. The corruption of the river is followed by the plague of frogs. From the dead frogs are bred the gnats and flies, from these came the murrain among the cattle and the boils on men, and so on.

Most of the plagues indeed, though of course in a much less aggravated form, and without such succession, are actually experienced at this day in Egypt. Of the plague of locusts it is expressly remarked that "before them were no such locusts, neither after them shall be such." And all travellers in Egypt have observed swarms of locusts, brought generally by a south-west wind (Denon, however, mentions their coming with an east wind), and in the winter or spring of the year. This last fact agrees also with our narrative. Lepsius speaks of being in a "regular snow-drift of locusts," which came from the desert in hundreds of thousands to the valley. "At the edge of the fruitful plain," he says, "they fell down in showers." And this continued for six days, indeed in weaker flights much longer. He also saw *hail* in Egypt. In January 1843, he and his party were surprised by a storm. "Suddenly," he writes, "the storm grew to a tremendous hurricane, such as I have never seen in Europe, and hail fell upon us in such masses, almost to turn day into night." He notices, too, an extraordinary cattle murrain "which carried off 40,000 head of cattle" (*Letters from Egypt, Eng. Transl. pp. 49, 27, 14*).

The institution of the Passover (ch. xii.) has been subjected to severe criticism. This has also been called a mythic fiction. The alleged circumstances are not historical it is said, but arise out of a later attempt to explain the origin of the ceremony and to refer it to the time of Moses. The critics rest mainly on the difference between the directions given for the observance of this the first, and those given for subsequent passovers. But there is no reason why, considering the very remarkable circumstances under which it was instituted, the first Passover should not have had its own peculiar solemnities, or why instructions should not then have been given for a somewhat different observance for the future. [PASSOVER.]

In minor details the writer shows a remarkable acquaintance with Egypt. Thus, for instance, Pharaoh's daughter goes to the river to bathe. At the present day it is true that only women of the lower orders bathe in the river. But Herodotus (ii. 35) tells us (what we learn also from the monuments) that in ancient Egypt the women were under no restraint, but apparently lived more in public than the men. To this must be added that the Egyptians supposed a sovereign virtue to exist in the Nile-waters. The writer speaks of chariots and "chosen chariots" (xiv. 7) as constituting an important element in the Egyptian army, and of the king as leading in person. The monuments amply confirm this representation. The Pharaohs lead their armies to battle, and the armies consist entirely of infantry and chariots.

Many other facts have been disputed, such as the passage of the Red Sea, the giving of the manna, &c. But respecting these it may suffice to refer to other articles in which they are discussed. [THE EXODUS; MANNA; THE RED SEA.]

D. The authorship and date of the book are discussed under PENTATEUCH. [J. J. S. P.]

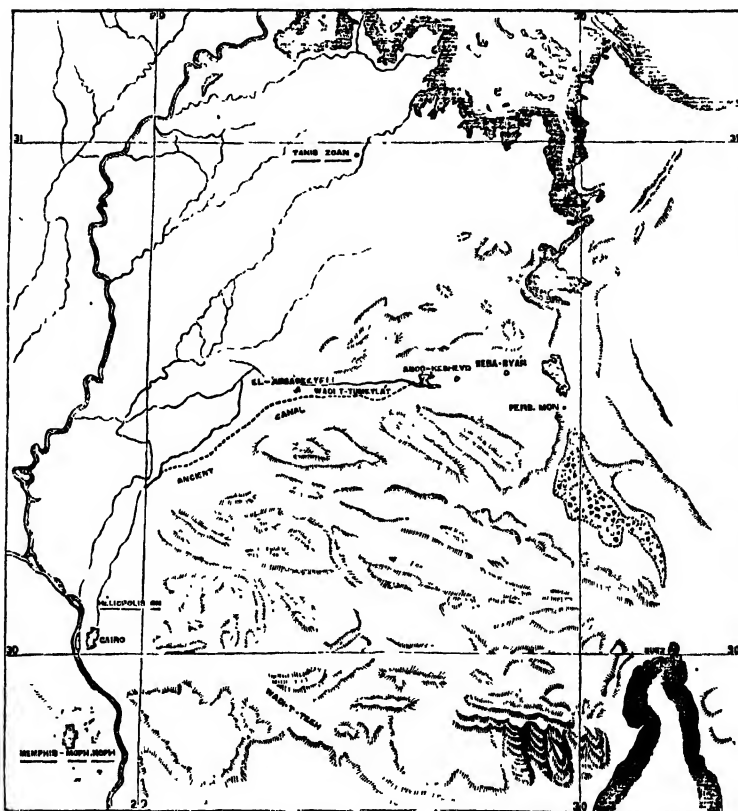
**EXODUS, THE.** The object of this article is to give a combined view of the results stated in the various articles relating or referring to the Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt. It may be divided into three parts, treating of the chronological, the historical, and the geographical aspect of the event.

1. *Date.*—The date of the Exodus is discussed under CHRONOLOGY, where it is held that a preponderance of evidence is in favour of the year B.C. 1652. The historical questions connected with this date are noticed under EGYPT. Hales places the Exodus B.C. 1648, Usher B.C. 1491, and Bunsen B.C. 1320.

2. *History.*—The Exodus is a great turning-point in Biblical history. With it the Patriarchal dispensation ends and the Law begins, and with it the Israelites cease to be a family and become a nation. It is therefore important to observe how the previous history led up to this event. The advancement of Joseph, and the placing of his kinsmen in what was to a pastoral people, at least, "the best of the land," yet, as far as possible, apart from Egyptian influence, favoured the multiplying of the Israelites and the preservation of their nationality. The subsequent persecution bound them more firmly together, and at the same time loosened the hold that Egypt had gained upon them. It was thus that the Israelites were ready when Moses declared his mission to go forth as one man from the land of their bondage. [JOSEPH; MOSES; EGYPT.]

The history of the Exodus itself commences with the close of that of the Ten Plagues [PLAQUES OF EGYPT]. In the night in which, at midnight, the firstborn were slain (Ex. xii. 29), Pharaoh urged the departure of the Israelites (ver. 31, 32). They at once set forth from Rameses (ver. 37, 39), apparently during the night (ver. 42), but towards morning, on the 15th day of the first month (Num. xxxiii. 3). They made three journeys and encamped by the Red Sea. Here Pharaoh overtook them, and the great miracle occurred by which they were saved, while the pursuer and his army were destroyed. It has been thought by some that Pharaoh did not perish in the Red Sea, but not only does the narrative seem to forbid such a supposition (Ex. xiv. 18, 23, 28), but it is expressly contradicted

in Ps. cxxxvi. (ver. 15). Recently it has been suggested that the Israelites crossed by a ford. If, however, their safe passage could thus be accounted for, the drowning of the Egyptians would become more extraordinary than before. Obviously ordinary causes are not sufficient to explain the deliverance of the former and the destruction of the latter. But even were it so, the question would have to be asked whether the occurrence of the event at the fit time could reasonably be considered as due to such ordinary causes, and the necessary negative reply would show the fallacy of attempting a naturalistic explanation of the event on account of the use of natural means. It would be more reasonable to deny the event, but this could not be attempted in the face of the overwhelming evidence of its occurrence.



Map to illustrate the Exodus of the Israelites.

3. *Geography.*—The determination of the route by which the Israelites left Egypt is one of the most difficult questions in Biblical geography. The following points must be settled exactly or approximately:—the situation of the Land of Goshen, the length of each day's march, the position of the first station (Rameses), and the direction of the journey.

The Land of Goshen may be concluded from the Biblical narrative to have been part of Egypt, but not of what was then held to be Egypt Proper. It must therefore have been an outer eastern pro-

vince of Lower Egypt. The Israelites, setting out from a town of Goshen, made two days' journey towards the Red Sea, and then entered the wilderness, a day's journey or less from the sea. They could only therefore have gone by the valley now called the *Wādī-t-Tumeylāt*, for every other cultivated or cultivable tract is too far from the Red Sea. Rameses, as we shall see, must have lain in this valley, which thus corresponded in part at least to Goshen. That it wholly corresponded to that region is evident from its being markedly a single

valley, and from the insufficiency of any smaller territory to support the Israelites. [GOSHEN.]

It is not difficult to fix very nearly the length of each day's march of the Israelites. As they had with them women, children, and cattle, it cannot be supposed that they went more than fifteen miles daily; at the same time it is unlikely that they fell far short of this. The three journeys would therefore give a distance of about forty-five miles. There seems, however, as we shall see, to have been a deflexion from a direct course, so that we cannot consider the whole distance from the starting-point, Rameses, to the shore of the Red Sea as much more than about thirty miles in a direct line. Measuring from the ancient western shore of the Arabian Gulf due east of the *Wādī-t-Tu-meylāt*, a distance of thirty miles in a direct line places the site of Rameses near the mound called in the present day *El-'Abdaseeyeh*, not far from the western end of the valley. That the Israelites started from a place in this position is further evident from the account of the two routes that lay before them:—"And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not [by] the way of the land of the Philistines, although that [was] near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt: but God let the people turn to the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (Ex. xiii. 17, 18). The expression used, *וַיִּסַּח*, does not necessarily imply a change in the direction of the journey, but may mean that God did not lead the Israelites into Palestine by the nearest route, but took them about by the way of the wilderness. Were the meaning that the people turned, we should have to suppose Rameses to have been beyond the valley to the west, and this would probably make the distance to the Red Sea too great for the time occupied in traversing it, besides overthrowing the reasonable identification of the land of Goshen. [RAMESES.] Hence it is clear that they must have started from near the eastern side of the ancient Delta, along which lies the commencement of the route to the Philistine territory.

Rameses is evidently the Raames of Ex. i. 11. It seems to have been the chief town of the land of Goshen, for that region, or possibly a part of it, is called the land of Rameses in Gen. xlvii. 11, comp. 4, 6. [RAMESES; GOSHEN.]

After the first day's journey the Israelites encamped at Succoth (Ex. xii. 37, xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 5, 6). This was probably a mere resting-place of caravans, or a military station, or else a town named from one of the two. Such names as the *Scenae Veteranorum* (which has been rashly identified with Succoth), and the *Scenae Maudiae* of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, and the settlement of Ionian and Carian mercenaries called *τὰ Στρατόπεδα* (Herod. ii. 154), may be compared to this. Obviously such a name is very difficult of identification. [SUCCOTH.]

The next camping-place was Etham, the position of which may be very nearly fixed in consequence of its being described as "in the edge of the wilderness" (Ex. xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 6, 7). The cultivable land now extends very nearly to the western side of the ancient head of the gulf. At a period when the eastern part of Lower Egypt was largely inhabited by Asiatic settlers, there can be no doubt that this tract was under cultivation. It is therefore reasonable to place Etham where the cultivable land ceases, near the *Seba Bîâr*, or *Seven Wells*, about

three miles from the western side of the ancient head of the gulf. The *Patmos* of Herodotus and Strabo, which appears to have been the same as the Thoun or Thou of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, is more likely to be the Pithom than the Etham of Scripture. [PITHOM.] It is too far west for the latter.

After leaving Etham the direction of the route changed. The Israelites were commanded "to turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon" (Ex. xiv. 2). Therefore it is most probable that they at once turned, although they may have done so later in the march. The direction cannot be doubted, if our description of the route thus far be correct, for they would have been entangled (ver. 3) only by turning southward, not northward. They encamped for the night by the sea, probably after a full day's journey. The place of their encampment and of the passage of the sea would therefore be not far from the Persepolitan monument, which is made in Linant's map the site of the Serapeum. We do not venture to attempt the identification of the places mentioned in the narrative with modern sites. Nothing but the discovery of ancient Egyptian names, and their positive appropriation to such sites, could enable us to do so. Something, however, may be gathered from the names of the places. The position of the Israelite encampment was before or at Pi-hahiroth, behind which was Migdol, and on the other hand Baal-zephon and the sea. [BAAL-ZEPHON.] Pi-hahiroth or Hahiroth is probably the name of a natural locality. The separable prefix is evidently the Egyptian masculine article, and we therefore hold the name to be Egyptian. Jablonsky proposed the Coptic etymology, *ΠΙ-ΑΧΙ-ΡΩΤ*, "the place where sedge grows," which, or a similar name, the critical sagacity of Fiesel recognised in the modern *Ghinceybet-el-boos*, "the bed of reeds." We cannot, however, hold that the *Ghinceybet-el-boos* in the neighbourhood where we place the passage of the sea is the Pi-hahiroth of the Bible: there is another *Ghinceybet-el-boos* near Suez, and such a name would of course depend for its permanence upon the continuance of a vegetation subject to change. [PI-HAHIROTH.] Migdol appears to have been a common name for a frontier watch-tower. [MIGDOL.] Baal-zephon we take to have had a similar meaning to that of Migdol. [BAAL-ZEPHON.] We should expect therefore that the encampment would have been in a depression, partly marshy, having on either hand an elevation marked by a watch-tower.

The actual passage of the sea forms the subject of another article. [RED SEA, PASSAGE OF.] There can be no doubt that the direction was from the west to the east, and that the breadth at the place of crossing was great, since the whole Egyptian army perished.

We do not propose to examine the various theories that have been put forth respecting the route of the Israelites. We have thought it enough to state all the points of evidence which can, in our judgment, lead to a satisfactory conclusion. It might, however, be thought neglectful if we did not allude to what Prof. Lepsius has written on the subject. He does not enter into any detailed exposition of the geography of the Exodus, and attempts but one identification with any modern site—that of Rameses, with the ancient Egyptian

site now called *Aboo-Kesheyd*, about eight miles from the old head of the gulf. The argument he adduces for this identification is that a monolith is found here representing Rameses II. seated between the gods Tum and Ila, and that therefore he was worshipped at the place which must have borne his name. It might equally, however, have been called Pa-tum, from Tum, and have corresponded in etymology to Patmos or else Pithon. The conclusion to which Prof. Lepsius arrives, that because *Aboo-Kesheyd* is Rameses, therefore the land of Goshen must have been within the eastern part of Lower Egypt below Heliopolis, is singularly illogical, for Rameses was in the land of Goshen, and not 20 miles east of it, and it occupied the Israelites more than two days to journey from it to the Red Sea, which makes its allocation within about eight miles of the sea absurd. The supposition involves therefore a double impossibility.

The preceding map exhibits the main features of the country in which we place the route of the Israelites, and the places referred to in this article. The best map is Linant's in the Atlas of the *Percement de l'Isthme de Suez*. [R. S. P.]

**EXORCIST** (ἐξορκιστής; *exorcista*). The verb ἐξορκίζω occurs once in the N. Test. and once in the LXX. version of the O. T. In both cases it is used, not in the sense of *exorcise*, but as a synonym of the simple verb ὀρκίζω, to *churye with an oath, to adjure*. Comp. Gen. xxiv. 3 (עֲבֹרְךָ, A. V. "I will make thee swear") with 37, and Matt. xxvi. 63, with Mark v. 7; and see 1 Thess. v. 27 (ἐξορκίζω, Lachm. Tischend.). The cognate noun, however, together with the simple verb, is found once (Acts xiv. 13) with reference to the ejection of evil spirits from persons possessed by them (cf. ἐξορκώσις, ὀρκώσις, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §5). The use of the term exorcists in that passage as the designation of a well-known class of persons, to which the individuals mentioned belonged, confirms what we know from other sources as to the common practice of exorcism amongst the Jews. That some, at least, of them not only pretended to, but possessed, the power of exorcising, appears by our Lord's admission when he asks the Pharisees, "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your disciples (vulgo) cast them out?" (Matt. xii. 27.) What means were employed by real exorcists we are not informed. David, by playing skilfully on a harp, procured the temporary departure of the evil spirit which troubled Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 23). Justin Martyr has an interesting suggestion as to the possibility of a Jew successfully exorcising a devil, by employing the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (ἀλλ' εἰ ἅπα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὁμῶν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὥσως ὑποταγήσεται [τὸ δαμόνιον].) *Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 85, p. 311, C. See also *Apol.* II. c. 6, p. 45, B, where he claims for Christianity superior but not necessarily exclusive power in this respect. Compare the statements of Iren. *adv. Haeres.* ii. 5, and the authorities quoted by Grotius on Matt. xii. 27.) But Justin goes on to say that the Jewish exorcists, as a class, had sunk down to the superstitious rites and usages of the heathen (Ἡδὴ μέντοι οἱ ἐξ ὁμῶν ἐπορκιστοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταθέμοις χρώμενοι, εἰπον). With this agrees the account given by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, §5) of an exorcism which he saw performed by Eleazar, a Jew, in the presence of Ves-

pasian and his sons, though the virtue of the cure is attributed to the mention of the name of Solomon, and to the use of a root, and of certain incantations said to have been prescribed by him. It was the profane use of the name of Jesus as a mere charm or spell which led to the disastrous issue recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (xiv. 12-16).

The power of casting out devils was bestowed by Christ while on earth upon the apostles (Matt. x. 8), and the seventy disciples (Luke x. 17-19), and was, according to His promise (Mark xvi. 17), exercised by believers after His Ascension (Acts xvi. 18); but to the Christian miracle, whether as performed by our Lord himself or by His followers, the N. T. writers never apply the terms "exorcise" or "exorcist." [T. T. P.]

### EXPIATION. [SACRIFICE.]

**EZ'BAI** (עֲזַבַּי; 'Aṣṣobai; *Asbai*), father of Naami, who was one of David's thirty mighty men (1 Chr. xi. 37). In the parallel list (2 Sam. xliii. 35) the name is given as פַּאמִי the Arbite," which Kennicott decides to be a corruption of the reading in Chronicles. (*Dissertation*, &c., 209.)

**EZ'BON** (עֲזֹבֹן; 'Esobān, and 'Esēbān, or 'Asebān; *Eschen*). 1. Son of Gad, and founder of one of the Gadite families (Gen. xlii. 16; Num. xxvi. 16). In the latter passage the name is written עֲזֹנִי (A. V. Ozni), probably by a corruption of the text of very early date, since the LXX. have 'Aṣṣel. The process seems to have been the accidental omission of the ב in the first instance (as in עֲזֹנִי, Abiezer (Josh. xvii. 2), which in Num. xxvi. is written עֲזֹנִי, Jeezer), and then, when עֲזֹנִי was no longer a Hebrew form, the changing it into עֲזֹנִי.

2. Son of Bela, the son of Benjamin, according to 1 Chr. vii. 7. It is singular, however, that while Ezbon is nowhere else mentioned among the sons of Bela, or Benjamin, he appears here in company with יִשָּׁי, Ithi, which is not a Benjamite family either, according to the other lists, but which is found in company with Ezbon among the Gadite families, both in Gen. xlii. 16 (Eri, יִשָּׁי), and Num. xxvi. 16. Were these two Gadite families incorporated into Benjamin after the slaughter mentioned Judg. xx. 7? Possibly they were from Jabesh-Gilead (comp. xxi. 12-14). [BECHEP.] 1 Chr. vii. 2, seems to fix the date of the census as in king David's time. [A. C. H.]

**EZECHIAS** (Ἐζεκίας; *Ozias*, *Ezechias*). 1. 1 Esd. ix. 14; put for JAHAZIAH in Ezr. x. 15. 2. 2 Esd. vii. 40. [HEZEKIAH.]

**EZECHIAS** (Ἐζεκίας; *Ezechias*), 1 Esd. ix. 43; for HILKIAH in the parallel passage, Neh. viii. 4.

**EZEKIAS** (Ἐζεκίας, and so Codex B in N. T.; *Ezechias*), Eccles. xlviii. 17, 22; xlix. 4; 2 Macc. xv. 22; Matt. i. 9, 10. [HEZEKIAH.]

**EZEKIEL** (עֶזְקִיֵּאל, i. e. *Yehesekel*, for עֶזְקִיֵּאל, *God will strengthen*, or from עֶזְקִי, *the strength of God*; 'Iezekīā; *Ezechiel*), one of the four greater prophets. There have been various fancies about his name; according to Abarbanel (*Praef. in Ezech.*) it implies "one who narrates the

might of God to be displayed in the future," and some (as Villalpandus, *Præf. in Ezech.* p. x.) see a play on the word in the expressions עֲבָדֶיךָ, and עֲבָדֶיךָ (iii. 7, 8, 9), whence the groundless conjecture of Sanctius (*Prolegom. in Ezech.* p. 2, n. 2) that the name was given him subsequently to the commencement of his career (Carpov. *Introd. ad Libr. Bibl. Vet. Testam.* ii. Part. iii. ch. v.). He was the son of a priest named Buzi, respecting whom fresh conjectures have been recorded, although nothing is known about him (as Archbp. Newcome observes) beyond the fact that he must have given his son a careful and learned education. The Rabbis had a rule that every prophet in Scripture was also the son of a prophet, and hence they (as R. Dav. Kimchi in his Commentary) absurdly identify Buzi with Jeremiah, who they say was so called, because he was rejected and despised. Another tradition makes Ezekiel the servant of Jeremiah (Greg. Naz. *Or.* xlvii.), and Jerome supposes that the prophets being contemporaries during a part of their mission interchanged their prophecies, sending them respectively to Jerusalem and Chaldaea for mutual confirmation and encouragement, that the Jews might hear as it were a strophe and antistrophe of warning and promise, "velut ac si duo cantores alter ad alterius vocem sese componerent" (Calvin, *Comment. ad Ezech.* i. 2). Although it was only towards quite the close of Jeremiah's lengthened office that Ezekiel received his commission, yet these suppositions are easily accounted for by the internal harmony between the two prophets, in proof of which Hävernick (*Introd. to Ezech.*) quotes Ez. xiii. as compared with Jer. xliii. 9 sq., and Ez. xxiv. with Jer. xxviii., &c. This inner resemblance is the more striking from the otherwise wide difference of character which separates the two prophets; for the elegiac tenderness of Jeremiah is the reflex of his gentle, calm, and introspective spirit, while Ezekiel in that age when true prophecy was so rare (Ez. xii. 21; Lam. ii. 9), "comes forward with all abruptness and iron consistency. Has he to contend with a people of brazen front and unbending neck? He possesses on his own part an unbending nature, opposing the evil with an unflinching spirit of boldness, with words full of consuming fire" (Hävernick's *Introd.* translated by Rev. F. W. Gotch in *Journal of S. L.* i. 23).

Unlike his predecessor in the prophetic office, who gives us the amplest details of his personal history, Ezekiel rarely alludes to the facts of his own life, and we have to complete the imperfect picture by the colours of late and dubious tradition. We shall mention both sources of information, contenting ourselves with this general caution against the latter. He was taken captive ἐκ γῆς Σαρπῶν (Isidor. *de Vit. et Ob. Sanct.* 39; Epiphani. *de Vit. et Mort. Prophet.* ix. ap. Carpov.) in the captivity (or transmigration, as Jerome more accurately prefers to render מַלְאָכָא, i. 2) of Jehoiachin (not Jehoiachim as Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6, §3) states, probably by a slip of memory) with other distinguished exiles (2 K. xxiv. 15) eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Josephus (*l. c.*) says that this removal happened when he was a boy, and although we cannot consider the assertion to be refuted by Hävernick's argument from the matured vigorous priestly character of his writings, and feel still less inclined to say that he had "undoubtedly" exercised for some considerable time the function of a priest, yet the statement is

questionable, because it is improbable (as Hävernick also points out) that Ezekiel long survived the 27th year of his exile (xxix. 17), so that if Josephus be correct he must have died very young. He was a member of a community of Jewish exiles who settled on the banks of the Chebar, a "river" or stream of Babylonia, which is sometimes taken to be the *Khabour*, but which the latest investigators suppose to be the *Nahr Malcha* or Royal canal of Nebuchadnezzar. [CHEBAR.] The actual name of the spot where he resided was עֵבֶר הַגִּבּוֹר ("acervus novarum frugum," Vulg. *μετέωρος καὶ περιήλθου* (?) LXX., "the hill of grief," Syr.) a name which Jerome, as usual, allegorises; it is thought by Michaelis to be the same as Thul-laba in D'Anville's map (Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Ezech.* iii. 15). It was by this river "in the land of the Chaldeans" that God's message first reached him (i. 3); the Chalde version however interpolates the words "in the land [of Israel: and again a second time he spake to him in the land] of the Chaldeans," because the Jews had a notion that the Shechinah could not overshadow a prophet out of the Holy Land. Hence R. Jarchi thinks that ch. xvii. was Ezekiel's first prophecy, and was uttered before the captivity, a view which he supports by the Hebrew idiom הָיָה ה' (A. V. "came expressly") in i. 3. R. Kimchi, however, makes an exception to the rule in case the prophecy was inspired in some pure and quiet spot like a river's bank (cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 1). His call took place "in the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity" B.C. 595 (i. 2), "in the thirtieth year in the fourth month." The latter expression is very uncertain. Most commentators take it to mean the 30th year of his age, the recognised period for assuming full priestly functions (Num. iv. 23, 30). Origen, following this assumption, makes the prophet a type of Christ, to whom also "the heavens were opened" when he was baptised in Jordan. But, as Prædix argues, such a computation would be unusual, and would not be sufficiently important or well known as a mark of genuineness, and would require some more definite addition. The Chald. paraphrase by Jon. ben Uzziel has—"30 years after Hilkiyah the high priest had found the book of the Law in the sanctuary in the vestibule under the porch at midnight after the setting of the moon in the days of Josiah, &c., in the month Thammuz, in the fifth day of the month" (cf. 2 K. xxii.). This view is adopted by Jerome, Unshier, Hävernick, &c.; but had this been a recognised era, we should have found traces of it elsewhere, whereas even Ezekiel never refers to it again. There are similar and more forcible objections to its being the 30th year from the Jubilee, as Hitzig supposes, following many of the early commentators. It now seems generally agreed that it was the 30th year from the new era of Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, who began to reign B.C. 625 (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. p. 508). The use of this *Chalde* epoch is the more appropriate as the prophet wrote in Babylonia, and he gives a Jewish chronology in ver. 2. Compare the notes of time in Dan. ii. 1, vii. 1; Ez. vii. 7; Neh. ii. 1, v. 14 (Rosenmüller, *Schol.*; Poli *Synops. in loc.*; Scaliger *de emend. Temp. Prolegom.* p. xii.). The decision of the question is the less important, because in all other places Ezekiel dates from the year of Jehoiachin's captivity (xxix. 17, xxx. 20, et passim). We learn from an incidental allusion (xxiv. 18)—the only reference which he makes to

his personal history—that he was married, and had a house (viii. 1) in his place of exile, and lost his wife by a sudden and unforeseen stroke. He lived in the highest consideration among his companions in exile, and their elders consulted him on all occasions (viii. 1, xi. 25, xiv. 1, xx. 1, &c.), because in his united offices of priest and prophet, he was a living witness to “them of the captivity” that God had not abandoned them. Vitringa even says (*de Synag. Vet.* p. 332) that “in ædibus suis ut in scholâ quâdam publicâ conventus instituebat, ibique coram frequenti concione divinam interpretabatur voluntatem oratione faciendâ” (quoted by Hävernick). There seems to be little ground for Theodoriet’s supposition that he was a Nazarite. The last date he mentions is the 27th year of the captivity (xix. 17), so that his mission extended over twenty-two years, during part of which period Daniel was probably living, and already famous (Ez. xiv. 14, xxviii. 3). Tradition ascribes various miracles to him, as, for instance, escaping from his enemies by walking dry-shod across the Chebar; feeding the famished people with a miraculous draught of fishes, &c. He is said to have been murdered in Babylon by some Jewish prince (? *ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λαοῦ*, called in the Roman martyrology for vi. Id. Apr. “*judex populi*,” Carpzov. *Introd.* l. c.), whom he had convicted of idolatry; and to have been buried in a *σπηλαίον διαπλοῦν*, the tomb of Schem and Arphaxad, on the banks of the Euphrates (Epiplian. *de Vit. et Mort. Prophet.*). The tomb, said to have been built by Jeholachin, was shown a few days’ journey from Bagdad (Mémusse ben Israel *de Resur. Mort.* p. 23), and was called “habitaaculum elegantine.” A lamp was kept there continually burning, and the autograph copy of the prophecies was said to be there preserved. This tomb is mentioned by Pietro de la Valle, and fully described in the Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela (Hottinger, *Theo. Phil.* II. i. 3; *Cippi Hebraici*, p. 82). A curious conjecture (discredited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i.), but considered not impossible by Selden (*Synagoga, de Diis Syr.* ii. p. 120), Meyer, and others) identifies him with “Nazaratus the Assyrian,” the teacher of Pythagoras. We need hardly mention the ridiculous suppositions that he is identical with Zoroaster, or with the *Ἐξέκληλος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τραγωδῶν ποιητής* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i.; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 28, 29) who wrote a play on the Exodus, called *Ἐξαγωγή* (Fabricius, *Bibl. Grec.* ii. 19). This Ezekiel lived B.C. 40 (Sixt. Sen. *Bibl. Sanct.* iv. p. 235).

But, as Hävernick remarks, “by the side of the scattered data of his external life, those of his internal life appear so much the richer.” We have already noticed his stern and inflexible energy of will and character; and we also observe a devoted adherence to the rites and ceremonies of his national religion. Ezekiel is no cosmopolite, but displays everywhere the peculiar tendencies of a Hebrew educated under Levitical training. The priestly bias is always visible, especially in chaps. viii.—xi., xl.—xlviii., and in *iv.* 13 sq., *xx.* 12 sq., *xxii.* 8, &c. It is strange of De Wette and Gesenius to attribute this to a “contracted spirituality,” and of Ewald to see in it “a one-sided conception of antiquity which he obtained merely from books and traditions,” and “a depression of spirit (!) enhanced by the long continuance of the banishment and bondage of the people” (Hävernick’s *Introd.*). It was surely this very intensity of patriotic loyalty to a system whose partial suspension he both pre-

dicted and survived, which cheered the exiles with the confidence of his hopes in the future, and tended to preserve their decaying nationality. Mr. F. Newman is even more contemptuous than the German critics. “The writings of Ezekiel,” he says (*Hebr. Monarchy*, p. 330, 2nd ed.), “painfully show the growth of what is merely visionary, and an increasing value of hard sacerdotalism;” and he speaks of the “heavy materialism” of Ezekiel’s temple, with its priests, sacrifices, &c., as “tedious and unedifying as Leviticus itself.” His own remark that Ezekiel’s predictions “so kept alive on the minds of the next generation a belief in certain return from captivity, as to have tended exceedingly towards the result,” is a sufficient refutation of such criticisms.

We may also note in Ezekiel the absorbing recognition of his high calling which enabled him cheerfully to endure any deprivation or misery (except indeed ceremonial pollution, from which he shrinks with characteristic loathing, *iv.* 14), if thereby he may give any warning or lesson to his people (*iv.*, *xxiv.* 15, 16, &c.), whom he so ardently loved (*ix.* 8, *xi.* 13). On one occasion, and on one only, the feelings of the man burst, in one single expression, through the self-devotion of the prophet; and while even then his obedience is unwavering, yet the inexpressible depth of submissive pathos in the brief words which tell how in one day “the desire of his eyes was taken from him” (*xiv.* 15-18), shows what well-springs of the tenderest human emotion were concealed under his uncompromising opposition to every form of sin.

His predictions are marvellously varied. He has instances of visions (viii.—xi.), symbolical actions (as *iv.* 8), similitudes (*xii.*, *vv.*), parables (as *xvii.*), proverbs (as *xi.* 22, *xviii.* 1 sq.), poems (as *xix.*), allegories (as *xxii.*, *xxiv.*), open prophecies (as *vi.*, *vii.*, *xx.* &c.), “tantâque ubertate et figurarum varietate floret ut unus omnes prophetici sermonis numeros ac modos explevisse, jure suo sit dicendus” (Carpzov. *Introd.* ii. pt. iii. 5). It is therefore unjust to charge him with plagiarism, as is done by Michaels and others, although no doubt his language (in which several Aramaisms and *ἄρα λεγόμενα* also occur) is coloured largely both by the Pentateuch and by the writings of Jeremiah. His style is characterised by “numberless particularisms,” as may be clearly observed by contrasting his prophecy against Tyre (*xxviii.*) with that of Isaiah (*xxiii.*) (Fairbairn’s *Ezekiel*). Grotius (in *Critici Sacri*, iv. 8) compares him to Homer for his knowledge, especially of architecture, from which he repeatedly draws his illustrations; and Witsius (*Misc. Sacr.* i. 243) says, that besides his “incomparable donum prophetiæ,” he deserves high literary reputation for the learning and beauty of his style. Michaelis on the other hand is very disparaging, and Lowth (referring to the diffuseness of his details) says “he is oftener to be classed with the orators than the poets.” Few will agree with Archbishop Newcome’s depreciation of such remarks on the ground (apparently) that even the *language* of a sacred writer is a matter of inspiration; for it is clear that inspiration in no way supercedes the individualities of the divine messenger. Ewald (*Die Proph. des Alten Bundes*, ii. 212), though not enthusiastic, admits that “simply as a writer he shows great excellencies, particularly in this dismal period,” and he points out his “evenness and repose” of style to which we suppose Jerome alludes when he says “Sermo ejus nec satis disertus nec admodum rus-

ticus, sed ex utroque genere medie temperatus" (*Præf. in Ezech.*). Hävernicks seems to us too strong in saying, that "the glow of the divine indignation, the mighty rushing of the spirit of the Lord, the holy majesty of Jehovah, as the seer beheld it, are remarkably reflected in his writings. . . The lofty action, the torrent of his eloquence. . . rests on this combination of power and consistency, the one as unwearied as the other is imposing." Among the most splendid passages are chapter i. (called by the Rabbis **פְּרָקִי**), the prophecy against Tyrus (xxvi.-xxviii.), that against Assyria, "the noblest monument of Eastern history" (xxxi.), and ch. viii., the account of what he saw in the temple-porch,

—"when, by the vision led,  
His eye surveyed the dark idolatries  
Of alienated Judah."—Milton, *Par. Lost*, i.

Certain phrases constantly recur in his writings, as "Son of Man," "They shall know that I am the Lord," "the hand of the Lord was upon me," "Set thy face against," &c.

The depth of his *matter*, and the marvellous nature of his visions, make him occasionally obscure. Hence his prophecy was placed by the Jews among the **סִפְרֵי חֵזקָה** (treasures), those portions of Scripture which (like the early part of Genesis, and the Canticles) were not allowed to be read till the age of 30 (*Jer. Ep. ad Eustoch.*; *Orig. procem. homil. iv. in Cantic.*; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.* ii. 1, 3). Hence Jerome compares the "inevtricabilis error" of his writings to Virgil's labyrinth ("Oceanus Scripturarum, mysteriorumque Dei labyrinthus"), and also to the catacumbs. The Jews classed him in the very highest rank of prophets. Gregory Naz. (*Or.* 23) calls him **ὁ προφητῶν θαυμασιώτατος καὶ ὑψηλότατος**, and again **ὁ τῶν μεγάλων ἐποπτήης καὶ ἐξηγήτης μυστηρίων**. Isidore (*de Vit. et ob. Sanct.* 39) makes him a type of Christ from the title "Son of Man," but that is equally applied to Daniel (viii. 17). Other similar testimonies are quoted by Carpzov (*Introd.* ii. 193 sq.). The Samaritani is said to have hesitated long whether his book should form part of the canon, from the occasional obscurity, and from the supposed contradiction of xviii. 20 to Ex. xx. 5, xxiv. 7; *Jer.* xxxii. 18. But in point of fact these apparent oppositions are the mere expression of truths complementary to each other, as Moses himself might have taught them (*Deut.* xxiv. 16). Although generally speaking comments on this book were forbidden, a certain R. Numanias undertook to reconcile the supposed differences. (*Spinosa, Tract. Theol. Polit.* ii. 27, partly from these considerations, infers that the present book is made up of mere **ἀπομαμαδρία**, but his argument from its commencing with a **ו**, and from the expression in i. 3 above alluded to, hardly needs refutation.)

Of the authenticity of Ezekiel's prophecy there has been no *real* dispute, although a few rash critics (as Oeder, Vogel, and Corrodi) have raised questions about the last chapters, even suggesting that they might have been written by a Samaritan, to incite the Jews to suffer the coöperation in rebuilding the Temple. There is hardly a shadow of argument in favour of this view, and absolutely none to support the anonymous objections in the Monthly Magazine for 1798 against the genuineness of other chapters; which never would have attracted any notice had not Jahn taken the super-

fluous trouble to answer them. The specific nature of some of his predictions (xii. 12, xxvii. 6, &c.; on the former passage and its apparent contradiction to *Jer.* xxxii. 4, see *Joseph. Ant.* x. 8, §2) is also in a very unhistorical manner made a ground for impugning the authenticity of the book of Ezekiel by Zunz and others. This style of criticism is very much on the increase, and we have had some audacious instances of it lately; but though it is quite true that the prophets deal far more in eternal principles than specific announcements, yet *some* show of argument must be adduced before we settle the date of a sacred book as necessarily subsequent to an event which it *professes* to foretell.

The book is divided into two great parts—of which the destruction of Jerusalem is the turning-point; chapters i.-xxiv. contain predictions delivered before that event, and xxv.-xlviii. after it, as we see from xxvi. 2. Again, chapters i.-xxxii. are mainly occupied with correction, denunciation, and reproof, while the remainder deal chiefly in consolation and promise. A parenthetical section in the middle of the book (xxv.-xxxii.) contains a group of prophecies against *seven* foreign nations, the septenary arrangement being apparently (as elsewhere in Scripture) intentional (see an art. on this subject in the *Journal of Sac. Literature*). De Wette, Carpzov, &c. have adopted various ways of grouping the prophecies, but the best synopsis is that of Hävernicks, who divides the book into nine sections distinguished by their superscriptions, as follows:—I. Ezekiel's call, i. iii. 15. II. The general carrying out of the commission, iii. 16-vii. III. The rejection of the people, because of their idolatrous worship, viii.-xi. IV. The sins of the age rebuked in detail, xii.-xix. V. The nature of the judgment, and the guilt which caused it xx.-xxiii. VI. The meaning of the now commencing punishment, xxiv. VII. God's judgment denounced on seven heathen nations (Amon, xxv. 1-7; Moab 8-14; the Philistines, 15-17; Tyre, xxvi.-xxviii. 19; Sidon, 20-24; Egypt, xxix.-xxxii.). VIII. Prophecies, after the destruction of Jerusalem, concerning the future condition of Israel, xxxiii.-xxxix. IX. The glorious consummation, xl.-xlvi.

Chronological order is followed throughout (the date of the prediction being constantly referred to), except in the section devoted to prophecies against heathen nations (xxix.-xxxii.), where it is several times abandoned (xxix. 17; cf. xxvi. 1, xxx. 1), so that in the prediction against Egypt, one uttered in the 27th year of the captivity is inserted between two uttered in the 10th and 11th years. Hence Jahn supposes a purely "accidental" order, which Eichhorn expands into an economical arrangement of the separate scrolls on which the prophecies were written. But there is no necessity to resort to such arbitrary hypotheses. The general unity of subject in the arrangement is obvious, and Jerome (although he assumes some mystery in the violation of chronology throughout the warnings addressed to Pharaoh) correctly remarks, "in prophetis nequaquam historiarum ordo servatur; neque enim narrat præterita sed futura pronuntiat, prout voluntas Spiritus Sancti fuerit" (*Com. in Ezech.* xxix. 17, where he especially alludes the instance of Jeremiah). Rosenmüller (*Scholæ in loc.*) thinks that the *causes* of the destruction of Egypt are put together (xxix. 2-21), and then the actual nature of that predicted judgment is described.

Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6) has the following passage:—**οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος (Jeremiah) προεθέσται ταῦτα**

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκιήλ [δὲ] πρῶτος περὶ τούτων δύο βιβλία γράψας κατέλειπεν. The undoubted meaning seems to be that *Ezekiel* (although Eichhorn on various grounds applies the word to Jeremiah) left two books of prophecy; which is also stated by Zonaras, and the Latin translation of Athanasius, where, after mentioning other lost books, and two of Ezekiel, the writer continues, "nunc vero jam unum dimittat inveniri scimus. Itaque haec omnia per imperium Iudaeorum amantem et iucuriam perisaei manifestum est" (*Synops.* p. 136, but the passage does not occur in the Greek). In confirmation of this view (which is held by Maldonatus and others) we have a passage quoted in Clem. Alex. *Pedagog.* i. 20, ἐν ᾧ εὖρω σε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶ σε, and again τέτοκεν καὶ οὐ τέτοκεν φθισιν ἡ γραφή (*Id. Strom.* vii. p. 756); a prophecy also mentioned, as alluding to the Virgin Mary, in Tertullian, who says "Legimus apud Ezechielem de vacca illa quae peperit et non peperit" (*De Carn. Christi*, cf. *Epiphani. Haeres.* xxx. 30. The attempt to refer it by an error of memory to Job xxi. 10, seems a failure). That these passages (quoted by Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test. num.* 221) can come from a lost genuine book is extremely improbable, since we know from Philo and Justin Martyr the extraordinary care with which the Jews guarded the *Λόγια ῥήματα*. They may indeed come from a lost apocryphal book, although we find no other trace of its existence (Sixtus Sen. *Bibl. Sanct.* ii. p. 61). Le Moine (*Var. Sacra*, ii. p. 332 sq.) thinks that they undoubtedly belong to the collection of traditional Jewish apophthegms called *Pirke Aboth*, or "chapters of the fathers." Just in the same way we find certain *ἑξαγράφα δόγματα* attributed to our Lord by the Fathers, and even by the Apostles (Acts xx. 35), on which see a monograph by Kuinoel. The simplest supposition about the passage in Josephus is either to assume that he is in error, or to admit a former division of Ezekiel into two books, possibly at ch. xl. Le Moine adopts the latter view, and supports it by analogous cases. There is nothing which militates against it in the fact that Josephus mentions *δύο μόνα καὶ εἰκοσι βιβλία* (c. *Apion.* i. 23) as forming the canon.

There are no direct quotations from Ezekiel in the New Testament, but in the Apocalypse there are many parallels and obvious allusions to the later chapters (xl.-xlviii.). We cannot now enter into the difficulties of these or other chapters (for which we must refer to some of the commentaries mentioned below); but we will enumerate, following Fairbairn, the four main lines of interpretation, viz., 1. The Historico-literal, adopted by Villalpandus, Grotius, Lowth, &c., who make them a prosaic description intended to preserve the memory of Solomon's temple. 2. The Historico-ideal (of Eichhorn, Dathe, &c.), which reduces them "to a sort of vague and well-meaning announcement of future good." 3. The Jewish-carnal (of Lightfoot, Hofmann, &c.), which maintains that their outline was actually adopted by the exiles. 4. The Christian-spiritual (or Messianic), followed by Luther, Calvin, Cocceius, and most modern commentators, which makes them "a grand complicated symbol of the good God had in reserve for his Church." Rosenmüller, who disapproves alike of the literalism of Grotius, and the arbitrary, ambiguous allegorising of others, remarks (*Schol.* in xxviii. 26) "Nobis quidem oleum et opus perire videntur, qui huiusmodi oracula ad certos eventus

referre student, aut poetica ornamenta ad factorum fidem explorant." Other prophecies of a general Messianic character are xxiv. 11-19, and xxxvi.-xxxix.

The chief commentators on this "most neglected of the prophets" are, among the fathers, Origen, Jerome (*Comment. in Ezech. l.* xiv.), and Theodoret; among the Jews, Rabbis Dav. Kimchi and Abarbanel; of the Reformers, Oecolampadius and Calvin; and of the Romanists, Prudus and Villalpandus (Rome, 1596). More modern commentaries are those of Murek (1731), Venema (1790), Newcome, W. Greenhill, Fairbairn, Henderson, Illversnick (*Comm. über Ezechiel*), Hitzig (*Der Prophet Ezechiel erklärt*). [JHKZEKEL.] [F. W. F.]

**E'ZEL, THE STONE** (הַנֶּחֱבֵל; ὁ ἐργάβ ἐκείνο; Alex. *ἔργον*; *lapis cui nomen est Ezel*). A well-known stone in the neighbourhood of Saul's residence, the scene of the parting of David and Jonathan when the former finally fled from the court (1 Sam. xx. 19). At the second mention of the spot (verse 41) the Hebrew text (נֶחֱבֵל הַנֶּחֱבֵל; A.V. "out of a place toward the south," literally "from close to the south"), is, in the opinion of critics, undoubtedly corrupt. The true reading is indicated by the LXX., which in both cases has *Eryab* or *Argab*—in ver. 19 for the Hebrew *Eben*, "stone," and in ver. 41 for *han-negeb*, "the south." *Eryab* is doubtless the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *Argab* = a heap of stones. The true reading of ver. 41 will therefore be as follows: "David arose from close to the stone heap,"—close to which (the same preposition, נֶחֱבֵל, A.V. "by") it had been arranged beforehand that he should remain (ver. 19). The change in 41 from הַנֶּחֱבֵל, as the text stood at the time of the LXX., to הַנֶּגֶב, as it now stands, is one which might easily take place. [G.]

**E'ZEM** (עֶזֶם; Αἰσέμ, Alex. Βοσάρμ; *Asom*), one of the towns of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 29). In the lists of Joshua (xix. 3) the name appears in the slightly different form of AZEM (the vowel being lengthened before the pause).

**E'ZER** (עֶזֶר; Ἐζέρ; *Ezer*). 1. A son of Ephraim, who was slain by the aboriginal inhabitants of Gath, while engaged in a foray on their cattle (1 Chr. vii. 21). Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 490) assigns this occurrence to the pre-Egyptian period. 2. A prince noticed in the book of Nehemiah (xii. 42; Ἰεζούρ, LXX.). 3. 1 Chr. iv. 4. [W. L. B.]

**EZEK'AS** (ὁ Ζεχίας, Alex. ὁ Ἐζεσίας; *Azarias*), 1 Esd. vii. 1. [AZARIAH, 7.]

**EZ'AS** (ὁ Ὀζας, Alex. Ἐζας; *Azazel*), 1 Esd. vii. 2. [AZARIAH; AZIEL.]

**E'ZIONGABER**, or . . . **GE'BER** (עִזְיוֹן גַּבֶּר; = "the giant's back-bone," *Γαίω γαβέρ*; *Asiongaber*; Num. xxxiii. 35; Deut. ii. 8: 1 K. ix. 26, xxii. 48; 2 Chr. vii. 17), the last station named for the encampment of the Israelites before they came to "the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh," subsequently the station of Solomon's navy, described as "besides Elath, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom;" and where that of Jehoshaphat was afterwards "broken;"—probably destroyed on the rocks which lie in "jagged ranges on each side" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 2).

Wellsted (ii. ch. ix. p. 153) would find it in Bahab [DIZAHAB], but this could hardly be regarded as "in the land of Edom" (although possibly the rocks which Wellsted describes may have been the actual scene of the wreck), nor would it accord with Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, §4)\* as "not far from Elath." According to the latest map of Kiepert (in Robinson, 1856), it stands at *Ain el-Ghudyân*, about ten miles up what is now the dry bed of the Arabah, but, as he supposed, was then northern end of the gulf, which may have anciently had, like that of Suez, a further extension. This probably is the best site for it. By comparing 1 K. ix. 26, 27 with 2 Chr. viii. 17, 18, it is probable that timber was floated from Tyre to the nearest point on the Mediterranean coast, and then conveyed over land to the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*, where the ships seem to have been built; for there can hardly have been adequate forests in the neighbourhood. [WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING.] [H. H.]

**EZ'NITE, THE** (עֲזַנִּית, *Keri* עֲזַנִּית; δ' Ἀσωνίτης). According to the statement of 2 Sam. xxi. 8, "Adino the Eznite" was another name for "Johab-Iusshebeth a Tachemonite (A.V. "the Tachmonite that sate in the seat"), chief among the captains." The passage is, however, one of the most disputed in the whole Bible, owing partly to the difficulty of the one man bearing two names so distinct without any assigned reason, and partly to the discrepancy between it and the parallel sentence in 1 Chr. xi. 11, in which for the words "Adino the Eznite" other Hebrew words are found, not very dissimilar in appearance but meaning "he shook (A.V. 'lifted up') his spear." The question naturally arises whether the words in Chronicles are an explanation by a later writer of those in Samuel, or whether they preserve the original text which in the latter has become corrupted. The form of this particular word is in the original text (the *Chetib*) *Ezno*, which has been altered to *Ezni* by the Masoret scribes (in the *Keri*) apparently to admit of some meaning being obtained from it. Jerome read it *Ezno*, and taking it to be a declension of *Etz* (= "wood") has rendered the words *quasi tenerius ligni perniculus*. The LXX. and some Hebrew MSS. (see Davidson's *Heb. Text*) add the words of Chronicles to the text of Samuel, a course followed by the A.V.

The passage has been examined at length by Kennicott (*Dissertation* 1, 71-128) and Gesenius (*Thes.* 994-995), to whom the reader must be referred for details. Their conclusion is that the reading of the Chronicles is correct. Ewald does not mention it (*Gesch.* iii. 180, *note*). [G.]

**EZ'RA** (עֶזְרָא = help; Ἐσθρας). 1. The head of one of the twenty-two courses of priests which returned from captivity with Zerubbabel and Joshua, (Neh. xii. 2). But in the somewhat parallel list of Neh. x. 2-8, the name of the same person is written עֲזַרְיָה, Azariah, as it is probably in Ezr. vii. 1.

2. A man of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17).

3. The famous Scribe and Priest, descended from Hilkiah the high-priest in Josiah's reign, from whose younger son Azariah, sprung Seraiah, Ezra's father, quite a different person from Seraiah the high-priest (Ezr. vii. 1). All that is really known of Ezra is contained in the four last chapters of the

book of Ezra and in Neh. viii. and xii. 26. From these passages we learn that he was a learned and pious priest residing at Babylon in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The origin of his influence with the king does not appear, but in the seventh year of his reign, in spite of the unfavourable report which had been sent by Rehum and Shimshai, he obtained leave to go to Jerusalem, and to take with him a company of Israelites, together with priests, Levites, singers, porters, and Nethinim. Of these a list, amounting to 1754, is given in Ezr. vii.; and these, also, doubtless form a part of the full list of the returned captives contained in Neh. vii., and in duplicate in Ezr. ii. The journey of Ezra and his

companions from Babylon to Jerusalem took just four months; and they brought up with them a large free-will offering of gold and silver, and silver vessels, contributed, not only by the Babylonian Jews, but by the king himself and his counsellors. These offerings were for the house of God, to beautify it, and for the purchase of bullocks, rams, and the other offerings required for the temple-service. In addition to this Ezra was empowered to draw upon the king's treasurers beyond the river for any further supplies he might require; and all priests, Levites, and other ministers of the temple were exempted from taxation. Ezra had also authority given him to appoint magistrates and judges in Judaea, with power of life and death over all offenders. This ample commission was granted him at his own request (v. 6), and it appears that his great design was to effect a religious reformation among the Palestine Jews, and to bring them back to the observation of the law of Moses, from which they had grievously declined. His first step, accordingly, was to enforce a separation from their wives upon all who had made heathen marriages, in which number were many priests and Levites, as well as other Israelites. This was effected in little more than six months after his arrival at Jerusalem. With the detailed account of this important transaction Ezra's auto-biography ends abruptly, and we hear nothing more of him till, 13 years afterwards, in the 20th of Artaxerxes, we find him again at Jerusalem with Nehemiah "the Tishathath." It is generally assumed that Ezra had continued governor till Nehemiah superseded him; but as Ezra's commission was only of a temporary nature, "to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem" (Ezr. vii. 14), and to carry thither "the silver and gold which the king and his counsellors had freely offered unto the God of Israel" (15), and as there is no trace whatever of his presence at Jerusalem between the 8th and the 20th of Artaxerxes, it seems probable that after he had effected the above-named reformation, and had appointed competent judges and magistrates, with authority to maintain it, he himself returned to the king of Persia. This is in itself what one would expect, and what is borne out by the parallel case of Nehemiah, and it also accounts for the abrupt termination of Ezra's narrative, and for that relapse of the Jews into their former irregularities which is apparent in the book of Nehemiah. Such a relapse, and such a state of affairs at Jerusalem in general, could scarcely have occurred if Ezra had continued there. Whether he returned to Jerusalem with Nehemiah, or separately, does not appear certainly, but as he is not mentioned in Nehemiah's narrative till after the completion of the wall (Neh. viii. 1), it is perhaps probable that he followed the latter some months later, having, perhaps, been sent for to aid

\* Ἀσωνγάβαρος, αὐτὴ Βερσινίκη καλεῖται, οὐ πάρος Αἰλαγὴς πόλεως.

him in his work. The functions he executed under Nehemiah's government were purely of a priestly and ecclesiastical character, such as reading and interpreting the law of Moses to the people during the eight days of the Feast of Tabernacles, praying in the congregation, and assisting at the dedication of the wall, and in promoting the religious reformation so happily effected by the Tirshatha. But in such he filled the first place; being repeatedly coupled with Nehemiah the Tirshatha (viii. 9, xii. 26), while Eliashib the high-priest is not mentioned as taking any part in the reformation at all. In the sealing to the covenant described Neh. x., Ezra probably sealed under the patronymic Seraiah or Azariah (v. 2). As Ezra is not mentioned after Nehemiah's departure for Babylon in the 32nd Artaxerxes, and as everything fell into confusion during Nehemiah's absence (Neh. xiii.), it is not unlikely that Ezra may have died or returned to Babylon before that year. Josephus, who should be our next best authority after Scripture, evidently knew nothing about the time or the place of his death. He vaguely says, "he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem" (*Ant.* xi. 5, §5), and places his death in the high-priesthood of Joachim, and before the government of Nehemiah! But that he lived under the high-priesthood of Eliashib and the government of Nehemiah is expressly stated in Nehemiah; and there was a strong Jewish tradition that he was buried in Persia. Thus Benjamin of Tudela says of Nehar-Samorah—apparently some place on the lower Tigris, on the frontier of Persia; Zamuzza according to the Talmudists, otherwise Zamzum—"The sepulchre of Ezra the priest and scribe is in this place, where he died on his journey from Jerusalem to king Artaxerxes" (vol. i. p. 116), a tradition which certainly agrees very well with the narrative of Nehemiah. This sepulchre is shown to this day (*ib.* vol. ii., note p. 116). As regards the traditional history of Ezra, it is extremely difficult to judge what portion of it has any historical foundation. The principal works ascribed to him by the Jews, and, on the strength of their testimony, by Christians also, are:—1. The institution of the Great Synagogue, of which, the Jews say, Ezra was president, and Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Zoiababel, Mordecai, Jeshua, Nehemiah, &c., were members, Simon the Just, the last survivor, living on till the time of Alexander the Great! 2. The settling the canon of Scripture, and restoring, correcting, and editing, the whole sacred volume according to the threefold arrangement of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, with the divisions of the *Pesukim*, or verses, the vowel-points handed down by tradition from Moses, and the emendations of the *Keri*. 3. The introduction of the Chaldee character instead of the old Hebrew or Samaritan. 4. The authorship of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and, some add, Esther; and, many of the Jews say, also of the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the 12 prophets. 5. The establishment of synagogues. Of most of these works a full account is given in Prideaux's *Connexion*, l. 308-330 and 335-376; also in Buxtorf's *Tiberias*. References to the chief rabbinical and other authorities will be found in Winer. A compendious account of the arguments by which most of these Jewish statements are proved to be fabulous is given in Stehelin's *Rabbin. Literat.* p. 5-8; of which the chief are drawn from the silence of the sacred writers themselves, of the apocryphal books, and

of Josephus—and it might be added, of Jerome. and from the fact that they may be traced to the author of the chapter in the Mishna called *Pirke Aroth*. Here, however, it must suffice to observe that the pointed description of Ezra (vii. 6) as "a ready scribe in the law of Moses," repeated in 11, 12, 21, added to the information concerning him that "he had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments" (vii. 10), and his commission "to teach the laws of his God to such as knew them not" (25), and his great diligence in rendering the Scriptures to the people, all gives the utmost probability to the account which attributes to him a corrected edition of the Scriptures, and the circulation of many such copies. The books of Nehemiah and Malachi must indeed have been added later; possibly by Malachi's authority. Some tradition to this effect may have given rise to the Jewish fable of Malachi being the same person as Ezra. But we cannot affirm that Ezra inserted in the Canon any books that were not already acknowledged as inspired, as we have no sufficient ground for ascribing to him the prophetic character. Even the books of which he was the author may not have assumed definitely the character of SCRIPTURE till they were sanctioned by Malachi. There does not, however, seem to be sufficient ground for forming a definite opinion on the details of the subject. In like manner one can only say that the introduction of the Chaldee character, and the commencement of such stated meetings for hearing the Scriptures read as led to the regular synagogue-service, are things likely to have occurred about this time. For the question of Ezra's authorship, see CHRONICLES; also EZRA, BOOK OF. [A. C. H.]

**EZRA, BOOK OF.** The book of Ezra speaks for itself to any one who reads it with ordinary intelligence, and without any prejudice as to its nature and composition. It is manifestly a continuation of the books of Chronicles, as indeed it is called by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, *Sermone dicunt Esdræ* (ap. Cosin's *Canon of Scr.* 51). It is naturally a fresh book, as commencing the history of the returned captives after seventy years of suspension, as it were, of the national life. But when we speak of the book as a *chronicle*, we at once declare the nature of it, which its contents also abundantly confirm. Like the two books of Chronicles, it consists of the contemporary historical journals kept from time to time by the prophets, or other authorized persons, who were eye-witnesses for the most part of what they record, and whose several narratives were afterwards strung together, and either abridged or added to, as the case required, by a later hand. That later hand, in the book of EZRA, was doubtless Ezra's own, as appears by the four last chapters, as well as by other matter inserted in the previous chapters. While therefore, in a certain sense, the whole book is Ezra's, as put together by him, yet, strictly, only the four last chapters are his original work. Nor will it be difficult to point out with tolerable certainty several of the writers of whose writings the first six chapters are composed. It has already been suggested [CHRONICLES] that the chief portion of the last chapter of 2 Chr. and Ezr. i. may probably have been written by Daniel. The evidences of this in Ezr. i. must now be given more fully. No one probably can read Daniel as a genuine book, and not be struck with the very singular circumstance that, while he tells us in

ch. ix. that he was aware that the seventy years' captivity, foretold by Jeremiah, was near its close, and was led thereby to pray earnestly for the restoration of Jerusalem, and while he records the remarkable vision in answer to his prayer, yet he takes not the slightest notice of Cyrus's decree, by which Jeremiah's prophecy was fulfilled, and his own heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel was accomplished, and which must have been the most stirring event in his long life, not even excepting the incident of the den of lions. He passes over in utter silence the first year of Cyrus, to which pointed allusion is made in Dan. i. 21, and proceeds in ch. x. to the third year of Cyrus. Such silence is utterly unaccountable. But Ezr. i. supplies the missing notice. If placed between Dan. ix. and x. it exactly fills up the gap, and records the event of the first year of Cyrus, in which Daniel was so deeply interested. And not only so, but the manner of the record is exactly Daniel's. Ezr. i. 1: "And in the first year of Cyrus K. of Persia," is the precise formula used in Dan. i. 1, ii. 1, vii. 1, viii. 1, ix. 1, x. 1, xi. 1. The designation (ver. 1, 2, 8) "Cyrus king of Persia" is that used Dan. x. 1; the reference to the prophecy of Jeremiah in ver. 1 is similar to that in Dan. ix. 2, and the natural sequence to it. The giving the text of the decree, ver. 2-4 (cf. Dan. iv.), the mention of the name of "Mithredath the treasurer," ver. 8 (cf. Dan. i. 3, 11), the allusion to the sacred vessels placed by Nebuchadnezzar in the house of his god, ver. 7 (cf. Dan. i. 2), the giving the Chaldean name of Zerubbabel, ver. 8, 11 (cf. Dan. i. 7), and the whole *locus stultii* of the narrator, who evidently wrote at Babylon, not at Jerusalem, are all circumstances which in a marked manner point to Daniel as the writer of Ezr. i. Nor is there the least improbability in the supposition that if Ezra edited Daniel's papers he might think the chapter in question more conveniently placed in its chronological position in the *Chronicles* than in the collection of Daniel's prophecies. It is scarcely necessary to add that several chapters of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah are actually found in the book of Kings, as e. g. Is. xxxvi.-xxxix. in 2 K. xviii.-xx.

Ezr. i. then was by the hand of Daniel.

As regards Ezr. ii., and as far as iii. 1, where the change of name from Sheshbazzar to Zerubbabel in ver. 2, the mention of Nehemiah the Tirshatha in ver. 2 and 63, and that of Mordecai in ver. 2, at once indicate a different and much later hand, we need not seek long to discover where it came from, because it is found in *extenso, verbatim et literatim* (with the exception of clerical errors), in the 7th ch. of Nehemiah, where it belongs beyond a shadow of doubt [NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF]. This portion then was written by Nehemiah, and was placed by Ezra, or possibly by a still later hand, in this position, as bearing upon the return from captivity related in ch. i., though chronologically out of place. Whether the extract originally extended so far as iii. 1 may be doubted. The next portion extends from iii. 2 to the end of ch. vi. With the exception of one large explanatory addition by Ezra, extending from iv. 6 to 23, which has cruelly but most needlessly perplexed commentators, this portion is the work of a writer contemporary with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and an eye-witness of the rebuilding of the Temple in the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis. The minute details given of all the circumstances, such as the weeping of the old

men who had seen the first Temple, the names of the Levites who took part in the work, of the heathen governors who hindered it, the expression (vi. 15) "This house was finished," &c., the number of the sacrifices offered at the dedication, and the whole tone of the narrative, bespeak an actor in the scenes described. Who then was so likely to record these interesting events as one of those prophets who took an active part in promoting them, and a branch of whose duty it would be to continue the national *chronicles*? That it was the prophet Haggai becomes tolerably sure when we observe further the following coincidences in style.

1. The title "the prophet," is throughout this portion of Ezra attached in a peculiar way to the name of Haggai. Thus chapter v. 1 we read "Then the prophets, Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied, &c.," and vi. 14, "They prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo." And in like manner in Hagg. i. 1, 3, 12, ii. 1, 10, he is called "Haggai the prophet."

2. The designation of Zerubbabel and Jeshua is identical in the two writers. "Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Jozadak" (comp. Ezr. iii. 2, 8, v. 2, with Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2, 4, 23). It will be seen that both writers usually name them together, and in the same order: Zechariah, on the contrary, does not once name them together, and calls them simply Zerubbabel, and Jeshua. Only in vi. 11 he adds "the son of Josedech."

3. The description in Ezr. v. 1, 2 of the effect of the preaching of Haggai and Zechariah upon Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the people, is identical with that in Hagg. i., only abbreviated. And Hagg. ii. 3 alludes to the interesting circumstance recorded in Ezr. iii. 12.

4. Both writers mark the date of the transactions they record by the year of "Darius the king" (Ezr. iv. 24, vi. 15, compared with Hagg. i. 1, 15, ii. 10, &c.).

5. Ezr. iii. 8 contains exactly the same enumeration of those that worked, viz. "Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the remnant of their brethren," as Hagg. i. 12, 14, where we have "Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, with all the remnant of the people" (comp. too Ezr. vi. 16, and Hagg. ii. 2).

6. Both writers use the expression "the work of the house of the Lord" (Ezr. iii. 8 and 9, compared with Hagg. i. 14); and both use the phrase "the foundation of the temple was laid" (Ezr. iii. 6, 10, 11, 12, compared with Hagg. ii. 18).

7. Both writers use indifferently the expressions the "house of the Lord," and the "temple of the Lord," but the former much more frequently than the latter. Thus the writer in Ezra uses the expression "the house" (בֵּית) twenty-five times, to six in which he speaks of "the temple" (מִקְדָּשׁ). Haggai speaks of "the house" seven times, of "the temple" twice.

8. Both writers make marked and frequent reference to the law of Moses. Thus comp. Ezr. ii. 2, 6, 8, vi. 14, 16-22, with Hagg. i. 8, 10, ii. 5, 17, 11-13, &c.

Such strongly marked resemblances in the contents of two such brief portions of Scripture seem to prove that they are from the pen of the same writer.

But the above observations do not apply to Ezr. iv. 6-23, which is a parenthetical addition by a much later hand, and, as the passage most clearly shows, made in the reign of Artaxerxes Longi-

manus. The compiler who inserted chapter ii., a document drawn up in the reign of Artaxerxes, to illustrate the return of the captives under Zerubbabel, here inserts a notice of two historical facts,—of which one occurred in the reign of Xerxes, and the other in the reign of Artaxerxes—to illustrate the opposition offered by the heathen to the re-building of the temple in the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses. He tells us that in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, i.e. before Esther was in favour, they had written to the king to prejudice him against the Jews—a circumstance, by the way, which may rather have inclined him to listen to Haman's proposition; and he gives the text of letters sent to Artaxerxes, and of Artaxerxes' answer, on the strength of which Rehum and Shimshai forcibly hindered the Jews from rebuilding the city. These letters doubtless came into Ezra's hands at Babylon, and may have led to those endeavours on his part to make the king favourable to Jerusalem which issued in his own commission in the seventh year of his reign. At ver. 24 Haggai's narrative proceeds in connexion with ver. 5. The mention of Artaxerxes in chapter vi. 14, is of the same kind. The last four chapters, beginning with chapter vii., are Ezra's own, and continue the history after a gap of fifty-eight years—from the sixth of Darius to the seventh of Artaxerxes. The only history of Judaea during this interval is what is given in the above-named parenthesis, from which we may infer that during this time there was no one in Palestine to write the Chronicles. The history of the Jews in Persia for the same period is given in the book of Esther.

The text of the book of Ezra is not in a good condition. There are a good many palpable corruptions both in the names and numerals, and perhaps in some other points. It is written partly in Hebrew, and partly in Chaldee. The Chaldee begins at iv. 8, and continues to the end of vi. 18. The letter or decree of Artaxerxes vii. 12-26, is also given in the original Chaldee. There has never been any doubt about Ezra being canonical, although there is no quotation from it in the N. T. Augustine says of Ezra "magis verum gestarum scriptor est habitus quam propheta" (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36). The period covered by the book is eighty years, from the first of Cyrus B.C. 536 to the beginning of the eighth of Artaxerxes B.C. 456. It embraces the governments of Zerubbabel and Ezra, the high-priesthood of Jeshua, Joiakim, and the early part of Elniabib; and the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, and part of Artaxerxes. Of these Cambyses and Smerdis are not named. Xerxes is barely named iv. 6. [ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.] [A. C. H.]

**EZRAHITE**, THE (עֲזָרָה; *δ Ζαφίτης*, Alex. *Ἐζραήτης*; *Ezrahita*), a title attached to two persons—Ethan (1 K. iv. 31; Ps. lxxxix. title) and Heman (Ps. lxxxviii. title). The word is naturally derivable from Ezra, or—which is almost the same in Hebrew—Zerah, זֶרַח; and accordingly in 1 Chr. ii. 6, Ethan and Heman are both given as sons of Zerah the son of Judah. Another Ethan and another Heman are named as Levites and musicians in the lists of 1 Chr. vi. and elsewhere.

**EZRI** (עֲזִיר; *Ἐσδρῆ*, Alex. *Ἐζρά*; *Ezri*), son of Chelub, superintendent for King David of those "who did the work of the field for tillage of the ground" (1 Chr. xxvii. 26).

## F

**FABLE** (*μῦθος*; *fabula*). Taking the words fable and parable, not in their strict etymological meaning, but in that which has been stamped upon them by current usage, looking, i. e. at the Aesopic fable as the type of the one, at the Parables of the N. T. as the type of the other, we have to ask (1.) in what relation they stand to each other, as instruments of moral teaching; (2.) what use is made in the Bible of this or of that form? That they have much in common is, of course, obvious enough. In both we find "statements of facts, which do not even pretend to be historical, used as vehicles for the exhibition of a general truth" (Neander, *Loben Jesu*, p. 68). Both differ from the Mythos, in the modern sense of that word, in being the result of a deliberate choice of such a mode of teaching, not the spontaneous, unconscious evolution of thought in some symbolic form. They take their place so far as species of the same genus. What are the characteristic marks by which one differs from the other, it is perhaps easier to feel than to define. Thus we have (comp. Trench *On Parables*, p. 2) (1.) Lessing's statement that the fable takes the form of an actual narrative, while the Parable assumes only that what is related might have happened; (2.) Herder's, that the difference lies in the fable's dealing with brute or inanimate nature, in the parable's drawing its materials exclusively from human life; (3.) Olshausen's (on Matt. xiii. 1), followed by Trench (*l.c.*), that it is to be found in the higher truths of which the parable is the vehicle. Perhaps the most satisfactory summing up of the chief distinctive features of each is to be found in the following extract from Neander (*l.c.*):—"The parable is distinguished from the fable by this, that, in the latter, qualities, or acts of a higher class of beings may be attributed to a lower (e.g. those of men to brutes); while in the former, the lower sphere is kept perfectly distinct from that which it seems to illustrate. The beings and powers thus introduced always follow the law of their nature, but their acts, according to this law, are used to figure those of a higher race. . . . The mere introduction of brutes as personal agents, in the fable, is not sufficient to distinguish it from the parable which may make use of the same contrivance; as, for example, Christ employs the sheep in one of his parables. The great distinction here, also, lies in what has already been remarked; brutes introduced in the parable act according to the law of their nature, and the two spheres of nature and of the kingdom of God are carefully separated from each other. Hence the reciprocal relations of brutes to each other are not made use of, as these could furnish no appropriate image of the relation between man and the kingdom of God."

Of the fable, as thus distinguished from the Parable, we have but two examples in the Bible, (1.) that of the trees choosing their king, addressed by Jotham to the men of Shechem (Judg. ix. 8-15; (2.) that of the cedar of Lebanon and the thistle, as the answer of Jehoash to the challenge of Amaziah (2 K. xiv. 9). The narrative of Ezek. xvii. 1-10, though, in common with the fable, it brings before us the lower forms of creation as representatives of human characters and destinies, differs from it, in the points above noticed, (1.) in not introducing

them as having human attributes, (2.) in the higher prophetic character of the truths conveyed by it. The great eagle, the cedar of Lebanon, the sprawling vine, are not grouped together as the agents in a fable, but are simply, like the bear, the leopard, and the lion in the visions of Daniel, symbols of the great monarchies of the world.

In the two instances referred to, the fable has more the character of the Greek *alvos* (Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* v. 11) than of the *μῦθος*; that is, is less the fruit of a vivid imagination, sporting with the analogies between the worlds of nature and of men, than a covert reproach, making the sarcasm which it alludes to hide all the sharper (Müller and Donaldson, *Hist. of Greek Literature*, vol. i. c. xi.). The appearance of the fable thus early in the history of Israel, and its entire absence from the direct teaching both of the O. and N. T. are, each of them in its way, significant. Taking the received chronology, the fable of Jotham was spoken about 1209 B.C. The Arabian traditions of Lokman do not assign to him an earlier date than that of David. The earliest Greek *alvos* is that of Hesiod (*Op. et D.* v. 202), and the prose form of the fable does not meet us till we come (about 550 B.C.) to Stesichorus and Aesop. The first example in the history of Rome is the apologue of Menenius Agrippa B.C. 494, and its genuineness has been questioned on the ground that the fable could hardly at that time have found its way to Latium (Müller and Donaldson, *l. c.*). It may be noticed too that when collections of fables became familiar to the Greeks they were looked on as imported, not indigenous. The traditions that surround the name of Aesop, the absence of any evidence that he wrote fables, the traces of Eastern origin in those ascribed to him, leave him little more than the representative of a period when the forms of teaching, which had long been familiar to the more Eastern nations, were travelling westward, and were adopted eagerly by the Greeks. The collections themselves are described by titles that indicate a foreign origin. They are Libyan (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 20), Cyprian, Cilician. All these facts lend to the conclusion that the Hebrew mind, gifted, as it was, in a special measure, with the power of perceiving analogies in things apparently dissimilar, attained, at a very early stage of its growth, the power which does not appear in the history of other nations till a later period. Whatever antiquity may be ascribed to the fables in the comparatively later collection of the Pancha Tantra, the land of Canaan is, so far as we have any data to conclude from, the fatherland of fable. To conceive brutes, or inanimate objects as representing human characteristics, to personify them as acting, speaking, reasoning, to draw lessons from them applicable to human life, —this must have been common among the Israelites in the time of the Judges. The part assigned in the earliest records of the Bible to the impressions made by the brute creation on the mind of man when "the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them" (Gen. ii. 19), and the apparent symbolism of the serpent in the narrative of the Fall (Gen. iii. 1) are at once indications of teaching adapted to men in the possession of this power, and must have helped to develop it (Herder, *Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, *Werke*, xxiv. p. 16, ed. 1826). The large number of proverbs in which analogies of this kind are made the bases of a moral precept, and

some of which (e. g. Prov. xxvi. 11, xxx. 15, 25-28) are of the nature of condensed fables, show that there was no decline of this power as the intellect of the people advanced. The absence of fables accordingly from the teaching of the O. T. must be ascribed to their want of fitness to be the media of the truths which that teaching was to convey. The points in which brutes or inanimate objects present analogies to man are chiefly those which belong to his lower nature, his pride, indolence, cunning, and the like, and the lessons derived from them accordingly do not rise higher than the prudential morality which aims at repressing such defects (comp. Trench on the *Parables*, l. c.). Hence the fable, apart from the associations of a grotesque and ludicrous nature which gather round it, apart too from its presenting narratives, which are "nec verae nec verisimiles" (Cic. *de Invent.* i. 19), is inadequate as the exponent of the higher truths which belong to man's spiritual life. It may serve to exhibit the relations between man and man; it fails to represent those between man and God. To do that is the office of the PARABLE, finding its outward framework in the dealings of men with each other, or in the world of nature as it is, not in any grotesque parody of nature, and exhibiting, in either case, real and not fanciful analogies. The Fable seizes on that which man has in common with the creatures below him; the Parable rests on the truths that man is made in the image of God, and that "all things are double one against another."

It is noticeable, as confirming this view of the office of the fable, that, though those of Aesop (so called) were known to the great preacher of righteousness at Athens, though a metrical paraphrase of some of them was among the employments of his imprisonment (Plato, *Phaedon*, pp. 60, 61), they were not employed by him as illustrations, or channels of instruction. While Socrates shows an appreciation of the power of such fables to represent some of the phenomena of human life, he was not, he says, in this sense of the word, *μυθολογικός*. The myths, which appear in the *Gorgias*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Phaedon*, the *Republic*, are as unlike as possible to the Aesopic fables, are (to take his own account of them) *οὐ μῦθοι ἄλλα λόγοι*, true, though figurative, representations of spiritual realities, while the illustrations from the common facts of life which were so conspicuous in his ordinary teaching, though differing in being comparisons rather than narratives, come nearer to the parables of the Bible (comp. the contrast between τὰ *Σωκρατικά*, as examples of the *παραβολή* and the *λόγοι Αἰσώπειοι*; Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 20). It may be said indeed that the use of the Fable as an instrument of teaching (apart from the embellishments of wit and fancy with which it is associated by such writers as Lessing and La Fontaine) belongs rather to childhood, and the child-like period of national life, than to a more advanced development. In the earlier stages of political change, as in the cases of Jotham, Stesichorus (Arist. *Rhet.* l. c.), Menenius Agrippa, it is used as an element of persuasion or reproach. It ceases to appear in the higher eloquence of orators and statesmen. The special excellence of fables is that they are *δημηγορικὸν* (Arist. *Rhet.* l. c.); that "ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum et imperitorum" (Quint. *Inst. Orat.* l. c.).

The *μῦθοι* of false teachers claiming to belong to the Christian church, alluded to by writers of the

N. T. in connexion with *γενεαλογίας ἀπέραντοι* (1 Tim. i. 4), or with epithets *Ἰουδαῖοι* (Tit. i. 14), *ἡρώδεις* (1 Tim. iv. 7), *σεσφοισμένοι* (2 Pet. i. 16), do not appear to have had the character of fables, properly so called. As applied to them, the word takes its general meaning of anything false or unreal, and it does not fall within the scope of the present article to discuss the nature of the falsehoods so referred to. [E. H. P.]

**FAIR HAVENS** (*Καλὸι Λιμένες*), a harbour in the island of CRETE (Acts xxvii. 8), not mentioned in any other ancient writing. There seems no probability that it is, as Biscoe suggested (*on the Acts*, p. 347, ed. 1829), the *Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ* of Steph. Byz.—for that is said to be a city, whereas Fair Havens is described as “a place near to which was a city called Lasaea” (*τόπος τις ὅ ἐγγὺς ᾗ πόλις Ἀ.*). Moreover Mr. Pashley found (*Travels in Crete*, vol. ii. p. 57) a district called *Acte*; and it is most likely that *Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ* was situated there; but that district is in the W. of the island, whereas Fair Havens was on the S. Its position is now quite certain. Though not mentioned by classical writers, it is still known by its old Greek name, as it was in the time of Pococke, and other early travellers mentioned by Mr. Smith (*Voy. and Shipp. of St. Paul*, 2nd ed. pp. 80-82). LASAEA too has recently been most explicitly discovered. In fact Fair Havens appears to have been practically its harbour. These places are situated four or five miles to the E. of Cape Matala, which is the most conspicuous headland on the S. coast of Crete, and immediately to the W. of which the coast trends suddenly to the N. This last circumstance explains why the ship which conveyed St. Paul was brought to anchor in Fair Havens. In consequence of violent and continuing N. W. winds she had been unable to hold on her course towards Italy from Cnidus (v. 7), and had run down, by Salmone, under the lee of Crete. It was possible to reach Fair Havens: but beyond Cape Matala the difficulty would have recurred, so long as the wind remained in the same quarter. A considerable delay took place (v. 9) during which it is possible that St. Paul may have had opportunities of preaching the Gospel at Lasaea, or even at GORTYNA, where Jews resided (1 Macc. xv. 23), and which was not far distant; but all this is conjectural. A consultation took place, at which it was decided, against the Apostle's advice, to make an attempt to reach a good harbour named PHENICE, their present anchorage being *ἀνευθέτος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν* (v. 12). All such terms are comparative; and there is no doubt that, as a safe winter harbour, Fair Havens is infinitely inferior to Phenice; though perhaps even as a matter of seamanship St. Paul's advice was not bad. However this may be, the south wind, which sprang up afterwards (v. 13), proved delusive; and the vessel was caught by a hurricane [*ΕΥΡΟΚΛΥΔΟΝ*] on her way towards Phenice, and ultimately wrecked. Besides a view (p. 81) Mr. Smith gives a chart of Fair Havens with the soundings (p. 257), from which any one can form a judgment for himself of the merits of the harbour. [J. S. H.]

**FAIRS** (*ἐπιβόησις*; *ἀγορά*; *nundinae*, *forum*), a word which occurs only in Ez. xxvii. and there no less than seven times (ver. 12, 14, 16, 19, 22, 27, 33); in the last of these verses it is rendered “wares,” and this we believe to be the true meaning of the word throughout. It will be ob-

served that the word stands in some sort of relation to *מַרְכָּא* throughout the whole of the chapter, the latter word also occurring seven times, and translated sometimes “market” (ver. 13, 17, 19), and elsewhere “merchandise” (ver. 9, 27, 33, 34). The words are used alternately, and represent the alternations of commercial business in which the merchants of Tyre were engaged. That the first of these words cannot signify “fairs” is evident from ver. 12; for the inhabitants of Tarshish did not visit Tyre, but *vice versa*. Let the reader substitute “paid” or “exchanged for thy wares,” for “occupied in thy fairs,” and the sense is much improved. The relation which this term bears to *μαραβ*, which properly means *barter*, appears to be pretty much the same as exists between exports and imports. The requirements of the Tyrians themselves, such as slaves (13), wheat (17), steel (19), were a matter of *μαραβ*; but where the business consisted in the exchange of Tyrian wares for foreign productions, it is specified in this form, “Tarshish paid for thy wares with silver, iron, tin, and lead.” The use of the terms would probably have been more intelligible if the prophet had mentioned what the Tyrians gave in exchange: as it is, he only notices the one side of the bargain, viz., what the Tyrians received, whether they were buyers or sellers. [W. L. B.]

**FALLOW-DEER** (*חֲמִיר*; *βούβαλος*; *bulbus*), mentioned among the beasts that may be eaten, in Deut. xiv. 5, and among the provisions for Solomon's table in 1 K. iv. 23. An animal of the deer tribe (probably *Cervus dama*), of a reddish colour (from *חֲמִיר*, *to be red*), shedding its hoofs every year. The *Cervus dama* is found wild in Barbary, and is still very generally spread over Western and Southern Asia (Boch. *Hieroz.* p. 910 sq., ii. 260 sq.). The female is called in the Talmud *חֲמִירָה*, and is identified by Lewysohn with the German *Damhirsch*. [W. L.]

**FAMINE.** When the sweet influences of the Pleiades are bound, and the bands of Scorpio cannot be loosed,\* then it is that famines generally prevail in the lands of the Bible. In Egypt a deficiency in the rise of the Nile, with drying winds, produces the same results. The famines recorded in the Bible are traceable to both these phenomena; and we generally find that Egypt was resorted to when scarcity afflicted Palestine. This is notably the case in the first three famines, those of Abiham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, although in the last case Egypt was involved in the calamity, and only saved from its horrors by the providential policy of Joseph. In this instance, too, the famine was widespread, and Palestine further suffered from the restriction which must have been placed on the supplies usually derived, in such circumstances, from Egypt.

In the whole of Syria and Arabia, the fruits of the earth must ever be dependent on rain; the watersheds having few large springs, and the small rivers not being sufficient for the irrigation of even

\* That is to say, when the best and most fertilising of the rains, which fall when the Pleiades set at dawn (not exactly heliacally) at the end of autumn, fall rain scarcely ever falling at the opposite season, when Scorpio sets at dawn. *כִּסְלִי* is clearly Scorpio, or Cor Scorpionis, as Aben Ezra says.

the level lands. If therefore the heavy rains of November and December fail, the sustenance of the people is cut off in the parching drought of harvest-time, when the country is almost devoid of moisture. Further, the pastoral tribes rely on the scanty herbage of the desert-plains and valleys for their flocks and herds; for the desert is interspersed in spring-time with spontaneous vegetation, which is the product of the preceding rain-fall, and fails almost totally without it. It is therefore not difficult to conceive the frequent occurrence and severity of famines in ancient times, when the scattered population, rather of a pastoral than an agricultural country, was dependent on natural phenomena which, however regular in their season, occasionally failed, and with them the sustenance of man and beast.

Egypt, again, owes all its fertility—a fertility that gained for it the striking comparison to the “garden of the Lord”—to its mighty river, whose annual rise inundates nearly the whole land and renders its cultivation an easy certainty. But this very bounty of nature has not unfrequently exposed the country to the opposite extreme of drought. With scarcely any rain, and that only on the Mediterranean coast, and with wells only supplied by filtration from the river through a nitrous soil, a failure in the rise of the Nile almost certainly entails a degree of scarcity, although if followed by cool weather, and if only the occurrence of a single year, the labour of the people may in a great measure avert the calamity. The causes of death and famine in Egypt are occasioned by defective inundation, preceded and accompanied and followed by prevalent easterly and southerly winds. Both these winds dry up the earth, and the latter, keeping back the rain-clouds from the north, are perhaps the chief cause of the defective inundation, as they are also by their accelerating the current of the river—the northerly winds producing the contrary effects. Famines in Egypt and Palestine seem to be affected by drought extending from northern Syria, through the meridian of Egypt, as far as the highlands of Abyssinia.

The first famine recorded in the Bible is that of Abraham after he had pitched his tent on the east of Bethel: “And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was grievous in the land” (Gen. xii. 10). We may conclude that this famine was extensive, although this is not quite proved by the fact of Abraham’s going to Egypt; for on the occasion of the second famine, in the days of Isaac, this patriarch found refuge with Abimelech king of the Philistines in Gerar, and was warned by God not to go down into Egypt, whither therefore we may suppose he was journeying (Gen. xxvi. 1 *sq.*). We hear no more of times of scarcity until the great famine of Egypt which “was over all the face of the earth;” “and all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy [corn], because that the famine was [so] sore in all lands” (Gen. xli. 56, 57). “And the sons of Israel came to buy [corn] among those that came; for the famine was in the land of Canaan” (xlii. 5). Thus, in the third generation, Jacob is afflicted by the famine, and sends from Hebron to Egypt when he hears that there is corn there; and it is added in a later passage, on the occasion of his sending the second time for corn to Egypt, “and the famine was sore in the land,” *i. e.* Hebron.

The famine of Joseph is discussed in art. EGYPT, so far as Joseph’s history and policy is concerned

It is only necessary here to consider its physical characteristics. We have mentioned the chief causes of famines in Egypt: this instance differs in the providential recurrence of seven years of plenty, whereby Joseph was enabled to provide against the coming dearth, and to supply not only the population of Egypt with corn, but those of the surrounding countries: “And the seven years of plenteousness, that were in the land of Egypt, were ended. And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread; and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph, and what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy [corn], because that the famine was [so] sore in all lands” (Gen. xli. 53-57).

The modern history of Egypt throws some curious light on these ancient records of famines; and instances of their recurrence may be cited to assist us in understanding their course and extent. They have not been of very rare occurrence since the Mohammedan conquest, according to the testimony of Arab historians: one of great severity, following a deficient rise of the Nile, in the year of the Flight 597 (A.D. 1200), is recorded by ‘Abd-el-Lateef, who was an eye-witness, and is regarded justly as a trustworthy authority. He gives a most interesting account of its horrors, states that the people throughout the country were driven to the last extremities, eating oil, and even their own dead, and mentions, as an instance of the dire straits to which they were driven, that persons who were burnt alive for eating human flesh were themselves, thus ready roasted, eaten by others. Multitudes fled the country, only to perish in the desert-road to Palestine.

But the most remarkable famine was that of the reign of the Fatimee Khaleefeh, El-Mustansir bilah, which is the only instance on record of one of seven years’ duration in Egypt since the time of Joseph (A.H. 457-464, A.D. 1064-1071). This famine exceeded in severity all others of modern times, and was aggravated by the anarchy which then ravaged the country. Vehement drought and pestilence (says Es-Suyootee, in his *Isos el Mohaddarah*, MS.) continued for seven consecutive years, so that they [the people] ate corpses, and animals that died of themselves; the cattle perished; a dog was sold for 5 denars, and a cat for 3 denars. . . . and an ardebb (about 5 bushels) of wheat for 100 denars, and then it failed altogether. He adds, that all the horses of the Khaleefeh, save three, perished, and gives numerous instances of the straits to which the wretched inhabitants were driven, and of the organised bands of kidnappers who infested Cairo and caught passengers in the streets by ropes furnished with hooks and let down from the houses. This account is confirmed by El Makreezee (in his *A’hat*),<sup>b</sup> from whom we further learn that the family, and even the women of the Khaleefeh fled, by the way of Syria, on foot, to escape the peril

<sup>b</sup> Since writing the above, we find that Quatremère has given a translation of El-Makreezee’s account of this famine, in the life of El-Mustansir, contained in his *Mémoires Géographiques et Historiques sur l’Égypte*.

that threatened all ranks of the population. The whole narrative is worthy of attention, since it contains a parallel to the duration of the famine of Joseph, and at the same time enables us to form an idea of the character of famines in the East. The famine of Samaria resembled it in many particulars; and that very briefly recorded in 2 K. viii. 1, 2, affords another instance of one of seven years: "Then spake Elisha unto the woman whose son he had restored to life, saying, Arise, and go thou and thy household, and sojourn wheresoever thou canst sojourn: for the Lord hath called for a famine; and it shall also come upon the land seven years. And the woman arose, and did after the saying of the man of God: and she went with her household and sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years." Bunce (*Egypt's Placc*, &c., ii. 334) quotes the record of a famine in the reign of Sesertesen I., which he supposes to be that of Joseph; but it must be observed that the instance in point is expressly stated not to have extended over the whole land, and is at least equally likely, apart from chronological reasons, to have been that of Abraham.

In Arabia, famines are of frequent occurrence. The Arabs, in such cases, when they could not afford to slaughter their camels, used to bleed them, and drink the blood, or mix it with the shorn fur, making a kind of black-pudding. They ate also various plants and grains, which at other times were not used as articles of food. And the tribe of Haneefeh were taunted with having in a famine eaten their god, which consisted of a dish of dates mashed up with clarified butter and a preparation of dried curds of milk (*Sihah*, MS., art. **تبع**). [E. S. P.]

**FARTHING.** Two names of coins in the N. T. are rendered in the A. V. by this word.

1. **κοδράντης**, *quadrans* (Matt. v. 26; Mark xii. 42), a coin current in Palestine in the time of Our Lord. It was equivalent to two lepta (**λεπτά δύο**, *ἡ ἑστὶν κοδράντης*, Mark, l. c.). The name *quadrans* was originally given to the quarter of the Roman as, or piece of three unciae, therefore also called *truncus*. The **λεπτόν** was originally a very small Greek copper coin, seven of which with the Athenians went to the **χαλκοῦς**. The copper currency of Palestine in the reign of Tiberius was partly of Roman coins, partly of Græco-Roman (technically, *Greek Imperial*). In the former class there was no common piece smaller than the as, equivalent to the **ἀσάριον** of the N. T. (*infra*), but in the latter, there were two common smaller pieces, the one apparently the quarter of the **ἀσάριον**, and the other its eighth, though the irregularity with which they were struck makes it difficult to pronounce with certainty: the former piece was doubtless called the **κοδράντης**, and the latter the **λεπτόν**.

2. **ἀσάριον** (Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6), properly a small *as*, *assarium*, but in the time of Our Lord used as the Gr. equivalent of the Lat. *as*. The Vulg. in Matt. x. 29 renders it by *as*, and in Luke xii. 6, puts *dipondius* for two assaria, the *dipondius* or *dipondius* being equal to two asses. The **ἀσάριον** is therefore either the Roman *as*, or the more common equivalent in Palestine in the Græco-Roman series, or perhaps both; the last supposition we are inclined to think the most likely. The rendering of the Vulg. in Luke xii. 6 makes it probable that a single coin is intended by two assaria, and this opinion is strengthened by the occurrence, on coins

of Chios, struck during the imperial period, but without the heads of emperors, and therefore of the *Greek autonomous* class, of the words **ACCAPION** **ACCAPIA ΔΤΟ**, **ACCAPIA ΤΡΙΑ**. [R. S. P.]

**FASTS.** The word **נִסְיָה**, *nesiyah*, *jejunium*, is not found in the Pentateuch, but it often occurs in the historical books and the Prophets (2 Sam. xii. 16; 1 K. xxi. 9-12; Ezr. viii. 21; Ps. lxi. 10; Is. lviii. 5; Joel i. 14, ii. 15; Zech. viii. 19, &c.). In the Law, the only term used to denote the religious observance of fasting is the more significant one, **שָׁמַר נֶפֶשׁ**; *tapeinoun tēn psuchēn*; *affligere animam*; "afflicting the soul" (Lev. xvi. 29-31, xxiii. 27; Num. xxx. 13). The word **עָנָה**, i. e. *affliction*, which occurs Ezr. ix. 5 where it is rendered in A. V. "heaviness," is commonly used to denote fasting in the Talmud, and is the title of one of its treatises.

I. One fast only was appointed by the law, that on the day of Atonement. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.] There is no mention of any other periodical fast in the O. T., except in Zech. vii. 1-7, viii. 19. From these passages it appears that the Jews, during their captivity, observed four annual fasts in the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months. When the building of the second temple had commenced, those who remained in Babylon sent a message to the priests at Jerusalem to inquire whether the observance of the fast in the fifth month should not be discontinued. The prophet takes the occasion to rebuke the Jews for the spirit in which they had observed the fast of the seventh month as well as that of the fifth (vii. 5-6); and afterwards (viii. 19), giving the subject an evangelical turn, he declares that the whole of the four fasts shall be turned to "joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts." Zechariah simply distinguishes the fasts by the months in which they were observed; but the Mishna (*Tamith*, iv. 6) and S. Jerome (in *Zechariam* viii.) give statements of certain historical events which they were intended to commemorate:—

The fast of the fourth month.—The breaking of the tables of the law by Moses (Ex. xxxii.), and the storming of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. lii.).

The fast of the fifth month.—The return of the spies, &c. (Num. xiii., xiv.), the temple burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, and again by Titus; and the ploughing up of the site of the temple, with the capture of Bethel, in which a vast number of Jews from Jerusalem had taken refuge in the time of Hadrian.

The fast of the seventh month.—The complete sack of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the death of Gedaliah (2 K. xxv.).

The fast of the tenth month.—The receiving by Ezekiel and the other captives in Babylon of the news of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Some other events mentioned in the Mishna are omitted as unimportant. Of those here stated several could have had nothing to do with the fasts in the time of the prophet. It would seem most probable, from the mode in which he has grouped them together, that the original purpose of all four was to commemorate the circumstances connected with the commencement of the captivity, and that the other events were subsequently associated with them on the ground of some real or fancied coincidence of the time of occurrence. As regards the fast of the fifth month, at least, it can hardly be doubted that the captive Jews applied it exclusively to the destruction of the temple, and that S. Jerome

was right in regarding as the reason of their request to be released from its observance, the fact that it had no longer any purpose after the new temple was begun. As this fast (as well as the three others) is still retained in the Jewish Calendar, we must infer either that the priests did not agree with the Babylonian Jews, or that the fast having been discontinued for a time, was renewed after the destruction of the temple by Titus.

The number of annual fasts in the present Jewish Calendar has been multiplied to twenty-eight, a list of which is given by Reimund (*Antiq.* p. 274).

If. Public fasts were occasionally proclaimed to express national humiliation on account of sin or misfortune, and to supplicate divine favour in regard to some great undertaking or threatened danger. In the case of public danger, the proclamation appears to have been accompanied with the blowing of trumpets (Joel ii. 1-15; cf. *Taanith*, i. 6). The following instances are recorded of strictly national fasts:—Samuel gathered “all Israel” to Mizpeh and proclaimed a fast, performing at the same time what seems to have been a rite symbolical of purification, when the people confessed their sin in having worshipped Baalim and Ashtaroth (1 Sam. vii. 6); Jehoshaphat appointed one “throughout all Judah” when he was preparing for war against Moab and Ammon (2 Chr. xx. 3); in the reign of Jehoiakim, one was proclaimed for “all the people in Jerusalem and all who came thither out of the cities of Judah,” when the prophecy of Jeremiah was publicly read by Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 6-10; cf. Baruch i. 5); three days after the feast of Tabernacles, when the second temple was completed, “the children of Israel assembled with fasting and with sackclothes and earth upon them” to hear the law read, and to confess their sins (Neh. ix. 1). There are references to general fasts in the Prophets (Joel i. 14, ii. 15; Is. lviii.), and two are noticed in the books of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iii. 46-47; 2 Macc. xiii. 10-12).

There are a considerable number of instances of cities and bodies of men observing fasts on occasions in which they were especially concerned. In the days of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, when the men of Judah had been defeated by those of Benjamin, they fasted in making preparation for another battle (Judg. xx. 26). David and his men fasted for a day on account of the death of Saul (2 Sam. i. 12), and the men of Jabesh Gilead fasted seven days on Saul’s burial (1 Sam. xxxi. 13). Jezebel, in the name of Ahab, appointed a fast for the inhabitants of Jezreel, to render more stinking, as it would seem, the punishment about to be inflicted on Naboth (1 K. xxi. 9-12). Ezra proclaimed a fast for his companions at the river of Ahava, when he was seeking for God’s help and guidance in the work he was about to undertake (Ezr. viii. 21-23). Esther, when she was going to intercede with Ahasuerus, commanded the Jews of Shushan neither to eat nor drink for three days (Esth. iv. 16).

Public fasts expressly on account of unseasonable weather and of famine, may perhaps be traced in the first and second chapters of Joel. In later times, they assumed great importance and form the main subject of the treatise *Taanith* in the Mishna.

III. Private occasional fasts are recognised in one passage of the law (Num. xxx. 13). The instances given of individuals fasting under the influence of grief, vexation, or anxiety, are numerous

(1 Sam. i. 7, xx. 34; 2 Sam. iii. 35, xii. 16; 1 K. xxi. 27; Ezr. x. 6; Neh. i. 4; Dan. x. 3). The fasts of forty days of Moses (Ex. xxiv. 18, xxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 18) and of Elijah (1 K. xiv. 8) are, of course, to be regarded as special acts of spiritual discipline, faint though wonderful shadows of that fast in the wilderness of Judaea, in which all true fasting finds its meaning.

IV. In the N. T. the only references to the Jewish fasts are the mention of “the Fast,” in Acts xvii. 9 (generally understood to denote the Day of Atonement), and the allusions to the weekly fasts (Matt. ix. 14; Mark ii. 18; Luke v. 33, xviii. 12; Acts x. 30). These fasts originated some time after the captivity. They were observed on the second and fifth days of the week, which being appointed as the days for public fasts (*Taanith*, ii. 9), seem to have been selected for these private voluntary fasts. The Gemara states that they were chosen because Moses went up Mount Sinai on the fifth day, and came down on the second. All that can be known on the subject appears to be given by Grotius, Lightfoot, and Schoettgen on Luc. xviii. 12; and Lightfoot on Matt. ix. 14.

A time of fasting for believers in Christ is foretold Matt. ix. 15, and a caution on the subject is given Matt. vi. 16-18. Fasting and prayer are spoken of as the great sources of spiritual strength, Matt. xvii. 21; Mark ix. 29; 1 Cor. vii. 5; and they are especially connected with ordination, Acts xiii. 3, xiv. 23.

V. The Jewish fasts were observed with various degrees of strictness. Sometimes there was entire abstinence from food (Esth. iv. 16, &c.). On other occasions, there appears to have been only a restriction to a very plain diet (Dan. x. 3). Rules are given in the Talmud (both in Joma and *Taanith*) as to the mode in which fasting is to be observed on particular occasions. The fast of the day according to Josephus was considered to terminate at sun-set, and St. Jerome speaks of the fasting Jew as anxiously waiting for the rising of the stars. Fasts were not observed on the Sabbaths, the new moons, the great festivals, or the feasts of Purim and Dedication (Jud. viii. 6; *Taanith*, ii. 10).

Those who fasted, frequently dressed in sackcloth or rent their clothes, put ashes on their head and went barefoot (1 K. xxi. 27; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, §8; Neh. ix. 1; Ps. xxxv. 13). The rabbinical directions for the ceremonies to be observed in public fasts, and the prayers to be used in them, may be seen in *Taanith*, ii. 1-4.

VI. The sacrifice of the personal will, which gives to fasting all its value, is expressed in the old term used in the law, *afflicting the soul*. The faithful son of Israel realised the blessing of “chastening his soul with fasting” (Ps. lix. 10). But the frequent admonitions and stern denunciations of the prophets may show us how prone the Jews were in their formal fasts, to lose the idea of a spiritual discipline, and to regard them as being in themselves a means of winning favour from God, or, in a still worse spirit, to make a parade of them in order to appear religious before men (Is. lviii. 3; Zech. vii. 5, 6; Mal. iii. 14; comp. Matt. vi. 16). [S. C.]

FAT. The Hebrews distinguished between the suet or pure fat of an animal (חֵלֶב), and the fat which was intermixed with the lean (שֶׁמֶן), Neh. viii. 10). Certain restrictions were imposed upon them in reference to the former: some parts of the suet, viz., about the stomach, the entrails, the

kidneys, and the tail of a sheep, which grows to an excessive size in many eastern countries, and produces a large quantity of rich fat [SHEEP], were forbidden to be eaten in the case of animals offered to Jehovah in sacrifice (Lev. iii. 3, 9, 17, vii. 3, 23). The ground of the prohibition was that the fat was the richest part of the animal, and therefore belonged to Him (iii. 16). It has been supposed that other reasons were superadded, as that the use of fat was unwholesome in the hot climate of Palestine. There appears, however, to be no ground for such an assumption. The presentation of the fat as the richest part of the animal was agreeable to the dictates of natural feeling, and was the ordinary practice even of heathen nations, as instanced in the Homeric descriptions of sacrifices (*Il.* i. 460, ii. 423; *Od.* iii. 457), and in the customs of the Egyptians (*Her.* ii. 47), and Persians (*Strab.* xv. p. 732). Indeed, the term *cheleb* is itself significant of the feeling on which the regulation was based; for it describes the *best* of any production (*Gen.* xlv. 18; *Num.* xviii. 12; *Ps.* lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14; compare 2 *Sam.* i. 22; *Judg.* iii. 29; *Is.* x. 16). With regard to other parts of the fat of sacrifices or the fat of other animals, it might be consumed, with the exception of those dying either by a violent or a natural death (*Lev.* vii. 24), which might still be used in any other way. The burning of the fat of sacrifices was particularly specified in each kind of offering, whether a peace-offering (*Lev.* iii. 9), consecration offering (*viii.* 25), sin-offering (*iv.* 8), trespass-offering (*vii.* 3), or redemption-offering (*Num.* xviii. 17). The Hebrews fully appreciated the luxury of well-fatted meat, and had their stall-fed oxen and calves (1 *K.* iv. 23; *Jer.* xli. 21; *Luke.* xv. 23); nor is there any reason to suppose its use unwholesome. [W. L. B.]

**FAT, i. e. VAT.** The word employed in the A. V. to translate the Hebrew term *יֶבֶב*, *Yekob*, in Joel ii. 24, iii. 13 only. The word commonly used for *yekob*, indiscriminately with *gath*, *גַּת*, is "winepress" or "winefat," and once "pressfat" (*Isa.* ii. 16); but the two appear to be distinct—*gath* the upper receptacle or "press" in which the grapes were trod, and *yekob* the "vat," on a lower level, into which the juice or must was collected. The word is derived by Gesenius (*Thes.* 619 b) from a root signifying to hollow or dig out; and in accordance with this is the practice in Palestine, where the "winepress" and "vats" appear to have been excavated out of the native rock of the hills on which the vineyards lay. One such, apparently ancient, is described by Robinson as at *Hableh* in central Palestine (iii. 137), and another, probably more modern, in the Lebanon (603). The word rendered "winefat" in Mark xii. 1 is *δραχμίων*, which is frequently used by the LXX. to translate *yekob* in the O. T. [G.]

**FATHER** (*Ab*, *אב*, Chald. *Abba*, *אבא*, Mark xiv. 36, Rom. viii. 15; *πατήρ*; *pater*: a primitive word, but following the analogy of *אָבָה*, to show kindness, (*Gesen. Thes.* 6-8).

The position and authority of the father as the head of the family is expressly assumed and sanctioned in Scripture, as a likeness of that of the Almighty over His creatures, an authority—as Philo remarks—intermediate between human and divine (*Philo*, *περὶ γυναικὸς τριμῆς*, §1). It lies of course at the root of that so-called patriarchal government (*Gen.* iii. 16; 1 *Cor.* xi. 3), which

was introductory to the more definite systems which followed, and which in part, but not wholly, superseded it. When therefore the name of "father of nations" (*אֲבִירֵי הָעַמִּים*) was given to Abram, he was thereby held up not only as the ancestor, but as the example to those who should come after him (*Gen.* xviii. 18, 19; *Rom.* iv. 17). The father's blessing was regarded as conferring special benefit, but his malediction special injury, on those on whom it fell (*Gen.* ix. 25, 27, xlvii. 27-40, xlviii. 15, 20, xlix.); and so also the sin of a parent was held to affect, in certain cases, the welfare of his descendants (2 *K.* v. 27), though the law was forbidden to punish the son for his father's transgression (*Deut.* xxiv. 16; 2 *K.* xiv. 6; *Ex.* xviii. 20). The command to honour parents is noticed by St. Paul as the only one of the Decalogue which bore a distinct promise (*Ex.* xx. 12; *Eph.* vi. 2), and disrespect towards them was condemned by the Law as one of the worst of crimes (*Ex.* xxi. 15, 17; 1 *Tim.* i. 9; comp. *Virg. Aen.* vi. 609; *Aristoph. Rem.* 274-773). Instances of legal enactment in support of parental authority are found in *Ex.* xxii. 17; *Num.* xxx. 3, 5, xii. 14; *Deut.* xxi. 18, 21; *Lev.* xx. 9, xxi. 9, xxii. 12; and the spirit of the law in this direction may be seen in *Prov.* xiii. 1, xv. 5, xvii. 25, xix. 13, xx. 20, xxviii. 24, xxx. 17; *Is.* xlv. 10; *Mal.* i. 6. The father, however, had not the power of death over his child (*Deut.* xxi. 18-21; *Philo*, *l. c.*).

From the patriarchal spirit also the principle of respect to age and authority in general appears to be derived. Thus Jacob is described as blessing Pharaoh (*Gen.* xlvii. 7, 10; comp. *Lev.* xix. 32; *Prov.* xvi. 31; *Philo*, *l. c.* §6).

It is to this well recognised theory of parental authority and supremacy that the very various uses of the term "father" in Scripture are due. (1.) As the source or inventor of an art or practice (*Gen.* iv. 20, 21; *John* viii. 44; *Job* xxxviii. 28, xvii. 14; 2 *Cor.* i. 3). (2.) As an object of respect or reverence (*Jer.* ii. 27; 2 *K.* ii. 12, v. 13, vi. 21). (3.) Thus also the pupils or scholars of the prophetic schools, or of any teacher, are called sons (2 *K.* ii. 3, iv. 1; 1 *Sam.* x. 12, 27; 1 *K.* xx. 35; *Heb.* xii. 9; 1 *Tim.* i. 2). (4.) The term father and also mother is applied to any ancestor of the male or female line respectively (*Is.* li. 2; *Jer.* xxxv. 6, 18; *Dan.* v. 2; 2 *Sam.* ix. 7; 2 *Chr.* xv. 16). (5.) In the Talmud the term father is used to indicate the chief, e.g. the principal of certain works are termed "fathers." Objects whose contact causes pollution are called "fathers" of defilement (*Mishn. Shabb.* vii. 2, vol. ii. p. 29; *Pesach*, i. 6, vol. ii. p. 137, *Surenh.*). (6.) A protector or guardian (*Job* xxix. 16; *Ps.* lxxviii. 5; *Deut.* xxxii. 6). Many personal names are found with the prefix *אב*, as Absalom, Abishai, Abiram, &c., implying some quality or attribute possessed, or ascribed (*Gesen.* 8, 10).

"Fathers" is used in the sense of seniors (*Acts* vii. 2, xxii. 1), and of parents in general, or ancestors (*Dan.* v. 2; *Jer.* xxvii. 7; *Matt.* xxiii. 30, 32).

Among Mohammedans parental authority has great weight during the time of pupilage. The son is not allowed to eat, scarcely to sit in his father's presence. Disobedience to parents is reckoned one of the most heinous of crimes (*Burckhardt, Notes on Ber.* i. 355; *Lane, Mod. Eg.* i. 84; *Atkinson, Travels in Siberia*, &c. 559). [H. W. P.]

**FATHOM. MEASURES.]**

## FEASTS. [FESTIVALS.]

FELIX (Φῆλιξ, Acts xxiii.-xxiv.; in Tac. *Hist.* v. 9, called Antonius Felix; in Suidas, Claudius Felix; in Josephus and Acts, simply Felix: so also in Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54), a Roman procurator of Judea, appointed by the Emperor Claudius, whose freedman he was, on the banishment of Ventidius Cumanus in A.D. 53. Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 54) states that Felix and Cumanus were joint procurators, Cumanus having Galilee, and Felix, Samaria. In this account Tacitus is directly at issue with Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, 2-7, 1), and is generally supposed to be in error; but his account is very circumstantial, and by adopting it we should gain some little justification for the expression of St. Paul, Acts xxiv. 10, that Felix had been judge of the nation "for many years." Those words, however, must not even thus be closely pressed; for Cumanus himself only went to Judea in the eighth year of Claudius (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 5, §2). Felix was the brother of Claudius's powerful freedman Pallas (*B. J.* ii. 12, §8; *Ant.* xx. 7, §1); and it was to the circumstance of Pallas's influence surviving his master's death (Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 65) that Felix was retained in his procuratorship by Nero. He ruled the province in a mean, cruel, and profligate manner, "per omnem sævitiam et hildinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit" (Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9, and *Ann.* xii. 54). With this compendious description the fuller details of Josephus agree, though his narrative is tinged with his hostility to the Jewish patriots and zealots, whom, under the name of robbers, he describes Felix as putting down and crucifying by hundreds. His period of office was full of troubles and seditions. We read of his putting down false Messiahs (*Joseph. Ant.* xx. 8, §5; *B. J.* ii. 13, §4); the followers of an Egyptian magician (*Ant.* xx. 8, §6; *B. J.* ii. 13, §5; Acts xii. 38), riots between the Jews and Syrians in Caesarea (*Ant.* xx. 8, §7; *B. J.* ii. 3, §7) and between the priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xx. 8, §8; *Joseph. Life*, 3). He once employed the sicarii for his own purposes, to bring about the murder of the high-priest Jonathan (*Ant.* xx. 8, §5). His severe measures and cruel retributions seemed only to accelerate the already rapid course of the Jews to ruin: "intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat" (Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 54; δ πόλεμος καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνεββίμισε, *Joseph. B. J.* ii. 13, §6). St. Paul was brought before Felix in Caesarea, having been sent thither out of the way of the Jews at Jerusalem by the "chief captain" Claudius Lysias. Some effect was produced on the guilty conscience of the procurator, as the Apostle reasoned of righteousness, and temperance, and judgment to come; but St. Paul was remanded to prison and kept there, in hopes of extorting money from him, two years (Acts xxiv. 26, 27). At the end of that time Porcius Festus [FESTUS] was appointed to supersede Felix, who, on his return to Rome, was accused by the Jews in Caesarea, and would have suffered the penalty due to his atrocities, had not his brother Pallas prevailed with the Emperor Nero to spare him (*Ant.* xx. 8, §9). This was probably in the year 60 A.D. (*Anger, De temporum in Act. Apost. ratione*, &c., p. 100; Wieseler, *Chronologie der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 66-82). The wife of Felix was Drusilla, daughter of Herod Agrippa I. the former wife of Azizus King of Emesa. [DRUSILLA.]

[H. A.]

## FENCED CITIES (מְצֻרוֹת, or מְצֻרָה, מְצֻרָה).

Dan. xi. 15, from מְצֻרָה, cut off, separate, equivalent to מְצֻרָה, Ges. 231; πόλις ὄχυρα, τεῖχ' ἔχεις, τετειχισμένης; urbes, or civitates, muratæ, munitæ, munitissimæ, firmæ). The broad distinction between a city and a village in Biblical language has been shown to consist in the possession of walls. [CITY.] The City had walls, the village was unwall'd, or had only a watchman's tower (מִגְדָּל; πύργος; turris custodum; compare Gen. 267), to which the villagers resorted in times of danger. A threefold distinction is thus obtained—1. cities; 2. unwall'd villages; 3. villages with castles or towers (1 Chr. xxvii. 25). The district east of the Jordan, forming the kingdoms of Moab and Bashan, is said to have abounded from very early times in castles and fortresses, such as were built by Uzziah to protect the cattle, and to repel the inroads of the neighbouring tribes, besides unwall'd towns (*Num. Marc.* xiv. 9; *Deut.* iii. 5; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10). Of these many remains are thought by Mr. Porter to exist at the present day (*Damascus*, ii. 197). The dangers to which unwall'd villages are exposed from the marauding tribes of the desert, and also the fortifications by which the inhabitants sometimes protect themselves are illustrated by Sir J. Malcolm (*Sketches of Persia*, c. xiv. 148; and Frazer, *Persia*, 379, 380; comp. *Judg.* v. 7). Villages in the *Haurân* are sometimes enclosed by a wall, or rather the houses being joined together form a defence against Arab robbers, and the entrance is closed by a gate (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 212).

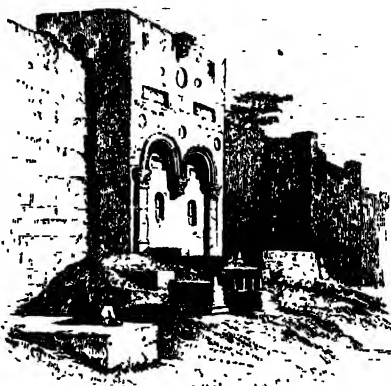
A further characteristic of a city as a fortified place is found in the use of the word מְצֻרָה, build, and also fortify. So that to "build" a city appears to be sometimes the same thing as to fortify it (*comp. Gen.* xii. 20, and 2 Chr. xvi. 6 with 2 Chr. xi. 5-10, and 1 K. xv. 17).

The fortifications of the cities of Palestine, thus regularly "fenced," consisted of one or more walls crowned with battlemented parapets, מִגְדָּל, having towers at regular intervals (2 Chr. xxii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 38), on which in later times engines of war were placed, and watch was kept by day and night in time of war (2 Chr. xxvi. 9, 15; *Judg.* ix. 45; 2 K. ix. 17). Along the oldest of the three walls of Jerusalem, there were 90 towers; in the second, 14; and in the third, 60 (*Joseph. B. J.* v. 4, §2). One such tower, that of Hannanel, is repeatedly mentioned (*Jer.* xxxi. 38; *Zech.* xiv. 10), as also others (*Neh.* iii. 1, 11, 27). The gateways of fortified towns were also fortified and closed with strong doors (*Neh.* ii. 8, iii. 3, 6, &c.; *Judg.* xvi. 2, 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 2 Sam. xviii. 24, 33; 2 Chr. xiv. 7; 1 Macc. xiii. 33, xv. 39). In advance of the wall there appears to have been sometimes an outwork (מִגְדָּל, מְצֻרָה), in A. V. "ditch" (1 K. xxi. 23; 2 Sam. xx. 15; *Gen. Thes.* 454), which was perhaps either a palisade or wall lining the ditch, or a wall raised midway within the ditch itself. Both of these methods of strengthening fortified places, by hindering the near approach of machines, were usual in earlier Egyptian fortification (*Wilkinson, Anc. Eg.* i. 408), but would generally be of less use in the hill forts of Palestine than in Egypt. In many towns there was a keep or citadel for a last resource to the defenders. Those remaining in the *Haurân* and *Leja* are

square. Such existed at Shechem and Thebez (Judg. ix. 46, 51, viii. 17; 2 K. ix. 17), and the great forts or towers of Psephinus, Hippicus, and especially Antonia, served a similar purpose, as well as that of overawing the town at Jerusalem. These forts were well furnished with cisterns (Acts xxi. 34; 2 Macc. v. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §8; *B. J.* i. 5, §4, v. 4, §2, vi. 2, §1). At the time of the entrance of Israel into Canaan there were many fenced cities existing, which first caused great alarm to the exploring party of searchers (Num. xiii. 28), and afterwards gave much trouble to the people in subduing them. Many of these were refortified, or, as it is expressed, rebuilt by the Hebrews (Num. xxxii. 17, 34-42; Deut. iii. 4, 5; Josh. xi. 12, 13; Judg. i. 27-33), and many, especially those on the sea-coast, remained for a long time in the possession of their inhabitants, who were enabled to preserve them by means of their strength in chariots (Josh. xii. 3, 6, xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19; 2 K. xviii. 8; 2 Chr. xxvi. 6). The strength of Jerusalem was shown by the fact that that city, or at least the citadel, or "stronghold of Zion," remained in the possession of the Jebusites until the time of David (2 Sam. v. 6, 7; 1 Chr. xi. 5). Among the kings of Israel and Judah several are mentioned as fortifiers or "builders" of cities. Solomon (1 K. ix. 17-19; 2 Chr. viii. 4-6), Jeroboam I. (1 K. xii. 25), Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 5, 12), Baasha (1 K. xv. 17), Omri (1 K. xvi. 24), Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxii. 5), Asa (2 Chr. xiv. 6, 7), Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 12), but especially Uzziah (2 K. xiv. 22; 2 Chr. xxvi. 2, 9, 15), and in the reign of Ahab, the town of Jericho was rebuilt and fortified by a private individual, Hiel of Bethel (1 K. xvi. 34). Herod the Great was conspicuous in fortifying strong positions, as Masada, Machaerus, Herodium, besides his great works at Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 6, §§1, 2, and 8, §3; *B. J.* i. 21, §10; *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9).

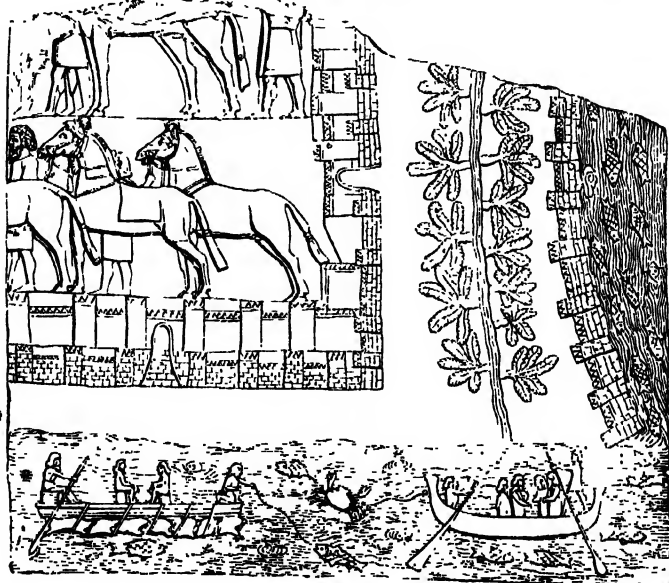
## FENCED CITIES

But the fortified places of Palestine served only in a few instances to check effectually the progress of an invading force, though many instances of determined and protracted resistance are on record, as of Samaria for three years (2 K. xviii. 10), Jerusalem (2 K. xxv. 3) for four months, and in later times of Jotapata, Gamala, Machaerus, Masada, and above all Jerusalem itself, the strength of whose defences drew forth the admiration of the conqueror Titus (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 6, iv. 1 and 9, vii. 6, §§2-4 and 8; Robinson, i. 232).



The so-called Golden Gate of Jerusalem, showing supposed remains of the old Jewish Wall.

The earlier Egyptian fortifications consisted usually of a quadrangular and sometimes double wall of sun-dried brick, fifteen feet thick, and often fifty feet in height, with square towers at intervals,



Ancient Egyptian Fortifications (LAVARD.)

of the same height as the walls, both crowned with a parapet, and a round-headed battlement in shape like a shield. A second lower wall with towers at the entrance was added, distant 13 or 20 feet from the main wall, and sometimes another was made of 70 or 100 feet in length, projecting at right angles from the main wall to enable the defenders to annoy the assailants in flank. The ditch was sometimes fortified by a sort of ténail in the ditch itself, or a ravelin on its edge. In later times the practice of fortifying towns was laid aside, and the large temples with their enclosures were made to serve the purpose of forts (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 408, 409, abridgm.).

The fortifications of Nineveh, Babylon, Ecbatana, and of Tyre and Sidon are all mentioned, either in the Canonical books or the Apocrypha. In the sculptures of Nineveh representations are found of walled towns, of which one is thought to represent Tyre, and all illustrate the mode of fortification adopted both by the Assyrians and their enemies (Jer. li. 30-32, 58; Am. i. 10; Zech. ix. 3; Ez. xxvii. 11; Nah. iii. 14; Tob. i. 17, xiv. 14, 15; Jud. i. 1, 4; Layard, *Nin.* vol. ii. 275, 279, 388, 395; *Nin. & Bab.* 211, 358; *Mon. of Nin.* pt. ii. 39, 43).

[H. W. P.]

**FERRET** (פֶּרֶט; μυγαλή; *mygale*), one of the unclean creeping things mentioned in Lev. xi. 30. The μυγαλή of Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 24) is the *Mus araneus*, or shrew-mouse; but it is more probable that the animal referred to in Lev. was a reptile of the lizard tribe, deriving its name from the mournful cry, or wail, which some lizards utter. The root is פֶּרֶט, to sigh or groan. The Rabbinical writers seem to have identified this animal with the hedgehog; see Lewysohn, *Zool. des Talmuds*, §§129, 134.

[W. D.]

**FESTIVALS** (מִצְוֹת).<sup>a</sup> The object of this article is merely to give a classification of the sacred times of the Hebrews, accompanied by some general remarks. A particular account of each festival is given in its proper place.

I. The religious times ordained in the Law fall under three heads:—(1.) Those formally connected with the institution of the Sabbath; (2.) The historical or great festivals; (3.) The Day of Atonement.

(1.) Immediately connected with the institution of the Sabbath are—

- (a) The weekly Sabbath itself.
- (b) The seventh new moon or Feast of Trumpets.
- (c) The Sabbatical Year.
- (d) The Year of Jubilee.

(2.) The great feasts (מִצְוֹת מִצְוֹת); in the Talmud, מִצְוֹת, *pilgrimage feasts*) are:—

- (a) The Passover.
- (b) The Feast of Pentecost, of Weeks, of Wheat-harvest, or, of the First fruits.
- (c) The Feast of Tabernacles, or of Ingathering.

On each of these occasions every male Israelite was commanded "to appear before the Lord," that is, to attend in the court of the tabernacle or the temple, and to make his offering with a joyful heart (Deut. xxvii. 7; Neh. viii. 9-12; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5, §5). The attendance of women was voluntary, but the zealous often went up to the

Passover. Thus Mary attended it (Luke ii. 41), and Hannah (1 Sam. i. 7, ii. 19). As might be supposed, there was a stricter obligation regarding the Passover than the other feasts, and hence there was an express provision to enable those who, by unavoidable circumstances or legal impurity, had been prevented from attending at the proper time, to observe the feast on the same day of the succeeding month (Num. ix. 10-11).

On all the days of Holy Convocation there was to be an entire suspension of ordinary labour of all kinds (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 21, 24, 25, 35). But on the intervening days of the longer festivals work might be carried on.<sup>b</sup>

Besides their religious purpose, the great festivals must have had an important bearing on the maintenance of a feeling of national unity. This may be traced in the apprehensions of Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 26, 27), and in the attempt at reformation by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 1), as well as in the necessity which, in later times, was felt by the Roman government of mustering a considerable military force at Jerusalem during the festivals (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 9, §3; xvii. 10, §2; cf. Matt. xxvi. 5; Luke xiii. 1).

The frequent recurrence of the sabbatical number in the organization of these festivals is too remarkable to be passed over, and (as Ewald has observed) seems, when viewed in connexion with the sabbatical sacred times, to furnish a strong proof that the whole system of the festivals of the Jewish law was the product of one mind. Pentecost occurs seven weeks after the Passover; the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles last seven days each; the days of Holy Convocation are seven in the year—two at the Passover, one at Pentecost, one at the Feast of Trumpets, one on the Day of Atonement, and two at the Feast of Tabernacles; the Feast of Tabernacles, as well as the Day of Atonement, falls in the seventh month of the sacred year; and, lastly, the cycle of annual feasts occupies seven months, from Nisan to Tisri.

The agricultural significance of the three great festivals is clearly set forth in the account of the Jewish sacred year contained in Lev. xxiii. The prominence which, not only in that chapter but elsewhere, is given to this significance, in the names by which Pentecost and Tabernacles are often called, and also by the offering of "the first fruits of wheat-harvest" at Pentecost (Ex. xxiii. 22), and of "the first of the first fruits" at the Passover (Ex. xviii. 19, xxiv. 26), might easily suggest that the origin of the feasts was patriarchal (Ewald, *Alt-erthümer*, p. 385), and that the historical associations with which Moses endowed them were grafted upon their primitive meaning. It is perhaps, however, a difficulty in the way of this view, that we should rather look for the institution of agricultural festivals amongst an agricultural, than a pastoral people, such as the Israelites and their ancestors were before the settlement in the land of promise.

The times of the festivals were evidently ordained in wisdom, so as to interfere as little as possible with the industry of the people. The Passover was held just before the work of harvest commenced, Pentecost at the conclusion of the corn-harvest and before the vintage, the Feast of Tabernacles after all

<sup>a</sup> The original meaning of the word מִצְוֹת is a "dance." The modern Arabic term *Hadj* is derived from the same root (Gesen. *Thes.* 444).

<sup>b</sup> The Law always speaks of the Days of Holy Convocation as Sabbaths. But the Mishna makes a distinction, and states in detail what acts may be performed on the former, which are unlawful on the sabbath, in the treatise *Yom Tob*; while in *Mord Katan*, it lays down strange and burdensome conditions in reference to the intermediate days.

the fruits of the ground were gathered in. In winter, when travelling was difficult, there were no festivals.

(3.) For the Day of Atonement see that article.

II. After the captivity, the Feast of Purim (Esth. ix. 20 sq.) and that of the Dedication (1 Macc. iv. 56) were instituted. The Festivals of Wood-carrying, as they were called (*ἑορτα τῶν ξυλοφορίων*), are mentioned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, §6) and the Mishna (*Taanith*, iv. 5). What appears to have been their origin is found in Neh. x. 34. The term, "the Festival of the Basket" (*ἑορτὴ καπτάλλου*) is applied by Philo to the offering of the First Fruits described in Deut. xvi. 1-11 (*Philo*, vol. v. p. 51). [FIRST FRUITS.]

The system of the Hebrew festivals is treated at large by Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen cultus*, b. iv.), by Ewald (*Altérthümer*, p. 379 sq.), and by Philo, in a characteristic manner (*Περὶ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς, Op.* vol. v. p. 21, edit. Tauch.). [S. C.]

**FESTUS, PORCIUS** (Πόρκιος Φήστος, Acts xiv. 27), successor of Felix as procurator of Judaea (Acts i. c.; Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, §9; *B. J.* ii. 14, §1), sent by Nero, probably in the autumn of the year 60 A.D. (See FELIX.) A few weeks after Festus reached his province he heard the cause of St. Paul, who had been left a prisoner by Felix, in the presence of Herod Agrippa II. and Bernice his sister. Not finding any thing in the Apostle worthy of death or of bonds, and being confirmed in this view by his guests, he would have set him free, had it not been that Paul had himself previously (Acts xxv. 11, 12) appealed to Caesar. In consequence, Festus sent him to Rome. Judaea was in the same disturbed state during the procuratorship of Festus, which had prevailed through that of his predecessor. Scurri, robbers, and magicians were put down with a strong hand (*Ant.* xx. 8, §10). Festus had a difference with the Jews at Jerusalem about a high wall which they had built to prevent Agrippa seeing from his palace into the court of the Temple. As this also hid the view of the Temple from the Roman guard appointed to watch it during the festivals, the procurator took strongly the side of Agrippa; but permitted the Jews to send to Rome for the decision of the emperor. He being influenced by Poppea, who was a proselyte, decided in favour of the Jews. Festus died probably in the summer of 62 A.D., having ruled the province less than two years. The chronological questions concerning his entrance on the province and his death are too intricate and difficult to be entered on here, but will be found fully discussed by Anger, *de temporibus in Act. Apost. ratione*, pp. 99 ff., and Wieseler, *Chronologie der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 89-99. Josephus implies (*B. J.* ii. 14 §1) that Festus was a just as well as an active magistrate. [H. A.]

**FETTERS** (נִשְׁמֵתִים; כְּבָלִים; זָכִים). 1. The first of these Hebrew words, *nechushtain*, expresses the material of which fetters were usually made, viz. brass (πρόβαυ χαλκαί; A. V. "fetters of brass"), and also that they were made in pairs, the word being in the dual number: it is the most usual term for fetters (*Judg.* xvi. 21; 2 Sam. iii. 36; 2 K. xxv. 7; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11, xxxiv. 6; Jer. xxxix. 7, lii. 11). Iron was occasionally employed for the purpose (*Ps.* cv. 18, cxlix. 8). 2. *Cebel* occurs only in the above Psalms, and, from its appearing in the singular number, may perhaps apply to the link which connected the fetters. *Zikkim* ("fetters," Job xxxvi. 8) is more

usually translated "chains" (*Ps.* cxlix. 8; *Is.* xlv. 14; *Nah.* iii. 10), but its radical sense appears to refer to the contraction of the feet by a chain (*Gesen. Thesaur.* p. 424). [W. L. B.]

**FEVER** (פֶּגַעַת, חֲרָר, חֲרָרָה; *ἄκρεπος* *ῥέγος*, *ἑρεθισμός*; Lev. xxvii. 16, Deut. xxviii. 22). These words, from various roots, signifying heat or inflammation, are rendered in the A. V. by various words suggestive of fever, or a feverish affection. The word *ῥέγος* ("shuddering") suggests the ague as accompanied by fever, as in the opinion of the LXX. probably intended; and this is still a very common disease in Palestine; the third word, which they render *ἑρεθισμός* (a term still known to pathology), a feverish irritation, and which in the A. V. is called burning fever, may perhaps be erysipelas. Fever constantly accompanies the bloody flux, or dysentery (*Acts* xxviii. 8; comp. De Mandelslo, *Travels*, ed. 1869, p. 65). Fevers of an inflammatory character are mentioned (*Buckhardt, Arab.* i. 446) as common at Mecca, and putrid ones at Djidda. Intermittent fever and dysentery, the latter often fatal, are ordinary Arabian diseases. For the former, though often fatal to strangers, the natives care little, but much dread a relapse. These fevers sometimes occasion most troublesome swellings in the stomach and legs (*ii.* 290-291). [H. H.]

**FIELD** (שָׂדֶה). The Hebrew "*sadeh*" is not adequately represented by our "*field*:" the two words agree in describing cultivated land, but they differ in point of extent, the *sadeh* being specifically applied to what is *unenclosed*, while the opposite notion of enclosure is involved in the word *field*. The essence of the Hebrew word has been variously taken to lie in each of these notions, *Gesenius* (*Thesaur.* p. 1321) giving it the sense of *freedom*, Stanley (p. 490) that of *smoothness*, comparing *aroun* from *arare*. On the one hand *sadeh* is applied to any cultivated ground, whether pasture (*Gen.* xxix. 2, xxxi. 4, xxvii. 7; *Ex.* ix. 3), tillage (*Gen.* xxxvii. 7, xlvii. 24; *Ruth* ii. 2, 3; *Job* xxiv. 6; *Jer.* xxvi. 18; *Mic.* iii. 12), woodland (*1 Sam.* xiv. 25, A. V. "ground"; *Ps.* cxxii. 6), or mountain-top (*Judg.* ix. 32, 36; 2 Sam. i. 21); and in some instances in marked opposition to the neighbouring wilderness (Stanley, p. 236, 490), as in the instance of Jacob settling in the field of Shechem (*Gen.* xxxiii. 19), the field of Moab (*Gen.* xxxvi. 35; *Num.* xxi. 20, A. V. "country"; *Ruth* i. 1), and the vale of Siddim, i. e. of the cultivated fields, which formed the oasis of the Penapolis (*Gen.* xiv. 3, 8), though a different sense has been given to the name (by *Gesenius, Thesaur.* p. 1321). On the other hand the *sadeh* is frequently contrasted with what is enclosed, whether a vineyard (*Ex.* xxii. 5; *Lev.* xxv. 3, 4; *Num.* xvi. 14, xx. 17; compare *Num.* xxii. 23, "the ass went into the field," with verse 24, "a path of the vineyards, a wall being on this side and a wall on that side"), a garden (the very name of which, *ῥ*, implies enclosure), or a walled town (*Deut.* xxviii. 3, 16): unwall'd villages or scattered houses ranked in the eye of the law as

\* Winer suggests the Arabic خُزْر which he renders *Stickfluss*, i. e. choking phlegm. It rather seems to mean the frothing at the mouth which accompanies the violent religious exertations of the fanatical Arabs on the occasion of the festival of the Nebi-Moussa.

fields (Lev. xiv. 31), and hence the expression *eis roûs áγpous*=*houses in the fields* (in *villas*, Vulg.; Mark vi. 36, 56). In many passages the term implies what is remote from a house (Gen. iv. 8, xiv. 63; Deut. xii. 25) or settled habitation, as in the case of Esau (Gen. xxv. 27; the LXX., however, refers it to his character, *ἀγροίκος*): this is more fully expressed by *פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה*, "the open field" (Lev. xiv. 7, 53, xvii. 5; Num. xix. 18; 2 Sam. xi. 11), with which is naturally coupled the notion of exposure and desertion (Jer. ix. 22; Ez. xvi. 5, xxxii. 4, xxxiii. 27, xxxix. 5).

The separate plots of ground were marked off by stones, which might easily be removed (Deut. xix. 14, xvii. 17; cf. Job xxiv. 2; Prov. xlii. 28, xliii. 10): the absence of fences rendered the fields liable to damage from staying cattle (Ex. xxii. 5) or fire (ver. 6; 2 Sam. xiv. 30): hence the necessity of constantly watching flocks and herds, the people so employed being in the present day named *Nutor* (Wortabet, *Syria*, i. 293). A certain amount of protection was gained by sowing the tallest and strongest of the grain crops on the outside: "spelt" appears to have been most commonly used for this purpose (Is. xlviii. 25, as in the margin). From the absence of enclosures, cultivated land of any size might be termed a field, whether it were a piece of ground of limited area (Gen. xviii. 13, 17; Is. v. 8), a man's whole inheritance (Lev. xxvii. 16 ff.; Ruth iv. 5; Jer. xxiii. 9, 25; Prov. xxvii. 26, xxxi. 16), the *ager publicus* of a town (Gen. xli. 48; Neh. xii. 29), as distinct, however, from the ground immediately adjacent to the walls of the Levitical cities, which was called *מִנְרֵשׁ*

(A. V. *suburbs*), and was deemed an appendage of the town itself (Josh. xxi. 11, 12), or lastly the territory of a people (Gen. xiv. 7, xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 35; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 6, iv. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 1, xvii. 7, 11). In 1 Sam. xxvii. 5, "a town in the field" (A. V. *country*)=a provincial town as distinct from the royal city. A plot of ground separated from a larger one was termed *חֲקֵלֶת שָׂדֶה* (Gen. xxxiii. 19; Ruth ii. 3; 1 Chr. xi. 13), or simply *חֲקֵלֶת* (2 Sam. xiv. 30, xliii. 12; cf. 2 Sam. xix. 29). Fields occasionally received names after remarkable events, as *Helkath-Hazzurim*, the *field of the strong men*, or possibly of *swords* (2 Sam. ii. 16), or from the use to which they may have been applied (2 K. xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3; Matt. xxvii. 7).

It should be observed that the expressions "fruitful field" (Is. x. 18, xix. 17, xxxii. 15, 16), and "plentiful field" (Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xlviii. 33), are not connected with *sadeh*, but with *carmel*, meaning a park or well-kept wood, as distinct from a wilderness or a forest. The same term occurs in 2 K. xix. 23, and Is. xxxvii. 24 (A. V. *Carmel*), Is. x. 18 (*forest*), and Jer. iv. 26 (*fruitful place*) [*CARMEL*]. Distinct from this is the expression in Ez. xvii. 5, *שָׂדֶה יָרֵעַ* (A. V. *fruitful field*), which means a field suited for planting suckers.

We have further to notice other terms—(1) *Shedemoth* (שְׂדֵמוֹת), translated "fields," and connected by Gesenius with the idea of *enclosure*. It is doubtful, however, whether the notion of *burning* does not rather lie at the bottom of the word. This gives a more consistent sense throughout. In Is. xvi. 8, it would thus mean the *withered grape*; in Hab. iii. 17, *blasted corn*; in Jer. xxxi. 40, the *burnt parts of*

the city (no "fields" intervened between the southeastern angle of Jerusalem and the Kidron); while in 2 K. xxiii. 4, and Deut. xxxii. 32, the sense of a *place of burning* is appropriate. It is not therefore necessary to treat the word in Is. xxxvii. 27, "blasted," as a corrupt reading. (2.) *Abel* (אֶבֶל), a well-watered spot, frequently employed as a prefix in proper names. (3.) *Achu* (אָחֻ), a word of Egyptian origin, given in the LXX. in a Graecised form, *ἄχαι* (Gen. xli. 2, 18, "meadow;" Job viii. 11, "flag;" Is. xix. 7, LXX.), meaning the flags and rushes that grow in the marshes of lower Egypt. (4.) *Maareh* (מַעֲרֵה), which occurs only once (Judg. x. 33, "meadows"): it has been treated as a corruption either of *מַעֲרָה*, *cave*, or *מַעְרָב*, *from the west* (ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, LXX.). But the sense of *openness* or *exposure* may be applied to it: thus, "they came forth on account of the exposure of Gilead," the Benjamites having been previously enticed away (ver. 31). [W. L. B.]

**FIG, FIG-TREE, תְּאֵנָה**, a word of frequent occurrence in the O. T., where it signifies the tree *Ficus Carica* of Linnaeus, and also its fruit. The LXX. render it by *συκή* and *σύνκον*, and when it signifies fruit by *συκῆ*—also by *συκῆων* or *συκῶν*, *figetum*, in Jer. v. 17 and Am. iv. 9. In N. T. *συκῆ* is the fig-tree, and *σῖκα* the figs (Jam. iii. 12). The fig-tree is very common in Palestine (Deut. viii. 8). Mount Olivet was famous for its fig-trees in ancient times, and they are still found there (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 187, 421, 422). "To sit under one's own vine and one's own fig-tree" became a proverbial expression among the Jews to denote peace and prosperity (1 K. iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10). The character of the tree, with its wide-spreading branches, accords well with the derivation of the name from *תָּאן*, to stretch out, *porcxit brachia*. In Gen. iii. 7 the identification of *תְּאֵנָה עֵלֶה* with the leaves of the *Ficus Carica* has been disputed by Gesenius, Tuch, and others, who think that the large leaves of the Indian *Musa Paradisiaca* are meant (Germ. Adamsfeige—Fr. figuier d'Adam). These leaves, however, would not have needed to be strung or sewn together, and the plant itself is not of the same kind with the fig-tree.

When figs are spoken of as distinguished from the fig-tree, the plur. form *תְּאֵנִים* is used (see Jer. viii. 13). 2. There are also the words *בִּכְרֵה*, *פֶּן*, and *רִבְרֵה*, signifying different kinds of figs. (a) In Hos. ix. 10, *בִּכְרֵה בְּתֵאנָה* signifies the *first ripe of the fig-tree*, and the same word occurs in Is. xxviii. 4, and in Mic. vii. 1 (comp. Jer. xxiv. 2). Lowth on Is. xxviii. 4, quotes from Shaw's *Trav.* p. 370, fol., a notice of the early fig called *boccòre*, and in Spanish *Albacora*. (b) *פֶּן* is the unripe fig, which hangs through the winter. It is mentioned only in Cant. ii. 13, and its name comes from the root *פָּנַן*, *crudus fuit*. The LXX. render it *ἄλυστοι*. It is found in the Greek word *ἑσπεράκη*=*פֶּת* (see Buxt. p. 1691).

(c) In the historical books of the O. T. mention is made of cakes of figs, used as articles of food, and compressed into that form for the sake of keeping them. They also appear to have been used remedially for boils (2 K. xx. 7; Is. xxxviii. 21).

Such a cake was called *דְּבִלָה*, or more fully *דְּבִלַת תְּאֵנִים*, on account of its shape from root *דָּבַל*, to make round. Hence, or rather from the Syriac *דְּבִלְתָא*, the first letter being diptot, came the Gk. word *παλᾶθη*. Athenaeus (xi. p. 500, ed. (Asaib.) makes express mention of the *παλᾶθη Συριακή*. Jerome on Ez. vi. describes the *παλᾶθη* to be a mass of figs and rich dates, formed into the shape of bricks or tiles, and compressed in order that they may keep. Such cakes harden so as to need cutting with an axe. [W. D.]

**FIR** (*ברֶשֶׁת*)—*ברֶשֶׁת*, probably an Aramaic form—from *ברֶשֶׁת*, *ent*, Gesen. 246; variously in LXX. *πίτυς*, *πεύκη*, *κυσπρίστος*, and (Ez. xxvii. 5) *κέδρος*; in Is. xiv. 8, *ξύλα Λιβάνου*: in Vulg. chiefly *abies*, *cupressus*. As the term "cedar" is in all probability applicable to more than one tree, so also "fir" in A. V. represents more than one sort of wood. The opinion of Celsius that *Berosh* exclusively means "cedar" is probably incorrect; but it is highly probable that some of the purposes for which cedar is said to have been used can scarcely have been fulfilled, except by a tree like the pine or fir. Besides the woods above mentioned there are one or two passages in which *Berosh* is rendered in LXX. by *ἔρκευθος*, *Juniper*. The passages from which any special account of its use can be derived are:—1. Of musical instruments (2 Sam. vi. 5); 2. Of doors (*πεύκη*, 1 K. vi. 34); 3. Of gilded ceilings (*κεδρίποις*, 2 Chr. iii. 5); 4. Boards or decks of ships, *κέδρος* (Gesen. 748; Ez. xxvii. 5). It seems probable that the ceilings in (3) would be of deal, the wood either of the Scotch fir (*pinus sylvestris*), or possibly larch (*πεύκη*), while in (2) the material is likely to have been of cypress (*cupressus sempervirens*, or *cupr. thyioides*), a tree of a harder and finer quality, not unlike the juniper (*ἔρκευθος*).

On the whole therefore it seems likely that by *Berosh* or *Berosh* is intended one or other of the following trees:—1. *Pinus sylvestris*, or Scotch fir; 2. larch; 3. *Cupressus sempervirens*, or cypress, all which are at this day found in the Lebanon (Balfour, *Trees of Scripture*, p. 11; Winer, *s. v. Tinnus*; Thénius on 1 K. vi. 34; Saalschütz, *Arch. Hebr.* i. 280, note 4; Miller, *Gardener's Dict.* *Cupressus*; Stephens, *Thes. Ling. Gr.* *πεύκη*; Belon. *Obs.* c. 110, p. 165; Loudon, *Arboretum*, iv. 2163). [H. W. P.]

**FIRE** (1. *אֵשׁ*; *ἵψ*; *ignis*: 2. *אֵל*, and also *אֵלֶּה*; *φῶς*; *lux*; flame or light. The applications of fire in Scripture may be classed as:—

I. *Religious*. (1.) That which consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the incense-offering, beginning with the sacrifice of Noah (Gen. viii. 20), and continued in the ever burning fire on the altar, first kindled from heaven (Lev. vi. 9, 13, ix. 24), and rekindled at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (2 Chr. vii. 1, 3). (2.) The symbol of Jehovah's presence, and the instrument of his power, in the way either of approval or of destruction (Ex. iii. 2, xiv. 19, xix. 18; Num. xi. 1, 3; Judg. xiii. 20; 1 K. xviii. 38; 2 K. i. 10, 12, ii. 11, vi. 17; comp. Is. li. 6, lvi. 15, 24; Joel ii. 30; Mal. iii. 2, 3, iv. 1; Mark ix. 44; 2 Pet. iii. 10; Rev. xx. 14, 17; Reland, *Ant. Sacr.* i. 8, p. 26; Jennings, *Jewish Ant.* ii. 1, p. 301; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 8, §6, viii. 4, §4). Parallel with this application of fire and with its symbolical meaning is to be noted

the similar use for sacrificial purposes, and the respect paid to it, or to the heavenly bodies as symbols of deity, which prevailed among so many nations of antiquity, and of which the traces are not even now extinct: *c. g.* the Sabæan and Magian systems of worship, and their alleged connexion with Abraham (Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 1, 2); the occasional relapse of the Jews themselves into sun-, or its corrupted form of fire-worship (Is. xxvii. 9; comp. Gesen. *חֶסֶן*, p. 489; Deut. xviii. 3; Jer. viii. 2; Ez. viii. 16; Zeph. i. 5; 2 K. xvii. 16, xxi. 3, xxiii. 5, 10, 11, 13; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* c. vi. §§405, 408) [*Μολοχ*]; the worship or deification of heavenly bodies or of fire, prevailing to some extent, as among the Persians, so also even in Egypt (Her. iii. 16; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 328, abridgm.); the sacred fire of the Greeks and Romans (Thuc. i. 24, ii. 15; Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 8, 12; Liv. xxviii. 12; Dionys. ii. 67; Plut. *Numa*, 9, i. 263, ed. Reiske); the ancient forms and usages of worship, differing from each other in some important respects, but to some extent similar in principle, of Mexico and Peru (Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 60, 64; *Peru*, i. 101); and lastly the theory of the so-called Guebres of Persia, and the Parsees of Bombay. (Frazer, *Persia*, c. iv. p. 141, 162, 164; Sir R. Porter, *Travels*, ii. 50, 424; Chardin, *Voyages*, ii. 310, iv. 258, viii. 367, and foll.; Niebuhr, *Voyages*, ii. pp. 36, 37; Mandelslo, *Travels*, b. i. p. 76; Gibbon, *Hist.* c. viii., i. 335, ed. Smith; Benj. of Tudela, *Early Trav.* pp. 114, 116; Burekhardt, *Syria*, p. 156.)

The perpetual fire on the altar was to be replenished with wood every morning (Lev. vi. 12; comp. Is. xxxi. 9). According to the Gemara, it was divided into 3 parts, one for burning the victims, one for incense, and one for supply of the other portions (Lev. vi. 15; Reland, *Antiq. Hebr.* j. 4, 8, p. 26; and ix. 10, p. 98). Fire for sacred purposes obtained elsewhere than from the altar was called "strange fire," and for use of such Nadab and Abihu were punished with death by fire from God (Lev. x. 1, 2; Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 61).

(3.) In the case of the spoil taken from the Midianites, such articles as could bear it were purified by fire as well as in the water appointed for the purpose (Num. xxxi. 23). The victims slain for sin-offerings were afterwards consumed by fire outside the camp (Lev. iv. 12, 21, vi. 30, xvi. 27; Heb. xiii. 11). The Nazarite who had completed his vow, marked its completion by shaving his head and casting the hair into the fire on the altar on which the peace-offerings were being sacrificed (Num. vi. 18).

II. *Domestic*. Besides for cooking purposes, fire is often required in Palestine for warmth (Jer. xxxvi. 22; Mark xiv. 54; John xviii. 18; Harmer, *Obs.* i. 125; Rümer, p. 79). For this purpose a hearth with a chimney is sometimes constructed, on which either lighted wood or pans of charcoal are placed (Harmer, i. 405). In Persia, a hole made in the floor is sometimes filled with charcoal, on which a sort of table is set covered with a carpet, and the company placing their feet under the carpet draw it over themselves (Olearius, *Travels*, p. 294; Chardin, *Voyages*, viii. 190). Rooms in Egypt are warmed, when necessary, with pans of charcoal, as there are no fire-places except in the kitchens (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 41; *Enj. in Eg.* ii. 11).

On the Sabbath, the Law forbade any fire to be

kindled even for cooking (Ex. xxxv. 3; Num. xv. 32). To this general prohibition the Jews added various refinements, e.g. that on the eve of the Sabbath no one might read with a light, though passages to be read on the Sabbath by children in schools might be looked out by the teacher. If a Gentile lighted a lamp, a Jew might use it, but not if it had been lighted for the use of the Jew. If a festival day fell on the Sabbath eve no cooking was to be done (Mishn. *Shabb.* i. 3, xvi. 8, vol. ii. pp. 4, 56, *Mo'ed Katan*, ii. vol. ii. p. 287, Surenhus.).

III. The dryness of the land in the hot season in Syria, of course increases liability to accident from fire. The Law therefore ordered that any one kindling a fire which caused damage to corn in a field, should make restitution (Ex. xxii. 6; comp. Judg. xv. 4, 5; 2 Sam. xiv. 30; Mishn. *Maccoth*, vi. 3, 6, vol. iv. 48, Surenh.; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 496, 622).

IV. Punishment of death by fire was awarded by the Law only in the cases of incest with a mother-in-law, and of unchastity on the part of a daughter of a priest (Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9). In the former case both the parties, in the latter, the woman only, was to suffer. This sentence appears to have been a relaxation of the original practice in such cases (Gen. xxxviii. 24). Among other nations, burning appears to have been no uncommon mode if not of judicial punishment, at least of vengeance upon captives; and in a modified form was not unknown in war among the Jews themselves (2 Sam. xii. 31; Jer. xxix. 22; Dan. iii. 20, 21). In certain cases the bodies of executed criminals and of infamous persons were subsequently burnt (Josh. vii. 25; 2 K. xxiii. 16).

The Jews were expressly ordered to destroy the idols of the heathen nations, and especially any city of their own relapsed into idolatry (Ex. xxxii. 20; 2 K. x. 26; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, xiii. 16). In some cases, the cities, and in the case of Hazor, the chariots also, were, by God's order, consumed with fire (Josh. vi. 24, viii. 28, xi. 6, 9, 13). One of the expedients of war in sieges was to set fire to the gate of the besieged place (Judg. ix. 49, 52). [SIEGES.]

V. Incense was sometimes burnt in honour of the dead, especially royal personages, as is mentioned specially in the cases of Asa and Zedekiah, and negatively in that of Jehoram (2 Chr. xvi. 14, xxi. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 5).

VI. The use of fire in metallurgy was well known to the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus (Ex. xxxii. 24, xxxv. 32, xxxvii. 2, 6, 17, xxxviii. 2, 8; Num. xvi. 38, 39). [HANDICRAFT.]

VII. Fire or flame is used in a metaphorical sense to express excited feeling and divine inspiration, and also to describe temporal calamities and future punishments (Ps. lxi. 12; Jer. xx. 9; Joel ii. 30; Mal. iii. 2; Matt. xxv. 41; Mark ix. 43; Rev. xxi. 15).

[H. W. P.]

**FIREPAN** (מִנְיָה; πυρίων, θυμιατήριον; *ignium receptaculum; thuribulum*), one of the vessels of the Temple service (Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3; 2 K. xxv. 15; Jer. lii. 19). The same word is elsewhere rendered "snuff-dish" (Ex. xxv. 38, xxxvii. 23; Num. iv. 9; *εμπυρτήριον; emunctorium*) and "censer" (Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12; Num. xvi. 6 ff.). There appear, therefore, to have been two articles so called; one, like a chafing-dish, to carry live coals for the purpose of burning

incense; another, like a snuffer-dish, to be used in trimming the lamps, in order to carry the snuffers and convey away the snuff. [W. L. B.]

### FIRKIN. [MEASURES.]

**FIRMAMENT.** This term was introduced into our language from the Vulgate, which gives *firmamentum* as the equivalent of the *στέρεμα* of the LXX. and the *rakia* (רָקִיעַ) of the Hebrew text (Gen. i. 6). The Hebrew term first demands notice. It is generally regarded as expressive of simple *expansion*, and is so rendered in the margin of the A. V. (l. c.); but the true idea of the word is a complex one, taking in the *mode* by which the expansion is effected, and consequently implying the *nature of the material* expanded. The verb *rakam* means to expand by *beating*, whether by the hand, the foot, or any instrument. It is especially used, however, of beating out metals into thin plates (Ex. xxxix. 3; Num. xvi. 39), and hence the substantive רָקִיעַ = "broad plates" of metal (Num. xvi. 38). It is thus applied to the flattened surface of the solid earth (Is. xlii. 5, xliii. 24; Ps. cxxxvi. 6), and it is in this sense that the term is applied to the heaven in Job xxxvii. 18—"Hast thou spread (rather *hammered*) out the sky which is strong, and as a molten looking-glass"—the mirrors to which he refers being made of metal. The sense of *solidity*, therefore, is combined with the ideas of *expansion* and *tenuity* in the term *rakia*. Snellschütz (*Archæol.* ii. 67) conceives that the idea of solidity is inconsistent with Gen. ii. 6, which implies, according to him, the passage of the mist through the *rakia*; he therefore gives it the sense of pure *expansion*—it is the large and lofty room in which the winds, &c., have their abode. But it should be observed that Gen. ii. 6 implies the very reverse. If the mist had penetrated the *rakia* it would have descended in the form of rain: the mist, however, was formed under the *rakia*, and resembled a heavy dew—a mode of fructifying the earth which, from its regularity and quietude, was more appropriate to a state of innocence than rain, the occasional violence of which associated it with the idea of divine vengeance. But the same idea of *solidity* runs through all the references to the *rakia*. In Ex. xxiv. 10, it is represented as a solid floor—"a paved work of a sapphire stone;" nor is the image much weakened if we regard the word רָקִיעַ as applying to the *transparency* of the stone rather than to the *paving* as in the A. V., either sense being admissible. So again, in Ez. i. 22-26, the "firmament" is the floor on which the throne of the Most High is placed. That the *rakia* should be transparent; as implied in the comparisons with the sapphire (Ex. l. c.) and with crystal (Ez. l. c.; comp. Lev. iv. 6), is by no means inconsistent with its solidity. Further, the office of the *rakia* in the economy of the world demanded *strength* and *substance*. It was to serve as a division between the waters above and the waters below (Gen. i. 7). In order to enter into this description we must carry our ideas back to the time when the earth was a chaotic mass, overspread with water, in which the material elements of the heavens were intermingled. The first step, therefore, in the work of orderly arrangement was to separate the elements of heaven and earth, and to fix a floor of partition between the waters of the heaven and the waters of the earth; and accordingly the *rakia* was

created to support the upper reservoir (Ps. cxlviii. 4; comp. Ps. civ. 3, where Jehovah is represented as "building his chambers of water," not simply "in water," as the A. V.; the prep.  $\text{בְּ}$  signifying the *material* out of which the beams and joists were made), itself being supported at the edge or rim of the earth's disk by the mountains (2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xxvi. 11). In keeping with this view the *rakia* was provided with "windows" (Gen. vii. 11; Is. xxiv. 18; Mal. iii. 10) and "doors" (Ps. lxxviii. 23), through which the rain and the snow might descend. A secondary purpose which the *rakia* served was to support the heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and stars (Gen. i. 14), in which they were fixed as nails, and from which, consequently, they might be said to drop off (Is. xiv. 12, xxxiv. 4; Matt. xxiv. 29). All all these particulars we recognise the same view as was entertained by the Greeks and, to a certain extent, by the Latins. The former applied to the heaven such epithets as "brazen" ( $\chiάλκεον$ , II. xvii. 425;  $\text{πολύχαλκον}$ , II. v. 504) and "iron" ( $\sigmaιδηρεον$ , Od. xv. 328, xvii. 565)—epithets also used in the Scriptures (Lev. xxvi. 19)—and that this was not merely poetical embellishment appears from the views promulgated by their philosophers, Empedocles (Plutarch, *Phic. Phil.* ii. 11) and Artemidorus (Senec. *Quaest.* vii. 13). The same idea is expressed in the *caelo affixa sidera* of the Latins (Plin. ii. 39, xviii. 57). If it be objected to the Mosaic account that the view embodied in the word *rakia* does not harmonize with strict philosophical truth, the answer to such an objection is, that the writer describes things as they appear rather than as they are. But in truth the same absence of philosophic truth may be traced throughout all the terms applied to this subject, and the objection is levelled rather against the principles of language than anything else. Examine the Latin *coelum* ( $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\omicron$ ), the "hollow place" or cave scooped out of solid space; our own "heaven," i. e. what is *heaved up*; the Greek  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , similarly significant of height (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* i. 123); or the German "himmel," from *heimein*, to cover—the "roof" which constitutes the "heim" or abode of man: in each there is a large amount of philosophical error. Correctly speaking, of course, the atmosphere is the true *rakia* by which the clouds are supported, and undefined space is the abode of the celestial bodies. There certainly appears an inconsistency in treating the *rakia* as the support both of the clouds and of the stars, for it could not have escaped observation that the clouds were below the stars: but perhaps this may be referred to the same feeling which is expressed in the *coelum ruit* of the Latins, the downfall of the *rakia* in stormy weather. Although the *rakia* and the *shamayim* ("heavens") are treated as identical in Gen. i. 8, yet it was more correct to recognise a distinction between them, as implied in the expression "firmament of the heavens" (Gen. i. 14), the former being the upheaving power and the latter the upheaved body—the former the line of demarcation between heaven and earth, the latter the *strata* or stories into which the heaven was divided. [W. L. B.]

**FIRST-BORN** (פְּרִי־בְרִית; *πρωτότοκος*; *primogenitus*; from פָּרַר, *early, ripe*, Gesen. p. 206), applied equally both to animals and human beings. That some rights of primogeniture existed in very early times is plain, but it not so clear in what they

consisted. They have been classed as, a. authority over the rest of the family; b. priesthood; c. a double portion of the inheritance. The birthright of Esau and of Reuben, set aside by authority or forfeited by misconduct, prove a general privilege as well as quasi-sacredness of primogeniture (Gen. xxv. 23, 31, 34, xlix. 3; 1 Chr. v. 1; Heb. xii. 16), and a precedence which obviously existed, and is alluded to in various passages (as Ps. lxxix. 27; Job xviii. 13; Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 15; Heb. xii. 23); but the story of Esau's rejection tends to show the supreme and sacred authority of the parent irrevocable even by himself, rather than inherent right existing in the eldest son, which was evidently not inalienable (Gen. xxvii. 29, 33, 36; Grotius, Calmet, Patrick, Knobel, on Gen. xxv.).

Under the law, in memory of the Exodus, the eldest son was regarded as devoted to God, and was in every case to be redeemed by an offering not exceeding 5 shekels, within one month from birth. If he died before the expiration of 30 days, the Jewish doctors held the father excused, but liable to the payment if he outlived that time (Ex. xiii. 12-15, xxi. 29; Num. viii. 17, xviii. 15, 16; Lev. xxvii. 6; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Luke ii. 22; Philo, *de Pr. Sacerd.* i. ii. 233; Mangey). This devotion of the first-born was believed to indicate a priesthood belonging to the eldest sons of families, which being set aside in the case of Reuben, was transferred to the tribe of Levi. This priesthood is said to have lasted till the completion of the Tabernacle (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* x. §165, 387; Patrick, Selden, *de Syn.* c. 16; Mishn. *Zebachim*, xiv. 4, vol. v. 58; comp. Ex. xxiv. 5).

The ceremony of redemption of the first-born is described by Calmet from Leo of Modena (Calmet on Num. xviii.). The eldest son received a double portion of the father's inheritance (Deut. xvi. 17), but not of the mother's (Mishn. *Bechoroth*, viii. 9). If the father had married two wives, of whom he preferred one to the other, he was forbidden to give precedence to the son of the one, if the child of the other were the first-born (Deut. xvi. 15, 16). In the case of levirate marriage, the son of the next brother succeeded to his uncle's vacant inheritance (Deut. xxv. 5, 6). Under the monarchy, the eldest son usually, but not always, as appears in the case of Solomon, succeeded his father in the kingdom (1 K. i. 30, ii. 22).

The male first-born of animals (פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם; *διανοίγον μῆτραν*; *quod aperit vulvam*) was also devoted to God (Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 13, xxii. 29, xxxiv. 19, 20; Philo, *l. c.*, and *quis rerum die, hucres.* 24, i. 489, Mangey). Unclean animals were to be redeemed with the addition of one-fifth of the value, or else put to death; or if not redeemed, to be sold, and the price given to the priests (Lev. xxvii. 1-3, 27, 28). The first-born of an ass was to be redeemed with a lamb, or, if not redeemed, put to death (Ex. xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20; Num. xviii. 15). Of cattle, goats, or sheep, the first-born from eight days to twelve months old were not to be used, but offered in sacrifice. After the burning of the fat, the remainder was appropriated to the priests (Ex. xxii. 30; Num. xviii. 17, 18; Deut. xv. 19, 20; Neh. x. 36). If there were any blemish, the animal was not to be sacrificed, but eaten at home (Deut. xv. 21, 22, and xii. 5-7, xiv. 23). Various refinements on the subject of blemishes are to be found in Mishn. *Bechoroth*. (See Mal. i. 8. By "firstlings," Deut. xiv. 23, compared with Num. xviii. 17, are

meant tithe animals: see Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 10, p. 327; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §387.) [H. W. P.]

**FIRST-FRUIITS.** 1. ראשית, from ראש, *shale*, Gesen. pp. 1249, 1252; sometimes ראשית בכורים, 2. בכורים, in pl. only, or בכורים, Ges. p. 206: usually πρωτογεννήματα, ἀπαρχαί τῶν πρωτογεννημάτων (Ex. xxiii. 19); *primitiæ*, *frugum initia*, *primitiæ*. 3. תרומה, Ges. p. 1276: ἀφαιρέμα, ἀπαρχή; *primitiæ*.

Besides the first born of man and of beast, the Law required that offerings of first-fruits of produce should be made publicly by the nation at each of the 3 great yearly festivals, and also by individuals without limitation of time. No ordinance appears to have been more distinctly recognised than this, so that the use of the term in the way of illustration carried with it a full significance even in N. T. times (Prov. iii. 9; Tob. i. 6; 1 Macc. iii. 49; Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16; Jam. i. 18; Rev. xiv. 4).

1. The Law ordered in general, that the first of all ripe fruits and of liquors, or, as it is twice expressed, the first of first-fruits, should be offered in God's house (Ex. xxii. 29, xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Philo, *de Monarchia*, ii. 3 (ii. 224, Mang.)).

2. On the morrow after the Passover sabbath, i. e. on the 16th of Nisan, a sheaf of new corn was to be brought to the priest, and waved before the altar, in acknowledgment of the gift of fruitfulness (Lev. xxiii. 5, 6, 10, 12, ii. 12). Josephus tells us that the sheaf was of barley, and that until this ceremony had been performed, no harvest work was to be begun (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, §5).

3. At the expiration of 7 weeks from this time, i. e. at the Feast of Pentecost, an oblation was to be made of 2 loaves of leavened bread made from the new flour, which were to be waved in like manner with the Passover sheaf (Ex. xxxiv. 22; Lev. xxiii. 15, 17; Num. xxviii. 26).

4. The feast of ingathering, i. e. the Feast of Tabernacles in the 7th month, was itself an acknowledgment of the fruits of the harvest (Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22; Lev. xxiii. 39).

These four sorts of offerings were national. Besides them, the two following were of an individual kind, but the last was made by custom to assume also a national character.

5. A cake of the first dough that was baked, was to be offered as a heave-offering (Num. xv. 19, 21).

6. The first-fruits of the land were to be brought in a basket to the holy place of God's choice, and there presented to the priest, who was to set the basket down before the altar. The offerer was then, in words of which the outline, if not the whole form was prescribed, to recite the story of Jacob's descent into Egypt, and the deliverance therefrom of his posterity; and to acknowledge the blessings with which God had visited him (Deut. xvi. 2-11).

The offerings, both public and private, resolve themselves into 2 classes, *a.* produce in general, in the Mishna בכורים, *Biourin*, first-fruits, *primitivi fructus*, πρωτογεννήματα, raw produce. *b.* תרומות, *Terumoth*, offerings, *primitiæ*, ἀπαρχαί, prepared produce (Gesen. p. 1276; Augustine, *Quest.* in *Hept.* iv. 32, vol. iii. p. 732; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* iii. 9, p. 713; Reland,

*Antiq.* iii. 7; Philo, *de Pr. Sacerd.* i. (ii. 233, Mang.) *de Sacrific. Abel et Cain*, 21 (i. 177, M.)).

*a.* Of the public offerings of first-fruits, the Law defined no place from which the Passover sheaf should be chosen, but the Jewish custom, so far as it is represented by the Mishna, prescribed that the wave-sheaf or sheaves should be taken from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (*Terumoth*, x. 2). Deputies from the Sanhedrim went out on the eve of the festival, and tied the growing stalks in bunches. In the evening of the festival day the sheaf was cut with all possible publicity, and carried to the Temple. It was there threshed, and an omer of grain after being winnowed, was bruised and roasted: after it had been mixed with oil and frankincense laid upon it, the priest waved the offering in all directions. A handful was thrown on the altar-fire, and the rest belonged to the priests, to be eaten by those who were free from ceremonial defilement. After this the harvest might be carried on. After the destruction of the Temple all this was discontinued, on the principle, as it seems, that the House of God was exclusively the place for oblation (Lev. ii. 14, x. 14, xxiii. 13; Num. xviii. 11; Mishn. *Terum.* v. 6, x. 4, 5; *Schabathin*, viii. 8; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, §5; Philo, *de procen. sac.* i. (ii. 233, Mang.); Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 7, 3, iv. 3, 8).

The offering made at the feast of the Pentecost, was a thanksgiving for the conclusion of wheat harvest. It consisted of 2 loaves (according to Josephus one loaf) of new flour baked with leaven, which were waved by the priest as at the Passover. The size of the loaves is fixed by the Mishna at 7 palms long and 4 wide, with horns of 4 fingers length. No private offerings of first-fruits were allowed before this public oblation of the 2 loaves (Lev. xxiii. 15, 20; Mishn. *Terum.* x. 6, xi. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, §6; Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 4, 5). The private oblations of first-fruits may be classed in the same manner as the public. The directions of the Law respecting them have been stated generally above. To these the Jews added or deduced the following. Seven sorts of produce were considered liable to oblation, viz. wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates (Gesen. p. 219; Deut. viii. 8; Mishn. *Biourin* i. 3; Hasselquist, *Travels*, p. 417), but the law appears to have contemplated produce of all sorts, and to have been so understood by Nehemiah (Deut. xvi. 2; Neh. x. 35, 37). The portions intended to be offered were decided by inspection, and the selected fruits were fastened to the stem by a band of rushes (*Bic.* iii. 1). A proprietor might, if he thought fit, devote the whole of his produce as first-fruits (*ibid.* ii. 4). But though the Law laid down no rule as to quantity, the minimum fixed by custom was  $\frac{1}{10}$  (Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 8, 4). No offerings were to be made before Pentecost, nor after the feast of the Dedication, on the 25th of Chisleu (Ex. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 16, 17; *Bic.* i. 3, 6). The practice was for companies of 24 persons to assemble in the evening at a central station, and pass the night in the open air. In the morning they were summoned by the leader of the feast with the words, "Let us arise and go up to Mount Zion, the House of the Lord our God." On the road to Jerusalem they recited portions of Psalms cxlii. and cl. Each party was preceded by a piper, a sacrificial bullock having the tips of his horns gilt and crowned with olive. At their approach to the city they were met by priests appointed to inspect the offerings

and were welcomed by companies of citizens proportioned to the number of the pilgrims. On ascending the Temple mount each person took his basket, containing the first-fruits and an offering of turtle doves, on his shoulders, and proceeded to the court of the Temple, where they were met by Levites singing Ps. xxx. 2. The doves were sacrificed as a burnt-offering, and the first-fruits presented to the priests with the words appointed in Deut. xxvi. The baskets of the rich were of gold or silver; those of the poor of peeled-willow. The baskets of the latter kind were, as well as the offerings they contained, presented to the priests, who waved the offerings at the S. W. corner of the altar: the more valuable baskets were returned to the owners (*Bic.* iii. 6, 8). After passing the night at Jerusalem, the pilgrims returned on the following day to their homes (Deut. xvi. 7; *Terum.* ii. 4). It is mentioned that King Agrippa bore his part in this highly picturesque national ceremony by carrying his basket like the rest, to the Temple (*Bic.* iii. 4). Among other bye-laws were the following: 1. He who ate his first-fruits elsewhere than in Jerusalem and without the proper form was liable to punishment (*Maccoth.* iii. 3, vol. iv. 284, Surenh.). 2. Women, slaves, deaf and dumb persons, and some others were exempt from the verbal oblation before the priest, which was not generally used after the Feast of Tabernacles (*Bic.* i. 5, 6).

b. The first-fruits prepared for use were not required to be taken to Jerusalem. They consisted of wine, wool, bread, oil, date-honey, onions, cucumbers (*Terum.* ii. 5, 6; Num. xv. 19, 21; Deut. xviii. 4). They were to be made, according to some, only by dwellers in Palestine; but according to others, by those also who dwelt in Moab, in Ammonitis, and in Egypt (*Terum.* i. 1). They were not to be taken from the portion intended for tithes, nor from the corners left for the poor (*ibid.* i. 5, iii. 7). The proportion to be given is thus estimated in that treatise: a liberal measure,  $\frac{1}{10}$ , or, according to the school of Shammal,  $\frac{1}{12}$ ; a moderate portion,  $\frac{1}{15}$ ; a scanty portion,  $\frac{1}{20}$ . (See Ez. xlv. 13.) The measuring-basket was to be thrice estimated during the season (*ib.* iv. 3). He who ate or drank his offering by mistake was bound to add  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and present it to the priest (Lev. v. 16, xxii. 14), who was forbidden to remit the penalty (*Terum.* vi. 1, 5). The offerings were the perquisite of the priests, not only at Jerusalem, but in the provinces, and were to be eaten or used only by those who were clean from ceremonial defilement (Num. xviii. 11; Deut. xviii. 4).

The corruption of the nation after the time of Solomon gave rise to neglect in these as well as in other ordinances of the Law, and restoration of them was among the reforms brought about by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 5, 11). Nehemiah also, at the Return from Captivity, took pains to reorganize the offerings of first-fruits of both kinds, and to appoint places to receive them (Neh. x. 35, 37, xii. 44). Perversion or alienation of them is reprobated, as care in observing is eulogized by the prophets, and specially mentioned in the sketch of the restoration of the Temple and Temple-service made by Ezekiel (Ez. xx. 40, xlv. 30, xlviii. 14; Mal. iii. 8).

An offering of first-fruits is mentioned as an acceptable one to the prophet Elisha (2 K. iv. 42).

Besides the offerings of first-fruits mentioned above, the Law directed that the fruit of all trees fresh planted should be regarded as uncircumcised,

or profane, and not to be tasted by the owner for three years. The whole produce of the fourth year was devoted to God; and did not become free to the owner till the fifth year (Lev. xix. 23-25). The trees found growing by the Jews at the conquest were treated as exempt from this rule. (*Mishn. Orlah.* i. 2.)

Offerings of first-fruits were sent to Jerusalem by Jews living in foreign countries (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 6, §7).

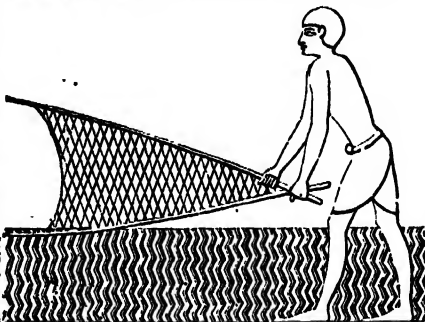
Offerings of first-fruits were also customary in heathen systems of worship. (See, for instances and authorities, Patrick, *On Deut.* xxvi.; and a copious list in Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* iii. 9, *de Primitiarum Origine*; also Leslie, *On Tithes*, Works, vol. ii.; Winer, s. v. *Erstlings.*) [H. W. P.]

**FISH; FISHING.** The Hebrews recognized fish as one of the great divisions of the animal kingdom, and, as such, give them a place in the account of the creation (Gen. i. 21, 28), as well as in other passages where an exhaustive description of living creatures is intended (Gen. ix. 2; Ex. xx. 4; Deut. iv. 18; 1 K. iv. 33). They do not, however, appear to have acquired any intimate knowledge of this branch of natural history. Although they were acquainted with some of the names given by the Egyptians to the different species (for Josephus, *B. J.* ii. 10, §8, compares one found in the Sea of Galilee to the *coracinus*), they did not adopt a similar method of distinguishing them; nor was any classification attempted beyond the broad divisions of clean and unclean, great and small. The former was established by the Mosaic law (Lev. xi. 9, 10), which pronounced unclean such fish as were devoid of fins and scales: these were and are regarded as unwholesome food in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 58, 59), so much so that one of the laws of El-Hakim prohibited the sale, or even the capture of them (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 132). This distinction is probably referred to in the terms *סאמפא* (*esui non idonea*, Schleusner's *Lex.* s. v.; Treich, *On Parables*, p. 137) and *קאלא* (Matt. xiii. 48). Of the various species found in the Sea of Galilee (as enumerated by Raumer, *Paddstina*, p. 93), the *silurus* would be classed among the former, while the *sparus Galilaus*, a species of bream, and the *mugil*, chub, would be deemed "clean" or "good." The second division is marked in Gen. i. 21 (as compared with verse 28), where the great marine animals (*תַּנִּינִים הַיָּמִינִים וְכָל הַיָּמָּה מְעָלָא*), generically described as *whales* in the A. V. (Gen. i. c.; Job vii. 12) [WHALE], but including also other animals, such as the crocodile [LEVATHAN] and perhaps some kinds of serpents, are distinguished from "every living creature that creepeth" (*הַרֹמֵשֶׁת*; A. V. "moveth"), a description applying to fish, along with other reptiles, as having no legs. To the former class we may assign the large fish referred to in Jon. ii. 1 (*דָּג גָּדוֹל*; *κίχτος μέγα*, Matt. xii. 40) which Winer, (art. *Fische*), after Bochart, identifies with a species of shark (*carnis carcharius*); and also that referred to in Tob. vi. 2 ff., identified by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. p. 697 ff.) with the *silurus glanis*, but by Kitto (art. *Fish*) with a species of crocodile (the *seesaw*) found in the Indus. The Hebrews were struck with the remarkable fecundity of fish, and have expressed this in the term *רָבָה*, the root of which signifies *increase* (comp. Gen. xlviii. 16), and in

the secondary sense of **פָּשַׁף**, lit. to creep, thence to multiply (Gen. i. 20, viii. 17, ix. 7; Ex. i. 7), as well as in the allusions in Ez. xlvii. 10. Doubtless they became familiar with this fact in Egypt, where the abundance of fish in the Nile, and the lakes and canals (Strab. xvii. p. 823; Diod. i. 36, 43, 52; Her. ii. 93, 149), rendered it one of the staple commodities of food (Num. xi. 5; comp. Wilkinson, iii. 62). The destruction of the fish was on this account a most serious visitation to the Egyptians (Ex. vii. 21; Is. xix. 8). Occasionally it is the result of natural causes: thus St. John (*Travels in Valley of the Nile*, ii. 246) describes a vast destruction of fish from cold, and Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 310) states that in Oman the fish are visited with an epidemic about every five years, which destroys immense quantities of them. It was perhaps as an image of fecundity that the fish was selected as an object of idolatry: the worship of it was widely spread, from Egypt (Wilkinson, iii. 58) to Assyria (Layard, *Niniveh*, ii. 467), and even India (Baur, *Mythologie*, ii. 58). Among the Philistines, Dagon (= little fish) was represented by a figure, half man and half fish (1 Sam. v. 4). On this account the worship of fish is expressly prohibited (Deut. iv. 18). In Palestine, the Sea of Galilee was and still is remarkably well stored with fish, and the value attached to the fishery by the Jews is shown by the traditional belief that one of the ten laws of Joshua enacted that it should be open to all comers (Lightfoot's *Talmudical Exerci-tations* on Matt. iv. 13). No doubt the inhabitants of northern Judaea drew large supplies thence for their subsistence in the earlier as well as the later periods of the Bible history. Jerusalem derived its supply chiefly from the Mediterranean (comp. Ez. xlviii. 10), at one time through Phœnician traders (Neh. xiii. 16), who must have previously salted it (in which form it is termed **מֶלַח** in the Talmud; Lightfoot on Matt. xiv. 17): the existence of a regular fish-market is implied in the notice of the fish-gate, which was probably contiguous to it (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39; Zeph. i. 10). In addition to these sources, the reservoirs formed in the neighbourhood of towns may have been stocked with fish (2 Sam. ii. 13, iv. 12; Is. vii. 3, xxii. 9, 11; Cant. vii. 4, where, however, "fish" is interpolated in the A. V.). With regard to fish as an article of food, see **FOOD**.

Numerous allusions to the art of fishing occur in the Bible: in the O. T. these allusions are of a metaphorical character, descriptive either of the conversion (Jer. xvi. 16; Ez. xlvii. 10), or of the destruction (Ez. xxix. 3 ff.; Eccl. ix. 12; Am. iv. 2; Hab. i. 14) of the enemies of God. In the N. T. the allusions are of a historical character for the most part, though the metaphorical application is still maintained in Matt. xiii. 47 ff. The most usual method of catching fish was by the use of the net, either the casting net (**רֶשֶׁת**, Hab. i. 15; Ez. xvi. 5, 14, xlvii. 10; **δίκτυον**, Matt. iv. 20, 21; Mark i. 18, 19; Luke v. 2 ff.; John xxi. 6 ff.; **ἀμφίθηρον**, Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16), probably resembling the one used in Egypt, as shown in Wilkinson (iii. 55), or the *drau* or *drag* net (**מַכְמֶרֶת**, Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15; **σάγχις**, Matt. xiii. 47), which was larger and required the use of a boat: the latter was probably most used on the Sea of Galilee, as the number of boats kept on it was very considerable (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, §9). On other

waters a method, analogous to the use of the weir in our country, was pursued: a fence of canes or reeds was made, within which the fish were caught: this was forbidden on the Sea of Galilee, in conse-



An Egyptian Landing-Net. (Wilkinson)

quence of the damage done to the boats by the stakes (Lightfoot on Matt. iv. 18). Angling was a favourite pursuit of the wealthy in Egypt, as well as followed by the poor who could not afford a net (Wilkinson, iii. 53 ff.): the requisites were a hook (**חֶבֶה**, Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15; Job xli. 1; **צֶבֶה** and **סִיר**, so called from its resemblance to a thorn, Am. iv. 2; **ἄγκιστρον**, Matt. xvii. 27), and a line (**רֶבֶךְ**, Job xli. 1) made perhaps of reeds: the rod was occasionally dispensed with (Wilkinson, iii. 53), and is not mentioned in the Bible: ground-bait alone was used, fly-fishing being unknown. A still more scientific method was with the tident (**שֶׁבֶה**, A. V. "barbed iron") or the spear (**צֶלָצֶל**), as practised in Egypt in taking the crocodile (Job xli. 7) or the hippopotamus (Wilkinson, iii. 72). A similar custom of spearing fish still exists in Arabia (Wellsted, ii. 347). The reference in Job xli. 2 is not to the use of the hook in fishing, but to the custom of keeping fish alive in the water, when not required for immediate use, by piercing the gills with a ring (**חֶרֶץ**; A. V. "thorn") attached to a stake by a rope of reeds (**אֶנְכִי**; A. V. "hook"). The night was esteemed the best time for fishing with the net (Luke v. 5; Plin. ix. 23). [W. L. B.]

**FITCHES**. This word occurs three times in Is. xxviii. 25, 27 as the representative of the Heb. word **קִצְוֶה**, which the LXX. render by **μελάνθιον**, and the Vulg. by *gilh* (perhaps from the Heb. **גַּל**, coriander, see *Plant. Rud.* 5, 3, 39). It is the black poppy, in Latin *nigella*; in Germ. Schwarz-kümmel, and has a seed like cummin, much used in sauces (Plin. 19, §8; Diosc. 3, 93). Isaiah tells us that fitches were not threshed with a threshing instrument, but beaten out with a staff.

In Ez. iv. 9 "fitches" are mentioned among the materials of the bread the prophet was bidden to make, but there it represents the Heb. word **פֶּסֶחַת**. This word is incorrectly translated in A. V. "rie," in Ex. ix. 32, and Is. xxviii. 25; but in the latter place, as in Ez. iv. 9, we have the marginal reading "spelt," which is the true meaning of the word. The root of **פֶּסֶחַת** is **פָּסַח**, to shear, and the species of corn, to which it gives a name, is the *Triticum* 2 S

*Spelta* of Linnaeus—in Greek *Σέλα*; in Latin *far*, and *odor*. “*Spelt* has a four-leaved blunted calix, small blossoms, with little awns, and a smooth, slender ear (as it were shorn), the grains of which set so firmly in the husks that they must be freed from them by peculiar devices; it grows about as high as barley, and is extensively cultivated in the southern countries of Europe, in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, in more than one species. The LXX. translate it by *δλυστα*, in Pliny *arinea*, which corresponds with the French *riquet*; and Herodotus (ii. 36) observes that it was used by the Egyptians for baking bread.” See Kalisch on Ex. ix. 32. [W. D.]

**FLAG.** In Job viii. 11 it is asked, “Can the flag grow without water?” The word rendered “flag” being the Heb. *אֶלֶף*, *Aléf*. This is an Egyptian word, as Gesenius has proved (*Thes.* p. 67), and signifies *marsh vegetation of every kind*, or, as Jerome on Is. xix. 7 says, “*quiequid in palude virens nascitur*.” In Gen. vii. 2, the LXX. render the word by *ἀχαι* (A. V. “meadow.”) Theodotion in Job viii. 11 has *ἀχι*; and *ἀχι* occurs in the LXX. (Is. xix. 7) also as the representative of *עֵרוֹת* (A. V. “paper reeds”) which word is explained by Gesenius, naked places without trees—the grassy places on the banks of the Nile. In Ex. ii. 3, 5, and Is. xix. 6 the Heb. *סָפִס* (*Sáph*); the word from which the Red Sea derives its Scripture name of *Yam-Sáph*, the “weedy sea”) is rendered *sfuf*. The reference in both cases is to a water-plant growing in Egypt at the river-side. This plant was probably the *Alpi Nilotica*, called by the Egyptians *Sari*. Pliny (xiii. 23) describes it. (See Kalisch on Ex. i. c.) [W. D.]

**FLAGON**, a word employed in the A. V. to render two distinct Hebrew terms: 1. *Ashishah*, *אֲשִׁישָׁה* (2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Chr. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5; Hos. iii. 1). The real meaning of this word, according to the conclusions of Gesenius (*Thes.* 166), is a cake of pressed raisins. He derives it from a root signifying to compress, and this is confirmed by the renderings of the LXX. (*ἀράγων*, *ἀραπτή*, *πέμματα*) and of the Vulgate, and also by the indications of the Targum Pseudojon. and the Mishna (*Nedarim*, 6, §10). In the passage in *Hosea* there is probably a reference to a practice of offering such cakes before the false deities. The rendering of the A. V. is perhaps to be traced to Luther, who in the first two of the above passages has *ein Nüssel Wein*, and in the last *Kleine Wein*; but primarily to the interpretations of modern Jews (e. g. *Gemara*, *Baba Bathra*, and Targum on Chronicles), grounded on a false etymology (see Michaelis, quoted by Gesenius, and the observations of the latter, as above). It will be observed that in the two first passages the words “of wine” are interpolated, and that in the last “of wine” should be “of grapes.”

2. *Nebel*, *נֶבֶל* (Is. xxii. 24 only). *Nebel* is commonly used for a bottle or vessel, originally probably a skin, but in later times a piece of pottery (Is. xxx. 14). But it also frequently occurs with the force of a musical instrument (A. V. generally “psaltery,” but sometimes “viol”), a meaning which is adopted by the Targum, and the Arabic and Vulgate versions, and Luther, and given in the margin of the A. V. The text, however, follows the rendering of the LXX., and with this

agrees Gesenius's rendering, “*Becken und Flaschen, von allerhand Art*.” [G.]

**FLAX.** Two Hebrew words are used for this plant in O. T., or rather the same word slightly modified—*פַּלֶּשֶׁת*, and *פַּלֶּשֶׁת*. About the former there is no question. It occurs only in three places (Ex. ix. 31; Is. xlii. 3, xliii. 17). As regards the latter, there is probably only one passage where it stands for the plant in its undressed state (Josh. ii. 6). Eliminating all the places where the word are used for the article manufactured in the thread, the piece, or the made up garment [LINEN: COTTON], we reduce them to two: Ex. ix. 31, certain, and Josh. ii. 6, disputed.

In the former the flax of the Egyptians is recorded to have been damaged by the plague of hail. The word *פַּלֶּשֶׁת* is retained by Onkelos; but is rendered in LXX. *σπερματίζον*, and in Vulg. *folliculos germinantibus*. The A. V. seems to have followed the LXX. (*bolled* = *σπερματίζον*); and so Rosenm. “*globulus seu nodus huius maturoscens*” (*Schol. ad loc.*). Gesen. makes it the calyx, or corolla; refers to the Mishna, where it is used for the calyx of the hyssop, and describes this explanation as one of long standing among the more learned Rabbins (*Thes.* p. 261).

For the flax of ancient Egypt, see Herodot. ii. 37, 105; Cels. ii. p. 285 ff.; Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 2, p. 368 ff. For that of modern Egypt, see Hasselquist, *Journey*, p. 500; Olivier, *Voyage*, iii. p. 297; Girard's *Observations sur l'Égypte, de l'Égypte*, T. xvii. (*état moderne*), p. 383; Paul Lucas, *Voyages*, P. ii. p. 47.

From Ritter's *Erdbkunde*, ii. p. 916 (comp. his *Vorhalle*, &c., 45-48), it seems probable that the cultivation of flax for the purpose of the manufacture of linen was by no means confined to Egypt; but that originating in India it spread over the whole continent of Asia at a very early period of antiquity. That it was grown in Palestine even before the conquest of that country by the Israelites appears from Josh. ii. 6, the second of the two passages mentioned above. There is, however, some difference of opinion about the meaning of the words *פַּלֶּשֶׁת*, *פַּלֶּשֶׁת*; *λενοκαλάμη*; Vulg. *stipulae lini*; and so A. V. “stalks of flax;” Joseph. speaks of *λίνου ἀγκάλιδας*, arifnuls, or bundles of flax; but Arab. Vers. “stalks of cotton.” Gesenius, however, and Rosenmüller are in favour of the rendering “stalks of flax.” If this be correct, the place involves an allusion to the custom of drying the flax-stalks by exposing them to the heat of the sun upon the flat roof of houses; and so expressly in Joseph. (*Ant.* v. i. §2), *λίνου γὰρ ἀγκάλιδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους ἔψυχε*. In later times this drying was done in ovens (Rosenm. *Alterthumsk.*). There is a decided reference to the raw material in the LXX. rendering of Lev. xiii. 47, *λίαντες στυνπύλον*, and Judg. xv. 14, *στυνπύλον*, comp. Is. i. 31.

The various processes employed in preparing the flax for manufacture into cloth are indicated—1. The drying process (see above). 2. The peeling of the stalks, and separation of the fibres (the name being derivable either, as Parkh. from *פַּלֶּשֶׁת*, to strip, peel, or as Gesen. from *פַּלֶּשֶׁת*, to separate into parts); 3. The hackling (Is. xix. 9: LXX. *λίαντες στυνπύλον*; vii. Gesen. *Lex. s. v.* *פַּלֶּשֶׁת*), and for the combs used in the process, comp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. p. 140). The flax, how-

ever, was not always dressed before weaving (see Eccles. xl. 4. where ὠμόλινον is mentioned as a species of clothing worn by the poor.) That the use of the coarser fibres was known to the Heb. may be inferred from the mention of *tow* (נֶעֱרָה), in Judg. xvi. 9; Is. i. 31. That flax was anciently one of the most important crops in Palestine appears from Hos. ii. 5, 9; that it continued to be grown, and manufactured into linen in N. Palestine down to the Middle Ages we have the testimony of numerous Talmudists and Rabbins. At present it does not seem to be so much cultivated there as the cotton plant. [COTTON; LINEN.] [T. E. B.]

**FLEA**, an insect twice only mentioned in Scripture, viz. in 1 Sam. xxiv. 14, xxvi. 20. In both cases David in speaking to Saul applies it to himself as a term of humility. The Heb. word is פְּרָעָה, which the LXX. render by ψάλλος, and the Vulg. by *puler*. Fleas are abundant in the East, and afford the subject of many proverbial expressions. [W. D.]

### FLESH. [FOOD.]

**FLINT**. The Heb. quadriliteral שֵׁלֶשֶׁת is rendered *flint* in Deut. viii. 15, xxiii. 13; Ps. cxiv. 8; and Is. i. 7. In Job xxviii. 9 the same word is rendered *rock* in the text, and *flint* in the margin. In the three first passages the reference is to God's bringing water and oil out of the naturally barren rocks of the Wilderness for the sake of His people. In Isaiah the word is used metaphorically to signify the firmness of the prophet in resistance to his persecutors. In Ez. iii. 9 the English word "flint" occurs in the same sense, but there it represents the Heb. *7-zor*. So also in Is. v. 28 we have *like flint*, in reference to the hoofs of horses. In 1 Macc. x. 73 κόχλας is translated *flint*, and in Wisd. xl. 4 the expression ἐκ πέτρης ἀκροπόρου is adopted from Deut. viii. 15 (LXX.). [W. D.]

### FLOOD. [NOAH.]

### FLOOR. [PAVEMENT.]

### FLOUR. [BREAD.]

**FLUTE** (כִּנֹּרִית), a musical instrument mentioned amongst others (Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15 as used at the worship of the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. It is derived from נָרַץ, to hiss; *Sept. σύριγξ*, a pipe. According to the author of *Shille-Hegghorim*, this instrument was sometimes made of a great number of pipes—a statement which, if correct, would make its name the Chaldee for the musical instrument called in Hebrew עֲנַב, and erroneously rendered in the A. V. "Organ." [D. W. M.]

**FLUX, BLOODY** (δυσεντερία, Acts xxviii 8), the same as our dysentery, which in the East is, though sometimes sporadic, generally epidemic and infectious, and then assumes its worst form. It is always attended with fever. [FEVER.] A sharp gnawing and burning sensation seizes the bowel which give off in purging much slimy matter accompanied discharge. When blood flows it is said to be less dangerous than without it (Schmidt, *Bibl. Medic.* c. xiv. p. 503-507). King Jehoram's disease was probably a chronic dysentery, and the "bowels falling out" the *prolapsus ani*, known sometimes to ensue (2 Chr. xxi. 15, 19). [H. H.]

**FLY**. 1. In Ex. viii. 20-32 we have a description of the plague of "flies." The animals so denominated are called in Heb. עֲרָב; and the same term occurs in Ps. lxxviii. 45 and cv. 31, where this visitation is alluded to. In the first of these passages the A. V. has "swarms," in the last two "divers sorts of flies." The LXX. has in each *κυνόμυια*, the "dog-fly." Perhaps the better rendering of the Hebrew would be *beetles*. [BEETLE.]

2. The word כָּבָב, rendered *fly* in A. V. and *μύια* by the LXX., occurs twice in the O. T. In Is. vii. 18, some noxious insect, like that which constituted the plague of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, is meant; but the etymology of the word affords no clue as to the insect specially referred to. In Eccl. x. 1 the effect of any decaying animal matter, however small, in producing corruption in substances, with which it may be in contact, is illustrated by the saying, "Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour." (Comp. Wisd. xvi. 9, xix. 10.) [W. D.]

**FOOD**. The diet of eastern nations has been in all ages light and simple. As compared with our own habits, the chief points of contrast are the small amount of animal food consumed, the variety of articles used as accompaniments to bread, the substitution of milk in various forms for our liquors, and the combination of what we should deem heterogeneous elements in the same dish, or the same meal. The chief point of agreement is the large consumption of bread, the importance of which in the eyes of the Hebrew is testified by the use of the term *lochem* (originally food of any kind) specifically for bread, as well as by the expression "staff of bread" (Lev. xxvi. 26; Ps. cv. 16; Ez. iv. 16, xiv. 13). Simpler preparations of corn were, however, common; sometimes the flesh green ears were eaten in a natural state, the husks being rubbed off by the hand (Lev. xiii. 14; Deut. xiii. 25; 2 K. iv. 42; Matt. xii. 1; Luke vi. 1); more frequently, however, the grains, after being carefully picked, were roasted in a pan over a fire (Lev. ii. 14), and eaten as "parched corn," in which form it was an ordinary article of diet, particularly among labourers, or others who had not the means of dressing food (Lev. xxiii. 14; Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 17, xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 28): this practice is still very usual in the East (cf. Lane, i. 251; Robinson, *Researches*, ii. 350). Sometimes the grain was bruised (like the Greek *polenta*, Plin. xviii. 14), in which state it was termed either גֶּרֶשׁ (*epitact*, LXX.; A. V. "beaten" Lev. ii. 14, 16), or רִיפּוֹת (*aprodava*, Aquil. Symm.; A. V. "corn"; 2 Sam. xvii. 19; cf. Prov. xxvii. 22), and then dried in the sun; it was eaten either mixed with oil (Lev. ii. 15), or made into a soft cake named עֲרִיסָה (A. V. "dough"; Num. xv. 20; Neh. x. 37; Ez. xlv. 30). The Hebrews used a great variety of articles (John xxi. 5) to give a relish to bread. Sometimes salt was so used (Job vi. 6), as we learn from the passage just quoted; sometimes the bread was dipped into the sour wine (A. V. "vinegar") which the labourers drank (Ruth ii. 14); or, where meat was eaten, into the

\* This custom is still practised in Palestine (Robinson's *Researches*, i. 493).

gravy, which was either served up separately for the purpose, as by Gideon (Judg. vi. 19), or placed in the middle of the meat dish, as done by the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 63), whose practice of dipping bread in the broth, or melted fat of the animal, strongly illustrates the reference to the sop in John xiii. 26 ff. The modern Egyptians season their bread with a sauce<sup>b</sup> composed of various stimulants, such as salt, mint, sesame, and chick-peas (Lane, i. 180). The Syrians, on the other hand, use a mixture of savory and salt for the same purpose. (Russell, i. 93). Where the above mentioned accessories were wanting, fruit, vegetables, fish, or honey, were used. In short it may be said that all the articles of food, which we are about to mention, were mainly viewed as subordinates to the staple commodity of bread. The various kinds of bread and cakes are described under the head of BREAD.

Milk and its preparations hold a conspicuous place in Eastern diet, as affording substantial nourishment; sometimes it was produced in a fresh state (בָּלֶבֶן; Gen. xviii. 8), but more generally in the form of the modern *laban*, i. e. sour milk (חֶמֶץ; A. V. "butter"; Gen. xviii. 8; Judg. v. 25; 2 Sam. xvii. 29). The latter is universally used by the Bedouins, not only as their ordinary beverage (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 240), but mixed with flour, meat, and even salad (Burckhardt, i. 58, 63; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 118). It is constantly offered to travellers, and in some parts of Arabia it is deemed scandalous to take any money in return for it (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 120). For a certain season of the year, *laban* makes up a great part of the food of the poor in Syria (Russell, *l. c.*). Butter (Prov. xxx. 33) and various forms of coagulated milk, of the consistency of the modern *kaimak* (Job x. 10; 1 Sam. xvii. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 29) were also used. [BUTTER; CHEESE; MILK.]

Fruit was another source of subsistence: figs stand first in point of importance; the early sorts described as the "summer fruit" (יָבֵן; Am. viii. 1, 2), and the "first ripe fruit" (רֵישׁ הַתְּבֵנִי; Hos. ix. 10; Mic. vii. 1) were esteemed a great luxury, and were eaten as fresh fruit; but they were generally dried and pressed into cakes, similar to the 'date-cakes of the Arabians (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 57), in which form they were termed בָּרֵקִים (παλδάσαι, A. V. "cakes of figs"; 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; 1 Chr. xii. 40), and occasionally יָבֵן simply (2 Sam. xvi. 1; A. V. "summer fruit"). Grapes were generally eaten in a dried state as raisins (רֵישׁ הַתְּבֵנִי; *ligustica uvae passae*, Vulg.; 1 Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; 2 Sam. xvi. 1; 1 Chr. xii. 40), but sometimes, as before, pressed into cakes, named חֶמֶץ (2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Chr. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5; Hos. iii. 1), understood by the LXX. as a sort of cake, *ἀγανον ἀπὸ τηγνόνου*, and by the A. V. as a "flagon of wine." Fruit-cake forms a part of the daily food of the Arabians, and is particularly adapted to the wants of travellers; dissolved in water it affords a sweet and refreshing drink (Niebuhr, *Arabia*, p. 57; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 82); an instance of its stimulating effect is recorded in 1 Sam. xxx. 12. Apples (probably citrons) are occasionally noticed, but rather in

reference to their fragrance (Cant. ii. 5, vii. 8) and colour (Prov. xxv. 11), than as an article of food. Dates are not noticed in Scripture, unless we accept the rendering of תְּנִיךְ in the LXX. (2 Sam. xvi. 1) as = *phoinikes*; it can hardly be doubted, however, that, where the palm-tree flourished, as in the neighbourhood of Jericho, its fruit was consumed; in Joel i. 12 it is reckoned among other trees valuable for their fruit. The pomegranate tree is also noticed by Joel; it yields a luscious fruit, from which a species of wine was expressed (Cant. viii. 2; Hag. ii. 19). Melons were grown in Egypt (Num. xi. 5), but not in Palestine. The mulberry is undoubtedly mentioned in Luke xvii. 6 under the name *συκάμινος*; the Hebrew בָּבְאִים so translated (2 Sam. v. 23; 1 Chr. xiv. 14) is rather doubtful; the Vulg. takes it to mean *persus*. The *συκομορέα* ("sycomore," A. V.; Luke xix. 4) differed from the tree last mentioned; it was the Egyptian fig, which abounded in Palestine (1 K. x. 27), and was much valued for its fruit (1 Chr. xxvii. 28; Am. vii. 14). [APPLE; CITRON; FIGS; MULBERRY-TREE; PALM-TREE; POMEGRANATE; SYCAMINE-TREE; SYCAMORE.]

Of vegetables we have most frequent notice of lentils (Gen. xxv. 34; 2 Sam. xvii. 28, xxiii. 11; Ez. iv. 9), which are still largely used by the Bedouins in travelling (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 65), beans (2 Sam. xvii. 28; Ez. iv. 9), which still form a favourite dish in Egypt and Arabia for breakfast, boiled in water and eaten with butter and pepper; from 2 Sam. xvii. 28 it might be inferred that beans and other kinds of pulse were roasted, as barley was, but the second יָבֵן in that verse is probably interpolated, not appearing in the LXX., and even, if it were not so, the reference to *pulse* in the A. V., as of *cicer* in the Vulg. is wholly unwarranted; cucumbers (Num. xi. 5; Is. i. 8; Bar. vi. 70; cf. 2 K. iv. 39 where wild gourds, *cucumeres asinini*, were picked in mistake for cucumbers); leeks, onions, and garlick, which were and still are of a superior quality in Egypt (Num. xi. 5; cf. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 374; Lane, i. 251); lettuce, of which the wild species, *lactuca agrestis*, is identified with the Greek *πικυλα* by Pliny (xxi. 65), and formed, according to the LXX. and the Vulg., the "bitter herbs" (מָרִים) eaten with the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 8; Num. ix. 11); endive, which is still well known in the East (Russell, i. 91) may have been included under the same class. In addition to the above we have notice of certain "herbs" (מָרִים; 2 K. iv. 39) eaten in times of scarcity, which were mallows according to the Syriac and Arabic versions, but, according to the Talmud, a vegetable resembling the *brassica eruca* of Linnaeus; and again of sea-purslane (מַלְוֶה; *αίμα*; "A. V. mallows"), and broom-root (מֵרְמִים; "A. V. juniper," Job xxx. 4) as eaten by the poor in time of famine, unless the latter were gathered as fuel. An insipid plant, probably purslane, used in salad appears to be referred to in Job vi. 6, under the expression *רִירִי חֲלֵמִית* ("white of egg," A. V.). The usual method of eating vegetables was in the form of pottage (יָבֵן; *εῖημα*; *pulmentum*; Gen. xxv. 29; 2 K. iv. 38; Hag. ii. 12); a meal wholly of vegetables was deemed very

<sup>b</sup> The later Jews named this sauce חֲרוֹסֶת (Mishn. *Pes.* 2, §5): it consisted of vinegar, almonds, and

spice, thickened with flour. It was used at the celebration of the Passover (*Pes.* 10, §3).

poor fare (Prov. xv. 17; Dan. i. 12; Rom. xiv. 2). The modern Arabians consume but few vegetables; radishes and leeks are most in use, and are eaten raw with bread (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 56). [BEANS; CUCUMBER; GARLIC; GOURD; LEEK; LENTIL; ONION.]

The spices or condiments known to the Hebrews were numerous; cummin (Is. xxviii. 25; Matt. xxiii. 23), dill (Matt. xxiii. 23, "anise," A. V.), coriander (Ex. xvi. 31; Num. xi. 7), mint (Matt. xxiii. 23), rue (Luke xi. 42), mustard (Matt. xiii. 31, xvii. 20), and salt (Job vi. 6), which is reckoned among "the principal things for the whole use of man's life" (Eccl. xix. 26). Nuts (pistachios) and almonds (Gen. xliii. 11) were also used as *whets* to the appetite. [ALMOND-TREE; ANISE; CORIANDER; CUMMIN; MINT; MUSTARD; NUTS; SPICES.]

In addition to these classes, we have to notice some other important articles of food: in the first place, honey, whether the natural product of the bee (1 Sam. xiv. 25; Matt. iii. 4), which abounds in most parts of Arabia (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54), or the other natural and artificial productions included under that head, especially the *dibs* of the Syrians and Arabians, i. e. grape-juice boiled down to the state of the Roman *defrutum*, which is still extensively used in the East (Russell, i. 82); the latter is supposed to be referred to in Gen. xliii. 11 and Ez. xxvii. 17. The importance of honey, as a substitute for sugar, is obvious; it was both used in certain kinds of cake (though prohibited in the case of meat offerings, Lev. ii. 11), as in the pastry of the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54), and was also eaten in its natural state either by itself (1 Sam. xiv. 27; 2 Sam. xvii. 29; 1 K. xiv. 3), or in conjunction with other things, even with fish (Luke xiv. 42). "Butter and honey" is an expression for rich diet (Is. vii. 15, 22); such a mixture is popular among the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54). "Milk and honey" are similarly coupled together, not only frequently by the sacred writers, as expressive of the richness of the promised land, but also by the Greek poets (cf. Callim. *Hymn. in Jon.* 48; Hom. *Od.* x. 68). Too much honey was deemed unwholesome (Prov. xxv. 27). With regard to oil, it does not appear to have been used to the extent we might have anticipated; the modern Arabs only employ it in frying fish (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 54), but for all other purposes butter is substituted: among the Hebrews it was deemed an expensive luxury (Prov. xxi. 17), to be reserved for festive occasions (1 Chr. xii. 40; it was chiefly used in certain kinds of cake (Lev. ii. 5 ff.; 1 K. xvii. 12). "Oil and honey" are mentioned in conjunction with bread in Ez. xvi. 13, 19. The Syrians, especially the Jews, eat oil and honey (*dibs*) mixed together (Russell, i. 80). Eggs are not often noticed, but were evidently known as articles of food (Is. x. 14, lix. 5; Luke xi. 12), and are reckoned by Jerome (*In Eptaph. Paul.* i. 176) among the delicacies of the table. [HONEY; OIL.]

The Orientals have been at all times sparing in the use of animal food: not only does the excessive heat of the climate render it both unwholesome to eat much meat (Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 46), and expensive from the necessity of immediately consuming a whole animal, but beyond this the ritual regulations of the Mosiac law in ancient, as of the Roman in modern times, have tended to the same result. It has been inferred from Gen. ix. 3, 4,

that animal food was not permitted before the flood; but the notices of the flock of Abel (Gen. iv. 2) and of the herds of Jabal (Gen. iv. 20), as well as the distinction between clean and unclean animals (Gen. vii. 2), favour the opposite opinion; and the permission in Gen. ix. 3 may be held to be only a more explicit declaration of a condition implied in the grant of universal dominion previously given (Gen. i. 28). The prohibition then expressed against consuming the blood of any animal (Gen. ix. 4) was more fully developed in the Levitical law, and enforced by the penalty of death (Lev. iii. 17 vii. 26, xix. 26; Deut. xii. 16; 1 Sam. xiv. 32 ff.; Ez. xiv. 7, 15), on the ground, as stated in Lev. xvii. 11, and Deut. xii. 23, that the blood contained the principle of life, and, as such, was to be offered on the altar; probably there was an additional reason in the heathen practice of consuming blood in their sacrifices (Ps. xvi. 4; Ez. xxxiii. 25). The prohibition applied to stamgers as well as Ismaelites, and to all kinds of beast or fowl (Lev. vii. 26, xvii. 12, 13). So strong was the feeling of the Jews on this point, that the Gentile converts to Christianity were laid under similar restrictions (Acts xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25). As a necessary deduction from the above principle, all animals which had died a natural death (בְּלָהָה, Deut. xiv. 21), or had been torn of beasts (בְּטָרְפָה, Ex. xxii. 31), were also prohibited (Lev. xvii. 15; cf. Ez. iv. 14), and to be thrown to the dogs (Ex. xxii. 31): this prohibition did not extend to strangers (Deut. xiv. 21). Any person infringing this rule was held unclean until the evening, and was obliged to wash his clothes (Lev. xvii. 15). In the N. T. these cases are described under the term *πνικτόν* (Acts xv. 20), applying not only to what was *strangled* (as in A. V.), but to any animal from which the blood was not regularly poured forth. Similar prohibitions are contained in the Koran (ii. 175, v. 4, xvi. 116), the result of which is that at the present day the Arabians eat no meat except what has been bought at the shambles. Certain portions of the fat of sacrifices were also forbidden (Lev. iii. 9, 10), as being set apart for the altar (Lev. iii. 16, vii. 25; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 10 ff.; 2 Chr. vii. 7): it should be observed that the term in Neh. viii. 10, translated

*fat*, is not חֵלֶב, but מִשְׁמָנִים = the fatty pieces of meat, delicacies. In addition to the above, Christians were forbidden to eat the flesh of animals, portions of which had been offered to idols (*εἰδωλόθυρα*), whether at private feasts, or as bought in the market (Acts xv. 29, xxi. 25; 1 Cor. viii. 1 ff.). All beasts and birds classed as unclean (Lev. xi. 1 ff.; Deut. xiv. 4 ff.) were also prohibited [UNCLEAN BEASTS AND BIRDS]: and in addition to these general precepts there was a special prohibition against "sucking a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21), which has been variously understood, by Talmudical writers as a general prohibition against the joint use of meat and milk (Mishna, *Cholin*, cap. 8, §1); by Michaelis (*Mos. Recht*, iv. 210) as prohibiting the use of fat or milk, as compared with oil, in cooking; by Luther and Calvin as prohibiting the slaughter of young animals; and by Bochart and others as discountenancing cruelty in any way. These interpretations, however, all fail in establishing any connexion between the precept and the offering of the first-fruits, as implied in the three passages quoted. More probably it has reference to

certain heathen usages at their harvest festivals (Maimonides, *Mora Nebuch.* 3, 48; Spencer, *de Legy. Hebr. Ritt.* 535 ff.): there is a remarkable addition in the Samaritan version and in some copies of the LXX. in Dent. xiv. 21, which supports this view; *ὅς γὰρ ποιεῖ τούτο, ὅσει ἀσπλάχα θύσει, ὅτι μίσμὰ ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ* (cf. Knobel, *Comment.* in Ex. xxiii. 19). The Hebrews further abstained from eating the sinew of the hip (יֵזֶר חֲנִיכָה, Gen. xxxii. 32), in memory of the struggle between Jacob and the angel (comp. ver. 25). The LXX., the Vulg., and the A. V. interpret the ἀπαε λεγόμενον word *nashch* of the shrinking or benumbing of the muscle (ὁ ἐνάρκῃσεν; *qui emarcuit*; "which shrunk"); Josephus (*Ant.* i. 20, §2) more correctly explains it, τὸ νεῖρον τὸ πλάτν; and there is little doubt that the nerve he refers to is the *nervus ischiadicus*, which attains its greatest thickness at the hip. There is no further reference to this custom in the Bible; but the Talmudists (*Cholin*, 7) enforced its observance by penalties.

Under these restrictions the Hebrews were permitted the free use of animal food: generally speaking they only availed themselves of it in the exercise of hospitality (Gen. xviii. 7), or at festivals of a religious (Ex. xii. 8), public (1 K. i. 9; 1 Chr. xii. 4), or private character (Gen. xxvii. 4; Luke xv. 23): it was only in royal households that there was a daily consumption of meat (1 K. iv. 23; Neh. v. 18). The use of meat is reserved for similar occasions among the Bedouins (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 61). The animals killed for meat were—calves (Gen. xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xxviii. 24; Am. vi. 4), which are farther described by the term *fattling* (מִזְבִּיחַ = *mōschos steutōs*, Luke xv. 23, and *στευτά*, Matt. xlii. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 K. i. 9 ff.; A. V. "fat cattle"); lambs (2 Sam. vii. 4; Am. vi. 4); oxen, not above three years of age (1 K. i. 9; Prov. xv. 17; Is. xlii. 13; Matt. xlii. 4), which were either stall-fed (בָּרִיאִים; *mōschoi ēklektoi*), or taken up from the pastures (עֵד; *βόες νομαδες*; 1 K. iv. 23); kids (Gen. xxvii. 9; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. xvi. 20); harts, roebucks, and fallow-deer (1 K. iv. 23), which are also brought into close connexion with ordinary cattle in Dent. xiv. 5, as though holding an intermediate place between tame and wild animals; birds of various kinds (צִפְרִיִּים; A. V. "fowls"; Neh. v. 18; the LXX., however, gives *χίμαρος* as though the reading were *εἰς*); quail in certain parts of Arabia (Ex. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 32); poultry (טְרֵפְּאִים; 1 K. iv. 23; understood generally by the LXX., ὀρνιθῶν ἐκλεκτῶν *στευτά*; by Kimchi and the A. V. as fatted fowl; by Gesenius, *Thesaur.* 246, as geese, from the *whiteness* of their plumage; by Theinui, *Comm.* in *l. c.*, as guinea-fowls, as though the word represented the call of that bird); partridges (1 Sam. xxvi. 20); fish, with the exception of such as were without scales and fins (Lev. xi. 9; Deut. xiv. 9), both salted, as was probably the case with the sea-fish brought to Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 16), and fresh (Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36; Luke xiv. 42): in our Saviour's time it appears to have been the usual food about the Sea of Galilee (Matt. vii. 10); the term *ὀψάριον* is applied to it by St. John (vi. 9; xxi. 9 ff.) in the restricted sense which the word obtained among the later Greeks, as = *fish*. Locusts, of which certain species only were esteemed clean (Lev. xi. 22), were occasionally eaten (Matt. iii. 4), but con-

sidered as poor fare. They are at the present day largely consumed by the poor both in Persia (Morier's *Second Journey*, p. 44) and in Arabia (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 319); they are salted and dried, and roasted, when required, on a frying-pan with butter (Burckhardt's *Notes*, ii. 92; Niebuhr, *l. c.*).

Meat does not appear ever to have been eaten by itself; various accompaniments are noticed in Scripture, as bread, milk, and sour milk (Gen. xviii. 8); bread and broth (Judg. vi. 19); and with fish either bread (Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36; John xxi. 9) or honeycomb (Luke xxiv. 42): the instance in 2 Sam. vi. 19 cannot be relied on, as the term *שֶׁמֶן*, rendered in the A. V. *a good piece of flesh*, after the Vulg., *assatura bibulæ carnis*, means simply a portion or measure, and may apply to wine as well as meat. For the modes of preparing meat, see COOKING; and for the times and manner of eating, MEALS: see also FISH, FOWL, &c. &c.

To pass from ordinary to occasional sources of subsistence: prison diet consisted of bread and water administered in small quantities (1 K. xvii. 27; Jer. xxxvii. 21); pulse and water was considered but little better (Isa. i. 12): in time of sorrow or fasting it was usual to abstain either altogether from food (2 Sam. xii. 17, 20), or from meat, wine, and other delicacies, which were described as *לֶחֶם חֲמִדוֹת*, lit. *bread of desires* (Dan. x. 3). In time of extreme famine the most loathsome food was swallowed; such as an ass's head (2 K. vi. 25), the ass, it must be remembered, being an unclean animal (for a parallel case comp. Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 24), and dove's dung (see the article on that subject), the dung of cattle (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 13, §7), and even possibly their own dung (2 K. xviii. 27). The consumption of human flesh was not altogether unknown (2 K. vi. 29; cf. Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 3, §4), the passages quoted supplying instances of the exact fulfilment of the prediction in Dent. xxviii. 56, 57: compare also Lam. ii. 20, iv. 10; Ez. v. 10.

With regard to the beverages used by the Hebrews, we have already mentioned milk, and the probable use of barley-water, and of a mixture, resembling the modern *sherbet*, formed of fig-cake and water. The Hebrews probably resembled the Arabs in not drinking much during their meals, but concluding them with a long draught of water. It is almost needless to say that water was most generally drunk. In addition to these the Hebrews were acquainted with various intoxicating liquors, the most valued of which was the juice of the grape, while others were described under the general term of *shechur* or *strong drink* (Lev. x. 9; Num. vi. 3; Judg. xiii. 4, 7), if indeed the latter does not sometimes include the former (Num. xxviii. 7). These were reserved for the wealthy or for festive occasions: the poor consumed a sour wine (A. V. "vinegar"; Ruth ii. 14; Matt. xxvii. 48), calculated to quench thirst, but not agreeable to the taste (Prov. x. 26). [DRUNK, STRONG; VINEGAR; WATER; WINE.] [W. L. B.]

FOOTMAN, a word employed in the Auth. Version in two senses. 1. Generally, to distinguish those of the people or of the fighting-men who went on foot from those who were on horseback or in chariots. The Hebrew word for this is רַגְלִי, *ragli*, from *regel*, a foot. The LXX. commonly express it by *πεζοί*, or occasionally *ταγματά*.

Bnt, 2. The word occurs in a more special sense (in 1 Sam. xxii. 17 only), and as the translation of a different term from the above—פָּרָץ, *rootz*. This passage affords the first mention of the existence of a body of swift runners in attendance on the king, though such a thing had been foretold by Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 11). This body appear to have been afterwards kept up, and to have been distinct from the body-guard—the six hundred and the thirty—who were originated by David. See 1 K. xiv. 27, 28; 2 Chr. xii. 10, 11; 2 K. xi. 4, 6, 11, 13, 19. In each of these cases the word is the same as the above, and is rendered "guard:" but the translators were evidently aware of its signification, for they have put the word "runners" in the margin in two instances (1 K. xiv. 27; 2 K. xi. 13). This indeed was the force of the term "footman" at the time the A. V. was made, as is plain not only from the references just quoted, but amongst others from the title of a well known tract of Bunyan's—*The Heavenly Footman, or a Description of the Man that goes to Heaven*, on 1 Cor. ix. 24 (St. Paul's figure of the race). Swift running was evidently a valued accomplishment of a perfect warrior—a *gibbor*, as the Hebrew word is—among the Israelites. There are constant allusions to this in the Bible, though obscured in the A. V., from the translators not recognising the technical sense of the word *gibbor*. Among others see Ps. xix. 5; Job xvi. 14; Joel ii. 7, where "strong man," "giant," and "mighty man," are all *gibbor*. David was famed for his powers of running; they are so mentioned as to seem characteristic of him (1 Sam. xvii. 22, 48, 51, xx. 6), and he makes them a special subject of thanksgiving to God (2 Sam. xii. 30; Ps. xviii. 29). The cases of Cush and Ahimaaz (2 Sam. xviii.) will occur to every one. It is not impossible that the former—"the Ethiopian," as his name most likely is—had some peculiar mode of running. [CUSH.] Asahel also was "swift on his feet," and the Gileadite heroes who came across to David in his difficulties were "swift as the roes upon the mountains;" but in neither of these last cases is the word *rootz* employed. The word probably derives its modern sense from the custom of domestic servants running by the side of the carriage of their master [GUARD.] [G.]

**FOREHEAD** (פָּצֵץ, from פָּצַץ, *rad. mus shine*, Gesen. p. 815; μέτωπον; *frons*). The practice of veiling the face in public for women of the higher classes, especially married women, in the East, sufficiently stigmatizes with reproach the unveiled face of women of bad character (Gen. xxv. 65; Jer. iii. 3; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 132, 149, 150; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 228, 240; Hasselquist, *Travels*, p. 58; Buckingham, *Arab. Tribes*, p. 312; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 72, 77, 225-248; Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 233). An especial force is thus given to the term "hard of forehead" as descriptive of avarice in general (Ex. iii. 7, 8, 9; comp. Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 242—"Ejectum attrita de fronte ruborem").

The custom among many Oriental nations both of colouring the face and forehead, and of impressing on the body marks indicative of devotion to some special deity or religious sect is mentioned elsewhere [CUTTINGS IN FLESH] (Burckhardt, *Notes* - *Bed.* i. 51; Niebuhr, *Voy.* ii. 57; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 342; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 66). It is doubtless alluded to in Rev. (xiii. 16, 17, xiv. 9, xvii. 5; xx. 4), and in the opposite direction by

Ezekiel (ix. 4, 5, 6), and in Rev. (vii. 3, ix. 4, xiv. 1, xvii. 4.) The mark mentioned by Ezekiel with approval has been supposed to be the figure of the cross, said to be denoted by the word here used, מֶתָּה, in the ancient Semitic language (Gesen. p. 495; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 20. 3. 409, 413).

It may have been by way of contradiction to heathen practice that the High-priest wore on the front of his mitre the golden plate inscribed "Holiness to the Lord" (Ex. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30; Spencer, *l. c.*).

The "jewels for the forehead," mentioned by Ezekiel (xvi. 12), and in margin of A. V. Gen. xxiv. 22, were in all probability nose-rings (Is. iii. 21; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* in. 225, 226; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 311, 312; Gesen. p. 870; Winer, *s. v. Nasarium*). The Persian and also Egyptian women wear jewels and strings of corn across their foreheads (Olearius, *Travels*, p. 317; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 228). [NOSE-JEWEL.]

For the use of frontlets between the eyes, see *FRONTLETS*, and for the symptoms of leprosy apparent in the forehead, *LEPROSY*. [H. W. P.]

**FOREST.** The corresponding Hebrew terms are יָבֵשׁ, יָבֵשׁ, and פָּרָדִים. The first of these most truly expresses the idea of a forest, the etymological force of the word being *abundant*, and its use being restricted (with the exception of 1 Sam. xiv. 26, and Cant. v. i., in which it refers to honey) to an abundance of trees. The second is seldom used, and applies to woods of less extent, the word itself involving the idea of what is being cut down (*sicula arboribus dicta*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 330): it is only twice (1 Sam. xviii. 15 ff.; 2 Chr. xxvii. 4) applied to woods properly so called; its sense, however, is illustrated in the other passages in which it occurs, viz., Is. xvii. 9 (A. V. "bough"), where the comparison is to the solitary relic of an ancient forest, and Ez. xxi. 3, where it applies to trees of foliage sufficient to afford shelter (*frondibus nemorosus*, Vulg.; A. V. "with a shadowing shroud"). The third, *pardes* (a word of foreign origin, meaning a *park* or *plantation*, whence also comes the Greek παράδεισος), occurs only once in reference to forest trees (Neh. ii. 8), and appropriately expresses the care with which the forests of Palestine were preserved under the Persian rule, a regular warden being appointed, without whose sanction no tree could be felled. Elsewhere the word describes an orchard (Ecc. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13).

Although Palestine has never been in historical times a woodland country, yet there can be no doubt that there was much more wood formerly than there is at present. It is not improbable that the highlands were once covered with a primeval forest, of which the celebrated oaks and terebinths scattered here and there were the relics. The woods and forests mentioned in the Bible appear to have been situated where they are usually found in cultivated countries, in the valleys and defiles that lead down from the high- to the lowlands and in the adjacent plains. They were therefore of no great size, and correspond rather with the idea of the Latin *sylvus* than with our *forest*.

(1.) The wood of Ephraim was the most extensive. It clothed the slopes of the hills that bordered the plain of Jezreel, and the plain itself in the neighbourhood of Bethshan (Josh. xvii. 15 ff.), extending, perhaps, at one time to Tabor, which is translated *δρυμὸς* by Theodotion (Hos. v. 1), and which is still well covered with forest trees (Stan-

ley, p. 350). (2.) The wood of Bethel (2 K. ii. 23, 24) was situated in the ravine which descends to the plain of Jericho. (3.) The forest of Hareth (1 Sam. xxii. 5) was somewhere on the border of the Philistine plain, in the southern part of Judah. (4.) The wood through which the Israelites passed in their pursuit of the Philistines (1 Sam. xiv. 25) was probably near Ajlun (comp. v. 31), in one of the valleys leading down to the plain of Philistia. (5.) The "wood" (Ps. cxxxi. 6) implied in the name of Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vii. 2) must have been similarly situated, as also (6.) were the "forests" (*Choresk*) in which Jotham placed his forts (2 Chr. xxvii. 4). (7.) The plain of Sharon was partly covered with wood (Strab. xvii. p. 758), whence the LXX. gives *δρυμὸς* as an equivalent (Is. lvi. 10). It has still a fair amount of wood (Stanley, p. 260.). (8.) The wood (*Choresk*) in the wilderness of Ziph, in which David concealed himself (1 Sam. xxiii. 15 ff.), lay S.E. of Hebron.

The greater portion of Peraea was, and still is, covered with forests of oak and terebinth (Is. ii. 13; Ez. xxvii. 6; Zech. xi. 2; comp. Buckingham's *Palestine*, pp. 103 ff., 240 ff.; Stanley, p. 324). A portion of this near Mahanaim was known as the "wood of Ephraim" (2 Sam. xviii. 6), in which the battle between David and Absalom took place. Winer (art. *Wälder*) places it on the west side of the Jordan, but a comparison of 2 Sam. xvii. 26, xviii. 3, 23, proves the reverse. The statement in xviii. 23, in particular, marks its position as on the highlands, at some little distance from the valley of the Jordan (comp. Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, §1, 2).

The house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. vii. 2, x. 17, 21; 2 Chr. ix. 16, 20) was so called probably from being fitted up with cedar. It has also been explained as referring to the forest-like rows of cedar pillars. The number and magnificence of the cedars of Lebanon is frequently noticed in the poetical portions of the Bible. The *forest* generally supplied Hebrew writers with an image of pride and exaltation doomed to destruction (2 K. xix. 23; Is. x. 18, xxvii. 19, xxxvii. 24; Jer. xvi. 14, xxii. 7, xlii. 23; Zech. vi. 2), as well as of unfruitfulness as contrasted with a cultivated field or vineyard (Is. xlix. 17, xxxv. 15; Jer. xxvi. 18; Hos. ii. 12).

[W. L. B.]

#### FORTIFICATIONS. [FENCED CITIES.]

**FORTUNA'TUS** (*Φορτύναντος*, 1 Cor. xvi. 17), one of three Corinthians, the others being Stephanus and Achaicus, who were at Ephesus when St. Paul wrote his first Epistle. Some have supposed that they were of *Χαῖος*, alluded to 1 Cor. i. 11; but the language of irony, in which the Apostle must in that case be interpreted in ch. xvi. as speaking of their presence, would become sarcasm too cutting for so tender a heart as St. Paul's to have uttered among his valedictions. "The household of Stephanus" is mentioned in ch. i. 16 as having been baptized by himself; perhaps Fortunatus and Achaicus may have been members of that household. There is a Fortunatus mentioned at the end of Clement's first Epistle to the Corinthians, who was possibly the same person. [H. A.]

**FOUNTAIN.** 1. *עַי*, from *עָץ*, to flow; also signifies an "eye," Gesen. p. 1017. 2. *מַעַן* (from 1), a well-watered place; sometimes in A. V. "well," or "spring." 3. *מוֹצֵא מַיִם*, from *נָצַח*, to go forth, Gesen. p. 613; a gushing forth of waters. 4. *מִקְרָר*, from *קָרָר*, to dig, Gesen. p.

1209. 5. *מִבְּרֵךְ*, from *בָּרַעַ*, to bubble forth, Gesen. p. 845. 6. *לָל*, or *לָלָה*, from *לָלָה*, to roll, Gesen. p. 288, all usually, *πηγή*, or *πηγή ὕδατος*; fons, and fons aquarum. The special use of these various terms will be found examined in the Appendix to Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*.

Among the attractive features presented by the Land of Promise to the nation migrating from Egypt by way of the desert, none would be more striking than the natural gush of waters from the ground. Instead of watering his field or garden, as in Egypt, "with his foot" (Shaw, *Travels*, p. 408), the Hebrew cultivator was taught to look forward to a land "drinking water of the rain of heaven, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths springing from valleys and hills" (Deut. viii. 7, xi. 11). In the desert of Sinai, "the few living, perhaps perennial springs," by the fact of their rarity assume an importance hardly to be understood in moister climates, and more than justify a poetical expression of national rejoicing over the discovery of one (Num. xxi. 17). But the springs of Palestine, though short-lived, are remarkable for their abundance and beauty, especially those which fall into the Jordan and its lakes throughout its whole course (Stanley, *S. & P.* 17, 122, 123, 295, 373, 509; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 344). The spring or fountain of living water, the "eye" of the landscape (see No. 1), is distinguished in all Oriental languages from the artificially sunk and enclosed well (Stanley, 509). Its importance is implied by the number of topographical names compounded with En, or *Ain* (Arab.): En-gedi, *Ain-jidy*, "spring of the gazelle," may serve as a striking instance (1 Sam. xxiii. 29; Ireland, 763; Robinson, i. 504; Stanley, App. §50).



Fountain at Namarth. (Roberts.)

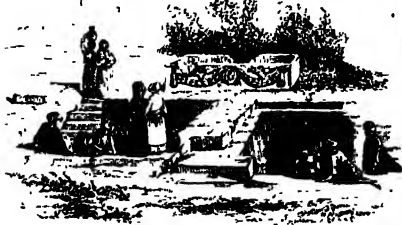
The volcanic agency which has operated so powerfully in Palestine, has from very early times given tokens of its working in the warm springs which are found near the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. One of them, En-geulim, the "spring of calves," at the N.E. end of the latter, is probably identical with Callirrhoe, mentioned by Josephus as a place resorted to by Herod in his last illness (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 33, §5; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* 120, 121; Stanley, *S. & P.* 285). His son Philip built the town, which he named Tiberias, at the sulphureous hot-springs at the S. of the sea of Galilee (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, §3; Hasselquist,

*Travels*, App. 283; Kitto, 114; Burekhardt, *Syria*, 328, 330). Other hot-springs are found at seven miles distance from Tiberias, and at *Umkeis* (Gadara) (Reland, 775; Burekhardt, 276, 277; Kitto, 116, 118).

Jerusalem, though mainly dependent for its supply of water upon its rain-water cisterns, appears from recent inquiries to have possessed either more than one perennial spring, or one issuing by more than one outlet. To this agree the "fons perennis aque" of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 12), and the *ὕδατον ἀνέκλειπτος σύστασις* of Aristens (Joseph. ii. 112, ed. Havercamp.; Robinson, i. 343, 345; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 458, 468; Raumer, 298; Ez. xlvii. 1, 12; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr.* 412, 415). [CISTERNS; SILOAM.]

In the towers built by Herod, Josephus says there were cisterns with *χαλκουρρήματα* through which water was poured forth: these may have been statues or figures containing spouts for water after Roman models (Plin. *Epist.* v. 6; *N. H.* xxvi. 15, 121; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, §4).

No Eastern city is so well supplied with water as Damascus (*Early Trav.* 294). In Oriental cities generally public fountains are frequent (Poole, *Englishw.* in *Eg.* i. 180). Traces of such fountains at Jerusalem may perhaps be found in the names En-rogel (2 Sam. xvii. 17), the "Dragon-well" or fountain, and the "gate of the fountain" (Neh. ii. 13, 14). The water which supplied Solomon's pools near Bethlehem was conveyed to them by subterranean channels. In these may perhaps be found the "sealed fountain" of Cant. iv. 12 (Hasselquist, 145; Maudsley, *Ear. Trav.* 457). The fountain of Nazareth bears a traditional antiquity, to which it has probably good derivative, if not actual claim (Roberts, *Views in Palestine*, i. 21, 29, 33; Col. Ch. Chron. No. cxxv. 147; Fisher's *Views in Syria*, i. 31, iii. 44). [H. W. P.]



So-called "Fountain" of Cana. (From Roberts.)

**FOWL.** Several distinct Hebrew and Greek words are thus rendered in the A. V. of the Bible. Of these the most common is *עוף*, which is usually a collective term for all kinds of birds, frequently with the addition of *השמיים*, "of the skies."

*עופות* is a collective term for birds of prey, derived from *עץ*, "to attack vehemently." It is translated *foes* in Gen. xv. 11, Job xxviii. 7, Is. xviii. 6.

*צופר* (Chald. *צפר*), from root *צפר*, "to hiss," is also a collective term for birds, though occasionally rendered by *swallow* and *sparrow*. For the collective use of the word see Deut. iv. 17, Ps. viii. 8, Ez. xvii. 23, and Dan. iv. 12. In Neh. v. 18, the word seems to have the special sense

which "fowl" has with us, as it is enumerated among the viands provided for Nehemiah's table.

In 1 K. iv. 23, among the daily provisions for Solomon's table "fatted fowl" are included, the Heb. words being *בָּרְבָרִים אֲנֹכִים*. Gesenius prefers to translate this "fatted geese," referring the word to the root *ברר*, "to be pure," because of the pure whiteness of the bird. He gives reasons for believing that the same word in the cognate languages included also the meaning of *swan*.

In the N. T. the word translated "fowls" is most frequently *τὰ πετεινά*, which comprehends all kinds of birds (including *ravens*, Luke xii. 24); but in Rev. xiv. 17-21, where the context shows that birds of prey are meant, the Greek is *τὰ ὄρνεα*. The same distinction is observed in the Apocryphal writings: comp. Jud. xi. 7, Ecclus. xiv. 4, xliii. 14, with 2 Macc. vi. 33. [W. D.]

**FOX** (*לְשׁוֹן*, *shul*; *ἀλώπηξ*). The root of *לְשׁוֹן* is *לשע*, "to break through, to make hollow;" and hence its application to the fox, which burrows. The term probably in its use by the Hebrews included the jackal as well as the common fox; for some of the passages in which A. V. renders it "fox" suit that animal, while others better represent the habits of the jackal.

The fox is proverbially fond of grapes, and a very destructive visitor to vineyards (Cant. ii. 15). The proverbially cunning character of the fox is alluded to in Ez. xiii. 4, and Luke xiii. 32, where the prophets of Israel are said to be like foxes in the desert, and where our Saviour calls Herod "that fox." His habit of burrowing among ruins is referred to in Neh. iv. 3 and Lam. v. 18 (see also Matt. viii. 20). In Judg. xv. 4, and in Ps. lxxii. 10, it seems probable that the jackal rather than the fox is spoken of. The Rabbinical writers make frequent mention of the fox and his habits. In the Talmud it is said, "The fox does not die from being under the earth; he is used to it, and it does not hurt him." And again, "He has gained as much as a fox in a ploughed field," i. e. nothing. Another proverb relating to him is this:

"If the fox be at the rudder,  
Speak him fairly, 'My dear brother.'"

Both the fox and the jackal are common in Palestine; the latter name being probably connected with the Heb. *shul*; Fr. *chaval*; Germ. *schakal*; Sanser. *chikala*, *chigala*.

A curious instance of a not unfrequent error in the LXX. will be found in 1 K. xx. 10, where *sh'alin*, foxes, has been read for *salim*, handbills, and rendered accordingly. [W. D.]

**FRANKINCENSE** (*לְבָנָה*, from *לבן*, to be white; *λίβανος*, Ex. xxx. 34, &c., and Matt. ii. 11; *λίβανωτός*, 1 Chr. ix. 29; Rev. viii. 3, N. T.), a vegetable resin, brittle, glittering, and of a bitter taste, used for the purpose of sacrificial fumigation (Ex. xxx. 34-36). It is obtained by successive incisions in the bark of a tree called the *arbor thuris*, the first of which yields the purest and whitest kind (*לְבָנָה לִי*, *λίβανον διαφανή*, or *καθαρόν*); while the produce of the after incisions is spotted with yellow, and as it becomes old loses its whiteness altogether. The Hebrews imported their frankincense from Arabia (Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20), and more particularly from Saba; but it is remarkable that at present the Arabian Libanum, or Olibanum, is of a very inferior kind, and that the finest frankincense imported into

Turkey comes through Arabia from the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The Arabian plant may possibly have degenerated, or it may be that the finest kind was always procured from India, as it certainly was in the time of Dioscorides. The Arabs call the best frankincense *candur*, with which compare the Sanscrit *amburni*, an odorous gum which is stated by the Hindu medical writers to be the produce of a tree called *Sallaci* or *Salsu*. This tree grows on the mountains of India, and is described by Dr. Roxburgh, who calls it the *Boswellia serrata* (*Asiat. Res.* ix. p. 377, 8vo. edit.).

The resin itself is well known; but it is still uncertain by what tree it is produced. Ancient as well as modern authors vary in their descriptions to such an extent, that it is difficult to arrive at a consistent, still more difficult to gain a botanical, idea of the plant. It is described by Theophrastus as attaining the height of about 5 elis, having many branches, leaves like the pear-tree, and bark like the laurel; but at the same time he mentions another description, according to which it resembles the *mastic-tree*, its leaves being of a reddish colour (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 4). According to Dioscorus (v. 41) it is a small tree, resembling the Egyptian hawthorn, with gold-yellow leaves like those of the *roule*. The difficulty was rather increased than otherwise in the time of Pliny by the importation of some shoots of the tree itself, which seemed to belong to the *terebinthus* (xii. 31). Garcia de Horta represents it as low, with a leaf like that of the *mastic*; he distinguishes two kinds, the finer, growing on the mountains, the other dark, and of an inferior quality growing on the plains. Chardin says that the frankincense tree on the mountains of Curamania resembles a large pear-tree. It is not mentioned by Forskal, and Niebuhr could learn nothing of it (*Trav.* p. 356). A more definite notion of the plant might possibly be obtained from the *Thuia occidentalis*, the American *arbor vitæ*, or Frankincense tree. But at any rate there can be little doubt that the tree which produces the Indian frankincense, and which in all probability supplied Arabia with the finest kind supposed to be indigenous in that country, is the *Boswellia serrata* of Roxburgh (*ut. supr.*); or *Boswellia thurifera* of Colebrooke. Its claims have been maintained by Colebrooke against the *Juniperus lycia* of Linnaeus, which was long supposed to be the true frankincense tree. Colebrooke shows, upon the testimony of French botanists, that this tree, which grows in the South of France, does not yield the gum in question. It is still extremely doubtful what tree produces the Arab. Olibanum: Lamarck proposes the *Amrys* (Gileadensis; but, as it would seem, upon inconclusive evidence.

The Indian Olibanum, or frankincense, is imported in chests and casks from Bombay, as a regular article of sale. It is chiefly used in the rites of the Greek and Roman churches; and its only medical application at present is as a perfume in sick rooms. The Olibanum, or frankincense used by the Jews in the temple services, is not to be confounded with the frankincense of commerce, which is a spontaneous exudation of the *Pinus abies*, or Norway spruce fir, and resembles, in its nature and uses, the Burgundy pitch which is obtained from the same tree.

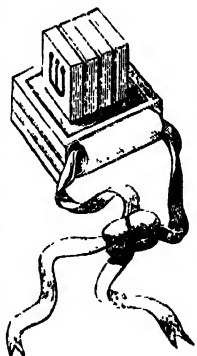
From Cant. iv. 14, it has been inferred that the frankincense tree grew in Palestine, and especially on Mount Lebanon. The connexion between the names, however, goes for nothing (Lebanon, Leba-

non); the word may be used for aromatic plants generally (*Gen. Lec.*); and the rhetorical flourishes of Florus (*Epit.* iii. 6, "thuris silvas"), and Ausonius (*Moson.* p. 110) are of little avail against the fact that the tree is not at present found in Palestine (*Cels. Hierobot.* i. p. 231 ff.; *Roseum. Alterthumsk.* iv. p. 153 ff.). [T. R. B.]

**FROG.** The mention of this reptile in the O. T. is confined to the passage in Ex. viii. 2-7, &c., in which the plague of frogs is described, and to the two allusions to that event in Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 30. The term also occurs in Wisl. xix. 10 in reference to the same event. The Heb. word is **צְבָרָא**, which is rendered by the LXX. **βάτραχος**, Vulg. *rana*. In the N. T. the word occurs once only in Rev. xvi. 13, "three unclean spirits like frogs." There is no question as to the animal meant. Many species of frogs are found in Egypt, but the most common is the *Rana punctata*, the dotted Egyptian frog, which is of ash colour with green spots, the feet being marked with transverse bands, and the toes separated to half their length. (See Kalisch on Ex. l. c.) Gesenius derives the Heb. noun from **צָפַר**, "to leap," and the Arab. **س**.

**דָּלַע**, "marsh," i. e. "leaping in the marsh." Gesenius queries whether we may not trace **βάτραχος** to the Heb. root—throwing away **ב**, and transposing the **ל** and **ד**, so as to get the form **דַּרַע**. [W. D.]

**FRONTLETS**, or **PHYLACTERIES** (**פְּרָשְׁפָּרִים**, Ex. xiii. 16; Dent. vi. 8, xi. 18; the only three passages of the O. T. in which the word occurs; LXX. **ἀσπελντά**; N. T. **φυλακτήρια**, Matt. xxiii. 5; the modern Jews called them *Tephillin*, **תְּפִלִּין**, a word not found in the Bible, Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v.). These "frontlets" or "phylacteries" were strips of parchment, on which were written four passages of Scripture (Ex. xiii. 2-10, 11-17; Dent. vi. 4-9, 13-22) in an ink prepared for the purpose. They were then rolled up in a case of black calfskin, which was attached to a stiffer piece of leather, having a thong one finger broad, and one and a half cubits long. "They were placed at the bend of the left arm, and after the thong had made a little knot in the shape of the letter **ו**, it was wound about the arm in a spiral line, which ended at the top of the middle finger." This was called "the *Tephillah* on the arm," and the leather case contained only one cell, the passages being written on a single piece of parchment, with thin lines ruled between (Goodwyn, *Mos. & Aur.* i. x. 2159). Those worn on the forehead were written on four strips of parchment (which might not be of any hide except cow's hide, *Nork, Brann. und Rubb.* p. 211; comp. Hesych. s. v. **Σκρικη επικουρά**), and put into four little cells within a



Frontlets or Phylacteries.

square case, on which the letter **ש** was written; the three points of the **ש** being "an emblem of the heavenly Fathers, Jehovah our Lord Jehovah" (Zohar, fol. 54, col. 2). The square had two thongs (**ציצית**), on which Hebrew letters were inscribed; these were passed round the head, and after making a knot in the shape of **נ** passed over the breast. This phylactery was called "the *Tephillah* on the head," and was worn in the centre of the forehead (Leo of Modena, *Ceremonies of the Jews*, i. 11. u. 4; Calmet, s. v. *Phylactery*; Otho, *Lex. Rabbin.* p. 656).

The derivation of **ἡλιόσις** is uncertain. Gesenius derives it by contraction from **ἡλιόσφαις** (*Theol.* 548). The Rabbinic name **מְצִיפָה** comes from, **מָצָה**, "a prayer," because they were worn during prayer, and were supposed to typify the sincerity of the worshipper; hence they were bound on the left wrist (*Gen. Erwin*, 95, 2; *Obho*, l. c.; *Buxt. Lex.* *Tibul.* s. v.). In *Matt.* xxiii. 5, only, they are called **φυλακτήρια**, either because they tended to promote observance of the law (**ἀεὶ μνημὴν ἔχειν τοῦ Θεοῦ**, just. *Mart. Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 203, where Iustian Luther happily renders the word by *Denkzettel*); or from the use of them as amulets (*Lat. Præbit.*, Gk. **περιπτά**, *Grotius* ad *Matt.* xxiii. 5). **Φυλακτήριον** is the ordinary Greek word for an amulet (*Plut.* li. 378, l3, where **φυλ.** = the Roman *fulla*), and is used apparently with this meaning by a Greek translator, *Ez.* xiii. 18 for **ἡλιόφαι**, cushions (*Rosenkranz*, *Schol.* ad loc. i.; *Schleusner*, *Lex.* in *N. T.*). That phylacteries were used as amulets is certain, and was very natural (*Targ. ad Cant.* viii. 3; *Buto-loc.* *Bibl. Rab.* i. 57b; *Wiener*, s. v. *Amuleta*, *Phylakterien*). Jerome (on *Matt.* xxiii. 5) says they were thus used in his day by the Babylonians, Persians, and Indians, and condemns certain Christian "mulierculæ" for similarly using the gospels ("parvula evangelia," **βιβλία μικρά**, *Chrys.*) as **περιμμήματα**, especially the Proem. to *St. John* (comp. *Chrysost. Hom.* in *Matt.* 73). The *Koran* and other sacred books are applied to the same purpose to this day (*Hottinger, Hist. Orient.* i. 8, p. 301, *de nominis* *Orient.* xvii. sq.; "The most esteemed of all Hhegabs is a Mooshaf, or copy of the *Koran*," *Lane, Mod. Eg.* i. 338). Scdiger even supposes that phylacteries were designed to supersede those amulets, the use of which had been already learnt by the Israelites in Egypt. [AMULETS.] There was a spurious book called *Phylact. Angelorum*, where Pope Gelasius evidently understood the word to mean "amulets," for he remarks that Phylacteria ought rather to be ascribed to devils. In this sense they were expressly forbidden by Pope Gregory ("Si quis . . . phylacteriis usus fuerit, anathema sit," *Sixt. Senodis.* *Bibl. Sanct.* p. 92; comp. *Cant.* 36, *Concil. Lat.*).

The LXX. rendering ἀσάλευτα (Aquil. ἀτρίνακτα) must allude to their being tightly bound on the forehead and wrist during prayer. Petit (Var. Lectt. ii. 3) would read ἀσάλευτα (h. c. ὑπὸ πνεύματι, αἰδῶ ἐπὶ ἀσάλευτοι? Schlusener, *Thess. s. v. ἀσάλ.*), but he is amply refuted by Spencer (*de Legg. Rit. iv. 2, p. 1210*) and Witsius (*Aegypti. ii. 9, §11*). Jerome calls them *Pittaciola* (al. *Pictat.*), a name which tolerably expresses their purpose (Porcellini, *Lex. s. v.*).

The expression "they make broad their phylacteries" (πλατύνουσι τὰ φυλ. αὐτῶν, Matt. xxiii. 5) refers not so much to the phylactery itself,

which seems to have been of a prescribed breadth, as to the case (הַיָּצִץ) in which the parchment was kept, which the Pharisees (among their other pretentious customs, Mark vii. 3, 4; Luke v. 33, &c.) made as conspicuous as they could (Reland, *Antiq.* ii. 9, 15). Misled probably by the term *πλατύνοσι*, and by the mention of the *לַיָּצִץ*, or fringe (Num. xv. 38, *κλάσσω βακίθινον ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν πετρυνίων*, l. XX.) in connexion with them, Eriphanius says that they were *πάντα σήματα πορφύρας*, like the Roman *laticlauræ*, or the stripes on a Dalmatic (*τὰ δὲ σήματα τῆς πορφύρας φυλακτῆρι εἰσόντων οἱ ἡκριβωμένοι μετονομαζέσθαι*, c. *Hoer.* i. 33; Sixt. Sen. l. c.). H. says that these purple stripes were worn by the Pharisees with fringes, and four palmegranates, that no one might touch them, and hence he derives their name (Reland, *Ant.* ii. 9, 15). But that this is an error is clearly shown by Saliger (*Elench. Trihoer.* viii. p. 66, sq.). It is said that the Pharisees wore them always, whereas the common people only used them at prayers, because they were considered to be even holier than the *יָצִץ*, or golden plate, on the priest's *tauia* (Ex. xxviii. 36) since that had the sacred name once engraven, but in each of the Tephullin the tetragrammaton recurred twenty-three times (Capzov. *App. Critic.* 196). Again the Pharisees wore the *Tephüllin* above the elbow, but the Sadducees on the palm of the hand (Goodwyn, l. c.). The modern Jews only wear them at morning prayers, and sometimes at noon (Leo of Modena, l. c.).

In our Lord's time they were worn by all Jews, except the Kanaïtes, women, and slaves. Boys, when (at the age of thirteen years and a day) they became **בני מצות** (sons of the commandments), were bound to wear them (*Haba Benac. fol. 22. 1. in Glossa*), and therefore they may have been used even by our Lord, as he merely discontennanced their *abuse*. The suggestion was made by Scailiger (*l. c.*), and led to a somewhat idle controversy. Lightfoot (*Jhor. Hebr. ad Matt. xxiii. 5*) and Otho (*l. ex. Rab. p. 656*) agree with Scailiger, but Carpzov (*l. c.*) and others strongly deny it, from a belief that the entire use of phylacteries arose from an error.

The Karaites explained Dent. vi. 8, Ex. xiii. 9, &c. as a *figurative* command to remember the law (Reland, *Ant.* p. 132), as is certainly the case in similar passages (Prov. iii. 3, vi. 21, vii. 3; Cant. viii. 6, &c.). It seems clear to us that the scope of these injunctions favours the Karaite interpretation, and in Ex. xiii. 9 the word is not **נֹסֵפֶת**, but **זָכָרֹן** "a memorial" (Gerhardus on *Dent.* vi. 8; Edzardus on *Be'rachoth*. i. 209; Heidmann, *de Orig. Erroris*, viii. B. 6; Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 199; Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*; Hengstenberg, *Pent.* i. 458). Considering too the nature of the passages inscribed on the phylacteries (by no means the most important in the Pentateuch—for the Fathers are mistaken in saying that the Decalogue was used in this way, Jer. l. c.; Chrysost. l. c.; Theophyl. *ad Matt.* xxii. 5), and the fact that we have no trace whatever of their use before the exile (during which time the Jews probably learnt the practice of wearing them from the Babylonians), we have no doubt that the object of the precepts (*Dent.* vi. 8; Ex. xii. 9) was to impress on the minds of the people the necessity of remembering the Law. But the figurative language in which this duty was urged upon them<sup>1</sup> was mistaken for a literal com-

mand. An additional argument against the literal interpretation of the direction is the dangerous abuse to which it was immediately liable. Indeed such an observance would defeat the supposed intention of it, by substituting an outward ceremony for an inward remembrance. We have a specimen of this in the curious literalism of Kimchi's Comment on Ps. i. 2. Starting the objection that it is impossible to meditate in God's law day and night, because of sleep, domestic cares, &c., he answers that for the fulfilment of the text it is sufficient to wear *Tephillin*!

In spite of these considerations, Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph. l. c.*), Chrysostom, Enthyminus, Theophylact, and many moderns (Bamngarten, *Comm. i. 479*; Winer, *s. v. Phylact.*) prefer the literal meaning. It rests therefore with them to account for the entire absence of all allusion to phylacteries in the O. T. The passages in Proverbs (*r. supra*) contain no such reference, and in Ez. xxiv. 17 פִּתְּלִין means not a Phylactery (as Jarchi says), but a turban. [CROWNS.] (Gesen. *Thes. p. 1089.*)

The Rabbis have many rules about their use. They were not worn on Sabbaths or other sacred days, because those days were themselves a sign or pledge (סֵמֶן), and required no further memorial (Zohar, fol. 2.36; Reland, *l. c.*). They must be read standing in the morning (when blue can be distinguished from green), but in the evening (at sunset) they might be read sitting. In times of persecution a red thread was worn instead (Münster, *de price. affirm.*; comp. Jos. ii. 18). Both hands were to be used, if possible, in writing them. The leather must have no hole in it. A single blot did not signify if an uneducated boy could read the word. At the top of the parchment no more room must be left than would suffice for the letter  $\zeta$ , but at the bottom there might be room even for  $\rho$  or  $\gamma$ . A man, when wearing the *Tephillin*, must not approach within four cubits of a cemetery (Sixt. Senensis, *l. c.*). He who has a taste for further frivolities (which yet are deeply interesting as illustrative of a piously superstition) may find them in Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. ad loc.*), Schöttgen, Otho (*l. c. Rab. s. r.*), and in the Mishna—especially in the treatise called *Rosh Hishanah*.

The Rabbis even declared that God wore them, arguing from Is. lxii. 8; Deut. xxxiii. 2. Is. xlix. 16. Perhaps this was a pious fraud to inculcate their use; or it may have had some mystic meaning (Zohar, pt. ii. fol. 2; Carpzov. *l. c.*).

Josephus gives their general significance (*Ant. iv. 8, §13. ὡς περιβεβητοὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ Θεοῦ*). They were supposed to save from the devil (Targ. ad Cant. viii. 3) and from sin (Hottinger, *Jur. Hebr. Leg. xx. p. 29*), and they were used for oaths; but the Rabbis disapproved the application of them to charm wounds, or lull children to sleep (Id. Leg. 253; Maimon. *de Idol. ii.*). He who wore them was supposed to prolong his days (Is. xxxviii. 16), but <sup>1</sup> who did not, was doomed to perdition, since he thereby broke eight affirmative precepts (Maimon. *Tephil. iv. 26*).

On the analogous practice alluded to in Rev. xiii. 16, xv. 1, see FOREHEAD.

Besides the authors already quoted (Sixt. Senensis, Reland, Otho, Lightfoot, Schöttgen, Carpzov, Hottinger, Goodwyn, Rosenmüller, &c.), see the following, to whom they refer: Maimonides, *Tephillin*; Wagenseil in *Sota*, cap. ii. 397-418; Surenhusius, *Mishna ad Tract. Beracoth*, pp. 8, 9; Beck, *de Judaeorum hijamentis precitivis, and de usu Phy-*

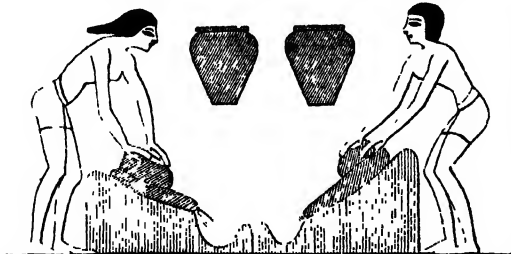
*lact.* (1679); Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, v. xii. 12 sq.; Braunius, *de Vest. Sacerd.* p. 7 sq.; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* p. 170 sq.; Ugolini, *Thes.* tom. xxi.; *de usu phylact.* There is in this latter work much further information, but we have inserted all that seemed interesting. [F. W. F.]

FULLER (פִּלְלֵר, from פָּלַס, *tread*, Gesen. p. 657; γυαφὲς; *fullo*). The trade of the fullers, so far as it is mentioned in Scripture, appears to have consisted chiefly in cleansing garments and whitening them. The use of white garments, and also the feeling respecting their use for festal and religious purposes, may be gathered from the following passages:—Ecl. ix. 8; Dan. vii. 9; Is. lxiv. 6; Zech. iii. 3, 5; 2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Chr. xv. 27; Mark ix. 3; Rev. iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9; Mishna, *Taanith*, iv. 8; see also Stat. *Silo i. 2, 237*; Ovid. *Fust. i. 79*; Claudian, *de Laud. Stil.* iii. 289. This branch of the trade was perhaps exercised by other persons than those who carded the wool and smoothed the cloth when woven (Mishna, *Bava kama*, i. x. 10). In applying the marks used to distinguish cloths sent to be cleansed, fullers were desired to be careful to avoid the mixtures forbidden by the Law (Lev. xiv. 19; Deut. xxii. 11; Mishna, *Musce. Lulium*, ix. 10).

The process of filling or cleansing cloth, so far as it may be gathered from the practice of other nations, consisted in treading or stamping on the garments with the feet or with bats in tubs of water, in which some alkaline substance answering the purpose of soap had been dissolved (Gesen.

*Thes.* 1261, פִּלְלֵר; Beckmann, *Hist. of Inventions*, ii. 94, 95, Bohn). The substances used for this purpose which are mentioned in Scripture are נָתָר, nitre, *nitron*, *nitrium* (Gesen. p. 930; Prov. xxv. 20; Jer. ii. 22), and פִּרְיֵת, soap, *sola*, *herba fullonum*, *herba borith* (Gesen. p. 246; Mal. iii. 2). Nitre is found in Egypt and in Syria, and vegetable alkali was also obtained there from the ashes of certain plants, probably *Salsola kali* (Gesen. 246; Plin. xxxi. 10, 46; Hasselquist, 275; Breckhardt, *Syria*, 214). The juice also of some saponaceous plant, perhaps *Gypsophila struthium*, or *Saponaria officinalis*, was sometimes mixed with the water for the like purpose, and may thus be regarded as representing the soap of Scripture. Other substances also are mentioned as being employed in cleansing, which, together with alkali, seem to identify the Jewish with the Roman process, as urine and chalk, *creta cimolia*, and bean-water, i. e. bean-meal mixed with water (Mishna, *Shabb. ix. 5*; *Niddah*, ix. 6). Urine, both of men and of animals, was regularly collected at Rome for cleansing cloths (Plin. xxxviii. 6, 8; Athen. xi. p. 484; Mart. ix. 93; Plautus, *Asin. v. 2, 57*), and it seems not improbable that its use in the fullers' trade at Jerusalem may have suggested the coarse taunt of Rabshakeh, during his interview with the deputies of Hezekiah in the highway of the Fullers' Field (2 K. xviii. 27), but Schoettgen thinks it doubtful whether the Jews made use of it in fulling (*Antiq. full. §9*). The process of whitening garments was performed by rubbing into them chalk or earth of some kind. *Creta Cimolia* (Cimolite) was probably the earth most frequently used. The whitest sort of earth for this purpose is a white potter's clay or marl, with which the poor at Rome rubbed their clothes on festival days to make them appear brighter (Plin. xxxi. 10, §118, xxxv.

17). Sulphur, which was used at Rome for discharging positive colour, was abundant in some parts of Palestine, but there is no evidence to show that it was used in the fullers' trade.



Egyptian Fuller

The trade of the fullers, as causing offensive smells, and also as requiring space for drying clothes, appears to have been carried on at Jerusalem outside the city, and from them a field, a monument, and also a spring (En-rogel), to have derived their names (Beckmann, *Hist. of Jer.* ii. 92, 106, Bohi; *Dict. of Antiq.* art. FULLO; Winer, s. v. *Walker*; Wilkinson, abridgm. ii. 106, Saalschütz, i. 3, 14, 32, ii. 14, 6; Schoettgen, *Antiq. fullonicae*). [HANDICRAFT.] [H. W. P.]

**FULLER'S FIELD, THE** (שֵׂרָה כֹּבִים; ἀγρος τοῦ γναφέως, or κναφέως; *ager fullonis*), a spot near Jerusalem (2 K. xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 2, vii. 3) so close to the walls that a person speaking from there could be heard on them (2 K. xviii. 17, 26). It is only incidentally mentioned in these passages, as giving its name to a "highway" (מַסְלָה) — an embanked road, Gesen. *Thes.* 957 b), "in" (אֵין) or "on" (עַל, A. V. "in"), which highway was the "conduit of the upper pool." The "end" (קֵץ) of the conduit, whatever that was, appears to have been close to the road (Is. vii. 3). One resort of the fullers of Jerusalem would seem to have been below the city on the south-east side, [EN-ROGEL.] But Rabshakeh and his "great host" can hardly have approached in that direction. They must have come from the north—the only accessible side for any body of people—as is certainly indicated by the route traced in Is. x. 28-32 [GIBEON]; and the Fuller's Field was therefore, to judge from this circumstance, on the table-land on the northern side of the city. The "pool" and the "conduit" would be sufficient reasons for the presence of the fullers. But on the other hand, Rabshakeh and his companions may have left the army and advanced along the east side of Mount Moriah to En-rogel, to a convenient place under the temple walls for speaking.

In considering the nature of this spot, it should be borne in mind that *Sadeh*, "field," is a term almost invariably confined to cultivated arable-land, as opposed to unclaimed ground. [JERUSALEM.] [G.]

**FUNERALS.** [BURIAL.]

**FURLONG.** [MEASURES.]

**FURNACE.** Various kinds of furnaces are noticed in the Bible. (1.) **כִּנּוֹר** is so translated in the A. V. in Gen. xv. 17; Is. xxi. 9; Neh. iii. 11, xii. 38. Generally the word applies to the

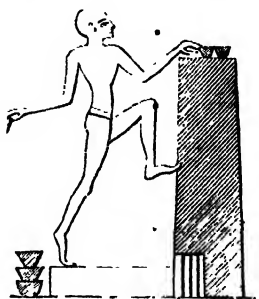
baker's oven, which is described under **BREAD**, and there is little doubt that the "tower of the furnaces" in Neh. should be rendered "tower of the ovens." In Gen. xv. and Is. xxxi. it is used in a more general sense. (2.) **כִּנּוֹר**, a smelting or calcining furnace (Gen. xix. 28; Ex. ix. 8, 10, xix. 18), especially a lime-kiln, the use of which was evidently well known to the Hebrews (Is. xxxiii. 12; Am. ii. 1). (3.) **כִּנּוֹר**, a refining furnace (Prov. xvii. 3, xvii. 21; Ez. xxii. 18 ff.), metaphorically applied to a state of trial (Deut. iv. 20; 1 K. viii. 51; Is. xlviii. 10; Jer. xi. 4). The form of it was probably similar to the one used in Egypt, which is figured below. (4.) **כִּנּוֹר**, a large furnace built like a brick-kiln, with

an opening at the top to cast in the materials (Dan. iii. 22, 23), and a door at the ground by which the metal might be extracted (v. 26). The Roman *formar*, as represented in *Dict. of Ant.* p. 546, gives an idea of the Persian *Attun*. The Persians were in the habit of using the furnace



Furnace.—An Egyptian blowing the fire for melting gold. (Wilkinson)

as a means of inflicting capital punishment (Dan. i. c.; Jer. xxix. 22; 2 Macc. vii. 5; Hos. vii. 7). A parallel case is mentioned by Chardin (*Voyage en Perse*, iv. 276), two ovens having been kept ready heated for a whole month to throw in any corn-dealers who raised the price of corn. (5.) The potter's furnace (Ecclus. xxxvii. 5; xxxviii. 30), which resembles a chimney in shape, and was about five or six feet high, as represented below. (6.) The



The Egyptian Potter's Furnace. (Wilkinson.)

blacksmith's furnace (Ecclus. xxxviii. 28). The Greek *σφυρις*, which is applied to the two latter, also describes the calcining furnace (Xen. *Eccl.* iv. 49). It is metaphorically used in the N. T. in this sense (Rev. i. 15, ix. 2), and in Matt. xiii. 42, with an especial reference to Dan. iii. 6. [W. L. B.]

## G.

**GA'AL** (גַּאֵל, *Gaal*; Joseph. *Γαάλης*; *Gaal*), son of Ebeel, aided the Shechemites in their rebellion against Abimelech (Judg. ix.; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, §§3, 4). He does not seem to have been a native of Shechem, nor specially interested in the revolution, but rather one of a class of *conculiores*, who at such a period of anarchy would be willing to sell their services to the highest bidder. Josephus calls him *τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων*, a term which scarcely designates any special office, as in the case of Zebul (*τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἀρχόντων*, Joseph. *l. c.*): more probably it has reference to the headship of his family (Judg. ix. 26; Joseph. *l. c.*), and the command of a body of men-at-arms, who seem to have been permanently attached to his service (*σὺν ἀνάλταις καὶ συγγενέσι*, Joseph.). His appeal to ante-Israelitish traditions (Judg. ix. 28), together with the re-establishment of idolatry at Shechem, shows that the movement in which he took part was a reactionary one, and proceeded upon the principle of a combination of the aborigines with the idolatrous Israelites against the iconoclastic family of Gideon as represented by Abimelech. The ambitious designs of Gaal, who seems to have aspired to the supreme command, awakened the jealousy of Zebul, who recalled Abimelech, and procured the expulsion of Gaal from the city upon a charge of cowardice. [T. E. B.]

**GA'ASH** (גַּאֲשׁ = earthquake; *Gaas*, once *Γαασδ*; *Gaus*). On the north side of "the hill of Gash" (accurately "Mount G." גִּבְרֵי), in the district of "Mount Ephraim," was Timnath-serach, or Timnath-cheres, the city which at his request was given by the nation to Joshua; where he resided, and where at last he was buried (Josh. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9; comp. Josh. xiv. 49, 50). We only hear of it again incidentally as the native place of one of David's guard, a Hiddai, or Hurai, of the brooks (the torrent-beds or wadis, גַּאֲשׁ) of Gash—"the torrents of the earthquake" (2 Sam. xliii. 30; 1 Chr. xi. 32). By Eusebius and Jerome the name is mentioned (*Oonin*, "Gans"), but evidently without any knowledge of the place; nor does it appear to have been recognized by any more modern traveller in Palestine. [G.]

**GA'BA** (גַּבָּא; *Gabbā, Gaiḇāl, Gabaōn*; *Gabce, Gabon, Geba*). The same name as *ΓΕΒΑ*, but with the vowel sound made broader, according to Hebrew custom, because of its occurrence at the end of a clause or sentence. It is found in the A. V. in Josh. xviii. 24; Exr. ii. 26; Neh. vii. 30; but in the Hebrew also in 2 Sam. v. 25; 2 K. xxiii. 8; Neh. xi. 31. [GABDES.]

**GAB'AEI** (*Γαβαήλ*, LXX.; *Γαμαήλ*, Cod. Alex.; Vet. Lat. *Gababael* [Tob. i. 1]; Vulg. *Gabebus*). 1. An ancestor of Tobit (Tob. i. 1).

2. A poor Jew (Tob. i. 17, Vulg.) of "Rages in Media," to whom Tobias lent (*sub chirographo dedit*, Vulg.) ten talents of silver, which Gabael afterwards faithfully restored to Tobias in the time of Tobit's distress (Tob. i. 14, iv. 1, 20, v. 6, ix. 2, x. 2). [GABRIAS.] [B. F. W.]

**GAB'ATHA** (*Gayatha*), Esth. xii. 1. [BATHAN.]

**GAB'BAI** (גַּבְבַּי; *Γηβέ*; *Gebbai*), apparently the head of an important family of Benjamin resident at Jerusalem (Neh. xi. 8).

**GAB'BATHA** (*Γαββαθά*; *Gabbatha*). The Hebrew or Chaldee appellation of a place also called "Pavement," (*Λιθόστρωτον*), where the judgment-seat or bema (*βῆμα*) was planted, from his place on which Pilate delivered our Lord to death (John xix. 13). The name, and the incident which leads to the mention of the name, occur nowhere but in this passage of St. John. The place was outside the praetorium (A. V. judgment-hall), for Pilate brought Jesus forth from thence to it.

It is suggested by Lightfoot (*Ecce, on St. John, ad loc.*) that the word is derived from גַּבָּא, a surface, in which case Gabbatha would be a mere translation of *Λιθόστρωτον*. There was a room in the Temple in which the Sanhedrin sat, and which was called *Gazith*, because it was paved with smooth and square flags (תִּיבָא); and Lightfoot conjectures that Pilate may on this occasion have delivered his judgment in that room. But this is not consistent with the practice of St. John, who, in other instances, gives the Hebrew name as that properly belonging to the place, not as a mere translation of a Greek one. Besides, Pilate evidently spoke from the bema—the regular seat of justice—and this in an important place like Jerusalem would be in a fixed spot. Besides, the Praetorium, a Roman residence with the idolatrous emblems, could not have been within the Temple. The word is more probably Chaldee, גַּבְבָּא, from an ancient root signifying height or roundness—the root of the Hebrew word Gibeah, which is the common term in the O. T. for a bald rounded hill, or elevation of moderate height. In this case Gabbatha designated the elevated Bema; and the "pavement" was possibly some mosaic or tessellated work, either forming the bema itself, or the flooring of the court immediately round it—perhaps some such work as that which we are told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 46) Julius Cæsar was accustomed to carry with him on his expeditions, in order to give the Bema or Tribunal its necessary conventional elevation. [G.]

**GAB'DES** (*Γαββῆς*, both MSS.; *Gabea*), 1 Esd. v. 20. [GABA.]

**GAB'RIAS** (*Γαβρίας*, LXX.; *Γαβriel*, Cod. F. A.; i. e. גַּבְרִיָּה, the man of Jehovah), according to the present text of the LXX. the brother of (Gabel), the creditor of Tobit (Tob. i. 14), though in another place (Tob. iv. 20, τῷ πατρὶ Γαβρία; cf. Fritzsche, *ad loc.*) he is described as his father. The readings throughout are very uncertain, and in the versions the names are strangely confused. It is an obvious correction to suppose that *Γαβαήλω τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Γαβρία* should be read in i. 14, as is in fact suggested by Cod. F. A., *Γαβήλω . . . τῷ ἀδ. τῷ Γαβriel*. The misunderstanding of τῷ ἀδελφῷ (cf. Tob. i. 10, 16, &c.) naturally occasioned the omission of the article. The old Latin has, *Gabelo fratri meo filio Gabriel*; and so also iv. 20. [B. F. W.]

**GAB'RIEL** (גַּבְרִיֵּל, "man of God"; *Γαβρήλ*, LXX. and N. T.). The word, which is not in itself distinctive, but merely a description of the angelic office, is used as a proper name or title, in Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21, and in Luke i. 19, 26. (It is also added in the Targums as a gloss on some other

passages of the O. T.) In the ordinary traditions, Jewish and Christian, Gabriel is spoken of as one of the archangels. In Scripture, he is set forth only as the representative of the angelic nature, not in its dignity or power of contending against evil [MICHAEL], but in its ministration of comfort and sympathy to man. Thus his mission to Daniel is to interpret in plain words the vision of the ram and the he-goat, and to comfort him after his prayer with the prophecy of the "seventy weeks." And so in the New Testament he is the herald of good tidings, declaring as he does the coming of the predicted Messiah and of his forerunner. His prominent character, therefore, is that of a "fellow-servant" of the saints on earth; and there is a corresponding simplicity, and absence of all terror and mystery, in his communications to men. [A. B.]

**GAD** (גָּד; *Gād*; Joseph. *Gādas*; *Gad*), Jacob's seventh son, the first-born of Zilpah, Leah's maid, and whole-brother to Asher (Gen. xxx. 11-13; xvi. 16, 18). (a) The passage in which the bestowal of the name of Gad is preserved—like the others, an exclamation on his birth—is more than usually obscure: "And Leah said, 'In fortune' (*be gad*, גָּד), and she called his name Gad" (Gen. xxx. 11). Such is supposed to be the meaning of the old text of the passage (the *Cetib*): so it stood at the time of the LXX., who render the key-word by *ἐν τύχῃ*; in which they are followed by Jerome in the Vulgate, *feliciter*.\* But in the marginal emendations of the Masorets (the *Keri*) the word is given גָּד נָּ, "Gad comes." This construction is adopted by the ancient versions of Onkelos, Aquila (גָּדָהּ הָ זְוָרִיס), and Symmachus (ἡλθεν γὰρ). (b) In the blessing of Jacob, however, we find the name played upon in a different manner: "Gad" is here taken as meaning a piratical band or troop (the term constantly used for which is *gedood*, גִּדּוּד), and the allusion—the turns of which it is impossible adequately to convey in English—would seem to be to the irregular life of predatory warfare which should be pursued by the tribe after their settlement on the borders of the Promised Land. "Gad, a plundering troop (*gedūd*) shall plunder him (*ya-gūd-ēnā*), but he will plunder (*ya-gūd*) at their heels" (Gen. xlix. 19).† (c) The force here lent to the name has been by some partially transferred to the narrative of Gen. xxx., c. *g.* the Samaritan Version, the Veneto-Greek, and our own A. V.—"a troop (of children) cometh." But it must not be overlooked that the word *gedūd*—by which it is here sought to interpret the *gad* of Gen. xxx. 11—possessed its own special signification of turbulence and fierceness, which makes it hardly applicable to children in the sense of a number or crowd, the image suggested by the A. V. Exactly as the turns of Jacob's language apply to the characteristics of the tribe, it does not appear that there is any connexion between his allusions and those in the exclamation of Leah. The key to the latter is probably lost. To suppose that Leah was invoking some ancient divinity, the god Fortune, who is conjectured to be once alluded to—and once only—in the later part of the book of Isaiah, under the title of *Gad* (Is. lxx. 11; A. V. "that troop"; Gesenius, "dem Glücke"), is surely a poor explanation.

\* In his *Quest. in Genesim*, Jerome has *in fortunā*. Josephus (*Ant. i. 19, §8*) gives it still a different turn—*τυχεῖος*=*fortuitus*.

† Jerome (*De Benedict. Jacobi*) interprets this of

Of the childhood and life of the individual **GAD** nothing is preserved. At the time of the descent into Egypt seven sons are ascribed to him, remarkable from the fact that a majority of their names have plural terminations, as if those of families rather than persons (Gen. xlii. 16). The list, with a slight variation, is again given on the occasion of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. xxvi. 15-18). [AROD; EZBON; OZNI.] The position of Gad during the march to the Promised Land was on the south side of the Tabernacle (Num. ii. 14). The leader of the tribe at the time of the start from Sinai was Eliasaph son of Reuel or Deuel (ii. 14, x. 20). Gad is regularly named in the various enumerations of the tribes through the wanderings—at the despatching of the spies (xiii. 15)—the numbering in the plains of Moab (xxvi. 3, 15); but the only inference we can draw is an indication of a commencing alliance with the tribe which was subsequently to be his next neighbour. He has left the more closely related tribe of Asher, to take up his position next to Reuben. These two tribes also preserve a near equality in their numbers, not suffering from the fluctuations which were endured by the others. At the first census Gad had 45,650, and Reuben 46,500; at the last, Gad had 40,500, and Reuben 43,330. This alliance was doubtless induced by the similarity of their pursuits.\* Of all the sons of Jacob these two tribes alone returned to the land which their forefathers had left five hundred years before, with their occupations unchanged. "The trade of thy slaves hath been about cattle from our youth even till now"—"we are shepherds, both we and our fathers" (Gen. xlii. 34, xlvii. 4)—such was the account which the Patriarchs gave of themselves to Pharaoh. The civilisation and the persecutions of Egypt had worked a change in the habits of most of the tribes, but Reuben and Gad remained faithful to the pastoral pursuits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and at the halt on the east of Jordan we find them coming forward to Moses with the representation that they "have cattle"—"a great multitude of cattle," and the land where they now are is "a place for cattle." What should they do in the close precincts of the country west of Jordan with all their flocks and herds? Wherefore let this land, they pray, be given them for a possession, and let them not be brought over Jordan (Num. xxxii. 1-5). They did not, however, attempt to evade taking their proper share of the difficulties of subduing the land of Canaan, and after that task had been effected, and the apportionment amongst the nine and a half tribes completed "at the doorway of the tabernacle of the congregation in Shiloh, before Jehovah," they were dismissed by Joshua "to their tents," to their "wives, their little ones, and their cattle," which they had left behind them in Gilead. To their *tents* they went—to the dangers and delights of the free Bedouin life in which they had elected to remain, and in which—a few partial glimpses excepted—the later history allows them to remain hidden from view.

The country allotted to Gad appears, speaking roughly, to have lain chiefly about the centre of the land east of Jordan. The south of that district—from the Arnon (*Wady Mojeb*), about half way

the revenge taken by the warriors of the tribe on their return from the conquest of Western Palestine, for the incursions of the desert tribes during their absence.

down the Dead Sea, to Heshbon, nearly due east of Jerusalem was occupied by Reuben, and at or about Heshbon the possessions of Gad commenced. They embraced half Gilead, as the oldest record specially states (Deut. iii. 12), or half the land of the children of Ammon (Josh. xiii. 25), probably the mountainous district which is intersected by the torrent Jabbok—if the *Wady Zarka* be the Jabbok—including, as its most northern town, the ancient sanctuary of Mahanaim. On the East the furthest landmark given is "Aroer, that faces Rabbah," the present *Amman* (Josh. xiii. 25). West was the Jordan (27). The territory thus consisted of two comparatively separate and independent parts—(1.) The high land, on the general level of the country east of Jordan; and (2.) the sunk valley of the Jordan itself—the former stopping short at the Jabbok; the latter occupying the whole of the great valley on the east side of the river, and extending up to the very sea of Cinnereth, or Gennesaret, itself.

Of the structure and character of the land which thus belonged to the tribe—"the land of Gad and Gilead"—we have only vague information. From the western part of Palestine its aspect is that of a wall of purple mountain, with a singularly horizontal outline; here and there the surface is seamed by the ravines, through which the torrents find their way to the Jordan, but this does not much affect the vertical wall-like look of the range. But on a nearer approach in the Jordan valley, the horizontal outline becomes broken, and when the summits are attained a new scene is said to burst on the view: "A wide table-land appears, tossed about in wild confusion of undulating downs, clothed with rich grass throughout; in the southern parts trees are thinly scattered here and there, aged trees covered with lichen, as if the relics of a primeval forest long since cleared away; the northern parts still abound in magnificent woods of sycamore, beech, terebinth, ilex, and enormous fig-trees. These downs are broken by three deep defiles, through which the three rivers of the *Yarmuk*, the Jabbok, and the Arnon fall into the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. On the east they melt away into the vast red plain, which by a gradual descent joins the level of the plain of the Haurân, and of the Assyrian desert" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 320). A very picturesque country—not the "flat open downs of smooth and even turf" of the country round Heshbon (Irby, 142), the sheep-walks of Reuben and of the Moabites—but "most beautifully varied with hanging woods, mostly of the vallon oak, laurestinus, cedar, arbutus, arbutus andromeda, &c. At times the country had all the appearance of a noble park" (147), "graceful hills, rich vales, luxuriant herbage" (Poirer, *Handb.* 310). [GILEAD].

Such was the territory allotted to the Gadites; but there is no doubt that they soon extended themselves beyond these limits. The official records of the reign of Jotham of Judah (1 Chr. v. 11, 16) show them to have been at that time established over the whole of Gilead, and in possession of Bashan as far as Salchah—the modern *Silkhad*, a town at the eastern extremity of the noble plain of the *Haurân*—and very far both to the north and the east of the border given them originally, while the Maassites were pushed still further northwards to Mount Hermon (1 Chr. v. 23). They soon became identified with Gilead—that name so memorable in the earliest history of the nation; and in many of the earlier records it superseded the name of Gad,

as we have already remarked it did that of Bashan. In the song of Deborah "Gilead" is said to have "abode beyond Jordan" (Judg. v. 17). Jephthah appears to have been a Gadite, a native of Mizpeh (Judg. xi. 34; comp. 31, and Josh. xiii. 26), and yet he is always designated "the Gileadite;" and so also with Barzillai of Mahanaim (2 Sam. xvii. 27; Exr. ii. 61; comp. Josh. xiii. 26).

The character of the tribe is throughout strongly marked—fierce and warlike—"strong men of might, men of war for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, their faces the faces of lions, and like roes upon the mountains for swiftness." Such is the graphic description given of those eleven heroes of Gad—"the least of them more than equal to a hundred, and the greatest to a thousand"—who joined their fortunes to David at the time of his greatest discredit and embarrassment (1 Chr. xii. 8), unlettered by the natural difficulties of "flood and field" which stood in their way. Surrounded, as they were, by Ammonites, Midianites, Hagarites, "Children of the East," and all the other countless tribes, animated by a common hostility to the strangers whose coming had dispossessed them of their fairest districts, the warlike propensities of the tribe must have had many opportunities of exercise. One of its great engagements is related in 1 Chr. v. 19-22. Here their opponents were the wandering Ishmaelite tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nolab (comp. Gen. xxv. 15), nomad people, possessed of an enormous wealth in camels, sheep, and asses, to this day the characteristic possessions of their Bedouin successors. This immense booty came into the hands of the conquerors, who seem to have entered with it on the former mode of life of their victims: probably pushed their way further into the eastern wilderness in the "steads" of these Hagarites. Another of these encounters is contained in the history of Jephthah, but this latter story develops elements of a different nature and a higher order than the mere fierceness necessary to repel the attacks of the plunderers of the desert. In the behaviour of Jephthah throughout that affecting history, there are traces of a spirit which we may almost call chivalric, the high tone taken with the Elders of Gilead, the noble but fruitless expostulation with the king of Ammon before the attack, the hasty vow, the overwhelming grief, and yet the persistent devotion of purpose, surely in all these there are marks of a great nobility of character, which must have been more or less characteristic of the Gadites in general. If to this we add the loyalty, the generosity and the delicacy of Barzillai (2 Sam. xix. 32-39) we obtain a very high idea of the tribe at whose head were such men as these. Nor must we, while enumerating the worthies of Gad, forget that in all probability Elijah the Tishbite, "who was of the inhabitants of Gilead," was one of them.

But while exhibiting these high personal qualities Gad appears to have been wanting in the powers necessary to enable him to take any active or leading part in the confederacy of the nation. The warriors, who rendered such assistance to David, might, when Ishbosheth set up his court at Mahanaim as king of Israel, have done much towards affirming his rights. Had Abner made choice of Shechem or Shiloh instead of Mahanaim—the quick, explosive Ephraim instead of the unready Gad—who can doubt that the troubles of David's reign would have been immensely increased, perhaps the establishment of the northern kingdom ante-dated

by nearly a century? David's presence at the same city during his flight from Absalom produced no effect on the tribe, and they are not mentioned as having taken any part in the quarrels between Ephraim and Judah.

Cut off as Gad was by position and circumstances from its brethren on the west of Jordan it still retained some connexion with them. We may infer that it was considered as belonging to the northern kingdom—"Know ye not," says Ahab in Samaria, "know ye not that lamoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?" (1 K. xvii. 3). The territory of Gad was the battle-field on which the long and fierce struggles of Syria and Israel were fought out, and, as an agricultural pastoral country, it must have suffered severely in consequence (2 K. xv. 33).

Gad was carried into captivity by Tiglath Pileser (1 Chr. v. 26), and in the time of Jeremiah the cities of the tribe seem to have been inhabited by the Ammonites. "Hath Israel no sons? hath he no heir? why doth Malcham (i. e. Moloch) inherit Gad, and his people dwell in his cities?" (Jer. xlix. 1).

GAD (גָּד, גָּדָד; *Gad*), "the seer" (נִחֵן), or "the king's seer," i. e. David's—such appears to have been his official title (1 Chr. xxix. 29; 2 Chr. xxix. 25; 2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Chr. xvi. 9)—was a "prophet" (נִבִּיָּא), who appears to have joined David when in "the hold," and at whose advice he quitted it for the forest of Hareth (1 Sam. xxii. 5). Whether he remained with David during his wanderings is not to be ascertained: we do not again encounter him till late in the life of the king, when he re-appears in connexion with the punishment inflicted for the numbering of the people (2 Sam. xiv. 11-19; 1 Chr. xvi. 9-19). But he was evidently attached to the royal establishment at Jerusalem, for he wrote a book of the Acts of David (1 Chr. xxix. 29), and also assisted in settling the arrangements for the musical service of the "house of God" by which his name was handed down to times long after his own (2 Chr. xxix. 25). In the abruptness of his introduction Gad has been compared with Elijah (Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 5), with whom he may have been of the same tribe, if his name can be taken as denoting his parentage, but this is unsupported by any evidence. Nor is there any apparent ground for Ewald's suggestion (*Gesch.* iii. 116) that he was of the school of Samuel. If this could be made out, it would afford a natural reason for his joining David. [DAVID, p. 405.]

GADARA, a strong city (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, §3), situated near the river Hieromax (Plin. *H. N.* v. 16), east of the Sea of Galilee, over against Scythopolis and Tiberias (Euseb. *Onom.* s. v.), and sixteen Roman miles distant from each of those places (*Itin. Anton.* ed. Wess. pp. 196, 198; *Tüb. Peut.*). It stood on the top of a hill, at the foot of which, upon the banks of the Hieromax, three miles distant, were warm springs and baths called Amatha (*Onom.* s. v. *Aetham et Gadara*; *Itin. Ant. Martyr.*). Josephus calls it the capital of Peraea; and Polybius says it was one of the most strongly fortified cities in the country (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 7, §3; Polyb. v. 71). A large district was attached to it, called by Josephus *Tadapirris* (*B. J.* iii. 10, §10); Strabo also informs us that

the warm healing springs were *ἐν τῇ Γαδαρίδι*, "in the territory of Gadara" (*Geog.* xvi.). Gadara itself is not mentioned in the Bible, but it is evidently identical with the "Country of the Gadarenes," *χώρα οὐ περὶ ἧτος τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν* (Mark v. 1; Luke viii. 26, 37).

Of the site of Gadara, thus so clearly defined, there cannot be a doubt. On a partially isolated hill, at the north-western extremity of the mountains of Gilead, about sixteen miles from Tiberias, lie the extensive and remarkable ruins of *Um Keis*. Three miles northward, at the foot of the hill, is the deep bed of the *Sheriat el-Mandhâr*, the ancient Hieromax; and here are still the warm springs of Amatha. On the west is the Jordan valley; and on the south is Wady el-'Arab, running parallel to the Mandhâr. *Um Keis* occupies the crest of the ridge between the two latter wady; and as this crest declines in elevation towards the east as well as the west, the situation is strong and commanding. The whole space occupied by the ruins is about two miles in circumference; and there are traces of fortifications all round, though now almost completely prostrate.

The first historical notice of Gadara is its capture, along with Pella and other cities, by Antiochus the Great, in the year B.C. 218 (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §3). About twenty years afterwards it was taken from the Syrians by Alex. Jannæus, after a siege of ten months (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §3; *B. J.* i. 4, §2). The Jews retained possession of it for some time; but the place having been destroyed during their civil wars, it was rebuilt by Pompey to gratify his freedman Demetrius, who was a Gadarene (*B. J.* i. 7, §7). When Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, changed the government of Judæa, by dividing the country into five districts, and placing each under the authority of a council, Gadara was made the capital of one of these districts (*B. J.* i. 8, §5). The territory of Gadara, with the adjoining one of Hippos, was subsequently added to the kingdom of Herod the Great (*Ant.* xv. 7, §3).

Gadara, however, derives its greatest interest from having been the scene of our Lord's miracle in healing the Demoniacs (Matt. viii. 28-34; Mark v. 1-21; Luke viii. 26-40). "They were no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs." Christ came across the lake from Capernaum, and landed at the south-eastern corner, where the steep, lofty bank of the eastern plateau breaks down into the plain of the Jordan. The demoniacs met Him a short distance from the shore; on the side of the adjoining declivity the "great herd of swine" were feeding; when the demons went among them the whole herd rushed down that "steep place" into the lake and perished; the keepers ran up to the city and told the news, and the excited population came down in haste, and "besought Jesus that he would depart out of their coasts." The whole circumstances of the narrative are thus strikingly illustrated by the features of the country. Another thing is worthy of notice. The most interesting remains of Gadara are its *tombs*, which dot the cliffs for a considerable distance round the city. They are excavated in the limestone rock, and consist of chambers of various dimensions, some more than 20 feet square, with recesses in the sides for bodies. The doors are slabs of stone—a few being ornamented with panels: some of them still remain in their places. The present inhabitants of *Um Keis* are all troglodytes, "dwelling in tombs," like the poor maniacs of

old; and occasionally they are almost as dangerous to the unprotected traveller. In the Gospel of Matt. (viii. 28) we have the word *Γεργεσηνῶν* (instead of *Γαδαρηνῶν*), which seems to be the same as the Hebrew גֶּרְגֵּסָיִם (LXX. *Γεργεσαῖος*) in Gen. xv. 21, and Deut. vii. 1—the name of an old Canaanitish tribe [GIRGASHITES], which Jerome (in *Comm.* ad Gen. xv.) locates on the shore of the sea of Tiberias. Origen also says (*Opp.* iv. 140) that a city called *Geryesa* anciently stood on the eastern side of the lake. Even were this true, still the other Gospels would be strictly accurate. Gadara was a large city, and its district would include Gergesa. But it must be remembered that the most ancient MSS. give the word *Γερασηνῶν*, while others have *Γαδαρηνῶν*—the former reading is adopted by Griesbach and Lachmann; while Scholz prefers the latter; and either one or other of these is preferable to *Γεργεσηνῶν*. [GERASA.]

Gadara was captured by Vespasian on the first outbreak of the war with the Jews; all its inhabitants massacred; and the town itself, with the surrounding villages, reduced to ashes (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 7, §1). It was at this time one of the most important cities east of the Jordan, and is even called the Capital of Perea. At a later period it was the seat of a bishop; but it fell to ruin at, or soon after, the Mohammedan conquest.

The ruins of *Una Keis* bear testimony to the splendour of ancient Gadara. On the northern side of the hill is a theatre, and not far from it are the remains of one of the city gates. At the latter a street commences—the *via recta* of Gadara—which ran through the city in a straight line, having a colonnade on each side. The columns are all prostrate. On the west side of the hill is another larger theatre in better preservation. The principal part of the city lay to the west of these two theatres, on a level piece of ground. Now not a house, not a column, not a wall remains standing; yet the old pavement of the main street is nearly perfect; and here and there the traces of the chariot-wheels are visible on the stones, reminding one of the thoroughfares of Pompeii. (Full descriptions of Gadara are given in *Handbook for Syr. & Pal.*; Buckham, *Syria*, 270 sq.; Porter, in *Journal of Soc. Lit.* vol. vi. 281 sq.) [J. L. P.]

**GAD'DI** (גַּדְדִּי; *Gaddi*; *Gaddi*), son of Susi; representative of the tribe of Manasseh among the spies sent by Moses to explore Canaan (Num. xiii. 11).

**GAD'DIEL** (גַּדְדִּיֶּל; *Gaddiel*; *Geddiel*), son of Sadi; representative of the tribe of Zebulun on the same occasion (Num. xiii. 10).

**GAD'I** (גַּדִּי; *Gaddi*, Alex. *Geddel*, and *Gaddel*; *Gadi*), father of Menahem, who seized the throne of Israel from Shallum (2 K. xv. 14, 17).

**GAD'HAM** (גַּדְחָם; *Tadm*, Alex. *Γαδμ*), son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxi. 24). No light has yet been thrown on this tribe. The name probably signifies sun-burnt, or swarthy.

**GAD'HAR** (גַּדְחָר; *Gadp*; *Gaher*). The Bene-Gadur were among the families of Nethinim who returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 47; Neh. vii. 49). In the lists of 1 Esd. the name is given as **GEDDUR**. [THIS OF.]

**GAD'US**. [JOHN, SECOND AND THIRD EPIST.]

## GALATIA

**GALA'AD** (Γαλαδ), 1 Macc. v. 9; 55; Jud. i. 8, xv. 5; and THE COUNTRY OF GALAAD (ἡ Γαλααδῖτις; *Galaaditis*), 1 Macc. v. 17, 20, 25, 27, 36, 45; xiii. 22), the Greek form of the word GILEAD.

**GAL'LAI** (Γαλαῖ; *Galal*; *Galal*). 1. A Levite, one of the sons of Asaph (1 Chr. ix. 15).

2. Another Levite of the family of Elkanah (1 Chr. ix. 16).

3. A third Levite, son of Jeduthun (Neh. xi. 17).

**GALA'TIA** (Γαλατία). It is sometimes difficult to determine, in the case of the names of districts mentioned in the N. T., whether they are to be understood in a general and popular sense as referring to the region inhabited by a race or tribe of people, or whether they define precisely some tract of country marked out for political purposes. Galatia is a district of this kind; and it will be convenient to consider it, first ethnologically, and then as a Roman province.

Galatia is literally the "Gallia" of the East. Roman writers call its inhabitants Galli, just as Greek writers call the inhabitants of ancient France *Γάλαται*. In 2 Tim. iv. 10, some commentators suppose Western Gaul to be meant, and several MSS. have *Γαλλίαν* instead of *Γαλατίαν*. In 1 Macc. viii. 2, where Judas Maccabaeus is leaving the story of the prowess of the Romans in conquering the *Γάλαται*, it is possible to interpret the passage either of the Eastern or Western Gauls; for the subjugation of Spain by the Romans, and their defeat of Antiochus, king of Asia, are mentioned in the same context. Again, *Γάλαται* is the same word with *Κέλται*; and the Galatians were in their origin a stream of that great Celtic torrent (apparently Kymy, and not Gael) which poured into Greece in the third century before the Christian era. Some of these invaders moved on into Thrace, and appeared on the shores of the Hellespont and Bosporus, when Nicomedes I., king of Bithynia, being then engaged in a civil war, invited them across to help him. Once established in Asia Minor, they became a terrible scourge, and extended their invasions far and wide. The neighbouring kings succeeded in repressing them within the general geographical limits, to which the name of Galatia was permanently given. Antiochus I., king of Syria, took his title of Soter in consequence of his victory over them, and Attalus I. of Pergamus commemorated his own success by taking the title of king. The Galatians still found vent for their restlessness and love of war by hiring themselves out as mercenary soldiers. This is doubtless the explanation of 2 Macc. viii. 20, which refers to some struggle of the Seleucid princes in which both Jews and Galatians were engaged. In Joseph. *B. J.* i. 20, §3, we find some of the latter, who had been in Cleopatra's body-guard, acting in the same character for Herod the Great. Meanwhile the wars had been taking place, which brought all the countries round the East of the Mediterranean within the range of the Roman power. The Galatians fought on the side of Antiochus at Magnesia. In the Mithridatic war they fought on both sides. At the end of the Republic Galatia appears as a dependent kingdom, at the beginning of the Empire as a province. (See Ritter, *Erkunde*, xviii. 597-610.)

The Roman province of Galatia may be roughly described as the central region of the peninsula of Asia Minor, with the provinces of ASIA on the

West, CAPPADOCIA on the East, PAMPHYLIA and CILICIA on the South, and BITHYNIA and PONTUS on the North. It would be difficult to define the exact limits. In fact they were frequently changing. For information on this subject, see the *Dict. of Geog.* i. 930b. At one time there is no doubt that this province contained Pisidia and Lyconia, and therefore those towns of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which are conspicuous in the narrative of St. Paul's travels. But the characteristic part of Galatia lay northward from those districts. On the table-land between the Sangarius and the Halys, the Galatians were settled in three tribes, the Teucossages, the Tolistoboi, and the Trocmi, the first of which is identical in name with a tribe familiar to us in the history of Gaul, as distributed over the Cevennes near Toulouse. The three capitals were respectively Tavium, Pessinus, and Ancyra. The last of these (the modern *Ankara*) was the centre of the roads of the district, and may be regarded as the metropolis of the Galatians. These Eastern Gauls preserved much of their ancient character, and something of their ancient language. At least Jerome says that in his day the same language might be heard at Ancyra as at Trèves; and he is a good witness; for he himself had been at Trèves. The prevailing speech, however, of the district was Greek. Hence the Galatians were called Gallograeci. ("Hijam degeneres sunt; mixti, et Gallograeci vere, quod appellantur." Maenius in Livy, xxxviii. 17.) The inscriptions found at Ancyra are Greek, and St. Paul wrote his Epistle in Greek.

It is difficult at first sight to determine in what sense the word Galatia is used by the writers of the N. T., or whether always in the same sense. In the Acts of the Apostles the journeys of St. Paul through the district are mentioned in very general terms. We are simply told (Acts xvi. 6), that on his second missionary circuit he went with Silas and Timothy through *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. From the Epistle indeed we have this supplementary information, that an attack of sickness (*δι' ἀσθενείαν τῆς σαρκός*, Gal. iv. 13) detained him among the Galatians, and gave him the opportunity of preaching the Gospel to them, and also that he was received by them with extraordinary fervour (ib. 14, 15); but this does not inform us of the route which he took. So on the third circuit he is described (Acts xviii. 23) as *διερχόμενος καθέξῃς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*. We know from the first Epistle to the Corinthians that on this journey St. Paul was occupied with the collection for the poor Christians of Judaea, and that he gave instructions in Galatia on the subject (*ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας*, 1 Cor. xvi. 1); but here again we are in doubt as to the places which he had visited. We observe that the "churches" of Galatia are mentioned here in the plural, as in the opening of the Epistle to the Galatians themselves (Gal. i. 2). From this we should be inclined to infer that he visited several parts of the district, instead of residing a long time in one place, so as to form a great central church, as at Ephesus and Corinth. This is in harmony with the phrase *ἡ Γαλατικὴ χώρα* used in both instances. Since Phrygia is mentioned first in one case, and second in the other, we should suppose that the order of the journey was different on the two occasions. Phrygia also being not the name of a Roman province, but simply an ethnographical term, it is natural to

conclude that Galatia is used here by St. Luke in the same general way. In confirmation of his view it is worth while to notice that in Acts ii. 9, 10, where the enumeration is ethnographical rather than political, Phrygia is mentioned, and not Galatia,—while the exact contrary is the case in 1 Pet. i. 1, 2, where each geographical term is the name of a province.

The Epistle to the Galatians was probably written very soon after St. Paul's second visit to them. Its abruptness and severity, and the sadness of its tone, are caused by their sudden perversion from the doctrine which the Apostle had taught them, and which at first they had received so willingly. It is no fancy, if we see in this fickleness a specimen of that "*esprit impétueux, ouvert à toutes les impressions*," that "*mobilité extrême*," which Thierry marks as characteristic of the Gaulish race (*Hist. des Gaulois*, Introd. iv. v.). From Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 6, §2, we know that many Jews were settled in Galatia; but Gal. iv. 8 would lead us to suppose that St. Paul's converts were mostly Gentiles.

We must not leave unnoticed the view advocated by Bottger (*Schauplatz der Wirklichkeit des Apostels Paulus*, pp. 28-30, and the third of his *Beiträge*, pp. 1-5), viz. that the Galatia of the Epistle is entirely limited to the district between Derbe and Colossae, i. e. the extreme southern frontier of the Roman province. On this view the visit alluded to by the Apostle took place on his first missionary circuit; and the *ἀσθένεια* of Gal. iv. 13 is identified with the effects of the stoning at Lystra (Acts xiv. 19). Geographically this is not impossible, though it seems unlikely that regions called Pisidia and Lycaonia in one place should be called Galatia in another. Bottger's geography, however, is connected with a theory concerning the date of the Epistle; and for the determination of this point we must refer to the article on the GALATIANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE. [J. S. H.]

**GALATIANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE.** was written by the Apostle St. Paul, not long after his journey through Galatia and Phrygia (Acts xviii. 23), and probably (see below) in the early portion of his two years and a half stay at Ephesus, which terminated with the Pentecost of A.D. 57 or 58. It would thus succeed in order of composition the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and would form the first of the second group of epistles, the remaining portions of which are Epistles to the Corinthians and to the Romans.

This characteristic letter was addressed to the churches of the Asiatic province of Galatia (i. 2), or Gallograecia (Strabo, xii. 566)—a province that bore in its name its well-founded claim to a Gallic or Celtic origin (Pausanias, i. 4), and that now, after an establishment, first by predatory conquest, and subsequently by recognition but limitation at the hands of neighbouring rulers (Strabo, *l. c.*; Pausanias, iv. 5), could date an occupancy, though not an independence, extending to more than three hundred years; the first subjection of Galatia to the Romans having taken place in 189 B.C. (Liv. xxxviii. 16, sq.), and its formal reduction (with territorial additions) to a regular Roman province in 26 A.D. The epistle appears to have been called forth by the machinations of Judaizing teachers, who, shortly before the date of its composition, had endeavoured to seduce the churches of this province into a recognition of circumcision (v. 2, 11, 12,

vi. 12, sq.), and had openly sought to depreciate the apostolic claims of St. Paul (comp. i. 1, 11).

The scope and contents of the epistle are thus—(1) apologetic (i., ii.) and polemical (iii., iv.), and (2) hortatory and practical (v., vi.), the positions and demonstrations of the former portion being used with great power and persuasiveness in the exhortations of the latter. The following is a brief summary:—

After an address and salutation, in which his total independence of human mission is distinctly asserted (i. 1), and a brief doxology (i. 5), the Apostle expresses his astonishment at the speedy lapse of his converts, and reminds them how he had forewarned them that even if an angel preached to them another gospel he was to be anathema (i. 6-10). The gospel he preached was not of men, as his former course of life (i. 11-14), and as his actual history subsequent to his conversion (i. 15-24), convincingly proved. When he went up to Jerusalem it was not to be instructed by the Apostles, but on a special mission, which resulted in his being formally accredited by them (ii. 1-10); nay more, when St. Peter dissembled in his communion with Gentiles, he rebuked him, and demonstrates the danger of such inconsistency (ii. 11-21). The Apostle then turns to the Galatians, and urges specially the doctrine of justification, as evinced by the gift of the Spirit (iii. 1-5), the case of Abraham (iii. 6-9), the fact of the law involving a curse, from which Christ has freed us (iii. 10-14), and lastly the prior validity of the promise (iii. 15-18), and that preparatory character of the law (iii. 19-24) which ceased when faith in Christ and baptism into Him were fully come (iii. 25-29). All this the Apostle illustrates by a comparison of the nonage of an heir with that of bondage under the law: they were now sons and inheritors (iv. 1-7), why then were they now turning back to bondage (iv. 8-11)? They once treated the Apostle very differently (iv. 12-16); now they pay court to others and awaken feelings of serious mistrust (iv. 17-20), and yet with all their approval of the law show that they do not understand its deeper and more allegorical meanings (iv. 21-30). If this be so, they must stand fast in their freedom, and beware that they make not void their union with Christ (iv. 31-v. 6): their perverters at any rate shall be punished (v. 7-12). The real fulfilment of the law is love (v. 13-15): the works of the Spirit are what no law condemns, the works of the flesh are what exclude from the kingdom of God (v. 16-26). The Apostle further exhorts the spiritual to be forbearing (vi. 1-5), the taught to be liberal to their teachers, and to remember that as they sowed so would they reap (vi. 6-10). Then after a noticeable recapitulation, and a contrast between his own conduct and that of the false teachers (vi. 11-16), and an affecting entreaty that they would trouble him no more (vi. 17), the Apostle concludes with his usual benediction (vi. 18).

With regard to the *genuineness and authenticity* of this epistle, no writer of any credit or respectability has expressed any doubts. The testimony of the early church is most decided and unanimous. Beside express references to the epistle (Irenæus, *Hæc.* iii. 7, 2, v. 21, 1; Tertull., *de Prescrip.* ch. 60, *al.*), we have one or two direct citations found as early as the time of the Apostolic Fathers (Polyc. *ad Phil.* ch. 3), and several apparent allusions (see Davidson, *Introd.* ii. 318, sq.). The attempt of Bruno Bauer (*Kritik der Paulin. Briefe*, Berlin,

1850) to demonstrate that this epistle is a compilation of later times, out of those to the Romans and to the Corinthians, has been treated by Meyer with a contempt and a severity (*Vorrede*, p. vii.; *Einleit.* p. 8) which, it does not seem too much to say, are both *completely* deserved. Such efforts are alike melancholy and desperate, but are useful in exhibiting the real issues and tendencies of all historical criticism that has the hardihood to place its own, often interested, speculations before external testimony and recognised facts.

Two historical questions require a brief notice:—

1. The number of visits made by St. Paul to the churches of Galatia previous to his writing the epistle. These seem certainly to have been two. The Apostle founded the churches of Galatia in the visit recorded Acts xvi. 6, during his second missionary journey, about A.D. 51, and revisited them at the period and on the occasion mentioned Acts xviii. 23, when he went through the country of Galatia and Phrygia, *ἐπιστρέψας πάλιν τοὺς μαθητάς*. On this occasion it would seem probable that he found the leaven of Judaism beginning to work in the churches of Galatia, and that he then warned them against it in language of the most decided character (comp. i. 9, v. 3). The majority of the new converts consisted of Gentiles (iv. 8), but, as we may infer from the language of the epistle, had considerable contact with Jews, and some familiarity with Jewish modes of interpretation. It was then all the more necessary to warn them emphatically against believing in the necessity of circumcision, and of yielding themselves up to the bondage of a law which, however strenuously urged upon them by those around them, had now become merged in that dispensation to which it was only preventive and preparatory.

2. Closely allied with the preceding question is that of the date, and place from which the epistle was written. If the preceding view be correct, the epistle could not have been written before the second visit, as it contains clear allusions to warnings that were then given when the Apostle was present with them. It must then date from some period subsequent to the journey recorded in Acts xviii. 23. How long subsequent to that journey is somewhat debatable. Conybeare and Howson, and more recently Lightfoot (*Journal of Sacred and Class. Philol.* for Jan. 1857), urge the probability of its having been written at about the same time as the Epistle to the Romans, and find it very unlikely that two epistles so nearly allied in subject and line of argument should have been separated in order of composition by the two epistles to the Corinthians. They would therefore assign Corinth as the place where the epistle was written, and the three months that the Apostle stayed there (Acts xx. 2, 3), apparently the winter of A.D. 57 or 58, as the exact period. It is not to be denied that there is a considerable plausibility in these arguments; still when we consider not only the note of time in Gal. i. 6, *ὅθως ταχέως*, but also the obvious fervour and freshness of interest that seems to breathe through the whole epistle, it does seem almost impossible to assign a later period than the commencement of the prolonged stay in Ephesus. The Apostle would in that city have been easily able to receive tidings of his Galatian converts; the dangers of Judaism, against which he personally warned them, would have been fresh in his thoughts; and when he found that these warnings were proving unavailing, and that even his apostolic

authority was becoming undermined by a fresh arrival of Judaizing teachers,—it is then that he would have written, as it were on the spur of the moment, in those terms of earnest and almost impassioned warning that so noticeably mark this epistle. We do not therefore see sufficient reason for giving up the anciently-received opinion that the epistle was written from Ephesus, perhaps not very long after the Apostle's arrival at that city. The subscription *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Παύλου* has found, both in ancient and modern times, some supporters, but seems in every way implausible, and was not unlikely suggested by a mistaken reference of the expressions in ch. vi. 17 to the sufferings of imprisonment. See Meyer, *Ephes.* p. 7; Davidson, *Introduction*, ii. 292, sq.; Alford, *Prolegomena*, p. 459.

The editions of this epistle have been very numerous. We may specify those of Winer (Lips. 1829), Rückert (Leipzig, 1831), Usleri (Zürich, 1833), Schott (Lips. 1834), Olshausen (Königsb. 1840), Windschuann (Mainz, 1843), De Wette (Leipzig, 1845), Meyer (Götting, 1851), Turner (New York, 1855), and in our own country those of Ellicott (Lond. 1854, 2nd ed. 1859), Bagge (Lond. 1856), and Alford (Lond. 1857.) [C. J. E.]

**GALBANUM** (גלבן, *chell'náh*), one of the perfumes employed in the preparation of the sacred incense (Ex. xxx. 34). The similarity of the Hebrew name to the Greek γαλβάνη and the Latin *Galbanum* has led to the supposition that the substance indicated is the same. The galbanum of commerce is brought chiefly from India and the Levant. It is a resinous gum of a brownish yellow colour, and strong, disagreeable smell, usually met with in masses, but sometimes found in yellowish tear-like drops. The ancients believed that when burnt the smoke of it was efficacious in driving away serpents and gnats (Plin. xii. 56, xix. 58, xxiv. 13; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 415). But, though galbanum itself is well known, the plant which yields it has not been exactly determined. Dioscorides (iii. 87) describes it as the juice of an umbelliferous plant growing in Syria, and called by some μετάνιον (cf. i. 71). Kùhu, in his commentary on Dioscorides (ii. p. 532) is in favour of the *Ferula ferulago*, L., which grows in North Africa, Crete, and Asia Minor. According to Pliny (xii. 56) it is the resinous gum of a plant called *stagonitis*, growing on Mount Amanus in Syria; while the *metopion* is the product of a tree near the oracle of Ammon (xi. 49). The testimony of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 7), so far as it goes, confirms the accounts of Pliny and Dioscorides. It was for some time supposed to be the product of the *Bubon galbanum* of Linnaeus, a native of the Cape of Good Hope. Don found in the galbanum of commerce the fruit of an umbelliferous plant of the tribe Silerinac, which he assumed to be that from which the gum was produced, and to which he gave the name of *Galbanum officinale*. But his conclusion was called in question by Dr. Lindley, who received from Sir John Macneil the fruits of a plant growing at Durrod, near Nishapore, in Khorassan, which he named *Opidia Galbanifera*, of the tribe Smyrnace. This plant has been adopted by the Dublin College in their Pharmacopœia, as that which yields the galbanum (Pereira, *Mat. Med.* ii. pt. 2, p. 188). M. Buhse, in his Persian travels (quoted in Royle, *Mat. Med.* pp. 471, 472), identified the plant producing galbanum with one which

he found on the Demawend mountains. It was called by the natives *Khassuck*, and bore a very close resemblance to the *Ferula erubescens*, but belonged neither to the genus *Galbanum* nor to *Opidia*. It is believed that the Persian galbanum, and that brought from the Levant, are the produce of different plants. But the question remains undecided.

If the galbanum be the true representative of the *chell'náh* of the Hebrews, it may at first sight appear strange that a substance which, when burnt by itself, produces a repulsive odour, should be employed in the composition of the sweet-smelling incense for the service of the tabernacle. We have the authority of Pliny that it was used, with other resinous ingredients, in making perfumes among the ancients; and the same author tells us that these resinous substances were added to enable the perfume to retain its fragrance longer. "Resina aut gummi adjiciuntur ad continentium odorem in corpore" (xiii. 2). Galbanum was also employed in adulterating the opobalsamum, or gum of the balsam plant (Plin. xii. 54). [W. A. W.]

**GALEED** (גלעד, *i. e.* Gal-ed = "heap of witness"). The name given by Jacob to the heap which he and Laban made on Mount Gilead, in witness of the covenant then entered into between them (Gen. xxxi. 47, 48; comp. 23, 25). [GILEAD; JEGAR-SAHADUTHIA.]

**GAL'GALA** (גלגל; *Galgala*), the ordinary equivalent in the LXX. for Gilgal. In the A. V. it is named only in 1 Macc. iv. 2, as designating the direction of the road taken by the army of Demetrius, when they attacked Masloth in Arbela—"the way to Gulgala" (ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς εἰς Γαλγала). The army, as we learn from the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 11, §1), was on its way from Antioch, and there is no reason to doubt that by Arbela is meant the place of that name in Galilee now surviving as *Irud*. [ARBELA.] Its ultimate destination was Jerusalem (1 Macc. ix. 3), and Gulgala may therefore be either the upper Gilgal near Bethel, or the lower one near Jericho, as the route through the Ghor or that through the centre of the country was chosen (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 370). Josephus omits the name in his version of the passage. It is a gratuitous supposition of Ewald's that the Galilee which Josephus introduces is a corruption of Gulgala. [G.]

**GALILEE** (Γαλιλαία). This name, which in the Roman age was applied to a large province, seems to have been originally confined to a little "circuit" (the Hebrew word גליל, *Gālîl*, the origin of the later "Galilee," like גל, signifies a "circle, or circuit") of country round Kedesh-Naphtali, in which were situated the twenty towns given by Solomon to Hiram, king of Tyre, as payment for his work in conveying timber from Lebanon to Jerusalem (Josh. xx. 7; 1 K. ix. 11; LXX. Γαλιλαία). They were then, or subsequently, occupied by strangers, and for this reason Isaiah gives to the district the name "Galilee of the Gentiles" (יִשְׂרָאֵל גִּלְיָה, Is. ix. 1. In Matt. iv. 15, Γαλιλαία ἁλλοφύλων). It is probable that the strangers increased in number, and became during the captivity the great body of the inhabitants; extending themselves also over the surrounding country, they gave to their new territories the old name, until at length Galilee became one of the largest provinces of Palestine. In the

time of the Maccabees Galilee contained only a few Jews living in the midst of a large heathen population (1 Macc. v. 20-23); Strabo states that in his day it was chiefly inhabited by Syrians, Phoenicians, and Arabs (xvi. p. 760); and Josephus says Greeks also dwelt in its cities (*Vit.* 12).

In the time of our Lord all Palestine was divided into three provinces, Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee (*Acts* ix. 31; *Luke* xvii. 11; *Joseph. B. J.* iii. 3). The latter included the whole northern section of the country, including the ancient territories of Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali. Josephus defines its boundaries, and gives a tolerably full description of its scenery, products, and population. He says the soil is rich and well cultivated; fruit and forest trees of all kinds abound; numerous large cities and populous villages, amounting in all to no less than two hundred and forty, thickly stud the whole face of the country; the inhabitants are industrious and warlike, being trained to arms from their infancy (*B. J.* iii. 3, §3; *Vit.* 45). On the west it was bounded by the territory of Ptolemais, which probably included the whole plain of Akka to the foot of Carmel. The southern border ran along the base of Carmel and of the hills of Samaria to Mount Gilboa, and then descended the valley of Jezreel by Scythopolis to the Jordan. The river Jordan, the Sea of Galilee, and the upper Jordan to the fountain at Dan, formed the eastern border; and the northern ran from Dan westward across the mountain ridge till it touched the territory of the Phoenicians (*B. J.* iii. 3, §1, ii. 18, §9; comp. *Luke* viii. 26).

Galilee was divided into two sections, "Lower" and "Upper;" *ἡ κάτω καὶ ἡ ἄνω Γαλιλαία*. Cyril says (*c. Jul.* ii.) *Εἰσι γὰρ Γαλιλαίας δύο, ὧν ἡ μία κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἦγε μὲν ἑτέρα ταῖς Φοινίκων πόλεσιν ὕμωρος τε καὶ γέλιων*. A single glance at the country shows that the division was natural. Lower Galilee included the great plain of Esdraelon with its offshoots, which run down to the Jordan and the Lake of Tiberias; and the whole of the hill-country adjoining it on the north to the foot of the mountain-range. The words of Josephus are clear and important (*B. J.* iii. 3, §1): *Καὶ τῆς μὲν κάτω καλουμένης Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος μέχρι Ζαβουλὸν ἥς ἐν τοῖς παραλλοῖς Πτολεμαῖς γέλιων τὸ μῆκος ἐκτείνεται· πλατύνεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένης κόμης ἡ ἑλὼδὸς καλεῖται μέχρι Βηροσάβης*. "The village of Xuloth" is evidently the Chesulloth of *Josh.* xix. 12, now called *Iksâl*, and situated at the base of Mount Tabor, on the northern border of the Great Plain (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 359). But a comparison of Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 6, §4, with *B. J.* iii. 2, §4, proves that Lower Galilee extended as far as the village of Ginea, the modern *Jemâ*, on the extreme southern side of the plain. The site of the northern border town, Bersabe, is not known; but we learn incidentally that both Arbela and Jotapata were in Lower Galilee (*Joseph. Vit.* 37; *B. J.* ii. 20, §6); and as the former was situated near the north-west angle of the Lake of Tiberias, and the latter about eight miles north of Nazareth (Porter, *Handbook*, pp. 432, 377), we conclude that Lower Galilee included the whole region extending from the plain of Akka, on the west, to the shores of the lake on the east. It was thus one of the richest and most beautiful sections of Palestine. The Plain of Esdraelon presents an unbroken surface of fertile soil—soil so good that to enjoy it the tribe of Issa-

char condescended to a semi-nomadic state, and "became a servant to tribute" (*Dent.* xxxiii 18; *Gen.* xlix. 14, 15). With the exception of a few rocky summits round Nazareth the hills are all wooded, and sink down in graceful slopes to broad winding vales of the richest green. The outlines are varied, the colours soft, and the whole landscape is characterised by that picturesque luxuriance which one sees in parts of Tuscany. The blessings promised by Jacob and Moses to Zebulun and Asher seem to be here inscribed on the features of the country. Zebulun, nestling amid these hills, "offers sacrifices of righteousness" of the abundant flocks nourished by their rich pastures; he rejoices "in his goings out" along the fertile plain of Esdraelon; "he sucks of the abundance of the seas"—his possessions skirting the bay of Haifa at the base of Carmel; and "he sucks of treasures hid in the sand," probably in allusion to the *glass*, which was first made from the sands of the river Belus (*Dent.* xxxiii. 18, 19; *Plin.* v. 19; *Tac. Hist.* v.). Asher, dwelling amid the hills on the north-west of Zebulun, on the borders of Phoenicia, "dips his feet in oil," the produce of luxuriant olive groves, such as still distinguish this region; "his bread," the produce of the plain of Phoenicia, and the fertile upland valleys "is fat;" "he yields royal dainties"—oil and wine from his olives and vineyards, and milk and butter from his pastures (*Gen.* xlix. 20; *Dent.* xxxiii. 24, 25). The chief towns of Lower Galilee were Tiberias, Tarichea, at the south-east end of the Sea of Galilee, and Sepphoris (*Joseph. Vit.* 9, 25, 29, 37). The latter played an important part in the last great Jewish war (*Joseph. Vit.* 45; *B. J.* ii. 18, §11). It is now called *Sefûrich*, and is situated about three miles north of Nazareth (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 378). There were besides two strong fortresses, Jotapata, now called *Jesâd*, and Mount Tabor (*Joseph. B. J.* iii. 7, §3 sq., iv. 1, §6). The towns most celebrated in N. T. history are Nazareth, Cana, and Tiberias (*Luke* i. 26; *John* i. 1, vi. 1).

*Upper Galilee*, according to Josephus, extended from Bersabe on the south, to the village of Bana, on the borders of the territory of Tyre, and from Meloth on the west, to Thelna, a city near the Jordan (*B. J.* iii. 3, §1). None of these places are now known, but there is no difficulty in ascertaining the position and approximate extent of the province. It embraced the whole mountain-range lying between the upper Jordan and Phoenicia. Its southern border ran along the foot of the Safed range from the north-west angle of the Sea of Galilee to the plain of Akka. To this region the name "Galilee of the Gentiles" is given in the O. and N. T. (*Is.* ix. 1; *Matt.* iv. 15). So Eusebius states: *ἡ μὲν Γαλιλαία ἐθνῶν ἑρεται ἐν ὄρεισι Τυρέων παρακειμένη, ἐνθα ἔβουκε Σολομὼν τῷ Χιρὰμ καὶ πόλεις κλήρου Νεφθαλείμ* (*Onom.* v. v. *Γαλιλαία*). The town of Capernaum, on the north shore of the lake, was in upper Galilee (*Onom.* s. v. *Capernaum*), and this fact is important, as showing how far the province extended southward, and as proving that it, as well as Lower Galilee, touched the lake. The mountain-range of Upper Galilee is a southern prolongation of Lebanon, from which it is separated by the deep ravine of the Leontes [*LEBANON*]. The summit of the range is table-land; part of which is beautifully wooded with dwarf oak, intermixed with tangled shrubberies of hawthorn and arbutus. The whole is varied by fertile upland plains, green forest glades, and wild

picturesque glens breaking down to the east and west. The population are still numerous and industrious, consisting chiefly of Metāwileh, a sect of Mohammedans. Safed is the principal town, and contains about 1000 souls, one-third of whom are Jews. It is one of the four holy Jewish cities of Palestine, and has for three centuries or more been celebrated for the sacredness of its tombs, and the learning of its Rabbins. Safed seems to be the centre of an extensive volcanic district. Shocks of earthquake are felt every few years. One occurred in 1837, which killed about 5000 persons (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 438). On the table-land of Upper Galilee he the ruins of Kedesh-Naphtali (Josh. xx. 7), and Giscala (now *cl-Jish*), a city fortified by Josephus, and celebrated as the last place in Galilee that held out against the Romans (*B. J.* ii. 22, §6, iv. 1, §1, 2, §1-5).

Galilee was the scene of the greater part of our Lord's private life and public acts. His early years were spent at Nazareth; and when He entered on His great work He made Capernaum His home (Matt. iv. 13, ix. 1). It is a remarkable fact that the first three Gospels are chiefly taken up with our Lord's ministrations in this province; while the Gospel of John dwells more upon those in Judaea. The nature of our Lord's parables and illustrations was greatly influenced by the peculiar features and products of the country. The vineyard, the fig-tree, the shepherd, and the desert in the parable of the Good Samaritan, were all appropriate in Judaea; while the corn-fields (Mark iv. 28), the fisheries (Matt. xiii. 47), the merchants (Matt. xiii. 45), and the flowers (Matt. vi. 28), are no less appropriate in Galilee. The Apostles were all either Galileans by birth or residence (Acts i. 11); and as such they were despised, as their Master had been, by the proud Jews (John i. 46, vii. 52; Acts ii. 7). It appears also that the pronunciation of those Jews, who resided in Galilee, had become peculiar, probably from their contact with their Gentile neighbours (Matt. xxvi. 73; Mark xiv. 70; see Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 7). After the destruction of Jerusalem Galilee became the chief seat of Jewish schools of learning, and the residence of their most celebrated Rabbins. The National Council or Sanhedrin was taken for a time to Jabneh in Philistia, but was soon removed to Sepphoris, and afterwards to Tiberias (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. p. 141). The *Mishna* was here compiled by Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh (cir. A.D. 109-220); and a few years afterwards the *Gemara* was added (Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, p. 19). Remains of splendid synagogues still exist in many of the old towns and villages, showing that from the second to the seventh century the Jews were as prosperous as they were numerous (Porter, *Handbook*, pp. 427, 440). [J. L. P.]

#### GALILEE, SEA OF. [GENNESARETH.]

**GALL.** The Heb. word so rendered in many passages of Scripture is שָׂאֵל, or, as it is written in Deut. xxii. 32, שָׂאֵל. It was some kind of bitter and poisonous herb, but great differences exist as to the particular herb which it indicates. According to Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. 46 seq.) it was *hemlock* (so rendered by A. V. in Hos. x. 4); Oedmann says *colocynthis*, and Michaelis *tarex*; but Gesenius, with greater probability, "*the poppy*." In Jer. viii. 14, ix. 15, xxiii. 15, שָׂאֵל, *succus papaveris* = opium.

In all the passages, when שָׂאֵל is rendered by *gall* in the A. V., the LXX. have χαλῆ, except in Am. vi. 12, where they have πικρα. The Gk. χαλῆ signifies a bitter juice, one of the humours of the body in man and beast, and is so used in the N. T., literally in Matt. xxvii. 34, and metaphorically in Acts viii. 23. In Job xvi. 13 the Heb. מִרְרָה, and ib. xx. 14, 25, מִרְרָה is rendered *gall* in the A. V., the derivation of either word being from מִרַר, *to bitter*. In Job xvi. 13, xx. 25 the gall of the human body is signified, but in xx. 14 the gall = the poison of asps (comp. Heb. xii. 15, βίσα πικρίας). [W. D.]

**GALLERY**, an architectural term, describing the porticos or verandas, which are not uncommon in Eastern houses. It is doubtful, however, whether the Hebrew words, so translated, have any reference to such an object. (1.) In Cant. i. 17, the word *rāchit* (רָחִית) means "panelling," or "fretted work," and is so understood in the LXX. and Vulg. (φάρμακα, *lyneare*). The sense of a "gallery" appears to be derived from the marginal reading *rāhit* (רָהִית, *Aeri*), which contains the idea of "running," and so of an ambulatory, as a place of exercise: such a sense is, however, too remote to be accepted. (2.) In Cant. vi. 6, *rāhit* is applied to the hair, the regularly arranged, flowing locks being compared by the poet to the channels of running water seen in the pasture-grounds of Palestine. [HARR.] (3.) In Ez. xli. 15, xli. 3, the word *attik* (אַתִּיק) seems to mean a pillar, used for the support of a floor. The LXX. and Vulg. give in the latter passage *περίστυλον*, and *porticus*, but a comparison of verses 5 and 6 shows that the "galleries" and "pillars" were identical; the reason of the upper chambers being shorter is ascribed to the absence of supporting pillars, which allowed an extra length to the chambers of the lower story. The space thus included within the pillars would assume the corner of an open gallery. [W. L. B.]

#### GALLEY. [SHIP.]

**GALLIM** (גָּלִילִים = "heap," or possibly "springs;" Γαλλεῖμ; *Gallim*), a place which is twice mentioned in the Bible:—(1.) As the native place of the man to whom Michal David's wife was given—"Phalti the son of Laish, who was from Gallim" (יִשְׁבֵּי גָלִילִים 1 Sam. xxv. 44). The LXX. has *Ρόμμα*, and Josephus Γεθλά; but there is no clue in either to the situation of the place. In 2 Sam. iii. 15, 16, where Michal returns to David at Hebron, her husband is represented as following her as far as Bahurim, i. e. on the road between the Mount of Olives and Jericho (comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 1). But even this does not necessarily point to the direction of Gallim, because Phalti may have been at the time with Ishbosheth at Mahanaim, the road from which would naturally lead past Bahurim. (2.) The name occurs again in the catalogue of places terrified at the approach of Sennacherib (*Is.* x. 30): "Lift up thy voice, O daughter (i. e. O inhabitant) of Gallim! attend, O Laish! poor Anathoth!" The other towns in this passage—Aiath, Michmash, Ramah, Gibeah of Saul—are all, like Anathoth, in the tribe of Benjamin, a short distance north of Jerusalem. It should not be overlooked that in both these passages the names Laish and Anathoth are mentioned in connexion. Possibly the *Ben-Laish* in the former implies that Phalti was a native of Laish, that being dependent on Gallim.

Among the names of towns added by the LXX. to those of Judah in Josh. xv. 59, Galem (Γαλέμ) occurs, between Kaem and Thether. In Is. xv. 8, the Vulgate has Gallim for Eglaim, among the towns of Moab.

The name of Gallim has not been met with in modern times. Schwartx (131) reports a *Beit-Djallin* between Kamleh and Jorja, but by other explorers the name is given as *Beit-Dejim*. Eusebius, from hearsay (λέγεται), places it near Akkaron (Ekron). [G.]

**GALLIO** (Γαλλίον; Junius Annaeus Gallio, Plin. H. N. xxi. 33), the Roman proconsul of Achaia when St. Paul was at Corinth, A.D. 53, under the Emperor Claudius. He was brother to Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher, and was originally named Marcus Annaeus Novatus, but got the above name from his adoption into the family of the rhetorician Lucius Junius Gallio. (See Tacit. Ann. xv. 73, xvi. 17; Seneca, Nat. Quaest. 4 prief.; Dion Cass. ix. 35; Statius, Silv. ii. 7, 32.) Gallio appears to have resigned the government of Achaia on account of the climate not agreeing with his health, Seneca, Ep. civ.: *quoniam in Achaia febrem habere coepisset, protinus navem adscendit, clamatibus non corporis esse sed loci morbum*. The character of him which his brother gives is in accordance with that which we might infer from the narrative in the Acts: *nemo mortalium mihi tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus: Gallionem fratrem meum, quem nemo non purum amat, Achaia qui amare plus non potest*. And Statius (l. c.) says, *Hoc plus quam Senecam dedisse mundo, aut dulcem generasse Gallionem*. He is said to have been put to death by Nero, "as well as his brother Seneca, but not at the same time" (Winer); but there is apparently no authority for this. Tacitus describes him, Ann. xv. 73, as *fratris morte perditum, et pro sui involuntate supplicem*; and Jerome in the Chronicle of Eusebius says that he committed suicide in the year 65 A.D. Of Seneca's works, the *De Ira* is dedicated to him (*Exegiisti a me, Novate, &c.*), and the *Vita Beata* (*Vivere, Gallio frater, omnes beate volunt*). [H. A.]

#### GALLOWS. [PUNISHMENT.]

**GAM'AEI** (Γαμαλήλ, Alex. Γαμαήλ; Amoenus), 1 Esd. viii. 29. [DANIEL, 3.]

**GAMALIEL** (Γαμαλιήλ; Γαμαλιήλ; Gamaliel), son of Pedahzur; prince or captain (שׂר) of the tribe of Manasseh at the census at Sinai (Num. i. 10; ii. 20; vii. 54, 59), and at starting on the march through the wilderness (x. 23).

**GAMALIEL** (Γαμαλιήλ; for the Hebrew equivalent see the preceding article), a Pharisee and celebrated doctor of the law, who gave prudent worldly advice in the Sanhedrim respecting the treatment of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth (Acts v. 34 ff.). We learn from Acts xxii. 3, that he was the preceptor of St. Paul. He is generally identified with the very celebrated Jewish doctor Gamaliel, who is known by the title of "the glory of the law," and was the first to whom the title "Rabban," "our master," was given. The time agrees, and there is every reason to suppose the assumption to be correct. This Gamaliel was son of Rabbi Simeon, and grandson of the celebrated Hillel; he was president of the Sanhedrim under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, and is reported to have died eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Winer says,

"after" (nach); but it is evidently a mistake, for he was succeeded in the presidency by his son Simeon, who perished in the siege (see Lightfoot, *Centuria chorographica Multaero praemissa*, ch. xv.). If the identity be assumed, there is no reason—and we should arrive at the same result by inference from his conduct in Acts (l. c.)—for supposing him at all inclined towards Christianity. The Jewish accounts make him die a Pharisee. And when we remember that in Acts v. he was opposing the then prevalent feature of Sadduceism in a matter where the Resurrection was called in question, and was a wise and enlightened man opposing furious and unreasoning zealots,—and consider also, that when the *anti-pluristical* element in Christianity was brought out in the acts and sayings of Stephen, his pupil Saul was found the foremost persecutor,—we should be slow to suspect him of forwarding the Apostles as followers of Jesus.

Ecclesiastical tradition makes him become a Christian, and be baptised by St. Peter and St. Paul (Phot. Cod. 171, p. 199), together with his son Gamaliel, and with Nicodemus; and the Clementine Recognitions (i. 65) state that he was secretly a Christian at this time. Various notices and anecdotes concerning him will be found in Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*, edition 2, vol. i. pp. 69 ff. [H. A.]

**GAMES.** Of the three classes into which games may be arranged, juvenile, manly, and public, the two first alone belong to the Hebrew life, the latter, as noticed in the Bible, being either foreign introductions into Palestine or the customs of other countries. With regard to juvenile games, the notices are very few. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the Hebrew children were without the amusements adapted to their age. The toys and sports of childhood claim a remote antiquity; and if the children of the ancient Egyptians had their dolls of ingenious construction, and played at ball (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, abridgm. i. 197), and if the children of the Romans amused themselves much as those of the present day,

"Aedificare casas, plostello adungere mures,  
Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa" —  
Hor. 2 Sat. iii. 247.

we may imagine the Hebrew children doing the same, as they played in the streets of Jerusalem (Zech. viii. 5). The only recorded sports, however, are keeping tame birds (Job xli. 5; cf. Psall. 2, 1, *Passer, deliciae meae puellae*) and imitating the proceedings of marriages or funerals (Matt. xi. 16).

With regard to manly games, they were not much followed up by the Hebrews; the natural earnestness of their character and the influence of the climate alike indisposed them to active exertion. The chief amusement of the men appears to have consisted in conversation and joking (Jer. xv. 17; Prov. xxvi. 19). A military exercise seems to be noticed in 2 Sam. ii. 14, but the term under which it is described (פָּרִיעַ) is of too general an application to enable us to form an idea as to its character: if intended as a sport it must have resembled the *Djerid*, with the exception of the combatants not being mounted; but it is more consonant to the sense of the passage to reject the notion of sport and give *sichak* the sense of *fencing* or *fighting* (Theinins, *Comm. in loc.*). In Jerome's day the usual sport consisted in lifting weights as a trial of strength, as also practised in Egypt

(Wilkinson, i. 207). Dice are mentioned by the Talmudists (*Mishna, Sanhedr.* 3, 3; *Shabb.* 23, 2), probably introduced from Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 424); and, if we assume that the Hebrews imitated, as not improbably they did, other amusements of their neighbours, we might add such games as odd and even, *mora* (the *micra digitis* of the Romans), draughts, hoops, catching balls, &c. (Wilkinson, i. 188). If it be objected that such trifling amusements were inconsistent with the gravity of the Hebrews, it may be remarked that the amusements of the Arabians at the present day are equally trifling, such as blind man's buff, hiding the ring, &c. (Wellsted's *Arabia*, i. 160).

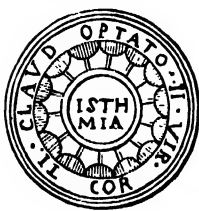
Public games were altogether foreign to the spirit of Hebrew institutions: the great religious festivals supplied the pleasurable excitement and the feelings of national union which rendered the games of Greece so popular, and at the same time inspired the persuasion that such gatherings should be exclusively connected with religious duties. Accordingly the erection of a *gymnasium* by Jason, in which the circus was chiefly practised, was looked upon as a heathenish proceeding (1 Macc. i. 14; 2 Macc. iv. 12-14), and the subsequent erection by Herod of a theatre and amphitheatre at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, §1), as well as at Caesarea (*Ant.* xv. 9, §6; *B. J.* i. 21, §8) and at Berytus (*Ant.* xix. 7, §5), in each of which a quinquennial festival in honour of Caesar was celebrated with the usual contests in gymnastics, chariot-races, music, and with wild beasts,—was viewed with the deepest aversion by the general body of the Jews (*Ant.* xv. 8, §1).

The entire absence of verbal or historical reference to this subject in the Gospels shows how little it entered into the life of the Jews: some of the foreign Jews, indeed, imbibed a taste for theatrical representations; Josephus (*Vita*, 3) speaks of one Alitmus, an actor of farces (*μυρολόγος*), who was in high favour with Nero. Among the Greeks the rage for theatrical exhibitions was such that every city of any size possessed its theatre and stadium. At Ephesus an annual contest (*ἀγὼν καὶ γυμνικός καὶ μουσικός*, Thucyd. iii. 104) was held in honour of Diana, which was superintended by officers named *Ἀσπίρχαι* (Acts xix. 31; A. V. "chief of Asia"). [ANIARCHÆ.] It is probable that St. Paul was present when these games were proceeding, as they were celebrated in the month of May (comp. Acts xx. 16; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ii. 81). A direct reference to the exhibitions that took place on such occasions is made in the term *θρηνημαχία* (1 Cor. xv. 32). The *θρηνημαχοί* were sometimes professional performers, but more usually criminals (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8, §1) who were exposed to lions and other wild beasts without any means of defence (Cic. *Pro Sest.* 64; Tertull. *Apol.* 9). Political offenders were so treated, and Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 3, §1) records that no less than 2500 Jews were destroyed in the theatre at Caesarea by this and similar methods. The expression as used by St. Paul is usually taken as metaphorical, both on account of the qualifying words *κατ' ἄνθρωπον*, the absence of all reference to the occurrence in the Acts, and the rights of citizenship which St. Paul enjoyed: none of these arguments can be held to be absolutely conclusive, while on the other hand the term *θρηνημαχία* is applied in its literal sense in the Apostolical Epistles (Ign. *ad Eph.* 1; *ad Trall.* 10; Mart. *Polyo.* 3; cf. Euseb. *E. H.*

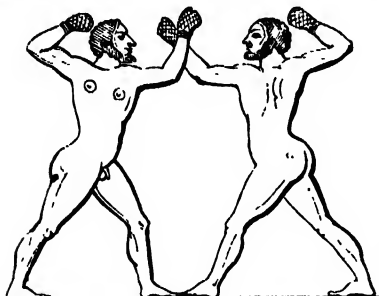
iv. 15), and, where metaphorically used (Ign. *ad Rom.* 5), an explanation is added which implies that it would otherwise have been taken literally. Certainly St. Paul was exposed to some extraordinary suffering at Ephesus, which he describes in language borrowed from, if not descriptive of, a real case of *θρηνημαχία*; for he speaks of himself as a criminal condemned to death (*ἐπιθανάσιος*, 1 Cor. iv. 9; *ἀποκρίμα τοῦ θανάτου ἐσχέκαμεν*, 2 Cor. i. 9), exhibited previously to the execution of the sentence (*ἀπέδειξεν*, 1 Cor. i. c.), reserved to the conclusion of the games (*ἐσχάτους*) as was usual with the *theriomachi* (*novissimos elegit, rebus bestiarios*, Tertull. *de Pudic.* 14), and thus made a spectacle (*θεάτρον ἐγενήθημεν*). Lightfoot (*Exercit.* on 1 Cor. xv. 32) points to the friendliness of the Asiarchs at a subsequent period (Acts xix. 31) as probably resulting from some wonderful preservation which they had witnessed. Nero selected this mode of executing the Christians at Rome, with the barbarous aggravation that the victims were dressed up in the skins of beasts (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44). St. Paul may possibly allude to his escape from such torture in 2 Tim. iv. 17). [*Dict. of Ant.* art. BERTIARII.]

St. Paul's Epistles abound with allusions to the Greek contests, borrowed probably from the Isthmian games, at which he may well have been present during his first visit to Corinth (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 206). These contests (*ὁ ἀγὼν*—a word of general import, applied by St. Paul, not to the *fight*, as the A. V. has it, but to the *race*, 2 Tim. iv. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 12) were divided into two classes, the *panorutium*, consisting of boxing and wrestling, and the *pentathlon*, consisting of leaping, running, quoiting, hurling the spear, and wrestling. The competitors (*ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος*, 1 Cor. ix. 25; *ἐὰν ἀθλῇ τις*, 2 Tim. ii. 5) required a long and severe course of previous training (cf. *σωματικὴ γυμνασία*, 1 Tim. iv. 8), during which a particular diet was enforced (*πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, δουλαγωγῶ*, 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27). In the Olympic contests these preparatory exercises (*προγυμνάσματα*) extended over a period of ten months, during the last of which they were conducted under the supervision of appointed officers. The contests took place in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators (*περικείμενον νέφος μαρτύρων*, Heb. xii. 1), the competitors for the spectacle (*θεάτρον* = *θέαμα*, 1 Cor. iv. 9; *θεαζόμενοι*, Heb. x. 33). The games were opened by the proclamation of a herald (*κηρύξας*, 1 Cor. ix. 27), whose office it was to proclaim the name and country of each candidate, and especially to announce the name of the victor before the assembled multitude. Certain conditions and rules were laid down for the different contests, as, that no bribe be offered to a competitor: that in boxing the combatants should not lay hold of one another, &c.; any infringement of these rules (*ἐὰν μὴ νόμιμως ἀθλῇσθ*, 2 Tim. ii. 5) involved a loss of the prize, the competitor being pronounced disqualified (*ἀδόκιμος*, 1 Cor. ix. 27; *indignus brabeo*, Bengel.). The judge was selected for his spotless integrity (*ὁ δίκαιος κριτής*, 2 Tim. iv. 8): his office was to decide any disputes (*βραβεύων*, Col. iii. 15; A. V. "rule") and to give the prize (*τὸ βραβεῖον*, 1 Cor. ix. 24; Phil. iii. 14), consisting of a crown (*στέφανος*, 2 Tim. ii. 5, iv. 8) of leaves of wild olive at the Olympic games, and of pine or, at one period, ivy at the Isthmian games. These crowns, though perishable (*φθαρτόν*, 1 Cor. ix. 25; cf. 1 Pet. v

4), were always regarded as a source of unfailing exultation (Phil. iv. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 19): palm



branches were also placed in the hands of the victors (Rev. vii. 9). St. Paul alludes to two only out of the five contests, boxing and running, most frequently to the latter. In boxing (*πυγμαχή*; cf. *πυκτεύω*, 1 Cor. ix. 26), the hands and arms were bound with the *cestus*, a band of leather studded with nails, which very much increased the severity of the blow, and rendered a bruise inevitable (*δυναμίδω*, 1 Cor. i. c.; *ὕψια* = τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦς ὤπας τῶν πληγῶν ἰχνη, Pollux, *Onom.* ii. 4, 52). The skill of the combatant was shown in avoiding the blows of his adversary so that they were expended on the air (*οὐκ ὡς ἀέρα θέραν*, 1 Cor. i. c.). The foot-race (*δρόμος*, 2 Tim. iv. 7, a word peculiar to St. Paul; cf. Acts xiii. 25, xx,



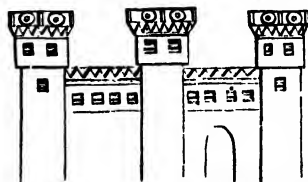
Boxing

24) was run in the *stadium* (*ἐν σταδίῳ*; A. V. "race"; 1 Cor. ix. 24), an oblong area, open at one end and rounded in a semicircular form at the other, along the sides of which were the raised tiers of seats on which the spectators sat. The race was either from one end of the *stadium* to the other, or, in the *διαυλος*, back again to the starting-post. There may be a latent reference to the *διαυλος* in the expression *ἀρχηγὸν καὶ*



*τελειωτὴν* (Heb. xii. 2), Jesus being, as it were, the starting-point and the goal, the *locus a quo* and the *locus ad quem* of the Christian's course. The judge was stationed by the goal (*σκοπὴν*; A. V. "mark"; Phil. iii. 14), which was clearly visible from one end of the *stadium* to the other, so that the runner could make straight for it (*οὐκ ὡς ἀδήλας*, 1 Cor. ix. 26). St. Paul brings vividly before our minds the earnestness of the competitor, having cast off every encumbrance (*ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα*), especially any closely-fitting robe (*εὐπερίστατον*, Heb. xii. 1; cf. Conybeare and Howson, ii. 543), holding on his course uninterruptedly (*διώκω*, Phil. iii. 12), his eye fixed on the distant goal (*ἀφορῶντες, ἀπέβλεπε*, Heb. xii. 2, xi. 26; *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος*), his perseverance (*δὲ ὑπομονῆς*, Heb. xii. 1), his joy at the completion of the course (*μετὰ χαρᾶς*, Acts xx. 24), his exultation as he not only receives (*ἐλαβον*, Phil. iii. 12) but actually grasps (*καταλάβω*, not "apprehend" as A. V. Phil.; *ἐκλαβοῦ*, 1 Tim. vi. 12, 19) the crown which had been set apart (*ἀποκρίεται*, 2 Tim. iv. 8) for the victor. [W. L. B.]

**GAMMADIMS (גַּמְדִּים).** This word occurs only in Ez. xxvii. 11, where it is said of Tyre "the Gammadims were in thy towers." A variety of explanations of the term have been offered. (1.) One class turns upon a supposed connexion with *גַּמְדִּים*, a cubit, as though = *cubit high men*, whence the Vulg. has *Pygmaei*. Michaelis thinks, that the apparent height alone is referred to, with the intention of conveying an idea of the great height of the towers. Spencer (*de Laj. Heb. Rit.* ii. cap. 24) explains it of small images of the tutelary gods, like the Lares of the Romans. (2.) A second class treats it as a geographical or local term; Grotius holds *Gamad* to be a Hebraized form of the name *Ancon*, a Phœnician town; the Chaldee paraphrase has *Cappadocinans*, as though reading *גַּמְדִּים*; Fuller (*Miscell.* vi. 3) identifies them as the inhabitants of Gamala (Plin. v. 14); and again the word has been broken up into *גַּמְדִּים* = also the *Males*. (3.) A third class gives a more general sense to the word; Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 292) connects it with *גַּמְדִּים*, a *rough*, whence the sense of brave warriors, *hostes arborum instar cadentes*. Hitzig (*comm. in loc.*) suggests deserters (*nebel-läufer*) and draws attention to the preposition *in* as favouring this sense: he inclines, however, to the opinion that the prophet had in view Cant. iv. 4, and that the word *גַּמְדִּים* in that passage has been successively corrupted into *גַּמְדִּים*, as read by the LXX. which gives *φύλακες*, and *גַּמְדִּים*, as in the present text. After all, the rendering in the LXX.



Castle of a maritime people, with the shields hanging upon the walls. (From a bas-relief at Kouyunklik. Layard.)

furnishes the simplest explanation: the Lutherau translation has followed this, giving *wächter*. The following words of the verse—"they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about"—are illustrated by one of the bas-reliefs found at Kouyunjik (See preceding cut). [W. L. B.]

**GAMUL** (גַּמּוּל; δ Γαμούλ, Alex. Γαμουλα; *Gammul*), a priest; the leader of the 22nd course in the service of the sanctuary (1 Chr. xxiv. 17).

**GAR** (גַּר; *Sasus*). "Sons of Gar" are named among the "sons of the servants of Solomon" in 1 Esd. v. 34. There are not in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah any names corresponding to the two preceding and the six succeeding this name. It does not appear whence the form of the name in the A. V. is derived.

**GARDEN** (גַּרְדֵּן, גִּבְרִין; κήπος). Gardens in the East, as the Hebrew word indicates, are inclosures, on the outskirts of towns, planted with various trees and shrubs. From the allusions in the Bible we learn that they were surrounded by hedges of thorn (Is. v. 5), or walls of stone (Prov. xxiv. 31). For further protection lodges (Is. i. 8; Lam. ii. 6) or watchtowers (Mark xii. 1) were built in them, in which sat the keeper (גִּבְרִין, Job xxvii. 18) to drive away the wild beasts and robbers, as is the case to this day. Layard (*Nin. & Bab.* p. 365) gives the following description of a scene which he witnessed:—"The broad silver river wound through the plain, the great ruin cast its dark shadows in the moonlight, the lights of 'the lodges in the gardens of cucumbers' flickered at our feet, and the deep silence was only broken by the sharp report of a rifle fired by the watchful guards to frighten away the wild boars that lurked in the melon beds." The scarecrow also was an invention not unknown (*προβασκάνιον*, Bar. vi. 70).

The gardens of the Hebrews were planted with flowers and aromatic shrubs (Cant. vi. 2, iv. 16), besides olives, fig-trees, nuts, or walnuts (Cant. vi. 11), pomegranates, and others for domestic use (Ex. xxiii. 11; Jer. xxix. 5; Am. ix. 14). The quince, medlar, citron, almond, and service trees are among those enumerated in the Mishna as cultivated in Palestine (*Kilaim*, i. §4). Gardens of herbs, or kitchen-gardens, are mentioned in Deut. xi. 10, and 1 K. xxi. 2. Cucumbers were grown in them (Is. i. 8; Bar. vi. 70), and probably also melons, leeks, onions, and garlic, which are spoken of (Num. xi. 5) as the productions of a neighbouring country. In addition to these, the lettuce, mustard-plant (Luke xiii. 19), coriander, endive, one of the bitter herbs eaten with the paschal lamb, and rue, are particularised in the precepts of the Mishna, though it is not certain that they were all, strictly speaking, cultivated in the gardens of Palestine (*Kilaim*, i. §§2, 8). It is well known that, in the time of the Romans, the art of gardening was carried to great perfection in Syria. Pliny (xx. 16) says, "Syria in hortis operosissima est; indeque proverbium Graecis, 'Multa Syrorum olera;' " and again (xii. 54) he describes the balsam plant as growing in Judea alone, and there only in two royal gardens. Strabo (xvi. p. 763), alluding to one of these gardens near Jericho, calls it δ τοῦ βασιλέως παράδεισος. The rose-garden in Jerusalem, mentioned in the Mishna (*Manseroth*, ii. §5), and said to have been situated westward of the

temple mount, is remarkable as having been one of the few gardens which, from the time of the prophets, existed within the city walls (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvi. 36). They were usually planted without the gates, according to the gloss quoted by Lightfoot, on account of the fetid smell arising from the weeds thrown out from them, or from the manure employed in their cultivation.

The gate Geunath, mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, §2), is supposed to have derived its name from the rose-garden already mentioned, or from the fact of its leading to the gardens without the city. It was near the garden-ground by the Gate of the Women that Titus was surprised by the Jews while reconnoitring the city. The trench by which it was surrounded cut off his retreat (*Jos. B. J.* v. 2, §2). But of all the gardens of Palestine none is possessed of associations more sacred and imperishable than the garden of Gethsemane, beside the oil-presses on the slopes of Olivet. Eight aged olive trees mark the site which tradition has connected with that memorable garden-scene, and their gnarled stems and almost leafless branches attest an antiquity as venerable as that which is claimed for them. [GETHESEMANE.]

In addition to the ordinary productions of the country, we are tempted to infer from Is. xvi. 10 that in some gardens care was bestowed on the rearing of exotics. To this conclusion the description of the gardens of Solomon in the Targum on Eccl. ii. 5, 6 seems to point: "I made me well-watered gardens and parades, and sowed there all kinds of plants, some for use of eating, and some for use of drinking, and some for purposes of medicine; all kinds of plants of spices. I planted in them trees of emphiness (i. e. not fruit-bearing), and all trees of spices which the spectres and demons brought me from India, and every tree which produces fruit; and its border was from the wall of the citadel, which is in Jerusalem, by the waters of Siloah. I chose reservoirs of water, which behold! are for watering the trees and the plants, and I made me fish-ponds of water, some of them also for the plantation which ears the trees to water it."

In a climate like that of Palestine the neighbourhood of water was an important consideration in selecting the site of a garden. The nomenclature of the country has perpetuated this fact in the name Engannim—"the fountain of gardens"—the modern *Jenin* (cf. Cant. iv. 15). To the old Hebrew poets "a well-watered garden," or "a tree planted by the waters," was an emblem of luxuriant fertility and material prosperity (Is. lviii. 11; Jer. xvii. 8, xxi. 12); while no figure more graphically conveyed the idea of dreary barrenness or misery than "a garden that hath no water" (Is. i. 30). From a neighbouring stream or cistern were supplied the channels or conduits, by which the gardens were intersected, and the water was thus conveyed to all parts (Ps. i. 3; Eccl. ii. 6; Eccles. xxiv. 30). It is matter of doubt what is the exact meaning of the expression "to water with the foot" in Deut. xi. 10. Niebuhr (*Descr. de l'Arabie*, p. 138) describes a wheel which is employed for irrigating gardens where the water is not deep, and which is worked by the hands and feet after the manner of a treadmill, the men "pulling the upper part towards them with their hands, and pushing with their feet upon the lower part" (Robinson, ii. 226). This mode of irrigation might be described as "watering with the foot." But the method practised by the agriculturists in Oman, as

narrated by Wellsted (*Trav.* i. 281), answers more nearly to this description, and serves to illustrate Prov. xxi. 1: "After ploughing, they form the ground with a spade into small squares with ledges on either side, along which the water is conducted . . . . When one of the hollows is filled, the peasant stops the supply by turning up the earth with his foot, and thus opens a channel into another."

The orange, lemon, and mulberry groves which lie around and behind Jaffa supply, perhaps, the most striking peculiarities of oriental gardens—gardens which Maundrell describes as being "a confused miscellany of trees jumbled together, without either posts, walks, arbours, or anything of art or design, so that they seem like thickets rather than gardens" (*Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 416). The Persian wheels, which are kept ever working, day and night, by mules, to supply the gardens with water, leave upon the traveller's ear a most enduring impression (Lynch, *Exp. to Jordan*, p. 441; Sildon's *Memoir*, 187).

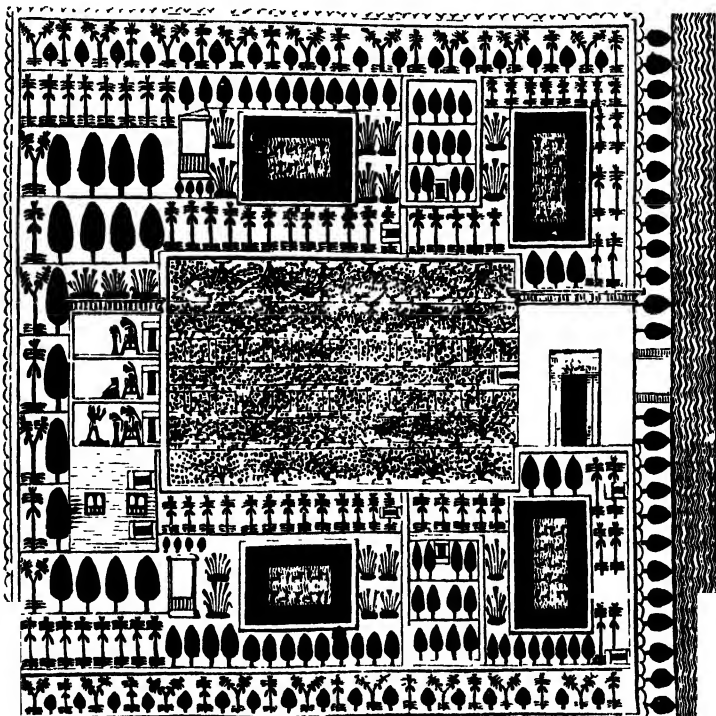
The law against the propagation of mixed species (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9, 11) gave rise to numerous enactments in the Mishna to ensure its observance. The portions of the field or garden, in which the various plants were sown, were separated by light fences of reed, ten palms in height, the distance between the reeds being not more than three palms, so that a kid could not enter (*Kilaim*, iv. §§3, 4).

The kings and nobles had their country-houses surrounded by gardens (1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 27), and these were used on festal occasions (Cant. v. 1). So intimately, indeed, were gardens associated with

festivity that horticulture and conviviality are, in the Talmud, denoted by the same term (cf. Buxtorf, *I. e. r. Talm. s. v. מנוח*). It is possible, however, that this may be a merely accidental coincidence. The garden of Ahasuerus was in a court of the palace (Esth. i. 5), adjoining the banqueting-hall (Esth. vii. 7). In Babylon the gardens and orchards were inclosed by the city-walls (Layard, *Nia.* ii. 246). Attached to the house of Joachim was a garden or orchard (Sus. 4)—"a garden inclosed" (Cant. iv. 12)—provided with baths and other appliances of luxury (Sus. 15; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 2).

In large gardens the orchard (פריה, *paradeisosos*) was probably, as in Egypt, the inclosure set apart for the cultivation of date and sycamore trees, and fruit-trees of various kinds (Cant. iv. 13; Eccl. ii. 5). Schroeder, in the preface to his *Thesaurus Lingue Armenice*, asserts that the word "parides" is of Armenian origin, and denotes a garden near a house, planted with herbs, trees, and flowers. It is applied by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 10) and Berosus (quoted by Jos. Ant. x. ii. §1), to the famous hanging gardens of Babylon. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2 §7) describes the "paradise" at Celaenae in Phrygia, where Cyrus had a palace, as a large preserve full of wild beasts; and Aulus Gellius (ii. 20) gives "*vinaria*" as the equivalent of *παράδεισος* (cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyrr.* i. 38). The officer in charge of such a domain was called "the keeper of the paradise" (Neh. ii. 8).

The ancient Hebrews made use of gardens as places of burial (John xix. 41). Manasseh and his son Amon were buried in the garden of their



palace, the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18, 26; *ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρατέτοις*, Jos. *Ant.* x. 3, §2). The retirement of gardens rendered them favourite places for devotion (Matt. xxvi. 36; John xviii. 1; cf. Gen. xxiv. 63). In the degenerate times of the monarchy they were selected as the scenes of idolatrous worship (Is. i. 29, lxx. 3, lxxi. 17), and images of the idols were probably erected in them.

Gardeners are alluded to in Job xxvii. 18 and John xx. 15. But how far the art of gardening was carried among the Hebrews we have few means of ascertaining. That they were acquainted with the process of grafting is evident from Rom. xi. 17, 24, as well as from the minute prohibitions of the Mishna;<sup>a</sup> and the method of propagating plants by layers or cuttings was not unknown (Is. xvii. 10). Buxtorf says that *אֲרִיסִין*, *אַרְיִין* (Mishna, *Biccurin*, i. §2) were gardeners who tended and looked after gardens on consideration of receiving some portion of the fruit (*Lex. Talm.* s. v.). But that gardening was a special means of livelihood is clear from a proverb which contains a warning against rash speculations: "Who hires a garden eats the birds; who hires gardeners, him the birds eat" (Dukes, *Robbia. Blumenlese*, p. 141).

The traditional gardens and pools of Solomon, supposed to be alluded to in Eccl. ii. 5, 6, are shown in the *Wady Urds* (i. e. Hortus), about an hour and quarter to the south of Bethlehem (cf. Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, §3). The Arabs perpetuate the tradition in the name of a neighbouring hill, which they call "*Jebel-el-Faridis*," or "Mountain of the Paradise" (Stanley, *Sin. & Pal.* p. 166). Maundrell is sceptical on the subject of the gardens (*Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 457), but they find a champion in Van de Velde, who asserts that they "were not confined to the *Wady Urds*; the hill-slopes to the left and right also, with their heights and hollows, must have been covered with trees and plants, as is shown by the names they still bear, as 'peach-hill,' 'nut-vale,' 'fig-vale,' &c. (*Syria & Pal.* ii. 27).

The "king's garden," mentioned in 2 K. xxv. 4, Neh. iii. 15, Jer. xxxiv. 4, lii. 7, was near the pool of Siloam, at the mouth of the Tyropoeon, north of Bir Eyub, and was formed by the meeting of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Ben Hinnom (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 498). Josephus places the scene of the feast of Adonijah at Enrogel, "beside the fountain that is in the royal paradise" (*Ant.* vii. 14 §4; cf. also ix. 10, §4). [W. A. W.]

**GAREB** (גָּרֵב; *Γαρέβ*), one of the heroes of David's army (2 Sam. xxiii. 38). He is described as the (A. V. "an") Ithrite, *et ipse Jethrites*, Vulg. This is generally explained as a patronymic = son of Jether. It may be observed, however, that Ira, who is also called the Ithrite in this passage, is called the Jairite in 2 Sam. xx. 26, and that the readings of the LXX. vary in the former passage *Ἰεθραῖος*, *Ἰεθραῖος*, and *Ἰεθραῖος*. These variations support to a certain extent the sense given in the Syriac version, which reads in 2 Sam. xx. 26 *הַיִּתְרִי*, i. e. an inhabitant of Jethir in the mountainous district of Judah. [W. L. B.]

**GAREB, THE HILL** (גִּבְעַת גָּרֵב; *Bouvol Γαράβ*; *collis Gareb*), in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, named only in Jer. xxxi. 39. [JERUSALEM.]

<sup>a</sup> It was forbidden to graft trees on trees of a different kind, or to graft vegetables on trees or trees on vegetables (*Kilaim*, l. §7, 8).

**GARIZIM** (Γαρίζιν, Alex. *Γαρίζιν*; *Gurizin*), 2 Mac. v. 23; vi. 2. [GURIZIM.]

**GARLICK** (שֶׁמֶץ; *τὰ σκόρδα*; *allia*), mentioned in Num. xi. 5 as one of the Egyptian plants, the loss of which was regretted by the mixed multitude at Taberah. It is the *Allium Sativum* of Linnaeus, which abounds in Egypt (see Cels. *Herobot.* pt. ii. p. 52 seq.), a fact evident from Herodotus (ii. 125), when he states that the allowance to the workmen for this and other vegetables was inscribed on the great pyramid. [W. D.]

**GARMENT.** [DRESS.]

**GARMITE**, THE (גַּרְמִית; *Γαρμί*, Alex. *σταρμι*; *Garmi*). Keilah the Garmite, i. e. the descendant of Garem (see the Targum on this word), is mentioned in the obscure genealogical lists of the families of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 19). Keilah is apparently the place of that name; but there is no clue to the reason of the sobriquet here given it.

**GARRISON.** The Hebrew words so rendered in the A. V. are derivatives from the root *natzab* to "place, erect," which may be applied to a variety of objects. (1.) *Natzab* and *nattzabab* (נָצַב, נִצְבָּב) undoubtedly mean a "garrison," or fortified post (1 Sam. xiii. 23, xiv. 1, 4, 12, 15; 2 Sam. xxiii. 14). (2.) *Natzib* (נָצִיב) is also used for a "garrison" (in 1 Chr. xi. 16), but elsewhere for a "column" erected in an enemy's country as a token of conquest, like the *stelae* erected by Sesostris (Her. ii. 102, 106): the LXX. correctly gives *ἀνδρόπημα* (1 Sam. x. 5): Jonathan broke in pieces a column which the Philistines had erected on a hill (1 Sam. xiii. 3). (3.) The same word elsewhere means "officers" placed over a vanquished people (2 Sam. viii. 6, 14; 1 Chr. xviii. 13; 2 Chr. xvii. 2): the presence of a "garrison" in such cases is implied but not expressed in the word (comp. 1 K. iv. 7, 19). (4.) *Nattzabab* (נָצַבָב) means a "pillar" in Ez. xxvi. 11, reference is made to the beautiful pillars of the Tyrian temples, some of which attracted the attention of Herodotus (ii. 44). [W. L. B.]

**GASHMU** (גַּשְׁמוּ; *Gossem*, Neh. vi. 6. Assumed by all the lexicons to be a variation of the name of GESHEM (see vers. 1, 2). The words "and Gashmu saith" are omitted in both MSS. of the LXX.

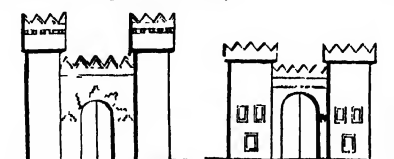
**GA'TAM** (גַּתָּם; *Γαθάμ*, *Γαωθάμ*, Alex. *Γαθάμ*; *Gatham*, *Gathan*), the fourth son of Eliphaz the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11; 1 Chr. i. 36), and one of the "dukes" of Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 16). By Knobel (*Genesis*, ad loc.) the name is compared with *Jokam* (جَدَام), a tribe inhabiting a part of the mountains of *Sherah* called *Hismah*. But in this case the *Ain* in the original name would have been dropped, which is very rarely the case. Röddiger (Gesen. *Thes.* iii. 80) quotes *جاشمة* as the name of an Arab tribe, referring to Ibn Duraid, 1854, p. 300.

**GATE.** 1. שַׁעַר, from שָׁעַר, *to divide*, Gesen. p. 1458; *πύλη*; *porta*, *introitus*. 2. פֶּתַח, from פָּתַח, *to open*, Ges. p. 1138; *θύρα*, *πύλη*; *ostium*, a "doorway." 3. מֶשֶׁךְ, a vestibule or gateway; *αὐλή*, *σταθμός*; *limen*, *postes*. 4. מַעְרָב, Chald.

only in Ezra and Daniel; ἀλφή, θύρα; ostium, fores. 5. דָּלָה, from דָּלָה, to hang down; Gesen. p. 339, a door; θύρα; valva, ostium, fores, the "door" or valve.

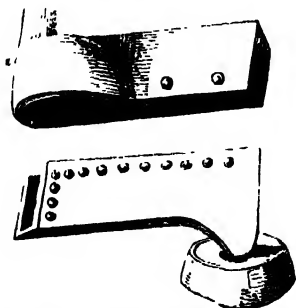
The gates and gateways of eastern cities anciently held, and still hold, an important part, not only in the defence but in the public economy of the place. They are thus sometimes taken as representing the city itself (Gen. xxii. 17, xxiv. 60; Deut. xii. 12; Judg. v. 8; Ruth iv. 10; Ps. lxxxvii. 2, cxxii. 2). Among the special purposes for which they were used may be mentioned—1. As places of public resort, either for business, or where people sat to converse and hear news (Gen. xix. 1, xxiii. 10, xxiv. 20, 24; 1 Sam. iv. 18; 2 Sam. xv. 2, xviii. 24; Ps. lxxix. 12; Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16; Shaw, p. 207). 2. Places for public deliberation, administration of justice, or of audience for kings and rulers, or ambassadors (Deut. xvi. 18, xxi. 19, xxv. 7; Josh. xx. 4; Judg. ix. 35; Ruth iv. 1; 2 Sam. xix. 8; 1 K. xxii. 10; Job xxix. 7; Prov. xvii. 22, xxiv. 7; Jer. xvii. 19, xxxviii. 7; Lam. v. 14; Am. v. 12; Zech. viii. 16; Polyb. xv. 31). Hence came the usage of the word "Porte" in speaking of the government of Constantinople (*Early Trav.* p. 349). 3. Public markets (2 K. vii. 1; comp. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1243, ed. Bekk.; Neh. xiii. 16, 19). [CITIES.] In heathen towns the open spaces near the gates appear to have been sometimes used as places for sacrifice (Acts xiv. 13; comp. 2 K. xxiii. 8).

Regarded therefore as positions of great importance the gates of cities were carefully guarded and closed at nightfall (Deut. iii. 5; Josh. ii. 5, 7; Judg. ix. 40, 44; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 2 Sam. xi. 23; Jer. xxxix. 4; Judith i. 4). They contained chambers over the gateway, and probably also chambers or recesses at the sides for the various purposes to which they were applied (2 Sam. xviii. 24; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 57, and note).



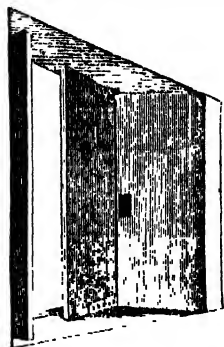
Assyrian gates. (Layard.)

The gateways of Assyrian cities were arched or square-headed entrances in the wall, sometimes



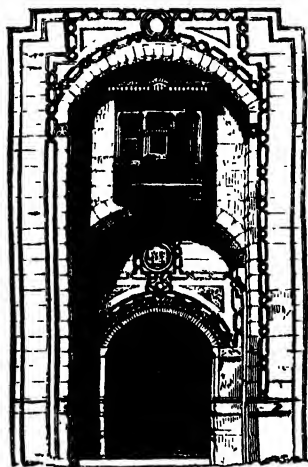
Egyptian doors. - Fig. 1. The upper pin, on which the door turned Fig. 2. Lower pin. (Wilkinson)

flanked by towers (Layard, *Ninereh*, ii. 388, 395, *Nin. & Bab.* 231, *Mons. of Nin.* Pt. 2, pl. 49; see also Assyrian bas-reliefs in Brit. Mus. Nos. 49, 25, 26). In later Egyptian times, the gates of the temples seem to have been intended as places of defence, if not the principal fortifications (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 409, abridgm.). The doors themselves of the larger gates mentioned in Scripture were two-leaved, plated with metal, closed with locks and fastened with



An Egyptian folding-door.

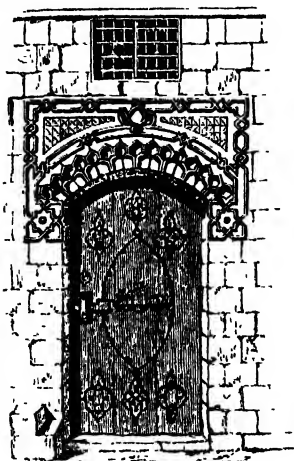
metal bars (Deut. iii. 5; Judg. xvi. 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 1 K. iv. 13; 2 Chr. viii. 5; Neh. iii. 3-15; Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xlv. 1, 2; Jer. xlix. 31). Gates not defended by iron were of course liable to be set on fire by an enemy (Judg. ix. 52).



Modern Egyptian door. (Lane.)

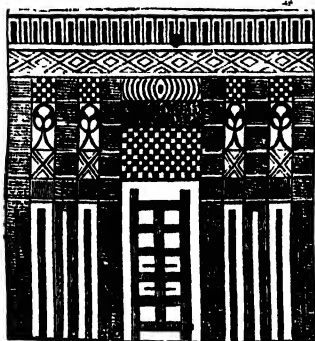
The gateways of royal palaces and even of private houses were often richly ornamented. Sentences from the Law were inscribed on and above the gates, as in Mohammedan countries sentences from the Kuran are inscribed over doorways and on doors (Deut. vi. 9; Is. liv. 12; Rev. xxi. 21; Maundrell, *E. T.* p. 488; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 29; Rauwolf, *Travels*, Pt. iii. c. 10; Ray, ii. p. 278). The principal gate of the royal palace at Isfahan was in Chardin's time held sacred, and served as a sanctuary for criminals (Chardin, vii. 368, and petitions were presented to the sovereign at the

gate. See Esth. iv. 2, and Herod. iii. 120, 140). The gateways of Nimroud and Persepolis were flanked by colossal figures of animals.



Modern Egyptian door. (Linn.)

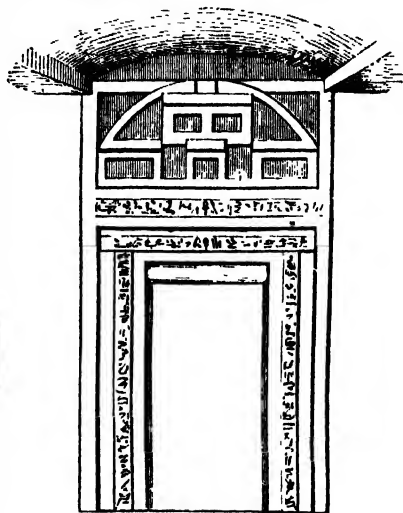
The gates of Solomon's Temple were very massive and costly, being overlaid with gold and carvings (1 K. vi. 34, 35; 2 K. xviii. 16). Those of the Holy Place were of olive-wood, two-leaved, and overlaid with gold; those of the temple of fir (1 K. vi. 31, 32, 34; Ez. xli. 23, 24). Of the gates of the outer court of Herod's temple, 9 were covered with gold and silver, as well as the posts and lintels, but the outer one, the Beautiful Gate (Acts iii. 2), was made entirely of Corinthian brass, and was considered to surpass the others far in costliness (Joseph. *B. J. v.* 5, §3). This gate, which was so heavy as to require 20 men to close it, was unexpectedly found open on one occasion shortly before the close of the siege (Joseph. *B. J. vi.* 5, §4; *c. Ap. ii.* 9).



Ancient Egyptian door. (Wilkinson.)

The figurative gates of pearl and precious stones (Is. liv. 12; Rev. xxi. 21) may be regarded as having their types in the massive stone doors which are found in some of the ancient houses in Syria. These are of single slabs several inches thick, sometimes 10 feet high, and turn on stone pivots above

and below (Maundrell, *Ear. Trav.* 447; Shaw, 210; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 58, 74; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 22, 192; Ray, *Coll. of Trav.* ii. 429).



Ancient Egyptian door. (Wilkinson.)

Egyptian doorways were often richly ornamented. The parts of the doorway were the threshold (חֶבֶל, Judg. xix. 27; *πρόθυρον*, *limen*); the side-posts (תִּלְתִּימִי; *σταθμοί*; *utroque postis*), the lintel (חֶבֶל; *φάλα*, *superliminare*, Ex. xii. 7). It was on the lintel and side-posts that the blood of the Passover lamb was sprinkled (Ex. xii. 7, 22). A trace of some similar practice in Assyrian worship seems to have been discovered at Nineveh (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 256).

The camp of the Israelites in the desert appears to have been closed by gates (Ex. xxxii. 27).

The word "door" in reference to a tent, expresses the opening made by dispensing with the cloths in front of the tent, which is then supported only by the hinder and middle poles (Gen. xviii. 2; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 42).

In the Temple, Levites, and in houses of wealthier classes, and in palaces, persons were especially appointed to keep the door (Jer. xxv. 4; 2 K. xii. 9, xxv. 18; 1 Chr. ix. 18, 19; Est. ii. 21; *חֹמְרֵי*; *θυρωροί*, *πυλῶροι*; *portarii*, *janitores*). In the A. V. these are frequently called "porters," a word which has now acquired a different meaning. The chief steward of the household in the palace of the Shah of Persia was called chief of the guardians of the gate (Chardin, vii. 369). [CURTAIN; HOUSE; TEMPLE.] [H. W. P.]

GATH (גַּת, "a wine-press;" גֶּת; Joseph. *Γῆτα*; *Geth*), one of the five royal cities of the Philistines (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 17); and the native place of the giant Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 4, 23). The site of Gath has for many centuries remained unknown. The writer of this article made a tour through Philistia in 1857, one special object of which was to search for the long lost city. After a careful survey of the country, and a minute examination of the several passages of Scripture in

which the name is mentioned, he came to the conclusion that it stood upon the conspicuous hill now called *Tell-es-Sâfeh*. This hill stands upon the side of the plain of Philistia, at the foot of the mountains of Judah; 10 miles E. of Ashdod, and about the same distance S. by E. of Ekron. It is irregular in form, and about 200 ft. high. On the top are the foundations of an old castle; and great numbers of hewn stones are built up in the walls of the terraces that run along the declivities. On the N.E. is a projecting shoulder, whose sides appear to have been scarped. Here, too, are traces of ancient buildings; and here stands the modern village, extending along the whole northern face of the hill. In the walls of the houses are many old stones, and at its western extremity two columns still remain on their pedestals. Round the sides of the hill, especially on the S., are large cisterns excavated in the rock. Gath occupied a strong position (2 Chr. xi. 8) on the border of Judah and Philistia (1 Sam. xxi. 10; 1 Chr. xviii. 1); and from its strength and resources, forming the key of both countries, it was the scene of frequent struggles, and was often captured and recaptured (2 Chr. xi. 8, xxvi. 6; 2 K. xii. 17; Am. vi. 2). It was near Shocoh and Adullam (2 Chr. xi. 8), and it appears to have stood on the way leading from the former to Ekron; for when the Philistines fled on the death of Goliath, they went "by the way of Shaaraim, even unto Gath and unto Ekron" (1 Sam. xvii. 1, 52). All these notices combine in pointing to *Tell-es-Sâfeh* as the site of Gath. The statements of most of the early geographers as to the position of Gath are not only confused, but contradictory, probably owing to the fact that there was more than one place of the same name. But there is one very clear description by Eusebius, translated without change or comment by Jerome. It is as follows: "Gath, from which the Anakim and Philistines were not exterminated, is a village seen by such as go from Eleutheropolis to Diospolis, at about the fifth milestone"—*κάμην παρίοντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως περὶ διόσπολιν περὶ πέμπτου σημείου τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως* (Onom. s. v. Γεθθά). The road from Eleutheropolis, now *Beit Jechin*, to Diospolis or Lydda, must have passed near *Tell-es-Sâfeh*, which would be distinctly seen at about the distance indicated. Eusebius mentions another Gath (Onom. s. v. *Geth*), a large village between Antipatris and Jamnia, which he considered to be that to which the Ark was carried (1 Sam. v. 8), but this position, on the western side of the plain of Philistia, does not agree with the descriptions above referred to. Jerome, who, as stated above, translates Eusebius' former notice without change or comment, gives a perplexing statement in his Comm. on Micah: *Geth una est de 5 urbibus Palaestinae vicina Judaeae confinio et de Eleutheropoli euntibus Gazam, nunc usque vicus vel maximus*. Yet in his preface to Jonah, he says that Geth in Opher, the native place of the prophet, is to be distinguished: *Atharum Geth urbium quae iuxta Eleutheropolim sive Diospolim hodie quoque monstrantur*. On the whole then there is nothing in these notices to contradict the direct statement of Eusebius, and we may, therefore, safely conclude that *Tell-es-Sâfeh* is its site.

The ravages of war to which Gath was exposed appear to have destroyed it at a comparatively early period, as it is not mentioned among the other royal cities by the later prophets (Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 5, 6). It is familiar to the Bible student as the

scene of one of the most romantic incidents in the life of king David (1 Sam. xxi. 10-15), when to save his life "he feigned himself mad; scrambled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard." A few years later he returned to the city, was well received by the Philistine king, and had Ziklag assigned to him as a residence. He then secured some firm friends among his hereditary foes, who were true to him when his own son rebelled. We have few more striking examples of devoted attachment than that of Ittai the Gittite (2 Sam. xv. 19-22). [J. L. P.]

**GATH-HE'PHER**, or **GITT'AH-HE'THIK** (גִּתְהֵפֶר, "the wine-press of the well;," and with ה loc. גִּתְהֵפֶר, Josh. xix. 13), a town on the border of the territory of Zebulun, not far from Japhia, now *Yâfa* (Josh. xix. 12, 13), celebrated as the native place of the prophet Jonah (2 K. xiv. 25). Jerome says, (*Proem. in Jonam*): *Geth, quae est in Opher hand grandis est viculus, in secundo Sepphoris miliario quae hodie appellatur Diocaesarea euntibus Tiberiulem, ubi et sepulcrum ejus ostenditur*. Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century says that the tomb of Jonah was still shown on a hill near Sepphoris (*Early Travels in Pal.* p. 89). About 2 miles E. of *Seferich* (Sepphoris), on the top of a rocky hill stands the little village of *el-Meshhad*, in which the tomb of Jonah yet exists. It belongs to the Muslims, and both they and the Christians of Nazareth agree in regarding this as the native village of the prophet. There can scarcely be a doubt that *el-Meshhad* is the ancient Gath-hepher. [J. L. P.]

**GATH-RIM'MON** (גִּתְרִמּוֹן). 1. A city given out of the tribe of Dan to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 24; 1 Chr. vi. 69), situated on the plain of Philistia, apparently not far from Joppa (Josh. xix. 45). Eusebius mentions a Γεθθά lying between Antipatris and Jamnia, which would answer well to the position of Gath-rimmon (Onom. s. v. *Geth*). But in another place he says Γεθρεμμὸν νῦν ἔστι κάμην μεγίστη ἀπὸ σημείων β' Διοσπόλεως ἀπὸντων εἰς Ἐλευθερόπολιν (Onom. s. v.). This, however, would seem to agree better with the position of Gath, the royal city of Philistia, than of that assigned to Gath-rimmon in the passage above cited. The site of Gath-rimmon is unknown (Richard, 808).

2. A town of the half tribe of Manasseh west of the Jordan, assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 25). It is only once mentioned, and the LXX. reading is *Βαυθάρ*. In the parallel passage in 1 Chr. vi. 70, this town is called *BILHAM*. The reading Gath-rimmon is, therefore, probably an error of the transcribers, and may be merely a repetition of the same name occurring in the previous verse. [J. L. P.]

**GA'ZA** (גִּזְזָא, i. e. *Azzah*; גִּזְזָא; still called *Ghuzzeh* or *'Azzah*: the form *Gazara* is found in the Apocrypha and Josephus, and Brocardus mentions it as used in his day), one of the five chief cities of the Philistines. It is remarkable for its continuous existence and importance from the very earliest times. Like Damascus, it is mentioned both in the book of Genesis and in the Acts of the Apostles; and it is still a place of very considerable size, larger than Jerusalem.

The secret of this unbroken history is to be found in the situation of Gaza. It is the last town in the

S.W. of Palestine, on the frontier towards Egypt. *Ἐσχάτη ὠκεῖοις ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Φουβίας ἰδνται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἑρήμου* (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 26). It lay on the road which must always have been the line of communication between the valley of the Nile and the whole region of Syria. Even now its bazaars are better than those of Jerusalem. "Those travelling towards Egypt naturally lay in here a stock of provisions and necessaries for the desert; while those coming from Egypt arrive at Gaza exhausted, and must of course supply themselves anew" (Robinson, ii. 40).

The same peculiarity of situation has made Gaza important in the military sense. Its name means "the strong;" and this was well elucidated in its siege by Alexander the Great, which, notwithstanding all his resources of artillery, lasted five months. As Van de Velde says (p. 187), it was the key of the country. What had happened in the times of the Pharaohs (Jer. xlvii. 1) and Cambyses (Pomp. Mel. i. 11) happened again in the struggles between the Ptolemies and Seleucidae (Polyb. v. 68, xvi. 40). This city was one of the most important military positions in the wars of the Maccabees (see 1 Macc. xi. 61, 62, xiii. 43; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §5, and 13, §3). By the Romans it was assigned to the kingdom of Herod (xv. 7, §3), and after his death to the province of Syria (xvii. 11, §4). Nor does the history of Gaza in connexion with war end here. In A.D. 634 it was taken by the generals of the first Khalif Abu Bekr, though he did not live to hear of the victory. Some of the most important campaigns of the crusaders took place in the neighbourhood. In the 12th century we find the place garrisoned by the Knights Templars. It finally fell into the hands of Saladin, A.D. 1170, after the disastrous battle of Hattin.

The Biblical history of Gaza may be traced through the following stages:—In Gen. x. 19 it appears, even before the call of Abraham, as a "border" city of the Canaanites. With this we should compare the descriptive words in Deut. ii. 23, where the name is spelt "Azzah" in the English Version. In the conquest of Joshua the territory of Gaza is mentioned as one which he was not able to subdue (Josh. x. 41, xi. 22, xiii. 3). It was assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 47), and that tribe did obtain possession of it (Judg. i. 18); but they could not hold it long; for soon afterwards we find it in the hands of the Philistines (Judg. iii. 3, xiii. 1, xvi. 1, 21); indeed it seems to have been their capital; and notwithstanding the gigantic efforts of Samson, who died here, Gaza apparently continued through the times of Sennacherib, Saul, and David to be a Philistine city (1 Sam. vi. 17, xiv. 52, xxxi. 1; 2 Sam. xxi. 15). Solomon became master of "Azzah" (1 K. iv. 24). But in after times the same trouble with the Philistines recurred (2 Chr. xxi. 16, xxvi. 6, xxviii. 18). In these passages, indeed, Gaza is not specified, but there is little doubt that it is implied. In 2 K. xviii. 8, we are distinctly told that Hezekiah "smote the Philistines even unto Gaza, and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city." During this period of Jewish history, it seems that some facts concerning the connexion of Gaza with the invasion of Sennacherib may be added from the inscriptions found at Nineveh (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 144). We ought here to compare certain passages in the prophets where the name of the Philistine city occurs: viz. Am. i. 6, 7; Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 5. The

period intermediate between the Old and New Testaments has been touched on above.

The passage where Gaza is mentioned in the N. T. (Acts viii. 26) is full of interest. It is the account of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch on his return from Jerusalem to Egypt. The words in this passage—"Arise and go towards the south, unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem to Gaza, which is desert" (*ἀρῶν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς τὴν ἄρῃαν αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἑρήμος*), have given rise to much discussion. It is doubted, in the first place, whether they are to be attributed to the angel or to the narrator. The solution of this doubt depends partly on another question, viz. whether *αὐτὴ* is to be referred to the road or the city. If to the latter, the remark will naturally be understood as St. Luke's; and we may suppose that he wrote the passage just after the beginning of the Jewish war (A.D. 65), when Gaza was actually desolated (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 18, §1). Others would refer us to a passage of Strabo, where he says that the town was *ἐρήμος* after it was taken by Alexander; but the text of Strabo in this place is doubtful; and it is evident (see above) that the statement cannot be literally true. Pomponius Mela speaks of Gaza as "ingens urbs et munita admodum," and it is prominently noticed in Pliny. Some suppose (as Jerome) that the site of Gaza was changed: and this may possibly be true; for Strabo says that it was only seven stadia from the sea, whereas it is now considerably more: and the encroachment of the drifting sands near the coast may have been a motive for the restorers of the city to move it further eastwards. The probability, however, is that the words *αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἑρήμος* refer to the road, and are used by the angel to inform PHILIP, who was then in Samaria, on what route he would find the eunuch. Besides the ordinary road from Jerusalem by Ramleh to Gaza, there was another, more favourable for carriages (Acts viii. 28), further to the south, through Hebron, and thence through a district comparatively without towns and much exposed to the incursions of people from the desert. The matter is discussed by Raumer in one of his *Beiträge*, incorporated in the last edition of his *Palästina*, also by Robinson in the Appendix to the second volume. The latter writer suggests a very probable place for the baptism, viz. at the water in the *Wady-el-Nasy*, between Eleutheropolis and Gaza, not far from the old sites of Lachish and Eglon. The legendary scene of the baptism is at *Beit-sar*, between Jerusalem and Hebron: the tradition having arisen apparently from the opinion that Philip himself was travelling southwards from Jerusalem. But there is no need to suppose that he went to Jerusalem at all. Lange (*Apost. Zeitalt.* ii. 109) gives a spiritual sense to the word *ἐρήμος*.

The modern *Ghuzzeh* is situated partly on an oblong hill of moderate height, and partly on the lower ground. The climate of the place is almost tropical, but it has deep wells of excellent water. There are a few palm-trees in the town, and its fruit-orchards are very productive. But the chief feature of the neighbourhood is the wide-spread olive-grove to the N. and N.E. Hence arises a considerable manufacture of soap, which *Ghuzzeh* exports in large quantities. It has also an active trade in corn. For a full account of nearly all that has been written concerning the topographical and historical relations of Gaza, see Ritter's *Erdkunde*.

xvi. 45-60. Among the travellers who have described the place we may mention especially Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, ii. 35-45) and Van de Velde (*Syria and Palestine*, ii. 179-188), from whom we have already quoted; also Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, ii. 331-343). The last writer speaks of the great extent of corn-land near Gaza, and of the sound of mill-stones in the city. Both these circumstances are valuable illustrations of the acts and sufferings of SAMSON, the great hero of Gaza. [J. S. H.]

**GAZ'ARA** (גָּזָרָא, and גָּזָרָא; *Gazara*), a place frequently mentioned in the wars of the Maccabees, and of great importance in the operations of both parties. Its first introduction is as a stronghold (ἀσχυρμα), in which Timotheus took refuge after his defeat by Judas, and which for four days resisted the efforts of the infuriated Jews (2 Macc. x. 32-36). One of the first steps of Bacchides, after getting possession of Judaea, was to fortify Bethsura and Gazara and the citadel (ἄκρᾱ) at Jerusalem (1 Macc. ix. 52); and the same names are mentioned when Simon in his turn recovered the country (xiv. 7, 33, 34, 36; xv. 28). So important was it, that Simon made it the residence of his son John as general-in-chief of the Jewish army (xiii. 53, xvi. 1).

There is every reason to believe that Gazara was the same place as the more ancient GEZER or GAZEZ. The name is the same as that which the LXX. use for Gezer in the O. T.; and more than this, the indications of the position of both are very much in accordance. As David smote the Philistines from Gibeon to Gezer, so Judas defeats Gorgias at Emmaus, and pursues him to Gazara (1 Macc. iv. 15). Gazara also is constantly mentioned in connexion with the sea-coast—Joppa and Jamnia (xv. 28, 35; iv. 15), and with the Philistine plain, Azotus, Adasa, &c. (iv. 15; vii. 45; xiv. 34). [G.]

**GA'ZATHITES, THE** (גִּזְאִיתִים, accur. "the Azzathite;" γὰρ Γαζαῖοι; *Gazacois*), Josh. xiii. 3; the inhabitants of GAZA. Elsewhere the same name is rendered GAZITES in the A. V.

**GAZER** (גָּזֶר; *Gazér*; *Gazer*), 2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chr. xiv. 16. The same place as GEZER; the difference arising from the emphatic Hebrew accent; which has been here retained in the A. V., though disregarded in several other places where the same form occurs. [GEZER.] From the uniform practice of the LXX., both in the O. T. and the books of Maccabees, Ewald infers that the original form of the name was Gazer; but the punctuation of the Masorets is certainly as often the one as the other. (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 427 note.) [G.]

**GAZE'RA, I.** (גָּזְרָא, Alex. *Gázra*; Joceph. γὰρ Γάζαρα; *Gezeron, Gazara*), 1 Macc. iv. 15; vii. 45. The place elsewhere given as GAZARA.

2. One of the "servants of the temple," whose sons returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 31). In Ezra and Nehem. the name is GAZZAM.

**GA'ZEZ** (גָּזֶז; δ Γεζού; *Gezez*), a name which occurs twice in 1 Chr. ii. 46; (1) as son of Caleb by Ephah his concubine; and (2) as son of Haran, the son of the same woman: the second is possibly only a repetition of the first. At any rate there is no necessity for the assumption of Houbigant, that the second Gezez is an error for Jahdai. In some MSS. and the Peshito the name

is given GAZEN. The Vat. LXX. omits the second occurrence.

**GA'ZITES, THE** (גִּזְאִיתִים; τοῖς Γαζαίοις; *Philisthiim*), inhabitants of Gaza (Judg. xvi. 2). Elsewhere given as GAZATHITES.

**GAZ'ZAM** (גָּזָם; Γαζέμ, Γηζέμ; *Gazam*). The Bene-Gazzam were among the families of the Nethinim who returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 48; Neh. vii. 51). In 1 Esd. the name is altered to GAZERA.

**GE'BA** (גִּבְעָא, often with the definite article, = "the hill; Γαβὰδ; *Gabaḏ, Gabee*), a city of Benjamin, with "suburbs," allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 17; 1 Chr. vi. 60). It is named amongst the first group of the Benjamite towns, apparently those lying near to and along the north boundary (Josh. xviii. 24). Here the name is given as GABA, a change due to the emphasis required in Hebrew before a pause; and the same change occurs in Ezr. ii. 26; Neh. vii. 30 and xi. 31; 2 Sam. v. 25; 2 K. xxiii. 8; the last three of these being in the A. V. Geba. In one place Geba is used as the northern landmark of the kingdom of Judah and Benjamin, in the expression "from G. to Beersheba" (2 K. xxiii. 8); and also as an eastern limit in opposition to Gazer (2 Sam. v. 25). In the parallel passage to this last, in 1 Chr. xiv. 16 the name is changed to Gibeon. During the wars of the earlier part of the reign of Saul, Geba was held as a garrison by the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 3), but they were ejected by Jonathan, a feat which, while it added greatly to his renown, exasperated them to a more overwhelming invasion. Later in the same campaign we find it referred to to define the position of the two rocks which stood in the ravine below the garrison of Michmash, in terms which fix Geba on the south and Michmash on the north of the ravine (1 Sam. xiv. 5; the A. V. has here Gibeah). Exactly in accordance with this is the position of the modern village of *Geba*, which stands picturesquely on the top of its steep terraced hill, on the very edge of the great *Wady Suweinit*, looking northwards to the opposite village, which also retains its old name of *Mikhmas*. The names, and the agreement of the situation with the requirements of the story of Jonathan, make the identification all but certain; but it is still further confirmed by the invaluable list of Benjamite towns visited by the Assyrian army on their road through the country southward to Jerusalem, which we have in Is. x. 28-32; where the minute details—the stoppage of the heavy baggage (A. V. "carriages"), which could not be got across the broken ground of the wady at Michmash; then the passage of the ravine by the lighter portion of the army, and the subsequent bivouac ("lodging," מִלִּי = rest for the night) at Geba on the opposite side,—are in exact accordance with the nature of the spot. Standing as it does on the south bank of this important wady—one of the most striking natural features of this part of the country—the mention of Geba as the northern boundary of the lower kingdom is very significant. Thus commanding the pass its fortification by Aza (1 K. xv. 22; 2 Chr. xvi. 6) is also quite intelligible. It continues to be named with Michmash to the very last (Neh. xi. 31).

Geba is probably intended by the "Gibeah-in-the-field" of Judg. xx. 31, to which its position is

very applicable. [GIBEAL, G.] The "fields" are mentioned again as late as Neh. xii. 29.

It remains to notice a few places in which, from the similarity of the two names, or possibly from some provincial usage, "Geba" is used for "Gibeah." These are:—(1.) Judg. xx. 10: here the A. V. probably anxious to prevent confusion, has "Gibeah." (2.) Judg. xx. 33: "the meadows," or more probably "the cave of Gela." Geba may be here intended, but Gibeah—as in the A. V.—seems almost necessary. Owing to the place occurring here at a pause the vowels are lengthened, and in the Hebrew it stands as *Gāba*. (3.) 1 Sam. xiii. 16: here the meaning is evident, and the A. V. has again altered the name accordingly. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 6, 2) has Γαβαδόν, Gibeon, in this place; for which perhaps compare 1 Chr. vii. 29, ix. 35.

2. The Geba (Γαβαλ; Alex. Ταβαρ) named in Jud. iii. 10, where Holofernes is said to have made his encampment—"between Geba and Scythopolis"—must be the place of the same name, *Jeba*, on the road between Samaria and *Jenin*, about three miles from the former (Rob. i. 440). The Vulgate has a remarkable variation here—*venit ad Idumneus in terram Gabaa*. [G.]

GE'BAL (גִּבְלָה, *G'bal*, from גָּבַל, *Gabal*, to twist; thence גִּבְלוֹל, *G'bal*, a line; thence جبال, *Gebal*, a line of mountains as a natural boundary; Γεβάλ; *Gebal*), a proper name, occurring in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 (Vulg. lxxxii.) in connexion with Edom and Moab, Ammon and Amalek, the Philistines and the inhabitants of Tyre. The mention of Assur, or the Assyrian, in the next verse, is with reason supposed to refer the date of the composition to the latter days of the Jewish kingdom. It is inscribed moreover with the name of Asaph. Now, in 2 Chr. xx. 14, it is one of the sons or descendants of Asaph, Jahziel, who is inspired to encourage Jehoshaphat and his people, when threatened with invasion by the Moabites, Ammonites, and others from beyond the sea, and from Syria (as the LXX. and Vulg.: it is unnecessary here to go into the obscurities and varieties of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic versions). It is impossible therefore not to recognise the connexion between this psalm and these events; and hence the contexts both of the psalm and of the historical records will justify our assuming the Gebal of the Psalms to be one and the same city with the Gebal of Ezekiel (xxvii. 9), a maritime town of Phoenicia, and not another, as some have supposed, in the district round about Petra, which is by Josephus, Eusebius, and St. Jerome called Gebalene. Jehoshaphat had, in the beginning of his reign, humbled the Philistines and Arabians (2 Chr. xvii. 9-10), and still more recently had assisted Ahab against the Syrians (ibid. ch. xviii.). Now, according to the poetic language of the Psalmist, there were symptoms of a general rising against him. On the south the Edomites, Ishmaelites, and Hagarenes; on the south-east Moab, and north-east Ammon. Along the whole line of the western coast (and, with Jehoshaphat's maritime projects, this would naturally disturb him most, see 2 Chr. xx. 36) the Amalekites, Philistines, and Phoenicians, or inhabitants of Tyre, to their frontier town Gebal; with Assur, i. e. the Syrians, or Assyrians, from the more distant north. It may be observed that the Ashurites are mentioned in connexion with Gebal

no less in (ver. 6) the prophecy than in the psalm. But, again, the Gebal of Ezekiel was evidently no mean city. From the fact that its inhabitants are written "Giblions" in the Vulg., and "Biblions" in the LXX., we may infer their identity with the Giblites, spoken of in connexion with Lebanon by Joshua (xiii. 5), and that of their city with the "Biblus" (or Byblus) of profane literature—so extensive that it gave name to the surrounding district. (See a passage from Lucian, quoted by Reland, *Palest.* lib. i. c. xlii. p. 269.) It was situated on the frontiers of Phoenicia, somewhat to the north of the mouth of the small river Adonis, so celebrated in mythology (comp. Ez. vii. 13). Meanwhile the Giblites, or Biblions, seem to have been pre-eminent in the arts of stone-carving (2 K. v. 18) and ship-calking (Ez. xxvii. 9); but, according to Strabo, their industry suffered greatly from the robbers in festing the sides of Mount Lebanon. Pompey not only destroyed the strongholds from whence these pests issued, but freed the city from a tyrant (Strab. xvi. 2, 18). Some have confounded Gebal, or Biblus, with the Gabala of Strabo, just below Laodicea, and consequently many leagues to the north, the ruins and site of which, still called Jebilee, are so graphically described by Maundrell (*Early Travellers in P.* by Wright, p. 394). By Moroni (*Dizion. Eccles.*) they are accurately distinguished under their respective names. Finally, Biblus became a Christian see in the patriarchate of Antioch, subject to the metropolitan see of Tyre (Reland's *Palest.* lib. i. p. 214, et seq.). It shared the usual vicissitudes of Christianity in these parts; and even now furnishes episcopacy with a title. It is called *Jebuil* by the Arabs, thus reviving the old Biblical name. [E. S. FF.]

GE'BER (גִּבְרָה, Γαβέρ, Ναβέρ; *Gaber*), a name occurring twice in the list of Solomon's commissariat officers, and there only. 1. The son of Geber (*Ben-Geber*) resided in the fortress of Ramoth-Gilead, and had charge of Havoth-Jair, and the district of Argob (1 K. iv. 13). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, §3) gives the name as Γαβάρης. 2. Geber the son of Uri had a district south of the former—the "land of Gilead," the country originally possessed by Sihon and Og, probably the modern *Belka*, the great pasture-ground of the tribes east of Jordan (1 K. iv. 19). The conclusion of this verse as rendered in the A. V. is very unsatisfactory—"and he was the only officer which was in the land"—when two others are mentioned in 13 and 14. A more accurate interpretation is, "and one officer who was in the land," that is, a superior (גִּבְרָה), a word of rare occurrence, but used again for Solomon's "officers" in 2 Chr. viii. 10) over the three. Josephus has ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῖς πάλαι ἄρχων ἐνοδῆσεντο, the πάλαι referring to a similar statement just before that there was also one general superintendent over the commissaries of the whole of Upper Palestine. [G.]

GE'BIM (גִּבִּימ, with the article, = probably "the ditches;" the word is used in that sense in 2 K. iii. 16, and elsewhere; Γιββίμ; *Gabim*), a village north of Jerusalem, in the neighbourhood of the main road, and apparently between Anathoth (the modern *Anata*) and the ridge on which Nob was situated, and from which the first view of the city is obtained. It is named nowhere but in the enumeration by Isaiah of the towns whose inhabitants fled at Sennacherib's approach (x. 31).

\* As with us, Berkshire for Berkshire, Darby for Derby, &c.

Judging by those places the situation of which is known to us, the enumeration is so orderly that it is impossible to entertain the conjecture of either Eusebius (*Onom.* Gebiu), who places it at Geba, five miles north of Gophna; or of Schwarz (131), who would have it identical with Gob or Gezer: the former being at least 10 miles north, and the latter 20 miles west, of its probable position. *El-Isawiye* occupies about the right spot. [G.]

**GEDALIAH** (גְּדַלְיָהוּ, and גְּדַלְיָהוּ, i. e. Gedaliahu; Γεδολίας; *Gedolias*). 1. **GEDALIAH**, the son of Ahikam (Jeremiah's protector, Jer. xxvi. 24), and grandson of Shaphan the secretary of king Josiah. After the destruction of the Temple, B.C. 588, Nebuchadnezzar departed from Judaea, leaving Gedaliah with a Chaldaean guard (Jer. xl. 5) at Mizpah, a strong (1 K. xv. 22) town, six miles N. of Jerusalem, to govern, as a tributary (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §1) of the king of Babylon, the vine-dressers and husbandmen (Jer. lli. 16) who were exempted from captivity. Jeremiah joined Gedaliah; and Mizpah became the resort of Jews from various quarters (Jer. xl. 8, 11), many of whom, as might be expected at the end of a long war, were in a demoralized state, unrestrained by religion, patriotism or prudence. The gentle and popular character of Gedaliah (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §1, 3), his hereditary piety (Rosenmüller in Jer. xxi. 24), the prosperity of his brief rule (Jer. xl. 12), the reverence which revived and was fostered under him for the ruined Temple (xli. 5), fear of the Chaldaean conquerors whose officer he was,—all proved insufficient to secure Gedaliah from the foreign jealousy of Baelis king of Ammon, and the domestic ambition of Ishmael, a member of the royal family of Judah (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §3). This man came to Mizpah with a secret purpose to destroy Gedaliah: Gedaliah, generously refusing to believe a friendly warning which he received of the intended treachery, was murdered, with his Jewish and Chaldaean followers, two months after his appointment. After his death, which is still commemorated in the Jewish Calendar (Prideaux, *Connexion*, anno 588, and Zech. vii. 19) as a national calamity, the Jews, in their native land, anticipating the re-entrance of the king of Babylon, gave way to despair. Many, forcing Jeremiah to accompany them, fled to Egypt under Johanan. 2. **GEDALIAHU**; a Levite, one of the six sons of Jeduthun who played the harp in the service of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxv. 3, 9). 3. **GEDALIAH**; a priest in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 18). [JOADANUS.] 4. **GEDALIAHU**; son of Pashur (Jer. xxxviii. 1), one of those who caused Jeremiah to be imprisoned. 5. **GEDALIAH**; grandfather of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1). [W. T. B.]

**GED'DUR** (Γεδδούρ; *Geddu*), 1 Esd. v. 30. [GAHAR.]

**GEDE'ON** (Γεδεών; *Gedeon*). 1. The son of Naphtali; one of the ancestors of Judith (Jud. viii. 1). The name is omitted in the Vat. LXX.

2. The Greek form of the Hebrew name **GIDEON** (Heb. xi. 32); retained in the N. T. by our translators, in company with Elias, Eliseus, Osce, Jesu, and other Grecised Hebrew names, to the confusion of the ordinary reader.

**GE'DER** (גְּדֵר; Γεδέρ; *Gader*). The king of Geder was one of the 31 kings who were overcome by Joshua on the west of the Jordan (Josh. xii. 13), and mentioned in that list only. Being named with Iebir, Hormah, and Arad, Geder was evidently in

the extreme south: this prevents our identifying it with Gedor (Josh. xv. 58), which lay between Hebron and Bethlehem; or with ha-Gederah in the low country (xv. 36). It is possible, however, that it may be the same place as the Gedor named in connexion with the Simeonites (1 Chr. iv. 39). [G.]

**GED'ERAH** (גְּדֵרָה, with the article = the sheepcote; Γεδέρρα; *Gedera*), a town of Judah in the Shefelah or lowland country (Josh. xv. 36), apparently, from the near mention of Azekah, Socoh, &c., in its eastern part, near the "valley of the Terebinth." [ELAH.] This position agrees passably with that assigned by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*) to "Gedour," which he says was in his time a very large village 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Diospolis (Lydda); and also with another which he gives as Gidura, in the boundaries of Jerusalem (Aelia), near the Terebinth. No town bearing this name has however been yet discovered in this hitherto little explored district. The name (if the interpretation given be correct), and the occurrence next to it of one so similar as **GEDEROTHAIM**, seem to point to a great deal of sheep-breeding in this part. [G.]

**GEDERATHITE, THE** (גְּדֵרָתִי; δ Γεδραθίτης, Alex. Γεδραθίτης; *Gederathites*), the native of a place called Gederah, but not of that in the Shefelah of Judah, for Josabab the Gederathite (1 Chr. xii. 4) was one of Saul's own tribe—his "bethuen of Benjamin" (ver. 2). No other is named. [G.]

**GEDERITE, THE** (גְּדֵרִי; δ Γεδερίτης, Alex. δ Γεδέρ; *Gederites*), i. e. the native of some place named Geder or Gederah. Baul-hanan the Gederite had charge of the olive and sycamore groves in the low country (Shefelah) for king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). He possibly belonged to **GID-DEERAH**, a place in this district, the very locality for sycomores. [G.]

**GED'EROTH** (גְּדֵרוֹת; "sheep-cotes," but in Chron. with the article; Γεδέρωθ, but in Chron. Γεδδέρωθ, Alex. Γεδέρωθ; *Gederoth, Gaderoth*), a town in the Shefelah or low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 41; 2 Chr. xxviii. 18). It is not named in the same group with **GEDERAH** and **GEDEROTHAIM** in the list in Joshua, but lay apparently a little more to the north with Makkedah. The notice in Chronicles shows, however, that all the towns of these groups were comparatively close together. [G.]

**GEDEROTHAIM** (גְּדֵרוֹתַיִם; two sheep-folds; *Gederothaim*), a town in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 36), named next in order to Gederah. The LXX. treat the word as referring to the name preceding it, and render it *καὶ αὐτὰς ἀντὶς*. [G.]

**GE'DOR** (גְּדוֹר; *Gedor*). 1. (Γεδδών, Alex. Γεδέρ), a town in the mountainous part of Judah, named with Halhul and Bethzur (Josh. xv. 58), and therefore a few miles north of Hebron. Eusebius (*Onom.* "Gadur") places it at ten miles south of Diospolis, the modern *Ludd*; but this does not agree with the requirements of the passage. On the other hand, Robinson (iii. 283) has discovered a *Jedár* half way between Bethlehem and Hebron, about two miles west of the road, which very probably represents the ancient site. The Gadur of Eusebius is more likely

2. The town—apparently of Benjamin—to which "Jeroham of Gedor" belonged, whose sons Joelah

and Zebadiah were among the mighty men, "Saul's brethren of Benjamin," who joined David in his difficulties at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7). The name has the definite article to it in this passage (גִּיְהִיָּהּ; *oi tou Gedor*). If this be a Benjamite name, it is very probably connected with

3. (Γεδόρ) A man among the ancestors of Saul; son of Jehiel, the "father of Gibeon" (1 Chr. viii. 31; ix. 37).

4. The name occurs twice in the genealogies of Judah—1 Chr. iv. 4, and 18—in both shortened to גִּדְרִי; Γεδόρ). In the former passage Peniel is said to be "father of Gedor," while in the latter Jered, son of a certain Ezra by his Jewish wife (A.V. "Jehudijah"), has the same title. In the Targum, Jered, Gedor and other names in this passage are treated as being titles of Moses, conferred on him by Jehudijah, who is identified with the daughter of Pharaoh.

5. In the records of the tribe of Simeon, in 1 Chr. iv. 39, certain chiefs of the tribe are said to have gone, in the reign of Hezekiah, "to the entrance of Gedor, unto the east side of the valley" (גִּדְרִי), in search of pasture grounds, and to have expelled thence the Hameites who dwell there in tents, and the Maonites (A. V. "habitations"). Simeon lay in the extreme south of Judah, and therefore this Gedor must be a different place from that noticed above—No. 1. If what is told in ver. 42 was a subsequent incident in the same expedition, then we should look for Gedor between the south of Judah and Mount Seir, i. e. Petra. No place of the name has yet been met with in that direction. The LXX. (both MSS.) read Gerar for Gedor (ἔως τοῦ ἔλθειν Γεράρα); which agrees well both with the situation and with the mention of the "pasture," and is adopted by Ewald (i. 322 note). The "valley" (*Gai*, i. e. rather the "ravine"), from the presence of the article, would appear to be some well-known spot; but in our present limited knowledge of that district, no conjecture can be made as to its locality. It may be noticed that *Nichal* (= wady), and not *Gai*, is the word elsewhere applied to Gerar. [G.]

GEHÁ'ZI (גִּיְהִיָּהּ; *Giezi*; *Giezi*), the servant or boy of Elisha. He was sent as the prophet's messenger on two occasions to the good Shunammite (2 K. iv.); obtained fraudulently in Elisha's name money and garments from Naaman, was miraculously smitten with incurable leprosy, and was dismissed from the prophet's service (2 K. v). Later in the history he is mentioned as being engaged in relating to King Joram all the great things which Elisha had done, when the Shunammite whose son Elisha had restored to life appeared before the king, petitioning for her house and land of which she had been dispossessed in her seven years' absence in Philistia (2 K. viii.). [W. T. B.]

GEHEN'NA (Γέεννα), the Greek representative of גִּיְהִיָּהּ, Josh. xv. 8, Neh. xi. 30 (rendered by LXX. Γαίεννα, Josh. xviii. 16; more fully, גִּיְהִיָּהּ, or גִּיְהִיָּהּ, 2 K. xxiii. 10, 2 Chr. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6, Jer. xix. 2), the "valley of Hinnom," or "of the son," or "children of H." (A. V.), a deep narrow gully to the S. of Jerusalem, where, after the introduction of the worship of the fire-gods by Ahaz, the idolatrous Jews offered their children to Molech (2 Chr. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 2-6). In consequence of these abominations

the valley was polluted by Josiah (2 K. xviii. 10); subsequently to which it became the common lay-stall of the city, where the dead bodies of criminals, and the carcases of animals, and every other kind of filth was cast, and, according to late and somewhat questionable authorities, the combustible portions consumed with fire. From the depth and narrowness of the gorge, and, perhaps, its ever-burning fires, as well as from its being the receptacle of all sorts of putrifying matter, and all that defiled the holy city, it became in later times the image of the place of everlasting punishment, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;" in which the Talmudists placed the mouth of hell: "There are two palm-trees in the V. of H., between which a smoke ariseth . . . and this is the door of Gehenna." (Talmud, quoted by Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 90; Lightfoot, *Centur. Chorograph. Matt. proem.* ii. 200.)

In this sense the word is used by our blessed Lord, Matt. v. 29, 30, x. 28, xxiii. 15, 33; Mark ix. 43, 45; Luke xii. 5; and with the addition *του πυρός*, Matt. v. 22, xviii. 9; Mark ix. 47; and by St. James, iii. 6. [HINNOM, VALLEY OF; TOPHER.] [E. V.]

GELIL'OTH (גִּלְיָהּ; Γαλιλάθ, Alex. Ἀγαλαλάθ), as if the definite article had been originally prefixed to the Hebrew word; *ad humulos*, a place named among the marks of the south boundary line of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 17). The boundary went from Eusemesh towards Geliloth, which was "over against" (בְּרִבְּבִי) the ascent of Adummim. In the description of the north boundary of Judah, which was identical at this point with the south of Benjamin, we find Gilgal substituted for Geliloth, with the same specification as "over against" (בְּרִבְּבִי) the ascent of Adummim (Josh. xv. 7). The name Geliloth never occurs again in this locality, and it therefore seems probable that Gilgal is the right reading. Many glimpses of the Jordan valley are obtained through the hills in the latter part of the descent from Olivet to Jericho, along which the boundary in question appears to have run; and it is very possible that, from the ascent of Adummim, Gilgal appeared through one of these gaps in the distance, "over against" the spectator, and thus furnished a point by which to indicate the direction of the line at that part.

But though Geliloth does not again appear in the A. V., it is found in the original bearing a peculiar topographical sense. The following extract from the Appendix to Professor Stanley's *S. & P.* (1st Edit.) §13, contains all that can be said on the point:—"This word is derived from a root גָּלַל, 'to roll' (Ges. *Thes.* 287 b.). Of the five times in which it occurs in Scripture, two are in the general sense of boundary or border: Josh. xiii. 2, 'All the borders of the Philistines' (θρία); Joel iii. 4, 'All the coasts of Palestine' (Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων); and three specially relate to the course of the Jordan: Josh. xxii. 10, 11, 'The borders of Jordan' (Γαλαὰδ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου); Ez. xlvii. 8, 'The east country' (εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν). It has been pointed out in ch. vii. p. 278 note, that this word is analogous to the Scotch term 'links,' which has both the meanings of Geliloth, being used of the snake-like windings of a stream, as well as with the derived meaning of a coast or shore. Thus Geliloth is distinguished from *l'iccar*, which will rather mean the circle of vegetation or dwellings gathered round the bends and reaches of the river."

It will not be overlooked that the place Gelliloth, noticed above, is in the neighbourhood of the Jordan. [G.]

**GEMAL'LI** (גְּמַלִּי; Γαμαλι; *Gemalli*), the father of Ammiel, who was the "ruler" (*Nasi*) of Dan, chosen to represent that tribe among the spies who explored the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 12).

**GEMAR'IAH** (גְּמַרְיָה; Γαμαρίας; *Gamarías*). 1. Son of Shaphan the scribe, and father of Michaiah. He was one of the nobles of Judah, and had a chamber in the house of the Lord, from which (or from a window in which, Prideaux, Michaelis) Baruch read Jeremiah's alarming prophecy in the ears of all the people, B.C. 606 (Jer. xxxvi.). Gemariah with the other princes heard the Divine message with terror, but without a sign of repentance; though Gemariah joined two others in entreating king Jehoiakim to forbear destroying the roll which they had taken from Baruch.

2. Son of Hilkiah, being sent B.C. 597 by king Zedekiah on an embassy to Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, was made the bearer of Jeremiah's letter to the captive Jews (Jer. xxix.). [W. T. B.]

#### GEMS. [STONES, PRECIOUS.]

**GENEALOGY** (Γενεαλογία), literally the act or art of the γενεαλόγος, i. e. of him who treats of birth and family, and reckons descents and generations. Hence by an easy transition it is often (like *ιστορία*) used of the document itself in which such series of generations is set down. In Hebrew the term for a genealogy or pedigree is סֵפֶר הַיְחָדָשׁ, סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת, "the book of the generations;" and because the oldest histories were usually drawn up on a genealogical basis, the expression often extended to the whole history, as is the case with the Gospel of St. Matthew, where "the book of the generation of Jesus Christ" includes the whole history contained in that Gospel. So Gen. ii. 4, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth," seems to be the title of the history which follows. Gen. v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27, xxv. 12, 19, xxxvi. 1, 9, xxxvii. 2, are other examples of the same usage, and these passages seem to mark the existence of separate histories from which the book of Genesis was compiled. Nor is this genealogical form of history peculiar to the Hebrews, or the Semitic races. The earliest Greek histories were also genealogies. Thus the histories of Aensilaus of Argos and of Hecataeus of Miletus were entitled *Γενεαλογίαι*, and the fragments remaining of Xanthus, Charon of Lampsaecus, and Hellanicus, are strongly tinged with the same genealogical element,\* which is not lost even in the pages of Herodotus. The frequent use of the patronymic in Greek, the stories of particular races, as Heraclides, Alcamaeonidae, &c., the lists of priests, and kings, and conquerors at the Games, preserved at Elis, Sparta, Olympia, and elsewhere; the hereditary monarchies and priesthoods, as of the Brachidae, Eumolpidae, &c., in so many cities in Greece and Greek Asia; the division, as old as Homer, into tribes, *fratres* and *γέννη*, and the existence of the *tribe*, the *gens* and the *familia* among the Romans; the Celtic clans, the Saxon families using a common patronymic, and their royal genealogies running back to the Teutonic gods, these are among the many instances that may be cited to

prove the strong family and genealogical instinct of the ancient world. Coming nearer to the Israelites it will be enough to allude to the hereditary principle, and the vast genealogical records of the Egyptians, as regards their kings and priests, and to the passion for genealogies among the Arabs, mentioned by Layard and others, in order to show that the attention paid by the Jews to genealogies is in entire accordance with the manners and tendencies of their contemporaries. In their case, however, it was heightened by several peculiar circumstances. The promise of the land of Canaan to the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob successively, and the separation of the Israelites from the Gentile world; the expectation of Messiah as to spring from the tribe of Judah; the exclusively hereditary priesthood of Aaron with its dignity and emoluments; the long succession of kings in the line of David; and the whole division and occupation of the land upon genealogical principles by the tribes, families, and houses of fathers, gave a deeper importance to the science of genealogy among the Jews than perhaps any other nation. We have already noted the evidence of the existence of family memoirs even before the flood, to which we are probably indebted for the genealogies in Gen. iv., v.; and Gen. x., xi., &c. indicate the continuance of the same system in the times between the flood and Abraham. But with Jacob, the founder of the nation, the system of reckoning by genealogies (הַתְּחִלָּה), or

in the language of Moses, Num. i. 18, הַתְּחִלָּה was much further developed. In Gen. xxxv. 22-26, we have a formal account of the sons of Jacob, the patriarchs of the nation, repeated in Ex. i. 1-5. In Gen. xli. we have an exact genealogical census of the house of Israel at the time of Jacob's going down to Egypt. The way in which the former part of this census, relating to Reuben and Simeon, is quoted in Ex. vi., where the census of the tribe of Levi is all that was wanted, seems to show that it was transcribed from an existing document. When the Israelites were in the wilderness of Sinai, in the second month of the second year of the Exodus, their number was taken by Divine command, "after their families, by the house of their fathers," tribe by tribe, and the number of each tribe is given "by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, by their polls," Num. i., iii. This census was repeated 38 years afterwards, and the names of the families added, as we find in Num. xxvi. According to these genealogical divisions they pitched their tents, and marched, and offered their gifts and offerings, and chose the spies. According to the same they cast the lots by which the troubler of Israel, Achan, was discovered, as later those by which Saul was called to the throne. Above all, according to these divisions, the whole land of Canaan was parcelled out amongst them. But now of necessity that took place which always has taken place with respect to such genealogical arrangements, viz. that by marriage, or servitude, or incorporation as friends and allies, persons not strictly belonging by birth to such or such a family or tribe, were yet reckoned in the census as belonging to them, when they had acquired property within their borders, and were liable to the various services in peace or war which were performed under the heads of such tribes and families. Nobody supposes that all the Cornelli, or all the Campbells, sprang from one ancestor, and it is in

\* δὲ ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσίλαος περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιών διαπεφώνηκεν (Joseph. c. Apion. l. 3).

the teeth of direct evidence from Scripture, as well as of probability, to suppose that the Jewish tribes contained absolutely none but such as were descended from the twelve patriarchs.<sup>b</sup> The tribe of Levi was probably the only one which had no admixture of foreign blood. In many of the Scripture genealogies, as *e.g.* those of Caleb, Joab, Segub, and the sons of Rephaiah, &c., in 1 Chr. iii. 21, it is quite clear that birth was not the ground of their incorporation into their respective tribes. [BECHER; CALEB.] However, birth was, and continued to be throughout their whole national course, the foundation of all the Jewish organization, and the reigns of the more active and able kings and rulers were marked by attention to genealogical operations. When David established the temple services on the footing which continued till the time of Christ, he divided the priests and Levites into courses and companies, each under the family chief. The singers, the porters, the trumpeters, the players on instruments, were all thus genealogically distributed. In the active stirring reign of Rehoboam, we have the work of Iddo concerning genealogies (2 Chr. xii. 15). When Hezekiah reopened the temple, and restored the temple services which had fallen into disuse, he reckoned the whole nation by genealogies. This appears from the fact of many of the genealogies in Chronicles terminating in Hezekiah's reign [AZARIAH 13], from the expression "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies" (1 Chr. ix. 1), immediately following genealogies which do so terminate, and from the narrative in 2 Chr. xxxi. 16-19 proving that, as regards the priests and Levites, such a complete census was taken by Hezekiah. It is indicated also in 1 Chr. iv. 41. We learn too incidentally from Prov. xxv. that Hezekiah had a staff of scribes, who would be equally useful in transcribing genealogical registers, as in copying out Proverbs. So also in the reign of Jotham king of Judah, who among other great works built the higher gate of the house of the Lord (2 K. xv. 35), and was an energetic as well as a good king, we find a genealogical reckoning of the Reubenites (1 Chr. v. 17), probably in connexion with Jotham's wars against the Ammonites (2 Chr. xxvii. 5). When Zerubabel brought back the captivity from Babylon, one of his first cares seems to have been to take a census of those that returned, and to settle them according to their genealogies. The evidence of this is found in 1 Chr. ix., and the duplicate passage Neh. xi.; in 1 Chr. iii. 19; and yet more distinctly in Neh. vii. 5, and xii. In like manner Nehemiah, as an essential part of that national restoration which he laboured so zealously to promote, gathered "together the nobles, and the rulers and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy," Neh. vii. 5, xii. 26. The abstract of this census is preserved in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., and a portion of it in 1 Chr. iii. 21-24. That this system was continued after their times, as far at least as the priests and Levites were concerned, we learn from Neh. xii. 22; and we have incidental evidence of the continued care of the Jews still later to preserve their genealogies in such passages of the apocryphal books as 1 Macc. ii. 1-5, viii. 17, xiv. 29, and perhaps Judith viii. 1; Tob. i. 1, &c. Passing on to the time of the birth of Christ, we have a

striking incidental proof of the continuance of the Jewish genealogical economy in the fact that when Augustus ordered the census of the empire to be taken, the Jews in the province of Syria immediately went each one to his own city, *i.e.* (as is clear from Joseph going to Bethlehem the city of David), to the city to which his tribe, family, and father's house belonged. So that the return, if completed, doubtless exhibited the form of the old censuses taken by the kings of Israel and Judah.

Another proof is the existence of our Lord's genealogy in two forms as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.] The mention of Zacharias, as "of the course of Abia," of Elizabeth, as "of the daughters of Aaron," and of Anna the daughter of Phanuel, as "of the tribe of Aser," are further indications of the same thing. And this conclusion is expressly confirmed by the testimony of Josephus in the opening of his *Life*. There, after deducing his own descent, "not only from that race which is considered the noblest among the Jews, that of the priests, but from the first of the 24 courses" (the course of Jehoiarib), and on the mother's side from the Ammonite sovereigns, he adds, "I have thus traced my genealogy, as I have found it recorded in the public tables" (*ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένης*); and again, *contr. Apion.* i. §7, he states that the priests were obliged to verify the descent of their intended wives by reference to the archives kept at Jerusalem; adding that it was the duty of the priests after every war (and he specifies the wars of Antiochus Epiph., Pompey, and Q. Varus), to make new genealogical tables from the old ones, and to ascertain what women among the priestly families had been made prisoners, as all such were deemed improper to be wives of priests. As a proof of the care of the Jews in such matters he further mentions that in his day the list of successive high priests preserved in the public records extended through a period of 2000 years. From all this it is abundantly manifest that the Jewish genealogical records continued to be kept till near the destruction of Jerusalem. Hence we are constrained to disbelieve the story told by Africanus concerning the destruction of all the Jewish genealogies by Herod the Great, in order to conceal the ignobleness of his own origin. His statement is, that up to that time the Hebrew genealogies had been preserved entire, and the different families were traced up either to the patriarchs, or the first proselytes, or the *γεῖναι* or mixed people. But that on Herod's causing these genealogies to be burnt, only a few of the more illustrious Jews who had private pedigrees of their own, or who could supply the lost genealogies from memory, or from the books of chronicles, were able to retain any account of their own lineage—among whom he says were the Despoyni, or brethren of our Lord, from whom was said to be derived the scheme (given by Africanus) for reconciling the two genealogies of Christ. But there can be little doubt that the registers of the Jewish tribes and families perished at the destruction of Jerusalem, and not before. Some partial records may, however, have survived that event, as it is probable, and indeed seems to be implied in Josephus's statement, that at least the priestly families of the dispersion had records of their own

<sup>b</sup> Jul. Africanus, in his *Ep. to Aristides*, expressly mentions that the ancient genealogical records at Jerusalem included those who were descended from proselytes, and *γεῖναι*, as well as those who sprang

from the patriarchs. The registers in Ezra and Nehemiah include the Nethinim, and the children of Solomon's servants.

genealogy. We learn too from Benjamin of Tudela,<sup>1</sup> that in his day the princes of the captivity professed to trace their descent to David, and he also names others, *e. g.* R. Calonymos, "a descendant of the house of David, as proved by his pedigree," vol. i. p. 32, and R. Eleazar Ben Tsemach, "who possesses a pedigree of his descent from the prophet Samuel, and knows the melodies which were sung in the temple during its existence," *ib.* p. 100, &c. He also mentions descendants of the tribes of Dan, Zabulon, and Naphthali, among the mountains of Khasvin, whose prince was of the tribe of Levi. The patriarchs of Jerusalem, so called from the Hebrew *אֲבֹת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם*, claimed descent from Hillel, the Babylonian, of whom it is said that a genealogy, found at Jerusalem, declared his descent from David and Abital. Others, however, traced his descent from Benjamin, and from David only through a daughter of Shephatiah\* (Wolf, *B. H.* iv. 380). But however tradition may have preserved for a while true genealogies, or imagination and pride have coined fictitious ones, after the destruction of Jerusalem, it may be safely affirmed that the Jewish genealogical system then came to an end. Essentially connected as it was with the tenure of the land on the one hand, and with the peculiar privileges of the houses of David and Levi on the other, it naturally failed when the land was taken away from the Jewish race, and when the promise to David was fulfilled, and the priesthood of Aaron superseded by the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God. The remains of the genealogical *spirit* among the later Jews (which might of course be much more fully illustrated from Rabbinical literature) has only been glanced at to show how deeply it had penetrated into the Jewish national mind.<sup>4</sup> It remains to be said that just notions of the nature of the Jewish genealogical records are of great importance with a view to the right interpretation of Scripture. Let it only be remembered that these records have respect to political and territorial divisions, as much as to strictly genealogical descent, and it will at once be seen how erroneous a conclusion it may be, that all who are called "sons" of such or such a patriarch, or chief father, must necessarily be his very children. Just as in the very first division into tribes Manasseh and Ephraim were numbered with their uncles, as if they had been sons instead of grandsons (Gen. xlviii. 5) of Jacob, so afterwards the names of persons belonging to different generations would often stand side by side as heads of families or houses, and be called the sons of their common ancestor. For example, Gen. xlii. 21 contains grandsons as well as sons of Benjamin [Bela], and Ex. vi. 24 probably enumerates the son and grandson of Assir as heads, with their father, of the families of the Korhites. And so in innumerable instances. If any one family or house became extinct, some other

would succeed to its place, called after its own chief father. Hence of course a census of any tribe drawn up at a later period, would exhibit different divisions from one drawn up at an earlier. Compare, *e. g.*, the list of courses of priests in Zerubbabel's time (Neh. xii.), with that of those in David's time (1 Chr. xxiv.).<sup>5</sup> The same principle must be borne in mind in interpreting any particular genealogy. The sequence of generations may represent the succession to such or such an inheritance or headship of tribe or family, rather than the relationship of father and son.<sup>6</sup> Again, where a pedigree was abbreviated, it would naturally specify such generations as would indicate from what chief houses the person descended. In cases where a name was common the father's name would be added for distinction only. These reasons would be well understood at the time, though it may be difficult now to ascertain them positively. Thus in the pedigree of Ezra (Ezr. vii. 1-5), it would seem that both Serniah and Azariah were heads of houses (Neh. x. 2); they are both therefore named. Hilkiah is named as having been high-priest, and his identity is established by the addition "the son of Shallum" (1 Chr. vi. 13); the next named is Zadok, the priest in David's time, who was chief of the 10 courses sprung from Eleazar, and then follows a complete pedigree from this Zadok to Aaron. But then as regards the chronological use of the Scripture genealogies, it follows from the above view that great caution is necessary in using them as measures of time, though they are invaluable for this purpose whenever we can be sure that they are complete.<sup>7</sup> What seems necessary to make them trustworthy measures of time is, either that they should have special internal marks of being complete, such as where the mother as well as the father is named, or some historical circumstance defines the several relationships, or, that there should be several genealogies, all giving the same number of generations within the same termini. When these conditions are found it is difficult to overrate the value of genealogies for chronology. In determining however the relation of generations to time, some allowance must be made for the station in life of the persons in question. From the early marriages of the princes, the average of even 30 years to a generation will probably be found too long for the kings.<sup>8</sup>

Another feature in the Scripture genealogies which it is worth while to notice is the recurrence of the same name, or modifications of the same name, such as Tobias, Tobit, Nathan, Mattathu, and even of names of the same signification, in the same family. This is an indication of the carelessness with which the Jews kept their pedigrees (as otherwise they could not have known the names of their remote ancestors); it also gives a clue by which to judge of obscure or doubtful genealogies.

\* Some further information on these modern Jewish genealogies is given in a note to p. 32 of Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in the Targum of Esther we have Haman's pedigree traced through 21 generations to the "impious Esau;" and Mordecai's through 42 generations to Abraham. The writer makes 33 generations from Abraham to King Saul!

<sup>5</sup> The Jews say that only 4 courses came back with Zerubbabel, and that they were subdivided into 24, saving the rights of such courses as should return from captivity. See Seiden, *Opp.* v. i. t. l. p. x.

<sup>6</sup> "The term 'son of' appears to have been used

throughout the East in those days, as it still is, to denote connexion generally, either by descent or adoption" (Layard's *Nin. & Bab.* p. 613). The observation is to explain the inscription "Johu the son of Omri."

<sup>8</sup> Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, in a paper read before the Chronolog. Instit., endeavours to show that a generation in Scripture language = 40 years; and that St. Matthew's three divisions of 14 generations, consequently, equal each 560 years; a calculation which suits his chronological scheme exactly, by placing the captivity in the year *a.c.* 568.

The Jewish genealogies have two forms, one giving the generations in a descending, the other in an ascending scale. Examples of the descending form may be seen in Ruth iv. 18-22, or 1 Chr. iii. Of the ascending 1 Chr. vi. 33-43 (A. V.); Ezr.

The descending form is expressed by the formula A begat B, and B begat C, &c.; or, the sons of A, B his son, C his son, &c.; or, the sons of A, B, C, D; and the sons of B, C, D, E; and the sons of C, E, F, G, &c. The ascending is always expressed in the same way. Of the two, it is obvious, that the descending scale is the one in which we are most likely to find collateral descents, inasmuch as it implies that the object is to enumerate the heirs of the person at the head of the stem; and if direct heirs failed at any point, collateral ones would have to be inserted. In all cases too where the original document was preserved, when the direct line failed, the heir would naturally place his own name next to his immediate predecessor, though that predecessor was not his father, but only his kinsman. Whereas in the ascending scale there can be no failure in the nature of things. But neither form is in itself more or less fit than the other to express either proper or imputed filiation.

Females are named in genealogies when there is anything remarkable about them, or when any right or property is transmitted through them. See Gen. xi. 29, xxi. 23, xxv. 1-4, xxxv. 22-26; Ex. vi. 23; Num. xxvi. 33; 1 Chr. ii. 4, 19, 50, 35, &c.

The genealogical lists of names are peculiarly liable to corruptions of the text, and there are many such in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, &c. Jerome speaks of these corruptions having risen to a fearful height in the LXX.: "*Sylvarum nominum quæ scriptorum vitio confusa sunt.*" "*Ita in Græc. et Lat. Codd. hic nominum liber vitiosus est, ut non tam Hebræa quam barbaræ quædam et Sarmatica nomina conjecta arbitrandum sit.*" "*Sæpe tria nomina, subtractis à medio syllabis, in unum vocabulum coeunt, vel . . . unum nomen . . . in duo vel tria vocabula dividunt.*" (*Præfat. in Prædic.*). In like manner the lists of high-priests in Josephus are so corrupt, that the names are scarcely recognizable. This must be borne in mind in dealing with the genealogies.

The Bible genealogies give an unbroken descent of the house of David from the creation to the time of Christ. The registers at Jerusalem must have supplied the same to the priestly and many other families. They also inform us of the origin of most of the nations of the earth, and carry the genealogy of the Edomitic sovereigns down to about the time of Saul. Viewed as a whole, it is a genealogical collection of surpassing interest and accuracy. (Rawlinson's *Herodot.* vol. i. ch. 2; Burdington's *Geneal. Tab.*; Selden's *Works*, passim; *Benj. of Tudela's Itin.*, by A. Asher.) [A. C. H.]

**GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.** The New Testament gives us the genealogy of but one person, that of our Saviour. The priesthood of Aaron having ceased, the possession of the land of Canaan being transferred to the gentiles, there being under the N. T. dispensation no difference between circumcision and uncircumcision, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free, there is but one whose genealogy it concerns us as Christian to be acquainted with, that of our Lord Jesus Christ. Him the prophets announced as the seed of Abraham,

and the son of David, and the angel declared that to Him should be given the throne of His father David, that He might reign over the house of Jacob for ever. His descent from David and Abraham being therefore an essential part of his Messiahship, it was right that His genealogy should be given as a portion of gospel truth. Considering, further, that to the Jews first He was manifested and preached, and that His descent from David and Abraham was a matter of special interest to them, it seems likely that the proof of his descent would be one especially adapted to convince them; in other words that it would be drawn from documents which they deemed authentic. Such were the genealogical records preserved at Jerusalem. [GENEALOGY.] And when to the above considerations we add the fact that the lineage of Joseph was actually made out from authentic records for the purpose of the civil census ordered by Augustus, it becomes morally certain that the genealogy of Jesus Christ was extracted from the public registers. Another consideration adds yet further conviction. It has often excited surprise that the genealogies of Christ should both give the descent of Joseph, and not Mary. But if these genealogies were those contained in the public registers, it could not be otherwise. In them Jesus, the son of Mary, the espoused wife of Joseph, could only appear as Joseph's son (comp. John i. 45). In transferring them to the pages of the Gospels, the evangelists only added the qualifying expression "as was supposed" (Luke iii. 23, and its equivalent, Matt. i. 18).

But now to approach the difficulties with which the genealogies of Christ are thought to be beset. These difficulties have seemed so considerable in all ages as to drive commentators to very strange shifts. Some, as early as the second century, branched the notion, which Julius Africanus vigorously repudiates, that the genealogies are imaginary lists designed only to set forth the union of royal and priestly descent in Christ. Others on the contrary, to silence this and similar solutions, brought in a *Deus ex machina*, in the shape of a tradition derived from the Desposyni, in which by an ingenious application of the law of Levirate to two uterine brothers, whose mother had married first into the house of Solomon, and afterwards into the house of Nathan, some of the discrepancies were reconciled, though the meeting of the two genealogies in Zerubabel and Salathiel is wholly unaccounted for. Later, and chiefly among Protestant divines, the theory was invented of one genealogy being Joseph's, and the other Mary's, a theory in direct contradiction to the plain letter of the Scripture narrative, and leaving untouched as many difficulties as it solves. The fertile invention of Annianus of Viterbo forged a book in Philo's name, which accounted for the discrepancies by asserting that all Christ's ancestors, from David downwards, had two names. The circumstance, however, of one line running up to Solomon, and the other to Nathan, was overlooked. Other fanciful suggestions have been offered; while infidels, from Porphyry downwards, have seen in what they call the contradiction of Matthew and Luke a proof of the spuriousness of the Gospels; and critics like Professor Norton, a proof of such portions of Scripture being interpolated. Others, like Alford, content themselves with saying that solution is impossible, without further knowledge than we possess. But it is not too much to say that after all, in regard to the main points, there is no difficulty at all, if

only the documents in question are dealt with reasonably, and after the analogy of similar Jewish documents in the O. T.—and that the clues to a right understanding of them are so patent, and so strongly marked, that it is surprising that so much diversity of opinion should have existed. The following propositions will explain the true construction of these genealogies:—

1. They are both the genealogies of Joseph, *i. e.* of Jesus Christ, as the reputed and legal son of Joseph and Mary. One has only to read them to be satisfied of this. The notices of Joseph as being of the house of David, by the same evangelists who give the pedigree, are an additional confirmation (Matt. i. 20; Luke i. 27, ii. 4, &c.), and if these pedigrees were extracted from the public archives, they must have been Joseph's.

2. The genealogy of St. Matthew is, as Grotius most truly and unhesitatingly asserted, Joseph's genealogy as legal successor to the throne of David, *i. e.* it exhibits the successive heirs of the kingdom ending with Christ, as Joseph's reputed son. St. Luke's is Joseph's private genealogy, exhibiting his real birth, as David's son, and thus showing why he was heir to Solomon's crown. This is capable of being almost demonstrated. If St. Matthew's genealogy had stood alone, and we had no further information on this subject than it affords, we might indeed have thought that it was a genealogical stem in the strictest sense of the word, exhibiting Joseph's forefathers in succession, from David downwards. But immediately we find a second genealogy of Joseph—that in St. Luke's Gospel—such is no longer a reasonable opinion. Because if St. Matthew's genealogy, tracing as it does the successive generations through the long line of Jewish kings, had been Joseph's real paternal stem, there could not possibly have been room for a second genealogy. The steps of ancestry coinciding with the steps of succession, one pedigree only could in the nature of things be proper. The mere existence therefore of a second pedigree, tracing Joseph's ancestry through private persons, by the side of one tracing it through kings, is in itself a proof that the latter is not the true stem of birth. When, with this clue, we examine St. Matthew's list, to discover whether it contains in itself any evidence as to when the lineal descent was broken, we fix at once upon Jechonias, who could not, we know, be literally the father of Salathiel, because the word of God by the mouth of Jeremiah had pronounced him *childless*, and declared that none of his seed should sit upon the throne of David, or rule in Judah (Jer. xxii. 30). The same thing had been declared concerning his father Jechoiakim in Jer. xxvi. 30. Jechonias therefore could not be the father of Salathiel, nor could Christ spring either from him or his father. Here then we have the most striking confirmation of the justice of the inference drawn from finding a second genealogy, viz. that St. Matthew gives the *succession*, not the strict birth; and we conclude that the names after the childless Jechonias are those of his next heirs, as also in 1 Chr. iii. 17. One more look at the two genealogies convinces us that this conclusion is just; for we find that the two next names following Jechonias, Salathiel and Zerobabel, are actually taken from the other genealogy, which teaches us that Salathiel's real father was Neri, of the house of Nathan. It becomes therefore perfectly certain, that Salathiel of the house of Nathan became heir to David's throne on the failure of Solomon's line in Jechonias, and

that as such he and his descendants were transferred as "sons of Jechoniah" to the royal genealogical table, according to the principle of the Jewish law laid down Num. xxvii. 8-11. The two genealogies then coincide for two, or rather for four generations, as will be shown below. There then occur six names in St. Matthew, which are not found in St. Luke; and then once more the two genealogies coincide in the name of Matthan or Matthat (Matt. i. 15; Luke iii. 24), to whom two different sons, Jacob and Heli, are assigned, but one and the same grandson and heir Joseph, the husband of Mary, and the reputed father of Jesus, who is called Christ. The simple and obvious explanation of this is, on the same principle as before, that Joseph was descended from Joseph, a younger son of Abiud (the Juda of Luke iii. 28), but that on the failure of the line of Abiud's eldest son in Eleazar, Joseph's grandfather Matthan became the heir; that Matthan had two sons, Jacob and Heli; that Jacob had no son, and consequently that Joseph, the son of his younger brother Heli, became heir to his uncle, and to the throne of David. Thus the simple principle that one evangelist exhibits that genealogy which contained the successive heirs to David's and Solomon's throne, while the other exhibits the paternal stem of him who was the heir, explains all the anomalies of the two pedigrees, their agreements as well as their discrepancies, and the circumstance of there being two at all. It must be added that not only does this theory explain all the phenomena, but that that portion of it which asserts that Luke gives Joseph's paternal stem receives a most remarkable confirmation from the names which compose that stem. For if we begin with Nathan, we find that his son, Mattatha, and four others, of whom the last was grandfather to Joseph, had names which are merely modifications of Nathan (Matthat twice, and Mattathias twice); or if we begin with Joseph, we shall find no less than three of his name between him and Nathan: an evidence, of the most convincing kind, that Joseph was lineally descended from Nathan in the way St. Luke represents him to be (comp. Zech. xii. 12).

3. Mary, the mother of Jesus, was in all probability the daughter of Jacob, and first cousin to Joseph her husband.\* So that in point of *fact*, though not of *form*, both the genealogies are as much hers as her husband's.

But besides these main difficulties, as they have been thought to be, there are several others which cannot be passed over in any account, however concise, of the genealogies of Christ. The most startling is the total discrepancy between them both and that of Zerubbabel in the O. T. (1 Chr. iii. 19-24). In this last, of seven sons of Zerubbabel not one bears the name, or anything like the name, of Rhesa or Abiud. And of the next generation not one bears the name, or anything like the name, of Eliakim or Joanna, which are in the corresponding generation in Matthew and Luke. Nor can any subsequent generations be identified. But this difference will be entirely got rid of, and a remarkable harmony established in its place, if we suppose Rhesa, who is named in St. Luke's Gospel as Zerubbabel's son, to have slipped into the text from the

\* Hippolytus of Thebes, in the 10th century, asserted that Mary was granddaughter of Matthan, but by her mother (Patritius, *Disert.* ix. &c., *De Gen. Jea. Christi*).

margin. *Rhesa* is in fact not a name at all, but it is the Chaldean title of the princes of the captivity, who at the end of the second, and through the third century after Christ, rose to great eminence in the East, assumed the state of sovereigns, and were considered to be of the house of David. (See preceding article, p. 672 *a*.) These princes then were exactly what Zerubbabel was in his day. It is very probable therefore that this title, רֶשֶׁא, *Rhesa*, should have been placed against the name of Zerubbabel by some early Christian Jew, and thence crept into the text. If this be so, St. Luke will then give Joanna, Ἰωαννάς, as the son of Zerubbabel. But Ἰωαννάς is the very same name as *Hananiah*, חַנְנִיָּה, the son of Zerubbabel according to 1 Chr. iii. 19. [HANANIAH.] In St. Matthew this generation is omitted. In the next generation we identify Matthew's Ab-jud (Abiud), אַבְיָהוּד, with Luke's Juda, in the Hebrew of that day יְהוּדָה (Jud), and both with Hodaiah, הוֹדִיָּהּ, of 1 Chr. iii. 24 (a name which is actually interchanged with Juda, יְהוּדָה, Exr. iii. 9; Neh. xi. 9, compared with Exr. ii. 40; 1 Chr. ix. 7), by the simple process of supposing the Shemaiah, שִׁמְעִיָּה, of 1 Chr. iii. 22 to be the same person as the Shimei, שִׁמְעִי, of ver. 19; thus at the same time cutting off all those redundant generations which bring this genealogy in 1 Chr. iii. down some 200 years later than any other in the book, and long after the close of the canon.

The next difficulty is the difference in the number of generations between the two genealogies. St. Matthew's division into three fourteens gives only 42, while St. Luke, from Abraham to Christ inclusive, reckons 56, or, which is more to the point (since the generations between Abraham and David are the same in both genealogies), while St. Matthew reckons 28 from David to Christ, St. Luke reckons 43, or 42 without *Rhesa*. But the genealogy itself supplies the explanation. In the second tessarodecade, including the kings, we know that three generations are omitted—Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah—in order to reduce the generations from 17 to 14: the difference between these 17 and the 19 of St. Luke being very small. So in like manner it is obvious that the generations have been abridged in the same way in the third division to keep to the number 14. The true number would be one much nearer St. Luke's 23 (22 without *Rhesa*), implying the omission of about seven generations in this last division. Dr. Mill has shown that it was a common practice with the Jews to distribute genealogies into divisions, each containing some favourite or mystical number, and that, in order to do this, generations were either repeated or left out. Thus in Philo the generations from Adam to Moses are divided into two decades and one hebdomad, by the repetition of Abraham. But in a Samaritan poem the very same series is divided into two decades only, by the omission of six of the least important names (*Vindication*, p. 110-118).

Another difficulty is the apparent deficiency in the number of the last tessarodecad, which seems to contain only 13 names. But the explanation of this is, that either in the process of translation, or otherwise, the names of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin

have got confused and expressed by the one name Jechonias. For that Jechonias, in ver. 11, means Jehoiakim, while in ver. 12 it means Jehoiachin, is quite certain, as Jerome saw long ago. Jehoiachin had no brothers, but Jehoiakim had three brothers, of whom two at least sat upon the throne, if not three,\* and were therefore named in the genealogy. The two names are very commonly considered as the same, both by Greek and Latin writers, *e.g.* Clemens Alex., Ambrose, Africanus, Epiphanius, as well as the author of 1 Esdr. (i. 37, 43), and others. Irenaeus also distinctly asserts that Joseph's genealogy, as given by St. Matthew, expresses both Joiakim and Jechonias. It seems that this identity of name has led to some corruption in the text of very early date, and that the clause Ἰεχωίας δὲ ἐγγενὲς τῷ Ἰεζουῶν βαβ. has fallen out between ἀβραὺ and ἐπὶ τῆς μετ. βαβ., in ver. 11. The Cod. Vat. B. contains the clause only after βαβυλῶνος in ver. 12, where it seems less proper (see Alford's G. T.).

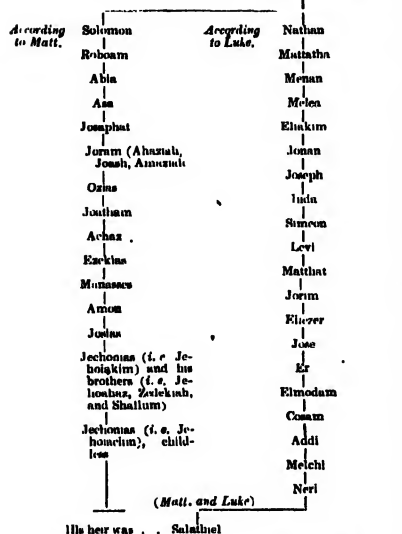
The last difficulty of sufficient importance to be mentioned here is a chronological one. In both the genealogies there are but three names between Salmon and David—Boaz, Obed, Jesse. But, according to the common chronology, from the entrance into Canaan (when Salmon was come to man's estate) to the birth of David was 405 years, or from that to 500 years and upwards. Now for about an equal period, from Solomon to Jehoiachin, St. Luke's genealogy contains 20 names. Obviously therefore either the chronology or the genealogy is wrong. But it cannot be the genealogy (which is repeated four times over without any variation), because it is supported by eight other genealogies,<sup>a</sup> which all contain about the same number of generations from the Patriarchs to David as David's own line does: except that, as was to be expected from Judah, Boaz, and Jesse being all advanced in years at the time of the birth of their sons, David's line is one of the shortest. The number of generations in the genealogies referred to is 14 in five, 15 in two, and 11 in one, to correspond with the 11 in David's line. There are other genealogies where the series is not complete, but not one which contains more generations. It is the province therefore of Chronology to square its calculations to the genealogies. It must suffice here to assert that the shortening the interval between the Exodus and David by about 200 years, which brings it to the length indicated by the genealogies, does in the most remarkable manner bring Israelitish history into harmony with Egyptian, with the traditional Jewish date of the Exodus, with the fragment of Edomitish history preserved in Gen. xxxvi. 31—39, and with the internal evidence of the Israelitish history itself. The following pedigree will exhibit the successive generations as given by the two Evangelists:—

According to St. Luke.	Adam	Lamech
	Seth	Noah
	Enos	Shem
	Caim	Arphaxad
	Methuselah	Oshem
	Jared	Seth
	Enoch	Heber
	Methuselah	

ferent notices of his ancestors in 1 Sam.; that of Saul, from 1 Chr. viii. ix., and 1 Sam. ix.; and that of Zabad in 1 Chr. ii.

<sup>a</sup> See Jer. xxii. 11.

\* Those of Zadok, Heman, Ahimoth, Asaph, Ethan, in 1 Chr. vi.; that of Abiathar, made up from dif-

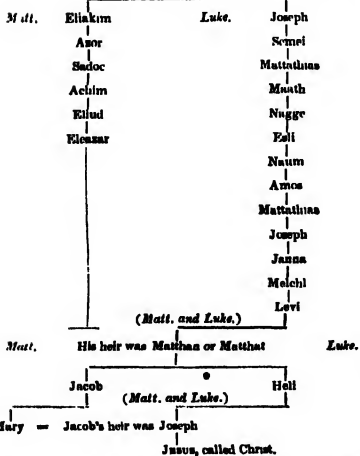


His heir was . . . Salathiel

Zorobabel (the Prince or Rhesa)

Joanna (Hananah, in 1 Chr. li. 19, omitted by Matthew; i. 19)

Juda, or Abiud (Hodanah, 1 Chr. iii. 24)



Thus it will be seen that the whole number of generations from Adam to Christ, both inclusive, is 74, without the second Cainan and Rhesa. In-

cluding these two, and adding the name of Gon, Augustine reckoned 77, and thought the number typical of the forgiveness of all sins in baptism by Him who was thus born in the 77th generation, alluding to Matt. xviii. 22; with many other wonderful speculations on the hidden meaning of the numbers 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, and their additions and multiplications (*Quest. Evang. lib. 11*). Irenaeus, who probably, like Africanus and Eusebius, omitted Matthat and Levi, reckoned 72 generations, which he connected with the 72 nations into which, according to Gen. x. (LXX.), mankind was divided, and so other fathers likewise.

For an account of the different explanations that have been given, both by ancient and modern commentators, the reader may refer to the elaborate Dissertation of Patritius in his 2nd vol. *De Evangelii*; who, however, does not contribute much to elucidate the difficulties of the case. The opinions advanced in the foregoing article are fully discussed in the writer's work on the *Genealogies of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and much valuable matter will be found in Dr. Mill's *Vindication of the Geneal.*, and in Grotius' note on Luke iii. 23. Other treatises are, Gomarus, *De Geneal. Christi*; Hottinger, *Dissert. duae de Geneal. Christi*; G. G. Vos, *De J. Chr. Geneal.*; Yardley, *On the Geneal. of J. Chr.*, &c. [A. C. H.]

**GENERATION.** 1. *Abstract*.—time, either definite, or indefinite. The primary meaning of the Heb. גֵּנֶזֶס is revolution; hence *period* of time: comp. *περίοδος*, *ἐνιαυτός*, and *annus*. From the general idea of a period comes the more special notion of an age or generation of men, the ordinary period of human life. In this point of view the history of the word seems to be directly contrasted with that of the Lat. *seculum*; which, starting with the idea of breed, or race, acquired the secondary signification of a definite period of time (Censorin. *de Dia Nat.* c. 17).

In the long-lived Patriarchal age a generation seems to have been computed at 100 years (Gen. xv. 16; comp. 13, and Ex. xii. 40); the later reckoning, however, was the same which has been adopted by other civilised nations, viz. from thirty to forty years (Job xlii. 16). For *generation* in the sense of a definite period of time, see Gen. xv. 16; Deut. xxiii. 3, 4, 8, &c.

As an indefinite period of time:—for time past, see Deut. xxxii. 7; Is. lviii. 12; for time future, see Ps. xlv. 17, lxxii. 5, &c.

2. *Concrete*.—the men of an age, or time. So generation = *contemporaries* (Gen. vi. 9; Is. liii. 8; see Lowth *ad loc.*; Ges. *Lex.*; better than "aeterna generatio," or "multitudo creditura"); *posterity*, especially in legal formulae (Lev. iii. 17, &c.); *fathers*, or *ancestors* (Ps. xlii. 19; Rosenm. *Schol. ad loc.*; comp. 2 Chr. xxxiv. 28). Dropping the idea of time, generation comes to mean a *race*, or *class* of men; e. g. of the righteous (Ps. xiv. 5, &c.); of the wicked (Deut. xxxii. 5; Jer. vii. 29, where "generation of his wrath" = against which God is angry).

In A. V. of N. Test. three words are rendered by *generation*:—

γένεσις, γεννηματα, γενεά.

γένεσις, properly *generatio*; but in Matt. i. 1 βλασ γενέσεως = מַסְרָא וּמִלְדָּה = a genealogical scheme.

γεννηματα pl. of γέννημα, Matt. iii. 7, &c..

A. V. *generation*; more properly *brood*, as the result of generation in its primary sense.

*yeved* in most of its uses corresponds with the Heb. *יָדָה*.

For the abstract and indefinite, see Luke i. 50, Eph. iii. 21 (A. V. "ages"), *future*: Acts xv. 21 (A. V. "of old time"), Eph. iii. 5 (A. V. "ages"), *past*.

For concrete, see Matt. xi. 13.

For generation without reference to time, see Luke xvi. 8, "in their generation," i. e. in their disposition, "indoles, ingenium, et ratio hominum," Schleusn. Matt. i. 17, "all the generations;" either concrete use, sc. "familiae sibi invicem succedentes;" or abstract and definite, according to the view which may be taken of the difficulties connected with the genealogies of our Lord. [GENEALOGY.]

[T. F. B.]

**GENESARETHIL.** In this form the name appears in the edition of the A. V. of 1611, in Mark vi. 53, and Luke v. 1, following the spelling of the Vulgate. In Matt. xiv. 34, where the Vulg. has *Genesar*, the A. V. originally followed the Received Greek Text—*Genesaret*. The oldest MSS. have, however, *Γεννασαρ* in each of the three places. [GENESARET.]

**GENESIS** (גֵּנֶזִיס; *Γένεσις*: *Genesis*; called also by the later Jews יְצִירָה, the first book of the Law or Pentateuch.

A. The book of Genesis has an interest and an importance to which no other document of antiquity can pretend. If not absolutely the oldest book in the world, it is the oldest which lays any claim to being a trustworthy history. There may be some papyrus-rolls in our Museums which were written in Egypt about the same time that the genealogies of the Semitic race were so carefully collected in the tents of the Patriarchs. But these rolls at best contain barren registers of little service to the historian. It is said that there are fragments of Chinese literature which in their present form date back as far as 2200 years B.C., and even more.\* But they are either calendars containing astronomical calculations, or records of merely local and temporary interest. Genesis, on the contrary, is rich in details respecting other races besides the race to which it more immediately belongs. And the Jewish pedigrees there so studiously preserved are but the scaffolding whereon is reared a temple of universal history.

If the religious books of other nations make any pretensions to vie with it in antiquity, in all other respects they are immeasurably inferior. The Mantras, the oldest portions of the Vedas, are, it would seem, as old as the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>b</sup> The Zendavesta, in the opinion of competent scholars, is of very much more modern date. Of the Chinese sacred books, the oldest, the Yih-king, is undoubtedly of a venerable antiquity, but it is not certain that it was a religious book at all; while the writings attributed to Confucius are certainly not earlier than the sixth century B.C.<sup>c</sup>

But Genesis is neither like the Vedas, a collection of hymns more or less sublime; nor like the Zendavesta, a philosophic speculation on the origin of all things; nor like the Yih-king, an unintelligible jumble whose expositors could twist it from a

cosmological essay into a standard treatise on ethical philosophy.<sup>d</sup> It is a history, and it is a religious history. The earlier portion of the book, so far as the end of the eleventh chapter, may be properly termed a history of the world; the latter is a history of the fathers of the Jewish race. But from first to last it is a religious history: it begins with the creation of the world and of man; it tells of the early happiness of a Paradise in which God spake with man; of the first sin and its consequences; of the promise of Redemption; of the gigantic growth of sin, and the judgment of the Flood; of a new earth, and a new covenant with man, its unchangeableness typified by the bow in the heavens; of the dispersion of the human race over the world. And then it passes to the story of Redemption; to the promise given to Abraham, and renewed to Isaac and to Jacob, and to all that chain of circumstances which paved the way for the great symbolic act of Redemption, when with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm Jehovah brought his people out of Egypt.

It is very important to bear in mind this religious aspect of the history if we would put ourselves in a position rightly to understand it. Of course the facts must be treated like any other historical facts, sifted in the same way, and subjected to the same laws of evidence. But if we would judge of the work as a whole we must not forget the evident aim of the writer. It is only in this way we can understand, for instance, why the history of the Fall is given with so much minuteness of detail, whereas of whole generations of men we have nothing but a bare catalogue. And only in this way can we account for the fact that by far the greater portion of the book is occupied not with the fortunes of nations, but with the biographies of the three patriarchs. For it was to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, that God revealed himself. It was to them that the promise was given, which was to be the hope of Israel till "the fulness of the time" should come. And hence to these wandering sheikhs attaches a grandeur and an interest greater than that of the Babels and Nimrods of the world. The minutest circumstances of their lives are worthy to be chronicled than the rise and fall of empires. And this not merely from the patriotic feeling of the writer as a Jew, but from his religious feeling as one of the chosen race. He lived in the land given to the fathers; he looked for the seed promised to the fathers, in whom himself and all the families of the earth should be blessed.

**B. Unity and Design.**—That a distinct plan and method characterise the work is now generally admitted. This is acknowledged in fact quite as much by those who contend for, as by those who deny the existence of different documents in the book. Ewald and Tuch are no less decided advocates of the unity of Genesis, so far as its plan is concerned, than Ranke or Hengstenberg. Ewald indeed (in his *Composition der Genesis*) was the first who established it satisfactorily, and clearly pointed out the principle on which it rests.

What then is the plan of the writer? First, we must bear in mind that Genesis is after all but a portion of a larger work. The five books of the Pentateuch form a consecutive whole: they are not merely a collection of ancient fragments loosely

\* Gfrörer, *Urgeschichte*, i. s. 215.

<sup>b</sup> See Colebrooke, *Asiat. Res.* vii. 283, and Professor Wilson's preface to his translation of the *Rig-Veda*.

\* Gfrörer, i. 270.

<sup>d</sup> Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, iii. i. p. 16.

strung together, but, as we shall prove elsewhere, a well-digested and connected composition. [PENTATEUCH.]

The great subject of this history is the establishment of the Theocracy. Its central point is the giving of the Law on Sinai, and the solemn covenant there ratified, whereby the Jewish nation was constituted "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation to Jehovah." With reference to this great central fact all the rest of the narrative is grouped.

Israel is the people of God. God rules in the midst of them, having chosen them to Himself. But a nation must have laws, therefore He gives them a law; and, in virtue of their peculiar relationship to God, this body of laws is both religious and political, defining their duty to God as well as their duty to their neighbour. Further, a nation must have a land, and the promise of the land and the preparation for its possession are all along kept in view.

The book of Genesis then (with the first chapters of Exodus) describes the steps which led to the establishment of the Theocracy. In reading it we must remember that it is but a part of a more extended work; and we must also bear in mind these two prominent ideas, which give a characteristic unity to the whole composition, viz., the people of God, and the promised land.

We shall then observe that the history of Abraham holds the same relation to the other portions of Genesis, which the giving of the law does to the entire Pentateuch. Abraham is the father of the Jewish Nation: to Abraham the Land of Canaan is first given in promise. Isaac and Jacob, though also prominent figures in the narrative, yet do but inherit the promise as Abraham's children, and Jacob especially is the chief connecting link in the chain of events which leads finally to the possession of the land of Canaan. In like manner the former section of the book is written with the same obvious purpose. It is a part of the writer's plan to tell us what the Divine preparation of the world was in order to show, first, the significance of the call of Abraham, and next, the true nature of the Jewish theocracy. He does not (as Tuch asserts) work backwards from Abraham, till he comes in spite of himself to the beginning of all things. He does not ask, Who was Abraham? answering, of the posterity of Shem; and who was Shem? a son of Noah; and who was Noah? &c. But he begins with the creation of the world, because the God who created the world and the God who revealed Himself to the fathers is the same God. Jehovah, who commanded His people to keep holy the seventh day, was the same God who in six days created the heavens and the earth, and rested on the seventh day from all His work. The God who, when man had fallen, visited him in mercy, and gave him a promise of redemption and victory, is the God who sent Moses to deliver His people out of Egypt. He who made a covenant with Noah, and through him with "all the families of the earth," is the God who also made Himself known as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. In a word, creation and redemption are eternally linked together. This is the idea which in fact gives its shape to the history, although its distinct enunciation is reserved for the N. T. There we learn that all things were created by and for Christ, and that in him all things consist (Col. i. 16, 17); and that by the church is made known unto principalities and powers the manifold wisdom of God. It would

be impossible, therefore, for a book which tells us of the beginning of the church, not to tell us also of the beginning of the world.

The book of Genesis has thus a character at once special and universal. It embraces the world; it speaks of God as the God of the whole human race. But as the introduction to Jewish history, it makes the universal interest subordinate to the national. Its design is to show how God revealed Himself to the first fathers of the Jewish race, in order that He might make to Himself a nation who should be His witnesses in the midst of the earth. This is the inner principle of unity which pervades the book. Its external framework we are now to examine. Five principal persons are the pillars, so to speak, on which the whole superstructure rests, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

I. *Adam*.—The creation of the world, and the earliest history of mankind (ch. i.-iii.). As yet, no divergence of the different families of man.

II. *Noah*.—The history of Adam's descendants to the death of Noah (iv.-ix.).—Here we have (1) the line of Cain branching off while the history follows the fortunes of Seth, whose descendants are (2) traced in genealogical succession, and in an unbroken line as far as Noah, and (3) the history of Noah himself (vi.-ix.), continued to his death.

III. *Abraham*.—Noah's posterity till the death of Abraham (x.-xxv. 18).—Here we have (1) the peopling of the whole earth by the descendants of Noah's three sons (xi. 1-9). The history of two of these is then dropped, and (2) the line of Shem only pursued (xi. 10-32) as far as Terah and Abraham, where the genealogical table breaks off. (3) Abraham is now the prominent figure (xii.-xxv. 18). But as Terah had two other sons, Nahor and Haran (xi. 27), some notices respecting their families are added. Lot's migration with Abraham into the land of Canaan is mentioned, as well as the fact that he was the father of Moab and Ammon (xix. 37, 38), nations whose later history was intimately connected with that of the posterity of Abraham. Nahor remained in Mesopotamia, but his family is briefly enumerated (xxii. 20-24), chiefly no doubt for Rebekah's sake, who was afterwards the wife of Isaac. Of Abraham's own children, there branches off first the line of Ishmael (xxi. 9, &c.), and next the children by Keturah; and the genealogical notices of these two branches of his posterity are apparently brought together (xxv. 1-6, and xxv. 12-18), in order that, being here severally dismissed at the end of Abraham's life, the main stream of the narrative may flow in the channel of Isaac's fortunes.

IV. *Isaac*.—Isaac's life (xxv. 19-xxxv. 29), a life in itself retiring and uneventful. But in his sons the final separation takes place, leaving the field clear for the great story of the chosen seed. Even when Nahor's family comes on the scene, as it does in ch. xxix., we hear only so much of it as is necessary to throw light on Jacob's history.

V. *Jacob*.—The history of Jacob and Joseph (xxxvi. 1).—Here, after Isaac's death, we have (1) the genealogy of Esau, xxxvi., who then drops out of the narrative, in order that (2) the history of the Patriarchs may be carried on without interruption to the death of Joseph (xxvii.-l.).

Thus it will be seen that a specific plan is preserved throughout. The main purpose is never forgotten. God's relation to Israel holds the first place in the writer's mind. It is this which it is his object to convey. The history of that chosen

seed who were the heirs of the promise, and the guardians of the Divine oracles, is the only history which interprets man's relation to God. By its light all others shine, and may be read when the time shall come. Meanwhile as the different families drop off here and there from the principal stock, their course is briefly indicated. A hint is given of their parentage and their migrations; and then the narrative returns to its regular channel. Thus the whole book may be compared to one of those vast American rivers which, instead of being fed by tributaries, send off here and there certain lesser streams or bayous, as they are termed, the main current meanwhile flowing on with its great mass of water to the sea.

Beyond all doubt then, we may trace in the book of Genesis in its present form a systematic plan. It is no hasty compilation, no mere collection of ancient fragments without order or arrangement. It coheres by an internal principle of unity. Its whole structure presents a very definite and clearly marked outline. But does it follow from this that the book, as it at present stands, is the work of a single author?

C. *Integrity*.—This is the next question we have to consider. Granting that this unity of design, which we have already noticed, leads to the conclusion that the work must have been by the same hand, are there any reasons for supposing that the author availed himself in its composition of earlier documents? and if so, are we still able by critical investigation to ascertain where they have been introduced into the body of the work?

1. Now it is almost impossible to read the book of Genesis with anything like a critical eye without being struck with the great peculiarities of style and language which certain portions of it present. Thus, for instance, chap. ii. 3-iii. 24 is quite different both from chap. i. and from chap. iv. Again, chap. xiv. and (according to Jahn) chap. xxiii. are evidently separate documents transplanted in their original form without correction or modification into the existing work. In fact there is nothing like uniformity of style till we come to the history of Joseph.

2. We are led to the same conclusion by the *inscriptions* which are prefixed to certain sections, as ii. 4, v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27, and seem to indicate so many older documents.

3. Lastly, the distinct use of the Divine names, *Jehovah* in some sections, and *Elohim* in others, is characteristic of two different writers; and other peculiarities of diction it has been observed fall in with this usage, and go far to establish the theory. All this is quite in harmony with what we might have expected *a priori*, viz., that if Moses or any later writer were the author of the book he would have availed himself of existing traditions either oral or written. That they *might have been* written is now established beyond all doubt, the art of writing having been proved to be much earlier than Moses. That they *were* written we infer from the book itself.

Astruc, a Belgian physician, was the first who broached the theory that Genesis was based on a collection of older documents. [PENTATEUCH.] Of these he professed to point out as many as twelve, the use of the Divine names, however, having in the first instance suggested the distinction. Subsequently Eichhorn adopted this theory, so far as to admit that two documents, the one Elohist, and the other Jehovist, were the main

sources of the book, though he did not altogether exclude others. Since his time the theory has been maintained, but variously modified, by one class of critics, whilst another class has strenuously opposed it. De Wette, Knobel, Tuch, Delitzsch, &c., think that two original documents may be traced throughout the work, the Jehovist, who was also probably the editor of the book in its present form, having designed merely to complete the work of the Elohist. Hengstenberg, Keil, Baumgarten, and Hävernick contend for a single author. The great weight of probability lies on the side of those who argue for the existence of different documents. The evidence already alluded to is strong; and nothing can be more natural than that an honest historian should seek to make his work more valuable by embodying in it the most ancient records of his race; the higher the value, which they possessed in his eyes, the more anxious would he be to preserve them in their original form. Those particularly in the earlier portion of the work were perhaps simply transcribed. In one instance we have what looks like an omission, ii. 4, where the inscription seems to promise a larger cosmogony. Here and there throughout the book we meet with a later remark, intended to explain or supplement the earlier monument. And in some instances there seems to have been so complete a fusion of the two principal documents, the Elohist and the Jehovist, that it is no longer possible accurately to distinguish them. The later writer, the Jehovist, instead of transcribing the Elohist account intact, thought fit to blend and intersperse with it his own remarks. We have an instance of this, according to Hupfeld (*Die Quellen der Genesis*), in chap. vii.: vers. 1-10 are usually assigned to the Jehovist; but whilst he admits this, he detects a large admixture of Elohist phraseology and colouring in the narrative. But this sort of criticism it must be admitted is very doubtful. Many other instances might be mentioned where there is the same difficulty in assigning their own to the several authors. Thus in sections generally recognised as Jehovistic, chaps. xii., xiii., xix., here and there a sentence or a phrase occurs, which seems to betray a different origin, as xii. 5, xiii. 6, xix. 29. These anomalies, however, though it may be difficult to account for them, can hardly be considered of sufficient force entirely to overthrow the theory of independent documents which has so much on other grounds, to recommend it. And certainly when Keil, Hengstenberg and others, who reject this theory, attempt to account for the use of the Divine names, on the hypothesis that the writer designedly employed the one or the other name according to the subject of which he was treating, their explanations are often of the most arbitrary kind. As a whole, the documentary character of Genesis is so remarkable when we compare it with the later books of the Pentateuch, and is so exactly what we might expect, supposing a Mosaic authorship of the whole, that, whilst contending against the theory of different documents in the later portions, we feel convinced that this theory is the only tenable one in Genesis.

Of the two principal documents, the Elohist is the earlier. So far as we can detach its integral portions, they still present the appearance of something like a connected work. This has been very well argued by Tuch (*Die Genesis, Allgem. Einl.* li.-lxx.), as well as by Hupfeld (*Die Quellen der Genesis*), Knobel, and Delitzsch.

Hupfeld, however, whose analysis is very careful, thinks that he can discover traces of *three* original records, an earlier Elohist, a Jehovist, and a later Elohist. These three documents were, according to him, subsequently united and arranged by a fourth person, who acted as editor of the whole. His argument is ingenious and worthy of consideration, though it is at times too elaborate to be convincing.

The following table of the use of the Divine Names in Genesis will enable the reader to form his own judgment as to the relative probability of the hypotheses above mentioned. Much as commentators differ concerning some portions of the Book, one pronouncing passages to be Elohist, which another with equal confidence assigns to the Jehovist, the fact is certain that whole sections are characterized by a separate use of the Divine names.

(1.) Sections in which Elohim is found exclusively, or nearly so:—Chap. i.-ii. 3 (creation of heaven and earth); v. (generations of Adam, except ver. 29, where Jehovah occurs; vi. 9-22 (generations of Noah); vii. 9-24 (the entering into the ark), but Jehovah in ver. 16; viii. 1-19 (end of the flood); ix. 1-17 (covenant with Noah); xvii. (covenant of circumcision), where, however, Jehovah occurs once in ver. 1, as compared with Elohim seven times; xix. 29-38 (conclusion of Lot's history); xx. (Abraham's sojourn at Gerar), where again we have Jehovah once and Elohim four times, and Haelehim twice; xxi. 1-21 (Isaac's birth and Ishmael's dismissal), only xxi. 1, Jehovah; xxi. 22-34 (Abraham's covenant with Abimelech), where Jehovah is found once; xxv. 1-18 (sons of Keturah, Abraham's death and the generations of Ishmael), Elohim once; xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9 (Jacob goes to Haran, Esau's marriage), Elohim once, and El Shaddai once; xxxi. (Jacob's departure from Laban), where Jehovah twice; xxxiii.-xxxvii. (Jacob's reconciliation with Esau, Dinah and the Shechemites, Jacob at Bethel, Esau's family, Joseph sold into Egypt). It should be observed, however, that in large portions of this section the Divine name does not occur at all. (See below.) xl.-l. (history of Joseph in Egypt): here we have Jehovah once only (xlix. 18). [Ex. i.-ii. (Israel's oppression in Egypt, and birth of Moses as deliverer).]

(2.) Sections in which Jehovah occurs exclusively, or in preference to Elohim; iv. (Cain and Abel, and Cain's posterity), where Jehovah 10 times and Elohim only once; vi. 1-8 (the sons of God and the daughters of men, &c.); vii. 1-9 (the entering into the ark), but Elohim once, ver. 9; viii. 20-22 (Noah's altar and Jehovah's blessing); ix. 18-27 (Noah and his sons); x. (the families of mankind as descended from Noah); xi. 1-9 (the confusion of tongues); xii. 1-20 (Abram's journey first from Haran to Canaan, and then into Egypt); xiii. (Abram's separation from Lot); xv. (Abram's faith, sacrifice, and covenant); xvi. (Hagar and Ishmael), where **אֱלֹהִים** once; xviii.-xix. 28 (visit of the three angels to Abram, Lot, destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah); xxiv. (betrothal of Rebekah and Isaac's marriage); xxv. 19-xxvi. 35 (Isaac's sons, his visit to Abimelech, Esau's wives); xxvii. 1-40 (Jacob obtains the blessing), but in ver. 28 Haelehim; xxx. 25-43 (Jacob's bargain with Laban), where how-

ever Jehovah only once; xxxviii. (Judah's incest); xxxix. (Jehovah with Joseph in Potiphar's house and in the prison); [Ex. iv. 18-31 (Moses' return to Egypt); v. (Pharaoh's treatment of the messengers of Jehovah).]

(3.) The section Gen. ii. 4-iii. 24 (the account of Paradise and the Fall) is generally regarded as Jehovistic, but it is clearly quite distinct. The Divine name as there found is not Jehovah, but Jehovah Elohim (in which form it only occurs once beside in the Pentateuch, Ex. ix. 38), and it occurs 20 times; the name Elohim being found three times in the same section, once in the mouth of the woman, and twice in that of the serpent.

(4.) In Gen. xiv. the prevailing name is El-Elyon (A. V. "the most high God"), and only once, in Abram's mouth, "Jehovah the most high God," which is quite intelligible.

(5.) Some few sections are found in which the names Jehovah and Elohim seem to be used promiscuously. This is the case in xxii. 1-19 (the offering up of Isaac); xxviii. 10-22 (Jacob's dream at Bethel); xxix. 31-xxx. 24 (birth and naming of the eleven sons of Jacob); and xxxii. (Jacob's wrestling with the angel); [Ex. iii. 1-iv. 17 (the call of Moses).]

(6.) It is worthy of notice that of the other Divine names Adonai is always found in connexion with Jehovah, except Gen. xx. 4; whereas El, El-Shaddai, &c., occur most frequently in the Elohist sections.

(7.) In the following sections neither of the Divine names occur:—Gen. xi. 10-32, xxii. 20-24, xxiii., xxv. 27-34, xxvii. 40-45, xxix. 1-30, xxxiv., xxxvi., xxxvii., xl., Ex. ii. 1-22.

D. *Authenticity*.—Luther used to say, "Nihil pulcrum Genesi, nihil utilius." But hard critics have tried all they can to mar its beauty and to detract from its utility. In fact the bitterness of the attacks on a document so venerable, so full of undying interest, hallowed by the love of many generations, makes one almost suspect that a secret malevolence must have been the mainspring of hostile criticism. Certain it is that no book has met with more determined and unsparing assailants. To enumerate and to reply to all objections would be impossible. We will only refer to some of the most important.

(1.) The story of Creation, as given in the first chapter, has been set aside in two ways: first by placing it on the same level with other cosmogonies which are to be found in the sacred writings of all nations; and next, by asserting that its statements are directly contradicted by the discoveries of modern science.

Let us glance at these two objections.

(a.) Now when we compare the Biblical with all other known cosmogonies, we are immediately struck with the great *moral* superiority of the former. There is no confusion here between the Divine Creator and His work. God is before all things, God creates *all* things; this is the sublime assertion of the Hebrew writer. Whereas all the cosmogonies of the heathen world err in one of two directions. Either they are Dualistic, that is, they regard God and matter as two eternal co-existent

\* This is capable of proof, not from the meaning of the root **בָּרָא**, which does not necessarily mean creation out of nothing (though it is never used but of a Divine act), but from the whole structure of the

sentence. In the beginning—put that beginning when you will—God, already existent, *created*. But at the time of the Divine act, nothing but God, according to the sacred writer, existed.

principles; or they are Pantheistic, *i. e.* they confound God and matter, making the material universe a kind of emanation from the great Spirit which informs the mass. Both these theories, with their various modifications, whether in the more subtle philosophemes of the Indian races, or in the rougher and grosser systems of the Phœnicians and Babylonians, are alike exclusive of the idea of creation. Without attempting to discuss in anything like detail the points of resemblance and difference between the Biblical record of creation, and the myths and legends of other nations, it may suffice to mention certain particulars in which the superiority of the Hebrew account can hardly be called in question. First, the Hebrew story alone clearly acknowledges the personality and unity of God. Secondly, here only do we find recognised a distinct act of creation, by creation being understood the calling into existence out of nothing the whole material universe. Thirdly, there is here only a clear intimation of that great law of progress which we find everywhere observed. The *order* of creation as given in Genesis is the gradual progress of all things from the lowest and least perfect to the highest and most completely developed forms. Fourthly, there is the fact of a relation between the personal Creator and the work of His fingers, and that relation is a relation of Love: for God looks upon His creation at every stage of its progress and pronounces it very good. Fifthly, there is throughout a sublime simplicity, which of itself is characteristic of a history, not of a myth or of a philosophical speculation.

(b.) It would occupy too large a space to discuss at any length the objections which have been urged from the results of modern discovery against the literal truth of this chapter. One or two remarks of a general kind must suffice. It is argued, for instance, that light could not have existed before the sun, or at any rate not that kind of light which would be necessary for the support of vegetable life; whereas the Mosaic narrative makes light created on the first day, trees and plants on the third, and the sun on the fourth. To this we may reply, that we must not too hastily build an argument upon our ignorance. We do not *know* that the existing laws of creation were in operation when the creative fiat was first put forth. The very act of Creation must have been the introducing of laws: but when the work was finished, those laws may have suffered some modification. Men are not now created in the full stature of manhood, but are born and grow. Similarly the lower ranks of being might have been influenced by certain necessary conditions during the first stages of their existence, which conditions were afterwards removed without any disturbance of the natural functions. And again it is not certain that the language of Genesis can only mean that the sun was *created*

on the fourth day. It *may* mean that then only did that luminary become visible to our planet.

With regard to the six days, no reasonable doubt can exist that they ought to be interpreted as six periods, without defining what the length of those periods is. No one can suppose that the Divine rest was literally a rest of 24 hours. On the contrary, the Divine Sabbath still continues. There has been no *creation* since the creation of man. This is what Genesis teaches, and this geology confirms. But God, after six periods of creative activity, entered into that Sabbath in which His work has been not a work of Creation but of Redemption.<sup>1</sup>

No attempt, however, which has as yet been made to identify these six periods with corresponding geological epochs can be pronounced satisfactory.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it seems rash and premature to assert that no reconciliation is possible.<sup>3</sup> What we ought to maintain is, that no reconciliation is necessary. It is certain that the author of the first chapter of Genesis, whether Moses or some one else, knew nothing of geology or astronomy. It is certain that he made use of phraseology concerning physical facts in accordance with the limited range of information which he possessed. It is also certain that the Bible was never intended to reveal to us knowledge of which our own faculties rightly used could put us in possession. And we have no business therefore to expect anything but popular language in the description of physical phenomena. Thus, for instance, when it is said that by means of the firmament God divided the waters which were above from those which were beneath, we admit the fact without admitting the implied explanation. The *Hebrews* supposed that there existed vast reservoirs above him corresponding to the "waters under the earth." We know that by certain natural processes the rain descends from the clouds. But the *fact* remains the same that there are waters above as well as below.

Further investigation may perhaps throw more light on these interesting questions. Meanwhile it may be safely said that modern discoveries are in no way opposed to the great outlines of the Mosaic cosmogony. That the world was created in six periods, that creation was by a law of gradual advance beginning with inorganic matter, and then advancing from the lowest organisms to the highest, that since the appearance of man upon the earth no new species have come into being; these are statements not only not disproved, but the two last of them at least amply confirmed by geological research.<sup>4</sup>

(2.) To the description of Paradise, and the history of the Fall and of the Deluge very similar remarks apply. All nations have their own version of these facts, coloured by local circumstances and embellished according to the poetic or philosophic spirit of the tribes among whom the tradition has taken

<sup>1</sup> Hence the force of our Lord's argument, very generally misunderstood, in John v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> One of the most elaborate of these is by the late Hugh Miller, in his *Testimony of the Rocks*. No man had a better right to be heard, both as a profound geologist and as a sincere Christian. And it is impossible not to admire the eloquence and ingenuity with which he attempts to reconcile the story of Genesis with the story of the rocks. But his argument is far from convincing. And he only attempts to reconcile *three* of the Mosaic days with the three great periods of geology. Another writer, Mr. M'Causland, who has adopted his view, and tried to extend it to the

*six* days, does not seem entitled to speak with authority on the geological question.

<sup>3</sup> As Professor Powell does in his *Order of Nature*.

<sup>4</sup> I am aware it may be said that the trilobite which is discovered in the lowest fossiliferous rocks is not the lowest type of organic being; but lower forms may have perished without leaving traces behind them. And if not, manifestly in such a narrative as that of Genesis we ought not to expect *minute* accuracy: in the main it is certainly true that, as we advance from the lower to the higher strata, we find a corresponding advance in organic deposits.

root. But if there be any one original source of these traditions, any root from which they diverged, we cannot doubt where to look for it. The earliest record of these momentous facts is that preserved in the Bible. We cannot doubt this, because the simplicity of the narrative is greater than that of any other work with which we are acquainted. And this simplicity is an argument at once in favour of the greater antiquity and also of the greater truthfulness of the story. It is hardly possible to suppose that traditions so widely spread over the surface of the earth as are the traditions of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, should have no foundation whatever in fact. And it is quite as impossible to suppose that that version of these facts, which in its moral and religious aspect is the purest, is not also, to take the lowest ground, the most likely to be true.

Opinions have differed whether we ought to take the story of the Fall in Gen. iii., to be a literal statement of facts, or whether with many expositors since the time of Philo, we should regard it as an allegory, framed in childlike words as befitting the childhood of the world, but conveying to us a deeper spiritual truth. But in the latter case we ought not to deny that spiritual truth. Neither should we overlook the very important bearing which this narrative has on the whole of the subsequent history of the world and of Israel. Delitzsch well says, "The story of the Fall, like that of the Creation, has wandered over the world. Heathen nations have transplanted and mixed it up with their geography, their history, their mythology, although it has never so completely changed form and colour, and spirit, that you cannot recognise it. Here, however, in the Law, it preserves the character of a universal, human, world-wide fact: and the groans of Creation, the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus, and the heart of every man, conspire in their testimony to the most literal truth of the narrative."

The universality of the Deluge, it may be proved, is quite at variance with the most certain facts of geology. But then we are not bound to contend for a universal deluge. The Biblical writer himself, it is true, supposed it to be universal, but that was only because it covered what was then the known world: there can be no doubt that it did extend to all that part of the world which was then inhabited: and this is enough, on the one hand, to satisfy the terms of the narrative, and on the other, the geological difficulty as well as other difficulties concerning the ark, and the number of animals, disappear with this interpretation. [See NOAH.]

(3.) When we come down to a later period in the narrative, where we have the opportunity of testing the accuracy of the historian, we find it in many of the most important particulars abundantly corroborated.

Whatever interpretation we may be disposed to put on the story of the confusion of tongues, and the subsequent dispersion of mankind, there is no good ground for setting it aside. Indeed, if the reading of a cylinder recently discovered at *Nirs Nimrud*<sup>k</sup> may be trusted, there is independent evidence corroborative of the Biblical account. But at any rate the other versions of this event are far less probable (see these in Joseph. *Antiq.* i. iv. 3; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 14). The later myths

concerning the wars of the Titans with the gods are apparently based upon this story, or rather upon perversions of it. But it is quite impossible to suppose, as Kalisch does (*Genesis*, p. 313), that "the Hebrew historian converted that very legend into a medium for solving a great and important problem." There is not the smallest appearance of any such design. The legend is a perversion of the history, not the history a comment upon the legend. One of the strongest proofs of the *bond fide* historical character of the earlier portion of Genesis is to be found in the valuable ethnological catalogue contained in chap. x. Knobel, who has devoted a volume<sup>m</sup> to the elucidation of this document, has succeeded in establishing its main accuracy beyond doubt, although, in accordance with his theory as to the age of the Pentateuch, he assigns to it no greater antiquity than between 1200 and 1000 B.C.

(4.) As to the fact implied in this dispersion, that all languages had one origin, philological research has not as yet been carried far enough to lead to any very certain result. Many of the greatest philologists<sup>n</sup> contend for real affinities between the Indo-European and the Semitic tongues. On the other hand, languages like the Coptic (not to mention many others) seem at present to stand out in complete isolation. And the most that has been effected is a classification of languages in three great families. This classification however is in exact accordance with the threefold division of the race in Shem, Ham, and Japhet, of which Genesis tells us.

(5.) Another fact which rests on the authority of the earlier chapters of Genesis, the derivation of the whole human race from a single pair, has been abundantly confirmed by recent investigations. For the full proof of this it is sufficient to refer to Prichard's *Physical History of Mankind*, in which the subject is discussed with great care and ability.

(6.) It is quite impossible, as has already been said, to notice all the objections made by hostile critics at every step as we advance. But it may be well to refer to one more instance in which suspicion has been cast upon the credibility of the narrative. Three stories are found in three distinct portions of the Book, which in their main features no doubt present a striking similarity to one another. See xii. 10-20, xx., xxvi. 1-11. These, it is said, besides containing certain improbabilities of statement, are clearly only three different versions of the same story.

It is of course possible that these are only different versions of the same story. But is it psychologically so very improbable that the same incident should happen three times in almost the same manner? All men repeat themselves, and even repeat their mistakes. And the repetition of circumstances over which a man has no control, is sometimes as astonishing as the repetition of actions which he can control. Was not the state of society in those days such as to render it no way improbable that Pharaoh on one occasion, and Abimelech on another, should have acted in the same selfish and arbitrary manner? Abraham too might have been guilty twice of the same sinful cowardice; and Isaac might, in similar circumstances, have copied his father's example, calling it wisdom. To

<sup>k</sup> As given by M. Oppert in a Paper read before the Royal Society of Literature.

<sup>m</sup> *Die Volkertafel der Genesis*.

<sup>n</sup> As Bopp, Lepsius, Burnouf, &c. See Rénan, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, l. v. c. 2, 8.

say, as the most recent expositor of this Book has done, that the object of the Hebrew writer was to represent an idea, such as "the sanctity of matrimony" that "in his hands, the facts are subordinated to ideas," &c., is to cut up by the very roots the historical character of the Book. The mythical theory is preferable to this; for that leaves a substratum of fact, however it may have been embellished or perhaps disfigured by tradition.\*

There is a further difficulty about the age of Sarah, who at the time of the first occurrence must have been 65 years old, and the freshness of her beauty therefore, it is said, long since faded. In reply it has been argued that as she lived to the age of 127, she was only then in middle life; that consequently she would have been at 65 what a woman of modern Europe would be at 35 or 40, an age at which personal attractions are not necessarily impaired.

But it is a minute criticism, hardly worth answering, which tries to cast suspicion on the veracity of the writer, because of difficulties such as these. The positive evidence is overwhelming in favour of his credibility. The patriarchal tent beneath the shade of some spreading tree, the wealth of flocks and herds, the free and generous hospitality to strangers, the strife for the well, the purchase of the cave of Machpelah for a burial-place,—we feel at once that these are no inventions of a later writer in more civilized times. So again, what can be more life-like, more touchingly beautiful, than the picture of Hagar and Ishmael, the meeting of Abraham's servant with Rebekah, or of Jacob with Rachel at the well of Haran? There is a fidelity in the minutest incidents which convinces us that we are reading history, not fable. Or can anything more completely transport us into patriarchal times than the battle of the kings and the interview between Abraham and Melchisedec? The very opening of the story, "In the days of Amraphel," &c., reads like the work of some old chronicler who lived not far from the time of which he speaks. The archaic forms of names of places, Bela for Zoar; Chatzatzon Tamar for Engedi; Emek Shaveh for the King's Vale; the Vale of Siddim as descriptive of the spot which was afterwards the Dead Sea; the expression "Abram the Hebrew;" are remarkable evidences of the antiquity of the narrative. So also are the names of the different tribes who at that early period inhabited Canaan; the Ephraim, for instance, of whom we find in the time of Joshua but a weak remnant left (Jos. xiii. 12), and the Susim, Emin, Chorim, who are only mentioned beside in the Pentateuch (Deut. ii. 10, 12). Quite in keeping with the rest of the picture is Abraham's "arming his trained servants" (xiv. 14)—a phrase which occurs no where else—and above all the character and position of Melchisedec. "Simple, calm, great, comes and goes the priest-king of the Divine history." The representations of the Greek poets, says Creuzer (*Symb.* iv. 378), fall very far short of this. And as Hävernick justly remarks, such a person could be no theocratic invention; for the union of the kingly and priestly offices in the same person was no part of the theocracy. Lastly, the name by which he knows God, "the most high God, Possessor of heaven and earth," occurs also in the Phœnician religions, but

not amongst the Jews, and is again one of those slight but accurate touches which at once distinguish the historian from the fabulist.

Passing on to a later portion of the Book we find the writer evincing the most accurate knowledge of the state of society in Egypt. The Egyptian jealousy of foreigners, and especially their hatred of shepherds; the use of interpreters in the court (who, we learn from other sources, formed a distinct caste); the existence of caste; the importance of the priesthood; the means by which the land which had once belonged to free proprietors passed into the hands of the king; the fact that even at that early time a settled trade existed between Egypt and other countries, are all confirmed by the monuments or by later writers. So again Joseph's priestly dress of fine linen, the chain of gold round his neck, the chariot on which he rides, the body-guard of the king, the rites of burial and embalming (though spoken of only incidentally) are spoken of with a minute accuracy, which can leave no doubt on the mind as to the credibility of the historian.

E. *Author and date of composition.*—It will be seen, from what has been said above, that the Book of Genesis, though containing different documents, owes its existing form to the labour of a single author, who has digested and incorporated the materials he found ready to his hand. A modern writer on history, in the same way, might sometimes transcribe passages from ancient chronicles, sometimes place different accounts together, sometimes again give briefly the substance of the older document, neglecting its form.

But it is a distinct inquiry who this author or editor was. This question cannot properly be discussed apart from the general question of the authorship of the entire Pentateuch. We shall therefore reserve this subject for another article. [PENTATEUCH.] [J. J. S. P.]

GENNESAR, THE WATER OF (τὸ ὕδωρ Γεννησάρ; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, 7, τὰ ὕδατα τὰ Γεννησάρια λεγ.; *Aqua Genesar*), 1 Macc. xi. 67. [GENNESARET.]

GENNESARET, SEA OF (λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ, Luke v. 1; ὕδωρ Γεννησάρ, 1 Macc. xi. 67), called in the O. T. "the Sea of 'Chinnereth,'" or "Chinneroth," Num. xxxiv. 11; Josh. xii. 3), from a town of that name which stood on or near its shore (Josh. xix. 35). In the later Hebrew we always find the Greek form גִּנְיָרַי, which may possibly be a corruption of גִּנְיָרַי, though some derive the word from Gannah, "a garden," and Sharon, the name of a plain between Tabor and this lake (*Onom.* s. v. *Σαρόν*; Reland, pp. 193, 259). Josephus calls it Γεννησαρίτιν λίμνην (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §1); and this seems to have been its common name at the commencement of our era (Strab. xvi. p. 755; Plin. v. 16; Ptol. v. 15). At its north-western angle was a beautiful and fertile plain called "Gennesaret" (γῆν Γεννησαρέτ, Matt. xiv. 34), from which the name of the lake was taken (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, §7). The lake is also called in the N. T. Θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, from the province of Galilee which bordered on its western side (Matt. iv. 18; Mark vii. 31; John vi. 1); and

\* If the view of Delitzsch is correct, that xii. 10-20 is Jehovistic; xx., Elohistie (with a Jehovistic addition, ver. 18); xxvi. 1-18, Jehovistic, but taken from

written documents, this may to some minds explain the repetition of the story.

θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος, from the celebrated city (John vi. 1). Eusebius calls it Ἀλμυρ Τιβεριὰς (Onom. s. v. *Σαράν*; see also Cyr. in *Jes.* i. 5). It is a curious fact that all the numerous names given to this lake were taken from places on its western side. Its modern name is *Bahr Tuberiyeh* (بحر طبرية).

In Josh. xi. 2 "the plains south of Chinneroth" are mentioned. It is the sea and not the city that is here referred to (comp. Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xii. 3); and "the plains" are those along the banks of the Jordan. Most of our Lord's public life was spent in the environs of the Sea of Genesaret. On its shores stood 'Apernaum, "His own city" (Matt. iv. 13); on its shore He called His first disciples from their occupation as fishermen (Luke v. 1-11); and near its shores He spoke many of His parables, and performed many of His miracles. This region was then the most densely peopled in all Palestine. No less than nine cities stood on the very shores of the lake; while numerous large villages dotted the plains and hill-sides around (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 424).

The Sea of Genesaret is of an oval shape, about thirteen geographical miles long, and six broad. Josephus gives the length at 140 stadia, and the breadth forty (*B. J.* iii. 10, §7); and Pliny says it measured xvi. m. p. by vi. (*N. H.* xiv.). Both these are so near the truth that they could scarcely have been mere estimates. The river Jordan enters it at its northern end, and passes out at its southern end. In fact the bed of the lake is just a lower section of the great Jordan valley. Its most remarkable feature is its deep depression, being no less than 700 feet below the level of the ocean (Rubinson, *Pol.* i. 613). Like almost all lakes of volcanic origin it occupies the bottom of a great basin, the sides of which shelve down with a uniform slope from the surrounding plateaus. On the east the banks are nearly 2000 feet high, destitute of verdure and of foliage, deeply furrowed by ravines, but quite flat along the summit; forming in fact the supporting wall of the table-land of Bushan. On the north there is a gradual descent from this table-land to the valley of the Jordan; and then a gradual rise again to a plateau of nearly equal elevation skirting the mountains of Upper Galilee. The western banks are less regular, yet they present the same general features—plateaus of different altitudes breaking down abruptly to the shore. The scenery has neither grandeur nor beauty. It wants fertility, and it wants variety. It is bleak and monotonous, especially so when the sky is cloudless, and the sun high. The golden tints and purple shadows of evening help it, but it looks best during a thunderstorm, such as the writer has often witnessed in early spring. The cliffs and rocks along the shores are mostly a hard porous basalt, and the whole basin has a scathed volcanic look. The frequent earthquakes prove that the elements of destruction are still at work beneath the surface. There is a copious warm fountain near the site of Tiberias, and it is said that at the time of the great earthquake of 1837 both the quantity and temperature of the water were much increased.

The great depression makes the climate of the shores almost tropical. This is very sensibly felt by the traveller in going down from the plains of Galilee. In summer the heat is intense, and even in early spring the air has something of an Egyptian balminess. Snow very rarely falls, and though

it often whitens the neighbouring mountains, it never lies here. The vegetation is almost of a tropical character. The thorny lote-tree grows among the basalt rocks; palms flourish luxuriantly, and indigo is cultivated in the fields (comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, §6).

The water of the lake is sweet, cool, and transparent; and as the beach is everywhere pebbly it has a beautiful sparkling look. This fact is somewhat strange when we consider that it is exposed to the powerful rays of the sun, that many warm and brackish springs flow into it, and that it is supplied by the Jordan which rushes into its northern end, a turbid, ruddy torrent. The lake abounds in fish now as in ancient times. Some are of the same species as those got in the Nile, such as the *Silurus*, the *Mugil*, and another called by Hasselquist *Sparus Gulliacus* (*Riese*, pp. 181, 412 sq.; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, §7). The fishery, like the soil of the surrounding country, is sadly neglected. One little crazy boat is the sole representative of the fleets that covered the lake in N. T. times, and even with it there is no deep-water fishing. Two modes are now employed to catch the fish. One is a hand-net, with which a man, usually naked (John xxi. 7), stalks along the shore, and watching his opportunity, throws it round the game with a jerk. The other mode is still more curious. Bread-crumbs are mixed up with bi-chloride of mercury, and sown over the water; the fish swallow the poison and die. The dead bodies float, are picked up, and taken to the market of Tiberias! (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 432.)

A "mournful and solitary silence" now reigns along the shores of the sea of Genesaret, which were in former ages studded with great cities, and resounded with the din of an active and industrious people. Seven out of the nine cities above referred to are now uninhabited ruins; one, Magdala, is occupied by half-a-dozen mud hovels; and Tiberias alone retains a wretched remnant of its former prosperity. [J. L. P.]

GENNETUS (*Γενναίος*, Alex. *Γενναῖος*; *Gen-naius*), father of Apollonius, who was one of several generals (στρατηγός) commanding towns in Palestine, who molested the Jews while I. ysis was governor for Antiochus Eupator (2 Mac. xii. 2). Luther understands the word as an adjective (*γενναῖος* = well-born), and has "des edlen Apollonius."

GENTILES. I. *Old Testament*.—The Hebrew גוֹי in sing. = a people, nation, body politic; in which sense it is applied to the Jewish nation amongst others. In the pl. it acquires an ethnographic, and also an invidious meaning, and is rendered in A. V. by Gentiles and Heathen.

גוֹיִם, the nations, the surrounding nations, foreigners as opposed to Israel (Neh. v. 8). In Gen. x. 5 it occurs in its most indefinite sense = the far-distant inhabitants of the Western Isles, without the slightest accessory notion of heathenism, or barbarism. In Lev., Deut., Ps. the term is applied to the various heathen nations with which Israel came into contact; its meaning grows wider in proportion to the wider circle of the national experience, and more or less invidious according to the success or defeat of the national arms. In the Prophets it attains at once its most comprehensive and its most hostile view; hostile in presence of victorious rivals, comprehensive with reference to the triumphs of a spiritual future.

Notwithstanding the disagreeable connotation of

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the term, the Jews were able to use it, even in the plural in a purely technical, geographical sense. So Gen. x. 5 (see above); Gen. xiv. 1; Josh. xii. 23; Is. ix. 1. In Josh. xii. 23, "the king of the nations of Gilgal," A. V.; better with Gesenius "the king of the Gentiles at Gilgal," where probably, as afterwards in Galilee, foreigners, *Gentiles*, were settled among the Jews.

For "Galilee of the Gentiles," comp. Matt. iv. 15 with Is. ix. 1, where A. V. "Galilee of the nations." In Heb. גליל הַגִּיטִּים, the "circle of the Gentiles;" κατ' ἐξοχὴν, γλῶττῃ, ha-Galeel; whence the name Galilee applied to a district which was largely peopled by the Gentiles, especially the Phœnicians.

The Gentiles in Gen. xiv. 1 may either be the inhabitants of the same territory, or, as suggested by Gesenius, "nations of the West" generally.

II. *New Testament*.—1. The Greek ἔθνος in sing. means a people or nation (Matt. xxiv. 7; Acts ii. 5, &c.), and even the Jewish people (Luke vii. 5, xxiii. 2, &c.; comp. ἡ, sup.). It is only in the pl. that it is used for the Heb. עַמִּים, heathen, gentiles (comp. ἔθνος, heathen, ethnic): in Matt. xxi. 43 ἔθνες alludes to, but does not directly stand for, "the Gentiles." As equivalent to Gentiles it is found in the Epistles of St. Paul, but not always in an invidious sense (e.g. Rom. xi. 13; Eph. iii. 1, 6).

2. Ἑλληνας, John vii. 35, ἡ διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων, "the Jews dispersed among the Gentiles." Rom. iii. 9, ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἑλληνας, Jews and Gentiles.

The A. V. is not consistent in its treatment of this word; sometimes rendering it by *Greek* (Acts xiv. 1, xvii. 4; Rom. i. 16, x. 12), sometimes by *Gentile* (Rom. ii. 9, 10, iii. 9; 1 Cor. x. 32), inserting *Greek* in the margin. The places where Ἑλληνας is equivalent to *Greek* simply (as Acts xvi. 1, 3) are much fewer than those where it is equivalent to *Gentile*. The former may probably be reduced to Acts xvi. 1, 3; Acts xviii. 17; Rom. i. 14. The latter use of the word seems to have arisen from the almost universal adoption of the *Greek* language. Even in 2 Macc. iv. 13 Ἑλληνας-μός appears as synonymous with ἀλλοφυλισμός (comp. vi. 9); and in Is. ix. 12 the LXX. renders עַמִּים בְּשָׂרָא by Ἑλληνας; and so the *Greek Fathers* defended the Christian faith πρὸς Ἑλληνας, and καθ' Ἑλληνας. [GREEK; HEATHEN.] [T. E. B.]

GENUBATH (גִּנְבַּת; Γενυβάθ; *Genubath*), the son of Hadad, an Edomite of the royal family, by an Egyptian princess, the sister of Tahpenes, the queen of the Pharaoh who governed Egypt in the latter part of the reign of David (1 K. xi. 20; comp. 16). Genubath was born in the palace of Pharaoh, and weaned by the queen herself; after which he became a member of the royal establishment, on the same footing as one of the sons of Pharaoh. The fragment of Edomite chronicle in which this is contained is very remarkable, and may be compared with that in Gen. xxvi. Genubath is not again mentioned or alluded to.

GE'ON (גֵּזֶן; *Gehon*), i. e. GIHON, one of the four rivers of Eden; introduced, with the Jordan, and probably the Nile, into a figure in the praise of wisdom, Eccles. xxiv. 27. This is merely the

## GERAR

Greek form of the Hebrew name, the same which is used by the LXX. in Gen. ii. 13.

GERA (גֵּרָא; Γηρά), one of the "sons," i. e. descendants, of Benjamin, enumerated in Gen. xvi. 21, as already living at the time of Jacob's migration into Egypt. He was son of Bela (1 Chr. viii. 3). [BELA.] The text of this last passage is very corrupt; and the different Geras there named seem to reduce themselves into one,—the same as the son of Bela. Gera, who is named Judg. iii. 15 as the ancestor of Ehud, and in 2 Sam. xvi. 5 as the ancestor of Shimei who cursed David [BECHER], is probably also the same person. Gera is not mentioned in the list of Benjamite families in Num. xxvi. 38-40; of which a very obvious explanation is that at that time he was not the head of a separate family, but was included among the Belaïtes; it being a matter of necessity that some of Bela's sons should be so included, otherwise there could be no family of Belaïtes at all. Dr. Kalisch has some long and rather perplexed observations on the discrepancies in the lists in Gen. xli. and Num. xxvi., and specially as regards the sons of Benjamin. But the truth is that the two lists agree very well as far as Benjamin is concerned. For the only discrepancy that remains, when the absence of Becher and Gera from the list in Num. is thus explained, is that for the two names אֲחִירָא and רֹשׁ (Ehi and Rosh) in Gen., we have the one name אֲחִירָא (Ahiram) in Num. If this last were written אֲחִירָא, as it might be, the two texts would be almost identical, especially if written in the Samaritan character, in which the *shin* closely resembles the *mem*. That Ahiram is right we are quite sure, from the family of the Ahiramites, and from the non-mention elsewhere of Rosh, which in fact is not a proper name. [ROSH.] The conclusion therefore seems certain that אֲחִירָא in Gen. is a mere clerical error, and that there is perfect agreement between the two lists. This view is strengthened by the further fact that in the word which follows Rosh, viz. Muphim, the initial *m* is an error for *sh*. It should be Shuphim, as in Num. xxvi. 39; 1 Chr. vii. 12. The final *m* of *Ahiram*, and the initial *sh* of *Shuphim*, have thus been transposed. To the remarks made under BECHER should be added that the great destruction of the Benjamites recorded in Judg. xx. may account for the introduction of so many new names in the later Benjamite lists of 1 Chr. vii. and viii., of which several seem to be women's names. [A. C. H.]

## GERAH. [MEASURES.]

GE'RAH (גֵּרָא; Γεραά; *Joseph. Ant. i. 12, §1*), a very ancient city south of Gaza. It occurs chiefly in Genesis (x. 19, xx. 1, xxvi. 1, 6); also incidentally in 2 Chr. xiv. 13, 14. In Genesis the people are spoken of as Philistines; but their habits appear, in that early stage, more pastoral than they subsequently were. Yet they are even then warlike, since Abimelech was "a captain of the host," who appears from his fixed title, "Phichol," like that of the king, "Abimelech," to be a permanent officer (comp. Gen. xxi. 32, xxvi. 26, and Ps. xxxiv., title). The local description, xxi. 1, "between Kadesh and Shur," is probably meant to indicate the limits within which these pastoral Philistines, whose chief seat was then Gera, ranged, although it would by no means follow that their territory embraced all the interval between those cities. It must have stretched on the "south" or "south country" of later Palestine. From a com-

parson of xxi. 32 with xxvi. 23, 26,\* Beersheba would seem to be just on the verge of this territory, and perhaps to be its limit towards the N.E. For its southern boundary, though very uncertain, none is more probable than the Wady El Arish ("River of Egypt") and El 'Ain; south of which the neighbouring "wilderness of Paran" (xx. 15, xxi. 22, 34) may be probably reckoned to begin. Isaac was most probably born in Gerar. The great crops which he subsequently raised attest the fertility of the soil, which, lying in the maritime plain, still contains some of the best ground in Palestine (xxi. 2, xxvi. 12). It is possible that the wells mentioned by Robinson (i. 190) may represent those digged by Abraham and reopened by Isaac (xxvi. 18-22).<sup>b</sup> Williams (*Holy City*, i. 46) speaks of a *Joor el Gerar* as now existing, three hours S.S.E. of Gaza, and this may probably indicate the northern limit of the territory, if not the site of the town; but the range of that territory need not be so far narrowed as to make the *Wady Rukabeh* an impossible site, as Robinson thinks it (see his map at end of vol. i. and i. 197), for Rehoboth. There is also a *Wady el Jerur* laid down S. of the wadis above-named, and running into one of them; but this is too far south (Robinson, i. 189, note) to be accepted as a possible site. The valley of Gerar may be almost any important wady within the limits indicated; but if the above-mentioned situation for the wells be not rejected, it would tend to designate the *Wady el Ain*. Robinson (ii. 44) appears to prefer the *W. es Scheria*, running to the sea south of Gaza. Eusebius (*de sit. & nom. loc. Heb. s. v.*), makes Gerar 25 miles S. from Eleutheropolis, which would be about the latitude of Beersheba; but see Jerome, *Lit. quest. Heb. Gen. xlii. 3*. Berek (xvi. 14) may perhaps have lain in this territory. In 1 Chr. iv. 39, the LXX. read Gerar, *εἰς τὴν Γέραρα*, for Gedor; a substitution which is not without some claims to support. [BEREK; BEERSHEBA; GEDOR.] [H. H.]

GER'ASA (Γέρασα, Ptol.; Γεράσσα, Not. Eccles.; Arab. *Jerash*, جرش). This name does

not occur in the O. T., nor in the Received Text of the N. T. But it is now generally admitted that in Matt. viii. 28, "Gerasenes" supercedes "Gadarenes." Gerasa was a celebrated city on the eastern border of Peraea (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §3), placed by some in the province of Coele Syria and region of Decapolis (Steph. s. v.), by others in Arabia (Epiph. *adv. Hæc.*; Origen. in *Johan.*). These various statements do not arise from any doubts as to the locality of the city, but from the ill-defined boundaries of the provinces mentioned. In the Roman age no city of Palestine was better known than Gerasa. It is situated amid the mountains of Gilead, 20 miles east of the Jordan, and 25 north of Philadelphia, the ancient Rabbath-Ammon. Several MSS. read Γερρασένων instead of Γεργασένων, in Matt. viii. 28; but the city of Gerasa lay too far from the Sea of Tiberias to admit the possibility of the miracles having been wrought in its vicinity. If the reading Γερρασένων be the true one, the χώρα, "district," must then have been very large, including Gadara and its environs; and Matthew thus uses a broader appellation, where Mark and Luke use a more spe-

cific one. This is not improbable; as Jerome (*ad Obad.*) states that Gilead was in his day called Gerasa; and Origen affirms that Γερρασένων was the ancient reading (*Opp.* iv. p. 140). [GADARA.]

It is not known when or by whom Gerasa was founded. It is first mentioned by Josephus as having been captured by Alexander Jannæus (circ. u.c. 85; Joseph. *B. J.* i. 4, §8). It was one of the cities the Jews burned in revenge for the massacre of their countrymen at Caesarea, at the commencement of their last war with the Romans; and it had scarcely recovered from this calamity when the Emperor Vespasian despatched Annius, his general, to capture it. Annius, having carried the city at the first assault, put to the sword one thousand of the youth who had not effected their escape, enslaved their families, and plundered their dwellings (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, §1). It appears to have been nearly a century subsequent to this period that Gerasa attained its greatest prosperity, and was adorned with those monuments which give it a place among the proudest cities of Syria. History tells us nothing of this, but the fragments of inscriptions found among its ruined palaces and temples, show that it is indebted for its architectural splendour to the age and genius of the Antonines (A.D. 138-80). It subsequently became the seat of a bishopric. There is no evidence that the city was ever occupied by the Saracens. There are no traces of their architecture—no mosks, no inscriptions, no reconstruction of old edifices, such as are found in most other great cities in Syria. All here is Roman, or at least ante-Islamic; every structure remains as the hand of the destroyer, or the earthquake shock left it—ruinous and deserted.

The ruins of Gerasa are by far the most beautiful and extensive east of the Jordan. They are situated on both sides of a shallow valley that runs from north to south through a high undulating plain, and falls into the *Zurka* (the ancient Jabbok) at the distance of about 5 miles. A little rivulet, thickly fringed with oleander, winds through the valley, giving life and beauty to the deserted city. The first view of the ruins is very striking; and such as have enjoyed it will not soon forget the impression made upon the mind. The long colonnade running through the centre of the city, terminating at one end in the graceful circle of the forum; the groups of columns clustered here and there round the crumbling walls of the temples; the heavy masses of masonry that distinguish the positions of the great theatres; and the vast field of shapeless ruins rising gradually from the green banks of the rivulet to the battlemented heights on each side—all combine in forming a picture such as is rarely equalled. The form of the city is an irregular square, each side measuring nearly a mile. It was surrounded by a strong wall, a large portion of which, with its flanking towers at intervals, is in a good state of preservation. Three gateways are still nearly perfect; and within the city upwards of two hundred and thirty columns remain on their pedestals. (Full descriptions of Gerasa are given in the *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*; Burchard's *Travels in Syria*; Buckingham's *Arab Tribes*; Ritter's *Pal. and Syr.*.) [J. L. P.]

GERGESE'NES, Matt. viii. 28. [GADARA.]

\* The well where Isaac and Abimelech covenanted is distinguished by the LXX. from the Beersheba where Abraham did so, the former being called φέρεσ βραχον, the latter φέρεσ ἀρεσμοσύ.

<sup>b</sup> The stopping wells is a device still resorted to by the Bedouins, to make a country untenable by a neighbour of whom they wish to be rid.

GERGESITES, THE (of *Repyesatos*; Vulg. omits), Jud. v. 16. [GUGASHITES.]

GERIZIM (always גֵּרִיזִים, *har-Gerizim*, the mountain of the Gerizites, from גֵּרִיז, *G'rizzi*, dwellers in a shorn (i. e. desert) land, from גָּרַז, *garaz*, to cut off; possibly the tribe subdued by David, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8; *Γαριζιν*; *Gerizim*), a mountain designated by Moses, in conjunction with Mount Ebal, to be the scene of a great solemnity upon the entrance of the children of Israel into the promised land. High places had a peculiar charm attached to them in these days of external observance. The law was delivered from Sinai: the blessings and curses affixed to the performance or neglect of it were directed to be pronounced upon Gerizim and Ebal. Six of the tribes—Simeon, Levi (but Joseph being represented by two tribes, Levi's actual place probably was as assigned below), Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin were to take their stand upon the former to bless; and six, namely—Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali—upon the latter to curse (Deut. xxvii. 12-13). Apparently, the Ark halted mid-way between the two mountains, encompassed by the priests and Levites, thus divided by it into two bands, with Joshua for their coryphaeus. He read the blessings and cursings successively (Josh. viii. 33, 34), to be re-echoed by the Levites on either side of him, and responded to by the tribes in their double array with a loud Amen (Deut. xxvii. 14). Curiously enough, only the formula for the curses is given (ibid. v. 14-26); and it was upon Ebal, and not Gerizim, where the altar of whole unwrought stone was to be built, and where the huge plastered stones, with the words of the law (Josh. viii. 32; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, §44, limits them to the blessings and curses just pronounced) written upon them were to be set up (Deut. xxvii. 4-6)—a significant omen for a people entering joyously upon their new inheritance, and yet the song of Moses abounds with forebodings still more sinister and plain-spoken (Deut. xxxii. 5, 6, and 15-28).

The next question is, Has Moses defined the localities of Ebal and Gerizim? Standing on the eastern side of the Jordan, in the land of Moab (Deut. i. 5), he asks: "Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down (i. e. at some distance to the W.), in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal (i. e. whose territory—not these mountains—commenced over against Gilgal—see Patrick on Deut. xi. 30), beside the plains of Moreh?" . . . These closing words would seem to mark their site with unusual precision: for in Gen. xii. 6 "the plain (LXX. 'oak' of Moreh) is connected with 'the place of Sichem or Shechem' (N. T. Sychem or Sychar, which last form is thought to convey a reproach. Reland, *Dissert.* on *Gerizim*, in Ugol. *Thesaur.* p. dccxxv., as Josephus the form is Scima), and accordingly Judg. ix. 7, Jotham is made to address his celebrated parable to the men of Shechem from "the top of Mount Gerizim." The "hill of Moreh," mentioned in the history of Gideon his father, may have been a mountain overhanging the same plain, but certainly could not have been further south (comp. c. vi. 33, and vii. 1). Was it therefore prejudice, or neglect of the true import of these passages, that made Eusebius and Epiphanius, both natives of Palestine, concur in placing Ebal

and Gerizim near Jericho, the former charging the Samaritans with grave error for affirming them to be near Neapolis? (Reland, *Dissert.*, as above, p. dccxx.). Of one thing we may be assured, namely, that their Scriptural site must have been, in the fourth century, lost to all but the Samaritans; otherwise these two fathers would have spoken very differently. It is true that they consider the Samaritan hypothesis irreconcilable with Deut. xi. 30, which it has already been shown not to be. A more formidable objection would have been that Joshua could not have marched from Ai to Shechem, through a hostile country, to perform the above solemnity, and retraced his steps so soon afterwards to Gilgal, as to have been found there by the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 6; comp. viii. 30-35). Yet the distance between Ai and Shechem is not so long (under two days' journey). Neither can the interval implied in the context of the former passage have been so short, as even to warrant the modern supposition that the latter passage has been misplaced. The remaining objection, namely, "the wide interval between the two mountains at Shechem" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 238, note), is still more easily disposed of, if we consider the blessings and curses to have been pronounced by the Levites, standing in the midst of the valley—thus abridging the distance by one-half—and not by the six tribes on either hill, who only responded. How indeed could 600,000 men and upwards, besides women and children (comp. Num. ii. 32 with Judg. xx. 2 and 17), have been accommodated in a smaller space? Besides in those days of assemblies "en dio," the sense of hearing must have been necessarily more acute, just as, before the aids of writing and printing, memories were much more retentive. We may conclude therefore that there is no room for doubting the Scriptural position of Ebal and Gerizim to have been—where they are now placed—in the territory of the tribe of Ephraim; the latter of them overhanging the city of Shechem or Scima, as Josephus, following the Scriptural narrative, asserts. Even Eusebius, in another work of his (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 22), quotes some lines from Theodotus, in which the true position of Ebal and Gerizim is described with great force and accuracy: and St. Jerome, while following Eusebius in the Onomasticon, in his ordinary correspondence does not hesitate to connect Sichem or Neapolis, the well of Jacob, and Mount Gerizim (*Ep.* cviii. c. 13, ed. Migue). Procopius of Gaza does nothing more than follow Eusebius, and that clumsily (Reland, *Palæst.* lib. ii. c. 13, p. 503); but his more accurate namesake of Caesarea expressly asserts that Gerizim rose over Neapolis (*De Aedif.* v. 7)—that Ebal was not a peak of Gerizim (v. Quaresm. *Ethioid.* T. S. lib. vii. Per. i. c. 8), but a distinct mountain to the N. of it, and separated from it by the valley in which Shechem stood, we are not called upon here to prove; nor again, that Ebal was entirely barren, which it can scarce be called now; while Gerizim was the same proverb for verdure and gushing rills formerly, that it is now, at least where it descends towards *Nablâs*. It is a far more important question whether Gerizim was the mountain on which Abraham was directed to offer his son Isaac (Gen. xxii. 2, and sq.). First, then, let it be observed that it is *not* the mountain, but the district which is there called Moriab (of the same root with Moreh: see Corn. a Lapid. on Gen. xii. 6), and that *antecedently* to the occurrence which took place "upon one of the

mountains" in its vicinity—a consideration which of itself would naturally point to the locality, already known to Abraham, as the plain or plains of Moreh, "the land of vision," "the high land," and therefore consistently "the land of adoration," or "religious worship," as it is variously explained. That all these interpretations are incomparably more applicable to the natural features of Gerizim and its neighbourhood, than to the hillock (in comparison) upon which Solomon built his temple, none can for a moment doubt who have seen both. Jerusalem unquestionably stands upon high ground; but owing to the hills "round about" it, cannot be seen on any side from any great distance; nor, for the same reason, could it ever have been a land of vision, or extensive views. Even from Mount Olivet, which must always have towered over the small eminences at its base to the S.W., the view cannot be named in the same breath with that from Gerizim, which is one of the finest in Palestine, commanding, as it does, from an elevation of nearly 2500 feet (Arrowsmith, *Geograph. Dict. of the H. S.* p. 145), "the Mediterranean sea on the W., the snowy heights of Hermon on the N., on the E. the wall of the trans-Jordanic mountains, broken by the deep cleft of the Jabbok" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 235), and the lovely and tortuous expanse of plain (the *Mukna*) stretched as a carpet of many colours beneath its feet. Neither is the appearance, which it would "present to a traveller advancing up the Philistine plain" (ibid. p. 252)—the direction from which Abraham came—to be overlooked. It is by no means necessary, as Mr. Porter thinks (*Handbook of S. & P.* i. 339), that he should have started from Beer-sheba (see Gen. xxi. 34—"the whole land being before him," c. xx. 15). Then, "on the morning of the third day, he would arrive in the plain of Sharon, exactly where the massive height of Gerizim is visible afar off" (ibid. p. 251), and from thence, with the mount always in view, he would proceed to the exact "place which God had told him of" in all solemnity—for again, it is not necessary that he should have arrived on the actual spot during the third day. All that is said in the narrative, is that, from the time that it hove in sight, he and Isaac parted from the young men, and went on together alone. The Samaritans therefore, through whom the tradition of the true site of Gerizim has been preserved, are probably not wrong when they point out still—as they have done from time immemorial—Gerizim as the hill upon which Abraham's "altar" was made perfect; and it is observable that no altar is attempted to be shown on the rival hill of Jerusalem, as distinct from Calvary. Different reasons in all probability caused these two localities to be so named: the first, not a mountain, but a land, district, or plain (for it is not intended to be asserted that Gerizim itself ever bore the name of Moriah; though a certain spot upon it was ever afterwards to Abraham personally "Jehovah-jireh"), called Moreh, or Moriah, from the noble vision of nature, and therefore of natural religion, that met the eye; the second, a small hill deriving its name from a special revelation or vision, as the express words of Scripture say, which took place "by the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite" (2 Chr. iii. 1; comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16). If it be thought strange that a place once called by the "Father of the faithful" Jehovah-jireh, should have been merged by Moses, and ever afterwards, in a general name so different from it in sense and

origin as Gerizim; it would be still more strange, that, if Mount Moriah of the book of Chronicles and Jehovah-jireh were one and the same place, no sort of allusion should have been made by the inspired historian to the prime event which had caused it to be so called. True it is that Josephus, in more than one place, asserts that where Abraham offered, there the temple was afterwards built (*Ant.* i. 13, §2, and vii. 13, §9). Yet the same Josephus makes God bid Abraham go to the mountain—not the land—of Moriah; having omitted all mention of the plains of Moreh in his account of the preceding narrative. Besides in more than one place he shows that he bore no love to the Samaritans (ibid. xi. 8, §6, and xii. 5, §5). St. Jerome follows Josephus (*Quaest.* in Gen. xxii. 5, ed. Migne), but with his uncertainty about the site of Gerizim what else could he have done? Besides it appears from the *Onomasticon* (s. v.) that he considered the hill of Moreh (Judg. vii. 1) to be the same with Moriah. And who that is aware of the extravagance of the Rabbinical traditions respecting Mount Moriah can attach weight to any one of them? (Cunaeus, *De Republ. Heb.* lib. ii. 12). Finally, the Christian tradition, which makes the site of Abraham's sacrifice to have been on Calvary, will derive countenance from neither Josephus nor St. Jerome, unless the sites of the Temple and of the Crucifixion are admitted to have been the same.

Another tradition of the Samaritans is far less trustworthy; viz., that Mount Gerizim was the spot where Melchisedech met Abraham—though there certainly was a Salem or Shalem in that neighbourhood (Gen. xxiii. 18; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 247, and seq.). The first altar erected in the land of Abraham, and the first appearance of Jehovah to him in it, was in the plain of Moreh near Sichem (Gen. xii. 6); but the mountain overhanging that city (assuming our view to be correct) had not yet been hallowed to him for the rest of his life by that decisive trial of his faith, which was made there subsequently. He can hardly therefore be supposed to have deviated from his road so far, which lay through the plain of the Jordan; nor again is it likely that he would have found the king of Sodom so far away from his own territory (Gen. xiv. 17, and seq.). Lastly, the altar which Jacob built was not on Gerizim, as the Samaritans contend, though probably about its base, at the head of the plain between it and Ebal, "in the parcel of a field" which that patriarch purchased from the children of Hamor, and where he spread his tent (Gen. xxxiii. 18-20). Here was likewise his well (John iv. 6); and the tomb of his son Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32), both of which are still shown; the former surmounted by the remains of a vaulted chamber, and with the ruins of a church hard by (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 283) the latter, with "a fruitful vine" trailing over its white-washed inclosure, and, before it, two dwarf pillars, hollowed out at the top to receive lamps, which are lighted every Friday or Mahometan sabbath. There is, however, another Mahometan monument claiming to be the said tomb (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 241 note). The tradition (Robinson, ii. 283 note) that the twelve patriarchs were buried there likewise (it should have made them eleven without Joseph, or thirteen, including his two sons), probably depends upon Acts vii. 16, where, unless we are to suppose confusion in the narrative, *Abbs* should be read for *Abraham*, which may well have been suggested to the copyist from its recurrence v. 17;

while *abréss*, from having already occurred, v. 15, might have been thought suspicious.

We now enter upon the second phase in the history of Gerizim. According to Josephus, a marriage contracted between Manasseh, brother of Jaddus, the then high-priest, and the daughter of Sanballat the Cuthæan (comp. 2 K. xvii. 24), having created a great stir amongst the Jews (who had been strictly forbidden to contract alien marriages (Ezr. ix. 2; Neh. xiii. 23)—Sanballat, in order to reconcile his son-in-law to this unpopular affinity, obtained leave from Alexander the Great to build a temple upon Mount Gerizim, and to inaugurate a rival priesthood and altar there to those of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xi. 8, 2-4, and, for the harmonising of the names and dates, Prieux, *Connect.* i. 396, and seq., M'Caul's ed.). "Samaria thenceforth," says Prieux, "became the common refuge and asylum of the refractory Jews" (*ibid.*; see also Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, 7), and for a time, at least, their temple seems to have been called by the name of a Greek deity (*Ant.* xii. 5, 5). Hence one of the first acts of Hyrcanus, when the death of Antiochus Sidetes had set his hands free, was to seize Shechem, and destroy the temple upon Gerizim, after it had stood there 200 years (*Ant.* xiii. 9, 1). But the destruction of their temple by no means crushed the rancour of the Samaritans. The road from Galilee to Judæa lay then, as now, through Samaria, skirting the foot of Gerizim (St. John iv. 4). Here was a constant occasion for religious controversy and for outrage. "How is it that Thou, being a Jew,akest to drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria?" said the female to our Lord at the well of Jacob—where both parties would always be sure to meet. "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship?" . . . Subsequently we read of the depredations committed on that road upon a party of Galileans (*Ant.* xx. 6, 1). The liberal attitude, first of the Saviour, and then of his disciples (Acts viii. 14), was thrown away upon all those who would not abandon their creed. And Gerizim continued to be the focus of outbreaks through successive centuries. One, under Pilate, while it led to their severe chastisement, procured the disgrace of that ill-starred magistrate, who had crucified "Jesus, the king of the Jews," with impunity (*Ant.* xviii. 4, 1). Another hostile gathering on the same spot caused a slaughter of 10,600 of them under Vespasian. It is remarkable that, in this instance, want of water is said to have made them easy victims; so that the deliciously cold and pure spring on the summit of Gerizim must have failed before so great a multitude (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 7, 32). At length their aggressions were directed against the Christians inhabiting Neapolis—now powerful, and under a bishop—in the reign of Zeno. Terebinthus at once carried the news of this outrage to Byzantium: the Samaritans were forcibly ejected from Gerizim, which was handed over to the Christians, and adorned with a church in honour of the Virgin; to some extent fortified, and even guarded. This not proving sufficient to repel the foe, Justinian built a second wall round the church, which his historian says defied all attacks (Procop. *De Aedif.* v. 7). It is probably the ruins of these buildings which meet the eye of the modern traveller (*Handb. of S. & P.* ii. 339). Previously to this time, the Samaritans had been a numerous and important sect—sufficiently so indeed to be

carefully distinguished from the Jews and Cælicolists in the Theodosian code. This last outrage led to their comparative disappearance from history. Travellers of the 12th, 14th, and 17th centuries take notice of their existence, but extreme paucity (*Early Travellers*, by Wright, pp. 81, 181, and 432), and their numbers now, as in those days, is said to be below 200 (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 282, 2nd ed.). We are confined by our subject to Gerizim, and therefore can only touch upon the Samaritans, or their city Neapolis, so far as their history connects directly with that of the mountain. And yet we may observe that as it was undoubtedly this mountain of which our Lord had said, "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem (i. e. exclusively), worship the Father" (John iv. 21)—so likewise it is a singular historical fact, that the Samaritans have continued on this self-same mountain century after century, with the briefest interruptions, to worship according to their ancient custom ever since to the present day. While the Jews—expelled from Jerusalem, and therefore no longer able to offer up bloody sacrifices according to the law of Moses—have been obliged to adapt their ceremonial to the circumstances of their destiny; here the Paschal Lamb has been offered up in all ages of the Christian era by a small but united nationality (the spot is accurately marked out by Dr. R., *Bibl. Res.* ii. 277). Their copy of the law, probably the work of Manasseh, and known to the Fathers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Prieux, *Connect.* i. 600; and Robinson, ii. 297-301), was, in the 17th, vindicated from oblivion by Scaliger, Usher, Morinus, and others; and no traveller now visits Palestine without making a sight of it one of his prime objects. Gerizim is likewise still to the Samaritans what Jerusalem is to the Jews, and Mecca to the Mahometans. Their prostrations are directed towards it, wherever they are; its holiest spot in their estimation being the traditional site of the tabernacle, near that on which they believe Abraham to have offered his son. Both these spots are on the summit; and near them is still to be seen a mound of ashes, similar to the larger and more celebrated one N. of Jerusalem; collected, it is said, from the sacrifices of each successive age (Dr. R., *Bibl. Res.* ii. 202 and 299). Doubtless did not see this on Gerizim). Intr. on more legendary traditions respecting Gerizim, and the story of their alleged worship of a false deity—due to the Jews, their enemies (Reland, *It. cap. Ujolin. Thesaur.* vii. p. cccxxix-xxxii; c. is needless to enter. [E. S. F.]

GERIZITES, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. [GERIZITES.]  
GERRHENIANS, THE (ἐἰς τὸν Γερρηνῶν, Alex. Γερρηνῶν; cf. *Gerrenos*), named in 2 Macc. xiii. 24 only, as one limit of the district committed by Antiochus Eupator to the government of Judas Maccabæus, the other limit being Ptolemais (Accho). To judge by the similar expression in defining the extent of Simon's government in 1 Macc. xi. 59, the specification has reference to the sea-coast of Palestine, and, from the nature of the case, the Gerrenians, wherever they were, must have been south of Ptolemais. Grotius seems to have been the first to suggest that the town Gerrhon or Gerrha was intended, which lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura (*Wady el-Arish*). But it has been pointed out by Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 365 note) that the coast as far north as the latter place was

at that time in possession of Egypt, and he therron conjectures that the inhabitants of the ancient city of GERAR, S.E. of Gaza, the residence of Abraham and Isaac, are meant. In support of this Grimm (*Kürzj. Handb.* ad loc.) mentions that at least one MS. reads Γεραργών, which would without difficulty be corrupted to Γερβήγών.

It seems to have been overlooked that the Syriac version (early, and entitled to much respect) has

Gozor (ܓܝܙܐ). By this may be intended either

(a) the ancient GEZER, which was near the sea; somewhere about Joppa; or (b) Gaza, which appears sometimes to take that form in these books. In the former case the government of Judas would contain half, in the latter the whole, of the coast of Palestine. The latter is most probably correct, as otherwise the important district of Idumaea, with the great fortress of BETHSURA, would have been left unprovided for. [G.]

**GERSHOM** (in the earlier books גֶּרְשֹׁם, in Chron. generally גֶּרְשֹׁם; in Judg. גֶּרְשֹׁם, and Alex. Γερσώμ; Joseph. Γερσος; *Gersom, Gersan*) The first-born son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. ii. 22; xviii. 3). The name is explained in these passages as if גֶּרְשֹׁם (Ger sham) = "a stranger there," in allusion to Moses' being a foreigner in Midian—"For he said, I have been a stranger (Ger) in a foreign land." This signification is adopted by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 13, §1), and also by the LXX. in the form of the name which they give—Γερσώμ; but according to Gesenius (*Thes.* 306 b), its true meaning, taking it as a Hebrew word, is "expulsion," from a root גֶּרַשׁ, being only another form of GERSHON (see also Fürst, *Handb.*). The circumcision of Gershom is probably related in Ex. iv. 25. He does not appear again in the history in his own person, but he was the founder of a family of which more than one of the members are mentioned later. (a) One of these was a remarkable person—"Jonathan the son of Gershom," the "young man the Levite," whom we first encounter on his way from Bethlehem-Judah to Micah's house at Mount Ephraim (Judg. xvii. 7), and who subsequently became the first priest to the irregular worship of the tribe of Dan (xviii. 30). The change of the name "Moses" in this passage, as it originally stood in the Hebrew text, to "Manasseh," as it now stands both in the Text and the A. V., is explained under MANASSEH. (b) But at least one of the other branches of the family preserved its allegiance to Jehovah, for when the courses of the Levites were settled by king David, the "sons of Moses the man of God" received honourable prominence, and SHEBUEL chief of the sons of Gershom was appointed ruler (יְדִיד of the treasures. (1 Chr. xxiii. 15-17; xxvi. 24-28.)

2. The form under which the name GERSHON—the eldest son of Levi—is given in several passages of Chronicles, viz. 1 Chr. vi. 16, 17, 20, 43, 62, 71; xv. 7. The Hebrew is almost alternately גֶּרְשֹׁן and גֶּרְשֹׁם; the LXX. adhere to their ordinary rendering of Gershon; Vat. Γερσών, Alex. Γερσών; Vulg. *Gerson and Gersom.*

3. (גֶּרְשֹׁן; Γερσών, Alex. Γερσώμ; *Gersom*), the representative of the priestly family of Phinehas, among those who accompanied Ezra from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 2). In Ezra's name is GERSON. [G.]

## GERSHONITES, THE

**GERSHON** (גֶּרְשֹׁן; in Gen. Γερσών, in other books uniformly Γερσών; and so also Alex. with three exceptions; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7, 4, Γερσώμης), the eldest of the three sons of Levi, born before the descent of Jacob's family into Egypt (Gen. xli. 11, Ex. vi. 16). But though the eldest born, the families of Gershon were outstripped in fame by their younger brethren of Kohath, from whom sprang Moses and the priestly line of Aaron. Gershon's sons were LIBNI and SHIMI (Ex. vi. 17; Num. iii. 18, 21; 1 Chr. vi. 17), and their families were duly recognized in the reign of David, when the permanent arrangements for the service of Jehovah were made (1 Chr. xxiii. 7-11). At this time Gershon was represented by the famous Asaph "the seer," whose genealogy is given in 1 Chr. vi. 39-43, and also in part, 20, 21. The family is mentioned once again as taking part in the reforms of king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 12, where it should be observed that the sons of Asaph are reckoned as distinct from the Gershonites). At the census in the wilderness of Sinai the whole number of the males of the Bene-Gershon was 7500 (Num. iii. 22), midway between the Kohathites and the Merarites. At the same date the efficient men were 2630 (iv. 40). On the occasion of the second census the numbers of the Levites are given only in gross (Num. xxvi. 62). The sons of Gershon had charge of the fabrics of the Tabernacle—the coverings, curtains, hangings, and cords (Num. iii. 25, 26; iv. 25, 26); for the transport of these they had two covered wagons and four oxen (vii. 3, 7). In the encampment their station was behind (אחרי) the Tabernacle, on the west side (Num. iii. 23). When on the march they went with the Merarites in the rear of the first body of three tribes—Judah, Issachar, Zebulun—with Reuben behind them. In the apportionment of the Levitical cities, thirteen fell to the lot of the Gershonites. These were in the northern tribes—two in Manasseh beyond Jordan; four in Issachar; four in Asher; and three in Naphtali. All of these are said to have possessed "suburbs," and two were cities of refuge (Josh. xxi. 27-33; 1 Chr. vi. 62, 71-76). It is not easy to see what special duties fell to the lot of the Gershonites in the service of the Tabernacle after its erection at Jerusalem, or in the Temple. The sons of Jeduthun "prophesied with a harp," and the sons of Heman "lifted up the horn," but for the sons of Asaph no instrument is mentioned (1 Chr. xxv. 1-5). They were appointed to "prophesy" (that is, probably, to utter, or sing, inspired words, נִבְּיָה), perhaps after the special prompting of David himself (xxv. 2). Others of the Gershonites, sons of Laadan, had charge of the "treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the holy things" (xxvi. 20-22), among which precious stones are specially named (xxix. 8). In Chronicles the name is, with two exceptions (1 Chr. vi. 1, xxiii. 6), given in the slightly different form of Gershom. [GERSHOM, 2.] See also GERSHONITES. [G.]

**GERSHONITES, THE** (גֶּרְשֹׁנִי, i. e. the Gershunnite; δ Γερσών, δ Γερσώνι; υἱοὶ Γερσώνι; Alex. Γερσών), the family descended from GERSHON or GERSHOM, the son of Levi (Num. iii. 21, 23, 24; iv. 24, 27; xxvi. 57; Josh. xxi. 33; 1 Chr. xxiii. 7; 2 Chr. xxix. 12).

\* See an instance of this in 1 Chr. vi. 2-15, where the line of Kohath is given, to the exclusion of the other two families.

"THE GERSONITES," as applied to individuals, occurs in 1 Chr. xxvi. 21 (Laadan), xix. 8 (Jehiel). [G.]

GER'SON (Γερσών; *Gersomus*), 1 Esd. viii. 29. [GERSHOM, 3.]

GER'ZITES, THE (גֵּרְזִיתִּים, or גֵּרְזִיִּים—(Gesh. 301)—the Girzite, or the Gerizite; Vat. omits, Alex. γερζαῖον; *Gerzi* and *Gezri*, but in his *Quaest. Hebr.* Jerome has *Getri*; Syr. and Arab. *Godola*, a tribe who with the Geshurites and the Amalekites occupied the land between the south of Palestine\* and Egypt in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xxvii. 8). They were rich in Bedouin treasures—"sheep, oxen, asses, camels, and apparel" (ver. 9; comp. xv. 3; 1 Chr. vi. 21). The name is not found in the text of the A. V. but only in the margin. This arises from its having been corrected by the Masorets (*Keri*) into GIZRITES, which form our translators have adopted in the text. The change is supported by the Targum, and by the Alex. MS. of the LXX. as above. There is not, however, any apparent reason for relinquishing the older form of the name, the interest of which lies in its connexion with that of Mount Gerizim. In the name of that ancient mountain we have the only remaining trace of the presence of this old tribe of Bedouins in central Palestine. They appear to have occupied it at a very early period, and to have relinquished it in company with the Amalekites, who also left their name attached to a mountain in the same locality (Judg. xii. 15), when they abandoned that rich district for the less fertile but freer South. Other tribes, as the Avvim and the Zemarites, also left traces of their presence in the names of towns of the central district (see p. 141b, 188 note).

The connexion between the Gerizites and Mount Gerizim appears to have been first suggested by Gesenius. It has been since adopted by Stanley (*S. & P.* 237 note). Gesenius interprets the name as "dwellers in the dry, barren country." [G.]

GE'SEM, THE LAND OF (גֵּשׁוּר תֵּרָא; *terra Jesse*), the Greek form of the Hebrew name GOSHEN (Jud. i. 9).

GESHAM (גֵּשָׁם, i. e. Geshan; *Ξαγδα*, Alex. Γερσάμ; *Gersam*), one of the sons of JAHDAI, in the genealogy of Judah and family of Caleb (1 Chr. ii. 47). Nothing further concerning him has been yet traced. The name, as it stands in our present Bibles, is a corruption of the A. V. of 1811, which has, accurately, Geshan. Burrington, usually very careful, has Geshur (Table xi. 1, 280), but without giving any authority.

GESHEM, and GASH'MU (גֵּשֶׁם, גִּשְׁמוּ; Γερσώμ; *Gossem*), an Arabian, mentioned in Neh. ii. 19, and vi. 1, 2, 6, who, with "Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah, the servant, the Ammonite," opposed Nehemiah in the repairing of Jerusalem. Geshem, we may conclude, was an inhabitant of Arabia Petraea, or of the Arabian Desert, and probably the chief of a tribe which, like most of the tribes on the eastern frontier of Palestine, was, in

the time of the captivity and the subsequent period, allied with the Persians or with any peoples threatening the Jewish nation. Geshem, like Sanballat and Tobiah, seems to have been one of the "governors beyond the river," to whom Nehemiah came, and whose mission "grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel" (Neh. ii. 10); for the wandering inhabitants of the frontier doubtless availed themselves largely, in their predatory excursions, of the distracted state of Palestine, and dreaded the re-establishment of the kingdom; and the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, are recorded as having "conspired to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder" the repairing. The endeavours of these confederates and their failure are recorded in chapters ii., iv., and vi. The Arabic name corresponding to Geshem cannot easily be

identified. Jásim (or Gásim, جَاسِم) is one of very remote antiquity; and Jashum (جَاشُم) is the name of an historical tribe of Arabia Proper; the latter may more probably be compared with it. [E. S. P.]

GESHUR (גֵּשׁוּר and גֵּשְׁשׁוּר, "a bridge,"

Arab. جسر; *Jessur*), a little principality in the north-eastern corner of Bashan, adjoining the province of Argob (Deut. iii. 14), and the kingdom of Aram (Syria in the A. V.; 2 Sam. xv. 8; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 23). It was within the boundary of the allotted territory of Manasseh, but its inhabitants were never expelled (Josh. xii. 13; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 23). King David married "the daughter of Talmi, king of Geshur" (2 Sam. iii. 3); and her son Absalom sought refuge among his maternal relatives after the murder of his brother. The wild acts of Absalom's life may have been to some extent the results of maternal training; they were at least characteristic of the stock from which he sprung. He remained in "Geshur of Aram" until he was taken back to Jerusalem by Joab (2 Sam. xiii. 37, xv. 8). It is highly probable that Geshur was a section of the wild and rugged region, now called *el-Lejah*, among whose rocky fastnesses the Geshurites might dwell in security while the whole surrounding plains were occupied by the Israelites. On the north the Lejah borders on the territory of Damascus, the ancient Aram; and in Scripture the name is so intimately connected with Bashan and Argob, that one is led to suppose it formed part of them (Deut. iii. 13, 14; 1 Chr. ii. 23; Josh. xii. 12, 13). [ARGOB.] [J. L. P.]

GESHU'RI and GESHURITES (גֵּשׁוּרִי).

(1.) The inhabitants of Geshur, which see (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11). (2.) An ancient tribe which dwelt in the desert between Arabia and Philistia (Josh. xii. 2; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8); they are mentioned in connexion with the Gerizites and Amalekites. [GEZER, p. 693 a.] [J. L. P.]

GETHER (גֵּתֶר; *Γατέρ*; *Gethor*), the third, in order, of the sons of Aram (Gen. x. 23). No satisfactory trace of the people sprung from this mention of the name Telem or Telam, a place in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 24), which bore a prominent part in a former attack on the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 4). In the latter case I have been read for T. (See Lengerke: Fürst's *Handw.*, &c.).

\* The LXX. has rendered the passage referred to as follows:—καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ γῆ κατακείτω ἀπὸ ἀνηκόντων ἡ ἀπὸ Τελαμουσῶν (Alex. Τελαμοσῶν) περιεχόμενον καὶ αὐτὸ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. The word *Gelamsour* may be a corruption of the Hebrew *melam* . . . *Shurah* (A. V. "of old . . . to Shur"), or it may contain a

stock has been found. The theories of Bochart and others, which rest on improbable etymologies, are without support; while the suggestions of Carians (Hieron.), Bactrians (Joseph. *Ant.*), and جرامة (Sand.), are not better founded. (See Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 10, and Winer, s. v.) Kalisch proposes גֶּתְשֵׁמִר; but he does not adduce any argument in its favour, except the similarity of sound, and the permutation of Aramaean and Hebrew letters.

The Arabs write the name غَاثِر (Ghâthir); and, in the mythical history of their country, it is said that the probably aboriginal tribes of Thamood, Tasur, Jades, and Ad (the last, in the second generation, through 'Ood), were descended from Ghâthir (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 8, 9, 23; Abul-Fidd, *Hist. Anticist.* 16). These traditions are in the highest degree untrustworthy; and, as we have stated in ARABIA, the tribes referred to were, almost demonstrably, not of Semitic origin. See ARABIA, ARAM, and NABATHIÆANS.

GETHSEMANE (גֶּתְשֵׁמֶנֶה, *guth*, a "wine-press," and שֶׁמֶן, *shemen*, "oil;" Γεθσημανη, or more generally Γεθσημανή), a small "farm," as the French would say, "un bien avec champs" (*χῆμας*, *ager, praedium*; or as the Vulgate, *villa*; A. V. "place," Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32), situated across the brook Kedron (John xviii. 1), probably at the foot of Mount Olivet (Luke xxii. 39), to the N. W., and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile English from the walls of Jerusalem. There was a "garden," or rather orchard (κῆπος), attached to it, to which the olive, fig, and pomegranate doubtless invited resort by their "hospitable shade." And we know from the Evangelists SS. Luke (xxii. 39) and John (xviii. 2) that our Lord oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples. "It was on the road to Bethany," says Mr. Greswell (*Horæ. Diss.* xlii.), "and the family of Lazarus might have possessions there;" but, if so, it should have been rather on the S.E. side of the mountain where Bethany lies: part of which, it may be remarked, being the property of the village still, as it may well have been then, is even now called Bethany (*el-Azariyeh*) by the natives. Hence the expressions in S. Luke xxiv. 50, and Acts i. 12, are quite consistent. According to Josephus, the suburbs of Jerusalem abounded with gardens and pleasure-grounds (*παρὰδεδωτοῖς*, B. J. vi. 1, §1; comp. v. 3, §2): now, with the exception of those belonging to the Greek and Latin convents, hardly the vestige of a garden is to be seen. There is indeed a favourite paddock or close, half-a-mile or more to the north, on the same side of the continuation of the valley of the Kedron, the property of a wealthy Turk, where the Mahometan ladies pass the day with their families, their bright-flowing costume forming a picturesque contrast to the stiff sombre foliage of the olive-grove beneath which they cluster. But Gethsemane has not come down to us as a scene of mirth; its inexhaustible associations are the offspring of a single event—the Agony of the Son of God on the evening preceding His Passion. Here emphatically, as Isaiah had foretold, and as the name imports, were fulfilled those dark words, "I have trodden the wine-press alone" (Isa. lvi. 3; comp. Rev. xiv. 20, "the wine-press . . . without the city"). "The period of the year," proceeds Mr. Greswell, "was the

Vernal Equinox: the day of the month about two days before the full of the moon—in which case the moon would not be now very far past her meridian; and the night would be enlightened until a late hour towards the morning"—the day of the week Thursday, or rather, according to the Jews, Friday—for the sun had set. The time, according to Mr. Greswell, would be the last-watch of the night, between our 11 and 12 o'clock. Any recapitulation of the circumstances, of that ineffable event would be unnecessary; any comments upon it unseasonable. A modern garden, in which are eight venerable olive-trees, and a grotto to the north, detached from it, and in closer connexion with the Church of the Sepulchre of the Virgin—in fact with the road to the summit of the mountain running between them, as it did also in the days of the Crusaders (Saunty *Secret. Fidel. Cruc.* lib. iii. p. xiv. c. 9)—both securely enclosed, and under lock and key, are pointed out as making up the true Gethsemane. These may, or may not, be the spots which Eusebius, St. Jerome (*Liber de Situ et Nominibus*, s. v.), and Adamnanus mention as such; but from the 4th century downwards some such localities are spoken of as known, frequented, and even built upon. Every generation dwells most upon what accords most with its instincts and predilections. Accordingly the pilgrims of antiquity say nothing about those time-honoured olive-trees, whose age the poetic minds of a Lamartine or a Stanley shrink from criticising—they were doubtless not so imposing in the 6th century; still, had they been noticed, they would have afforded unlying witness to the locality—while, on the other hand, few modern travellers would inquire for, and adore, with Antoninus, the three precise spots where our Lord is said to have fallen upon His face. Against the contemporary antiquity of the olive-trees, it has been urged that Titus cut down all the trees round about Jerusalem; and certainly this is no more than Josephus states in express terms (see particularly B. J. vi. 1, §1, a passage which must have escaped Mr. William, *Holy City*, vol. ii. p. 437, c. 2nd, who only cites v. 3, §2, and vi. 8, §1). Besides, the 10th legion, arriving from Jericho, were posted about the Mount of Olives (v. 2, §3; and comp. vi. 2, §8), and, in the course of the siege, a wall was carried along the valley of the Kedron to the fountain of Siloam (v. 10, §2). The probability therefore would seem to be, that they were planted by Christian hands to mark the spot: unless, like the sacred olive of the Acropolis (Bahr *ad Herod.* viii. 55), they may have reproduced themselves. Maundrell (*Early Travellers in P.* by Wright, p. 471) and Quaracrus (*Elucid.* T. S. lib. iv. per. v. ch. 7) appear to have been the first to notice them, not more than three centuries ago; the former arguing against, and the latter in favour of, their reputed antiquity, but nobody reading their accounts would imagine that there were then no more than eight, the locality of Gethsemane being supposed the same. Parallel claims, to be sure, are not wanting in the cedars of Lebanon, which are still visited with so much enthusiasm: in the terebinth, or oak of Mamre, which was standing in the days of Constantine the Great, and even worshipped (Vales. *ad Euseb. Vit. Const.* iii. 53), and the fig-tree (*ficus olustica*) near Nerbudda in India, which native historians assert to be 2500 years old (Patterson's *Journal of a Tour in Egypt, &c.*, p. 202, note). Still more appositely there were olive-trees near

Linternum 250 years old, according to Pliny, in his time, which are recorded to have survived to the middle of the tenth century (*Nouveau Dict. d'Hist. Nat. Paris, 1846, vol. xxix. p. 61*). [E. S. 14.]

GEUEL (גְּעוּל, Sam. גְּעוּל; Γουέλ; Guel), son of Machi; ruler of the tribe of Gad, and its representative among the spies sent from the wilderness of Paran to explore the Promised Land (Num. xiii. 15).

GEZER (גֶּזֶר, in pause גְּזֵר; Γαζερ, Γεζερ, Γαζάρα; Gazer), an ancient city of Canaan, whose king, Ilianan, or Elam, coming to the assistance of Iachish, was killed with all his people by Joshua (Josh. x. 33; xii. 12). The town, however, is not said to have been destroyed; it formed one of the landmarks on the south boundary of Ephraim,<sup>a</sup> between the lower Beth-horon and the Mediterranean (xvi. 3), the western limit of the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 28). It was allotted with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. vi. 67); but the original inhabitants were not dispossessed (Judg. i. 29); and even down to the reign of Solomon the Canaanites, or (according to the LXX. addition to Josh. xvi. 10) the Canaanites and Perizzites, were still dwelling there, and paying tribute to Israel (1 K. ix. 16). At this time it must in fact have been independent of Israelite rule, for Pharaoh had burnt it to the ground and killed its inhabitants, and then presented the site to his daughter, Solomon's queen. But it was immediately rebuilt by the king; and though not heard of again till after the captivity, yet it played a somewhat prominent part in the later struggles of the nation. [GAZERA.]

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 280; comp. ii. 427) takes Gezer and Geshur to be the same, and sees in the destruction of the former by Pharaoh, and the simultaneous expedition of Solomon to Harnath-zolah in the neighbourhood of the latter, indications of a revolt of the Canaanites, of whom the Geshurites formed the most powerful remnant, and whose attempt against the new monarch was thus frustrated. But this can hardly be supported.

In one place Gob is given as identical with Gezer (1 Chr. xx. 4, comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 18). The exact site of Gezer has not been discovered; but its general position is not difficult to infer. It must have been between the lower Beth-horon and the sea (Josh. xvi. 3; 1 K. ix. 17); therefore on the great maritime plain which lies beneath the hills of which *Beitúr at-tahta* is the last outpost, and forms the regular coast road of communication with Egypt (1 K. ix. 16). It is therefore appropriately named as the last point to which David's pursuit of the Philistines extended (2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chr. xiv. 16<sup>b</sup>); and as the scene of at least one sharp encounter (1 Chr. xx. 4), this plain being their own peculiar territory (comp. Jos. Ant. viii. 6, §1, Γαζαρά τῆν τῆς Παλαιστίνης χώρας ἀρχαίον); and as commanding the communication between Egypt and the new capital, Jerusalem, it was an important point for Solomon to fortify. By Eusebius it is

mentioned as four miles north of Nicopolis (*Amudæ*); a position exactly occupied by the important town *Jinzu*, the ancient Gimzo, and corresponding well with the requirements of Joshua. But this hardly agrees with the indications of the 1st book of Maccabees, which speak of it as between Emmaus (*Amudæ*) and Azotus and Jamnia; and again as on the confines of Azotus. In the neighbourhood of the latter there is more than one site bearing the name *Yusár*; but whether this Arabic name can be derived from the Hebrew Gezer, and also whether so important a town as Gazara was in the time of the Maccabees, can be represented by such insignificant villages as these, are questions to be determined by future investigation. If it can, then perhaps the strongest claims for identity with Gezer are put forward by a village called *Yusár*, 4 or 5 miles east of Joppa, on the road to *Ramleh* and *Lydd*.

From the occasional occurrence of the form *Gazer*, and from the LXX. version being almost uniformly *Gazera* or *Gazer*, Ewald infers that this was really the original name. [G.]

GEZIRITES, THE (גֵּזִירִים, accur. the *Giarite*; τῶν Γεζαίων; *Gezri*). The word which the Jewish critics have substituted in the margin of the Bible for the ancient reading, "the Geizite" (1 Sam. xvii. 8), and which has thus become incorporated in the text of the A. V. If it mean anything—at least that we know—it must signify the dwellers in Gezer. But GEZER was not less than 50 miles distant from the "south of Judah, the south of the Jerahmeelites, and the south of the Kenites," the scene of David's inroad; a fact which stands greatly in the way of our receiving the change. [GERZITES, THE.] [G.]

GIAH (גֵּיָא; *Gai*; *vallis*), a place named only in 2 Sam. ii. 24, to designate the position of the hill Ammah—"which faces Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon." No trace of the situation either has yet been found. By the LXX. the name is read as if גֵּיָא, i. e. a ravine or glen; a view also taken in the Vulgate.

GIANTS. The frequent allusion to giants in Scripture, and the numerous theories and disputes which have arisen in consequence, render it necessary to give a brief view of some of the main opinions and curious inferences to which the mention of them leads.

1. They are first spoken of in Gen. vi. 4, under the name *Nephilim* (נְפִילִים; LXX. *gigantes*; Aquil. *ἐνὶ τῶν ὀρέων*; Symm. *βαιοί*; Vulg. *gigantes*; Onk. גִּבְיָא; Luther, *Tyrannen*). The word is derived either from גָּבַל, or גָּבַל (= "marvellous"), or, as is generally believed, from נָפַל (= "to fall"), either in the sense to throw down, or to fall (= "fallen angels, Jarchi, cf. Is. xiv. 12; Luke x. 18); or meaning "waves irruentes" (Gesen.), or *colapsi* (by euphemism, Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p.

<sup>a</sup> If Iachish be where Van de Velde and Porter would place it, at *Um Lakia*, near Gaza, at least 40 miles from the southern boundary of Ephraim, there is some ground for suspecting the existence of two Gezers, and this is confirmed by the order in which it is mentioned in the list of Josh. xii. with Hebron, Ekron, and Debir. There is not, however, any means of determining this.

<sup>b</sup> In these two places the word, being at the end of a period, has, according to Hebrew custom, its first

vowel lengthened, and stands in the text as *Gazer*, and in these two places only the name is so transferred to the A. V. But, to be consistent, the same change should have been made in several other passages, where it occurs in the Hebrew: e. gr. Judg. i. 29; Josh. xvi. 3, 10; 1 K. ix. 15, &c. It would seem better to render the Hebrew name always by the same English one, when the difference arises from nothing but an emphatic accent.

92); but certainly not "because men fell from terror of them" (as R. Kimchi). That the word means "giant" is clear from Num. xiii. 32, 33, and is confirmed by גִּבּוֹרִים, the Chaldee name for "the aery giant" Orion (Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31; Is. xiii. 10; Targ.), unless this name arise from the obliquity of the constellation (*Gen. of Earth*, p. 35).

But we now come to the remarkable conjectures about the origin of these *Nephilim* in Gen. vi. 1-4. (An immense amount has been written on this passage. See Kurz, *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*, &c., Berlin, 1857; Ewald, *Jahrb.* 1854, p. 126; Govett's *Isaiah Unfulfilled*; Faber's *Many Mansions*, *J. of Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1853, &c.). We are told that "there were Nephilim in the earth," and that "afterwards (καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο, LXX.) the "sons of God" mingling with the beautiful "daughters of men" produced a race of violent and insolent Gibborim (גִּבּוֹרִים). This latter word is also rendered by the LXX. γίγαντες, but we shall see hereafter that the meaning is more general. It is clear however that no statement is made that the Nephilim themselves sprang from this unhallowed union. Who then were they? Taking the usual derivation (גִּבּוֹר), and explaining it to mean "fallen spirits," the Nephilim seem to be identical with the "sons of God"; but the verse before us militates against this notion as much as against that which makes the Nephilim the same as the Gibborim, viz.: the offspring of wicked marriages. This latter supposition can only be accepted if we admit either (1) that there were two kinds of Nephilim,—those who existed before the unequal intercourse, and those produced by it (Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* xi.), or (2) by following the Vulgate rendering, *postquam enim ingressi sunt*, &c. But the common rendering seems to be correct, nor is there much probability in Aben Ezra's explanation, that אֲחֵרֵיכֶן ("after that") means אֲחֵרֵי הַמַּבּוּל (i. e. "after the deluge"), and is an allusion to the Anakims.

The genealogy of the Nephilim then, or at any rate of the earliest Nephilim, is not recorded in Scripture, and the name itself is so mysterious that we are lost in conjecture respecting them.

2. The sons of the marriages mentioned in Gen. vi. 1-4, are called Gibborim (גִּבּוֹרִים, from גִּבּוֹר, to be strong), a general name meaning powerful (ὄβρισταί καὶ πάντας ὑπεροπταί καλοῦ, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, §1; γῆς παῖδες τὸν νοῦν ἐκβιβδσάντες τοῦ λογισμοῦ κ.τ.λ., Philo de *Gigant.* p. 270; comp. Is. iii. 2, xlix. 24; Ez. xxxii. 21). They were not necessarily giants in our sense of the word (Theodoret, *Quaest.* 48). Yet, as was natural, these powerful chiefs were almost universally represented as men of extraordinary stature. The LXX. render the word γίγαντες, and call Nimrod a γίγας κυνηγός (1 Chr. i. 10); Augustine calls them *Staturosi* (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 4); Chrysostom ἥρως εὐμμεγέεις, Theodoret παμμεγέθεις (comp. Bar. iii. 26, εὐμμεγέθεις, ἐπιστάμενοι πόλεμον).

But who were the parents of these giants; who are "the sons of God" (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים)? The opinions are various, (1.) *Men of power* (οἱ δυναστεύοντες, Symm. Hieron. *Quaest. Heb. ad loc.*; בְּנֵי דְרַבְרַיָּא, Onk.; בני שלמניה, Samar.; so too Seiden, Vorst, &c.), (comp. Pa. ii. 7, lxxii. 6,

lxxxix. 27; Mic. v. 5, &c.). The expression will then exactly resemble Homer's Διογενεῖς βασιλῆες, and the Chinese *Tsin-tschu*, "son of heaven," as a title of the Emperor (Gesen. s. v. [2]). But why should the union of the high-born and low-born produce offspring unusual for their size and strength? (2.) *Men with great gifts*, "in the image of God" (Ritter, Schumann); (3.) Cainites arrogantly assuming the title (Paulus); or (4.) the pious Sethites (comp. Gen. iv. 26; Maimon. *Mor. Neboch.* i. 14; Suid. s. v. Σῆθ and ματαγυμλας; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 10; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23; Chrysost. *Hom.* 22, in Gen.; Theod. in Gen. *Quaest.* 47; Cyril, c. Jul. ix., &c.). A host of modern commentators catch at this explanation, but Gen. iv. 26 has probably no connexion with the subject. Other texts quoted in favour of the view are Deut. xiv. 1, 2; Ps. lxxiii. 15; Prov. xiv. 26; Hos. i. 10; Rom. viii. 14, &c. Still the mere antithesis in the verse, as well as other considerations, tend strongly against this gloss, which indeed is built on a foregone conclusion. Compare however the Indian notion of the two races of men Suras and Asuras (children of the sun and of the moon, Nork, *Brahma. und Itab.* p. 204, sq.), and the Persian belief in the marriage of Djemschid with the sister of a dev, whence sprang black and impious men (Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 175). 5. Worshipers of false gods (παῖδες τῶν θεῶν, Aqu.) making γῆς = "servants" (comp. Deut. xiv. 1; Prov. xiv. 26; Ez. xxxii. 1; Deut. iv. 28, &c.). This view is ably supported in *Genesis of Earth and Man*, pp. 39, sq. (6.) Devils, such as the Incubi and Succubi. Such was the belief of the Cabbalists (Valesius, *de S. Philosoph.* cap. 8). That these beings can have intercourse with women St. Augustine declares it would be folly to doubt, and it was the universal belief in the East. Mohammed makes one of the ancestors of Balkis Queen of Sheba a demon, and Dauris says he had heard a Mohammedan doctor openly boast of having married in succession four demon wives (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 747). Indeed the belief still exists (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. x. ad fin.). (7.) Closely allied to this is the oldest opinion, that they were angels (ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, LXX., for such was the old reading, not viol, Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23; so too Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, §1; Phil. de *Gig.* ii. 358; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 7, §69; Sulp. *Sacer. Hist. Script.* in *Orthod.* l. i. &c.; comp. Job i. 6, ii. 1; 1's. xxix. 1, Job iv. 18). The rare expression "sons of God" certainly means angels in Job xxxviii. 7, i. 6, ii. 1, and that such is the meaning in Gen. vi. 4 also, was the most prevalent opinion both in the Jewish and early Christian Church.

It was probably this very ancient view which gave rise to the spurious book of Enoch, and the notion quoted from it by St. Jude (6.), and alluded to by St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 4; comp. 1 Cor. xi. 10, Tert. *de Virg.* Vel. 7). According to this book certain angels, sent by God to guard the earth (Ἐγγήγοροι, φύλακες), were perverted by the beauty of women, "went after strange flesh," taught sorcery, finery (*lunina capillorum, circulos ex aure*, Tert., &c.), and being banished from heaven had sons 3000 cubits high, thus originating a celestial and terrestrial race of demons—"Unde modo vagi subvertant corpora multa" (Commodian *Instruct. III. Cultus Daemonum*) i. e. they are still the source of epilepsy, &c. Various names were given at a later time to these monsters. Their chief

was Lemxas, and of their number were Machsnel, Aza, Schemchozal, and (the wickedest of them) a goat-like demon Azazel (comp. Azazel, Lev. xvi. 8, and for the very curious questions connected with this name, see Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 652, sq.; Rab. Kliezer, cap. 23, *Bereahith Rab.* ad Gen. vi. 2; Sennert, *de Gigantibus*, iii).

Against this notion (which Hävernack calls "the silliest whim of the Alexandrian Gnostics and Cabalistic Rabbis") Heidegger (*Hist. Patr.* i. c.) quotes Matt. xxii. 30; Luke xxiv. 39, and similar testimonies. Philastrius (*Adv. Haeres.* cap. 108) characterises it as a heresy, and Chrysostom (*Hom.* 22) even calls it τὸ βλάσφημα ἐκείνο. Yet Jude is explicit, and the question is not so much what can be, as what *was* believed. The fathers almost unanimously accepted these fables, and Tertullian argues warmly (partly on *expedient* grounds!) for the genuineness of the book of Enoch. The angels were called Ἐγγήγοροι, a word used by Aquil. and Symm. to render the Chaldee ܐܢܝܐ (Dan. iv. 13, sq.; Vulg. *Vigil*; LXX. *ἄνγ.*; Lex Cyrilli, *ἄγγελοι ἢ ἄγγελοι*; Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr.* V. T. p. 180) and therefore used, as in the Zend-Avesta, of good guardian angels, and applied especially to archangels in the Syriac liturgies (cf. ܐܢܝܐ, Is. xxi. 11), but more often of evil angels (Castelli, *Lex. Syr.* p. 649; Scalig. *ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 403; Gesen. *s. v.* ܐܢܝܐ). The story of the Egregori is given at length in Tert. *de Cult. Rem.* i. 2, ii. 10; Commodianus, *Instruct.* iii.; Cratyl. *Div. Inst.* ii. 14; *Testam. Patriarc.* c. v., &c. Every one will remember the allusions to the same interpretation in Milton, *Par. Reg.* ii. 179—

"Before the Flood, thou with thy lusty crew,  
False-titled sons of God, roaming the earth,  
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,  
And coupled with them, and begat a race."

The use made of the legend in some modern poems cannot sufficiently be reproached.

We need hardly say how closely allied this is to the Greek legends which connected the ἑρπια φύλα γιγάντων with the gods (Hom. *Od.* vii. 205; Pausan. viii. 29), and made δαίμονες sons of the gods (Plat. *Apolog.* ἡμῖθεσι; Cratyl. §32). Indeed the whole heathen tradition resembles the one before us (Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*, p. 24; Hom. *Od.* xi. 306, sq.; Hes. *Theog.* 185, *Opp. ct. D.* 144; Plat. *Rep.* ii. §17, 604, E.; *de Legg.* iii. §16, 805 A.; *Or. Metam.* i. 151; Luc. iv. 593; Lucian, *de Dea Syr.*, &c.; cf. Grot. *de Ver.* i. 6); and the Greek translators of the Bible make the resemblance still more close by introducing such words as θεόμαχοι, γιγνεῖς, and even Τίτῶνες, to which last Josephus (*l. c.*) expressly compares the giants of Genesis (LXX. Prov. ii. 18; Ps. xlviii. 2; 2 Sam. v. 18; Judith xvi. 5). The fate too of these demon-chiefs is identical with that of heathen story (Job xvi. 5; Sir. xvi. 7; Bar. iii. 26-28; Wisd. xiv. 6; 3 Macc. ii. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 19).

These legends may therefore be regarded as distortions of the Biblical narrative, handed down by tradition, and embellished by the fancy and imagination of eastern nations. The belief of the Jews in later times is remarkably illustrated by the story of Asmodeus in the book of Tobit. It is deeply instructive to observe how wide and marked a contrast there is between the incidental allusion of the sacred narrative (Gen. vi. 4), and the minute

frivolities or prurient follies which degrade the heathen mythology, and repeatedly appear in the groundless imaginings of the Rabbinic interpreters. If there were fallen angels, whose lawless desires gave birth to a monstrous progeny, both they and their intolerable offspring were destroyed by the deluge, which was the retribution on their wickedness, and they have no existence in the baptised and renovated earth.

Before passing to the other giant-races we may observe that all nations have had a dim fancy that the aborigines who preceded them, and the earliest men generally were of immense stature. Berosus says that the ten antediluvian kings of Chaldaea were giants, and we find in all monkish historians a similar statement about the earliest possessors of Britain (comp. Hom. *Od.* x. 119; Aug. *de Civ. Dei.* xv. 9; Plin. vii. 16; Varr. *op. Aut. Coll.* iii. 10; Jer. on Matt. xxvii.). The great size decreased gradually after the deluge (2 Esdr. v. 52-55). That we are dwarfs compared to our ancestors was a common belief among the Latin and Greek poets (*Il.* v. 302 seqq.; Lucret. ii. 1151; Virg. *Aen.* xii. 900; Juv. xv. 69), although it is now a matter of absolute certainty from the remains of antiquity, reaching back to the very earliest times, that in old days men were no taller than ourselves. On the origin of the mistaken supposition there are curious passages in Natalis Comes (*Mytholog.* vi. 21), and Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 20).

The next race of giants which we find mentioned in Scripture is—

3. THE REPHAIM, a name which frequently occurs, and in some remarkable passages. The earliest mention of them is the record of their defeat by Chedorlaomer and some allied kings at Ashteroth Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). They are again mentioned (Gen. xv. 20), their dispersion recorded (Deut. ii. 10, 20), and Og the giant king of Bashan said to be "the only remnant of them" (Deut. iii. 11; Jos. xii. 4, xiii. 12, xvii. 15). Extirpated however from the east of Palestine, they long found a home in the west, and in connexion with the Philistines, under whose protection the small remnant of them may have lived, they still employed their arms against the Hebrews (2 Sam. xxi. 18, sq.; 1 Chr. xx. 4). In the latter passage there seems however to be some confusion between the Rephaim, and the sons of a particular giant of Gath, named Rapha. Such a name may have been conjectured as that of a founder of the race, like the names Ion, Dorus, &c. (Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 96, n.; Rapha occurs also as a proper name, 1 Chr. vii. 25, viii. 2, 37). It is probable that they had possessed districts west of the Jordan in early times since the "Valley of Rephaim" (κοιλὰς τῶν Τίτῶνων, 2 Sam. v. 18; 1 Chr. xi. 15; Is. xvii. 5; κ. τῶν γιγάντων, Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, §1), a rich valley S.W. of Jerusalem, derived its name from them.

That they were not Canaanites is clear from there being no allusion to them in Gen. x. 15-19. They were probably one of those aboriginal people, to whose existence the traditions of many nations testify, and of whose genealogy the Bible gives us no information. The few names recorded have, as Ewald remarks, a Semitic aspect (*Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* i. 311), but from the hatred existing between them and both the Canaanites and Hebrews, some suppose them to be Japhethites, "who comprised especially the inhabitants of the coasts and islands" (Kalisch on *Gen.* p. 351).

**רִפְּהַיִּים** is rendered by the Greek versions very variously (*Ραφαῖμ, γίγαντες, γιγανεύς, θεόμαχοι, Τίταες, and λατορ*, Vulg. Medici; LXX. Ps. lxxxvii. 10; Is. xxvi. 14, where it is confused with **רִפְּהַיִּים**; cf. Gen. i. 2, and sometimes νεκροί, τεθνηκότες, especially in the later versions). In A. V. the words used for it are "Rephaim," "giants," and "the dead." That it has the latter meaning in many passages is certain (Ps. lxxxviii. 10; Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18, xxi. 16; Is. xxvi. 19, 14). The question arises, how are these meanings to be reconciled? Gesenius gives no derivation for the national name, and derives "ר" = mortui, from **רפא**, sanavit, and the proper name Rapha from an Arabic root signifying "tall," thus seeming to sever all connexion between the meanings of the word, which is surely most unlikely. \*Masius, Simonis, &c., suppose the second meaning to come from the fact that both spectres and giants strike terror (accepting the derivation from **רפה**, remisit, "unstrung with fear," R. Bechai on Deut. ii.); Vitringa and Hiller from the notion of length involved in stretching out a corpse, or from the fancy that spirits appear in more than human size (Hiller, *Syntagma. Hærenen*. p. 205; Virg. *Aen.* ii. 772, &c.). J. D. Michaelis (*ad Louth's pœes.* p. 466) endeavoured to prove that the Rephaims, &c., were Troglodytes, and that hence they came to be identified with the dead. Passing over other conjectures, Böttcher sees in **רפא** and **רפה** a double root, and thinks that the giants were called **רפאים** (*lunquæfacti*) by an euphemism; and that the dead were so called by a title which will thus exactly parallel the Greek *καυρότες, κεκυηκότες* (comp. Buttmann, *Lexil.* ii. 237, sq.). His arguments are too elaborate to quote, but see Böttcher, pp. 94-100. An attentive consideration seems to leave little room for doubt that the dead were called Rephaim (as Gesenius also hints) from some notion of Scheel being the residence of the fallen spirits or buried giants. The passages which seem most strongly to prove this are Prov. xxi. 16 (where obviously something more than mere physical death is meant, since that is the common lot of all); Is. xxvi. 14, 19, which are difficult to explain without some such supposition; Is. xiv. 9, where the word **רִפְּהַיִּים** (*ol ἀράκτες τῆς γῆς*, LXX.) if taken in its literal meaning of *gods*, may mean evil spirits represented in that form (cf. Lev. xvii. 7); and especially Job xxvi. 5, 6. "Behold the gyantes (A. V. 'dead things') grown under the waters" (Douay version), where there seems to be clear allusion to some subaqueous prison of rebellious spirits like that in which (according to the Hindoo legend) Wischnu the water-god confines a race of giants (cf. *πυλάροχος*, as a title of Neptune, Hes. *Theog.* 732; Nork, *Brammin. und Rabb.* p. 319, sq.) [OG; GOLIATH.]

Branches of this great unknown people were called Emim, Anakim, and Zuzim.

4. **EMIM** (**עֲמִי**, LXX. *Ὀμῖν, Ἰμμάδοι*), smitten by Chedorlaomer at Shaveh Kiriathaim (Gen. xiv. 5), and occupying the country afterwards held by the Moabites (Deut. ii. 10), who gave them the name **עֲמִי**, "terrors." The word rendered "tall" may perhaps be merely "haughty" (*ισχυρότες*). [EMIM.]

5. **ANAKIM** (**אַנָּכִים**). The imbecile terror of the spies exaggerated their proportions into some-

thing superhuman (Num. xiii. 28, 33), and their name became proverbial (Deut. ii. 10, ix. 2). [ANAKIM.]

6. **ZUZIM** (**זִזִּים**), whose principal town was Ham (Gen. xiv. 5), and who lived between the Arnon and the Jabbok, being a northern tribe of Rephaim. The Ammonites, who defeated them, called them **זִזִּים** (Deut. ii. 20, sq. which is however probably an early gloss).

We have now examined the main names applied to giant-races in the Bible, but except in the case of the two first (Nephilim and Gihborim) there is no necessity to suppose that there was anything very remarkable in the size of these nations, beyond the general fact of their being finely proportioned. Nothing can be built on the exaggeration of the spies (Num. xiii. 33), and Og, Goliath, Ishbi-benoh, &c. (see under the names themselves), are obviously mentioned as exceptional cases. The Jews however (misled by supposed relics) thought otherwise (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 2, §3).

No one has yet proved by experience the possibility of giant races, materially exceeding in size the average height of man. There is no great variation in the ordinary standard. The most stunted tribes of Esquimaux are at least four feet high, and the tallest races of America (e. g. the Guayquilists and people of Paraguay) do not exceed six feet and a half. It was long thought that the Patagonians were men of enormous stature, and the assertions of the old voyagers on the point were positive. For instance Pigafetta (*Voyage Round the World*, Pinkerton, xi. 314) mentions an individual Patagonian so tall, that they "hardly reached to his waist." Similar exaggerations are found in the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Cook, and Forster; but it is now a matter of certainty from the recent visits to Patagonia (by Winter, Capt. Snow, &c.), that there is nothing at all extraordinary in their size.

The general belief (until very recent times) in the existence of fabulously enormous men, arose from fancied giant-graves (see De la Valle's *Travels in Persia*, ii. 89), and above all from the discovery of huge bones, which were taken for those of men, in days when comparative anatomy was unknown. Even the ancient Jews were thus misled (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 2, §3). Augustin appeals triumphantly to this argument, and mentions a molar tooth which he had seen at Utica a hundred times larger than ordinary teeth (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 9). No doubt it once belonged to an elephant. Vives, in his commentary on the place, mentions a tooth as big as a fist which was shown at St. Christopher's. In fact this source of delusion has only very recently been dispelled (Sennert *de Gigant.* passim, Martin's *West. Islands* in Pinkerton, ii. 691). Most bones, which have been exhibited, have turned out to belong to whales or elephants, as was the case with the vertebra of a supposed giant, examined by Sir Hans Sloane in Oxfordshire.

On the other hand, isolated instances of monstrosity are sufficiently attested to prove that beings like Goliath and his kinsmen may have existed. Columella (*R. R.* iii. 8, §2) mentions Navius Pollio as one, and Pliny says that in the time of Claudius Cæsar there was an Arab named Gabbaras, nearly ten feet high, and that even he was not so tall as Pusio and Secundilla in the reign of Augustus, whose bodies were preserved (vii. 16). Josephus tells us that, among other hostages, Artabanus sent

to Tiberius a certain Eleazar, a Jew, surnamed "the Giant," seven cubits in height (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §5). Nor are well-authenticated instances wanting in modern times. O'Brien, whose skeleton is preserved in the Museum of the Coll. of Surgeons, must have been 8 feet high, but his unnatural height made him weakly. On the other hand the blacksmith Parsons, in Charles II.'s reign, was 7 feet 2 inches high, and also remarkable for his strength (*Fuller's Worthies*, Staffordshire).

For information on the various subjects touched upon in this Article, besides minor authorities quoted in it, see *Grot. de Veritat.* i. 16; *Nork, Bramaui, und Rabb.* 210 ad f.; *Ewald, Gesch.* i. pp. 305-312; *Winer, s. v. Riesen*, &c.; *Gesen.* s. v. גִּבְיָה; *Rosenmüller, Kalisch et Comment. ad loca cit.*; *Rosenm. Alterthumsk.* ii.; *Boettcher, de Inferis*, p. 95, sq.; *Heidegger, Hist. Patr.* xi.; *Hävernick's Intro. to Pentat.* p. 345, sq.; *Horne's Intro.* i. 148; *Faber's Bampton Lect.* iii. 7; *Maitland's Erwin*; *Orig. of Pagan Idol.* i. 217, in *Maitland's False Worship*, 1-67; *Pritchard's Nat. Hist. of Man*, v. 489, seq.; *Hamilton on the Pentat.* 189-201; *Papers on the Ephraim*, by Miss F. Corbux, *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* 1851. There are also monographs by Cassanion, Sangutelli, and Sennert; we have only met with the latter (*Dissert. Hist. Phil. de Gigantibus*, Vitteb. 1663); it is interesting and learned, but extraneously tedious.

[F. W. F.]

**GIBBAR** (גִּבְבָּר; *Gaβép; Gebbar*), Bene-Gilbar, to the number of ninety-five, returned with Zerubabel from Babylon (*Ezr.* ii. 20). In the parallel list of *Neh.* vii. the name is given as GIBEON.

**GIBBETHON** (גִּבְתֹּן; *Beyebón, Gebebón*, Alex. *Gaβabón, Gaβebón; Gabathem*), a town allotted to the tribe of Dan (*Josh.* xix. 44), and afterwards given with its "suburbs" to the Kohathite Levites (*xxi.* 23). Being, like most of the towns of Dan, either in or close to the Philistines' country, it was no doubt soon taken possession of by them; at any rate they held it in the early days of the monarchy of Israel, when king Nadab "and all Israel," and after him Omri, besieged it (*1 K.* xv. 27, xvi. 17). What were the special advantages of situation or otherwise which rendered it so desirable as a possession for Israel are not apparent. In the *Onomasticon* (*Gabathon*) it is quoted as a small village (πολιχρον) called Gabe, in the 17th mile from Caesarea. This would place it nearly due west of Samaria, and about the same distance therefrom. No name at all resembling it has, however, been discovered in that direction.

**GIBEĀ** (גִּבְעָא; *Gaβda, Alex. Gaβad; Gabaa*). Sheva, "the father of Machenah," and "father of Gibeā," is mentioned with other names unmistakably those of places and not persons, among the descendants of Judah (*1 Chr.* ii. 49, comp. 42). This would seem to point out Gibeā (which in some Hebrew MSS. is Gibeah; see *Burton*, i. 216) as the city GIBEĀH in Judah. The mention of Madmannah (*49*, comp. *Josh.* xv. 31), as well as of Ziph (*42*) and Maon (*45*), seems to carry us to a locality considerably south of Hebron. [*GIBEĀH*, 1.] On the other hand *Madmannah* recalls *Madmenah*, a town named in con-

nexion with Gibeah of Benjamin (*Is.* x. 31), and therefore lying somewhere north of Jerusalem.

**GIBEĀH** (גִּבְעָה; derived according to Gesenius (*Thes.* 259, 260) from a root, גִּבַּע, signifying to be round or humped; comp. the Latin *gibbus*, Eng. *gibbous*; the Arabic جبل, *jebel*, a mountain, and the German *gipfel*). A word employed in the Bible to denote a "hill"—that is an eminence of less considerable height and extent than a "mountain," the term for which is הָר, *har*. For the distinction between the two terms, see *Is.* cxlviii. 9; *Prov.* viii. 25; *Is.* ii. 2, xl. 4, &c. In the historical books *Gibeah* is commonly applied to the bald rounded hills of central Palestine, especially in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (*Stanley, App.* §25). Like most words of this kind it gave its name to several towns and places in Palestine—which would doubtless be generally on or near a hill. They are

1. **GIBEĀH** (Γαβὰ; *Gaba*), a city in the mountain-district of Judah, named with Maon and the southern Carmel (*Josh.* xv. 57; and comp. *1 Chr.* ii. 49, &c.). In the *Onomasticon* a village named Gabatha is mentioned as containing the monument of Habakkuk the prophet, and lying twelve miles from Eleutheropolis. The direction, however, is not stated. Possibly it was identical with Keila, which is given as eastward from Eleutheropolis (*Eusebius* says seventeen, *Jerome* eight miles) on the road to Hebron, and is also mentioned as containing the monument of Habakkuk. But neither of these can be the place intended in Joshua, since that would appear to have been to the S.E. of Hebron, near where Carmel and Maon are still existing. For the same reason this Gibeah cannot be that discovered by Robinson as *Jebah* in the *Wady Musárr*, not far west of Bethlehem, and ten miles north of Hebron (*Iob.* ii. 6, 16). Its site is therefore yet to seek.

2. **GIBKATH** (גִּבְעָת; *Gaβab, Alex. Gaβad; Gubaath*). This is enumerated among the last group of the towns of Benjamin, next to Jerusalem (*Josh.* xviii. 28). It is generally taken to be the place which afterwards became so notorious as "Gibeah-of-Benjamin" or "of-Saul." But this, as we shall presently see, was five or six miles north of Jerusalem, close to Gibon and Ramah, with which, in that case, it would have been mentioned in *ver.* 25. The name being in the "construct state"—Gibeath and not Gibeah—may it not belong to the following name Kirjath (*i. e.* Kirjath-jearim, as some MSS. actually read), and denote the hill adjoining that town (see below, No. 3)? The obvious objection to this proposal is the statement of the number of this group of towns as fourteen, but this is not a serious objection, as in these catalogues discrepancies not unfrequently occur between the numbers of the towns, and that stated as the sum of the enumeration (comp. *Josh.* xv. 32, 36, xix. 6, &c.). In this very list there is reason to believe that Zelah and ha-Eleph are not separate names, but one. The lists of Joshua, though in the main coeval with the division of the country, must have been often added to and altered before they became finally fixed as we now possess them, and the sanctity conferred on the "hill of Kirjath"

\* For instance, Beth maseboth, "house of dhariots," and Hazar susah, "village of horses" (*Josh.* xix. 5), would seem to date from the time of Solp-

mon, when the traffic in these articles began with Egypt.

by the temporary sojourn of the Ark there in the time of Saul, would have secured its insertion among the lists of the towns of the tribe.

3. גִּבְעָה; *ḡi bə' Bounā*; in *Gabaa*, the place in which the Ark remained from the time of its return by the Philistines till its removal by David (2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; comp. 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2). The name has the definite article, and in 1 Sam. vii. 1 it is translated "the hill." (See No. 2 above).

4. GIBEAH-OF-BENJAMIN. This town does not appear in the lists of the cities of Benjamin in Josh. xviii. (1.) We first encounter it in the tragical story of the Levite and his concubine, when it brought all but extermination on the tribe (Judg. xix. xx.). It was then a "city" (עִיר) with the usual open street (רָחוֹב) or square (Judg. xix. 15, 17, 20), and containing 700 "chosen men" (xx. 15), probably the same whose skill as slingers is preserved in the next verse. Thanks to the precision of the narrative we can gather some general knowledge of the position of Gibeah. The Levite and his party left Bethlehem in the "afternoon"—when the day was coming near the time at which the tents would be pitched for evening. It was probably between two and three o'clock. At the ordinary speed of eastern travellers they would come "over against Jebus" in two hours, say by five o'clock, and the same length of time would take them an equal distance, or about four miles, to the north of the city on the *Nablus* road, in the direction of Mount Ephraim (xx. 13, comp. 1). Ramah and Gibeah both lay in sight of the road, Gibeah apparently the nearest; and when the sudden sunset of that climate, unaccompanied by more than a very brief twilight, made further progress impossible, they "turned aside" from the beaten track to the town where one of the party was to meet a dreadful death (Judg. xix. 9-15). Later indications of the story seem to show that a little north of the town the main track divided into two—one, the present *Nablus* road, leading up to Bethel, the "house of God," and the other taking to Gibeah-in-the-field (xx. 31), possibly the present *Jeba*. Below the city probably—about the base of the hill which gave its name to the town—was the "cave" of Gibeah, in which the liars in wait concealed themselves until the signal was given<sup>c</sup> (xx. 33).

During this narrative the name is given simply as "Gibeah," with a few exceptions; at its introduction it is called "Gibeah which belongeth to Benjamin" (xix. 14, and so in xx. 4). In xx. 10 we have the expression "Gibeah of Benjamin," but here the Hebrew is not Gibeah, but *Geba*—גִּבְעָה. The same form of the word is found in xx. 33, where the meadows, or cave, "of Gibeah," should be "of Geba."

In many of the above particulars Gibeah agrees very closely with *Tuleil-el-Ful*, a conspicuous eminence just four miles north of Jerusalem to the

right of the road. Two miles beyond it and full in view is *Er-Ram*, in all probability the ancient Ramah, and between the two the main road divides, one branch going off to the right to the village of *Jeba*, while the other continues its course upwards to *Beitin*, the modern representative of Bethel. (See No. 5 below.)

(2.) We next meet with Gibeah of Benjamin during the Philistine wars of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiii. xiv.). It now bears its full title. The position of matters seems to have been this:—The Philistines were in possession of the village of Geba, the present *Jeba* on the south side of the *Wady Suweinit*. In their front, across the Wady, which is here about a mile wide, and divided by several swells lower than the side eminences, was Saul in the town of Michmash, the modern *Mukhmās*, and holding also "Mount Bethel," that is, the heights on the north of the great Wady—*Deir Diwān*, *Burka*, *Tell el-Hajjar*, as far as *Beitin* itself. South of the Philistine camp, and about three miles in its rear, was Jonathan, in Gibeah-of-Benjamin, with a thousand chosen warriors (xiii. 2). The first step was taken by Jonathan, who drove out the Philistines from Geba, by a feat of arms, which at once procured him an immense reputation. But in the meantime it increased the difficulties of Israel, for the Philistines (hearing of their reverse) gathered in prodigious strength, and advancing with an enormous armament, pushed Saul's little force before them out of Bethel and Michmash, and down the Eastern passes to Gilgal, near Jericho in the Jordan valley (xiii. 4, 7). They then established themselves at Michmash, formerly the head-quarters of Saul, and from thence sent out their bands of plunderers, North, West, and East (17, 18). But nothing could dislodge Jonathan from his main stronghold in the South. As far as we can disentangle the complexities of the story, he soon relinquished Geba, and consolidated his little force in Gibeah, where he was joined by his father, with Samuel the prophet, and Ahiah the priest, who, perhaps remembering the former fate of the Ark, had brought down the sacred Ephod<sup>d</sup> from Shiloh. These three had made their way up from Gilgal, with a force sorely diminished by desertion to the Philistine camp (xiv. 21), and flight (xiii. 7)—a mere remnant (*kardaleumma*) of the people following in the rear of the little band (LXX.). Then occurred the feat of the hero and his armour-bearer. In the stillness and darkness of the night they descended the hill of Gibeah, crossed the intervening country to the steep terraced slope of *Jeba*, and threading the mazes of the ravine below climbed the opposite hill, and discovered themselves to the garrison of the Philistines just as the day was breaking.<sup>e</sup>

No one had been aware of their departure, but it was not long unknown. Saul's watchmen at *Tuleil el-Ful* were straining their eyes to catch a glimpse in the early morning of the position of the foe;

<sup>b</sup> מְעָרָה, A. V. "meadows of Gibeah," taking the word as Maareh an open field (Stanley, App. §19); the LXX. transfers the Hebrew word literally,

Μαράριβι; the Syriac has ܡܥܪܐ = cave. The Hebrew word for cave, *Me'arah*, differs from that adopted in the A. V. only in the vowel-points; and there seems a certain consistency in an ambush concealing themselves in a cave, which in an open field would be impossible.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* v. 2, §11.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 3. In ver. 18 the ark is said to have been at Gibeah; but this is in direct contradiction to the statement of vii. 1, compared with 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4, and 1 Chr. xiii. 3; and also to those of the LXX. and Josephus at this place. The Hebrew words for ark and ephod—אֲרוֹן and חֹשֶׁן—are very similar, and may have been mistaken for one another (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 48 note; Stanley, 205).

<sup>e</sup> We owe this touch to Josephus: ὑποφανούσης ἡμέρας ἤως ἡμέρας (*Ant.* vi. 6, §2).

and as the first rays of the rising sun on their right broke over the mountains of Gilead, and glittered on the rocky summit of Michmash, their practised eyes quickly discovered the unusual stir in the camp; they could see "the multitude melting away, and beating down one another." Through the clear air, too, came, even to that distance, the unmistakable sounds of the conflict. The muster-roll was hastily called to discover the absentees. The oracle of God was consulted, but so rapidly did the tumult increase that Saul's impatience would not permit the rites to be completed, and soon he and Ahiah (xiv. 36) were rushing down from Gibeah at the head of their hungry warriors, joined at every step by some of the wretched Hebrews from their hiding places in the clefts and holes of the Benjamite hills, eager for revenge, and for the recovery of "the sheep, and oxen, and calves" (xiv. 32), equally with the arms, of which they had been lately plundered. So quickly did the news run through the district that—if we may accept the statements of the LXX.—by the time Saul reached the Philistine camp his following amounted to 10,000 men: on every one of the heights of the country (βασίς) the people rose against the hated invaders, and before the day was out there was not a city even of Mount Ephraim to which the struggle had not spread. [JONATHAN.]

(3.) As "Gibeah of Benjamin" this place is referred to in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 (comp. 1 Chr. xi. 31), and as "Gibeah" it is mentioned by Hosea (v. 8, ix. 9, x. 9), but it does not again appear in the history. It is, however, almost without doubt identical with

5. GIBEAH-OF SAUL (גִּבְעַת שָׁאֻל; the LXX. do not recognize this name except in 2 Sam. xxi. 6, where they have Γαβαὼν Σαούλ, and Is. x. 30, πόλις Σαούλ, elsewhere simply Γαβαδ or Γαβαδδ). This is not mentioned as Saul's city till after his anointing (1 Sam. x. 26), when he is said to have gone "home" (Hebr. "to his house," as in xv. 34) to Gibeah, "to which," adds Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 4, §6), "he belonged." In the subsequent narrative the town bears its full name (xi. 4), and the king is living there, still following the avocations of a simple farmer, when his relations of Jabesh-Gilead beseech his help in their danger. His Ammonite expedition is followed by the first Philistine war, and by various other conflicts, amongst others an expedition against Amalek in the extreme south of Palestine. But he returns, as before, "to his house" at Gibeah-of-Saul (1 Sam. xv. 34). Again we encounter it, when the seven sons of the king were hung there as a sacrifice to turn away the anger of Jehovah (2 Sam. xxi. 6 f.). The name of Saul has not been found in connexion with any place of modern Palestine, but it existed as late as the days of Josephus, and an allusion of his has fortunately given the clue to the identification of the town with the spot which now bears the name of *Tulci el-Fûl*. Josephus (*B. J.* v. 2, §1), describing Titus's march from Caesarea to Jerusalem, gives his route as through Samaria to Gophna, thence a day's march to a valley "called by the Jews the Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabathsaoule, distant from Jerusalem about thirty stadia," i. e. just the distance of *Tulci el-Fûl*. Here he was joined by a

part of his army from Emmaus (Nicompolis), who would naturally come up the road by Beth-horon and Gibeon, the same which still falls into the northern road close to *Tulci el-Fûl*. In both these respects therefore the agreement is complete, and Gibeah of Benjamin must be taken as identical with Gibeah of Saul. The discovery is due to Dr. Robinson (l. 577-79), though it was partly suggested by a writer in *Stud. und Kritiken*.

This identification of Gibeah, as also that of Geba with *Jeba*, is fully supported by Is. x. 28-32, where we have a specification of the route of Sennacherib from the north through the villages of the Benjamite district to Jerusalem. Commencing with Ai, to the east of the present *Beitin*, the route proceeds by *Mukhmas*, across the "passages" of the *Wady Suweinit* to *Jeba* on the opposite side; and then by *er-Ram*, and *Tulci el-Fûl*, villages actually on the present road, to the heights north of Jerusalem, from which the city is visible. Gallim, Madmenah, and Gebim, none of which have been yet identified, must have been, like Anathoth (*Anate*), villages on one side or the other of the direct line of march. The only break in the chain is Migron, which is here placed between Ai and Michmash, while in 1 Sam. xiv. 2 it appears to have been five or six miles south, at Gibeah. One explanation that presents itself is, that in that uneven and rocky district the name "Migron," "precipice," would very probably, like "Gibeah," be borne by more than one town.

In 1 Sam. xxii. 6, xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, "Gibeah" doubtless stands for G. of Saul.

6. GIBEAH-IN-THE-FIELD (גִּבְעַת בַּשָּׂדֶה; Γαβαδ ἐν ἀγρῷ; *Gabaq*), named only in Judg. xx. 31, as the place to which one of the "highways" (מַסְלֵוֹת) led from Gibeah-of-Benjamin,—of which one goeth up to Bethel, and one to Gibeah-in-the-field." *Sadeh*, the word here rendered "field," is applied specially to cultivated ground, "as distinguished from town, desert, or garden" (Stanley, *App.* §15). Cultivation was so general throughout this district, that the term affords no clue to the situation of the place. It is, however, remarkable that the north road from Jerusalem, shortly after passing *Tulci el-Fûl*, separates into two branches, one running on to *Beitin* (Bethel), and the other diverging to the right to *Jeba* (Geba). The attack on Gibeah came from the north (comp. xx. 18, 19, and 26, in which "the house of God" is really Bethel), and therefore the divergence of the roads was north of the town. In the case of Gibeah-of-Benjamin we have seen that the two forms "Geba" and "Gibeah" appear to be convertible, the former for the latter. If the identification now proposed for Gibeah-in-the-field be correct, the case is here reversed—and "Gibeah" is put for "Geba."

The "meadows of Gaba" (גִּבְעַת; A. V. Gibeah; Judg. xx. 33) have no connexion with the "field," the Hebrew words being entirely different. As stated above, the word rendered "meadows" is probably accurately "cave." [GABA.]

7. There are several other names compounded of Gibeah, which are given in a translated form in the A. V., probably from their appearing not to belong to towns. These are:—

<sup>†</sup> This is a fair inference from the fact that the wives of 400 out of the 600 Benjamites who escaped the massacre at Gibeah came from Jabesh Gilead (Judg. xxi. 12).

<sup>‡</sup> The word in this verse rendered "hill" is not *gibeah* but *har*, i. e. "mountain," a singular change, and not quite intelligible.

(1.) The "hill of the foreskins" (Josh. v. 3), between the Jordan and Jericho; it derives its name from the circumcision which took place there, and seems afterwards to have received the name of GILGAL.

(2.) The "hill of Phinehas" in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxiv. 33). This may be the *Shiba* on the left of the *Nabîs* road, half-way between Bethel and Shiloh; or the *Jeba* north of *Nabîs* (Rob. ii. 265 note, 312). Both would be "in Mount Ephraim," but there is nothing in the text to fix the position of the place, while there is no lack of the name among the villages of Central Palestine.

(3.) The hill of Moreh (Judg. vii. 1).

(4.) The hill of God—Gibeath-ha-Elohim (1 Sam. x. 5); one of the places in the route of Saul, which is so difficult to trace. In verses 10 and 13, it is apparently called "the hill," and "the high place."

(5.) The hill of Hachilah (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xxi. 1).

(6.) The hill of Ammah (2 Sam. ii. 24).

(7.) The hill of Gibeon (Jer. xxxi. 39).

GIBEATH, Josh. xviii. 28. [GIBEON, 2.]

GIBEATHITE, THE (גִּבְעָתִית; δ Γαβαθίτης; *Gubathites*), i. e. the native of Gibeon (1 Chr. xii. 3); in this case Shemaah, or "the Shemaah," father of two Benjaminites, "Saul's brethren," who joined David.

GIBEON (גִּבְעֹן, i. e. "belonging to a hill"; Γαβαὼν, Joseph. Γαβαῶν; *Gabaon*), one of the four cities of the HIVITES, the inhabitants of which made a league with Joshua (ix. 3-15), and thus escaped the fate of Jericho and Ai (comp. xi. 19). It appears, as might be inferred from its taking the initiative in this matter, to have been the largest of the four—"a great city, like one of the royal cities"—larger than Ai (x. 2). Its men too were all practised warriors (*Gibborim*, גִּבּוֹרִים). Gibeon lay within the territory of Benjamin (xviii. 25), and with its "suburbs" was allotted to the priests (xvi. 17), of whom it became afterwards a principal station. Occasional notices of its existence occur in the historical books, which are examined more at length below; and after the captivity we find the "men of Gibeon" returning with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 25; in the list of Ezra the name is altered to *Gibbar*), and assisting Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (iii. 7). In the post-biblical times it was the scene of a victory by the Jews over the Roman troops under Cestius Gallus, which offers in many respects a close parallel to that of Joshua over the Canaanites (Jos. B. J. ii. 19, §7; Stanley, *S. & P.* 212).

The situation of Gibeon has fortunately been recovered with as great certainty as any ancient site in Palestine. The traveller who pursues the northern camel-road from Jerusalem, turning off to the left at *Tuleil el-Fûl* (Gibeath) on that branch of it which leads westward to Jaffa, finds himself, after crossing one or two stony and barren ridges, in a district of a more open character. The hills are rounder and more isolated than those through which he has been passing, and rise in well-defined mamelons from broad undulating valleys of tolerable extent and fertile soil. This is the central plateau of the country, the "land of Benjamin;" and

these round hills are the Gibeaths, Gebas, Gibeons, and Ramahs, whose names occur so frequently in the records of this district. Retaining its ancient name almost intact, *El-Jib* stands on the northernmost of a couple of these mamelons, just at the place where the road to the sea parts into two branches, the one by the lower level of the *Wady Suleiman*, the other by the heights of the Beth-horons, to Gimzo, Lydda, and Joppa. The road passes at a short distance to the north of the base of the hill of *El-Jib*. The strata of the hills in this district lie much more horizontally than those further south. With the hills of Gibeon this is peculiarly the case, and it imparts a remarkable precision to their appearance, especially when viewed from a height such as the neighbouring eminence of *Nebv Samwel*. The natural terraces are carried round the hill like contour lines; they are all dotted thick with olives and vines, and the ancient-looking houses are scattered over the flatish summit of the mound. On the east side of the hill is a copious spring which issues in a cave excavated in the limestone rock, so as to form a large reservoir. In the trees further down are the remains of a pool or tank of considerable size, probably, says Dr. Robinson, 120 feet by 100, i. e. of rather smaller dimensions than the lower pool at Hebron. This is doubtless the "pool of Gibeon" at which Abner and Joab met together with the troops of Ishbosheth and David, and where that sharp conflict took place which ended in the death of Asahel, and led at a later period to the treacherous murder of Abner himself. Here or at the spring were the "great waters (or the many waters, מַיִם רַבִּים) of Gibeon,"<sup>b</sup> at which Johanan the son of Kareah found the traitor Ishmael (Jer. xli. 12). Round this water also, according to the notice of Josephus (*ἐπὶ τινὶ πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἔπαυον*, *Ant.* v. 1, §17), the five kings of the Amorites were encamped when Joshua burst upon them from Gilegal. The "wilderness of Gibeon" (2 Sam. ii. 24)—the *Midbar*, i. e. rather the waste pasture-grounds—must have been to the east, beyond the circle or suburb of cultivated fields, and towards the neighbouring swells, which bear the names of *Jedireh* and *Riv Nebullah*. Such is the situation of Gibeon, fulfilling in position every requirement of the notices of the Bible, Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome. Its distance from Jerusalem by the main road is as nearly as possible 6½ miles; but there is a more direct road reducing it to 5 miles.

(1.) The name of Gibeon is most familiar to us in connexion with the artifice by which its inhabitants obtained their safety at the hands of Joshua, and with the memorable battle which ultimately resulted therefrom. This transaction is elsewhere examined, and therefore requires no further reference here. [JOSHUA; BETH-HORON.]

(2.) We next hear of it at the encounter between the men of David and of Ishbosheth under their respective leaders Joab and Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12-17). The meeting has all the air of having been premeditated by both parties, unless we suppose that Joab had heard of the intention of the Benjaminites to revisit from the distant Mahanaim their native villages, and had seized the opportunity to try his strength with Abner. The details of this disastrous encounter are elsewhere given. [JOAB.] The place where the struggle began received a name from the

<sup>a</sup> So Josh. ix. 17. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §16) omits *Beroth*.

<sup>b</sup> Both here and in 1 K. iii. 4, Josephus substitutes Hebron for Gibeon (*Ant.* x. 9, §5, viii. 2, §1).

circumstance, and seem to have been long afterwards known as the "field of the strong men." [HELEKATH-HAZZURIM.]

(3.) We again meet with Gibeon in connexion with Joab; this time as the scene of the cruel and revolting death of Amasa by his hand (2 Sam. xx. 5-10). Joab was in pursuit of the rebellious Sheba the son of Bichri, and his being so far out of the direct north road as Gibeon may be accounted for by supposing that he was making a search for this Benjamite among the towns of his tribe. The two rivals met at "the great stone" which is in Gibeon—"some old landmark now no longer recognizable, at least not recognized"—and then Joab repeated the treachery by which he had murdered Abner, but with circumstances of a still more revolting character. [JOAB; AKIMS, p. 110 a.]

It is remarkable that the retribution for this crowning act of perfidy should have overtaken Joab close to the very spot on which it had been committed. For it was to the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 K. ii. 28, 29; comp. 1 Chr. xvi. 39) that Joab fled for sanctuary when his death was pronounced by Solomon, and it was while clinging to the horns of the brazen altar there that he received his death-blow from Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (1 K. ii. 28, 30, 34; and LXX. 29).

(4.) Familiar as these events in connexion with the history of Gibeon are to us, its reputation in Israel was due to a very different circumstance—the fact that the tabernacle of the congregation and the brazen altar of burnt-offering were for some time located on the "high place" attached to or near the town. We are not informed whether this "high place" had any fame for sanctity before the tabernacle came there; but if not, it would have probably been erected elsewhere. We only hear of it in connexion with the tabernacle, nor is there any indication of its situation in regard to the town. Professor Stanley has suggested that it was the remarkable hill of *Nebv-Samuel*, the most prominent and individual eminence in that part of the country, and to which the special appellation of "the great high-place" (1 K. iii. 4; הַבְּמָה הַגְּדוֹלָה) would perfectly apply. And certainly, if "great" is to be understood as referring to height or size, there is no other hill which can so justly claim the distinction (*Sinai and Pal.* 216). But the word has not always that meaning, and may equally imply eminence in other respects, e.g. superior sanctity to the numerous other high places—Bethel, Ramah, Mizpah, Gibeon—which surrounded it on every side. The main objection to this identification is the distance of *Nebv Samuel* from Gibeon—more than a mile—and the absence of any closer connexion therewith than with any other of the neighbouring places. The most natural position for the high place of Gibeon is the twin mound immediately south of *El-Jib*—so close as to be all but a part of the town, and yet quite separate and distinct. The testimony of Epiphanius, by which

Mr. Stanley supports his conjecture, viz., that the "Mount of Gibeon" was the highest round Jerusalem (*Adv. Haereses*, i. 394), should be received with caution, standing as it does quite alone, and belonging to an age which, though early, was marked by ignorance, and by the most improbable conclusions.

To this high place, wherever situated, the "tabernacle of the congregation"—the sacred tent which had accompanied the children of Israel through the whole of their wanderings—had been transferred from its last station at Nob.<sup>4</sup> The exact date of the transfer is left in uncertainty. It was either before or at the time when David brought up the ark from Kirjath-jearim, to the new tent which he had pitched for it on Mount Zion, that the original tent was spread for the last time at Gibeon. The expression in 2 Chr. i. 5, "the brazen altar he put before the tabernacle of Jehovah," at first sight appears to refer to David. But the text of the passage is disputed, and the authorities are divided between  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  = "he put," and  $\text{בָּנִי}$  = "was there." Whether king David transferred the tabernacle to Gibeon or not, he certainly appointed the staff of priests to offer the daily sacrifices there on the brazen altar of Moses, and to fulfil the other requirements of the law (1 Chr. xvi. 40), with no less a person at their head than Zadok the priest (39), assisted by the famous musicians Heman and Jeduthun (41).

One of the earliest acts of Solomon's reign—it must have been while the remembrance of the execution of Joab was still fresh—was to visit Gibeon. The ceremonial was truly magnificent: he went up with all the congregation, the great officers of the state—the captains of hundreds and thousands, the judges, the governors, and the chief of the fathers—and the sacrifice consisted of a thousand burnt-offerings\* (1 K. iii. 4). And this glimpse of Gibeon in all the splendour of its greatest prosperity—the smoke of the thousand animals rising from the venerable altar on the commanding height of "the great high place"—the clang of "trumpets and cymbals and musical instruments of God" (1 Chr. xvi. 42) resounding through the valleys far and near—is virtually the last we have of it. In a few years the temple at Jerusalem was completed, and then the tabernacle was once more taken down and removed. Again "all the men of Israel assembled themselves" to king Solomon, with the "elders of Israel" and the priests and the Levites brought up both the tabernacle and the ark, and "all the holy vessels, that were in the tabernacle" (1 K. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, §1), and placed the venerable relics in their new home, there to remain until the plunder of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. The introduction of the name of Gibeon in 1 Chr. ix. 35, which seems so abrupt, is probably due to the fact that the preceding verses of the chapter contain, as they appear to do, a list of the staff attached to the "Tabernacle of the congregation" which was

\* The Hebrew preposition ( $\text{בְּ}$ ) almost implies that they were on or touching the stone.

<sup>4</sup> The various stations of the Tabernacle and the Ark, from their entry on the Promised Land to their final deposition in the Temple at Jerusalem, will be examined under TABERNACLE. Meantime, with reference to the above, it may be said that though not expressly stated to have been at Nob, it may be conclusively inferred from the mention of the "shew bread" (1 Sam. xxi. 6). The "ephod" (9) and the

expression "before Jehovah" (6) prove nothing either way. Josephus throws no light on it.

\* It would be very satisfactory to believe, with Thompson (*The Land and the Book*, ii. 547), that the present *Wady Suleiman*, i. e. "Solomon's valley," which commences on the west side of Gibeon, and leads down to the Plain of Sharon, derived its name from this visit. But the modern names of places in Palestine often spring from very modern persons or circumstances; and, without confirmation or investigation, this cannot be received.

erected there; or if these persons should prove to be the attendants on the "new tent" which David had pitched for the ark on its arrival in the city of David, the transition to the place where the old tent was still standing is both natural and easy. [G.]

**GIBEONITES, THE** (גִּבְעוֹנִיִּים; of Γαβαωνῖται; *Gabaonitae*), the people of Gibeon, and perhaps also of the three cities associated with Gibeon (Josh. ix. 17)—Hivites; and who, on the discovery of the stratagem by which they had obtained the protection of the Israelites, were condemned to be perpetual bondmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the house of God and altar of Jehovah (Josh. ix. 23, 27). Saul appears to have broken this covenant, and in a fit of enthusiasm or patriotism to have killed some and devised a general massacre of the rest (2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2, 5). This was expiated many years after by giving up seven men of Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites, who hung them or crucified them "before Jehovah"—as a kind of sacrifice—in Gibeah, Saul's own town (4, 6, 9). At this time, or at any rate at the time of the composition of the narrative, the Gibeonites were so identified with Israel, that the historian is obliged to insert a note explaining their origin and their non-Israelite extraction (xxi. 2). The actual name "Gibeonites" appears only in this passage of 2 Sam. [NETHINIM.]

Individual Gibeonites named are (1) ISMAIAH, one of the Benjamites who joined David in his difficulties (1 Chr. xii. 4); (2) MELATIAH, one of those who assisted Nehemiah in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7); (3) HANANIAH, the son of Azur, a false prophet from Gibeon, who opposed Jeremiah, and shortly afterwards died (Jer. xxviii. 1, 10, 13, 17).

**GIBLITES, THE** (גִּבְלִיִּים, i. e. singular, "the Giblete"; Γαλιθ Φυλιστιελμ, Alex. Γαβαί; *confinita*). The "land of the Giblete" is mentioned in connexion with Lebanon in the enumeration of the portions of the Promised Land remaining to be conquered by Joshua (Josh. xiii. 5). The ancient versions, as will be seen above, give no help, but there is no reason to doubt that the allusion is to the inhabitants of the city GEBAL, which was on the sea-coast at the foot of the northern slopes of Lebanon. The one name is a regular derivative from the other (see Gesenius, *Thes.* 258 b). We have here a confirmation of the identity of the Apeke mentioned in this passage with *Apha*, which was overlooked by the writer when examining the latter name [ΑΡΗΚΚ, 2]; and the whole passage is instructive, as showing how very far the limits of the country designed for the Israelites exceeded those which they actually occupied.

The Gibletes are again named (though not in the A. V.) in 1 K. v. 18 (גִּבְלִיִּים; Alex. of Βίβλαιοι; *Biblit*) as assisting Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders to prepare the trees and the stones for building the Temple. That they were clever artificers is evident from this passage (and comp. Ezr. xxvii. 9); but why our translators should have so far improved on this as to render the word by "stone-squarers" is not obvious. Possibly they followed the Targum, which has a word of similar import in this place. [G.]

**GIDDAL'TI** (גִּדְדָלְתִּי; Γοδολλαθι, Alex. Γεδολλαθι), one of the sons of Heman, the king's seer,

and therefore a Kohathite Levite (1 Chr. xxv. 4; comp. vi. 33): his office was with thirteen of his brothers to sound the horn in the service of the tabernacle (5, 7). He had also charge of the 22nd division or course (29).

**GID'DEL** (גִּדְדָל; Γεδδάλ; *Gaddel*). 1. Children of Giddel (*Bene-Giddel*) were among the Nethinim who returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 47; Neh. vii. 49). In the parallel lists of 1 Esdras the name is corrupted to CATHUA.

2. Bene-Giddel were also among the "servants of Solomon" who returned to Judaea in the same caravan (Ezr. ii. 56; Neh. vii. 58). In 1 Esdras this is given as ISDAEL.

**GIDEON** (גִּדְעוֹן; from גָּדַע, "a sucker," or better = "a hewer," i. e. a brave warrior; comp. Is. x. 33; Γεδεών; *Geddon*), a Manassite, youngest son of Joash of the Abiezrites, an undistinguished family, who lived at Ophrah, a town probably on this side Jordan (Judg. vi. 15), although its exact position is unknown. He was the fifth recorded Judge of Israel, and for many reasons the greatest of them all. When we first hear of him he was grown up and had sons (Judg. vi. 11, viii. 20), and from the apostrophe of the angel (vi. 12) we may conclude that he had already distinguished himself in war against the roving bands of nomadic robbers who had oppressed Israel for seven years, and whose countless multitudes (compared to locusts from their terrible devastations, vi. 5) annually destroyed all the produce of Canaan, except such as could be concealed in mountain-fastnesses (vi. 2). It was probably during this disastrous period that the emigration of Elimelech took place (Ruth i. 1, 2; Jahn's *Hebr. Comm.* §xxi.). Some have identified the angel who appeared to Gideon (φύλακτα νεανίσκου μορφή, Jos. Ant. v. 6) with the prophet mentioned in vi. 8, which will remind the reader of the legends about Malachi in Origen and other commentators. Paulus (*Exeg. Consero.* ii. 190 sq.) endeavours to give the narrative a subjective colouring, but rationalism is of little value in accounts like this. When the angel appeared, Gideon was thrashing wheat with a flail (έκοπτε, LXX.) in the wine-press, to conceal it from the predatory tyrants. After a natural hesitation he accepted the commission of a deliverer, and learnt the true character of his visitant from a miraculous sign (vi. 12-23); and being reassured from the fear which first seized him (Ex. xx. 19; Judg. xiii. 22), built the altar Jehovah-shalom, which existed when the book of Judges was written (vi. 24). In a dream the same night he was ordered to throw down the altar of Baal and cut down the Asherah (A. V. "grove") upon it [*ASHERAH*], with the wood of which he was to offer in sacrifice his father's "second bullock of seven years old," an expression in which some see an allusion to the seven years of servitude (vi. 26, 1). Perhaps that particular bullock is specified because it had been reserved by his father to sacrifice to Baal (Rosenmüller, *schol. ad loc.*), for Joash seems to have been a priest of that worship. Bertheau can hardly be right in supposing that Gideon was to offer two bullocks (*Richt.* 115). At any rate the minute touch is valuable as an indication of truth in the story (see Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 498, and *note*). Gideon, assisted by ten faithful servants, obeyed the vision, and next morning ran the risk of being stoned; but Joash appeased the popular indignation by using

the common argument that Baal was capable of defending his own majesty (comp. 1 K. xviii. 27). This circumstance gave to Gideon the surname of יִרְבֶּעַל ("Let Baal plead," vi. 32; LXX. ἱεροβαλ), a standing instance of national irony, expressive of Baal's impotence. Winer thinks that this irony was increased by the fact that יִרְבֶּעַל was a surname of the Phœnician Hercules (comp. Movers, *Phœniz.* i. 434). We have similar cases of contempt in the names Sychar, Baal-zebul, &c. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xii. 24). In consequence of this name some have identified Gideon with a certain priest ἱεροβαλός, mentioned in Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 10) as having given much accurate information to Sanchoiatho the Berytan (Bochart, *Phaleg*, p. 776; Huetius, *Dem. Evang.* p. 84, &c.), but this opinion cannot be maintained (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. p. 494; Gesen. s. v.). We also find the name in the form Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21; comp. Eshbaal, 1 Chr. viii. 33 with Ishbosheth 2 Sam. ii. sq.). Ewald (p. 495, n.) brings forward several arguments against the supposed origin of the name.

2. After this begins the second act of Gideon's life. "Clothed" by the Spirit of God (Judg. vi. 34; comp. 1 Chr. xii. 18; Luke xxiv. 49), he blew a trumpet; and, joined by "Zebulun, Naphtali, and even the reluctant Asher" (which tribes were chiefly endangered by the Midianites), and possibly also by some of the original inhabitants, who would suffer from these predatory "sons of the East" no less than the Israelites themselves, he encamped on the slopes of Gilboa, from which he overlooked the plains of Esdraelon covered by the tents of Midian (Stanley, *Sin. & Pal.* p. 243). Strengthened by a double sign from God (to which Ewald gives a strange figurative meaning, *Gesch.* ii. p. 500), he reduced his army of 32,000 by the usual proclamation (Deut. xx. 8; comp. 1 Macc. iii. 56). The expression "let him depart from Mount Gilend" is perplexing; Dathé would render it "to Mount Gilend,"—on the other side of Jordan; and Cle- ricus reads גִּלְבּוֹא, Gilboa; but Ewald is probably right in regarding the name as a sort of war-cry and general designation of the Manassites. (See too Gesen, *Thes.* p. 804 n.) By a second test at "the spring of trembling" (now probably Ain Jahood, on which see Stanley, 342), he again reduced the number of his followers to 300 (Judg. vii. 5, sq.), whom Josephus explains to have been the most cowardly in the army (*Ant.* v. 6, §3). Finally, being encouraged by words fortuitously overheard (what the later Jews termed the Bath Kol) (comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* iii. 14), in the relation of a significant dream, he framed his plans, which were admirably adapted to strike a panic terror into the huge and undisciplined nomad host (Judg. viii. 15-18). We know from history that large and irregular Oriental armies are especially liable to sudden outbursts of uncontrollable terror, and when the stillness and darkness of the night were suddenly disturbed in three different directions by the flash of torches and by the reverberating echoes

which the trumpets and the shouting woke among the hills, we cannot be astonished at the complete rout into which the enemy were thrown. It must be remembered too that the sound of 300 trumpets would make them suppose that a corresponding number of companies were attacking them." For specimens of similar stratagems see Liv. xxii. 16; Polyæn. *Strateg.* ii. 37; Frontin, ii. 4; Sall. *Jug.* 99; Niebuhr, *Desc. de l'Arabie*, p. 304; *Journ. As.* 1841, ii. p. 516 (quoted by Ewald, Rosenmüller, and Winer). The custom of dividing an army into three seems to have been common (1 Sam. xi. 11; Gen. xiv. 15), and Gideon's war-cry is not unlike that adopted by Cyrus (Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 28). He adds his own name to the war-cry, as suited both to inspire confidence in his followers and strike terror in the enemy. His stratagem was eminently successful, and the Midianites, breaking into their wild peculiar cries, fled headlong "down the descent to the Jordan," to the "house of the Acania" (Beth-shitta) and the "meadow of the dance" (Abel-meholah), but were intercepted by the Ephraimites (to whom notice had been sent, vii. 24) at the fords of Beth-barah, where, after a second fight, the princes Oreb and Zeeb ("the Raven" and "the Wolf") were detected and slain, —the former at a rock, and the latter concealed in a wine-press, to which their names were afterwards given. Meanwhile the "higher sheykhs Zeba and Zalmunna, had already escaped," and Gideon (after pacifying—by a soft answer, which became proverbial—the haughty tribe of Ephraim, vii. 1-3) pursued them into eastern Manasseh, and, bursting upon them in their fancied security among the tents of their Bedouin countrymen (see *Karkor*), won his third victory, and avenged on the Midianite emirs the massacre of his kingly brethren whom they had slain at Tabor (viii. 18, sq.). In these three battles only 15,000 out of 120,000 Midianites escaped alive. It is indeed stated in Judg. viii. 10, that 120,000 Midianites had already fallen: but here as elsewhere, it may merely be intended that such was the original number of the routed host. During his triumphal return Gideon took signal and appropriate vengeance on the coward and apostate towns of Succoth and Peniel. The memory of this splendid deliverance took deep root in the national traditions (1 Sam. xii. 11; Ps. lxxxiii. 11; Is. ix. 4, x. 26; Heb. xi. 32).

3. After this there was a peace of 40 years, and we see Gideon in peaceful possession of his well-earned honour, and surrounded by the dignity of a numerous household (viii. 29-31). It is not improbable that, like Saul, he had owed a part of his popularity to his princely appearance (Judg. viii. 18). In this third stage of his life occur alike his most noble and his most questionable acts, viz. the refusal of the monarchy on theocratic grounds, and the irregular consecration of a jewelled ephod, formed out of the rich spoils of Midian, which proved to the Israelites a temptation to idolatry, although it was doubtless intended for use in the worship of Jehovah. Gesenius and others (*Thes.* p. 135; Bertheau, p. 133 seq.) follow the Peabito in making the word Ephod here mean an idol, chiefly on account of the vast amount of gold

\* It is curious to find "lamps and pitchers" in use for a similar purpose at this very day in the streets of Cairo. The *Zabit* or *Agha* of the police carries with him at night, "a torch which burns noon after it is lighted, without a flame, excepting when it is waved through the air, when it suddenly

blazes forth: it therefore answers the same purpose as our dark lantern. The burning end is sometimes concealed in a small pot or jar, or covered with something else, when not required to give light" (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. iv.).

(1700 shekels) and other rich material appropriated to it. But it is simpler to understand it as a significant symbol of an unauthorised worship.

Respecting the chronology of this period little certainty can be obtained. Making full allowance for the use of round numbers, and even admitting the improbable assertion of some of the Rabbis that the period of oppression is counted in the years of rest (v. Rosenmüller, on *Judg.* iii. 11), insuperable difficulties remain. If, however, as has been suggested by Lord A. Hervey, several of the judgeships really synchronise instead of being successive, much of the confusion vanishes. For instance, he supposes (from a comparison of *Judg.* iii. viii., and xii.) that there was a combined movement under three great chiefs, Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah, by which the Israelites emancipated themselves from the dominion of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Midianites (who for some years had occupied their land), and enjoyed a long term of peace through all their coasts. "If," he says, "we string together the different accounts of the different parts of Israel which are given us in that miscellaneous collection of ancient records called the book of Judges, and treat them as connected and successive history, we shall fall into as great a chronological error as if we treated in the same manner the histories of Mercia, Kent, Essex, Wexsex, and Northumberland, before England became one kingdom" (*Genealog. of our Lord*, p. 238). It is now well known that a similar source of error has long existed in the chronology of Egypt. [F. W. F.]

**GIDEONI** (גִּדְעוֹנִי, or once גִּדְעוֹנִי; Γαδεωνί; *Gedeonis*). Abidan, son of Gideon, was the chief man of the tribe of Benjamin at the time of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (*Num.* i. 11; ii. 22; vii. 60, 65; x. 24).

**GIDDOM** (גִּדְדָם; Γεδδών, Alex. Γαλαδδ), a place named only in *Judg.* xx. 45, as the limit to which the pursuit of Benjamin extended after the final battle of Gibeon. It would appear to have been situated between Gibeon (*Tuleil el-Ful*) and the cliff Rimmon (probably *Rimmon*, about three miles E. of Bethel); but no trace of the name, nor yet of that of Menueah, if indeed that was a place (*Judg.* xx. 43; A. V. "with ease"—but see margin), has yet been met with. The reading of the Alex. LXX. "Gilead," can hardly be taken as well founded. In the Vulgate the word does not seem to be represented. [G.]

**GIER-EAGLE** (גִּרְסָה, גִּרְסָה; *porphyrio*), one of the unclean birds mentioned in *Lev.* xi. 18, and *Deut.* xiv. 17. According to Gesenius a small species of vulture, white with black wings, a feeder on carrion; the *vultur percnopterus* of Linnaeus—Germ. *Ausgeyer*; so called from its tenderness to its young, the root being גִּרְסָה, to cherish, to love, just as גִּרְסָה (from גִּרְסָה, *kind*) is the name of the stork, on account of her piety towards her offspring.

It seems more likely that some bird of the order *Grallatores* is meant by גִּרְסָה in the above two passages. In both it is classed with the pelican, the cormorant, and the stork, and is separated from the birds of prey, the eagle, the osprey, &c. The rendering of the LXX. confirms this suggestion. *Porphyrio, nomen avis aquaticae rostrum purpureum et pedes purpureos habentis, unde nomen*

*nacta est*. The *porphyrio* is mentioned in *Aristoph.* *Av.* 707. It is the *Kulica porphyrio* of Linnaeus, in English, the *Sultana-hen*. [W. D.]

**GIFT**. The giving and receiving of presents has in all ages been not only a more frequent, but also a more formal and significant proceeding in the East than among ourselves. It enters largely into the ordinary transactions of life: no negotiation, alliance, or contract of any kind can be entered into between states or sovereigns without a previous interchange of presents: none of the important events of private life, betrothal, marriage, coming of age, birth, take place without presents: even a visit, if of a formal nature, must be prefaced by a present. We cannot adduce a more remarkable proof of the important part, which presents play in the social life of the East, than the fact, that the Hebrew language possesses no less than fifteen different expressions for the one idea. Many of these expressions have specific meanings: for instance, *minchah* (מִנְחָה) applies to a present from an inferior to a superior, as from subjects to a king (*Judg.* iii. 15; 1 K. x. 25; 2 Chr. xvii. 5): *museth* (מִשְׁעָת) expresses the converse idea of a present from a superior to an inferior, as from a king to his subjects (*Eth.* ii. 18); hence it is used of a portion of food sent by the master of the house to his inferior guests (*Gen.* xliii. 34; 2 Sam. xi. 8): *nisseth* (נִשְׁעָת) has very much the same sense (2 Sam. xix. 42): *berdach* (בִּרְכָּה), literally a "blessing," is used where the present is one of a complimentary nature, either accompanied with good wishes, or given as a token of affection (*Gen.* xxxiii. 11; *Judg.* i. 15; 1 Sam. xxv. 27, xxx. 26; 2 K. v. 15); and again, *shochad* (שֹׁחַד) is a gift for the purpose of escaping punishment, presented either to a judge (*Ex.* xxiii. 8; *Deut.* x. 17), or to a conqueror (2 K. xvi. 8). Other terms, as *multán* (מִלְתָּן), were used more generally. The extent to which the custom prevailed admits of some explanation from the peculiar usages of the East: it is clear that the term "gift" is frequently used where we should substitute "tribute," or "fee." The tribute of subject states was paid not in a fixed sum of money, but in kind, each nation presenting its particular product—a custom which is frequently illustrated in the sculptures of Assyria and Egypt; hence the numerous instances in which the present was no voluntary act, but an exaction (*Judg.* iii. 15-18; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; 1 K. iv. 21; 2 K. xvii. 3; 2 Chr. xvii. 11, xxvi. 8); and hence the expression "to bring presents" = to own submission (*Ps.* lxxviii. 29, lxxvi. 11; *Is.* xviii. 7). Again, the present taken to a prophet was viewed very much in the light of a consulting "fee," and conveyed no idea of bribery (1 Sam. ix. 7, comp. xii. 3; 2 K. v. 5, viii. 9): it was only when false prophets and corrupt judges arose that the present was prostituted, and became, instead of a *minchah* (as in the instances quoted), a *shochad*, or bribe (*Is.* i. 23, v. 23; *Ex.* xxii. 12; *Mic.* iii. 11). But even allowing for these cases, which are hardly "gifts" in our sense of the term, there is still a large excess remaining in the practice of the East: friends brought presents to friends on any joyful occasion (*Eth.* ix. 19, 22), those who asked for information or advice to those who gave it (2 K. viii. 8), the needy to the wealthy from whom any assistance was expected (*Gen.* xliii. 11; 2 K. xv. 19,

xvi. 8), rulers to their favourites (Gen. xlv. 22; 2 Sam. xi. 8), especially to their officers (Esth. ii. 18; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 2, §15), or to the people generally on festive occasions (2 Sam. vi. 19): on the occasion of a marriage, the bridegroom not only paid the parents for his bride (A. V. "dowry"), but also gave the bride certain presents (Gen. xxiv. 12; comp. Gen. xxiv. 22), while the father of the bride gave her a present on *sending her away*, as is expressed in the term *shilluchim* (שלוחים) (1 K. ix. 16): and again, the portions of the sons of concubines were paid in the form of presents (Gen. xxv. 6).

The nature of the presents was as various as were the occasions: food (1 Sam. ix. 7, xvi. 20, xxv. 18), sheep, and cattle (Gen. xxvii. 13-15; Judg. xv. 1), gold (2 Sam. xviii. 11; Job xlii. 11; Matt. ii. 11), jewels (Gen. xxiv. 53), furniture, and vessels for eating and drinking (2 Sam. xvii. 28), delicacies, such as spices, honey, &c. (Gen. xxiv. 53; 1 K. x. 25, xiv. 3), and robes (1 K. x. 25; 2 K. v. 22), particularly in the case of persons inducted into high office (Esth. vi. 8; Dan. v. 16; comp. Herod. iii. 20). The mode of presentation was with as much parade as possible; the presents were conveyed by the hands of servants (Judg. iii. 18), or still better on the backs of beasts of burden (2 K. viii. 9), even when such a mode of conveyance was unnecessary. The refusal of a present was regarded as a high indignity, and this constituted the aggravated insult noticed in Matt. xxii. 11, the marriage robe having been offered and refused (Trench, *Parables*). No less an insult was it, not to bring a present when the position of the parties demanded it (1 Sam. x. 27). [W. L. B.]

GIHON (גִּיחֹן; Γεῶν, Alex. Γῆων; *Gehon*).

1. The second river of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). The name does not again occur in the Hebrew text of the O. T.; but in the LXX. it is used in Jer. ii. 18, as an equivalent for the word Shichor or Sihor, i. e. the Nile, and in Eccles. xiv. 27 (A. V. "Gehon"). All that can be said upon it will be found under EDEEN, p. 485 b.

2. (גִּיחֹן, and in Chron. גִּיחֹן; ἡ Γεῶν, Γεῶν; *Gihon*). A place near Jerusalem, memorable as the scene of the anointing and proclamation of Solomon as king (1 K. i. 33, 38, 45). From the terms of this passage, it is evident it was at a lower level than the city—"bring him down (הורדתם) upon (על) Gihon"—"they are come up (יעלו) from thence." With this agrees a later mention (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14), where it is called "Gihon-in-the-valley," the word rendered valley being *nachal* (נַחַל). In this latter place Gihon is named to designate the direction of the wall built by Manasseh—"outside the city of David, from the west of Gihon-in-the-valley to the entrance of the fish-gate." It is not stated in any of the above passages that Gihon was a spring; but the only remaining place in which it is mentioned suggests this belief, or at least that it had given its name to some water—"Hezekiah also stopped the upper source or issue (מַצְעָד, from מָצָא, to rush forth; incorrectly "watercourse" in A. V.) of the waters of Gihon" (2 Chr. xxxiii. 30). If the place to which Solomon was brought down on the king's mule was Gihon-in-the-valley—and from the terms above noticed it seems probable that it was—then the "upper source" would be some distance away, and at a higher level.

The locality of Gihon will be investigated under JERUSALEM; but in the meantime the following facts may be noticed in regard to the occurrences of the word.

1. Its low level; as above stated.

2. The expression "Gihon-in-the-valley;" where it will be observed that *nachal* ("torrent" or "wady") is the word always employed for the valley of the Kedron, east of Jerusalem—the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat; *ge* ("ravine" or "glen") being as constantly employed for the Valley of Hinnom, south and west of the town. In this connexion the mention of Ophel (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14) with Gihon should not be disregarded. In agreement with this is the fact that

3. The Targum of Jonathan, and the Syriac and Arabic Versions, have *Shiloha*, i. e. Siloam (Arab. *Ain-Shiloha*) for Gihon in 1 K. i. In Chronicles they agree with the Hebrew text in having Gihon. If Siloam be Gihon, then

4. From the west of Gihon to the fish-gate—which we know from St. Jerome to have been near the present "Jaffa-gate,"—would answer to the course of a wall enclosing "the city of David" (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14); and

5. The omission of Gihon from the very detailed catalogue of Neh. iv. is explained. [G.]

GILGAI (גִּלְגַּי; Γελῶα), one of the party of priests' sons who played on David's instruments at the consecration of the wall of Jerusalem, in the company at whose head was Ezra (Neh. xii. 36).

GILBOA (גִּלְבּוֹא; Γελβού; *Gelboe*), a mountain range on the eastern side of the plain of Esdraelon, rising over the city of Jezreel (comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 4 with xxix. 1). It is only mentioned in Scripture in connexion with one event in Israelitish history, the defeat and death of Saul and Jonathan by the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 1; 2 Sam. i. 6, xxi. 12; 1 Chr. x. 1, 8). The latter had encamped at Shunem, on the northern side of the valley of Jezreel; the former took up a position round the fountain of Jezreel, on the southern side of the valley, at the base of Gilboa. The result is well known. Saul and Jonathan, with the flower of their army, fell upon the mountain. When the tidings were carried to David, he broke out into this pathetic strain: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no rain upon you, neither dew, nor field of offering" (2 Sam. i. 21). Of the identity of Gilboa with the ridge which stretches eastward, from the ruins of Jezreel, no doubt can be entertained. At the northern base, half-a-mile from the ruins, is a large fountain called in Scripture both the "Well of Harod" (Judg. vii. 1), and "The fountain of Jezreel" (1 Sam. xxix. 1), and it was probably from it the name Gilboa was derived. Eusebius places Gilboa at the distance of six miles from Scythopolis, and says there is still a village upon the mountain called Gelbus (*Onom.* s. v. Γελβού). The village is now called *Jelbu* (Robinson, ii. 316), and its position answers to the description of Eusebius; it is situated on the top of the mountain. The range of Gilboa extends in length some ten miles from W. to E. The sides are bleak, white, and barren; they look, in fact, as if the pathetic exclamation of David had proved prophetic. The greatest height is not more than 500 or 600 feet above the plain. Their modern local name is *Jebel Fuhah*, and the highest point

is crowned by a village and wely called *Wexar* (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 353).

[J. L. P.]

**GILEAD** (גִּלְעָד, *Galad*; *Galaad*), a mountainous region east of the Jordan; bounded on the north by Bashan, on the east by the Arabian plateau, and on the south by Moab and Ammon (Gen. xxxi. 21; Deut. iii. 12-17). It is sometimes called "Mount Gilead" (Gen. xxxi. 25, הַר הַגִּלְעָד), sometimes "the land of Gilead" (Num. xxxii. 1, אֶרֶץ גִּלְעָד); and sometimes simply "Gilead" (Ps. lx. 7; Gen. xxxvii. 25); but a comparison of the several passages shows that they all mean the same thing. There is no evidence, in fact, that any particular mountain was meant by Mount Gilead more than by Mount Lebanon (Judg. iii. 3)—they both comprehend the whole range, and the range of Gilead embraced the whole province. The name Gilead, as is usual in Palestine, describes the physical aspect of the country. It signifies "a hard rocky region;" and it may be regarded as standing in contrast to Bashan, the other great trans-Jordanic province, which is, as the name implies, a "level, fertile tract."

The statements in Gen. xxii. 48, are not opposed to this etymology. The old name of the district was גִּלְעָד (Gilead), but by a slight change in the pronunciation, the radical letters being retained, the meaning was made beautifully applicable to the "heap of stones" Jacob and Laban had built up—"and Laban said, this heap (גִּלְעָד) is a witness (עֵד) between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called *Gul-ead*" (גִּלְעָד, "the heap of witness"). Those acquainted with the modern Arabs and their literature will see how intensely such a play upon the word would be appreciated by them. It does not appear that the interview between Jacob and his father-in-law took place on any particular mountain peak. Jacob, having passed the Euphrates, "set his face toward Mount Gilead;" he struck across the desert by the great fountain at Palmyra; then traversed the eastern part of the plains of Damascus, and the plateau of Bashan, and entered Gilead from the north-east. "In the Mount Gilead Laban overtook him"—apparently soon after he entered the district; for when they separated again, Jacob went on his way and arrived at Mahanaim, which must have been considerably north of the river Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 1, 2, 22).

The extent of Gilead we can ascertain with tolerable exactness from incidental notices in the Holy Scriptures. The Jordan was its western border (1 Sam. xiii. 7; 2 K. x. 33). A comparison of a number of passages shows that the river Hieromax, the modern *Sherut el-Mandhar*, separated it from Bashan on the north. "Half Gilead" is said to have been possessed by Sihon king of the Amorites, and the other half by Og king of Bashan; and the river Jabbok was the division between the two kingdoms (Deut. iii. 12; Josh. xii. 1-5). The half of Gilead possessed by Og must, therefore, have been north of the Jabbok. It is also stated that the territory of the tribe of Gad extended along the Jordan valley to the Sea of Galilee (Josh. xiii. 27); and yet "all Bashan" was given to Manasseh (ver. 30). We, therefore, conclude that the deep glen of the Hieromax, which runs eastward, on the parallel of the south end of the Sea of Galilee, was the dividing line between Bashan and Gilead. North of that glen stretches out a flat, fertile plateau,

such as the name *Bashan* (בָּשָׁן, like the Arabic بَشَّان, signifies "soft and level soil") would suggest; while on the south we have the rough and rugged yet picturesque hill country, for which Gilead is the fit name. (See Porter in *Journal of Sac. Lit.* vol. vi. pp. 284 sq.) On the east the mountain range melts away gradually into the high plateau of Arabia. The boundary of Gilead is here not so clearly defined, but it may be regarded as running along the foot of the range. The southern boundary is less certain. The tribe of Reuben occupied the country as far south as the river Arnon, which was the border of Moab (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12). It seems, however, that the southern section of their territory was not included in Gilead. In Josh. xiii. 9-11 it is intimated that the "plain of Medeba" ("the Mishor" it is called), north of the Arnon, is not in Gilead; and when speaking of the cities of refuge, Moses describes Bezer, which was given out of the tribe of Reuben, as being "in the wilderness, in the plain country," i.e. "in the country of the Mishor," מִישׁוֹר הַבְּשָׁן, while Ramoth is said to be in Gilead (Deut. iv. 43). This southern plateau was also called "the land of Jazer" (Num. xxxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; compare also Josh. xiii. 16-25). The valley of Heshbon may therefore, in all probability, be the southern boundary of Gilead. Gilead thus extended from the parallel of the south end of the Sea of Galilee to that of the north end of the Dead Sea—about 60 miles; and its average breadth scarcely exceeded 20.

While such were the proper limits of Gilead, the name is used in a wider sense in two or three parts of Scripture. Moses, for example, is said to have seen, from the top of Pisgah, "all the land of Gilead unto Dan" (Deut. xxxiv. 1); and in Judg. xx. 1, and Josh. xxii. 9, the name seems to comprehend the whole territory of the Israelites beyond the Jordan. A little attention shows that this is only a vague way of speaking, in common use everywhere. We, for instance, often say "England" when we mean "England and Wales." The section of Gilead lying between the Jabbok and the Hieromax is now called *Jebel Ajlûn*; while that to the south of the Jabbok constitutes the modern province of *Belka*. One of the most conspicuous peaks in the mountain range still retains the ancient name, being called *Jebel Jil'ad*, "Mount Gilead." It is about 7 miles south of the Jabbok, and commands a magnificent view over the whole Jordan valley, and the mountains of Judah and Ephraim. It is probably the site of Ramath-Mizpeh of Josh. xiii. 26; and the "Mizpeh of Gilead," from which Jephthah "passed over unto the children of Ammon" (Judg. xi. 29). The spot is admirably adapted for a gathering place in time of invasion, or aggressive war. The neighbouring village of *es-Salt* occupies the site of the old "city of refuge" in Gad, Ramoth-Gilead. [RAMOTH-GILEAD.]

We have already alluded to a special descriptive term, which may almost be regarded as a proper name, used to denote the great plateau which borders Gilead on the south and east. The refuge-city Bezer is said to be "in the country of the *Mishor*" (Deut. iv. 43); and Jeremiah (xlviii. 21) says, "judgment is come upon the country of the *Mishor*" (see also Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 17, 21, xx. 8).

*Mishor* (מִישׁוֹר) signifies a "level plain," or "table-land;" and no word could be

more applicable. This is one among many examples of the minute accuracy of Bible topography.

The mountains of Gilead have a real elevation of from two to three thousand feet; but their apparent elevation on the western side is much greater, owing to the depression of the Jordan valley, which averages about 1000 feet. Their outline is singularly uniform, resembling a massive wall running along the horizon. From the distant east they seem very low, for on that side they meet the plateau of Arabia, 2000 ft. or more in height. Though the range appears bleak from the distance, yet on ascending it we find the scenery rich, picturesque, and in places even grand. The summit is broad, almost like table-land "tossed into wild confusion of undulating downs" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 320). It is everywhere covered with luxuriant herbage. In the extreme north and south there are no trees; but as we advance toward the centre they soon begin to appear, at first singly, then in groups, and at length, on each side of the Jabbok, in fine forests chiefly of prickly oak and terebinth. The rich pasture land of Gilead presents a striking contrast to the nakedness of western Palestine. Except among the hills of Galilee, and along the heights of Carmel, there is nothing to be compared with it as "a place for cattle" (Num. xxiii. 1). Gilead anciently abounded in spices and aromatic gums which were exported to Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 25; Jer. viii. 22, xvi. 11).

The first notice we have of Gilead is in connexion with the history of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 21 sq.); but it is possibly this same region which is referred to under the name *Ham*, and was inhabited by the giant Zuzims. The kings of the East who came to punish the rebellious "cities of the plain," first attacked the Ephraims in Ashteroth Karnaim—i. e. in the country now called *Haurān*; then they advanced southwards against the "Zuzims in Ham;" and next against the Emims in Shaveh-Kiriathim, which was subsequently possessed by the Moabites (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 9-19). [See EMIMS; REPHAIMS.] We hear nothing more of Gilead till the invasion of the country by the Israelites. One-half of it was then in the hands of Sihon king of the Amorites, who had a short time previously driven out the Moabites. Og, king of Bashan, had the other section north of the Jabbok. The Israelites defeated the former at Jahaz, and the latter at Edrei, and took possession of Gilead and Bashan (Num. xxi. 23 sq.). The rich pasture land of Gilead, with its shady forests, and copious streams, attracted the attention of Reuben and Gad, who "had a very great multitude of cattle," and was allotted to them. The future history and habits of the tribes that occupied Gilead were greatly affected by the character of the country. Rich in flocks and herds, and now the lords of a fitting region, they retained, almost unchanged, the nomad pastoral habits of their patriarchal ancestors. Like all Bedawin they lived in a constant state of warfare, just as Jacob had predicted of Gad—"a troop shall *plunder* him; but he shall *plunder* at the last" (Gen. xlix. 19). The sons of Ishmael were subdued and plundered in the time of Saul (1 Chr. v. 9 sq.); and the children of Ammon in the days of Jephthah and David (Judg. xi. 32 sq.; 2 Sam. x. 12 sq.). Their wandering tent life, and their almost inaccessible country, made them in ancient times what the Bedawy tribes are now—the protectors of the refugee and the outlaw. In Gilead the sons of Saul found a home while they vainly attempted to re-establish the authority of their

house (2 Sam. ii. 8 sq.). Here, too, David found a sanctuary during the unnatural rebellion of a beloved son; and the surrounding tribes, with a characteristic hospitality, carried presents of the best they possessed to the fallen monarch (2 Sam. xvii. 22 sq.). Elijah the Tishbite was a Gileadite (1 K. xvii. 1); and in his simple garb, wild aspect, abrupt address, wonderfully active habits, and movements so rapid as to evade the search of his watchful and bitter foes, we see all the characteristics of the genuine Bedawy, ennobled by a high prophetic mission. [GAD.]

Gilead was a frontier land, exposed to the first attacks of the Syrian and Assyrian invaders, and to the unceasing raids of the desert tribes—"Because Machir the first-born of Manasseh was a man of war, therefore he had Bashan and Gilead" (Josh. xvii. 1). Under the wild and wayward Jephthah, Mizpeh of Gilead became the gathering place of the trans-Jordanic tribes (Judg. xi. 29); and in subsequent times the neighbouring stronghold of Rimoth-Gilead appears to have been considered the key of Palestine on the east (1 K. xxii. 3, 4, 6; 2 K. viii. 28, ix. 1).

The name *Gilad* (Γαλαδ) occurs several times in the history of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 9 sq.); and also in Josephus, but generally with the Greek termination—Γαλαδιῆτις or Γαλαδηνή (*Ant.* xiii. 14, §2; *B. J.* i. 4, §3). Under the Roman dominion the country became more settled and civilized; and the great cities of Gadara, Pella, and Gerasa, with Philadelphia on its south-eastern border, speedily rose to opulence and splendour. In one of these (Pella) the Christians of Jerusalem found a sanctuary when the armies of Titus gathered round the devoted city (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 5). Under Mohammedan rule the country has again lapsed into semi-barbarism. Some scattered villages amid the fastnesses of *Jebel Ajlūn*, and a few fierce wandering tribes, constitute the whole population of Gilead. They are nominally subject to the Porte, but their allegiance sits lightly upon them.

For the scenery, products, antiquities, and history of Gilead, the following works may be consulted. Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syr.*; Buecking, *Arab Tribes*; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*; Porter's *Handbook*; and *Five Years in Damascus*; Stanley's *Sin. and Pal.*; Ritter's *Pal. and Syr.*

2. Possibly the name of a mountain west of the Jordan, near Jezreel (Judg. vii. 3). We are inclined, however, to agree with the suggestion of Clericus and others, that the true reading in this place should be גִּלְבּוֹא, *Gilboa*, instead of גִּלְגָּל. Gideon was encamped at the "spring of Harod," which is at the base of Mount Gilboa. A copyist would easily make the mistake, and ignorance of geography would prevent it from being afterwards detected. For other explanations, see Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 500; Schwarz, 164 note; Gesen. *Thes.* 804 note.

3. The name of a son of Machir, grandson of Manasseh (Num. xxvi. 29, 30).

4. The father of Jephthah (Judg. xi. 1, 2). It is difficult to understand (comp. ver. 7, 8) whether this Gilead was an individual, or a personification of the community. [J. L. P.]

GIL'GAL (always with the article, גִּלְגָּל, but once; Γαλαγᾶ (plural); *Galgala*). By this name were called at least two places in ancient Palestine.

1. The site of the first camp of the Israelites on

the west of the Jordan, the place at which they passed the first night after crossing the river, and where the twelve stones were set up which had been taken from the bed of the stream (Josh. iv. 19, 20, comp. 3); where also they kept their first passover in the land of Canaan (v. 10). It was in the "end of the east of Jericho" ("בְּקֶצֶה מִזְרָח"; A. V. "in the east border of Jericho"), apparently on a hillock or rising ground (v. 3, comp. 9) in the Arboth-Jericho (A. V. "the plains"), that is, the hot depressed district of the Ghor which lay between the town and the Jordan (v. 10). Here the Israelites who had been born on the march through the wilderness were circumcised; an occurrence from which the sacred historian derives the name: "This day I have rolled away (*galliothi*) the reproach of Egypt from off you." Therefore the name of the place is called Gilgal "to this day." By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §11) it is said to signify "freedom" (*ἀλευθέριον*). The camp thus established at Gilgal remained there during the early part of the conquest (ix. 6, x. 6, 7, 9, 15, 43); and we may probably infer from one narrative that Joshua retired thither at the conclusion of his labours (xiv. 6, comp. 15).

(2.) We again encounter Gilgal in the time of Saul, when it seems to have exchanged its "military associations for those of sanctity. True, Saul, when driven from the highlands by the Philistines, collected his feeble force at the site of the old camp (1 Sam. xiii. 4, 7); but this is the only occurrence at all connecting it with war. It was now one of the "holy cities" (*οἱ ἁγιοσμένοι*)—if we accept the addition of the LXX.—to which Samuel regularly resorted, where he administered justice (1 Sam. vii. 16), and where burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were accustomed to be offered "before Jehovah" (x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 8, 9-12, xv. 21); and on one occasion a sacrifice of a more terrible description than either (xv. 33). The air of the narrative all through leads to the conclusion that at the time of these occurrences it was the chief sanctuary of the central portion of the nation (see x. 8, xi. 14, xv. 12, 21). But there is no sign of its being a town; no mention of building, or of its being allotted to the priests or Levites, as was the case with other sacred towns, Bethel, Shechem, &c.

(3.) We again have a glimpse of it, some sixty years later, in the history of David's return to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix.). The men of Judah came down to Gilgal to meet the king to conduct him over Jordan, as if it was close to the river (xix. 15), and David arrived there immediately on crossing the stream<sup>a</sup> after his parting with Barzillai the Gileadite.

How the remarkable sanctity of Gilgal became appropriated to a false worship we are not told, but certainly, as far as the obscure allusions of Hosea and Amos can be understood (provided that they refer to this Gilgal), it was so appropriated by the kingdom of Israel in the middle period of its existence (Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 11; Amos iv. 4, v. 5).

Beyond the general statements above quoted, the sacred text contains no indications of the position of Gilgal. Neither in the Apocrypha nor the

N. T. is it mentioned. Later authorities are more precise, but unfortunately discordant among themselves. By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §4) the encampment is given as fifty stadia, rather under six miles, from the river, and ten from Jericho. In the time of Jerome the site of the camp, and the twelve memorial stones were still distinguishable, if we are to take literally the expression of the *Epit. Paulae* (§12). The distance from Jericho was then two miles. The spot was left uncultivated, but regarded with great veneration by the residents; *locus desertus . . . ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu habitus* (*Onom.* Galgala). When Arculf was there at the end of the seventh century the place was shown at five miles from Jericho. A large church covered the site, in which the twelve stones were ranged. The church and stones were seen by Willihald, thirty years later, but he gives the distance as five miles from the Jordan, which again he states correctly as seven from Jericho. The stones are mentioned also by Thietmar, A.D. 1217, and lastly by Ludolf de Suchem a century later. No modern traveller has succeeded in eliciting the name, or in discovering a probable site. In Van de Velde's map (1858) a spot named *Moharfer*, a little S.E. of *er-Ruha*, is marked as possible; but no explanation is afforded either in his *Syria*, or his *Memoir*.

But, 2. this was certainly a distinct place from the Gilgal which is connected with the last scene in the life of Elijah, and with one of Elisha's miracles. The chief reason for believing this is the impossibility of making it fit into the notice of Elijah's translation. He and Elisha are said to "go down" (יָרַדוּ) from Gilgal to Bethel (2 K. ii. 2), in opposition to the repeated expressions of the narratives in Joshua and 1 Samuel, in which the way from Gilgal to the neighbourhood of Bethel is always spoken of as an ascent, the fact being that the former is nearly 1200 feet below the latter. Thus there must have been a second Gilgal at a higher level than Bethel, and it was probably that at which Elisha worked the miracle of healing on the poisonous pottage (2 K. iv. 38). Perhaps the expression of 2 K. ii. 1, coupled with the "came again" of iv. 38, may indicate that Elisha resided there. The mention of Baal-shalisha (iv. 42) gives a clue to its situation, when taken with the notice of Eusebius (*Onom.* Bethsaris) that that place was fifteen miles from Diospolis (Lydda) towards the north. In that very position stand now the ruins bearing the name of *Jifjileh*, i. e. Gilgal. (See Van de Velde's map, and Rob. iii. 139.)

3. The "KING OF THE NATIONS OF GILGAL," or rather perhaps the "king of Gaim-at-Gilgal" (מֶלֶךְ הַגַּיִם אֶת-גִּלְגָל), is mentioned in the catalogue of the chiefs overthrown by Joshua (Josh. xii. 23). The name occurs next to DOR (23) in an enumeration apparently proceeding southwards, and therefore the position of the *Jifjileh* just named is not wholly inappropriate, though it must be confessed its distance from Dor—more than twenty-five miles—is considerable: still it is nearer than any other place of the name yet known. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Gelgel) speak of a "Galgulis"

<sup>a</sup> This derivation of the name cannot apply in the case of the other Gilgals mentioned below. May it not be the adaptation to Hebrew of a name previously existing in the former language of the country?

<sup>b</sup> Such is the real force of the Hebrew text (xix. 40).

<sup>c</sup> According to this Pilgrim, it was to these that John the Baptist pointed when he said that God was "able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham" (Thietmar, *Perregr.* 31).

six miles N. of Antipatris. This is slightly more suitable, but has not been identified. What these *Goin* were has been discussed under HEATHEN. By that word (Judg. iv. 2) or "nations" (Gen. xiv. 1) the name is usually rendered in the A. V. as in the well-known phrase, "Galilee of the nations" (Is. ix. 1; comp. Matt. iv. 15). Possibly they were a tribe of the early inhabitants of the country, who, like the Gerizites, the Avims, the Zemarites, and others, have left only this faint casual trace of their existence there.

A place of the same name has also been discovered nearer the centre of the country, to the left of the main north road, four miles from Shiloh (*Seilan*), and rather more than the same distance from Bethel (*Beitin*). This suits the requirements of the story of Elijah and Elisha even better than the former, being more in the neighbourhood of the established holy places of the country, and, as more central, and therefore less liable to attack from the wanderers in the maritime plain, more suited for the residence of the sons of the prophets. In position it appears to be not less than 500 or 600 feet above Bethel (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 179). It may be the Beth-Gilgal of Neh. xii. 29; while the *Jiljileh* north of Lydd may be that of Josh. xii. 23. Another Gilgal, under the slightly different form of *Kiklitch*, lies about two miles E. of *Kefr Sabu*.

4. A Gilgal is spoken of in Josh. xv. 7, in describing the north border of Judah. In the parallel list (Josh. xviii. 17) it is given as *GELLLOTH*, and under that word an attempt is made to show that Gilgal, i.e. the Gilgal near Jericho, is probably correct. [G.]

GILLOH (גִּלְלוֹה; *Γηλώμ*, Alex. *Γηλῶν*; in Sam. Γελῶ), a town in the mountains part of Judah, named in the first group, with Bebir and Eshtemoth (Josh. xv. 51). Its only interest to us lies in the fact of its having been the native place of the famous Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv. 12), where he was residing when Absalom sent for him to Hebron, and whither he returned to destroy himself after his counsel had been set aside for that of Hushai (xvii. 23). The site has not yet been met with.

GIL'ONITE, THE (גִּלְוֹנִי and גִּלְוֹנִי; *Θεγκώνι*, *Γελωνίτης*, Alex. *Γιλωνίτης*, i. e. the native of Giloh (as Shilonite, from Shiloh): applied only to Ahithophel the famous counsellor (2 Sam. xv. 12; xiii. 34).

GIM'ZO (גִּמְצוֹ; ἡ Γαμζώ, Alex. *Γαμαζαί*), a town which with its dependent villages (Hebr. "daughters") was taken possession of by the Philistines in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 18). The name—which occurs nowhere but here—is mentioned with Timnath, Socho, and other towns in the north-west part of Judah, or in Dan. It still remains attached to a large village between two and three miles S.W. of Lydda, south of the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa, just where the hills of the highland finally break down into the maritime plain. *Jimzu* is a tolerably large village, on an eminence, well surrounded with trees, and standing just beyond the point where the two main roads from Jerusalem (that by the Bethhorons, and that by *Wady Suleiman*), which parted at Gibeon, again join and run on as one to Jaffa. It is remarkable for nothing but some extensive coin magazines underground, unless it be also for the silence maintained regarding it by all travellers up to Dr. Robinson (ii. 249). [G.]

GIN, a trap for birds or beasts: it consisted of a net (גִּין), and a stick to act as a springe (שִׁין); the latter word is translated "gin" in the A. V. Am. iii. 5, and the former in Is. viii. 14, the term "snare" being in each case used for the other part of the trap. In Job xl. 24 (marginal translation) the second of these terms is applied to the ring run through the nostrils of an animal. [W. L. B.]

GINATH (גִּינָת; *Γωνάθ*; *Gūnath*), father of TUBNI, who after the death of Zimri disputed the throne of Israel with Omri (1 K. xvi. 21, 22).

GIN'NETHO (גִּינְתָּו; i. e. *Ginnethoi*; Alex. *Γεννηθούλ*; *Genthon*), one of the "chief" (רָאשֵׁי) = heads of the priests and Levites who returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). He is doubtless the same person as

GIN'NETHON (גִּינְתָּו; *Γανναθών*, *Ganathōn*; *Ganthon*), a priest who sealed the covenant, with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 6). He was head of a family, and one of his descendants is mentioned in the list of priests and Levites at a later period (xii. 16). He is probably the same person as the preceding.

GIRDLE, an essential article of dress in the East, and worn both by men and women. The corresponding Hebrew words are: 1. גִּזְרֹר or גִּזְרֹרָה, which is the general term for a girdle of any kind, whether worn by soldiers, as 1 Sam. xviii. 4, 2 Sam. xx. 8, 1 K. ii. 5, 2 K. iii. 21; or by women, Is. li. 24. 2. מִנְיָה, especially used of the girdles worn by men; whether by prophets, 2 K. i. 8, Jer. xiii. 1; soldiers, Is. v. 27, Ez. xlii. 15; or kings in their military capacity, Job xii. 18. 3. מִנְיָה or מִנְיָה, used of the girdle worn by men alone, Job xii. 21, Ps. cix. 19, Is. xlviii. 10. 4. אֲרֻנָּם, the girdle worn by the priests and state officers. In addition to these, מִנְיָה, Is. iii. 24, is a costly girdle worn by women. The Vulgate renders it *fascia pectoralis*. It would thus seem to correspond with the Latin *strophium*, a belt worn by women about the breast. In the LXX. however, it is translated *χιτὼν μεσσοσφύρος*, "a tunic shot with purple," and Gesenius has "*broides Feyserkleid*" (comp. Schneider, *de Vest. Mul.* 137, 8; 404). The מִנְיָה mentioned in Is. iii. 20, Jer. ii. 32, were probably girdles, although both Kimchi and Jarchi consider them as fillets for the hair. In the latter passage the Vulgate has again *fascia pectoralis*, and the LXX. *σθηθοδεσμός*, an appropriate bridal ornament.

The common girdle was made of leather (2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4), like that worn by the Bedouins of the present day, whom Curzon describes as "armed with a long crooked knife, and a pistol or two stuck in a red leathern girdle" (*Momest. of the Levant*, p. 7). In the time of 'hardin the nobles of Mingrelia wore girdles of leather, four fingers broad, and embossed with silver. A finer girdle was made of linen (Jer. xiii. 1; Ez. xvi. 10), embroidered with silk, and sometimes with gold and silver thread (Dan. x. 5; Rev. i. 13, xv. 6), and frequently studded with gold and precious stones or pearls (Le Bruyn, *Voy. iv.* 170; comp. Virg. *Aen.* ix. 359). Morier (*Second Journey*, p. 150), describing the dress of the Armenian women, says, "they wear a silver girdle which rests on the hips, and is generally curiously wrought."

The manufacture of these girdles formed part of the employment of women (Prov. xxi. 24).

The girdle was fastened by a clasp of gold or silver, or tied in a knot so that the ends hung down in front, as in the figures on the ruins of Persepolis. It was worn by men about the loins, hence the expressions *אָזור מְתִינִים*, Is. xi. 5; *אָזור הַלְצִים*, Is. v. 27. The girdle of women was generally looser than that of the men, and was worn about the hips, except when they were actively engaged (Prov. xxi. 17). Curzon (p. 58), describing the dress of the Egyptian women, says, "not round the waist, but round the hips a large and heavy Cashmere shawl is worn over the yelek, and the whole gracefulness of an Egyptian dress consists in the way in which this is put on." The military girdle was worn about the waist; the sword or dagger was suspended from it (Judg. iii. 16; 2 Sam. xx. 8; Ps. xlv. 3). In the Nineveh sculptures the soldiers are represented with broad girdles, to which the sword is attached, and through which two or even three daggers in a sheath are passed. Q. Curtius (iii. 3) says of Darius, "zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma erat vagina." Hence girding up the loins denotes preparation for battle or for active exertion. In times of mourning, girdles of sackcloth were worn as marks of humiliation and sorrow (Is. iii. 24, xxii. 12).

In consequence of the costly materials of which girdles were made, they were frequently given as presents (1 Sam. xviii. 4; 2 Sam. xviii. 11), as is still the custom in Persia (cf. Morier, p. 95). Villages were given to the queens of Persia to supply them with girdles (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §9; Plat. *Alc.* i. p. 123).

They were used as pockets, as among the Arabs still (Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 56), and as purses, one end of the girdle being folded back for the purpose (Matt. x. 9; Mark vi. 8). Hence, "zonam perdere," "to lose one's purse" (Hör. *Epist.* ii. 2, 40; comp. Juv. xiv. 297). Ink-horns were also carried in the girdle (Ex. ix. 2).

The *אֲזֵנִית*, or girdle worn by the priests about the close-fitting tunic (Ex. xxviii. 39, xxix. 29), is described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §2) as made of linen so fine of texture as to look like the slough of a snake, and embroidered with flowers of scarlet, purple, blue, and fine linen. It was about four fingers' broad, and was wrapped several times round the priest's body, the ends hanging down to the feet. When engaged in sacrifice, the priest threw the ends over his left shoulder. According to Maimonides (*de Vis. Sanct.* c. 8), the girdle worn both by the high-priest and the common priests was of white linen embroidered with wool; but that worn by the high-priest on the day of Atonement was entirely of white linen. The length of it was thirty-two cubits, and the breadth about three fingers. It was worn just below the armpits to avoid perspiration (comp. Ex. xlv. 18). Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam, de Vesq. Sac.*) follows Josephus. With regard to the manner in which the girdle was embroidered, the "needlework" (*מְעִשָּׂה רִקְמָה*, Ex. xxviii. 39) is distinguished in the Mishna from the "cunning-work" (*מְעִשָּׂה חִשְׁבִּית*, Ex. xxvi. 31) as being worked by the needle with figures on one side only, whereas the latter was woven work with figures on both sides (Cod. Ioma. c. 8). So also Maimonides (*de Vis. Sanct.*

viii. 15). But Jarchi on Ex. xxvi. 31, 36 explains the difference as consisting in this, that in the former case the figures on the two sides are the same, whereas in the latter they are different. [EMBROIDERER.]

In all passages, except Is. xlii. 21, *אֲזֵנִית* is used of the girdle of the priests only, but in that instance it appears to have been worn by Shebna, the treasurer, as part of the insignia of his office; unless it be supposed that he was of priestly rank, and wore it in his priestly capacity. He is called "high-priest" in the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 115 a, and in the Jewish tradition quoted by Jarchi *in loc.*

The "curious girdle" (*אֲזֵנִית*, Ex. xxviii. 8) was made of the same material, and colours as the ephod, that is of "gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen." Josephus describes it as sewn to the breastplate. After passing once round it was tied in front upon the sash, the ends hanging down (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5). According to Maimonides it was of woven work.

"Girdle" is used figuratively in Ps. cix. 5; Is. xi. 5; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 4; Ps. xxx. 11, lxx. 12; Eph. vi. 14. [W. A. W.]

**GIRGASHITES, THE** (*גִּרְגָּשִׁי*), i. e., according to the Hebrew usage, singular—"the Gergashite," in which form, however, it occurs in the A. V. but twice, 1 Chr. i. 14, and Gen. x. 16, in the latter THE GIRGASHITE; elsewhere uniformly plural, as above: *οἱ Γεργασῖται*, and so also Josephus; *Gergasacius*, one of the nations who were in possession of Canaan before the entrance thither of the children of Israel. The name occurs in the following passages:—Gen. x. 16, xv. 21; Deut. vii. 1 (and xx. 17 in Samarit. and LXX.); Josh. iii. 10, xv. 11; 1 Chr. i. 14; Neh. ix. 8. In the first of these "the Gergashite" is given as the fifth son of Canaan; in the other places the tribe is merely mentioned, and that but occasionally, in the formula expressing the doomed country; and it may truly be said in the words of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §2) that we possess the name and nothing more; not even the more definite notices of position, or the slight glimpses of character, general or individual, with which we are favoured in the case of the Amorites, Jebusites, and some others of these ancient nations. The expression Josh. xxiv. 11 would seem to indicate that the district of the Gergashites was on the west of Jordan; nor is this invalidated by the mention of "Gergesenes" in Matt. viii. 28 (*Γεργασενῶν* in Rec. Text, and in a few MSS. mentioned by Epiphanius and Origen *Γεργασαίων*), as on the east side of the sea of Galilee, since that name is now generally recognized as *Γεργασενῶν*—"Gergesenes"—and therefore as having no connexion with the Gergashites. [G.]

**GIRGASITE, THE** (Gen. x. 16). See the foregoing.

**GIS'PA** (*גִּישְׁפָּא*); Alex. *Γεσφά*; *Gaspha*, one of the overseers of the Nethinim, in "the Ophel," after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 21). By the LXX. the name appears to have been taken as a place.

**GIT'TAH-HE'PHER**, Josh. xix. 13. [GATH-HEPIER.]

**GIT'TAIM** (*גִּתַּיִם*), i. e. two wine-presses; *Γεθαίμ*, Alex. *Γεθθαίμ*; *Gethaim*, a place incidentally mentioned in 2 Sam. iv. 3, where the

meaning appears to be that the inhabitants of Beeroth, which was allotted to Benjamin, had been compelled to fly from that place, and had taken refuge at Gittaim. Beeroth was one of the towns of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17); and the cause of the flight of its people may have been (though this is but conjecture) Saul's persecution of the Gibeonites alluded to in 2 Sam. xxi. 2. Gittaim is again mentioned in the list of places inhabited by the Benjamites after their return from the captivity, with Ramah, Neballat, Lod, and other known towns of Benjamin to the N.W. of Jerusalem. The two may be the same; though, if the persecution of the Beerothites proceeded from Benjamin, as we must infer it did, they would hardly choose as a refuge a place within the limits of that tribe. Gittaim is the dual form of the word Gath, which suggests the Philistine plain as its locality. But there is no evidence for or against this.

Gittaim occurs in the LXX. version of 1 Sam. xiv. 33—"out of Geththaim roll me a great stone." But this is not supported by any other of the ancient versions, which unanimously adhere to the Hebr. text, and probably proceeds from a mistake or corruption of the Hebrew word גִּתַּיִם; A. V. "ye have transgressed." It further occurs in the LXX. in Gen. xxvi. 35, and 1 Chr. i. 46, as the representative of AVITH, a change not so intelligible as the other, and equally unsupported by the other old versions. [G.]

GITTITES (גִּתִּיִּם, patron. from גִּת), the 600 men who followed David from Gath, under Ittai the Gittite (יִתַּי, 2 Sam. xv. 18, 19), and who probably acted as a kind of body-guard. Obed-edom the Levite, in whose house the Ark was for a time placed (2 Sam. vi. 10), and who afterwards served in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 38), is called "the Gittite" (יִתִּי). We can scarcely think, however, that he was so named from the royal city of the Philistines. May he not have been from the town of Gittaim in Benjamin? (2 Sam. iv. 3; Neh. xi. 33), or from Gath-rimmon, a town of Dan, allotted to the Kohalite Levites (Josh. xxi. 24), of whom Obed-edom seems to have been one (1 Chr. xxvi. 4)? [J. L. P.]

GITTITH (גִּתִּית), a musical instrument, by some supposed to have been used by the people of Gath, and thence to have been introduced by David into Palestine; and by others (who identify גִּתִּית with גֵּת, a wine-press, or trough, in which the grapes were trodden with the feet) to have been employed at the festivities of the vintage. The Chaldee paraphrase of הַגִּתִּית, occasionally found in the heading of Psalms, is, "On the instrument כִּנּוּרָא (Cinora), which was brought from Gath." Rashi, whilst he admits Gittith to be a musical instrument, in the manufacture of which the artisans of Gath excelled, quotes a Talmudic authority which would assign to the word a different meaning. "Our sages," says he, "have remarked 'On the nations who are in future to be trodden down like a wine-press.'" (Comp. Is. lxiii. 3.) But neither of the Psalms, viii., lxxxi., or lxxiv., which have Gittith for a heading, contains any thing that may be connected with such an idea. The interpretation of the LXX. ὑπερ τῶν λαγύρων "for the wine-presses," is condemned by Aben-Ezra and other eminent Jewish scholars. Fürst (*Concordance*) describes

Gittith as a hollow instrument, from גִּת, to deepen (synonymous with לִלְתֵּן). [D. W. M.]

GIZONITE, THE (גִּזּוֹנִית; δ γιζωνίτης, Alex. δ Γαυρί; *Gizonites*). "The sons of Hushem the Gizonite" are named amongst the warriors of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 34). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the word is entirely omitted; and the conclusion of Kennicott, who examines the passage at length, is that the name should be ΓΟΥΝΙ, a proper name, and not an appellation (*Dissert.* 199-203).

GLASS (גִּלְגִּלִּית; *yalos*; *vitrum*). The word occurs only in Job xxviii. 17, where in A. V. it is rendered "crystal." It comes from גִּלְגִּלִּית (*to be pure*), and according to the best authorities means a kind of glass which in ancient days was held in high esteem (J. D. Michuils, *Hist. Vitri apud Hebr.*; and Hamberger, *Hist. Vitri ex antiquitate eruta*, quoted by Gesen. s. v.). Symmachus renders it κρυστάλλος, but that is rather intended by שִׁישׁ (Job xxviii. 18, A. V. "pearls," LXX. γάβρις, a word which also means "ice;" cf. Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 2), and גִּלְגִּלִּית (Ex. i. 22). It seems then that Job xxviii. 17 contains the only allusion to glass found in the O. T., and even this reference is disputed. Besides Symmachus, others also render it διαυγῇ κρυστάλλον (Schlesinger, *Thesaur.* s. i. *yalos*), and it is argued that the word *yalos* frequently means crystal. Thus the Schol. on Aristoph. *Nub.* 764, defines *yalos* (when it occurs in old writers) as διαφανὴς λίθος οἰκῶς ὕαλο, and Hesychius gives as its equivalent λίθος τιμίος. In Herodotus (iii. 24) it is clear that ὕαλος must mean crystal, for he says, ἡ δὲ σφί πολλὰ καὶ ἐβέργας ὀρῶσεται, and Achilles Tatius speaks of crystal as ὕαλος ὀρυμμένη (ii. 3; Baehr, *On Herod.* ii. 44; Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 1, 335). Others consider גִּלְגִּלִּית to be amber, or electrum, or alabaster (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. vi. 872).

In spite of this absence of specific allusion to glass in the sacred writings, the Hebrews must have been aware of the invention. There has been a violent modern prejudice against the belief that glass was early known to, or extensively used by, the ancients, but both facts are now certain. From paintings representing the process of glassblowing which have been discovered in paintings at Beni-Hassan, and in tombs at other places, we know that the invention is at least as remote as the age of Osirtasen the first (perhaps a contemporary of Joseph), 3500 years ago. A bead as old as 1500 B.C. was found by Captain Hervey at Thebes, "the specific gravity of which, 25° 30', is precisely the same as that of the crown glass now made in England." Fragments too of wine-vases as old as the Exodus have been discovered in Egypt. Glass beads known to be ancient have been found in Africa, and also (it is said) in Cornwall and Ireland, which are in all probability the relics of an old Phœnician trade (Wilkinson, in *Ravinson's Herod.* ii. 50, i. 475; *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 88-112). The art was also known to the ancient Assyrians (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 42), and a glass bottle was found in the N.W. palace of Nimrod, which has on it the name of Sargon, and is therefore probably older than B.C. 702 (id. *Nin. and Bab.* p. 197, 503). This is the earliest known specimen of transparent glass.

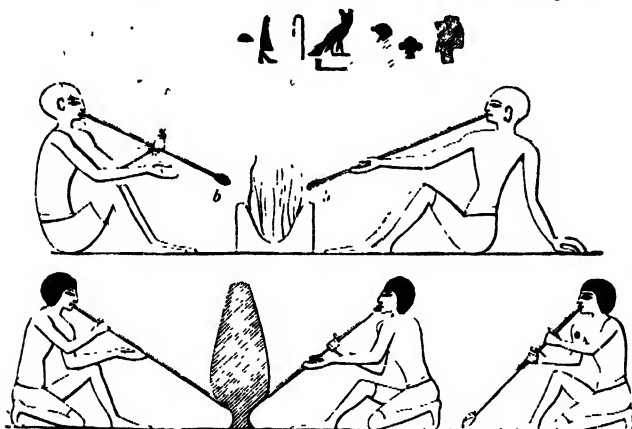
The disbelief in the antiquity of glass (in spite of the distinct statements of early writers) is diffi-

cult to account for, because the invention must almost naturally arise in making bricks or pottery, during which processes there must be at least a superficial vitrification. There is little doubt that the honour of the discovery belongs to the Egyptians. Pliny gives no date for his celebrated story of the discovery of glass from the solitary accident of some Phœnician sailors using blocks of natron to support their saucepans when they were unable to find stones for the purpose (*H. N.* xxxvi. 65). But this account is less likely than the supposition that vitreous matter first attracted observation from the custom of lighting fires on the sand, "in a country producing natron or subcarbonate of soda" (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 82). It has been pointed out that Pliny's story may have originated in the fact that the sand of the Syrian river Belus, at the mouth of which the incident is supposed to have occurred, "was esteemed peculiarly suitable for glass-making, and exported in great quantities to the workshops of Sidon and Alexandria, long the most famous in the ancient world" (*Dict. of Ant.*

This is probably the explanation of the incredibly large gems which we find mentioned in ancient authors; e. g. Larcher considers that the emerald column alluded to by Herodotus (ii. 44) was "du verre colore, dont l'intérieur était éclairé par des lampes." Strabo was told by an Alexandrian glass-maker that this success was partly due to a rare and valuable earth found in Egypt (Beckman, *History of Inventions*, "Coloured Glass," i. 195, sq., Eng. Transl., also iii. 208, sq., iv. 54). Yet the perfectly clear and transparent glass was considered the most valuable (*Plin.* xxxvi. 26).

Some suppose that the proper name מִשְׁרֹפֹת מַיִם ("burnings by the waters") contains an allusion to Sidonian glass-factories (Meier on *Jos.* xi. 8, xiii. 6), but it is much more probable that it was so called from the burning of Jabin's chariots at that place (Lord A. Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, p. 228), or from hot springs.

In the N. T. glass is alluded to as an emblem of brightness (*Rev.* iv. 6, xv. 2, xxi. 18). The three other places where the word occurs in the A. V. (1 *Cor.* xiii. 12; 2 *Cor.* iii. 18; *1 Tim.* i. 23), as also the word "glasses" (*Is.* iii. 23), are considered under MIRRORS. For, strange to say, although the ancients were aware of the reflective power of glass, and although the Sidonians used it for mirrors (*Plin.* *H. N.* xxxvi. 66), yet for some unexplained reason mirrors of glass must have proved unsuccessful, since even under the empire they were universally made of metal, which is at once less perfect, more expensive, and more difficult to preserve (*Dict. of Ant. Art. SPECULUM*). [F. W. F.]



Egyptian Glass Blowers. (Wilkinson)

*Art. Vitrum*, where everything requisite to the illustration of the classical allusions to glass may be found). Some find a remarkable reference to this little river (respecting which see *Plin. H. N.* v. 17, xxxvi. 65; *Joseph. B. J.* ii. 10, §2; *Tac. Hist.* v. 7) in the blessing to the tribe of Zebulun, "they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand" (*Deut.* xxxiii. 19). Both the name Belus (Reland, quoted in *Dict. of Geogr.* s. v.) and the Hebrew word מֶלֶח, "sand" (*Calmet*, s. r.), have been suggested as derivations for the Greek βαλος, which is however, in all probability, from an Egyptian root.

Glass was not only known to the ancients, but used by them (as Winckelmann thinks) far more extensively than in modern times. Pliny even tells us that it was employed in wainscoting (vitrene carnerie, *H. N.* xxxvi. 64; *Stat. Sylv.* i. v. 42). The Egyptians knew the art of cutting, grinding, and engraving it, and they could even inlay it with gold or enamel, and "permeate opaque glass with designs of various colours." Besides this they could colour it with such brilliancy as to be able to imitate precious stones in a manner which often defied detection (*Plin. H. N.* xxxvii. 26, 33, 75).

**GLEANING** (עֲלִינָה) as applied to produce generally, לָקַט rather to corn). The remarks under CORNER on the definite character of the rights of the poor, or rather of poor relations and dependants, to a share of the crop, are especially exemplified in the instance of Ruth gleaning in the field of Boaz. Poor young women, recognised as being "his maidens," were gleaning his field, and on her claim upon him by near affinity being made known, she was bidden to join them and not go to any other field; but for this, the reapers it seems would have driven her away (*Ruth* ii. 6, 8, 9). The gleaning of fruit trees, as well as of cornfields, was reserved for the poor. Hence the proverb of Gideon, *Judg.* viii. 2. Maimonides indeed lays down the principle (*Constitutions de donis pauperum*, cap. ii. 1), that whatever crop or growth is fit for food, is kept, and gathered all at once, and carried into store, is liable to that law. See for further remarks, Maimon. *Constitutions de donis pauperum*, cap. iv.

[H. H.]

**GLEDE**, the old name for the common kite (*mil-*

*vus ater*), occurs only in Deut. xiv. 13 (נֶחֱסֵר) among the unclean birds of prey, and if נֶחֱסֵר be the correct reading, we must suppose the name to have been taken from the bird's acuteness of vision; but as in the parallel passage in Lev. xi. 14 we find נֶחֱסֵר, *vultur*, it is probable that we should read נֶחֱסֵר in Deut. also. The LXX. have γούψ in both places. [W. D.]

GNAT (κάνωψ), mentioned only in the proverbial expression used by our Saviour in Matt. xxiii. 24, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." "Strain at," in the A. V., seems to be a typographical error, since the translations before the A. V. had "strain out," the Greek word διαλίσσω signifying to strain through (a sieve, &c.), to filter (see Trench, *On the Auth. Vers.* 1st Ed. 131). The Greek κώνωψ is the generic word for gnat. [W. D.]

GOAD. The equivalent terms in the Hebrew are (1) מִלְמָד (Judg. iii. 31) and (2) דִּרְבָן (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Eccl. xii. 11). The explanation given by Jahn (*Archæol.* i. 4, §59) is that the former represents the pole, and the latter the iron spike with which it was shod for the purpose of goading. With regard to the latter, however, it may refer to anything pointed, and the tenor of Eccl. xii. requires rather the sense of a peg or nail, anything in short which can be fastened; while in 1 Sam. xiii. the point of the ploughshare is more probably intended. The former does probably refer to the goad, the long handle of which might be used as a formidable weapon (comp. Hom. *Il.* vi. 135), though even this was otherwise understood by the LXX. as a ploughshare (ἐν τῷ ἀροτρίῳ): it should also be noted that the etymological force of the word is that of *guiding* (from דָּרַב, to touch) rather than *gouging* (Swalschutz; *Archæol.* i. 105). There are undoubted references to the use of the goad in driving oxen in Eccles. xxxviii. 25, and Acts xxvi. 14. The instrument, as still used in the countries of southern Europe and western Asia, consists of a rod about eight feet long, brought to a sharp point and sometimes cased with iron at the head (Harmer's *Observations*, iii. 348). The expression "to kick against the goads" (Acts 4x. 5; A. V. "the pricks"), was proverbially used by the Greeks for unavailing resistance to superior power (comp. Aesch. *Agam.* 1633, *Prom.* 323; Eurip. *Bacch.* 791). [W. L. B.]

GOAT. 1. Of the Hebrew words which are translated *goat* and *she-goat* in A. V. the most common is עֵז = Syr. حَال, Arab. عَز, Phoen. ἔζα. The Indo-Germanic languages have a similar word in Sansc. *ag'a* = goat, *ag'da* = she-goat, Germ. *geis* or *gems*, Greek *αἴξ*, *alrys*. The derivation from עֵז, to be strong, points to *he-goat* as the original meaning, but it is also specially used for *she-goat*, as in Gen. xv. 9, xxxi. 38, xxiii. 14; Num. xv. 27. In Jud. vi. 19 עֵזִים is rendered *kid*, and in Deut. xiv. 4 עֵזִים is rendered *the goat*, but properly signifies *flock of goats*. עֵזִים is used elliptically for *goats' hair* in Ex. xxvi. 7, xxvii. 14, &c., Num. xxxi. 20, and in 1 Sam. xix. 13.

2. עֵזִים are wild or mountain goats, and are rendered *wild goats* in the three passages of Scripture in which the word occurs viz. 1 Sam. xxiv. 2,

Job xxxix. 1, and Ps. civ. 18. The word is from a root עָזַע, to ascend or climb, and is the Heb. name of the *ibex*, which abounds in the mountainous parts of the ancient territory of Moab. In Job xxxix. 1, the LXX. have τραγελῶν πέτρας.

3. קִז is rendered the *wild goat* in Deut. xiv. 5, and occurs only in this passage. It is a contracted form of אֶנְקוֹר, according to Lee, who renders it *gazelle*, but it is more properly the *tragelaphus* or *goat-deer* (Shaw, *Suppl.* p. 76).

4. עֲתוּד, a *he-goat*, as Gesenius thinks, of four months old—strong and vigorous. It occurs only in the plural, and is rendered by A. V. indifferently *goats* and *he-goats* (see Ps. i. 9 and 13). In Jer. l. 8 it signifies *he-goats*, leaders of the flock, and hence its metaphorical use in Is. xiv. 9 for *chief ones of the earth*, and in Zech. x. 3, where *goats* = principal men, chiefs. It is derived from the root עָתַד, to set, to place, to prepare.

5. צִפִּיר occurs in 2 Chr. xxiv. 21, and in Dan. viii. 5, 8—it is followed by הָעֵזִים, and signifies a *he-goat of the goats*. Gesenius derives it from צָפַר, to leap. It is a word found only in the later books of the O. T. In Ezr. vi. 17 we find the Chald. form of the word צִפִּיר.

6. שָׁעִיר is translated *goat*, and signifies properly a *he-goat*, being derived from שָׁעַר, to stand on end, to bristle. It occurs frequently in Leviticus and Numbers (שָׁעִיר הַחֲטָאת), and is the goat of the sin-offering, Lev. ix. 3, 15, x. 16. The word is used as an adjective with צִפִּיר in Dan. viii. 21, "—and the goat, the rough one, is the king of Javan."

7. תָּחֵשׁ is from a root תָּחַשׁ, to stride. It is rendered *he-goat* in Gen. xxx. 35, xxvii. 15, Prov. xxx. 31, and 2 Chr. xvii. 11. It does not occur elsewhere.

8. עֲשׂוֹל, *scape-goat* in Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 26. On this word see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, p. 138.

In the N. T. the words rendered *goats* in Matt. xxv. 32, 33, are ἐρῆφος and ἐρίφον = a young goat, or kid; and in Heb. ix. 12, 13, 19, and x. 4, τράγος = *he-goat*. *Goat-skins*, in Heb. xi. 37, are in the Greek, ἐν αἰγείοις δέμασιν; and in Jud. ii. 17 *aiyas* is rendered *goats*. [W. D.]

GOAT, SCAPE. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

GO'ATH (נֶזֶה) the LXX. seem to have had a different text, and read ἐξ ἐλεγκτῶν λίθων; *Goatha*, a place apparently in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and named, in connexion with the hill Gareb, only in Jer. xxxi. 39. The name (which is accurately GOATH, as above, the *th* being added to connect the Hebrew particle of motion,—Goathah) is derived by Gesenius from נֶזֶה, "to low," as a cow. In accordance with this is the rendering of the Targum, which has for Goath, בְּרִיכַת עֵזְלָא = the heifer's pool. The Syriac, on the other hand, has ܕܢܝܠܐ, *leptomto*, "to the eminence," perhaps reading נֶזֶה (Fitzst, *Handwb.* 269b.). Owing to the presence of the letter *Ain* in Goath, the resemblance between it and Golgotha does not exist in the original to the same degree as in English. [GOLGOTHA.] [G.]

GOB (גוב, and גוב, perhaps = a "pit" or "ditch;" גוב, *Pdm*, Alex. *Γόβ*; *Gob*), a place mentioned only in 2 Sam. xxi. 18, 19, as the scene of two encounters between David's warriors and the Philistines. In the parallel account—of the first of these only—in 1 Chr. xx. 4, the name is given as גֶּזְרִי, and this, as well as the omission of any locality for the second event, is supported by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §2). On the other hand the LXX. and Syriac have Gath in the first case, a name which in Hebrew much resembles Gob; and this appears to be borne out by the account of a third and subsequent fight, which all agree happened at Gath (2 Sam. xxi. 20; 1 Chr. xx. 6), and which, from the terms of the narrative, seems to have occurred at the same place as the others. The suggestion of Nob—which Davidson (*Hebr. Text*) reports as in many MSS. and which is also found in copies of the LXX.—is not admissible on account of the situation of that place. [G.]

GOBLET (גובלֵט; *κρατήρ*; *crater*; joined with גֶּזֶר to express roundness, *Crat.* vii. 2; *Gesen. Thes.* 22, 39; in plur. *Ex.* xxiv. 6; A.V. "basins," *Is.* xxii. 24; LXX. literally ἀγανῶθ; *craterie*; A. V. "cups"), a circular vessel for wine or other liquid. [BASIN.] [H. W. P.]

GOG. 1. (גוג; *Γούγ*; *Gog*.) A Reubenite (1 Chr. v. 4); according to the Hebrew text son of Shemaiah. The LXX. however have a different text throughout the passage. 2. [MAGOG.] 3. In the Samarit. Codex and LXX. of Num. xiv. 7, Gog is substituted for Agag.

GOLAN (גִּלְיָן; *Γαυλῶν*), a city of Bashan (יְבִי־גִלְיָן, Deut. iv. 43) allotted out of the half tribe of Manasseh to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 27), and one of the three cities of refuge east of the Jordan (xx. 8). We find no further notice of it in Scripture; and though Eusebius and Jerome say it was still an important place in their time (*Onom.* s. v.; *Reland*, p. 815), its very site is now unknown. Some have supposed that the village of *Nawa*, on the eastern border of Jaulán, around which are extensive ruins (see *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*), is identical with the ancient Golan; but for this there is not a shadow of evidence; and *Nawa* besides is much too far to the eastward.

The city of Golan is several times referred to by Josephus (*Γαυλῶν*, *B. J.* i. 4, §4, and 8); he, however, more frequently speaks of the province which took its name from it, Gaulanitis (*Γαυλανίτις*). When the kingdom of Israel was overthrown by the Assyrians, and the dominion of the Jews in Bashan ceased, it appears that the aboriginal tribes, before kept in subjection, but never annihilated, rose again to some power, and rent the country into provinces. Two of these provinces, at least were of ancient origin [TRACHONITIS and HAURAN], and had been distinct principalities previous to the time when Og or his predecessors united them under one sceptre. Before the Babylonish captivity Bashan appears in Jewish history as one kingdom; but subsequent to that period it is spoken of as divided into four provinces—Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea (*Joseph. Ant.* iv. 5, §3, and 7, §4, i. 6, §4, xvi. 9, §1; *B. J.* i. 20, §4, iii. 3, §1, iv. 1, §1). It seems that when the city of Golan rose to power it became the head of a large province, the extent of which is pretty accurately given by Jo-

sephus, especially when his statements are compared with the modern divisions of Bashan. It lay east of Galilee, and north of Gadarith (GADARA, *Joseph. B. J.* iii. 3, §1). Gamala, an important town on the eastern bank of the Sea of Galilee, now called *El-Husn* (see *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*), and the province attached to it, were included in Gaulanitis (*B. J.* iv. 1, §1). But the boundary of the provinces of Gadara and Gamala must evidently have been the river Hieromax, which may therefore be regarded as the south border of Gaulanitis. The Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to its fountains at Dan and Caesarea-Philippi, formed the western boundary (*B. J.* iii. 3, §5). It is important to observe that the boundaries of the modern province of Jaulán (جولان) is the Arabic form of the Hebrew גִּלְיָן, from which is derived the Greek *Γαυλανίτις* correspond so far with those of Gaulanitis; we may, therefore, safely assume that their northern and eastern boundaries are also identical. Jaulán is bounded on the north by *Jedár* (the ancient *Ithraea*), and on the east by Haurán [HAURAN]. The principal cities of Gaulanitis were Golan, Hippos, Gamala, Julius or Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22), Seleucia, and Sogone (*Joseph. B. J.* iii. 3, §1, and 5, iv. 1, §1). The site of Bethsaida is at a small *tell* on the left bank of the Jordan [BETHSAIDA]; the ruins of *Kul'at el-Husn* mark the place of Gamala; but nothing definite is known of the others.

The greater part of Gaulanitis is a flat and fertile table-land, well watered, and clothed with luxuriant grass. It is probably to this region the name *Mishor* (מִישֹׁר) is given in 1 K. xx. 23, 25—"the plain" in which the Syrians were overthrown by the Israelites, near Aphek, which perhaps stood upon the site of the modern *Fik* (*Stanley*, App. §6; *Handb. for Syr. and Pal.* 425). The western side of Gaulanitis, along the Sea of Galilee, is steep, rugged, and bare. It is upwards of 2500 ft. in height, and when seen from the city of Tiberias resembles a mountain range, though in reality it is only the supporting wall of the plateau. It was this remarkable feature which led the ancient geographers to suppose that the mountain range of Gilead was joined to Lebanon (*Reland*, p. 342). Farther north, along the bank of the upper Jordan, the plateau breaks down in a series of terraces, which though somewhat rocky, are covered with rich soil, and clothed in spring with the most luxuriant herbage, spangled with multitudes of bright and beautiful flowers. A range of low, round-topped, picturesque hills, extends southwards for nearly 20 miles from the base of Hermon along the western edge of the plateau. These are in places covered with noble forests of prickly oak and terebinth. Gaulanitis was once densely populated, but it is now almost completely deserted. The writer has a list of the towns and villages which it once contained; and in it are the names of 127 places, all of which, with the exception of about eleven, are now uninhabited. Only a few patches of its soil are cultivated; and the very best of its pasture is lost—the tender grass of early spring. The flocks of the Turkmáns and *el-Fudh* Arabs—the only tribes that remain permanently in this region—are not able to consume it; and the *'Anazeh*, those "children of the East" who spread over the land like locusts, and "whose camels are without number" (*Judg.* vii. 12), only arrive about the beginning of May. At that season

the whole country is covered with them—their black tents pitched in circles near the fountains; their cattle thickly dotting the vast plain; and their fierce cavaliers roaming far and wide, “their hand against every man, and every man’s hand against them.”

For fuller accounts of the scenery, antiquities, and history of Gaulanitis, see Porter’s *Handbook for Syr.* and *Pal.* 295, 424, 461, 531; *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 250; *Journal of Sac. Lit.* vi. 282; Burckhardt’s *Trav. in Syr.* 277. [J. L. P.]

**GOLD**, the most valuable of metals, from its colour, lustre, weight, ductility, and other useful properties (Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 19). Hence it is used as an emblem of purity (Job xxiii. 10) and nobility (Lam. iv. 1). There are six Hebrew words used to denote it, and four of them occur in Job xxviii. 15, 16, 17. These are:—

1. **הַיָּזָה**, the common name, connected with **זָהָב** (*to be yellow*), as *gold*, from *gol*, yellow. Various epithets are applied to it: as, “fine” (2 Chr. iii. 5), “refined” (1 Chr. xxviii. 18), “pure” (Ex. xxv. 11). In opposition to these, “beaten gold” (**זָהָב טָהוֹר**) is probably *mixed gold*; LXX. *ἐλαττός*; used of Solomon’s shields (1 K. x. 16).

2. **כֶּסֶף** (*κειμήλιον*), treasured, i. e. fine gold (1 K. vi. 20, vii. 49, &c.). Many names of precious substances in Hebrew come from roots signifying concealment, as **כֶּסֶף** (Gen. xliii. 23, A. V. “treasure”).

3. **זָהָב**, pure or native gold (Job xxviii. 17; Cant. v. 15; probably from **זָבַד**, *to separate*). Rosenmüller (*Allerthumsk.* iv. p. 49) makes it come from a Syriac root meaning *solid* or *massy*; but **זָהָב** (2 Chr. ix. 17) corresponds to **זָהָב** (1 K. x. 18). The LXX. render it by *λίθος τιμίος*, *χρυσίον*, *ἄμυρον* (Is. xlii. 12; Theodot. *ἄπεφθον*; comp. Thuc. ii. 13; Plin. xxxiii. 19, *obruissus*). In Ps. cxix. 127, the LXX. render it *τοπάσιον* (A. V. “fine gold”); but Schleusner happily conjectures *τὸ πάσιον*, the Hebrew word being adopted to avoid the repetition of *χρυσός* (Thes. s. v. *τόπας*; Hesych. s. v. *πάσιον*).

4. **זָהָב**, gold earth, or a mass of raw ore (Job xxi. 24, *ἄμυρον*, A. V. “gold as dust”).

The poetical names for gold are:—

1. **כֶּסֶף** (also implying something concealed); LXX. *χρυσίον*; and in Is. xlii. 12, *λίθος πολυτέλης*. In Job xxxvii. 22, it is rendered in A. V. “fair weather.” LXX. *νέφη χρυσαυγούνητα*. (Comp. Zech. iv. 12.)

2. **דָּוָר**, “dug out” (Prov. viii. 10), a general name, which has become special, Ps. lxxviii. 13, where it cannot mean *gems*, as some suppose (Bochart, *Hieroz.* tom. ii. p. 9). Michaelis connects the word *charutz* with the Greek *χρυσός*.

Gold was known from the very earliest times (Gen. ii. 11). Pliny attributes the discovery of it (at Mount Pangæus), and the art of working it, to Cadmus (*H. N.* vii. 57); and his statement is adopted by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 363, ed. Pott.). It was at first chiefly used for ornaments, &c. (Gen. xiv. 22); and although Abraham is said to have been “very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold” (Gen. xlii. 2), yet no mention of it, as used in *purchases*, is made till after his return from Egypt. Coined money was not known to the ancients (c. g.

Hom. *Il.* vii. 473) till a comparatively late period; and on the Egyptian tombs gold is represented as being weighed in rings for commercial purposes. (Comp. Gen. xliii. 21.) No coins are found in the ruins of Egypt or Assyria (Layard’s *Nin.* ii. 418.) “Even so late as the time of David gold was not used as a standard of value, but was considered merely as a very precious article of commerce, and was weighed like other articles” (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §115, 1 Chr. xxi. 25).

Gold was extremely abundant in ancient times (1 Chr. xxii. 14; 2 Chr. i. 15, ix. 9; Nah. ii. 9; Dan. iii. 1); but this did not depreciate its value, because of the enormous quantities consumed by the wealthy in furniture, &c. (1 K. vi. 22, x. pssim; Cant. iii. 9, 10; Esth. i. 6; Jer. x. 9; comp. Hom. *Od.* xix. 55; Herod. i. 82). Probably too the art of gilding was known extensively, being applied even to the battlements of a city (Herod. i. 98; and other authorities quoted by Layard, ii. 264).

The chief countries mentioned as producing gold are Arabia, Sheba, and Ophir (1 K. ix. 28, x. 1; Job xxviii. 16; in Job xxii. 24, the word *Ophir* is used for gold). Gold is not found in Arabia now (Niebuhr’s *Travels*, p. 141), but it used to be (Artemidor. ap. Strab. xvi. 3, 18, where he speaks of an Arabian river *ψήγμα χρυσού καταφέρον*). Diodorus also says that it was found there native (*ἄμυρον*) in good-sized nuggets (*θωάδρια*). Some suppose that Ophir was an Arabian port to which gold was brought (comp. 2 Chr. ii. 7, ix. 10). Other gold-bearing countries were Uphaz (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5) and Parvaim (2 Chr. iii. 6).

Metallurgic processes are mentioned in Ps. lxxi. 10, Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; and in Is. xlvii. 6, the trade of goldsmith (cf. Judg. xvii. 4, **הַיָּזָה**) is alluded to in connexion with the overlaying of idols with gold-leaf (Rosenmüller’s *Minerals of Script.* pp. 46–51). [HANDICRAFT.] [F. W. F.]

**GOLGOTHA** (*Γολγοθᾶ*; *Golygotha*), the Hebrew name of the spot at which our Lord was crucified (Matt. xxvii. 33; Mark xv. 22; John xix. 17). By these three Evangelists it is interpreted to mean the “place of a skull.” St. Luke, in accordance with his practice in other cases (compare Gabbatha, Gethsemane, &c.), omits the Hebrew term and gives only its Greek equivalent, *κρανίον*. The word *Calvary*, which in Luke xxiii. 33 is retained in the A. V. from the Vulgate, as the rendering of *κρανίον*, obscures the statement of St. Luke, whose words are really as follows—“the place which is called ‘a skull’”—not, as in the other Gospels, *κρανίον*, “of a skull;” thus employing the Greek term exactly as they do the Hebrew one. This Hebrew, or rather Chaldee, term, was doubtless

**גִּלְגַּלְתָּא**, *Gulgalta*, in pure Hebrew **גִּלְגַּלְתָּא**, applied to the skull on account of its round globular form, that being the idea at the root of the word.

Two explanations of the name are given: (1) that it was a spot where executions ordinarily took place, and therefore abounded in skulls; but according to the Jewish law these must have been buried, and therefore were no more likely to confer a name on the spot than any other part of the skeleton. In this case too the Greek should be *τόπος κρανίων*, “of skulls,” instead of *κρανίον*, “of a skull,” still less “a skull” as in the Hebrew; and in the Greek of St. Luke. Or (2) it may come from the look or form of the spot itself, bald, round, and skull-like, and therefore a mound or hillock, in accordance with



Cimmerium, the district Cimmeria, and particularly the Cimmerian walls (Her. iv. 12, 45, 100; Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 729), and in the modern name *Crimea*. They forsook this abode under the pressure of the Scythian tribes, and during the early part of the 7th century B.C. they poured over the western part of Asia Minor, committing immense devastation, and defying for more than half a century the power of the Lydian kings. They were finally expelled by Alyattes, with the exception of a few, who settled at Sinope and Antandrus. It was about the same period that Ezekiel noticed them, as acting in conjunction with Armenia (Togarmah) and Magog (Scythia). The connexion between Gomer and Armenia is supported by the tradition, preserved by Moses of Chorene (i. 11), that Gamir was the ancestor of the Haichian kings of the latter country. After the expulsion of the Cimmerians from Asia Minor their name disappears in its original form; but there can be little reasonable doubt that both the name and the people are to be recognised in the Cimbr, whose abodes were fixed during the Roman Empire in the north and west of Europe, particularly in the Cimbric Chersonese (*Denmark*), on the coast between the *Elbe* and *Rhine*, and in *Belgium*, whence they had crossed to Britain, and occupied at one period the whole of the British isles, but were ultimately driven back to the western and northern districts, which their descendants still occupy in two great divisions, the Gael in Ireland and Scotland, the Cymry in Wales. The latter name preserves a greater similarity to the original Gomer than either of the classical forms, the consonants being identical. The link to connect Cymry with Cimbr is furnished by the forms *Cumbrin* and *Cumber-land*. The whole Celtic race may therefore be regarded as descended from Gomer, and thus the opinion of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §1), that the Galatians were sprung from him, may be reconciled with the view propounded. Various other conjectures have been hazarded on the subject: Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 81) identifies the name on etymological grounds with Phrygia; Wahl (*Asien*, i. 274) proposes Cappadocia; and Kalisch (*Comm.* in Gen.) seeks to identify it with the Chomari, a nation in Bactriana, noticed by Ptolemy (vi. 11, §6).

2. The daughter of Diblaim, and concubine of Hosea (i. 3). The name is significant of a maiden, ripe for marriage, and connects well with the name Diblaim, which is also derived from the subject of fruit. [W. L. B.]

**GOMOR'RAH** (עֲמֹרָה, *Gh'morah*, probably "submersion," from עָמַר, an unused root; in Arabic عَمَرَ, *ghamara*, is to "overwhelm with water;" غَمُورٌ, *Gomorra*), one of the five "cities of the plain," or "vale of Siddim," that under their respective kings joined battle there with Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2-8) and his allies, by whom they were discomfited till Abram came to the rescue. Four out of the five were afterwards destroyed by the Lord with fire from heaven (Gen. xix. 23-29). One of them only, Zoar or Bela, which was its original name, was spared at the request of Lot, in order that he might take refuge there. Of these Gomorrah seems to have been only second to Sodom in importance, as well in the wickedness that led to their overthrow. What that atrocity was may be gathered from Gen. xix. 4-8. Their miserable fate is held up as a warning

to the children of Israel (Deut. xxix. 23); as a precedent for the destruction of Babylon (Is. xiii. 19, and Jer. l. 40), of Edom (Jer. xlix. 18), of Moab (Zeph. ii. 9), and even of Israel (Amos iv. 11). By St. Peter in the N. T., and by St. Jude (2 Pet. ii. 6; Jude, vers. 4-7), it is made "an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly," or "deny Christ." Similarly their wickedness rings as a proverb throughout the prophecies (v. Deut. xxiii. 32; Is. i. 9, 10; Jer. xxiii. 14). Jerusalem herself is there unequivocally called Sodom, and her people Gomorrah, for their enormities; just in the same way that the corruptions of the Church of Rome have caused her to be called Babylon. On the other hand, according to the N. T., there is a sin which exceeds even that of Sodom and Gomorrah, that, namely, of which Tyre and Sidon, Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida were guilty, when they "repented not," in spite of "the mighty works" which they had witnessed (St. Matt. x. 15); and St. Mark has ranged under the same category all those who would not receive the preaching of the Apostles (vi. 11).

To turn to their geographical position, one passage of Scripture seems expressly to assert that the vale of Siddim had become the "salt," or dead, "sea" (Gen. xiv. 3), called elsewhere too the "sea of the plain" (Josh. xii. 3); the expression, however, occurs antecedently to their overthrow. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 9) says that the lake Asphaltites, or Dead Sea, was formed out of what used to be the valley where Sodom stood; but elsewhere he declares that the territory of Sodom was not submerged in the lake (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 4), but still existed parched and burnt up, as is the appearance of that region still; and certainly nothing in Scripture would lend to the idea that they were destroyed by submersion—though they may have been submerged afterwards when destroyed—for their destruction is expressly attributed to the brimstone and fire rained upon them from heaven (Gen. xix. 24; see also Deut. xxix. 22, and Zeph. ii. 9; also St. Peter and St. Jude before cited). And St. Jerome in the *Onomasticon* says of Sodom "civitas impiorum divino igne consumpta juxta mare mortuum," and so of the rest (*ibid.* s.v.). The whole subject is ably handled by Cellarius (*ap. Ugol. Thesaur.* vii. p. decxxix-xxxiii.), though it is not always necessary to agree with his conclusions. Among modern travellers, Dr. Robinson shows that the Jordan could not have ever flowed into the gulf of *Akubah*; on the contrary that the rivers of the desert themselves flow northwards into the Dead Sea. [ARAHAT.] And this, added to the configuration and deep depression of the valley, serves in his opinion to prove that there must have been always a lake there, into which the Jordan flowed; though he admits it to have been of far less extent than it now is, and even the whole southern part of it to have been added subsequently to the overthrow of the four cities, which stood, according to him, at the original south end of it; Zoar probably being situated in the mouth of *Wady Kerah*, as it opens upon the isthmus of the peninsula. In the same plain, he remarks, were slime-pits, or wells of bitumen (Gen. xiv. 10; "salt-pits" also, Zeph. ii. 9); while the enlargement of the lake he considers to have been caused by some convulsion or catastrophe of nature connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities—volcanic agency, that of earthquakes, and the like (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 187-192, 2nd ed.). He might have adduced the great earthquake at

Lisbon as a case in point. The great difference of level between the bottoms of the northern and southern ends of the lake, the former 1300, the latter only 13 feet below the surface, singularly confirms the above view (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 287, 2nd ed.). Pilgrims of Palestine formerly saw, or fancied that they saw, ruins of towns at the bottom of the sea, not far from the shore (see Maundrell, *Early Travellers*, p. 454). M. de Sauley was the first to point out ruins along the shores (the *Kedjom-el-Mezorreh*; and more particularly apropos to our present subject *Gomoran* on the N. W.). Both perhaps are right. Gomorrah (as its very name implies) may have been more or less submerged with the other three, subsequently to their destruction by fire; while the ruins of Zoar, inasmuch as it did not share their fate, would be found, if found at all, upon the shore. (See generally Mr. Isaacs' *Dead Sea*.) [E. S. Ff.]

**GOMORRAH**, the manner in which the name GOMORRAH is written in the A. V. of the Apocryphal books and the N. Testament, following the Greek form of the word, Γομόρρα (2 Esd. ii. 8; Matt. x. 15; Mark vi. 11; Rom. ix. 29; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6).

**GOPHER WOOD.** Only once in Gen. vi. 14. The Heb. גפר, trees of Gopher, does not occur in the cognate dialects. The A. V. has made no attempt at translation: the LXX. (ξύλα τετραγωνα) and Vulgate (*liquia lœvigneti*), elicited by metathesis of ג and ה (גפן = הנה), the former having reference to square blocks, cut by the axe, the latter to planks smoothed by the plane, have not found much favour with modern commentators. The conjectures of *cedar* (Eben Ezra, Onk. Jonath. and Rabbin's generally, *wood most proper to float* (Kimchi), the Greek *κεδρελάτη* (Jm.; Trenell.; Buxt.), *pine* (Aveur.; Munst.), *turpentine* (Castalio), are little better than gratuitous. The rendering *cedar* has been defended by Pelletier, who refers to the great abundance of this tree in Asia, and the durability of its timber.

The Mohammedan equivalent is *say*, by which Herbelot understands the Indian plane-tree. Two principal conjectures, however, have been proposed:—1. By Is. Vossius (*Diss. de LXX. Interp.* c. 12) that גפר = גפר, *resin*; whence גפר, meaning any trees of the resinous kind, such as pine, fir, &c. 2. By Fuller (*Miscell. Sac.* iv. 5), Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 4), Celsius (*Microbot.* pt. i. p. 328), Hass. (*Entdeckungen*, pt. ii. p. 78), that Gopher is cypress, in favour of which opinion (adopted by Ges. *Lex.*) they adduce the similarity in sound of gopher and cypress (קוצר = גופר); and the suitability of the cypress for ship-building; and the fact that this tree abounded in Babylonia, and more particularly in Adiabene, where it supplied Alexander with timber for a whole fleet (Arrian, vii. p. 161, ed. Steph.).

A tradition is mentioned in Eutychius (*Annals*, p. 34) to the effect that the Ark was made of the wood *Sarj*, by which is probably meant not the ebony, but the Juniperus Sabina, a species of cypress (Bochart and Cels.; Rosenm. *Schol. ad Gen.* vi. 14, and *Alterthumsk.* vol. iv. pt. 1). [T. E. B.]

**GORGAS** (*Gopylas*), a general in the service of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. iii. 38, ἄρχιστρατός τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως; cf. 2 Macc. viii. 9), who was appointed by his regent Lysias to a command in the expedition against Judaea B.C. 166,

in which he was defeated by Judas Maccabaeus with great loss (1 Macc. iv. 1 ff.). At a later time (B.C. 164) he held a garrison in Jamnia, and defeated the forces of Joseph and Azarias, who attacked him contrary to the orders of Judas (1 Macc. v. 56 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §6; 2 Macc. xii. 32). The account of Gorgias in 2 Macc. is very obscure. He is represented there as acting in a military capacity (2 Macc. x. 14, στρατηγὸς τῶν ὁπλων (?), hardly of Coele-Syria, as Grimm (*l. c.*) takes it), apparently in concert with the Idumaeans; and afterwards he is described, according to the present text, as "governor of Idumea" (2 Macc. xii. 32), though it is possible (Grotius, Grimm, *l. c.*) that the reading is an error for "governor of Jamnia" (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §6, ὁ τῆς Ἰαμείας στρατηγός). The hostility of the Jews towards him is described in strong terms (2 Macc. xii. 35, τὸν κατάρατον, A. V. "that cursed man"); and while his success is only noticed in passing, his defeat and flight are given in detail, though confusedly (2 Macc. xii. 34-38; cf. Joseph. *l. c.*).

The name itself was borne by one of Alexander's generals, and occurs at later times among the eastern Greeks. [B. F. W.]

**GORTYNA** (Γόρτυνα; in classical writers, Γόρτυνα or Γορτύς), a city of Crete, and in ancient times its most important city, next to Chossus. The only direct Biblical interest of Gortyna is in the fact that it appears from 1 Macc. xv. 23 to have contained Jewish residents. [CRETE.] The circumstance alluded to in this passage took place in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon; and it is possible that the Jews had increased in Crete during the reign of his predecessor Ptolemy Philometor, who received many of them into Egypt, and who also rebuilt some parts of Gortyna (Strab. x. p. 478). This city was nearly half-way between the Eastern and Western extremities of the island; and it is worth while to notice that it was near Fair Havens; so that St. Paul may possibly have preached the Gospel there, when on his voyage to Rome (Acts xvii. 8, 9). Gortyna seems to have been the capital of the island under the Romans. For the remains on the old site and in the neighbourhood, see the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, ii. 277-286. [J. S. H.]

**GO'SHEN** (גושן; Γεσέμ, Γεσέν; *Gessen*), a word of uncertain etymology, the name of a part of Egypt where the Israelites dwelt for the whole period of their sojourn in that country. It is usually called the "land of Goshen," גושן, but also Goshen simply. It appears to have borne another name, "the land of Rameses," רמסס (Gen. xlvii. 11); unless this be the name of a district of Goshen. The first mention of Goshen is in Joseph's message to his father:—"Thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me" (Gen. xlv. 10). This shows that the territory was near the usual royal residence or the residence of Joseph's Pharaoh. The dynasty to which we assign this king, the fifteenth [EGYPT; JOSEPH], appears to have resided part of the year at Memphis, and part of the year, at harvest-time, at Avaris on the Bubastite or Pelusiac branch of the Nile: this, Manetho tells us, was the custom of the first king (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 14). In the account of the arrival of Jacob it is said of the patriarch:—"He sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen.

And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen" (Gen. xli. 28, 29). This land was therefore between Joseph's residence at the time and the frontier of Palestine, and apparently the extreme province towards that frontier. The advice that Joseph gave his brethren as to their conduct to Pharaoh further characterizes the territory:—"When Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What [is] your occupation? Then ye shall say, Thy servants have been herdsmen of cattle (**אֲנִי מִקְנֵה**) from our youth even until now, both we [and] also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd (**רֹעֵה צֹאן**) [is] an abomination unto the Egyptians" (xli. 33, 34). It is remarkable that in Coptic **ϣωσ** signifies both "a shepherd" and "disgrace" and the like (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, i. 177). This passage shows that Goshen was scarcely regarded as a part of Egypt Proper, and was not peopled by Egyptians—characteristics that would positively indicate a frontier-province. But it is not to be inferred that Goshen had no Egyptian inhabitants at this period: at the time of the ten plagues such are distinctly mentioned. That there was, moreover, a foreign population besides the Israelites seems evident from the account of the calamity of Ephraim's house [BERTAN], and the mention of the **רַב עֶבֶר** who went out at the Exodus (Ex. xii. 38), notices referring to the earlier and the later period of the sojourn. The name Goshen itself appears to be Hebrew, or Semitic—although we do not venture with Jerome to derive it from **גֹּשֶׁן**—for it also occurs as the name of a district and of a town in the south of Palestine (*infra*, 2), where we could scarcely expect an appellation of Egyptian origin unless given after the Exodus, which in this case does not seem likely. It is also noticeable that some of the names of places in Goshen or its neighbourhood, as certainly Migdol and Baul-zephon, are Semitic [**BAUL-ZEPHON**], the only positive exceptions being the cities Pithom and Rameses, built during the oppression. The next mention of Goshen confirms the previous inference that its position was between Canaan and the Delta (Gen. xlvii. 1). The nature of the country is indicated more clearly than in the passage last quoted in the answer of Pharaoh to the request of Joseph's brethren, and in the account of their settling:—"And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: the land of Egypt [is] before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell: in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest [any] men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle. . . . And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded" (Gen. xlvii. 5, 6, 11). Goshen was thus a pastoral country where some of Pharaoh's cattle were kept. The expression "in the best of the land," **בְּמִטְבַּח הָאָרֶץ** (**ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ γῇ**, in *optimo loco*), must, we think, be relative, the best of the land for a pastoral people (although we do not accept Michaelis' reading

those nearest to the Nile, a position which, as will be seen, we cannot assign to Goshen. The sufficiency of this tract for the Israelites, their prosperity there, and their virtual separation, as is evident from the account of the plagues, from the great body of the Egyptians, must also be borne in mind. The clearest indications of the exact position of Goshen are those afforded by the narrative of the Exodus. The Israelites set out from the town of Rameses in the land of Goshen, made two days' journey to "the edge of the wilderness," and in one day more reached the Red Sea. At the starting-point two routes lay before them, "the way of the land of the Philistines . . . that [was] near," and the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (Ex. ii. 17, 18). From these indications we infer that the land of Goshen must have in part been near the eastern side of the ancient Delta, Rameses lying within the valley now called the *Wādī-t-Tumeylāt*, about thirty miles in a direct course from the ancient western shore of the Arabian Gulf [EXODUS, THE].

The results of the foregoing examination of Biblical evidence are that the land of Goshen lay between the eastern part of the ancient Delta and the western border of Palestine, that it was scarcely a part of Egypt Proper, was inhabited by other foreigners besides the Israelites, and was in its geographical names rather Semitic than Egyptian; that it was a pasture-land, especially suited to a shepherd-people, and sufficient for the Israelites, who there prospered, and were separate from the main body of the Egyptians; and lastly, that one of its towns lay near the western extremity of the *Wādī-t-Tumeylāt*. These indications, except only that of sufficiency, to be afterwards considered, seem to us decisively to indicate the *Wādī-t-Tumeylāt*, the valley along which anciently flowed the canal of the Red Sea. Other identifications seem to us to be utterly untenable. If with Lepsius we place Goshen below Heliopolis, near Bubastis and Bilbeys, the distance from the Red Sea of three days' journey of the Israelites, and the separate character of the country, are violently set aside. If we consider it the same as the Bucolia, we have either the same difficulty as to the distance, or we must imagine a route almost wholly through the wilderness, instead of only for the last third or less of its distance.

Having thus concluded that the land of Goshen appears to have corresponded to the *Wādī-t-Tumeylāt*, we have to consider whether the extent of this tract would be sufficient for the sustenance of the Israelites. The superficial extent of the *Wādī-t-Tumeylāt*, if we include the whole cultivable part of the natural valley, which may somewhat exceed that of the tract bearing this appellation, is probably under 60 square geographical miles. If we suppose the entire Israelite population at the time of the Exodus to have been 1,800,000, and the whole population, including Egyptians and foreigners other than the Israelites, about 2,000,000, this would give no less than between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants to the square mile, which would be half as dense as the ordinary population of an eastern city. It must be remembered, however, that we need not suppose the Israelites to have been limited to the valley for pasture, but like the Arabs to have led their flocks into fertile tracts of the deserts around, and that we have taken for our estimate an extreme sum, that of the people at the Exodus. For the greater part of the sojourn their numbers must have been far lower,

"pastures" by comparison with **مَوَاطِن** *Suppl.* p. 1072; see *Gen. The.* s. v. **מִטְבַּח**, for in the matter of fertility the richest parts of Egypt are

and before the Exodus they seem to have been partly spread about the territory of the oppressor, although collected at Rameses at the time of their departure. One very large place, like the Shepherd-stronghold of Avaris, which Manetho relates to have had at the first a garrison of 240,000 men, would also greatly diminish the disproportion of population to superficies. The very small superficial extent of Egypt in relation to the population necessary to the construction of the vast monuments, and the maintenance of the great armies of the Pharaohs, requires a different proportion to that of other countries—a condition fully explained by the extraordinary fertility of the soil. Even now, when the population is almost at the lowest point it has reached in history, when villages have replaced towns, and hamlets villages, it is still denser than that of our rich and thickly-populated Yorkshire. We do not think therefore that the small superficies presents any serious difficulty.

Thus far we have reasoned alone on the evidence of the Hebrew text. The LXX. version, however, presents some curious evidence which must not be passed by unnoticed. The testimony of this version in any Egyptian matter is not to be disregarded, although in this particular case too much stress should not be laid on it, since the tradition of Goshen and its inhabitants must have become very faint among the Egyptians at the time when the Pentateuch was translated, and we have no warrant for attributing to the translator or translators any more than a general and popular knowledge of Egyptian matters. In Gen. xlv. 10, for גֹּשֶׁן the LXX. has Γεσὴμ Ἀραβίας. The explanatory word may be understood either as meaning that Goshen lay in the region of Lower Egypt to the east of the Delta, or else as indicating that the Arabian Nome was partly or wholly the same. In the latter case it must be remembered that the Nomes very anciently were far more extensive than under the Ptolemies. On either supposition the passage is favourable to our identification. In Gen. xlv. 28, instead of גֹּשֶׁן, the LXX. has καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν, ἐν γῇ Ῥαμεσσῇ (or ἐν γῇ Ῥαμεσσῇ), seemingly identifying Rameses with Heropolis. It is scarcely possible to fix the site of the latter town, but there is no doubt that it lay in the valley not far from the ancient head of the Arabian Gulf. Its position is too near the gulf for the Rameses of Scripture, and it was probably chosen merely because at the time when the translation was made it was the chief place of the territory where the Israelites had been. It must be noted, however, that in Ex. i. 11, the LXX., followed by the Coptic, reads, instead of "Pithom and Rameses," τὴν τε Πειθὸν καὶ Ῥαμεσσῇ, καὶ ὧν, ἢ ἔστιν Ἡλιούπολιν. Eusebius identifies Rameses with Avaris, the Shepherd-stronghold on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile (cp. Cramer, *Anecd.* Paris, ii. p. 174). The evidence of the LXX. version therefore lends a general support to the theory we have advocated. [See EXODUS, THE.]

[R. S. P.]

2. (גֹּשֶׁן; Γοσόν; *Gessen*, *Gozen*) the "land" or the "country (both γῆ) of Goshen," is twice named as a district in Southern Palestine (Josh. x. 41, xi. 16). From the first of these it would seem to have lain between Gaza and Gibeon, and therefore to be some part of the maritime plain of Judah; but in the latter passage, that plain—the

*Shefelah*, is expressly specified in addition to Goshen (here with the article). In this place too the situation of Goshen—if the order of the statement be any indication—would seem to be between the "south" and the *Shefelah* (A. V. "valley"). If Goshen was any portion of this rich plain, is it not possible that its fertility may have suggested the name to the Israelites? but this is not more than mere conjecture. On the other hand the name may be far older, and may retain a trace of early intercourse between Egypt and the south of the promised land. For such intercourse comp. 1 Chr. vii. 21.

3. A town of the same name is once mentioned in company with Debir, Socoh, and others, as in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 51). There is nothing to connect this place with the district last spoken of. It has not yet been identified. [G.]

**GOSPELS.** The name Gospel (from *god* and *spell*, Ang. Sax. *good message* or *news*, which is a translation of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον) is applied to the four inspired histories of the life and teaching of Christ contained in the New Testament, of which separate accounts will be given in their place. [MATTHEW; MARK; LUKE; JOHN.] It may be fairly said that the genuineness of these four narratives rests upon better evidence than that of any other ancient writings. They were all composed during the latter half of the first century: those of St. Matthew and St. Mark some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; that of St. Luke probably about A.D. 64; and that of St. John towards the close of the century. Before the end of the second century, there is abundant evidence that the four Gospels, as one collection, were generally used and accepted. Irenæus, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 202, the disciple of Polycarp and Papias, who, from having been in Asia in Gaul, and in Rome, had ample means of knowing the belief of various churches, says that the authority of the four Gospels was so far confirmed that even the heretics of his time could not reject them, but were obliged to attempt to prove their tenets out of one or other of them (*Contr. Hæc.* iii. 11, §7). Tertullian, in a work written about A.D. 208, mentions the four Gospels, two of them as the work of Apostles, and two as that of the disciples of Apostles (*apostolici*); and rests their authority on their apostolic origin (*Adv. Marcion.* iv. ch. ii.). Origen, who was born about A.D. 185, and died A.D. 253, describes the Gospels in a characteristic strain of metaphor as "the [four] elements of the Church's faith, of which the whole world, reconciled to God in Christ, is composed" (*In Johann.*). Elsewhere, in commenting on the opening words of St. Luke, he draws a line between the inspired Gospels and such productions as "the Gospel according to the Egyptians," "the Gospel of the Twelve," and the like (*Homil. in Luc.* iii. p. 932, sq.). Although Theophilus, who became sixth (seventh?) bishop of Antioch about A.D. 168, speaks only of "the Evangelists," without adding their names (*Ad Autol.* iii. pp. 124, 125), we might fairly conclude with Gieseler that he refers to the collection of four, already known in his time. But from Jerome we know that Theophilus arranged the records of the four Evangelists into one work (*Epist. ad Algas.* iv. p. 197). Tatian, who died about A.D. 170 (?), compiled a *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Gospels. The Muratorian fragment (Murator, *Antiq. It.* iii. p. 854; Routh, *Reliq. S.* vol. iv.), which, even if it be not by Calixtus and of the second century, is at

least a very old monument of the Roman Church, describes the Gospels of Luke and John; but time and carelessness seem to have destroyed the sentences relating to Matthew and Mark. Another source of evidence is open to us, in the citations from the Gospels found in the earliest writers. Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, and Polycarp, quote passages from them, but not with verbal exactness. The testimony of Justin Martyr (born about A.D. 99, martyred A.D. 165) is much fuller; many of his quotations are found verbatim in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, and possibly of St. Mark also, whose words it is more difficult to separate. The quotations from St. Matthew are the most numerous. In historical references, the mode of quotation is more free, and the narrative occasionally unites those of Matthew and Luke: in a very few cases he alludes to matters not mentioned in the canonical Gospels. Besides these, St. Matthew appears to be quoted by the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, by Hegesippus, Irenæus, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus. Eusebius records that Pantaenus found in India (? the south of Arabia?) Christians who used the Gospel of St. Matthew. All this shows that long before the end of the second century the Gospel of St. Matthew was in general use. From the fact that St. Mark's Gospel has few places peculiar to it, it is more difficult to identify citations not expressly assigned to him; but Justin Martyr and Athenagoras appear to quote his Gospel, and Irenæus does so by name. St. Luke is quoted by Justin, Irenæus, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus; and St. John by all of these, with the addition of Ignatius, the Epistle to Diognetus, and Polycarpus. From these we may conclude that before the end of the second century the Gospel collection was well known and in general use. There is yet another line of evidence. The heretical sects, as well as the Fathers of the Church, knew the Gospels; and as there was the greatest hostility between them, if the Gospels had become known in the Church after the discussion arose, the heretics would never have accepted them as genuine from such a quarter. But the Gnostics and Marcionites arose early in the second century; and therefore it is probable that the Gospels were then accepted, and thus they are traced back almost to the times of the Apostles (Olshausen). Upon a review of all the witnesses, from the Apostolic Fathers down to the Canon of the Laodicean Council in 364, and that of the third Council of Carthage in 397, in both of which the four Gospels are numbered in the Canon of Scripture, there can hardly be room for any candid person to doubt that from the first the four Gospels were recognized as genuine and as inspired; that a sharp line of distinction was drawn between them and the so-called apocryphal Gospels, of which the number was very great; that, from the citations of passages, the Gospels bearing these four names were the same as those which we possess in our Bibles under the same names; that unbelievers, like Celsus, did not deny the genuineness of the Gospels, even when rejecting their contents; and, lastly, that heretics thought it necessary to plead some kind of sanction out of the Gospels for their doctrines: nor could they venture on the easier path of an entire rejection, because the Gospels were everywhere known to be genuine. As a matter of literary history, nothing can be better established than the genuineness of the Gospels; and if in these latest times they have been assailed, it is plain that theological doubts have been concerned in the attack.

The authority of the books has been denied from a wish to set aside their contents. Out of a mass of authorities the following may be selected:—Norton, *On the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2 vols. London, 1847, 2nd ed.; Kirchofer, *Quellenanerkennung zur Geschichte des N. T. Canons*, Zurich, 1844; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung*, &c., 7th ed., Berlin, 1852; Hug's *Einleitung*, &c., Fosdick's [American] translation, with Stuart's Notes; Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar*, introduction, and his *Echtheit der 4 Canon. Evangelien*, 1823; Jer. Jones, *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T.*, Oxford, 1798, 2 vols.; F. C. Baur, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Canon. Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847; Reuss, *Geschichte des N. T.*; Deam Alford's *Greek Testament*, Prolegomena, vol. i.; Rev. B. F. Westcott's *History of N. T. Canon*, London, 1859; Gieseler, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung, &c., der schriftlichen Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1818.

On comparing these four books one with another, a peculiar difficulty claims attention, which has had much to do with the controversy as to their genuineness. In the fourth Gospel the narrative coincides with that of the other three in a few passages only. Putting aside the account of the Passion, there are only three facts which John relates in common with the other Evangelists. Two of these are, the feeding of the five thousand, and the storm on the Sea of Galilee (ch. vi.), which appear to be introduced in connexion with the discourse that arose out of the miracle, related by John alone. The third is the anointing of His feet by Mary; and it is worthy of notice that the narrative of John recalls something of each of the other three: the actions of the woman are drawn from Luke, the ointment and its value are described in Mark, and the admonition to Judas appears in Matthew; and John combines in his narrative all these particulars. Whilst the three present the life of Jesus in Galilee, John follows him into Judæa; nor should we know, but for him, that our Lord had journeyed to Jerusalem at the prescribed feasts. Only one discourse of our Lord that was delivered in Galilee, that in the 6th chapter, is recorded by John. The disciple whom Jesus loved had it put into his mind to write a Gospel which should more expressly than the others set forth Jesus as the Incarnate Word of God: if he also had in view the beginnings of the errors of Cerinthus and others before him at the time, as Irenæus and Jerome assert, the polemical purpose is quite subordinate to the dogmatic. He does not war against a temporary error, but preaches for all time that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, in order that believing we may have life through His name. Now many of the facts omitted by St. John and recorded by the rest are such as would have contributed most directly to this great design; why then are they omitted? The received explanation is the only satisfactory one, namely, that John, writing last, at the close of the first century, had seen the other Gospels, and purposely abstained from writing anew what they had sufficiently recorded. [JOHN.]

In the other three Gospels there is a great amount of agreement. If we suppose the history that they contain to be divided into sections, in 42 of these all the three narratives coincide, 12 more are given by Matthew and Mark only, 5 by Mark and Luke only, and 14 by Matthew and Luke. To these must be added 5 peculiar to Matthew, 2 to Mark, and 9 to Luke; and the enumeration is complete. But this applies only to general coincidence as to the facts

narrated: the amount of verbal coincidence, that is, the passages either verbally the same, or coinciding in the use of many of the same words, is much smaller. "By far the larger portion," says Professor Andrews Norton (*Continuance*, i. p. 340, 2nd ed.), "of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus, in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of these about seven-eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one-eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the Evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark, the proportion of coincident passages to the whole contents of the Gospel is about one-sixth, of which not one-fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other Evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative—less than a twentieth part. These proportions should be further compared with those which the narrative part of each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one-fourth of his Gospel, Mark's about one-half, and Luke's about one-third. It may easily be computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel, compared with what exists in the other part, is about in the following ratios: in Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to ten."

Without going minutely into the examination of examples, which would be desirable if space permitted, the leading facts connected with the subject may be thus summed up:—The verbal and material agreement of the three first Evangelists is such as does not occur in any other authors who have written independently of one another. The verbal agreement is greater where the spoken words of others are cited than where facts are recorded; and greatest in quotations of the words of our Lord. But in some leading events, as in the call of the four first disciples, that of Matthew, and the Transfiguration, the agreement even in expression is remarkable; there are also narratives where there is no verbal harmony in the outset, but only in the crisis or emphatic part of the story (Matt. viii. 3 = Mark i. 41 = Luke v. 13, and Matt. xiv. 19, 20 = Mark vi. 41–43 = Luke ix. 16, 17). The narratives of our Lord's early life, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, have little in common; while St. Mark does not include that part of the history in his plan. The agreement in the narrative portions of the Gospels begins with the Baptism of John, and reaches its highest point in the account of the Passion of our Lord and the facts that preceded it; so that a direct ratio might almost be said to exist between the amount of agreement and the nearness of the facts related to the Passion. After this event, in the account of His burial and resurrection, the coincidences are few. The language of all three is Greek, with Hebrew idioms: the Hebrewisms are most abundant in St. Mark, and fewest in St. Luke. In quotations from the Old Testament, the Evangelists, or two of them, sometimes exhibit a verbal agreement, although they differ from the Hebrew and from the Septuagint version (Matt. iii. 3 = Mark i. 3

= Luke iii. 4. Matt. iv. 10 = Luke iv. 8. Matt. xi. 10 = Mark i. 2 = Luke vii. 27, &c.). Except as to 24 verses, the Gospel of Mark contains no principal facts which are not found in Matthew and Luke; but he often supplies details omitted by them, and these are often such as would belong to the graphic account of an eye-witness. There are no cases in which Matthew and Luke exactly harmonize, where Mark does not also coincide with them. In several places the words of Mark have something in common with each of the other narratives, so as to form a connecting link between them, where their words slightly differ. The examples of verbal agreement between Mark and Luke are not so long or so numerous as those between Matthew and Luke, and Matthew and Mark; but as to the arrangement of events Mark and Luke frequently coincide, where Matthew differs from them. These are the leading particulars; but they are very far from giving a complete notion of a phenomenon that is well worthy of that attention and reverent study of the sacred text by which alone it can be fully and fairly apprehended.

These facts exhibit the three Gospels as three distinct records of the life and works of the Redeemer, but with a greater amount of agreement than three wholly independent accounts could be expected to exhibit. The agreement would be no difficulty, without the differences; it would only mark the one divine source from which they all derived—the Holy Spirit, who spoke by the prophets. The difference of form and style, without the agreement, would offer no difficulty, since there may be a substantial harmony between accounts that differ greatly in mode of expression, and the very difference might be a guarantee of independence. The harmony and the variety, the agreement and the differences, form together the problem with which Biblical critics have occupied themselves for a century and a half.

The attempts at a solution are so many, that they can be more easily classified than enumerated. The first and most obvious suggestion would be, that the narrators made use of each other's work. Accordingly Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and many others, have endeavoured to ascertain which Gospel is to be regarded as the first; which is copied from the first; and which is the last, and copied from the other two. It is remarkable that each of the six possible combinations have found advocates; and this of itself proves the uncertainty of the theory (Bp. Maash's *Micheckis*, iii. p. 172; Dr. Wette, *Handbuch*, §22 et seq.). When we are told by men of research that the Gospel of St. Mark is plainly founded upon the other two, as Griesbach, Böhmer, and others assure us; and again, that the Gospel of St. Mark is certainly the primitive Gospel, on which the other two are founded, as by Wilke, Bruno Bauer, and others, both sides relying mainly on facts that lie within the compass of the text, we are not disposed to expect much fruit from the discussion. But the theory in its crude form is in itself most improbable; and the wonder is that so much time and learning have been devoted to it. It assumes that an Evangelist has taken up the work of his predecessor, and without substantial alteration has made a few changes in form, a few additions and retrenchments, and has then allowed the whole to go forth under his name. Whatever order of the three is adopted to favour the hypothesis, the omission by the second or third, of matter inserted by the first,

offers a great difficulty; since it would indicate a tacit opinion that these passages are either less useful or of less authority than the rest. The nature of the alterations is not such as we should expect to find in an age little given to literary composition, and in writings so simple and unlearned as these are admitted to be. The replacement of a word by a synonym, neither more nor less apt, the omission of a saying in one place and insertion of it in another, the occasional transposition of events; these are not in conformity with the habits of a time in which composition was little studied, and only practised as a necessity. Besides, such deviations, which in writers wholly independent of each other are only the guarantee of their independence, cannot appear in those who copy from each other, without showing a certain wilfulness—an intention to contradiet and alter—that seems quite irreconcilable with any view of inspiration. These general objections will be found to take a still more cogent shape against any particular form of this hypothesis: whether it is attempted to show that the Gospel of St. Mark, as the short text, is also the earliest and primitive Gospel, or that this very Gospel bears evident signs of being the latest, a compilation from the other two; or that the order in the canon of Scripture is also the chronological order—and all these views have found defenders at no distant date—the theory that each Evangelist only copied from his predecessor offers the same general features, a plausible argument from a few facts, which is met by insuperable difficulties as soon as the remaining facts are taken in (Gieseler, pp. 35, 36; Bp. Marsh's *Michælis*, iii., Part ii., pp. 171 sqq.).

The supposition of a common original from which the three Gospels were drawn, each with more or less modification, would naturally occur to those who rejected the notion that the Evangelists had copied from each other. A passage of Epiphanius has been often quoted in support of this (*Haer.* 51, 6), but the *ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πηγῆς* no doubt refers to the inspiring Spirit from which all three drew their authority, and not to any earthly copy, written or oral, of His divine message. The best notion of that class of speculations which would establish a *written document* as the common original of the three Gospels, will be gained perhaps from Bishop Marsh's (*Michælis*, vol. iii., Part ii.) account of Eichhorn's hypothesis, and of his own additions to it. It appeared to Eichhorn that the portions which are common to all the three Gospels were contained in a certain common document, from which they all drew. Niemeyer had already assumed that copies of such a document had got into circulation, and had been altered and annotated by different hands. Now Eichhorn tries to show, from an exact comparison of passages, that "the sections, whether great or small, which are common to St. Matthew and St. Mark but not to St. Luke, and at the same time occupy places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark which correspond to each other, were additions made in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in the copy used by St. Luke; and, in like manner, that the sections found in the corresponding places of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke" (p. 192). Thus Eichhorn considers himself entitled to assume that he can reconstruct the original document, and also that there must

have been four other documents to account for the phenomena of the text. Thus he makes—

1. The original document.
2. An altered copy which St. Matthew used.
3. An altered copy which St. Luke used.
4. A third copy, made from the two preceding, used by St. Mark.
5. A fourth altered copy, used by St. Matthew and St. Luke in common.

As there is no external evidence worth considering that this original or any of its numerous copies ever existed, the value of this elaborate hypothesis must depend upon its furnishing the only explanation, and that a sufficient one, of the facts of this text. Bishop Marsh, however, finds it necessary, in order to complete the account of the text, to raise the number of documents to eight, still without producing any external evidence for the existence of any of them; and this, on one side, deprives Eichhorn's theory of the merit of completeness, and, on the other, presents a much broader surface to the obvious objections. He assumes the existence of—

1. A Hebrew original.
2. A Greek translation.
3. A transcript of No. 1, with alterations and additions.
4. Another, with another set of alterations and additions.
5. Another, combining both the preceding, used by St. Mark, who also used No. 2.
6. Another, with the alterations and additions of No. 3, and with further additions, used by St. Matthew.
7. Another, with those of No. 4 and further additions, used by St. Luke, who also used No. 2.
8. A wholly distinct Hebrew document, in which our Lord's precepts, parables, and discourses were recorded, but not in chronological order; used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke.

To this it is added, that "as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person who translated St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek frequently derived assistance from the Gospel of St. Mark, where he had matter in connexion with St. Matthew: and in those places, but in those places only, where St. Mark had no matter in connexion with St. Matthew, he had frequently recourse to St. Luke's Gospel" (p. 361). One hardly surprised after this to learn that Eichhorn soon after put forth a revised hypothesis (*Einführung in das N. T.*, 1804), in which a supposed Greek translation of a supposed Aramaic original took a conspicuous part; nor that Hug was able to point out that even the most liberal assumption of written documents had not provided for one case, that of the verbal agreement of St. Mark and St. Luke, to the exclusion of St. Matthew; and which, though it is of rare occurrence, would require, on Eichhorn's theory, an additional Greek version.

It will be allowed that this elaborate hypothesis, whether in the form given it by Marsh or by Eichhorn, possesses almost every fault that can be charged against an argument of that kind. For every new class of facts a new document must be assumed to have existed; and Hug's objection does not really weaken the theory, since the new class of coincidences he mentions only requires a new version of the "original Gospel," which can be supplied on demand. A theory so prolific in as-

assumptions may still stand, if it can be proved that no other solution is possible; but since this cannot be shown, even as against the modified theory of Gatz (*Neuer Versuch*, &c., 1812), then we are reminded of the schoolman's caution, *entia non sunt multiplicanda propter necessitatem*. To assume for every new class of facts the existence of another complete edition, and recension of the original work is quite gratuitous; the documents might have been as easily supposed to be fragmentary memorials, wrought in by the Evangelists into the web of the original Gospel; or the coincidences might be, as Gatz supposes, cases where one Gospel has been interpolated by portions of another. Then the "original Gospel" is supposed to have been of such authority as to be circulated everywhere: yet so defective, as to require annotation from any hand, so little revered, that no hand spared it. If all the Evangelists agreed to draw from such a work, it must have been widely if not universally accepted in the Church; and yet there is no record of its existence. The force of this dilemma has been felt by the supporters of the theory: if the work was of high authority, it would have been preserved, or at least mentioned; if of lower authority, it could not have become the basis of three canonical Gospels; and various attempts have been made to escape from it. Bertholdt tries to find traces of its existence in the titles of works other than our present Gospels, which were current in the earliest ages; but Gieseler has so diminished the force of his arguments, that only one of them need here be mentioned. Bertholdt ingeniously argues that a Gospel used by St. Paul, and transmitted to the Christians in Pontus, was the basis of Marcion's Gospel; and assumes that it was also the "original Gospel:" so that in the Gospel of Marcion there would be a transcript, though corrupted, of this primitive document. But there is no proof at all that St. Paul used any written Gospel; and as to that of Marcion, if the work of Hahn had not settled the question, the researches of such writers as Volkmar, Zeller, Ritschl, and Hilgenfeld, are held to have proved that the old opinion of Tertullian and Epiphanius is also the true one, and that the so-called Gospel of Marcion was not an independent work, but an abridged version of St. Luke's Gospel, altered by the heretic to suit his peculiar tenets. (See Bertholdt, iii., pp. 1208-1223; Gieseler, p. 57; Weiss, *Evangelienfrage*, p. 73.) We must conclude then that the work has perished without record. Not only has this fate befallen the Aramaic or Hebrew original, but the translation and the five or six recensions. But it may well be asked whether the state of letters in Palestine at this time was such as to make this constant editing, translating, annotating, and enriching of a history a natural and probable process. With the independence of the Jews their literature had declined; from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, if a writer here and there arose, his works became known, if at all, in Greek translations through the Alexandrine Jews. That the period of which we are speaking was for the Jews one of very little literary activity, is generally admitted; and if this applies to all classes of the people, it would be true of the humble and uneducated class from which the first converts came (Acts iv. 13; James ii. 5). Even the second law (*Sevreporeis*), which grew up after the captivity, and in which the knowledge of the learned class consisted, was handed down by oral tradition, without being reduced to writing. The theory of Eichhorn is only

probable amidst a people given to literary habits, and in a class of that people where education was good and literary activity likely to prevail: the conditions here are the very reverse (see Gieseler's able argument, p. 59 sqq.). These are only a few of the objections which may be raised, on critical and historical grounds, against the theory of Eichhorn and Marsh.

But it must not be forgotten that this question reaches beyond history and criticism, and has a deep theological interest. We are offered here an original Gospel composed by some unknown person; probably not an apostle, as Eichhorn admits, in his endeavour to account for the loss of the book. This was translated by one equally unknown; and the various persons into whose hands the two documents came, all equally unknown, exercised freely the power of altering and extending the materials thus provided. Out of such unattested materials the three Evangelists composed their Gospels. So far as they allowed their materials to bind and guide them, so far their worth as independent witnesses is lessened. But, according to Eichhorn, they all felt bound to admit the *whole* of the original document, so that it is possible to recover it from them by a simple process. As to all the passages, then, in which this document is employed, it is not the Evangelist but an anonymous predecessor to whom we are listening. Not Matthew the Apostle, and Mark the companion of Apostles, and Luke the beloved of the Apostle Paul, are affording us the strength of their testimony, but one witness whose name no one has thought fit to record. If, indeed, all three Evangelists confined themselves to this document, this of itself would be a guarantee of its fidelity and of the respect in which it was held; but no one seems to have taken it in hand that did not think himself entitled to amend it. Surely serious people would have a right to ask, if the critical objections were less decisive, with what view of inspiration such a hypothesis could be reconciled. The internal evidence of the truth of the Gospel, in the harmonious and self-consistent representation of the Person of Jesus, and in the promises and precepts which meet the innermost needs of a heart stricken with the consciousness of sin, would still remain to us. But the wholesome confidence with which we now rely on the Gospels as pure, true, and genuine histories of the life of Jesus, composed by four independent witnesses inspired for that work, would be taken away. Even the testimony of the writers of the second century to the universal acceptance of these books would be invalidated, from their silence and ignorance about the strange circumstances which are supposed to have affected their composition.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.**—The English student will find in Bp. Marsh's *Translation of Michaelis' Introd. to N. T.* iii. 2, 1803, an account of Eichhorn's earlier theory and of his own. Veyssie's *Exantuation of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis*, 1808, has suggested many of the objections. In Bp. Thirlwall's *Translation of Schleiermacher on St. Luke*, 1825, Introduction, is an account of the whole question. Other principal works are, an essay of Eichhorn, in the 5th vol. *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Literatur*, 1794; the Essay of Bp. Marsh, just quoted; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das N. T.* 1804; Gatz, *Neuer Versuch die Entstehung der drei ersten Ewang. zu erklären*, 1812; Bertholdt, *Histor. kritische Einleitung in sämtliche kanon. und*

*apok. Schriften des A. und N. T.*, 1812-1819, and the work of Gieseler, quoted above. See also Dr. Wette, *Lehrbuch*, and Westcott, *Introduction*, already quoted; also Weiss, *Evangelienfrage*, 1856.

There is another supposition to account for these facts, of which perhaps Gieseler has been the most acute expositor. It is probable that none of the Gospels was written until many years after the day of Pentecost, on which the Holy Spirit descended on the assembled disciples. From that day commenced at Jerusalem the work of preaching the Gospel and converting the world. So sedulous were the apostles in this work that they divested themselves of the labour of ministering to the poor, in order that they might give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word" (Acts vi.). Prayer and preaching were the business of their lives. Now their preaching must have been, from the nature of the case, in great part historical; it must have been based upon an account of the life and acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They had been the eye-witnesses of a wondrous life, of acts and sufferings that had an influence over all the world: many of their hearers had never heard of Jesus, many others had received false accounts of one whom it suited the Jewish rulers to stigmatize as an impostor. The ministry of our Lord went on principally in Galilee; the first preaching was addressed to people in Judæa. There was no written record to which the hearers might be referred for historical details, and therefore the preachers must furnish not only inferences from the life of our Lord, but the facts of the life itself. The preaching, then, must have been of such a kind as to be to the hearers what the reading of lessons from the Gospels is to us. So far as the records of apostolic preaching in the Acts of the Apostles go, they confirm this view. Peter at Cæsarea, and Paul at Antioch, preach alike the facts of the Redeemer's life and death. There is no improbability in supposing that in the course of twenty or thirty years' assiduous teaching, without a written Gospel, the matter of the apostolic preaching should have taken a settled form. Not only might the Apostles think it well that their own accounts should agree, as in substance so in form; but the teachers whom they sent forth, or left behind in the churches they visited, would have to be prepared for their mission; and, so long as there was no written Gospel to put into their hands, it might be desirable that the oral instruction should be as far as possible one and the same to all. It is by no means certain that the interval between the mission of the Comforter and His work of directing the writing of the first Gospel was so long as is here supposed: the date of the Hebrew St. Matthew may be earlier. [MARTINEAU.] But the argument remains the same: the preaching of the Apostles would probably begin to take one settled form, if at all, during the first years of their ministry. If it were allowed us to ask why God in His providence saw fit to defer

the gift of a written Gospel to His people, the answer would be, that for the first few years the powerful working of the Holy Spirit in the living members of the Church supplied the place of those records, which, as soon as the brightness of His presence began to be at all withdrawn, became indispensable in order to prevent the corruption of the Gospel history by false teachers. He was promised as one who should "teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever" the Lord had "said unto them" (John xiv. 26). And more than once His aid is spoken of as needful, even for the proclamation of the facts that relate to Christ (Acts i. 8; 1 Pet. i. 12); and He is described as a witness *with* the Apostles, rather than through them, of the things which they had seen during the course of a ministry which they had shared (John xv. 26, 27; Acts v. 32. Compare Acts xv. 28). The personal authority of the Apostles as eye-witnesses of what they preached is not set aside by this divine aid: again and again they describe themselves as "witnesses" to facts (Acts ii. 32, iii. 15, x. 39, &c.); and when a vacancy occurs in their number through the fall of Judas, it is almost assumed as a thing of course that his successor shall be chosen from those "which had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them" (Acts i. 21). The teachings of the Holy Spirit consisted, not in whispering to them facts which they had not witnessed, but rather in reviving the fading remembrance, and throwing out into their true importance events and sayings that had been esteemed too lightly at the time they took place. But the Apostles could not have spoken of the Spirit as they did (Acts v. 32, xv. 28) unless He were known to be working in and with them and directing them, and manifesting that this was the case by unmistakeable signs. Here is the answer, both to the question why was it not the first care of the Apostles to prepare a written Gospel, and also to the scruples of those who fear that the supposition of an oral Gospel would give a precedent for those views of tradition which have been the bane of the Christian Church as they were of the Jewish. The guidance of the Holy Spirit supplied for a time such aid as made a written Gospel unnecessary; but the Apostles saw the dangers and errors which a traditional Gospel would be exposed to in the course of time; and, whilst they were still preaching the oral Gospel in the strength of the Holy Ghost, they were admonished by the same divine Person to prepare those written records which were hereafter to be the daily spiritual food of all the Church of Christ.\* Nor is there anything unnatural in the supposition that the Apostles intentionally uttered their witness in the same order, and even, for the most part, in the same form of words. They would thus approach most nearly to the condition in which the Church was to be when written books were to be the means of edification. They quote the scriptures of the Old

\* The opening words of St. Luke's Gospel, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," appear to mean that many persons who heard the preaching of the Apostles wrote down what they heard, in order to preserve it in a permanent form. The word "many" cannot refer

to St. Matthew and Mark only; and if the passage implies an intention to supersede the writings alluded to, then these two Evangelists cannot be included under them. Partial and incomplete reports of the preaching of the Apostles, written with a good aim, but without authority, are intended; and, if we may argue from St. Luke's sphere of observation, they were probably composed by Greek converts.

Testament frequently in their discourses; and as their Jewish education had accustomed them to the use of the words of the Bible as well as the matter, they would do no violence to their prejudices in assimilating the new records to the old, and in reducing them to a "form of sound words." They were all Jews of Palestine, of humble origin, all alike chosen, we may suppose, for the loving zeal with which they would observe the ways of their Master and afterwards propagate his name; so that the tendency to variance, arising from peculiarities of education, taste, and character, would be reduced to its lowest in such a body. The language of their first preaching was the Syro-Chaldaic, which was a poor and scanty language; and though Greek was now widely spread, and was the language even of several places in Palestine (Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 11, 4; *Hell. Jud.* iii. 9, 1), though it prevailed in Antioch, whence the first missions to Greeks and Hellenists, or Jews who spoke Greek, proceeded (Acts xi. 20, xiii. 1-3), the Greek tongue, as used by Jews, partook of the poverty of the speech which it replaced; as, indeed, it is impossible to borrow a whole language without borrowing the habits of thought upon which it has built itself. Whilst modern taste aims at a variety of expression, and abhors a repetition of the same phrases as monotonous, the simplicity of the men, and their language, and their education, and the state of literature, would all lead us to expect that the Apostles would have no such feeling. As to this, we have more than mere conjecture to rely on. Occasional repetitions occur in the Gospels (Luke vii. 19, 20; vii. 31, 34), such as a writer in a more copious and cultivated language would perhaps have sought to avoid. In the Acts, the conversion of St. Paul is three times related (Acts ix., xxi., xxvi.), once by the writer and twice by St. Paul himself; and the two first harmonize exactly, except as to a few expressions and as to one more important circumstance (ix. 7 = xxi. 9)—which, however, admits of an explanation—whilst the third deviates somewhat more in expression, and has one passage peculiar to itself. The vision of Cornelius is also three times related (Acts x. 3-6, 30-32, xi. 13, 14), where the words of the angel in the two first are almost precisely alike, and the rest very similar, whilst the other is an abridged account of the same facts. The vision of Peter is twice related (Acts x. 10-16, xi. 5-10), and, except in one or two expressions, the agreement is verbally exact. These places from the Acts which, both as to their resemblance and their difference, may be compared to the narratives of the Evangelists, show the same tendency to a common form of narrative which, according to the present view, may have influenced the preaching of the Apostles. It is supposed, then, that the preaching of the Apostles, and the teaching whereby they prepared others to preach, as they did, would tend to assume a common form, more or less fixed; and that the portions of the three Gospels which harmonize most exactly owe their agreement not to the fact that they were copied from each other, although it is impossible to say that the later writer made no use of the earlier one, nor to the existence of any original document now lost to us, but to the fact that the apostolic preaching had already clothed itself in a settled or usual form of words, to which the writers inclined to conform without feeling bound to do so; and the differences which occur, often

in the closest proximity to the harmonies, arise from the feeling of independence with which each wrote what he had seen and heard, or, in the case of Mark and Luke, what apostolic witnesses had told him. The harmonies, as we have seen, begin with the baptism of John; that is, with the consecration of the Lord to His Messianic office; and with this event probably the ordinary preaching of the Apostles would begin, for its purport was that Jesus is the Messiah, and that as Messiah He suffered, died, and rose again. They are very frequent as we approach the period of the Passion, because the sufferings of the Lord would be much in the mouth of every one who preached the Gospel, and all would become familiar with the words in which the Apostles described it. But as regards the Resurrection, which differed from the Passion in that it was a fact which the enemies of Christianity felt bound to dispute (Matt. xxviii. 15), it is possible that the divergence arose from the intention of each Evangelist to contribute something towards the weight of evidence for this central truth. Accordingly, all the four, even St. Mark (xvi. 14), who often throws a new light upon old ground than opens out new, mention distinct acts and appearances of the Lord to establish that He was risen indeed. The verbal agreement is greater where the words of others are recorded, and greatest of all where they are those of Jesus, because here the apostolic preaching would be especially exact; and where the historical fact is the utterance of certain words, the duty of the historian is narrowed to a bare record of them. (See the works of Gieseler, Norton, Westcott, Weiss, and others already quoted.)

That this opinion would explain many of the facts connected with the text is certain. Whether, besides conforming to the words and arrangement of the apostolic preaching, the Evangelists did in any cases make use of each other's work or not, it would require a more careful investigation of details to discuss than space permits. Every reader would probably find on examination some places which could best be explained on this supposition. Nor does this involve a sacrifice of the independence of the narrator. If each of the three drew the substance of his narrative from the one common strain of preaching that everywhere prevailed, to have departed entirely in a written account from the common form of words to which Christian ears were beginning to be familiar, would not have been independence but wilfulness. To follow here and there the words and arrangement of another written gospel already current would not compromise the writer's independent position. If the principal part of the narrative was the voice of the whole Church, a few portions might be conformed to another writer without altering the character of the testimony. In the separate articles on the Gospels it will be shown that, however close may be the agreement of the Evangelists, the independent position of each appears from the contents of his book, and has been recognised by writers of all ages. It will appear that St. Matthew describes the kingdom of Messiah, as founded in the Old Testament and fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; that St. Mark, with so little of narrative peculiar to himself, brings out by many minute circumstances a more vivid delineation of our Lord's completely human life; that St. Luke puts forward the work of Redemption as a universal benefit, and shows Jesus not only as the Messiah of the chosen people

but as the Saviour of the world; that St. John, writing last of all, passed over most of what his predecessors had related, in order to set forth more fully all that he had heard from the Master who loved him, of His relation to the Father, and of the relation of the Holy Spirit to both. The independence of the writers is thus established; and if they seem to have here and there used each other's account, which it is perhaps impossible to prove or disprove, such cases will not compromise the claim which alone gives value to a plurality of witnesses.

How does this last theory bear upon our belief in the inspiration of the Gospels? This momentous question admits of a satisfactory reply. Our blessed Lord, on five different occasions, promised to the Apostles the divine guidance, to teach and enlighten them in their dangers (Matt. x. 19; Luke xii. 11, 12; Mark xiii. 11; and John xiv., xv., xvi.). He bade them take no thought about defending themselves before judges; he promised them the Spirit of Truth to guide them into all truth, to teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance. That this promise was fully realised to them the history of the Acts sufficiently shows. But if the divine assistance was given them in their discourses and preaching it would be rendered equally when they were about to put down in writing the same gospel which they preached; and, as this would be their greatest time of need, the aid would be granted them most surely. So that, as to St. Matthew and St. John, we may say that their Gospels are inspired because the writers of them were inspired, according to their Master's promise; for it is impossible to suppose that He who put words into their mouths when they stood before a human tribunal, with no greater fear than that of death before them, would withhold His light and truth when the want of them would mislead the whole Church of Christ and turn the light that was in it into darkness. The case of the other two Evangelists is somewhat different. It has always been held that they were under the guidance of Apostles in what they wrote—St. Mark under that of St. Peter, and St. Luke under that of St. Paul. We are not expressly told indeed that these Evangelists themselves were persons to whom Christ's promises of supernatural guidance had been extended, but it certainly was not confined to the twelve to whom it was originally made, as the case of St. Paul himself proves, who was admitted to all the privileges of an apostle, though, as it were, "born out of due time;" and as St. Mark and St. Luke were the companions of apostles—shared their dangers, confronted hostile tribunals, had to teach and preach—there is reason to think that they equally enjoyed what they equally needed. In Acts xv. 28, the Holy Ghost is spoken of as the common guide and light of all the brethren, not of apostles only; nay, to speak it reverently, as one of themselves. So that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke appear to have been admitted into the canon of Scripture as written by inspired men in free and close communication with inspired apostles. But supposing that the portion of the three first Gospels which is common to all has been derived from the preaching of the apostles in general, then it is drawn directly from a source which we know from our Lord Himself to have been inspired. It comes to us from those apostles into whose mouths Christ promised to put the words of His Holy Spirit. It is not from an anonymous writing, as Eichhorn

thinks—it is not that the three witnesses are really one, as Storr and others have suggested in the theory of copying—but that the daily preaching of all apostles and teachers has found three independent transcribers in the three Evangelists. Now the inspiration of an historical writing will consist in its truth, and in its selection of events. Everything narrated must be substantially and exactly true, and the comparison of the Gospels one with another offers us nothing that does not answer to this test. There are differences of arrangement of events; here some details of a narrative or a discourse are supplied which are wanting there; and if the writer had professed to follow a strict chronological order, or had pretended that his record was not only true but complete, then one inversion of order, or one omission of a syllable, would convict him of inaccuracy. But if it is plain—if it is all but avowed—that minute chronological data are not part of the writer's purpose—if it is also plain that nothing but a selection of the facts is intended, or, indeed, possible (John xxi. 25)—then the proper test to apply is, whether each gives us a picture of the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth that is self-consistent and consistent with the others, such as would be suitable to the use of those who were to believe on His Name—for this is their evident intention. About the answer there should be no doubt. We have seen that each Gospel has its own features, and that the divine element has controlled the human but not destroyed it. But the picture which they conspire to draw is one full of harmony. The Saviour they all describe is the same loving, tender guide of His disciples, sympathising with them in the sorrows and temptations of earthly life, yet ever ready to enlighten that life by rays of truth out of the infinite world where the Father sits upon His throne. It has been said that St. Matthew portrays rather the human side, and St. John the divine; but this holds good only in a limited sense. It is in St. John that we read that "Jesus wept;" and there is nothing, even in the last discourse of Jesus, as reported by St. John, that opens a deeper view of His divine nature than the words in St. Matthew (xi. 25-30) beginning, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes." All reveal the same divine and human Teacher; four copies of the same portrait, perhaps with a difference of expression, yet still the same, are drawn here, and it is a portrait the like of which no one had ever delineated before, or, indeed, could have done, except from having looked on it with observant eyes, and from having had the mind opened by the Holy Spirit to comprehend features of such unspeakable radiance. Not only does this highest "harmony of the Gospels" manifest itself to every pious reader of the Bible, but the lower harmony—the agreement of fact and word in all that relates to the ministry of the Lord, in all that would contribute to a true view of His spotless character—exists also, and cannot be denied. For example, all tell us alike that Jesus was transfigured on the mount; that the *shekinah* of divine glory shone upon His face; that Moses the lawgiver and Elijah the prophet talked with Him; and that the Voice from heaven bore witness to Him. Is it any imputation upon the truth of the histories that St. Matthew alone tells us that the witnesses fell prostrate to the earth, and that Jesus raised them? or, that St. Luke alone tells us that for a part of the

time they were heavy with sleep? Again, one Evangelist, in describing our Lord's temptation, follows the order of the occurrences, another arranges according to the degrees of temptation, and the third, passing over all particulars, merely mentions that our Lord *was* tempted. Is there anything here to shake our faith in the writers as credible historians? Do we treat other histories in this exacting spirit? Is not the very independence of treatment the pledge to us that we have really three witnesses to the fact that Jesus was tempted like as we are? for if the Evangelists were copyists nothing would have been more easy than to remove such an obvious difference as this. The histories are true according to any test that should be applied to a history; and the events that they select—though we could not presume to say that they were more important than what are omitted, except from the fact of the omission—are at least such as to have given the whole Christian Church a clear conception of the Redeemer's life, so that none has ever complained of insufficient means of knowing Him.

There is a perverted form of the theory we are considering which pretends that the facts of the Redeemer's life remained in the state of an oral tradition till the latter part of the second century, and that the four Gospels were not written till that time. The difference is not of degree but of kind between the opinion that the Gospels were written during the lifetime of the Apostles, who were eye-witnesses, and the notion that for nearly a century after the oldest of them had passed to his rest the events were only preserved in the changeable and insecure form of an oral account. But for the latter opinion there is not one spark of historical evidence. Heretics of the second century who would gladly have rejected and exposed a new gospel that made against them never hint that the Gospels are spurious; and orthodox writers ascribe without contradiction the authorship of the books to those whose names they bear. The theory was invented to accord with the assumption that miracles

are impossible, but upon no evidence whatever; and the argument when exposed runs in this vicious circle:—"There are no miracles, therefore the accounts of them must have grown up in the course of a century from popular exaggeration, and as the accounts are not contemporaneous it is not proved that there are miracles!" That the Jewish mind in its lowest decay should have invented the character of Jesus of Nazareth, and the sublime system of morality contained in His teaching—that four writers should have fixed the popular impression in four plain, simple, unadorned narratives, without any outbursts of national prejudice, or any attempt to give a political tone to the events they wrote of—would be in itself a miracle harder to believe than that Lazarus came out at the Lord's call from his four-days' tomb.

It will be an appropriate conclusion to this imperfect sketch to give a conspectus of the harmony of the Gospels, by which the several theories may be examined in their bearing on the gospel accounts in detail. Let it be remembered, however, that a complete harmony, including the chronological arrangement and the exact succession of all events, was not intended by the sacred writers to be constructed; indeed the data for it are pointedly withheld. Here most of the places where there is some special difficulty, and where there has been a question whether the events are parallel or distinct, are marked by figures in different type. The sections might in many cases have been subdivided but for the limits of space, but the reader can supply this defect for himself as cases arise. (The principal works employed in constructing it are, Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, 1776; De Wette and Lücke, *Syn. Evang.*, 1842; Rölliger, *Syn. Evang.*, 1829; Clausen, *Quatuor Evang. Tabulæ Synopticæ*, 1829; Gresswell's *Harmony and Dissertations*, a most important work; the Rev. J. Williams *On the Gospels*; Theile's *Greek Testament*; and Tischendorf's *Syn. Evang.*, 1854; besides the well-known works of Lightfoot, Macknight, Newcome, and Robinson.) [W. T.]

### TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

N.B.—In the following Table, where all the references under a given section are printed in thick type, as under "Two Genealogies," it is to be understood that some special difficulty besets the harmony. Where one or more references under a given section are in thin, and one or more in thick type, it is to be understood that the former are given as in their proper place, and that it is more or less doubtful whether the latter are to be considered as parallel narratives or not.

	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
"The Word" .. .. .	.	.	.	i. 1-14
Preface, to Theophilus .. .. .	.	.	i. 1-4	
Annunciation of the Baptist's birth .. .. .	.	.	i. 5-25	
Annunciation of the birth of Jesus .. .. .	.	.	i. 26-38	
Mary visits Elizabeth .. .. .	.	.	i. 39-56	
Birth of John the Baptist .. .. .	.	.	i. 57-80	
Birth of Jesus Christ .. .. .	<b>i. 18-25</b>	.	ii. 1-7	
Two Genealogies .. .. .	<b>i. 1-17</b>	.	<b>iii. 23-38</b>	
The watching Shepherds .. .. .	.	.	ii. 8-20	
The Circumcision .. .. .	.	.	ii. 21	
Presentation in the Temple .. .. .	.	.	ii. 22-38	
The wise men from the East .. .. .	ii. 1-12	.	.	
Flight to Egypt .. .. .	ii. 13-23	.	ii. 39	
Disputing with the Doctors .. .. .	.	.	ii. 40-52	
Ministry of John the Baptist .. .. .	iii. 1-12	i. 1-8	iii. 1-18	i. 15-31
Baptism of Jesus Christ .. .. .	iii. 13-17	i. 9-11	iii. 21, 22	i. 32-34
The Temptation .. .. .	iv. 1-11	i. 12, 13	iv. 1-13	

TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS—*continued.*

	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
Andrew and another see Jesus .. ..	. .	. .	. .	i. 35-40
Simon, now Cephas .. ..	. .	. .	. .	i. 41, 42
Philip and Nathanael .. ..	. .	. .	. .	i. 43-51
The water made wine .. ..	. .	. .	. .	ii. 1-11
Passover (1st) and cleansing the Temple .. ..	. .	. .	. .	ii. 12-22
Nicodemus .. ..	. .	. .	. .	ii. 23-iii. 21
Christ and John baptizing .. ..	. .	. .	. .	iii. 22-36
The woman of Samaria .. ..	. .	. .	. .	iv. 1-42
John the Baptist in prison .. ..	iv. 12; xiv. 3	i. 14; vi. 17	iii. 19-20	<b>iii. 24</b>
Return to Galilee .. ..	iv. 12	i. 14, 15	iv. 14, 15	iv. 43-45
The synagogue at Nazareth .. ..	. .	. .	iv. 16-30	
The nobleman's son .. ..	. .	. .	. .	iv. 46-54
Capernaum. Four Apostles called .. ..	iv. 13-22	i. 16-20	<b>v. 1-11</b>	
Demoniac healed there .. ..	. .	i. 21-28	iv. 31-37	
Simon's wife's mother healed .. ..	viii. 14-17	i. 29-34	iv. 38-41	
Circuit round Galilee .. ..	iv. 23-25	i. 35-39	iv. 42-44	
Healing a leper .. ..	viii. 1-4	i. 40-45	v. 12-16	
Christ stills the storm .. ..	viii. 18-27	iv. 35-41	viii. 22-25	
Demoniacs in land of Gadarenes .. ..	viii. 28-34	v. 1-20	viii. 26-39	
Jairus's daughter. Woman healed .. ..	ix. 18-26	v. 21-43	viii. 40-56	
Blind men, and demoniac .. ..	ix. 27-34	. .	. .	
Healing the paralytic .. ..	ix. 1-8	ii. 1-12	v. 17-26	
Matthew the publican .. ..	ix. 9-13	ii. 13-17	v. 27-32	
"Thy disciples fast not" .. ..	ix. 14-17	ii. 18-22	v. 33-39	
Journey to Jerusalem to 2nd Passover .. ..	. .	. .	. .	v. 1
Pool of Bethesda. Power of Christ .. ..	. .	. .	. .	v. 2-47
Plucking ears of corn on Sabbath .. ..	xii. 1-8	ii. 23-28	vi. 1-5	
The withered hand. Miracles .. ..	xii. 9-21	iii. 1-12	vi. 6-11	
The Twelve Apostles .. ..	<b>x. 2-4</b>	iii. 13-19	vi. 12-16	
The Sermon on the Mount .. ..	<b>v. 1-vii. 29</b>	. .	vi. 17-49	
The centurion's servant .. ..	viii. 5-13	. .	vii. 1-10	iv. 46-54
The widow's son at Nain .. ..	. .	. .	vii. 11-17	
Messengers from John .. ..	xi. 2-19	. .	vii. 18-35	
Woe to the cities of Galilee .. ..	xi. 20-24	. .	. .	
Call to the meek and suffering .. ..	xi. 25-30	. .	. .	
Anointing the feet of Jesus .. ..	. .	. .	vii. 36-50	
Second circuit round Galilee .. ..	. .	. .	viii. 1-3	
Parable of the Sower .. ..	xiii. 1-23	iv. 1-20	viii. 4-15	
" Canute under a Bushel .. ..	. .	iv. 21-25	viii. 16-18	
" the Sower .. ..	. .	iv. 26-29	. .	
" the Wheat and Tares .. ..	xiii. 24-30	. .	. .	
" Grain of Mustard-seed .. ..	xiii. 31, 32	iv. 30-32	<b>xiii. 18, 19</b>	
" Leaven .. ..	xiii. 33	. .	<b>xiii. 20, 21</b>	
On teaching by parables .. ..	xiii. 34, 35	iv. 33, 34	. .	
Wheat and tares explained .. ..	xiii. 36-43	. .	. .	
The treasure, the pearl, the net .. ..	xiii. 44-52	. .	. .	
His mother and His brethren .. ..	<b>xii. 46-50</b>	<b>iii. 31-35</b>	viii. 19-21	
Reception at Nazareth .. ..	xiii. 53-58	vi. 1-6	. .	
Third circuit round Galilee .. ..	ix. 35-38; xi. 1	vi. 6	. .	
Sending forth of the Twelve .. ..	x. .	vi. 7-13	ix. 1-6	
Herod's opinion of Jesus .. ..	xiv. 1, 2	vi. 14-16	ix. 7-9	
Death of John the Baptist .. ..	xiv. 3-12	vi. 17-29	. .	
Approach of Passover (3rd) .. ..	. .	. .	. .	vi. 4
Feeding of the five thousand .. ..	xiv. 13-21	vi. 30-44	<b>ix. 10-17</b>	vi. 1-15
Walking on the sea .. ..	xiv. 22-33	vi. 45-52	. .	vi. 16-21
Miracles in Genesareth .. ..	xiv. 34-36	vi. 53-56	. .	
The bread of life .. ..	. .	. .	. .	vi. 22-65
The washen hands .. ..	xv. 1-20	vii. 1-23	. .	
The Syrophenician woman .. ..	xv. 21-28	vii. 24-30	. .	
Miracles of healing .. ..	xv. 29-31	vii. 31-37	. .	
Feeding of the four thousand .. ..	xv. 32-39	viii. 1-9	. .	
The sign from heaven .. ..	xvi. 1-4	viii. 10-13	. .	
The leaven of the Pharisees .. ..	xvi. 5-12	viii. 14-21	. .	
Blind man healed .. ..	. .	viii. 22-26	. .	
Peter's profession of faith .. ..	xvi. 13-19	viii. 27-29	ix. 18-20	<b>vi. 66-71</b>
The Passion foretold .. ..	xvi. 20-28	viii. 30-ix. 1	ix. 21-27	
The Transfiguration .. ..	xvii. 1-9	ix. 2-10	ix. 28-36	
Elijah .. ..	xvii. 10-13	ix. 11-13	. .	

TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS—continued.

	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
The lunatic healed .. .. .	xvii. 14-21	ix. 14-29	ix. 37-42	
The Passion again foretold .. .. .	xvii. 22, 23	ix. 30-32	ix. 43-45	
Fish caught for the tribute .. .. .	xvii. 24-27			
The little child .. .. .	xviii. 1-5	ix. 33-37	ix. 46-48	
One casting out devils .. .. .		ix. 38-41	ix. 49, 50	
Offences .. .. .	xviii. 6-9	ix. 42-48	xvii. 2	
The lost sheep .. .. .	xviii. 10-14		xv. 4-7	
Forgiveness of injuries .. .. .	xviii. 15-17			
Binding and loosing .. .. .	xviii. 18-20			
Forgiveness. Parable .. .. .	xviii. 21-35			
"Salted with fire" .. .. .		ix. 49, 50		
Journey to Jerusalem .. .. .			ix. 51	vii. 1-10
Fire from heaven .. .. .			ix. 52-56	
Answers to disciples .. .. .	viii. 19-22		ix. 57-62	
The Seventy disciples .. .. .			x. 1-16	
Discussions at Feast of Tabernacles .. .. .				vii. 11-53
Woman taken in adultery .. .. .				viii. 1-11
Dispute with the Pharisees .. .. .				viii. 12-59
The man born blind .. .. .				ix. 1-41
The good Shepherd .. .. .				x. 1-21
The return of the Seventy .. .. .			x. 17-24	
The good Samaritan .. .. .			x. 25-37	
Mary and Martha .. .. .			x. 38-42	
The Lord's Prayer .. .. .	vi. 9-13		xi. 1-4	
Prayer effectual .. .. .	vii. 7-11		xi. 5-13	
"Through Beelzebub" .. .. .	xii. 22-37	iii. 20-30	xi. 14-23	
The unclean spirit returning .. .. .	xii. 43-45		xi. 24-28	
The sign of Jonah .. .. .	xii. 38-42		xi. 29-32	
The light of the body .. .. .	{ v. 15; vi. 22, } 23		xi. 33-36	
The Pharisees .. .. .	xxiii.		xi. 37-54	
What to fear .. .. .	x. 28-33		xii. 1-12	
"Master, speak to my brother" .. .. .			xii. 13-15	
Covetousness .. .. .	vi. 25-33		xii. 16-31	
Watchfulness .. .. .			xii. 32-59	
Galileans that perished .. .. .			xiii. 1-9	
Woman healed on Sabbath .. .. .			xiii. 10-17	
The grain of mustard-seed .. .. .	xiii. 31, 32	iv. 30-32	xiii. 18, 19	
The leaven .. .. .	xiii. 33		xiii. 20, 21	
Towards Jerusalem .. .. .			xiii. 22	
"Are there few that be saved?" .. .. .			xiii. 23-30	
Warning against Herod .. .. .			xiii. 31-33	
"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem" .. .. .	xxiii. 37-39		xiii. 34, 35	
Dropsy healed on Sabbath-day .. .. .			xiv. 1-6	
Choosing the chief rooms .. .. .			xiv. 7-14	
Parable of the Great Supper .. .. .	xxii. 1-14		xiv. 15-24	
Following Christ with the Cross .. .. .	x. 37, 38		xiv. 25-35	
Parables of Lost Sheep, Piece of Money, Prodigal Son, Unjust Steward, Rich Man and Lazarus .. .. .			xv., xvi.	
Offences .. .. .	xviii. 6-15		xvii. 1-4	
Faith and merit .. .. .	xvii. 20		xvii. 5-16	
The ten lepers .. .. .			xvii. 11-19	
How the kingdom cometh .. .. .			xvii. 20-37	
Parable of the Unjust Judge .. .. .			xviii. 1-8	
"the Pharisee and Publican" .. .. .			xviii. 9-14	
Divorce .. .. .	xix. 1-12	x. 1-12		
Infants brought to Jesus .. .. .	xix. 13-15	x. 13-16	xviii. 15-17	
The rich man inquiring .. .. .	xix. 16-26	x. 17-27	xviii. 18-27	
Promises to the disciples .. .. .	xix. 27-30	x. 28-31	xviii. 28-30	
Labourers in the vineyard .. .. .	xx. 1-16			
Death of Christ foretold .. .. .	xx. 17-19	x. 32-34	xviii. 31-34	
Request of James and John .. .. .	xx. 20-28	x. 35-45		
Blind men at Jericho .. .. .	xx. 29-34	x. 46-52	xviii. 35-43	
Zacchæus .. .. .			xix. 1-10	
Parable of the Ten Talents .. .. .	xxv. 14-30		xix. 11-28	
Fest of Dedication .. .. .				x. 22-39
Beyond Jordan .. .. .				x. 40-42

TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS—continued.

	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
Raising of Lazarus .. .. .	.	.	.	xi. 1-44
Meeting of the Sanhedrim .. .. .	.	.	.	xi. 45-53
Christ in Ephraim .. .. .	.	.	.	xi. 54-57
The anointing by Mary .. .. .	xxvi. 6-13	xiv. 3-9	<b>vii. 36-50</b>	xii. 1-11
Christ enters Jerusalem .. .. .	xxi. 1-11	xi. 1-10	xix. 29-44	xii. 12-19
Cleansing of the Temple (2nd) .. .. .	xxi. 12-16	xi. 15-18	xix. 45-48	<b>ii. 13-23</b>
The barren fig-tree .. .. .	xxi. 17-22	{ xi. 11-14, } 19-23	.	.
Pray, and forgive .. .. .	<b>vi. 14, 15</b>	xi. 24-26	.	.
"By what authority," &c. .. .. .	xxi. 23-27	xi. 27-33	xx. 1-8	.
Parable of the Two Sons .. .. .	xxi. 28-32	.	.	.
"the Wicked Husbandmen .. .. .	xxi. 33-46	xii. 1-12	xx. 9-19	.
"the Wedding Garment .. .. .	xxii. 1-14	.	<b>xiv. 16-24</b>	.
The tribute-money .. .. .	xxii. 15-22	xii. 13-17	xx. 20-26	.
The state of the risen .. .. .	xxii. 23-33	xii. 18-27	xx. 27-40	.
The great Commandment .. .. .	xxii. 34-40	xii. 28-34	.	.
David's Son and David's Lord .. .. .	xxii. 41-46	xii. 35-37	xx. 41-44	.
Against the Pharisees .. .. .	xxiii. 1-39	xii. 38-40	xx. 45-47	.
The widow's mite .. .. .	.	xii. 41-44	xxi. 1-4	.
Christ's second coming .. .. .	xxiv. 1-51	xiii. 1-37	xxi. 5-38	.
Parable of the Ten Virgins .. .. .	xxv. 1-13	.	.	.
"the Talents .. .. .	xxv. 14-30	.	<b>xix. 11-28</b>	.
The Last Judgment .. .. .	xxv. 31-46	.	.	.
Greeks visit Jesus. Voice from heaven ..	.	.	.	xii. 20-36
Reflections of John .. .. .	.	.	.	xii. 36-50
Last Passover (4th). Jews conspire ..	xxvi. 1-5	xiv. 1, 2	xxii. 1, 2	.
Judas Iscariot .. .. .	xxvi. 14-16	xiv. 10, 11	xxii. 3-6	.
Paschal Supper .. .. .	xxvi. 17-29	xiv. 12-25	xxii. 7-23	xiii. 1-35
Contention of the Apostles .. .. .	.	.	xxii. 24-30	.
Peter's fall foretold .. .. .	xxvi. 30-35	xiv. 26-31	xxii. 31-39	xiii. 36-38
Last discourse. The departure; the Com- } forter .. .. .	.	.	.	xiv. 1-31
The vine and the branches. Abiding in love	.	.	.	xv. 1-27
Work of the Comforter in disciples .. ..	.	.	.	xvi. 1-33
The prayer of Christ .. .. .	.	.	.	xvii. 1-26
Gethsemane .. .. .	xxvi. 36-46	xiv. 32-42	xxii. 40-46	xviii. 1
The betrayal .. .. .	xxvi. 47-56	xiv. 43-52	xxii. 47-53	xviii. 2-11
Before Annas (Caiaphas). Peter's denial	{ xxvi. 57, 58, } 69-75	{ xiv. 53, 54, } 66-72	xxii. 54-62	xviii. 12-27
Before the Sanhedrim .. .. .	xxvi. 59-68	xiv. 55-65	xxii. 63-71	.
Before Pilate .. .. .	{ xxvii. 1, 2, } 11-14	xv. 1-5	xxiii. 1-3	xviii. 28
The Traitor's death .. .. .	xxvii. 3-10	.	.	.
Before Herod .. .. .	.	.	xxiii. 4-11	.
Accusation and Condemnation .. .. .	xxvii. 15-26	xv. 6-15	xxiii. 13-25	{ xviii. 29-40, } xix. 1-16
Treatment by the soldiers .. .. .	xxvii. 27-31	xv. 16-20	<b>xxiii. 36, 37</b>	xix. 2, 3
The Crucifixion .. .. .	xxvii. 32-38	xv. 21-28	xxiii. 26-34	xix. 17-24
The mother of Jesus .. .. .	.	.	.	xix. 25-27
Mockings and railings .. .. .	xxvii. 39-44	xv. 29-32	xxiii. 35-39	.
The malefactor .. .. .	.	.	xxiii. 40-43	.
The death .. .. .	xxvii. 50	xv. 37	xxiii. 46	xix. 28-30
Darkness and other portents .. .. .	xxvii. 45-53	xv. 33-38	xxiii. 44, 45	.
The bystanders .. .. .	xxvii. 54-56	xv. 39-41	xxiii. 47-49	.
The side pierced .. .. .	.	.	.	xix. 31-37
The burial .. .. .	xxvii. 57-61	xv. 42-47	xxiii. 50-56	xix. 38-42
The guard of the sepulchre .. .. .	{ xxvii. 62-66 } { xxviii. 11-15 }	.	.	.
The Resurrection .. .. .	xxviii. 1-10	xvi. 1-11	xxiv. 1-12	xx. 1-18
Disciples going to Emmaus .. .. .	.	xvi. 12, 13	xxiv. 13-35	.
Appearances in Jerusalem .. .. .	.	xvi. 14-18	xxiv. 36-49	xx. 19-29
At the Sea of Tiberias .. .. .	.	.	.	xxi. 1-23
On the Mount in Galilee .. .. .	xxviii. 16-20	.	.	.
Unrecorded Works .. .. .	.	.	.	{ xx. 30, 31; } xxi. 24, 25
Ascension .. .. .	.	xvi. 19, 20	xxiv. 50-53	.

**GOTHOLIAS.** Josias, son of Gotholias (Γοθολίας; *Gotholiás*), was one of the sons of Elam who returned from Babylon with Esdras (1 Esd. vii. 33). The name is the same as ATHALIAH, with the common substitution of the Greek G for the Hebrew guttural *Ain* (comp. Gomorrah, Gaza, &c.). This passage compared with 2 K. xi. 1, &c. shows that Athaliah was both a male and female name.

**GOTHONIEL** (Γοθονίηλ, i. e. Othniel; *Gothoniol*), father of Chabisi, who was one of the governors (ἄρχοντες) of the city of Bethulia (Jud. vi. 15).

**GOURD.** 1. גִּירָה, only in Jon. iv. 6-10; κοκκύθων; *hederia*. A difference of opinion has long existed as to the plant which is intended by this word. The argument is as old as Jerome, whose rendering *hederia* was impugned by Augustine as a heresy! In reality Jerome's rendering was not intended to be critical, but rather as a kind of *pis aller* necessitated by the want of a proper Latin word to express the original. Besides he was unwilling to leave it in merely Latinised Hebrew (*kikayon*), which might have occasioned misapprehensions. Augustine, following the LXX. and Syr. Versions, was in favour of the rendering *gourd*, which was adopted by Luther, the A. V. &c. In Jerome's description of the plant called in Syr. *karo*, and Punic *el-kerua*, Celsus recognises the Ricinus, Palma Christi, or Castor-oil plant (*Hierobot.* ii. 273 ff.; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 293, 623). The Ricinus was seen by Niebuhr (*Description of Arab.* p. 148) at Basra, where it was distinguished by the name *el-kerua*; by Rauwolf (*Trav.* p. 52) it was noticed in great abundance near Tripoli, where the Arabs called it *el-kerua*; while both Hasselquist and Robinson observed very large specimens of it in the neighbourhood of Jericho ("Ricinus in altitudinem arboris insignis," Hasselq. p. 555; see also Robins. i. 553).

Niebuhr observes that the Jews and Christians at Mosul (Nineveh) maintained that the tree which sheltered Jonah was not "el-kerua," but "el-keria," a sort of *gourd*. This rival of the August. rendering has been defended by J. E. Faber (*Notes on Harmer's Observations*, &c. i. 145). And it must be confessed that the evidently miraculous character of the narrative in Jon. deprives the Palma Christi of any special claim to identification on the ground of its rapid growth and decay, as described by Niebuhr. Much more important, however, is it to observe the tree-like character of this plant, rendering it more suitable for the purpose which it is stated to have fulfilled; also the authority of the Palestine Jews who were contemporaries of Jerome, as compared with that of the Mosul Jews conversed with by Niebuhr. But most decisive of all seems the derivation of the Hebrew word from the Egyptian *kiki* (Herodot. ii. 94; comp. Bähr *ad loc.*; and Jablonsky, *Orysc.* pt. i. p. 110) established by Celsius, with whose arguments Michaelis declares himself entirely satisfied (J. D. Mich. *Supplem.*); and confirmed by the Talmudical קיק שמן, *kik-oil*, prepared from the seeds of the Ricinus (Buxt. *Lex. Chald. Talmud.* p. 2029), and Dioscorides. iv. 164, where κρότων (= Palma Christi) is described under the name of κικι, and the oil made from its seeds is called κικινον ἔλαιον.

II. גִּירָה, and עִינְיָה. 1. In 2 K. iv. 39; a

fruit used as food, disagreeable to the taste, and supposed to be poisonous. 2. In 1 K. vi. 18, vii. 24, as an architectural ornament, where A. V. "kuops." In Hebrew the plant is described as גִּירָה עִנְיָה; ἀμπελον ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ; *vitem silvestrem*; whence in A. V. "wild vine." The fruit is called in Heb. as above; τολύπη ἀγρία, LXX. = ἀγρία κοκκύνθη, Suid.; *colocynthis agri*; "wild gourds," A. V.

The inconsistency of all these renderings is manifest; but the fact is that the Hebrew name of the plant may denote any shrub which grows in tendrils, such as the colocynth, or the cucumber. Rosenmüller and Gesenius pronounce in favour of the wild cucumber, cucumis agrestis, or amarus (Cels. *Hierobot.* i. 393 ff.). This opinion is confirmed by the derivation from גִּירָה, to burst. The wild cucumber bursts at the touch of the finger, and scatters its seeds, which the colocynth does not (Rosenm. *Alterthumsk.* iv. pt. 1, &c.). [T. E. B.]

**GOVERNOR.** In the Auth. Ver. this one English word is the representative of no less than ten Hebrew and four Greek words. To discriminate between them is the object of the following article

1. מֶלֶךְ, *alláph*, the chief of a tribe or family, מֶלֶךְ, *cleph* (Judg. vi. 15; Is. lx. 22; Mic. v. 1), and equivalent to the "prince of a thousand" of Ex. xviii. 21, or the "head of a thousand" of Num. i. 16. It is the term applied to the "dukes" of Edom (Gen. xxxiv. The LXX. have retained the etymological significance of the word in rendering it by χιλιάρχος in Zech. ix. 7, xii. 5, 6 (comp. מֶלֶךְ, from מֶלֶךְ).

The usage in other passages seems to imply a more intimate relationship than that which would exist between a chieftain and his fellow-clansmen, and to express the closest friendship. *Alláph* is then "a guide, director, counsellor" (Ps. lv. 13; Prov. ii. 17; Jer. iii. 4), the object of confidence or trust (Mic. v. 1).

2. מֶלֶךְ, *chólek* (Judg. v. 9), and מֶלֶךְ, *m'chólek* (Judg. v. 14), denote a ruler in his capacity of *levyite* and dispenser of justice (Gen. xlix. 10; Prov. viii. 15; comp. Judg. v. 14, with Is. x. 1).

4. מֶלֶךְ, *móshél*, a ruler considered especially as having power over the property and persons of his subjects; whether his authority were absolute, as in Josh. xii. 2 of Sihon, and in Ps. cv. 20 of Pharaoh; or delegated, as in the case of Abraham's steward (Gen. xxiv. 2), and Joseph as second to Pharaoh (Gen. xlv. 8, 26; Ps. cv. 21). The "governors of the people" in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20, appear to have been the king's body-guard (cf. 2 K. xi. 19).

5. מֶלֶךְ, *nágid*, is connected etymologically with מֶלֶךְ and מֶלֶךְ, and denotes a prominent personage, whatever his capacity. It is applied to a king as the military and civil chief of his people (2 Sam. v. 2, vi. 21; 1 Chr. xxix. 22), to the general of an army (2 Chr. xxxii. 21), and to the head of a tribe (2 Chr. xix. 11). The heir-apparent to the crown was thus designated (2 Chr. xi. 22), as holding a prominent position among the king's sons. The term is also used of persons who fulfilled certain offices in the temple, and is applied equally to the high-priest (2 Chr. xxxi. 10, 13), as to inferior priests (2 Chr. xxxv. 8) to whose charge were committed the treasures and the dedicated things (1 Chr.

xxvi. 24), and to Levites appointed for special service (2 Chr. xxxi. 12). It denotes an officer of high rank in the palace, the lord high chamberlain (2 Chr. xxviii. 7), who is also described as "over the household" (1 K. iv. 6), or "over the house" (1 K. xviii. 3). Such was the office held by Shebna, the scribe, or secretary of state (Is. xxii. 15), and in which he was succeeded by Eliakim (2 K. xviii. 18). It is perhaps the equivalent of *oikodromos*, Rom. xvi. 23, and of *ἐποστέρης*, 1 Esd. vii. 2 (cf. 1 Esd. i. 8).

6. נָשִׂיא, *nāsi*. The prevailing idea in this word is that of *elevation*. It is applied to the chief of the tribe (Gen. xvii. 20; Num. ii. 3, &c.), to the heads of sections of a tribe (Num. iii. 32, vii. 2), and to a powerful sheykh (Gen. xliii. 6). It appears to be synonymous with *allāph* in 2 Chr. i. 2, נְשָׂאִים = רָאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת (cf. 2 Chr. v. 2). In general it denotes a man of elevated rank. In later times the title was given to the president of the great sanhedrin (Selden, *De Synedr. iis*, ii. 6, §1).

7. פָּחָד, *pechāh*, is probably a word of Assyrian origin. It is applied in 1 K. x. 15 to the petty chieftains who were tributary to Solomon (2 Chr. ix. 14); to the military commander of the Syrians (1 K. xx. 24), the Assyrians (2 K. xviii. 24, xliii. 6), the Chaldeans (Jer. li. 23), and the Medes (Jer. li. 38). Under the Persian viceroys, during the Babylonian captivity, the head of the Hebrews appears to have been portioned out among "governors" (פָּחוֹת, *pechōth*) inferior in rank to the satraps (Ezr. viii. 36), like the other provinces which were under the dominion of the Persian king (Neh. ii. 7, 9). It is impossible to determine the precise limits of their authority, or the functions which they had to perform. They formed a part of the Babylonian system of government, and are expressly distinguished from the סָנְחִינִים, *sānchīnīm* (Jer. li. 23, 28), to whom, as well as to the satraps, they seem to have been inferior (Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27); as also from the שָׂרִים, *sārīm* (Esth. iii. 12, viii. 9), who, on the other hand, had a subordinate jurisdiction. Sheshbazzar, the "prince" (נָשִׂיא, Ezr. i. 8) of Judah, was appointed by Cyrus "governor" of Jerusalem (Ezr. v. 14), or "governor of the Jews," as he is elsewhere designated (Ezr. vi. 7), an office to which Nehemiah afterwards succeeded (Neh. v. 14) under the title of Tirshatha (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. viii. 9). Zerubbabel, the representative of the royal family of Judah, is also called the "governor" of Judah (Hag. i. 1), but whether in consequence of his position in the tribe or from his official rank is not quite clear. Tatnai, the "governor" beyond the river, is spoken of by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 4, §4), under the name of Sinesus, as *ἐραρχος* of Syria and Phoenicia (cf. 1 Esd. vi. 3); the same term being employed to denote the Roman procurator or procurator as well as the procurator (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, §1). It appears from Ezr. vi. 8 that these governors were entrusted with the collection of the king's taxes; and from Neh. v. 18, xii. 26, that they were supported by a contribution levied upon the people, which was technically termed "the bread of the governor" (comp. Ezr. iv. 14). They were probably assisted in discharging their official duties by a council (Ezr. iv. 7, vi. 6). In the Peshito version of Neh. iii. 11, Pahath Moab is not taken as a proper name, but is rendered "chief of Moab;" and a similar translation is given in other passages where the word occurs, as in Ezr. ii. 6, Neh. vii. 11, x. 14. The

"governor" beyond the river had a judgment-seat at Jerusalem, from which probably he administered justice when making a progress through his province (Neh. iii. 7).

8. פָּקִיד, *pākid*, denotes simply a person appointed to any office. It is used of the officers proposed to be appointed by Joseph (Gen. xli. 34); of Zebul, Abimelech's lieutenant (Judg. ix. 28); of an officer of the High-priest (2 Chr. xxiv. 11), inferior to the *nāsi* (2 Chr. xxxi. 12, 13), or *pākid nāsid* (Jer. xx. 1); and of a priest or Levite of high rank (Neh. xi. 14, 22). The same term is applied to the eunuch who was over the men of war (2 K. xxv. 19; Jer. liii. 25), and to an officer appointed for special service (Esth. ii. 3). In the passage of Jer. xx. above quoted it probably denotes the captain of the temple guard mentioned in Acts iv. 1, v. 2, and by Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 5, §3):

9. שָׁלִיט, *shallit*, a man of authority. Applied to Joseph as Pharaoh's prime minister (Gen. xlii. 6); to Arioch, the captain of the guard, to the king of Babylon (Dan. ii. 15), and to Daniel as third in rank under Belshazzar (Dan. v. 29).

10. שָׂר, *sar*, a chief, in any capacity. The term is used equally of the general of an army (Gen. xxi. 22), or the commander of a division (1 K. xvi. 9, xi. 24), as of the governor of Pharaoh's prison (Gen. xxxix. 21), and the chief of his butlers and bakers (Gen. xl. 2), or herdsmen (Gen. xlvii. 6). The chief officer of a city, in his civic capacity, was thus designated (1 K. xlii. 26; 2 K. xxiii. 8). The same dignitary is elsewhere described as "over the city" (Neh. xi. 9). In Judg. ix. 30 *sar* is synonymous with *pākid* in ver. 28, and with both *pākid* and *nāsid* in 1 Chr. xxiv. 5. שָׂרֵי הַפְּרִדִּינֹת, *sārē hamm'p'dīnōth*, "the princes of provinces" (1 K. xx. 14), appear to have held a somewhat similar position to the "governors" under the Persian kings.

11. ἐνδραρχης, 2 Cor. xi. 32—an officer of rank under Aretas, the Arabian king of Damascus. It is not easy to determine the capacity in which he acted. The term is applied in 1 Macc. xiv. 47, xv. 1 to Simon the High-priest, who was made general and *ethnarch* of the Jews, as a vassal of Demetrius. From this the office would appear to be distinct from a military command. The jurisdiction of Archelaus, called by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 6, §3) an *ethnarch*, extended over Idumaea, Samaria, and all Judaea, the half of his father's kingdom, which he held as the Emperor's vassal. But, on the other hand, Strabo (xvii. 13), in enumerating the officers who formed part of the machinery of the Roman government in Egypt, mentions *ethnarchs* apparently as inferior both to the military commanders and to the *nomarchs*, or governors of districts. Again, the prefect of the colony of Jews in Alexandria (called by Philo *ἐνδραρχης*, lib. in *Flacc.* §10) is designated by this title in the edict of Claudius given by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 5, §2). According to Strabo (*Joseph. Ant.* xiv. 7, §2) he exercised the prerogatives of an ordinary independent ruler. It has therefore been conjectured that the *ethnarch* of Damascus was merely the governor of the resident Jews, and this conjecture receives some support from the parallel narrative in Acts ix. 24, where the Jews alone are said to have taken part in the conspiracy against the Apostle. But it does not seem probable that an officer of such limited jurisdiction would be

styled "the ethmarch of Arctas the king," and as the term is clearly capable of a wide range of meaning, it was most likely intended to denote one who held the city and district of Damascus as the king's vassal or representative.

12. ἡγεμὼν, the procurator of Judaea under the Romans (Matt. xxvii. 2, &c.). The verb is employed (Luke ii. 2) to denote the nature of the jurisdiction of Quirinus over the imperial province of Syria.

13. οἰκονόμος (Gal. iv. 2), a steward; apparently entrusted with the management of a minor's property.

14. ἀρχιτρίκλινος, John ii. 9, "the governor of the feast." It has been conjectured, but without much show of probability, that this officer corresponded to the *συνποσιταρχος* of the Greeks, whose duties are described by Plutarch (*Sympos. Quæst.* 4), and to the *arbitrator bibendi* of the Romans. Lightfoot supposes him to have been a kind of chaplain, who pronounced the blessings upon the wine that was drunk during the seven days of the marriage feast. Again, some have taken him to be equivalent to the *τραπέζοποιός*, who is defined by Pollux (*Onom.* vi. 1) as one who had the charge of all the servants at a feast, the carvers, cup-bearers, cooks, &c. But there is nothing in the narrative of the marriage feast at Cana which would lead to the supposition that the ἀρχιτρίκλινος held the rank of a servant. He appears rather to have been on intimate terms with the bridegroom, and to have presided at the banquet in his stead. The duties of the master of a feast are given at full length in Eccles. xxiv. (xxxii.).

In the Apocryphal books, in addition to the common words, ἄρχων, δεσπότης, στρατηγός, which are rendered "governor," we find ἐπιστάτης (1 Esdr. i. 8; Jud. ii. 14), which closely corresponds to *טִּבַּשׁ*; ἐπαρχος used of Zerubbabel and Tatnai (1 Esdr. vi. 3, 29, vii. 1), and προστάτης, applied to Sheshbazzar (1 Esdr. ii. 12), both of which represent *הַפָּחַשׁ*; *λεροστάτης* (1 Esdr. vii. 2) and *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (2 Macc. iii. 4), "the governor of the temple" = *טִּבַּשׁ* (cf. 2 Chr. xxxv. 8); and *σατράπης* (1 Esdr. iii. 2, 21), "a satrap," not always used in its strict sense, but as the equivalent of *στρατηγός* (Jud. v. 2, vii. 8). [W. A. W.]

GOZAN (גֹּזָן; *Γωζάν*; *Gozan*) seems in the A. V. of 1 Chr. v. 26 to be the name of a river; but in Kings 2 (2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11) it is evidently applied not to a river but a country. Where Kings and Chronicles differ, the authority of the latter is weak; and the name Gozan will therefore be taken in the present article for the name of a tract of country.

Gozan was the tract to which the Israelites were carried away captive by Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Salmanneser, or possibly Sargon. It has been variously placed; but it is probably identical with the *Gauzanitis* of Ptolemy (*Geograph.* v. 18), and may be regarded as represented by the Mygdonia of other writers (Strab., Polyb., &c.). It was the tract watered by the Habor ('Αβόρρας, or Χαβόρας), the modern *Khabour*, the great Mesopotamian affluent of the Euphrates. Mr. Layard describes this region as one of remarkable fertility (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 269-313). According to the LXX. Halah and Habor were both rivers of Gozan (2 K. xvii. 6); but this is a mistranslation of the Hebrew text, and it is corrected in the following chapter, where we

have the term "river" used in the singular of the Habor only. Halah seems to have been a region adjoining Gozan. [HALAH.] With respect to the term Mygdonia, which became the recognized name of the region in classic times, and which Strabo (xvi. 1, §27) and Plutarch (*Lucull.* c. 32) absurdly connect with the Macedonian Mygdones, it may be observed that it is merely Gozan, with the participial or adjectival *ν* prefixed. The Greek writers always represent the Semitic *z* by their own *d*. Thus Gaza became Gadytis, Achzib became Eedippa, the river Zab became the Diaba, and M'gozan became Mygdon.

The conjunction of Gozan with Haran or Harrau in Isaiah (xxvii. 12) is in entire agreement with the position here assigned to the former. As Gozan was the district on the *Khabour*, so Haran was that upon the *Bilikh*, the next affluent of the Euphrates. [See CHARRAN.] The Assyrian kings, having conquered the one, would naturally go on to the other. [G. R.]

GRABA (Γραβα, Alex. Ἀργαβά; *Armacha*), 1 Esdr. v. 29. [HAGABA.] As is the case with many names in the A. V. of the Apocryphal books, it is not obvious whence our translators got the form they have here employed - without the initial *A*, which even the corrupt Vulgate retains.

#### GRAPE. [VINE.]

GRASS. 1. This is the ordinary rendering of the Heb. word *רִצְוִי*, which signifies properly an enclosed spot, from the root *רָצַח*, to enclose; but this root also has the second meaning to flourish, and hence the noun frequently signifies "fodder," "food of cattle." In this sense it occurs in 1 K. xviii. 5; Job xl. 5; Ps. civ. 14; Is. xv. 6, &c. As the herbage rapidly fades under the parching heat of the sun of Palestine, it has afforded to the sacred writers an image of the fleeting nature of human fortunes (Job viii. 12; Ps. lxxvii. 2), and also of the brevity of human life (Is. xl. 6, 7; Ps. xc. 5). The LXX. render *רִצְוִי* by *βοτάνη* and *πάα*, but most frequently by *χόρτος*, a word which in Greek has passed through the very same modifications of meaning as its Hebrew representative: *χόρτος* = *græmen*, "fodder," is properly a court or enclosed space for cattle to feed in (Hom. *Il.* xi. 774), and then any feeding-place whether inclosed or not (Eur. *Iph. T.* 134, *χόρτοι εὐδεδροί*). Gesenius questions whether *רִצְוִי*, *χόρτος*, and the Sansc. *harit* = green may not be traceable to the same root.

2. In Jer. 1. 11, A. V. renders *רִצְוִי הֶלֶבֶט* as the heifer at grass, and the LXX. *ὡς βοδὴ ἐν βοτάνῃ*. It should be "as the heifer trading out corn" (comp. Hos. x. 11). *רִצְוִי* comes from *רָצַח*, *conterere, triturare*, and has been confounded with *רָצַח*, *græmen*, from root *רָצַח*, to germinate. This is the word rendered *grass* in Gen. i. 11, 12, where it is distinguished from *עֵשֶׂב*, the latter signifying herbs suitable for human food, while the former is herbage for cattle. Gesenius says it is used chiefly concerning grass, which has no seed (at least none obvious to general observers), and the smaller weeds which spring up spontaneously from the soil. The LXX. render it by *χλόη*, as well as by *χόρτος*, *βοτάνη*, and *πάα*.

3. In Num. xxii. 4, where mention is made of the ox licking up the grass of the field, the Heb.

word is קֶשֶׁב, which elsewhere is rendered *green*, when followed by קֶשֶׁב or קֶשֶׁב, as in Gen. i. 30, and Ps. xxxvii. 2. It answers to the German *das Grün*, and comes from the root קֶשֶׁב, to flourish like grass.

4. קֶשֶׁב is used in Deut., in the Psalms, and in the Prophets, and as distinguished from קֶשֶׁב signifies *herbs* for human food (Gen. i. 30; Ps. civ. 14), but also fodder for cattle (Deut. xi. 15; Jer. xiv. 6). It is the grass of the field (Gen. ii. 5; Ex. ix. 22) and of the mountain (Is. xlii. 15; Prov. xxvii. 25).

In the N. T. wherever the word grass occurs it is the representative of the Greek *χόρτος*. [W. D.]

#### GRASSHOPPER. [LOCUST.]

#### GRAVE. [BURIAL.]

GRAVES (קֶבֶר). This word occurs in the A. V. only in 1 Sam. xvii. 6, in the description of the equipment of Goliath—"he had greaves of brass upon his legs." Its ordinary meaning is a piece of defensive armour which reached from the foot to the knee, and thus protected the shin of the wearer. This was the case with the *curopas* of the Greeks, which derived its name from its covering the *κνήμη*, i. e. the part of the leg above-named. But the *Mitchehah* of the above passage can hardly have been armour of this nature. Wherever the armour was, it was not worn on the legs, but on the feet (רַגְלֵי) of Goliath. It appears to be derived from a root signifying brightness, as of a star (see Gesenius and Fürst). The word is not in either the dual or plural number, but is singular. It would therefore appear to have been more a kind of shoe or boot than a "greave," though in our ignorance of the details of the arms of the Hebrews and the Philistines we cannot conjecture more closely as to its nature. At the same time it must be allowed that all the old versions, including Josephus, give it the meaning of a piece of armour for the leg—some even for the thigh. [G.]

GREECE, GREEKS, GRECIANS. The histories of Greece and Palestine are as little connected as those of any other two nations exercising the same influence on the destinies of mankind could well be.

The Homeric Epos in its widest range does not include the Hebrews, while on the other hand the Mosaic idea of the Western world seems to have been sufficiently indefinite. It is possible that Moses may have derived some geographical outlines from the Egyptians; but he does not use them in Gen. x. 2-5, where he mentions the descendants of Javan as peopling the isles of the Gentiles. This is merely the vaguest possible indication of a geographical locality; and yet it is not improbable that his Egyptian teachers were almost equally in the dark as to the position of a country which had not at that time arrived at a unity sufficiently imposing to arrest the attention of its neighbours. The amount and precision of the information possessed by Moses must be measured by the nature of the relation which we can conceive as existing in his time between Greece and Egypt. Now it appears from Herodotus that prior to the Trojan war the current of tradition, sacred and mythological, set from Egypt towards Greece; and the first quasi-historical event which awakened the curiosity, and stimulated the imagination of the Egyptian priests, was the

story of Paris and Helen (Herod. ii. 43, 51, 52, and 112). At the time of the Exodus, therefore, it is not likely that Greece had entered into any definite relation whatever with Egypt. Withdrawn from the sea-coast, and only gradually fighting their way to it during the period of the Judges, the Hebrews can have had no opportunity of forming connexions with the Greeks. From the time of Moses to that of Joel, we have no notice of the Greeks in the Hebrew writings, except that which was contained in the word Javan (Gen. x. 2); and it does not seem probable that during this period the word had any peculiar significance for a Jew, except in so far as it was associated with the idea of islanders. When, indeed, they came into contact with the Ionians of Asia Minor, and recognized them as the long-lost islanders of the western migration, it was natural that they should mark the similarity of sound between יָוֶן = יוֹן and יוֹנֶס, and the application of that name to the Asiatic Greeks would tend to satisfy in some measure a longing to realize the Mosaic ethnography. Accordingly the O. T. word which is *Grecia*, in A. V. *Greece*, *Greeks*, &c., is in Hebrew יָוֶן, *Javan* (Joel iii. 6; Dan. viii. 21): the Hebrew, however, is sometimes retained (Is. lxvi. 19; Ez. xxvii. 13). In Gen. x. 2, the LXX. have, καὶ Ἰάβαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα, with which Rosenmüller compares Herod. i. 56-58, and professes to discover the two elements of the Greek race. From Ἰάβαν he gets the Ionian or Pelasgian, from Ἑλλάδα (for which he supposes the Heb. original אֶלְלָא), the Hellenic element. This is excessively fanciful, and the degree of accuracy which it implies upon an ethnological question cannot possibly be attributed to Moses, and is by no means necessarily involved in the fact of his divine inspiration.

The Greeks and Hebrews met for the first time in the slave-market. The medium of communication seems to have been the Tyrian slave-merchant. About B.C. 800 Joel speaks of the Tyrians as selling the children of Judah to the Grecians (Joel iii. 6); and in Ez. xxvii. 13 the Greeks are mentioned as bartering their brazen vessels for slaves. On the other hand, Bochart says that the Greek slaves were highly valued throughout the East (*Geogr. Sac.* pt. i. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 175); and it is probable that the Tyrians took advantage of the calamities which befell either nation to sell them as slaves to the other. Abundant opportunities would be afforded by the attacks of the Lydian monarchy on the one people, and the Syrian on the other; and it is certain that Tyre would let slip no occasion of replenishing her slave-market.

Prophetic notice of Greece occurs in Dan. viii. 21, &c., where the history of Alexander and his successors is rapidly sketched. Zechariah (ix. 13) foretells the triumphs of the Maccabees against the Greco-Syrian empire, while Isaiah looks forward to the conversion of the Greeks, amongst other Gentiles, through the instrumentality of Jewish missionaries (Isai. lxvi. 19). For the connexion between the Jews and the quasi-Greek kingdoms which sprang out of the divided empire of Alexander, reference should be made to other articles.

The presence of Alexander himself at Jerusalem, and his respectful demeanour, are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, §3); and some Jews are even said to have joined him in his expedition against Persia (Heut. ap. Joseph. c. *Apion*, ii. 4), as the Samaritans had already done in the siege of Tyre (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§4-6). In 1 Macc. xii. 5-23

(about B.C. 180), and Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, §10, we have an account of an embassy and letter sent by the Lacedaemonians to the Jews. [AREUS; ONIAS.] The most remarkable feature in the transaction is the claim which the Lacedaemonians prefer to kindred with the Jews, and which Areus professes to establish by reference to a book. It is by no means unlikely that two declining nations, the one crouching beneath a Roman, the other beneath a Græco-Syrian invader, should draw together in face of the common calamity. This may have been the case, or we may with Jahn (*Heb. Comm.* ix. 91, note) regard the affair as a piece of pompous trifling or idle curiosity, at a period when "all nations were curious to ascertain their origin, and their relationship to other nations."

The notices of the Jewish people which occur in Greek writers have been collected by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 22). The chief are Pythagoras, Herodotus, Choerilus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Hecataeus. The main drift of the argument of Josephus is to show that the Greek authors derived their materials from Jewish sources, or with more or less distinctness referred to Jewish history. For Pythagoras, he cites Hermippus' life; for Aristotle, Clearchus; but it should be remembered that the Neo-Platonism of these authorities makes them comparatively worthless; that Hermippus in particular belongs to that Alexandrian school which made it its business to fuse the Hebrew traditions with the philosophy of Greece, and propitiated the genius of Orientalism by denying the merit of originality to the great and independent thinkers of the West. This style of thought was further developed by Iamblichus; and a very good specimen of it may be seen in Le Clerc's notes on Grotius, *de Verit.* It has been ably and vehemently assailed by Ritter, *Hist. Phil.* b. i. c. 3.

Herodotus mentions the *Syrians of Palestine* as confessing that they derived the rite of circumcision from the Egyptians (ii. 104). Bähr, however, does not think it likely that Herodotus visited the interior of Palestine, though he was acquainted with the sea-coast. (On the other hand see Dahlmann, pp. 55, 56, Engl. transl.) It is almost impossible to suppose that Herodotus could have visited Jerusalem without giving us some more detailed account of it than the merely incidental notices in ii. 159 and iii. 5, not to mention that the site of *Kadbury* is still a disputed question.

The victory of Pharaoh-Necho over Josiah at Megiddo is recorded by Herodotus (comp. Herod. ii. 159 with 2 K. xiii. 29 ff., 2 Chr. xxxv. 20 ff.). It is singular that Josephus should have omitted

these references, and cited Herodotus only as mentioning the rite of circumcision.

The work of Theophrastus cited is not extant; he enumerates amongst other oaths that of *Corban*.

Choerilus is supposed by Josephus to describe the Jews in a by no means flattering portrait of a people who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. The chief points of identification are, their speaking the Phœnician language, and dwelling in the *Solymean mountains, near a broad lake*, which according to Josephus was the Dead Sea.

The Hecataeus of Josephus is Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and Ptolemy son of Lagus. The authenticity of the history of the Jews attributed to him by Josephus has been called in question by Origen and others.

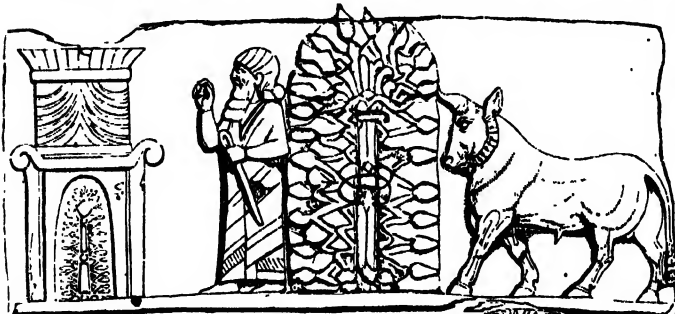
After the complete subjugation of the Greeks by the Romans, and the absorption into the Roman empire of the kingdoms which were formed out of the dominions of Alexander, the political connexion between the Greeks and Jews as two independent nations no longer existed.

The name of the country, Greece, occurs once in N. T., Acts xx. 2, "Ελλάς = Greece, i. e. Greece Proper, as opposed to Macedonia. In the A. V. of O. T. the word *Greek* is not found; either Javan is retained, or, as in Joel iii. 6, the word is rendered by *Grecian*. In Maccabees *Greeks* and *Grecians* seem to be used indifferently (comp. 1 Macc. i. 10, vi. 2; also 2 Macc. x. 10, *Greckish*). In N. T., on the other hand, a distinction is observed, "Ελλην being rendered *Greek*, and "Ελληνιστής *Grecian*. The difference of the English terminations, however, is not sufficient to convey the difference of meanings. "Ελλην in N. T. is either a Greek by race, as in Acts xvi. 1-3, xviii. 17, Rom. i. 14; or more frequently a *gentile*, as opposed to a Jew (Rom. ii. 9, 10, &c.); so fem. *Ελληνίς*, Mark vii. 26, Acts xvii. 12. "Ελληνιστής (properly "one who speaks Greek") is a foreign Jew; opposed, therefore, not to *Ιουδαίος*, but to *Εβραῖος*, a home-Jew, one who dwelt in Palestine. So Schleusner, &c.; according to Salmasius, however, the Hellenists were Greek proselytes, who had become Christians; so Wolf, Parkhurst, &c., arguing from Acts xi. 20, where *Ελληνιστάι* are contrasted with *Ιουδαίοι* in 19. The question resolves itself partly into a textual one, Griesbach having adopted the reading "Ελληνας, and so also Lachmann. [T. E. B.]

#### GRINDING. [MILL.]

GROVE. A word used in the A. V., with two exceptions, to translate the mysterious Hebrew term Asherah (אֲשֵׁרָה). This term is examined under its

own head (p. 120), where it is observed that almost all modern interpreters agree that an idol or image of some kind must be intended, and not a grove, as our translators render, following the version of the LXX. (ἐλαος) and of the Vulgate (lucus). This is evident



Sacred symbolic Tree of the Assyrians. From Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone. (Forbush's *Nineveh and Persopolis*, p. 206.)

from many passages, and especially from 2 K. xxiii. 6, where we find that Josiah "brought out the Asherah" (translated by our version "the grove") "from the house of the Lord" (comp. also Judg. iii. 7; 1 K. xiv. 23, xviii. 19). In many passages the "groves" are grouped with molten and graven images in a manner that leaves no doubt that some idol was intended (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 3, 4; Is. xvii. 8). There has been much dispute as to what the Asherah was; but in addition to the views set forth under ASHERAH, we must not omit to notice a probable connexion between this symbol or image—whatever it was—and the sacred symbolic tree, the representation of which occurs so frequently on Assyrian sculptures, and is shown in the preceding woodcut. The connexion is ingeniously maintained by Mr. Fergusson in his *Nineveh and Persepolis restored* (pp. 299-304), to which the reader is referred.

2. The two exceptions noticed above are Gen. xxi. 33 and 1 Sam. xxii. 6 (margin), where "grove" is employed to render the word עֵשֶׁל, *Eshel*, which in the text of the latter passage, and in 1 Sam. xxii. 13, is translated "tree." Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* §77; also p. 21, note) would have *Eshel* to be a tamarisk; but this is controverted by Bonar (*Land of Prom.*), on the ground of the thin and shaggy nature of that tree. It is now however generally recognised (amongst others, see Gesen. *Thes.* 506; Stanley, *S. & P.* §76, 3; p. 142 note, 220 note, and *passim*), that the word *Elon*, עֵלֹן, which is uniformly rendered by the A. V. "plain," signifies a grove or plantation. Such were the *Elon* of Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1); of Moreh (Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30); of Zaanaim (Judg. iv. 11), or Zaanannim (Josh. xix. 33); of the pillar (Judg. iv. 6); of Meonenim (Judg. ix. 37); and of Tabor (1 Sam. x. 3). In all these cases the LXX. have ὄρος or βόλανος, the Vulgate—which the A. V. probably followed—*Vallis* or *Convallis*, in the last three however *Quercus*.

In the religions of the ancient heathen world groves play a prominent part. In old times altars only were erected to the gods. It was thought wrong to shut up the gods within walls, and hence, as Pliny expressly tells us, trees were the first temples (Tac. *H. N.* xii. 2; *Germ.* 9; Lucian, *de Sacrific.* 10; see *ἱερὸν δένδρον*, *App. Crit.* p. 332), and from the earliest times groves are mentioned in connexion with religious worship (Gen. xii. 6, 7, xiii. 18; Deut. xi. 30; A. V. "plain;" see above). Their high antiquity, refreshing shade, solemn silence, and awe-inspiring solitude, as well as the striking illustration they afford of natural life, marked them out as the fit localities, or even the actual objects of worship ("Lucos et in his silentia ipsa adoramus," Plin. xii. 1; "Secretum luci . . . et admiratio umbræ fidem tibi numinis facit," Sen. *Ep.* xii.; "Quo posses visio dicere Numen habet," *Ov. Fast.* iii. 295; "Sacra nemus accubet umbrâ," *Virg. Georg.* iii. 334; *Ov. Met.* viii. 743; *Ex. vi.* 13; *Is. lviii.* 5; *Hos. iv.* 13). This last passage hints at another and darker reason why groves were opportune for the degraded services of idolatry; their shadow hid the atrocities and obscenities of heathen worship. The groves were generally found connected with temples, and often had the right of affording an asylum (Tac. *Germ.* 9, 40; Herod. ii. 138; *Virg. Aen.* i. 441, ii. 512; *Sil. Ital.* i. 81). Some have supposed that even the Jewish Temple had a *témeus* planted with palm and cedar (Ps. xcii.

12, 13) and olive (Ps. lii. 8) as the *mosk* which stands on its site now has. This is more than doubtful; but we know that a celebrated oak stood by the sanctuary at Shechem (Josh. xiv. 26; Judg. ix. 6; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 142). We find repeated mention of groves consecrated with deep superstition to particular gods (Liv. vii. 25, xiv. 3, xxxv. 51; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 12, 51, &c., iv. 73, &c.). For this reason they were stringently forbidden to the Jews (*Ex. xxiv.* 13; *Jer. xvii.* 2; *Ez. xx.* 28), and Maimonides even says that it is forbidden to sit under the shade of any green tree where an idol-statue was (*Fabric. Bibl. Antiq.* p. 280). Yet we find abundant indications that the Hebrews felt the influence of groves on the mind ("the spirit in the woods," Wordsworth), and therefore selected them for solemn purposes, such as great national meetings (Judg. ix. 6, 37) and the burial of the dead (Gen. xxxv. 8; 1 Sam. xxi. 14). Those connected with patriarchal history were peculiarly liable to superstitious reverence (*Am. v.* 5, viii. 13), and we find that the groves of Mamre were long a place of worship (Sozomen. *H. E.* ii. 4; Euseb. *Vet. Constant.* 81; *Rehnd, Palest.* p. 714). There are in Scripture many memorable trees; e.g. *Allenbachuth* (Gen. xxxv. 8), the tamarisk (but see above) in Gibeah (1 Sam. xii. 6), the terebinth in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26, under which the law was set up), the palm-tree of Deborah (Judg. iv. 5), the terebinth of enchantments (Judg. ix. 37), the terebinth of wanderers (Judg. iv. 11), and others (1 Sam. xiv. 2, x. 3, sometimes "plain" in A. V., *Vulg.* "convallis").

This observation of particular trees was among the heathen extended to a regular worship of them. "Tree-worship may be traced from the interior of Africa, not only into Egypt and Arabia, but also onward uninterruptedly into Palestine and Syria, Assyria, Persia, India, Thibet, Siam, the Philippine Islands, China, Japan, and Sibeia; also westward into Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and other countries; and in most of the countries here named it obtains in the present day, combined as it has been in other parts with various forms of idolatry" (*Gen. of Earth and Man*, p. 139). "The worship of trees even goes back among the Iranians to the rules of Hom., called in the *Zend-Avesta* the promulgator of the old law. We know from Herodotus the delight which Xerxes took in the great plane-tree in Lydia, on which he bestowed golden ornaments, and appointed for it a sentinel in the person of one of the 'immortal ten thousand.' The early veneration of trees was associated, by the moist and refreshing canopy of foliage, with that of sacred fountains. In similar connexion with the early worship of nature were among the Hellenic nations the fame of the great palm-tree of Delos, and of an aged platanus in Arcadia. The Buddhists of Ceylon venerate the colossal Indian fig-tree of Anuradhapura. . . . As single trees thus became objects of veneration from the beauty of their form, so did also groups of trees, under the name of 'groves of gods.' Pansanias (i. 21, §9) is full of the praise of a grove belonging to the temple of Apollo at Grymion in Aetolia; and the grove of Colone is celebrated in the renowned chorus of Sophocles" (*Humboldt, Cosmos*, ii. 96, Eng. ed.). The custom of adorning trees "with jewels and mantles" was very ancient and universal (Herod. vii. 31; *Aelian, V. H.* ii. 14; Theocr. *Id.* xviii.; *Ov. Met.* viii. 723, 745; *Arnob. adv. Gentes*, i. 39), and even still exists in the East.

The *oracular* trees of antiquity are well known

(*Il.* xvi. 233; *Od.* v. 237; *Soph. Trach.* 754; *Virg. Georg.* ii. 16; *Sil. Ital.* iii. 11). Each god had some sacred tree (*Virg. Ecl.* vii. 61 sqq.). The Etrurians are said to have worshipped a palm, and the Celts an oak (*Max. Tyr. Dissert.* 38, in *Godwyn's Mos. and Aar.* ii. 4). On the Druidic veneration of oak-groves, see *Pliny, H. N.* xvi. 44; *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 30. In the same way, according to the missionary Oldendorp, the *negros* "have sacred groves, the abodes of a deity, which no negro ventures to enter except the priests" (*Prichard, Nat. Hist. of Man*, 525-539, 3rd ed.; *Park's Travels*, p. 65). So too the ancient Egyptians (*Rawlinson's Herod.* ii. 298). Long after the introduction of Christianity it was found necessary to forbid all abuse of trees and groves to the purposes of superstition (*Harleian, Act. Concil.* i. 988; see *Orelli, ad Tit. Germ.* 9). [F. W. F.]

**GUARD.** The Hebrew terms commonly used had reference to the special duties which the body-guard of a monarch had to perform.

(1.) *Tubbach* (טובח) originally signified a "cook," and as butchering fell to the lot of the cook in Eastern countries, it gained the secondary sense of "executioner," and is applied to the body-guard of the kings of Egypt (*Gen.* xxxvii. 36), and Babylon (*2 K.* xxv. 8; *Jer.* xxxix. 9, xl. 1; *Dan.* ii. 14). [EXECUTIONER.]

(2.) *Ratz* (רץ) properly means a "runner," and is the ordinary term employed for the attendants of the Jewish kings, whose office it was to run before the chariot (*2 Sam.* xv. 1; *1 K.* i. 5), like the *cursores* of the Roman Emperors (*Sence. Ep.* 87, 126). That the Jewish "runners" superadded the ordinary duties of a military guard appears from several passages (*1 Sam.* xxii. 17; *2 K.* x. 25, xl. 6; *2 Chr.* xii. 10). It was their office also to carry despatches (*2 Chr.* xxx. 6). They had a guard-room set apart for their use in the king's palace, in which their arms were kept ready for use (*1 K.* xiv. 28; *2 Chr.* xii. 11). [FOOTMAN.]

(3.) The terms *mishmereth* (מִשְׁמֶרֶת) and *mishmar* (מִשְׁמָר) express properly the *act of watching*, but are occasionally transferred to the persons who kept watch (*Neh.* iv. 9, 22, vii. 3, xii. 9; *Job* vii. 12). The A. V. is probably correct in substituting *mishmar* (מִשְׁמָר) for the present reading in *2 Sam.* xxiii. 23, Benaiah being appointed "captain of the guard," as *Josephus (Ant.* vii. 14, §4) relates, and not privy councillor: the same error has crept into the text in *1 Sam.* xxii. 14, where the words "which goeth at thy bidding" may originally have been "captain of the body-guard." For the duties of the captain of the guard, see CAPTAIN. [W. L. B.]

**GUD/GODAH** (with the *הגדגד*; *Гаг-дэд*; *Gudgad*), *Deut.* x. 7. [HOR HAGIDGAD.]

**GUEST.** [HOSPITALITY.]

**GUL/LOTH** (גוללות, plural of גולה), a Hebrew term of unfrequent occurrence in the Bible, and used only in two passages—and those identical relations of the same occurrence—to denote a natural object, viz. the springs added by the great Caleb to the south land in the neighbourhood of Debir, which formed the dowry of his daughter Achsah (*Josh.* xv. 19; *Judg.* i. 15). The springs were "upper" and "lower"—possibly one at the top and the other the bottom of a ravine or glen; and they may have derived their unusual name from their appearance being different to that of the ordinary springs of the

country. The root (גלל) has the force of rolling or tumbling over, and perhaps this may imply that they rolled up in that round or mushroom form which is not uncommon here, though apparently most rare in Palestine. The rendering of the Vat. LXX. is singular. In *Josh.* it has *תְּהַב בֹּרְבָאִים*, and *תְּהַב בֹּרְבָאִים*, the latter doubtless a nice corruption of the Hebrew. The Alex. MSs, as usual, is faithful to the Hebrew text. In *Judges* both have *ἀστράς*. An attempt has been lately made by Dr. Rosen to identify these springs with the *Ain Nuskur* near Hebron (see *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* 1857); but the identification can hardly be received without fuller confirmation (*Stanley, S. & P. App.* §54). [DEBIR.] [G.]

**GUN'I** (גוני; *Γωνί, δ Γωνί, Alex. Γωνί; Guni*). 1. A son of Naphtali (*Gen.* xli. 24; *1 Chr.* vii. 13), the founder of the family of the Gunites (*Nnm.* xxvi. 48). Like several others of the early Israelite names, Guni is a patronymic—"Gunite;" as if already a family at the time of its first mention (*comp. Arodi, Hushim, &c.*).

2. A descendant of Gad; father of Abdiel a chief man in his tribe (*1 Chr.* v. 15).

**GUNITES, THE** (הגונים; *δ Γωνί; Gunitae*), the "family" which sprang from Guni, son of Naphtali (*Nnm.* xxvi. 48). There is not in the Hebrew any difference between the two names, of the individual and the family.

**GUR, THE GOING UP TO** (מַעְלֵה גִּוּר; *Gen. Thes.* 275; *עַל קַף אַבְבָּלְעֻשׁ גִּוּר*; *ascensus Gurr*), an ascent or rising ground, at which Abaziah received his death-blow while flying from Jehu after the slaughter of Joram (*2 K.* ix. 27). It is described as at (א) Ibleam, and on the way between Jezreel and Beth-hug-gau (A. V. "the garden-house"). As the latter is identified with tolerable probability with the present *Jenin*, we may conclude that the ascent of Gur was some place more than usually steep on the difficult road which leads from the plain of Esdraelon to *Jenin*. By *Josephus* it is mentioned (*Ant.* ix. 6, §4) merely as "a certain ascent" (*ἐν τινὶ προσβάσει*). Neither it nor Ibleam have been yet recovered.

For the details of the occurrence see *JEHU*. For other ascents see *ADUMMIM*, *ACRAHIM*, *Ḳiz*. [G.]

**GUR BA'AL** (גִּוּר בַּעַל; *Πέρπα; Gurbaal*), a place or district in which dwelt Arabians, as recorded in *2 Chr.* xxvi. 7. It appears from the context to have been in the country lying between Palestine and the Arabian peninsula; but this, although probable, and although the LXX. reading is in favour of the conjecture, cannot be proved, no site having been assigned to it. The Arab geographers mention a place called *Baal*, on the Syrian road, north of El-Medeneh (*Marsid*, s. v. *بعل*). The Targum, as *Winer (s. v.)* remarks, reads *רֹבְאִי בִנְרִי*—"Arabs living in Gerar"—suggesting *גִּוּר* instead of *גִּוּר*; but there is no further evidence to strengthen this supposition. [See also GERAR.] The ingenious conjectures of Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 22) respecting the Mehunim, who are mentioned together with the "Arabians that dwelt in Gur Baal," may be considered in reference to the Mehunim, although they are far fetched. [MEHUNIM.] [E. S. P.]

## H.

**HAAHASHTARI** (חֲשִׁיתָרִי), with the article, = the Ahashtarite; *חֲשִׁיתָרִי*, Alex. 'Ασθηρ, Alex. 'Ασθηρά; *Ahushturi*), a man, or a family, immediately descended from Ashur, "father of Tekoa" by his second wife Naarah (1 Chr. iv. 6). The name does not appear again, nor is there any trace of a place of similar name.

**HABAIAH** (חַבְיָהּ, in Neh. חַבְיָהּ; *Ααβεία*, 'Εβεία, Alex. 'Οβαία; *Nobin, Ilabia*). Bene-Chabaijah were among the sons of the priests who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, but whose genealogy being imperfect, were not allowed to serve (Ezr. ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63). It is not clear from the passage whether they were among the descendants of Barzillai the Gileadite. In the lists of 1 Esdras the name is given as *ONDIA*.

**HAB'AKKUK** (חַבְכּוּק); Jerome, *Prolog. in Hab.* renders it by the Greek *περίληψις*; 'Αμβακούμ; *Habucuc*). Other Greek forms of the name are 'ΑΒΒακούμ, which Suidas erroneously renders *πατήρ ἐγγύσεως*, 'ΑΒακούμ (Georg. Cedrenus), 'Αμβακούμ, and 'ΑΒΒακούμ (Dorotheus, *Doctr.* 2). The Latin forms are *Ambucum*, *Ambacuc*, and *Abucuc*.

1. Of the facts of the prophet's life we have no certain information, and with regard to the period of his prophecy there is great division of opinion. The Rabbinical tradition that Habakkuk was the son of the Shunammite woman whom Elisha restored to life is repeated by Abarbanel in his commentary, and has no other foundation than a fanciful etymology of the prophet's name, based on the expression in 2 K. iv. 16. Equally unfounded is the tradition that he was the sentinel set by Isaiah to watch for the destruction of Babylon (comp. Is. xvi. 16 with Hab. ii. 1). In the title of the history of Bel and the Dragon, as found in the LXX. version in Origen's *Tetrapla*, the author is called "Habakkuk, the son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi." Some have supposed this apocryphal writer to be identical with the prophet (Jerome, *prolegom. in Dan.*). The psalm in ch. 3 and its title are thought to favour the opinion that Habakkuk was a Levite (Delitzsch, *Habakuk*, p. iii.). Pseudo-Epiphanius (vol. ii. p. 240, *de Vitis Prophetarum*) and Dorotheus (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 150) say that he was of *Βηθζοαήρ* or *Βηθρουαήρ* (*Bethucat*, Isid. Hispal. c. 47), of the tribe of Simeon. This may have been the same as Bethzacharias, when Judas Maccabaeus was defeated by Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. vi. 32, 33). The same authors relate that when Jerusalem was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, Habakkuk fled to Ostracine, and remained there till after the Chaldeans had left the city, when he returned to his own country and died at his farm two years before the return from Babylon, B.C. 538. It was during his residence in Judaea that he is said to have carried food to Daniel in the den of lions at Babylon. This legend is given in the history of Bel and the Dragon, and is repeated by Eusebius, BarHebraeus, and Eutychius. It is quoted from Joseph ben Gorion (*B. J.* xi. 3) by Abarbanel (*Comm. on Job.*), and seriously refuted by him on chronological grounds. The scene of the event was shown to mediæval travellers on the road from Jerusalem

to Bethlehem (*Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 29). Habakkuk is said to have been buried at Keilah in the tribe of Judah, eight miles E. of Eleutheropolis (Eusebius, *Onomasticon*). Rabbinical tradition places his tomb at Chukkok, of the tribe of Naphtali, now called *Jakuk*. In the days of Zebenus, bishop of Eleutheropolis, according to Nicephorus (*H. E.* xii. 48) and Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 28), the remains of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered at Keilah.

2. The Rabbinical traditions agree in placing Habakkuk with Joel and Nahum in the reign of Manasseh (cf. *Seder Olam Rabba* and *Zuta*, and *Tsemuch David*). This date is adopted by Kimchi and Abarbanel among the Rabbis, and by Witsius, Kalinsky, and Jahn among modern writers. The general corruption and lawlessness which prevailed in the reign of Manasseh are supposed to be referred to in Hab. i. 2-4. Both Kalinsky and Jahn conjecture that Habakkuk may have been one of the prophets mentioned in 2 K. xxi. 10. Syncellus (*Chronographia*, pp. 214, 230, 240) makes him contemporary with Ezekiel, and extends the period of his prophecy from the time of Manasseh to that of Daniel and Joshua the son of Josedech. The Chronicon Paschale places him later, first mentioning him in the beginning of the reign of Josiah (Olymp. 32), as contemporary with Zephaniah and Nahum; and again in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus (Olymp. 42), as contemporary with Daniel and Ezekiel in Persia, with Haggai and Zechariah in Judaea, and with Baruch in Egypt. Davidson (*Horne's Intr.* ii. 968), following Keil, decides in favour of the early part of the reign of Josiah. Calmet, Jaeger, Ewald, De Wette, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Maurer, Hitzig, and Meier agree in assigning the commencement of Habakkuk's prophecy to the reign of Jehoiakim, though they are divided as to the exact period to which it is to be referred. Knobel (*Der Prophetismus. d. Hebr.*) and Meier (*Gesch. d. poet. nat. Liter. d. Hebr.*) are in favour of the commencement of the Chaldean era, after the battle of Carchemish (B.C. 606), when Judaea was first threatened by the victors. But the question of the date of Habakkuk's prophecy has been discussed in the most exhaustive manner by Delitzsch (*Der Prophet Habakuk*, Einl. §3), and though his arguments are rather ingenious than convincing, they are well deserving of consideration as based upon internal evidence. The conclusion at which he arrives is that Habakkuk delivered his prophecy about the 12th or 13th year of Josiah (B.C. 630 or 629), for reasons of which the following is a summary. In Hab. i. 5 the expression "in your days" shows that the fulfilment of the prophecy would take place in the lifetime of those to whom it was addressed. The same phrase in Jer. xvi. 9 embraces a period of at most twenty years, while in Ez. xii. 25 it denotes about six years, and therefore, reckoning backwards from the Chaldean invasion, the date above assigned would involve no violation of probability, though the argument does not amount to a proof. From the similarity of Hab. ii. 10 and Zeph. i. 7, Delitzsch infers that the latter is an imitation, the former being the original. He supports this conclusion by many collateral arguments. Now Zephaniah, according to the superscription of his prophecy, lived in the time of Josiah, and from iii. 5 must have prophesied after the worship of Jehovah was restored, that is, after the twelfth year of that king's reign. It is probable that he wrote about

B.C. 624. Between this period therefore and the 12th year of Josiah (B.C. 630) Delitzsch places Habakkuk. But Jeremiah began to prophesy in the 13th year of Josiah, and many passages are borrowed by him from Habakkuk (cf. Hab. ii. 13 with Jer. ix. 58, &c.). The latter therefore must have written about 630 or 629 B.C. This view receives some confirmation from the position of his prophecy in the O. T. Canon.

3. Instead of looking upon the prophecy as an organic whole, Rosenmüller divided it into three parts corresponding to the chapters, and assigned the first chapter to the reign of Jehoiakim, the second to that of Jehoiachin, and the third to that of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was besieged for the third time by Nebuchadnezzar. Kalinsky (*Vatic. Chadic. et Noh.*) makes four divisions, and refers the prophecy not to Nebuchadnezzar, but to Esarhaddon. But in such an arbitrary arrangement the true character of the composition as a perfectly developed poem is entirely lost sight of. The prophet commences by announcing his office and important mission (i. 1). He bewails the corruption and social disorganisation by which he is surrounded, and cries to Jehovah for help (i. 2-4). Next follows the reply of the Deity, threatening swift vengeance (i. 5-11). The prophet, transferring himself to the near future foreshadowed in the divine threatenings, sees the rapacity and boastful impiety of the Chaldean hosts, but, confident that God has only employed them as the instruments of correction, assumes (ii. 1) an attitude of hopeful expectancy, and waits to see the issue. He receives the divine command to write in an enduring form the vision of God's retributive justice, as revealed to his prophetic eye (ii. 2, 3). The doom of the Chaldeans is first foretold in general terms (ii. 4-6), and the announcement is followed by a series of denunciations pronounced upon them by the nations who had suffered from their oppression (ii. 6-20). The strophical arrangement of these "woes" is a remarkable feature of the prophecy. They are distributed in strophes of three verses each, characterised by a certain regularity of structure. The first four commence with a "Woe!" and close with a verse beginning with **וְ** (for). The first verse of each of these contains the character of the sin, the second the development of the woe, while the third is confirmatory of the woe denounced. The fifth strophe differs from the others in form in having a verse introductory to the woe. The prominent vices of the Chaldean character, as delineated in i. 5-11, are made the subjects of separate denunciations: their insatiable ambition (ii. 6-8), their covetousness (ii. 9-11), cruelty (ii. 12-14), drunkenness (ii. 15-17), and idolatry (ii. 18-20). The whole concludes with the magnificent Psalm in chap. iii. "Habakkuk's Pindaric ode" (Ewald), a composition unrivalled for boldness of conception, sublimity of thought, and majesty of diction. This constitutes, in Delitzsch's opinion, "the second grand division of the entire prophecy, as the subjective reflex of the two subdivisions of the first, and the lyrical recapitulation of the whole." It is the echo of the feelings aroused in the prophet's mind by the divine answers to his appeals; fear in anticipation of the threatened judgments, and thankfulness and joy at the promised retribution. But, though intimately connected with the former part of the prophecy, it is in itself a perfect whole, as is sufficiently evident

from its lyrical character, and the musical arrangement by which it was adapted for use in the temple service.

In other parts of the A. V. the name is given as HABBACUC, and ABACUC. [W. A. W.]

HABAZINTAH (חַבְצִינְתָּא; Χαβαζίντ, Alex. Χαβαζέν; *Habazmā*), apparently the head of one of the families of the RECHABITES: his descendant Jazaniah was the chief man among them in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxv. 3).

HAB'BACUC (Ἀμβακούμ; *Habacuc*), the form in which the name of the prophet HABAKKUK is given in the Apocrypha (Bel, 33-39).

HABERGEON, a coat of mail covering the neck and breast. The Hebrew terms are חֲבֵרֶת, חֲבִירָה, חֲבִירֹן. The first, *tcharu*, occurs only in Ex. xviii. 32, xxxix. 23, and is noticed incidentally to illustrate the mode of making the aperture for the head in the sacerdotal *meil*. It was probably similar to the linen corslet (λινοθήρη), worn by the Egyptians (Her. ii. 182, iii. 47), and the Greeks (*Il.* ii. 529, 830). The second, *shiryāh*, occurs only in Job xli. 26, and is regarded as another form of *shiryān* (שִׁרְיָן), a "breastplate" (*Is.* lix. 17); this sense has been questioned, as the context requires offensive rather than defensive armour; but the objection may be met by the supposition of an extended sense being given to the verb, according to the grammatical usage known as *zeugma*. The third, *shiryān*, occurs as an article of defensive armour in 1 Sam. xvii. 5; 2 Chr. xxvi. 14, and Neh. iv. 10. [W. L. B.]

HA'BOR (חַבּוֹר; 'Aḥār, Χαῶρ; *Habor*), the "river of Gozan" (2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11) has been already distinguished from the Chebar or Chobar of Ezekiel. [CHEBAR.] It is identified beyond all reasonable doubt with the famous affluent of the Euphrates, which is called Aborhas ('Aḥōḥās) by Strabo (xvi. 1, §27) and Ptolemy (*Bell. Pers.* ii. 5); Aburās ('Aḥōḥās; by Isidore of Charax (p. 4), Abora ('Aḥōḥās) by Zosimus (iii. 12), and Chaboras (Χαῶρας), by Pliny and Ptolemy (v. 18). The stream in question still bears the name of the *Khabour*. It flows from several sources in the mountain-chain, which in about the 37th parallel crosses in the valley of the Tigris upon the south the Mons Masius of Strabo and Ptolemy, at present the *Kharz Dagh*. The chief source is said to be "a little to the west of *Mardin*" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 309, note); but the upper course of the river is still very imperfectly known. The main stream was seen by Mr. Layard flowing from the north-west as he stood on the conical hill of *Koukab* (about lat. 36° 20', long. 41°); and here it was joined by an important tributary, the *Jerufjer*, which flowed down to it from Nisibis. Both streams were here fordable, but the river formed by their union had to be crossed by a raft. It flowed in a tortuous course through rich meads covered with flowers, having a general direction about S.S.W. to its junction with the Euphrates at *Karkesia*, the ancient Ciresium. The country on both sides of the river was covered with mounds, the remains of cities belonging to the Assyrian period.

The *Khabour* occurs under that name in Assyrian inscription of the ninth century before era. [G. R.]

**HACHALIAH** (הַחֲלִיָּה; *Χακκία*, and 'Αχακία; *Hechlii*, *Hachliia*, *Acheliu*), the father of Nehemiah (Neh. i. 1; x. 1).

**HACHILAH, THE HILL** (הַחִילָה; *δ βουνός του* (and *δ*) *Ἐχελᾶ*; *collis*, and *Gubaa*, *Hachla*), a hill apparently situated in a wood in the wilderness or waste land (מִדְבָּר) in the neighbourhood of Ziph; in the fastnesses, or passes, of which David and his six hundred followers were lurking when the Ziphites informed Saul of his whereabouts (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; comp. 14, 15, 18). The special topographical note is added, that it was "on the right (xxiii. 19, A. V. "south") of the Jeshimon," or, according to what may be a second account of the same transaction (xxvi. 1-3), "facing the Jeshimon" (עַל פְּנֵי, A. V. "before"), that is, the waste barren district. As Saul approached, David drew down from the hill into the lower ground (xxvi. 3), still probably remaining concealed by the wood which then covered the country. Saul advanced to the hill, and bivouacked there by the side of the road (דֶּרֶךְ, A. V. "way"), which appears to have run over the hill or close below it. It was during this nocturnal halt that the romantic adventure of the spear and cause of water took place. In xxiii. 14, and xxvi. 13, this hill would seem (though this is not quite clear) to be dignified by the title of "the mountain" (הָהָר); in the latter, the A. V. has "hill," and in both the article is missed; but, on the other hand, the same eminence appears to be again designated as "the cliff" (xxiii. 25, הַסֵּלַע; A. V. "a rock") from which David descended into the *midbar* of Maon. Places bearing the names of Ziph and Maon are still found in the south of Judah—in all probability the identical sites of those ancient towns. They are sufficiently close to each other for the district between them to bear indiscriminately the name of both. But the wood has vanished, and no trace of the name Hachilah has yet been discovered, nor has the ground been examined with the view to see if the minute indications of the story can be recognized. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*), *Echela* is named as a village then standing; but the situation—seven miles from Eleutheropolis, i. e. on the N.W. of Hebron—would be too far from Ziph and Maon; and as Reland has pointed out, they probably confounded it with Keilah (comp. *Onom.* "Cecilah;" and Reland, 745). [G.]

**HACHMONI, SON OF, and THE HACHMONITE** (1 Chr. xxvii. 32, xi. 11), both renderings—the former the correct one—of the same Hebrew words (בְּרִי חַמּוֹנִי) = son of a Hachmonite; *υἱός* *Ἀχαμων*, *Ἀχαμῶν*, Alex. *Ἀχαμωνί*; *Achamoni*). The two of the Bene-Hachmoni are named in these passages, JEHIEL in the former, and JASHOBKAM in the latter. Hachmon or Hachmoni was no doubt the founder of a family to which these men belonged: the actual father of Jashobkam was Zabdiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2), and he is also said to have belonged to the Korhites (1 Chr. xii. 6), possibly the Levites descended from Korah. But the name Hachmon nowhere appears in the genealogies

of the Levites. In 2 Sam. xxii. 8 the name is altered to the Tachemonite. [TACHMONITE.] See Kennicott, *Diss.* 72, 82, who calls attention to the fact that names given in Chronicles with *Ben* are in Samuel given without the *Ben*, but with the definite article. [G.]

**HA'DAD** (הַדָּד; 'Αδδδ, 'Αρδδ, 'Αδδρ, Χοδδδν; *Hadad*). This name occurs frequently in the history of the Syrian and Edomite dynasties. It was originally the indigenous appellation of the Sun among the Syrians (Macrobius *Saturnal.* i. 23; Plin. xxxvii. 11), and was thence transferred to the king, as the highest of earthly authorities, in the forms Hadad, Ben-hadad ("worshipper of Hadad"), and Hadad-ezer ("assisted by Hadad," Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 218). The title appears to have been an official one, like Pharaoh; and perhaps it is so used by Nicolaus Damascus, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, §2), in reference to the Syrian king who aided Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 5). Josephus appears to have used the name in the same sense, where he substitutes it for Benhadad (*Ant.* ix. 8, §7, compared with 2 K. xiii. 24). The name appears occasionally in the altered form Hadar (*Gen.* xlv. 15, xxxvi. 39, compared with 1 Chr. i. 30, 50).

1. The first of the name was a son of Ishmael (*Gen.* xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 30). His descendants probably occupied the western coast of the Persian Gulf, where the names *Attari* (Ptol. vi. 7, §15), *Attene*, and *Chuteni* (Plin. vi. 32) bear affinity to the original name.

2. (הַדָּד). The second was a king of Edom, who gained an important victory over the Midianites on the field of Moab (*Gen.* xxxvi. 35; 1 Chr. i. 46); the position of his territory is marked by his capital, Avith [AVITH].

3. (הַדָּד). The third was also a king of Edom, with Pau for his capital (1 Chr. i. 50). [PAU.] He was the last of the kings: the change to the dukedom is pointedly connected with his death in 1 Chr. i. 51. [HADAR.]

4. (הַדָּד). The last of the name was a member of the royal house of Edom (1 K. xi. 14 ff.), probably the grandson of the one last noticed (In ver. 17 it is given in the mutilated form of הַדָּד). In his childhood he escaped the massacre under Joab, in which his father appears to have perished, and fled with a band of followers into Egypt. Some difficulty arises in the account of his flight, from the words, "they arose out of Midian" (ver. 18): Theophrastus (*Comm. in loc.*) surmises that the reading has been corrupted from מִדְבָּר to מִדְבָּר, and that the place intended is *Maon*, i. e. the residence for the time being of the royal family. Other explanations are that Midian was the territory of some of the Midianitish tribes in the peninsula of Sinai, or that it is the name of a town, the *Modlava* of Ptol. vi. 7, §2: some of the MSS. of the LXX. supply the words *τῆς πόλεως* before *Μαδιὰμ*. Pharaoh, the predecessor of Solomon's father-in-law, treated him kindly, and gave him his sister-in-law in marriage. After David's death Hadad resolved to attempt the recovery of his dominion: Pharaoh in vain discouraged him, and upon this he left Egypt and

\* For the "wood" the LXX. have *ἐν τῇ καυγῇ*, reading *וְהָרִי* for *וְהָרִי*. And so too Josephus.

† The Hebrew exactly answers to our expression "descended the cliff": the "into" in the text of the

A. V. is derived from the LXX. *εἰς* and the Vulgate *ad*. See Jerome's explanation, *ad petram, id est, ad tutissimum locum*, in his *Quaest. Ezech.* *ad loc.*

returned to his own country (see the addition to ver. 22 in the LXX.; the omission of the clause in the Hebrew probably arose from an error of the transcriber). \* It does not appear from the text as it now stands, how Hadad became subsequently to this an "adversary unto Solomon" (ver. 14), still less how he gained the sovereignty over Syria (ver. 25). The LXX., however, refers the whole of ver. 25 to him, and substitutes for הָדָד (Syria), 'Εδωμ (Edom). This reduces the whole to a consistent and intelligible narrative. Hadad, according to this account, succeeded in his attempt, and carried on a border warfare on the Israelites from his own territory. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, §6) retains the reading Syria, and represents Hadad as having failed in his attempt on Idumaea, and then having joined Rezon, from whom he received a portion of Syria. If the present text is correct, the concluding words of ver. 25 must be referred to Rezon, and be considered as a repetition in an amplified form of the concluding words of the previous verse. [W. L. B.]

**HADAD'EZER**, הָדָד עֶזְרָא, δ 'Αδρααζαρ, in both MSS. (2 Sam. viii. 3-12; 1 K. xi. 23). [HADAREZER.]

**HADAD-RIMMON** (הָדָד רִמּוֹן; ῥομερὸς ῥοῶνος; *Adudremmon*), is, according to the ordinary interpretation of Zech. xii. 11, a place in the valley of Megiddo, named after two Syrian idols, where a national lamentation was held for the death of king Josiah in the last of the four great battles (see Stanley, *S. & P.* ix.) which have made the plain of Esdraelon famous in Hebrew history (see 2 K. xxiii. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 5, §1). The LXX. translate the word "pomegranate"; and the Greek commentators, using that version, see here no reference to Josiah. Jonathan, the Chaldee interpreter, followed by Jarchi, understands it to be the name of the son of king Tabrimon who was opposed to Ahab at Ramoth-gilead. But it has been taken for the place at which Josiah died by most interpreters since Jerome, who states (*Comm. in Zech.*) that it was the name of a city which was called in his time Maximianopolis, and was not far from Jezreel. Van de Velde (i. 355) thinks that he has identified the very site, and that the more ancient name still lingers on the spot. There is a treatise by Wichmaulhausen, *De planctu Hadadr.* in the *Nov. Thes. Theol.-phil.* i. 101. [W. L. B.]

**HADAR** (הָדָר; Χοδδάρ; *Hadar*), a son of Ishmael (Gen. xiv. 15); written in 1 Chr. i. 30 *Hudal* (הָדָל, Χοδδάρ, *Hudad*); but Gesenius supposes the former to be the true reading of the name. It has not been identified, in a satisfactory way, with the appellation of any tribe or place in Arabia, or on the Syrian frontier; but names identical with, or very closely resembling it, are not uncommon in those parts, and may contain traces of the Ishmaelite tribe sprung from Hadar. The mountain *Hadad*, belonging to *Teynah* [TEMA] on the borders of the Syrian desert, north of *El-Medeenah*, is perhaps the most likely to be correctly identified with the ancient dwellings of this tribe; it stands among a group of names of the sons of Ishmael, containing *Dumah* (*Doomah*), *Kedar* (*Keydár*), and *Tema* (*Teynah*). [E. S. P.]

2. (הָדָר), with a different ascription to the preceding; 'Αρδὸν υἱὸς Βαράδ, Alex. 'Αρδὸ; *Adar*). One of the kings of Edom, successor of Baal-hanan ben-Aabor (Gen. xxxvi. 39), and, if we may so understand the statement of ver. 31, about contemporary with

Saul. The name of his city, and the name and genealogy of his wife, are given. In the parallel list in 1 Chr. i. he appears as **HADAD**. We know from another source (1 K. xi. 14, &c.) that Hadad was one of the names of the royal family of Edom. Indeed it occurs in this very list (Gen. xxxvi. 35). But perhaps this fact is in favour of the form Hadar being correct in the present case: its isolation is probably a proof that it is a different name from the others, however similar.

**HADAREZER** (הָדָר עֶזְרָא; 'Αδρααζαρ, Alex. 'Αδρααζαρ; *Adarezer*), son of Rehob (2 Sam. viii. 3); the king of the Aramite state of Zobah, who, while on his way to "establish his dominion" at the Euphrates, was overtaken by David, defeated with great loss both of chariots, horses, and men (1 Chr. xviii. 3, 4), and driven with the remnant of his force to the other side of the river (ix. 16). The golden weapons captured on this occasion (שָׁלֵט, A. V. "shields of gold"), a thousand in number, were taken by David to Jerusalem (xvii. 7), and dedicated to Jehovah. The foreign arms were preserved in the Temple, and were long known as king David's (1 Chr. xxiii. 9; Cant. iv. 4). [ARMS; *Sheldt.*]

Not daunted by this defeat, Hadarezer seized an early opportunity of attempting to revenge himself; and after the first repulse of the Ammonites and their Syrian allies by Joab, he sent his army to the assistance of his kindred the people of Manahai, Rehob, and Ishob (1 Chr. xix. 16; 2 Sam. x. 15, comp. 8). The army was a large one, as is evident from the numbers of the slain; and it was especially strong in horse-soldiers (xix. 18). Under the command of Shophach, or Shobach, the captain of the host (שָׁפָח הַצָּבָא), they crossed the Euphrates, joined the other Syrians, and encamped at a place called HELAM. The moment was a critical one, and David himself came from Jerusalem to take the command of the Israelite army. As on the former occasion, the rout was complete: seven hundred chariots were captured, seven thousand charioteers and forty thousand horse-soldiers killed, the petty sovereigns who had before been subject to Hadarezer submitted themselves to David, and the great Syrian confederacy was, for the time, at an end.

But one of Hadarezer's more immediate retainers, REZON ben-Eliadah, made his escape from the army, and gathering round him some fugitives like himself, formed them into one of those marauding ravaging "bands" (בָּנִיָּה) which found a congenial refuge in the thinly peopled districts between the Jordan and the Euphrates (2 K. v. 2; 1 Chr. v. 18-22). Making their way to Damascus, they possessed themselves of the city. Rezon became king, and at once began to avenge the loss of his countrymen by the course of "mischief" to Israel which he pursued down to the end of Solomon's reign, and which is summed up in the emphatic words "he was an adversary (a 'Satan') to Israel" . . . "he abhorred Israel" (1 K. xi. 23-25).

In the narrative of David's Syrian campaign in 2 Sam. viii. 3-12 this name is given as *Hadad-ezer*, and also in 1 K. xi. 23. But in 2 Sam. x., and in all its other occurrences in the Hebrew text as well as in the LXX. (both MSS.), and in Josephus, the form *Hadarezer* is maintained. [G.]

**HADASHAH** (הָדָשָׁה; 'Αδασα, Alex. 'Αδασα; *Hadassa*), one of the towns of Judah, in the Shefelah or maritime low-country, named between Zenan and Migdal-gul, in the second group (Josh.

xv. 37 only). By Eusebius it is spoken of as lying near "Taphna," i.e. Gophna. But if by this Eusebius intends the well-known Gophna, there must be some error, as Gophna was several miles north of Jerusalem, near the direct north road to *Nabûs*. No satisfactory reason presents itself why Hadassah should not be the ADASA of the Maccabean history. Hitherto it has eluded discovery in modern times. [G.]

**HADAS'SAH** (הַדַּסָּה); LXX. omits; *Edissa*), a name, probably the earlier name, of Esther (Esth. ii. 7). Gesenius (*Thes.* 366) suggests that it is identical with *Ἀρσασα*, the name of the daughter of Cyrus.

**HADAT'TAH** (הַדַּתָּה); LXX. omits; *nota*). According to the A. V. one of the towns of Judah in the extreme south—"Hazor, Hadattah, and Kerioth, and Hezron," &c. (*Josh.* xv. 25); but the Masoret accents of the Hebrew connect the word with that preceding it, as if it were Hazor-chadattah, i.e. New Hazor, in distinction from the place of the same name in ver. 23. This reading is expressly sanctioned by Eusebius and Jerome, who speak (*Onom.* "Asor") of "New Hazor" as lying in their day to the east of and near Ascalon. (See also Ireland, 708.) But Ascalon, as Robinson has pointed out (ii. 34, note), is in the Shefelah, and not in the South, and would, if named in Joshua at all, be included in the second division of the list, beginning at ver. 33, instead of where it is, not far from Kedesh. [G.]

**HAD'DID** (הַדִּיד); i.e. "sharp," possibly from its situation on some craggy eminence, Gesen. *Thes.* 444; *Ἀδιδ*; *Hadid*), a place named, with Lod (Lydd) and Ono, only in the later books of the history (*Ezr.* ii. 33; *Neh.* vii. 37, xi. 34), but yet so as to imply its earlier existence. In the time of Eusebius (*Onom.* "Adithaim") a town called Aditha, or Adatha, existed to the east of Diospolis (Lydda). This was probably Hadid. The ADIDA of the Maccabean history cannot be the same place, as it is distinctly specified as in the maritime or Philistine plain further south—"Adida in Sephela" (1 Mac. xii. 38)—with which agrees the description of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 6, §5). About three miles east of Lydd stands a village called *el-Hadithah*, marked in Van de Velde's map. This is described by the old Jewish traveller *Ibn-Larchi* as being "on the summit of a round hill," and identified by him, no doubt correctly, with Hadid. See Zunz, in *Asher's Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 439. [G.]

**HAD'LAI** (הַדְּלַי); *Ἀδαῖ*, Alex. *Ἀδδῖ*; *Adal*), a man of Ephraim; father of Amasa, who was one of the chiefs of the tribe in the reign of Pekah (2 Chr. xxviii. 12).

**HADORAM** (הָדוֹרָם; *Ḥōdōrām*; *Aduram*), the fifth son of Joktan (*Gen.* x. 27; 1 Chr. i. 21). His settlements, unlike those of many of Joktan's sons, have not been identified. Bochart supposed that the Adramitae represented his descendants; but afterwards believed, as later critics have also, that this people was the same as the Chatramotitae, or people of Hadramāwt (*Phaleg*, ii. c. 17). [HAGAB-MAVETH.] Fresnel cites an Arab author who identifies Hadoram with *Jurhum* (4<sup>me</sup> *Lettre, Journ. Asiatique*, iii. serie, vi. 220); but this is highly improbable; nor is the suggestion of *Hadhoord*, by Causin (*Essai*, i. 30), more likely; the latter being one of the aboriginal tribes of Arabia, such as 'Adi, Thamood, &c. [ARABIA.] [E. S. P.]

2. **הָדוֹרָם**; *Ḥōdōrām*, Alex. *Δουράμ*; *Aduram*), son of 'Tou or Toi king of Hamath; his father's ambassador to congratulate David on his victory over Hadarezer king of Zobah (1 Chr. xviii. 10), and the bearer of valuable presents in the form of articles of antique manufacture (Joseph.). in gold, silver, and brass. In the parallel narrative of 2 Sam. vii. the name is given as Josam; but this being a contraction of Jehoram, which contains the name or Jehovah, is peculiarly an Israelite appellation, and we may therefore conclude that Hadoram is the genuine form of the name. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, 4) it is given as *Ἀδάρμας*.

3. **הָדָרָם**; *Ḥōdōrām*, Alex. *Ἀδάρμας*; *Aduram*). The form assumed in Chronicles by the name of the intendant of taxes under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, who lost his life in the revolt at Shechem after the coronation of the last-named prince (2 Chr. x. 18). He was sent by Rehoboam to appease the tumult, possibly as being one of the old and moderate party; but the choice of the chief officer of the taxes was not a happy one. His interference was ineffectual, and he himself fell a victim; "all Israel stoned him with stones that he died." In Kings the name is given in the longer form of ADONIRAM, but in Samuel (2 Sam. xx. 24) as ADORAM. By Josephus, in both the first and last case, he is called *Ἀδάρμας*.

**HA'DRACH** (הַדְּרַח; *Ḥadrach*), a country of Syria, mentioned once only, by the prophet Zechariah, in the following words:—"The burden of the word of Jehovah in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus [shall be] the rest thereof: when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, shall be toward Jehovah. And Hamath also shall border thereby; Tyrus and Sidon, though it be very wise" (ix. 1, 2). The position of the district, with its borders, is here generally stated, although it does not appear, as is commonly assumed, that it was on the east of Damascus; but the name itself seems to have wholly disappeared; and the ingenuity of critics has been exercised on it without attaining any trustworthy results. It still remains unknown. It is true that R. Jose of Damascus identifies it with the site of an important city, east of Damascus; and Joseph Abassi makes mention of a place called Hadrak (حدرق); but, with Gesenius, we may well distrust these writers. The vague statement of Cyril Alex. seems to be founded on no particular facts beyond those contained in the prophecy of Zechariah. Besides these identifications we can point to none that possesses the smallest claim to acceptance. Those of Mövers (*Phönix*), Bleek, and others are purely hypothetical, and the same must be said of the theory of Alphens, in his monograph *De terra Hadrach et Damasco* (Traj. Rh. 1723, referred to by Winer, s. v.). A solution of the difficulties surrounding the name may perhaps be found by supposing that it is derived from HADAR. [E. S. P.]

**HA'GAB** (הַגָּב; *Ḥagab*; *Hagab*). Bene-Hagab were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (*Ezr.* ii. 46). In the parallel list in Nehemiah, this and the name preceding it are omitted. In the Apocryphal Esdras it is given as AGABA.

**HAGA'BA** (הַגָּבָא; *Ḥagabā*; *Hagaba*). Bene-Hagaba were among the Nethinim who came back

from captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 48). The name is slightly different in form from

IIAGA'BAH (הַגָּבָה; 'Aγὰβδ; *Hagaba*), under which it is found in the parallel list of Ezr. ii. 45. In Esdras it is given as GRABA.

IIA'GAR (הַגָּר; 'Aγὰρ; *Agar*), an Egyptian woman, the handmaid, or slave, of Sarah (Gen. xvi. 1), whom the latter gave as a concubine to Abraham, after he had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan and had no children by Sarah (xvi. 2 and 3). That she was a bondswoman is stated both in the O. T. and in the N. T. (in the latter as part of her typical character); and the condition of a slave was one essential of her position as a legal concubine. It is recorded that "when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes" (4), and Sarah, with the anger, we may suppose, of a free woman, rather than of a wife, reproached Abraham for the results of her own act: "My wrong be upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: Jehovah judge between me and thee." Abraham's answer seems to have been forced from him by his love for the wife of many years, who besides was his half-sister; and with the apparent want of purpose that he before displayed in Egypt, and afterwards at the court of Abimelech (in contrast to his firm courage and constancy when directed by God), he said, "Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee." This permission was necessary in an Eastern household, but it is worthy of remark that it is now very rarely given; nor can we think, from the unchangeableness of Eastern customs, and the strongly-marked national character of those peoples, that it was usual anciently to allow a wife to deal hardly with a slave in Hagar's position. Yet the truth and individuality of the vivid narrative is enforced by this apparent departure from usage: "And when Sarah dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face," turning her steps towards her native land through the great wilderness traversed by the Egyptian road. By the fountain in the way to Shur, the angel of the Lord found her, charged her to return and submit herself under the hands of her mistress, and delivered the remarkable prophecy respecting her unborn child, recorded in ver. 10-12. [ISHMAEL.] "And she called the name of the Lord that spake unto her, Thou God art a God of vision; for she said, Have I then seen [i. e. lived] after vision [of God]? Wherefore the well was called BEER-IAHAI-ROI" (13, 14). On her return, Hagar gave birth to Ishmael, and Abraham was then eighty-six years old. Mention is not again made of Hagar in the history of Abraham until the feast at the weaning of Isaac, when "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking"; and in exact sequence with the first flight of Hagar, we now read of her expulsion. "Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondswoman and her son; for the son of this bondswoman shall not be heir with my son, [even] with Isaac" (xxi. 9, 10). Abraham, in his grief, and unwillingness thus to act, was comforted by God, with the assurance that in Isaac should his seed be called, and that a nation should also be raised of the bondswoman's son. In

his trustful obedience, we read, in the pathetic narrative, "Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave [it] unto Hagar, putting [it] on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away, and she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs. And she went, and sat her down over against [him] a good way off, as it were a bow shot; for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against [him], and lift up her voice and wept. And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not, for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he [is]. Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand, for I will make him a great nation. And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad to drink" (xxi. 14-19). The verisimilitude, oriental exactness, and simple beauty of this story are internal evidences attesting its truth apart from all other evidence; and even Winer says (in alluding to the subterfuge of scepticism that Hagar = "flight" would lead to the assumption of its being a myth), "Das Ereigniss ist so einfach und den orientalischen Sitten so angemessen, dass wir hier gewiss eine rein historische Sage vor uns haben" (*Reuberl. s. v. "Hagar"*).

The name of Hagar occurs elsewhere only when she takes a wife to Ishmael (xxi. 21); and in the genealogy (xxv. 12) St. Paul refers to her as the type of the old covenant, likening her to Mount Sinai, the Mount of the Law (Gal. iv. 22 seq.).

In Mohammedan tradition Hagar (هَاجِر, Hâjir,

or Hâgîr) is represented as the wife of Abraham, as might be expected when we remember that Ishmael is the head of the Arab nation, and the reputed ancestor of Mohammed. In the same manner she is said to have dwelt and been buried at Mekkeh, and the well Zemzem in the sacred enclosure of the temple of Mekkeh is pointed out by the Muslims as the well which was miraculously formed for Ishmael in the wilderness. [E. S. P.]

HAGARENES, HAGARITES (הַגָּרִימִּים,

הַגָּרִימִּים; 'Aγαρῆναι, 'Aγαραῖοι; *Agarenî, Agarai*), a people dwelling to the east of Palestine, with whom the tribe of Reuben made war in the time of Saul, and "who fell by their hand, and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the east [land] of Gilead" (1 Chr. v. 10); and again, in ver. 18-20, the sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh "made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab, and they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them." The spoil here recorded to have been taken shows the wealth and importance of these tribes; and the conquest, at least of the territory occupied by them, was complete, for the Israelites "dwelt in their stands until the captivity" (v. 22). The same people, as confederate against Israel, are mentioned in Ps. lxxxiii.—"The tabernacles of Edom and the Ishmaelites; of Moab and the Hagarites;

\* It seems to be unnecessary to assume (as Kallisch does, *Comment. on Genesis*) that we have here another proof of Abraham's faith. This explanation of the

event is not required, nor does the narrative appear to warrant it, unless Abraham regarded Hagar's son as the heir of the promise: comp. Gen. xvii. 18

Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre; Assur also is joined with them; they have helped the children of Lot" (ver. 6-8).

Who these people were is a question that cannot readily be decided, though it is generally believed that they were named after Hagar. Their geographical position, as inferred from the above passages, was in the "east country," where dwelt the descendants of Ishmael; the occurrence of the names of two of his sons, Jetur and Nephish (1 Chr. v. 19), as before quoted, with that of Nodab, whom Gesenius supposes to be another son (though he is not found in the genealogical lists, and must remain doubtful [NODAB]), seems to indicate that these Hagarenes were named after Hagar; but in the passage in Ps. lxxxiii., the Ishmaelites are apparently distinguished from the Hagarenes (cf. Bar. ii. 23). May they have been thus called after a town or district named after Hagar, and not only because they were her descendants? It is needless to follow the suggestion of some writers, that Hagar may have been the mother of other children after her separation from Abraham (as the Bible and tradition are silent on the question), and it is in itself highly improbable.

It is also uncertain whether the important town and district of *Hejer* (the inhabitants of which were probably the same as the Agraei of Strabo, vi. 767, Dionys. Perieg. 956, Plin. vi. 32, and Pt. v. 19, 2) represent the ancient name and a dwelling of the Hagarenes; but it is reasonable to

suppose that they do. *Hejer*, or *Hejerā* (هجر), indeclinable, according to Yākoob, *Mushtarak*, s. v.;

but also, according to Kānoos, (هجر), as Ges. and Winer write it), is the capital town, and also a subdivision, of the province of north-eastern Arabia called *El-Bahreyn*, or, as some writers say, the name of the province itself (*Mushtarak* and *Marāṣiṭ*, s. v.), on the borders of the Persian Gulf. It is a low and fertile country, frequented for its abundant water and pasturage by the wandering tribes of the neighbouring deserts and of the high land of *Najd*. For the Agraei, see the *Dictionary of Geography*. There is another *Hejer*, a place near El-Medeeneh.

The district of *Hajar* (حجر), on the borders of Desert Arabia, north of *El-Medeeneh*, has been thought to possess a trace, in its name, of the Hagarenes. It is, at least, less likely than Hejer to do so, both from situation and etymology. The tract, however, is curious from the caves that it is reported to contain, in which, say the Arabs, dwelt the old tribe of Thamood.

Two Hagarites are mentioned in the O. T.: see *MIDYAR* and *JAZIZ*. [E. S. P.]

**HAG'ERITE, THE** (הַגֵּרִי; ὁ Ἀγάρης; *Agareus*, or *Agareus*). Jaziz the Hagerite, i. e. the descendant of Hagar, had the charge of David's sheep (נֶאֱמָר, A. V. "flocks;" 1 Chr. xxvii. 31). The word appears in the other forms of HAGARITES and HAGARENES.

**HAG'GAI** (הַגַּי; Ἀγγᾱιος; *Aggaios*), the tenth in order of the minor prophets, and first of those who prophesied after the Captivity. With regard to his tribe and parentage both history and

tradition are alike silent. Some, indeed, taking in its literal sense the expression מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה (*malak y'hôrah*) in i. 13, have imagined that he was an angel in human shape (Jerome, *Comm. in loc.*). In the absence of any direct evidence on the point, it is more than probable that he was one of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua; and Ewald (*die Proph. d. Alt. B.*) is even tempted to infer from ii. 3 that he may have been one of the few survivors who had seen the first temple in its splendour. The rebuilding of the temple, which was commenced in the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 535), was suspended during the reigns of his successors, Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, in consequence of the determined hostility of the Samaritans. On the accession of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521), the prophets Haggai and Zechariah urged the renewal of the undertaking, and obtained the permission and assistance of the king (Ezr. v. 1, vi. 14; Jos. Ant. xi. 4). Animated by the high courage (*magni spiritus*, Jerome) of these devoted men, the people prosecuted the work with vigour, and the temple was completed and dedicated in the sixth year of Darius (B.C. 516). According to tradition, Haggai was born in Babylon, was a young man when he came to Jerusalem, and was buried with honour near the sepulchres of the priests (Isidor. Hispal. c. 49; Pseudo-Dorotheus, in *Chron. Pasch.* 151 d). It has hence been conjectured that he was of priestly rank. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, according to the Jewish writers, were the men who were with Daniel when he saw the vision related in Dan. x. 7; and were after the captivity members of the Great Synagogue, which consisted of 120 elders (Coseriu, iii. 65). The Seder Olam Zuta places their death in the 52nd year of the Medes and Persians; while the extravagance of another tradition makes Haggai survive till the entry of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, and even till the time of our Saviour (Carpzov, *Introd.*). In the Roman Martyrology Hosea and Haggai are joined in the catalogue of saints (*Actus Sanctorum*, 4 Julii). The question of Haggai's probable connexion with the authorship of the book of Ezra will be found fully discussed in the article under that head, p. 607.

The names of Haggai and Zechariah are associated in the LXX. in the titles of Ps. 137, 145-148; in the Vulgate in those of Ps. 111, 145; and in the Peshito Syriac in those of Ps. 125, 126, 145, 146, 147, 148. It may be that tradition assigned to these prophets the arrangement of the above-mentioned psalms for use in the temple service, just as Ps. lxxiv. is in the Vulgate attributed to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the name of the former is inscribed at the head of Ps. cxxxvi. in the LXX. According to Pseudo-Epiphanius (*de Vitis Proph.*), Haggai was the first who chanted the Hallelujah in the second temple: "wherefore," he adds, "we say 'Hallelujah, which is the hymn of Haggai and Zechariah.'" Haggai is mentioned in the Apocrypha as AGGEUS, in 1 Esdr. vi. 1, vii. 3; 2 Esdr. i. 40; and is alluded to in Ecclus. xlix. 11 (cf. Hag. ii. 23), and Heb. xii. 26 (Hag. ii. 6).

The style of his writing is generally tame and prosaic, though at times it rises to the dignity of severe invective, when the prophet rebukes his countrymen for their selfish indolence and neglect of God's house. But the brevity of the prophecies is so great, and the poverty of expression which characterises them so striking, as to give rise to a

conjecture, not without reason, that in their present form they are but the outline or summary of the original discourses. They were delivered in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520), at intervals from the 1st day of the 6th month to the 24th day of the 9th month in the same year.

In his first message to the people the prophet denounced the listlessness of the Jews, who dwelt in their "panelled houses," while the temple of the Lord was roofless and desolate. The displeasure of God was manifest in the failure of all their efforts for their own gratification. The heavens were "stayed from dew," and the earth was "stayed from her fruit." They had neglected that which should have been their first care, and reaped the due wages of their selfishness (i. 4-11). The words of the prophet sank deep into the hearts of the people and their leaders. They acknowledged the voice of God speaking by His servant, and obeyed the command. Their obedience was rewarded with the assurance of God's presence (i. 13), and twenty-four days after the building was resumed. A month had scarcely elapsed when the work seems to have slackened, and the enthusiasm of the people abated. The prophet, ever ready to rekindle their zeal, encouraged the flagging spirits of the chiefs with the renewed assurance of God's presence, and the fresh promise that, stately and magnificent as was the temple of their wisest king, the glory of the latter house should be greater than the glory of the former (ii. 3-9). Yet the people were still inactive, and two months afterwards we find him again censuring their sluggishness, which rendered worthless all their ceremonial observances. But the rebuke was accompanied by a repetition of the promise (ii. 10-19). On the same day, the four-and-twentieth of the ninth month, the prophet delivered his last prophesy, addressed to Zerubbabel, prince of Judah, the representative of the royal family of David, and as such the lineal ancestor of the Messiah. This closing prediction foreshadows the establishment of the Messianic kingdom upon the overthrow of the thrones of the nations (ii. 20-23). [W. A. W.]

**HAGGERI** (הַגֵּרִי *i. e.* Hagri, a Haguite; 'Aγḡri, Alex. 'Αγαρί; *Agaroi*). "MIBHAR son of Haggri," was one of the mighty men of David's guard, according to the catalogue of 1 Chr. xi. 38. The parallel passage—2 Sam. xxiii. 36—has "Bani the Galite" (הַגִּלִּי). This Kennicott decides to have been the original, from which Haggri has been corrupted (*Dissert.* 214). The Targum has *Iur Gadā* (גַּדָּא בֶרֶךְ).

**HAGGI** (הַגִּי; 'Aγḡis, Alex. 'Αγγίς; *Haggi*, *Aggi*), second son of Gai (Gen. xlv. 16; Num. xxvi. 15), founder of the Haggites (הַגִּיִּתִּי). It will be observed that the name, though given as that of an individual, is really a patronymic, precisely the same as of the family.

**HAGGI'AIH** (הַגִּי'אִי; 'Aγḡia; *Haggiā*), a Levite, one of the descendants of Meiri (1 Chr. vi. 30).

**HAGGITES**, **THE** (הַגִּיִּתִּי; 'Aγḡi; *Agitae*), the family sprung from Haggi, second son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 15).

**HAGGITH** (הַגִּית; "a dancer;" 'Aγḡiḡ; Alex. 'Αγḡιθ; 'Aγḡiḡ; Joseph. 'Αγḡιθ; *Aggith*, *Haggith*), one of David's wives, of whom nothing is told us except that she was the mother

of Adonijah, who is commonly designated as "the son of Haggith" (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 K. i. 5, 11, ii. 13; 1 Chr. iii. 2). He was, like Absalom, renowned for his handsome presence. In the first and last of the above passages Haggith is fourth in order of mention among the wives, Adonijah being also fourth among the sons. His birth happened at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 2, 5) shortly after that of Absalom (1 K. i. 6; where it will be observed that the words "his mother" are inserted by the translators). [G.]

**HA'GIA** ('Aγḡa; *Aggia*), 1 Esd. v. 34. [HAT-TIL.]

**HA'I** (הַי; 'Aγḡal; *Hai*). The form in which the well-known place **AI** appears in the A. V. on its first introduction (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3). It arises from the translators having in these places, and these only, recognized the definite article with which **AI** is invariably and emphatically accompanied in the Hebrew. In the Samaritan Version of the above two passages, the name is given in the first *Ainah*, and in the second *Cephrah*, as if **CEPHTRAH**. [G.]

**HAIR**. The Hebrews were fully alive to the importance of the hair as an element of personal beauty, whether as seen in the "curled locks, black as a raven," of youth (*Cant.* v. 11), or in the "crown of glory" that encircled the head of old age (*Prov.* xvi. 31). The customs of ancient nations in regard to the hair varied considerably: the Egyptians allowed the women to wear it long, but kept the heads of men closely shaved from early childhood (*Her.* ii. 36, iii. 12; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 327, 328). The Greeks admired long hair, whether in men or women, as is evidenced in the expression *καρηκομώρτες* 'Αχαιοί, and in the representations of their divinities, especially Bacchus and Apollo, whose long locks were a symbol of perpetual youth. The Assyrians also wore it long (*Her.* i. 195), the flowing curls being gathered together in a heavy cluster on the back, as represented in the sculptures of Nineveh. The Hebrews on the other hand, while they encouraged the growth of hair, observed the natural distinction between the sexes by allowing the women to wear it long (*Luke* vii. 38; *John* xi. 2; 1 Cor. xi. 6 ff.), while the men restrained theirs by frequent clippings to a moderate length. This difference between the Hebrews and the surrounding nations, especially the Egyptians, arose no doubt partly from natural taste, but partly also from legal enactments: clipping the hair in a certain manner and offering the locks, was in early times connected with religious worship: many of the Arabians practised a peculiar tonsure in honour of their God Ormal (*Her.* iii. 8, *κελρονται περιετρόχαλα, περιετρούντες τοὺς κροτάφους*), and hence the Hebrews were forbidden to "round the corners" (הַפֵּנִים, lit. the *extremity*) of their heads" (*Lev.* xix. 27), meaning the locks along the forehead and temples, and behind the ears. This tonsure is described in the LXX. by a peculiar expression *σισθή* (=the classical *σκάριον*), probably derived from the Hebrew **סִסְתָּ** (comp. Bochart, *Cam.* i. 6, p. 379). That the practice of the Arabians was well known to the Hebrews, appears from the expression **הַפֵּנִים**, *rounded as to the locks*, by which they are described (*Jer.* ix. 26, xxv. 23, xlix. 32; see marginal translation of the A. V.). The prohibition against cutting off the hair on the death of a relative (*Deut.* xiv. 1) was probably grounded on

a similar reason. In addition to these regulations, the Hebrews dreaded baldness, as it was frequently the result of leprosy (Lev. xii. 40 ff.), and hence formed one of the disqualifications for the priesthood (Lev. xxi. 20, LXX.). [BALDNESS.] The rule imposed upon the priests, and probably followed by the rest of the community, was that the hair should be

polled (פָּסַח, Ez. xlv. 20), neither being shaved, nor allowed to grow too long (Lev. xxi. 5; Ez. i. c.). What was the precise length usually worn, we have no means of ascertaining; but from various expressions, such as פָּרַע ראִשׁ, lit. to let loose the head or the hair (= *solvere crines*, Virg. *Aen.* iii. 65, xi. 35; *demissos lugentis more capillos*, Ov. *Ep.* x. 137) by unbinding the head band and letting it go dishevelled (Lev. x. 6, A. V. "uncover your heads"), which was done in mourning (cf. Ez. xxiv. 17); and again אָנַח אָזְנוֹ, to uncover the ear, previous to making any communication of importance (1 Sam. ix. 2, 12, xii. 8, A. V., margin), as though the hair fell over the ear, we may conclude that men wore their hair somewhat longer than is usual with us. The word

פָּרַע, used as = hair (Num. vi. 5; Ez. xlv. 20), is especially indicative of its *free growth* (cf. Knobel, *Comm.* in Lev. xii. 10). Long hair was admired in the case of young men; it is especially noticed in the description of Absalom's person (2 Sam. xiv. 26), the inconceivable weight of whose hair, as given in the text (200 shekels), has led to a variety of explanations (comp. Harmer's *Observations*, iv. 321), the more probable being that the numeral כ' (20) has been turned into ר' (200): Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, §5) adds, that it was cut every eighth day. The hair was also worn long by the body guard of Solomon according to the same authority (*Ant.* vii. 7, §3, *μηκίστας καθήμενοι χαίρας*). The care requisite to keep the hair in order in such cases must have been very great, and hence the practice of wearing long hair was unusual, and only resorted to as an act of religious observance, in which case it was a "sign of humiliation and self-denial, and of a certain religious slovenliness" (Lightfoot, *Eccecit.* on 1 Cor. xi. 14), and was practised by the Nazarites (Num. vi. 5; Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17; 1 Sam. i. 11), and occasionally by others in token of special mercies (Acts xviii. 18); it was not unusual among the Egyptians when on a journey (Diod. i. 18). [NAZARITE.] In times of affliction the hair was altogether cut off (Is. iii. 17, 24, xv. 2, xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29, xlviii. 37; Am. viii. 10; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 15, §1), the practice of the Hebrews being in this respect the reverse of that of the Egyptians, who let their hair grow long in time of mourning (Herod. ii. 36), shaving their heads when the term was over (Gen. xli. 14); but resembling that of the Greeks, as frequently noticed by classical writers (e. g. Soph. *Aj.* 1174; Eurip. *Electr.* 143, 241). Tearing the hair (Ezr. ix. 3) and letting it go dishevelled, as already noticed, were similar tokens of grief. [MOURNING.] The practice of the modern Arabs in regard to the length of their hair varies; generally the men allow it to grow its natural length, the tresses hanging down to the breast and sometimes to the waist, affording substantial protection to the head and neck against the violence of the sun's rays (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 49; Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 33, 53, 73). The modern Egyptians retain the practices of their ancestors, shaving

the heads of the men, but suffering the women's hair to grow long (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 52, 71). Wigs were commonly used by the latter people (Wilkinson, ii. 324), but not by the Hebrews: Josephus (*Vit.* §11) notices an instance of false hair (περιθεῖν κόμη) being used for the purpose of disguise. Whether the ample ringlets of the Assyrian monarchs, as represented in the sculptures of Nineveh, were real or artificial, is doubtful (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 328). Among the Modes the wig was worn by the upper classes (Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, §2).



Egyptian Wigs. (Wilkinson.)

The usual and favourite colour of the hair was black (Cant. v. 11), as is indicated in the comparisons to a "flock of goats," and the "tents of Kedar" (Cant. iv. 1, i. 5): a similar hue is probably intended by the *purple* of Cant. vii. 5, the term being broadly used (as the Greek πορφύρεος in a similar application = μέλας, Anacr. 28). A fictitious hue was occasionally obtained by sprinkling gold-dust on the hair (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 7, §3). It does not appear that dyes were ordinarily used; the "Carmel" of Cant. vii. 5 has been understood as = כַּרְמִיל (A. V. "crimson," margin) without good reason, though the similarity of the words may have suggested the subsequent reference to purple. Herod is said to have dyed his gray hair for the purpose of concealing his age (*Ant.* xvi. 8, §1), but the practice may have been borrowed from the Greeks or Romans, among whom it was common (Aristoph. *Eccles.* 736; Martial, *Ep.* iii. 43; Propert. ii. 18, 24, 26); from Matt. v. 36, we may infer that it was not usual among the Hebrews. The approach of age was marked by a sprinkling (רָיַץ, Hos. vii. 9; comp. a similar use of *spargere*, Propert. iii. 4, 24) of gray hairs, which soon overspread the whole head (Gen. xlii. 38, xlii. 29; 1 K. ii. 6, 9; Prov. xvi. 31, xxi. 29). The reference to the *almond* in Eccl. xii. 5, has been explained of the white blossoms of that tree, as emblematic of old age: it may be observed however that the colour of the flower is *pink* rather than white, and that the verb in that passage according to high authorities (Gesen. and Hitzig) does not bear the sense of blossoming at all. Pure white hair was deemed characteristic of the Divine Majesty (Dan. vii. 9; Rev. i. 14).

The chief beauty of the hair consisted in curls, whether of a natural or artificial character. The Hebrew terms are highly expressive: to omit the word צִפּוֹת, rendered "locks" in Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7, and Is. xlvii. 2, but more probably meaning a *veil*,—we have תְּלַתְלִים (Cant. v. 11), properly pendulous flexible boughs (according to the LXX., ἐλάται, the shoots of the palm-tree) which supplied an image of the *comu pendula*; צִפְצִף (Ez. viii. 3), a similar image borrowed from the curve of a blossom; עֲנַן (Cant. iv. 9), a lock falling over the shoulders like a chain of ear-pendant (*in uno crine colli tui*, Vulg., which is better than the A. V.,

"with one chain of thy neck"); **רֶהֱטִים** (Cant. vii. 5, A. V. "galleries"), properly the channels by which water was brought to the flocks, which supplied an image either of the *coma fluens*, or of the regularity in which the locks were arranged; **דָּלָה** (Cant. vii. 5), again an expression for *coma pendula*, borrowed from the threads hanging down from an unfinished woof; and lastly **מְעֻשָּׂה מְעֻשָּׂה** (Is. iii. 24, A. V. "well set hair"), properly *plaited work*, i. e. gracefully curved locks. With regard to the mode of dressing the hair, we have no very precise information; the terms used are of a general character, as of Jezebel (2 K. ix. 30), **תִּיטֵב**, i. e. she adorned her head; of Judith (x. 3), **διέταξε**, i. e. arranged (the A. V. has "braided," and the Vulg. *discriminavit*, here used in a technical sense in the reference to the *discriminale* or hair-pin); of Herod (Joseph. Ant. xiv. 9, §4), **κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης**, and of those who adopted feminine fashions (B. J. iv. 9, §10), **κόμας συνθετιζόμενοι**. The terms used in the N. T. (**πλέγμασι**, 1 Tim. ii. 9; **ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν**, 1 Pet. iii. 3) are also of a general character; Schleusner (*Lec. s. v.*) understands them of *curling* rather than plaiting. The arrangement of Samson's hair into seven locks, or more properly *braids* (**מחפלות**, from **חָלַף**, to interchange; *seipal*, LXX.; Judg. xvi. 13, 19), involves the practice of plaiting, which was also familiar to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 335) and Greeks (Hom. Il. xiv. 176). The locks were probably kept in their place by a fillet as in Egypt (Wilkinson, i. c.).



Egyptian Wigs. (Wilkinson.)

Ornaments were worked into the hair, as practiced by the modern Egyptians, who "add to each braid three black silk-cords with little ornaments

of gold" (Lane, i. 71): the LXX. understands the term **שִׁבְיִים** (Is. iii. 18, A. V. "cauls"), as applying to such ornaments (**ἀμυλῶντα**); Schroeder (*de Vest. Mul. Heb.* cap. 2) approves of this, and conjectures that they were *sun-shaped*, i. e. circular, as distinct from the "round tires like the moon," i. e. the crescent-shaped ornaments used for necklaces. The Arabian women attach small bells to the tresses of their hair (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 133). Other terms, sometimes understood as applying to the hair, are of doubtful signification, e. g. **חֲרִיטִים** (Is. iii. 22; *acus*; "crisping-pins"), more probably *purses*, as in 2 K. v. 23; **קִשְׁרִים** (Is. iii. 20, "head-bands"), *bridal girdles*, according to Schroeder and other authorities; **פְּאָרִים** (Is. iii. 20, *criminalia*, Vulg., i. e. pins used for keeping the hair parted; cf. Jerome in *Refut.* iii. cap. ult.), more probably *turbans*. Combs and hair-pins are mentioned in the Talmud; the Egyptian combs were made of wood and double, one side having large, and the other small teeth (Wilkinson, ii. 343); from the ornamental devices worked on them we may infer that they were worn in the hair. With regard to other ornaments worn about the head, see HEAD-DRESS. The Hebrews, like other nations of antiquity, anointed the hair profusely with ointments, which were generally compounded of various aromatic ingredients (Ruth iii. 3; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; 1<sup>st</sup> Sam. xlii. 5, xlv. 7, xlii. 10; Eccl. ix. 8; Is. iii. 24); more especially on occasion of festivities or hospitality (Matt. vi. 17, xxvi. 7; Luke vii. 46; cf. Joseph. Ant. xiv. 4, §1, **χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὡς ἀπὸ συνουσίας**). It is perhaps in reference to the glossy appearance so imparted to it that the hair is described as purple (Cant. vii. 5).

It appears to have been the custom of the Jews in our Saviour's time to swear by the hair (Matt. v. 36), much as the Egyptian women still swear by the side-lock, and the men by their beards (Lane, i. 52, 71, notes).

Hair was employed by the Hebrews as an image of what was *least valuable* in man's person (1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 11; 1 K. i. 52; Matt. x. 30; Luke xii. 7, xxi. 18; Acts xxvii. 34); as well as of what was *innumerable* (Ps. xl. 12, lxi. 4); or particularly *fine* (Judg. xx. 16). In Is. vii. 20, it represents the various productions of the field, trees, crops, &c.; like **ὅσος κεκοσμημένος ἔλαφ** of Callin. *Dion.* 41, or the *humus communis* of Stat. *Theb.* v. 502. Hair "as the hair of women" (Rev. ix. 8), means long and undressed hair, which in later times was regarded as an image of barbaric rudeness (Hengstenberg, *Comm.* in loc.). [W. L. B.]

#### HAK'KATAN (הַקְטָן; 'Ακκατάν; *Ecoetan*).

Johanan, son of Hakkatan, was the chief of the Bene-Azgad who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 12). The name is probably Katan, with the definite article prefixed. In the Apocryphal Esdras it is ACATAN.

#### HAK'KOZ (הַקֹּז; ὁ Κῶς, Alex. 'Ακκῶς; *Accos*), a priest, the chief of the seventh course in

the service of the sanctuary, as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 10). In Ezr. ii. 61 the name occurs again as that of a family of priests; though here the prefix is taken by our translators—and no doubt correctly—as the definite article, and the name appears as KOZ. The same thing also occurs in Neh. iii. 4, 21. In Esdras ACCOZ.

**HAKUPHA** (חֲקוּפָה; 'Ακουφά, 'Αχιφά; *Hacupha*). Bene-Chakupha were among the families of Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53). In Esdras (v. 31) the name is given as ΑΙΣΙΡΗΑ.

**HA'LAH** (הַלָּה; 'Αλαέ, Χαλάχ; *Hala*) is probably a different place from the *Halah* of Gen. x. 11. [See CALAN.] It may with some confidence be identified with the Chalchitis (Χαλκίτις) of Ptolemy (v. 18), which he places between Anthemusia (cf. Strab. xvi. 1, §27) and Gauzanitis. The name is thought to remain in the modern *Gla*, a large mound on the upper *Khabour*, above its junction with the *Serger* (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 312, note). [G. R.]

**HA'LAH, THE MOUNT** (with the article, הַהָר הַלָּה = "the smooth mountain;" *ὄρος τοῦ Χελάχ*, Alex. 'Αλακ, or 'Αλόκ; *pars montis*), a mountain twice, and twice only, named as the southern limit of Joshua's conquests—"the Mount Hlak which goeth up to Scir" (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7), but which has not yet been identified—has not apparently been sought for—by travellers. Keil suggests the line of chalk cliffs which cross the valley of the *Ghor* at about 6 miles south of the Dead Sea, and form at once the southern limit of the *Ghor* and the northern limit of the *Arabah*. [ARABAH, 89b.] And this suggestion will be plausible enough, if there were any example of the word *har*, "mountain," being applied to such a vertical cliff as this, which rather answers to what we suppose was intended by the term *Sela*. The word which is at the root of the name (supposing it to be Hebrew), and which has the force of smoothness or baldness, has ramified into other terms, as *Helkah*, an even plot of ground, like those of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 19) or Naboth (2 K. ix. 25), or that which gave its name to *Helkath hat-zurim*, the "field of the strong" (Stanley, App. §20). [G.]

**HAL'HUL** (הַלְהוּל; Αἰλουά, Alex. 'Αλοά; *Halul*), a town of Judah in the mountain district, one of the group containing Bethzur and Gedor (Josh. xv. 58). Jerome in the *Onomasticum* (under Elul), reports the existence of a hamlet (*villula*) named "Alula," near Hebron. The name still remains unaltered, attached to a conspicuous hill a mile to the left of the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, between 3 and 4 miles from the latter. Opposite it, on the other side of the road, is *Beit-sir*, the modern representative of Bethzur, and a little further to the north is *Jedûr*, the ancient Gedor. The site is marked by the ruins of walls and foundations, amongst which stands a dilapidated mosque bearing the name of *Noby Yunus*—the prophet Jonah (Rob. i. 216). In a Jewish tradition quoted by Hottinger (*Cippi Hebraici*, p. 38) it is said to be the burial-place of Gad, David's seer. See also the citations of Zunz in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela* (ii. 437, note). [G.]

**HA'LI** (הַלִּי; 'Αλέφ, Alex. 'Οολεί; *Chali*), a town on the boundary of Asher, named between Helkath and Beten (Josh. xix. 25). Nothing is known of its situation. Schwarz (191) compares the name with Chelmon, the equivalent in the Latin, of CYAMON in the Greek of Jud. vii. 3. [G.]

\* It is not unworthy of notice that, though so far from Jerusalem, Jerome speaks of it as "in the district of Aelia."

**HALICARNASSUS** ('Αλικαρνασος) in CARIA, a city of great renown, as being the birth-place of Herodotus and of the later historian Dionysius, and as embellished by the Mausoleum erected by Artemisia, but of no Biblical interest except as the residence of a Jewish population in the periods between the Old and New Testament histories. In 1 Macc. xv. 23, this city is specified as containing such a population. The decree in Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §23, where the Romans direct that the Jews of Halicarnassus shall be allowed *τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῳ κατὰ τὸ πατριον ἔθος*, is interesting when compared with Acts xvi. 13. This city was celebrated for its harbour and for the strength of its fortifications; but it never recovered the damage which it suffered after Alexander's siege. A plan of the site is given in Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln*. (See vol. iv. p. 30.) The sculptures of the Mausoleum are the subject of a paper by Mr. Newton in the *Classical Museum*, and many of them are now in the British Museum. The modern name of the place is *Budrum*. [J. S. H.]

**HALL** (ἀλλή; *atrium*), used of the court of the high-priest's house (Luke xxii. 55). *Ἀλλή* is in A. V. Matt. xxvi. 68, Mark xiv. 66, John xviii. 15, "palace;" Vulg. *atrium*; *προαβλίον*, Mark xiv. 68, "porch;" Vulg. *ante atrium*. In Matt. xxvii. 27, and Mark xv. 16, *ἀλλή* is syn. with *πραιτώριον*, which in John xviii. 28 is in A. V. "judgment-hall." *Ἀλλή* is the equivalent for *ἡγῆ*, an enclosed or fortified space (Ges. 512), in many places in O. T. where Vulg. and A. V. have respectively *villa* or *vicius*, "village," or *atrium*, "court," chiefly of the tabernacle or temple. The hall or court of a house or palace would probably be an enclosed but uncovered space, *impluvium*, on a lower level than the apartments of the lowest floor which looked into it. The *προαβλίον* was the vestibule leading to it, called also Matt. xxvi. 71, *πυλὸν*. [HOUSE.] [H. W. P.]

**HALLO'HESH** (הַלְלוֹהֶשֶׁת; 'Αλωής, Alex. 'Αδω; *Alohes*), one of the "chief of the people" who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 24). The name is Loches, with the definite article prefixed. That it is the name of a family, and not of an individual, appears probable from another passage in which it is given in the A. V. as

**HALO'HESH** (הַלְלוֹהֶשֶׁת; 'Αλλωής; *Alohes*). Shallum, son of Hal-loches, was "ruler of the half part of Jerusalem" at the time of the repair of the wall by Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 12). According to the Hebrew spelling, the name is identical with HALLOHESH.

**HAM** (חָם; Χάμ; *Cham*). 1. The name of one of the three sons of Noah, apparently the second in age. It is probably derived from *חֶם*, "to be warm," and signifies "warm" or "hot." This meaning seems to be confirmed by that of the Egyptian word *Chem* (Egypt), which we believe to be the Egyptian equivalent of Ham, and which, as an adjective, signifies "black," probably implying warmth as well as blackness. [EGYPT.] If the Hebrew and Egyptian words be the same, Ham must mean the swarthy or sun-burnt, like *Αἰθιωφ*, which has been derived from the Coptic name of Ethiopia, *εθωψ*, but which we should be inclined to trace to *εθωψ*, "a boundary," unless

the Sahidic **ⲉⲃⲱⲩ** may be derived from Keesh (Cush). It is observable that the names of Noah and his sons appear to have had prophetic significations. This is stated in the case of Noah (Gen. v. 29), and implied in that of Japheth (ix. 27), and it can scarcely be doubted that the same must be concluded as to Shem. Ham may therefore have been so named as progenitor of the sunburnt Egyptians and Cushites.

Of the history of Ham nothing is related except his irreverence to his father, and the curse which that patriarch pronounced—the fulfilment of which is evident in the history of the Hamites.

The sons of Ham are stated to have been "Cush and Mizraim and Phut and Canaan" (Gen. x. 6; comp. 1 Chr. i. 8). It is remarkable that a dual form (Mizraim) should occur in the first generation, indicating a country, and not a person or a tribe, and we are therefore inclined to suppose that the gentile noun in the plural **ⲙⲓⲣⲁⲓⲙ**, differing alone in the pointing from **ⲙⲓⲣⲁⲓ**, originally stood here, which would be quite consistent with the plural forms of the names of the Mizraite tribes which follow, and analogous to the singular forms of the names of the Canaanite tribes, except the Sidonians, who are mentioned not as a nation, but under the name of their forefather Sikon.

The name of Ham alone, of the three sons of Noah, if our identification be correct, is known to have been given to a country. Egypt is recognised as the "land of Ham" in the Bible (Ps. lxxviii. 51, cv. 23, cvi. 22), and this, though it does not prove the identity of the Egyptian name with that of the patriarch, certainly favours it, and establishes the historical fact that Egypt, settled by the descendants of Ham, was peculiarly his territory. The name Mizraim we believe to confirm this. The restriction of Ham to Egypt, unlike the case, if we may reason inferentially, of his brethren, may be accounted for by the very early civilization of this part of the Hamite territory, while much of the rest was comparatively barbarous. Egypt may also have been the first settlement of the Hamites whence colonies went forth, as we know to have been the case with the Philistines. [CAPTOR.]

The settlements of the descendants of Cush have occasioned the greatest difficulty to critics. The main question upon which everything turns is whether there was an eastern and a western Cush, like the eastern and western Ethiopians of the Greeks. This has been usually decided on the Biblical evidence as to the land of Cush and the Cushites, without reference to that as to the several names designating in Gen. x. his progeny, or, except in Nimrod's case, the territories held by it, or both. By a more inductive method we have been led to the conclusion that settlements of Cush extended from Babylonia along the shores of the Indian Ocean to Ethiopia above Egypt, and to the supposition that there was an eastern as well as a western Cush: historically the latter inference must be correct; geographically it may be less certain of the post-diluvian world. The ancient Egyptians applied the name **KESH** or **KESH**, which is obviously the same as Cush, to Ethiopia above Egypt. The sons of Cush are stated to have been Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtechah: it is added that the sons

of Raamah were Sheba and Dedan, and that "Cush begat Nimrod." Certain of these names recur in the lists of the descendants of Joktan and of Abraham by Keturah, a circumstance which must be explained, in most cases, as historical evidence tends to show, by the settlement of Cushites, Joktanites, and Abrahamites in the same regions. [ARABIA.] Seba is generally identified with Meroë, and there seems to be little doubt that at the time of Solomon the chief kingdom of Ethiopia above Egypt was that of Seba. [SEBA.] The post-diluvian Havilah seems to be restricted to Arabia. [HAVILAH.] Sabtah and Sabtechah are probably Arabian names: this is certainly the case with Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan, which are recognised on the Persian Gulf. [SABTAN; SABTECHAN; RAAMAH; SHEBA; DEDAN.] Nimrod is a descendant of Cush, but it is not certain that he is a son, and his is the only name which is positively personal and not territorial in the list of the descendants of Cush. The account of his first kingdom in Babylonia, and of the extension of his rule into Assyria, and the foundation of Nineveh—for this we take to be the meaning of Gen. x. 11, 12—indicates a spread of Hamite colonists along the Euphrates and Tigris northwards. [CUSH.]

If, as we suppose, Mizraim in the lists of Gen. x. and 1 Chr. i. stand for Mizrim, we should take the singular Mazar to be the name of the progenitor of the Egyptian tribes. It is remarkable that Mazar appears to be identical in signification with Ham, so that it may be but another name of the patriarch. [EGYPT.] In this case the mention of Mizraim (or Mizrim) would be geographical, and not indicative of a Mazar, son of Ham.

The Mizraites, like the descendants of Ham, occupy a territory wider than that bearing the name of Mizraim. We may, however, suppose that Mizraim included all the first settlements, and that in remote times other tribes besides the Philistines migrated, or extended their territories. This we may infer to have been the case with the Lehabim (Lubim) or Libyans, for Manetho speaks of them as in the remotest period of Egyptian history subject to the Pharaohs. He tells us that under the first king of the Third Dynasty, of Memphites, Necherophes, or Necherochis, "the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but, on account of a wonderful increase of the moon, submitted through fear" (Cory's *Anc. Frag.* 2nd ed. p. 100, 101). It is unlikely that at this very early time the Memphite kingdom ruled far, if at all, beyond the western boundary of Egypt.

The Ludim appear to have been beyond Egypt to the west, so probably the Ananilm, and certainly the Lehabim. [LUDIM; ANANIM; LEHABIM.] The Naphthumim seem to have been just beyond the western border. [NAPHTHUM.] The Pathrusim and Capthorim were in Egypt, and probably the Casluhim also. [PATHROS; CAPTHOR; CASLUHIM.] The Philistim are the only Mizraite tribe that we know to have passed into Asia: their first establishment was in Egypt, for they came out of Capthor. [CAPTHOR.]

Phut has been always placed in Africa. In the Bible, Phut occurs as an ally or supporter of Egyptian Thebes, mentioned with Cush and Lubim (Nah. iii. 9), with Cush and Ludim (the Mizraite Ludim?).

\* It has been supposed that some or all of the notices of events in Manetho's lists were inserted by copyists. This cannot we think have been the case

with most of those notices that occur in the older dynasties.

as supplying part of the army of Pharaoh-Necho (Jer. xli. 9), as involved in the calamities of Egypt together with Cush, Lud, and Chub [CHUB] (Ez. xxx. 5), as furnishing, with Persia, Lud, and other lands or tribes, mercenaries for the service of Tyre (xxvii. 10), and with Persia and Cush as supplying part of the army of Gog (xxxviii. 5). There can therefore be little doubt that Phut is to be placed in Africa, where we find, in the Egyptian inscriptions, a great nomadic people corresponding to it. [PHUT.]

Respecting the geographical position of the Canaanites there is no dispute, although all the names are not identified. The Hamathites alone of those identified were settled in early times wholly beyond the land of Canaan. Perhaps there was a primeval extension of the Canaanite tribes after their first establishment in the land called after their ancestor, for before the specification of its limits as those of their settlements it is stated "afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad" (Gen. x. 18, 19). One of their most important extensions was to the north-east, where was a great branch of the Hittite nation in the valley of the Orontes, constantly mentioned in the wars of the Pharaohs [EGYPT], and in those of the kings of Assyria. Two passages which have occasioned much controversy may be here noticed. In the account of Abraham's entrance into Palestine it is said, "And the Canaanite [was] then in the land" (xii. 6); and as to a somewhat later time, that of the separation of Abraham and Lot, we read that "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land" (xiii. 7). These passages have been supposed either to be late glosses, or to indicate that the Pentateuch was written at a late period. A comparison of all the passages referring to the primitive history of Palestine and Idumea shows that there was an earlier population expelled by the Hamite and Abrahamite settlers. This population was important in the time of the war of Chedorlaomer; but at the Exodus, more than four hundred years afterwards, there was but a remnant of it. It is most natural therefore to infer that the two passages under consideration mean that the Canaanite settlers were already in the land, not that they were still there.

Philologists are not agreed as to a Hamitic class of languages. Recently Bunsen has applied the term "Hamitism," or as he writes it Chamitism, to the Egyptian language, or rather family. He places it at the head of the "Semitic stock," to which he considers it as but partially belonging, and thus describes it:—"Chamitism, or ante-historical Semitism: the Chamitic deposit in Egypt; its daughter, the Demotic Egyptian; and its end the Coptic" (*Outlines*, vol. i. p. 183). Sir H. Rawlinson has applied the term Cushite to the primitive language of Babylonia, and the same term has been used for the ancient language of the southern coast of Arabia. This terminology depends, in every instance, upon the race of the nation speaking the language, and not upon any theory of a Hamitic class. There is evidence which, at the first view, would incline us to consider that the term Semitic, as applied to the Syro-Arabic class, should be changed to Hamitic; but on a more careful examination it becomes evident that any absolute classification of languages into groups corresponding to the three great Nonchian families is not tenable. The Biblical evidence seems, at first sight, in favour of Hebrew being classed as a Hamitic rather

than a Semitic form of speech. It is called in the Bible "the language of Canaan," שְׂפַת כְּנָעַן (Is. xix. 18), although those speaking it are elsewhere said to speak כְּנָעִית, *Judaicæ* (2 K. xviii. 26, 28; Is. xxxvi. 11, 13; Neh. xiii. 24). But the one term, as Gesenius remarks (*Gram. Introd.*), indicates the country where the language was spoken, the other as evidently indicates a people by whom it was spoken: thus the question of its being a Hamitic or Semitic language is not touched; for the circumstance that it was the language of Canaan is agreeable with its being either indigenous (and therefore either Canaanite or Rephaite), or adopted (and therefore perhaps Semitic). The names of Canaanite persons and places, as Gesenius has observed (*l. c.*), conclusively show that the Canaanites spoke what we call Hebrew. Elsewhere we might find evidence of the use of a so-called Semitic language by nations either partly or wholly of Hamite origin. This evidence would favour the theory that Hebrew was Hamitic; but on the other hand we should be unable to dissociate Semitic languages from Semitic peoples. The Egyptian language would also offer great difficulties, unless it were held to be but partly of Hamitic origin, since it is mainly of an entirely different class to the Semitic. It is mainly Nigritian, but it also contains Semitic elements. We are of opinion that the groundwork is Nigritian, and that the Semitic part is a layer added to a complete Nigritian language. The two elements are mixed, but not fused. This opinion those Semitic scholars who have studied the subject share with us. Some Iranian scholars hold that the two elements are mixed, and that the ancient Egyptian represents the transition from Turanian to Semitic. The only solution of the difficulty seems to be, that what we call Semitic is early Nonchian.

An inquiry into the history of the Hamite nations presents considerable difficulties, since it cannot be determined in the cases of the most important of those commonly held to be Hamite that they were purely of that stock. It is certain that the three most illustrious Hamite nations—the Cushites, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians—were greatly mixed with foreign peoples. In Babylonia the Hamite element seems to have been absorbed by the Shemite, but not in the earliest times. There are some common characteristics, however, which appear to connect the different branches of the Hamite family, and to distinguish them from the children of Japheth and Shem. Their architecture has a solid grandeur that we look for in vain elsewhere. Egypt, Babylonia, and Southern Arabia alike afford proofs of this, and the few remaining monuments of the Phœnicians are of the same class. What is very important as indicating the purely Hamite character of the monuments to which we refer is that the earliest in Egypt are the most characteristic, while the earlier in Babylonia do not yield in this respect to the later. The national mind seems in all these cases to have been these material forms. The early history of each of the chief Hamite nations shows great power of organising an extensive kingdom, of acquiring material greatness, and checking the inroads of neighbouring nomadic peoples. The Philistines afford a remarkable instance of these qualities. In every case, however, the more energetic sons of Shem or Japheth have at last fallen upon the rich Hamite territories and despoiled them. Egypt, favoured by a position fenced round with nearly impassable barriers—on

the north an almost havenless coast, on the east and west sterile deserts, held its freedom far longer than the rest; yet even in the days of Solomon the throne was filled by foreigners, who, if Hamites, were Shemite enough in their belief to revolutionize the religion of the country. In Babylonia the Medes had already captured Nimrod's city more than 2000 years before the Christian era. The Hamites of Southern Arabia were so early overthrown by the Joktanites that the scanty remains of their history are alone known to us through tradition. Yet the story of the magnificence of the ancient kings of Yemen is so perfectly in accordance with all we know of the Hamites that it is almost enough of itself to prove what other evidence has so well established. The history of the Canaanites is similar; and if that of the Phœnicians be an exception, it must be recollected that they became a merchant class, as Ezekiel's famous description of Tyre shows (chap. xxvii). In speaking of Hamite characteristics we do not intend it to be inferred that they were necessarily altogether of Hamite origin, and not at least partly borrowed. • [R. S. P.]

2. (חַם, Gen. xiv. 5; Sam. חַם, *Cham*). According to the Masoretic text, Chedorlaomer and his allies smote the Zuzim in a place called Ham. If, as seems likely, the Zuzim be the same as the Zamzumim, Ham must be placed in what was afterwards the Ammonite territory. Hence it has been conjectured by Tuch, that Ham is but another form of the name of the chief stronghold of the children of Ammon, Rabbah, now *Amman*. The LXX. and Vulg., however, throw some doubt upon the Masoretic reading: the former has, as the rendering of וְאֶת־הַזִּזִּים חַם, καὶ ἐθὺν τοῦτο ἦμα αὐτοῖς; and the latter, et *Zuzim cum eis*, which shows that they read חַם; but the Mas. rendering seems the more likely, as each clause mentions a nation, and its capital or stronghold; although it must be allowed that if the Zuzim had gone to the assistance of the Rephaim, a deviation would have been necessary. The Samaritan Version has לִישָׁה, *Lishah*, perhaps interpreting the LASHA of Gen. x. 19, which by some is identified with Callirhoe on the N.E. quarter of the Dead Sea. The Targums of Onkelos and Pseudo-jon, have חַמְתָּ, *Hemta*. Schwarz (217) suggests *Humeimath* (in Van de Velde's map *Hūmeitat*), one mile above *Rubba*, the ancient Ar-Moab, on the Roman road.

3. In the account of a migration of the Sinneonites to the valley of Gedor, and their destroying the pastoral inhabitants, the latter, or possibly their predecessors, are said to have been "of Ham" (חַם; ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀδμ; *de stirpe Cham*, 1 Chr. iv. 40). This may indicate that a Hamite tribe was settled here, or, more precisely, that there was an Egyptian settlement. The connexion of Egypt with this part of Palestine will be noticed under ZERAH. Ham may, however, here be in no way connected with the patriarch or with Egypt.

HA'MAN (חַמָּן; Ἀμάν; *Aman*), the chief minister or vizier of king Ahasuerus (Esth. iii. 1). After the failure of his attempt to cut off all the Jews in the Persian empire, he was hanged from the gallows which he had erected for Mordecai. Most probably he is the same Aman who is mentioned as the oppressor of Achiacharus (Tob. xiv. 10). The

Targum and Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6, §5) interpret the description of him—the Agagite—as signifying that he was of Amalekithian descent; but he is called a Macedonian by the LXX. in Esth. ix. 24 (cf. iii. 1), and a Persian by Sulpicius Severus. Prideaux (*Connexion*, anno 453) computes the sum which he offered to pay into the royal treasury at more than £2,000,000 sterling. Modern Jews are said to be in the habit of designating any Christian enemy by his name (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 721). [W. T. B.]

HA'MATH (חַמָּת; Ἡμᾶθ, Ἡμᾶθ, Ἀμᾶθ; *Enath*) appears to have been the principal city of Upper Syria from the time of the Exodus to that of the prophet Amos. It was situated in the valley of the Orontes, about half way between its source near *Baalbek*, and the bend which it makes at *Jisr-hadid*. It thus naturally commanded the whole of the Orontes valley, from the low screen of hills which forms the watershed between the Orontes and the *Litány*—the "entrance of Hamath," as it is called in Scripture (Num. xxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5, &c.)—to the defile of Daphne below Antioch; and this tract appears to have formed the kingdom of Hamath, during the time of its independence.

The Hamathites were a Hamitic race, and are included among the descendants of Canaan (Gen. x. 18). There is no reason to suppose with Mr. Kenrick (*Phœnicia*, p. 60), that they were ever in any sense Phœnicians. We must regard them as closely akin to the Hittites on whom they bordered, and with whom they were generally in alliance. Nothing appears of the power of Hamath, beyond the geographical notices which show it to be a well known place (Num. xiii. 21, xxiv. 8; Jos. xiii. 5; Judg. xviii. 28, &c.), until the time of David, when we hear that Toi, king of Hamath, had "had wars" with Huldadezer, king of Zobah, and on the defeat of the latter by David sent his son to congratulate the Jewish monarch (2 Sam. viii. 10), and (apparently) to put Hamath under his protection. Hamath seems clearly to have been included in the dominions of Solomon (1 K. iv. 21-4); and its king was no doubt one of those many princes over whom that monarch ruled, who "brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life." The "store-cities," which Solomon "built in Hamath" (2 Chr. viii. 4), were perhaps staples for trade, the importance of the Orontes valley as a line of traffic being always great. On the death of Solomon and the separation of the two kingdoms, Hamath seems to have regained its independence. In the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Ahab (B.C. 900) it appears as a separate power, in alliance with the Syrians of Damascus, the Hittites, and the Phœnicians. About three-quarters of a century later Jeroboam the second "recovered Hamath" (2 K. xiv. 28); he seems to have dismantled the place, whence the prophet Amos, who wrote in his reign (Am. i. 1), couples "Hamath the great" with Gath, as an instance of desolation (ib. vi. 2). Soon afterwards the Assyrians took it (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13, &c.), and from this time it ceased to be a place of much importance. Antiochus Epiphanes appears to have changed its name to Epiphaneia, an appellation under which it was known to the Greeks and Romans from his time to that of St. Jerome (*Comment. in Ezek.* xlvii. 16), and possibly later. The natives, however, called it Hamath, even in St.

Jerome's time; and its present name, *Hamath*, is but very slightly altered from the ancient form.

Burckhardt visited *Hamath* in 1812. He describes it as situated on both sides of the Orontes, partly on the declivity of a hill, partly in the plain, and as divided into four quarters—*Haither*, *El Ijlar*, *El Aleyat*, and *El Medine*, the last being the quarter of the Christians. The population, according to him, was at that time 30,000. The town possessed few antiquities, and was chiefly remarkable for its huge water-wheels, whereby the gardens and the houses in the upper town were supplied from the Orontes. The neighbouring territory he calls "the granary of Northern Syria" (*Travels in Syria*, pp. 146-7. See also Pococke, *Travels in the East*, vol. i.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 244; and Stanley, *Sinai & Palestine*, pp. 406, 7). [G. R.]

**HAM'ATH-ZO'BAH** (חַמַּת־צֹבָה; Βασωβά; *Emath-Subi*) is said to have been attacked and conquered by Solomon (2 Chr. viii. 3). It has been conjectured to be the same as *Hamath*, here regarded as included in *Aram-Zobah*—a geographical expression which has usually a narrower meaning. But the name *Hamath-Zobah* would seem rather suited to another *Hamath* which was distinguished from the "Great *Hamath*," by the suffix "*Zobah*." Compare *Ramoth-Gilead*, which is thus distinguished from *Ramath* in Benjamin. [G. R.]

**HAM'ATHITE, THE** (חַמַּתִּי; δ' Ἀμαθί), *Amathaeus*, *Hamathaeus*, one of the families descended from Canaan, named last in the list (Gen. x. 18; 1 Chr. i. 16). The place of their settlement was doubtless *HAMATH*.

**HAM'MATH** (חַמַּת; Ὠμαθαδακίθ—the last two syllables a corruption of the name following—Alex. Ἀμαθί; *Emath*), one of the fortified cities in the territory allotted to Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35). It is not possible from this list to determine its position, but the notices of the Talmudists, collected by Lightfoot in his *Chorographical Century*, and *Chor. Decad.* leave no doubt that it was near Tiberias, one mile distant—in fact that it had its name, *Chammath*, "hot baths," because it contained those of Tiberias. In accordance with this are the slight notices of Josephus, who mentions it under the name of *Emmaus* as a "village not far (*κωμὴ* . . . οὐκ ἄποθεν) from Tiberias" (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §3), and as where Vespasian had encamped "before (*πρὸς*) Tiberias" (*B. J.* iv. 1, §3). Remains of the wall of this encampment were recognized by Irby and Mangles (1896). In both cases Josephus names the hot springs or baths, adding in the latter, that such is the interpretation of the name Ἀμμαούς, and that the waters are medicinal. The *Hammath*, at present three in number, still send up their hot and sulphureous waters, at a spot rather more than a mile south of the modern town, at the extremity of the ruins of the ancient city (Rob. ii. 383, 4; Van de Velde, ii. 399).

It is difficult, however, to reconcile with this position other observations of the Talmudists, quoted on the same place, by Lightfoot, to the effect that *Chammath* was called also the "wells of Gadara," from its proximity to that place, and also that half the town was on the east side of the Jordan and half on the west, with a bridge between them—the fact being that the ancient Tiberias was at least 4 miles, and the *Hammath* 2½, from the present embouchure of the Jordan. The same difficulty

besets the account of Parchi (in Zunz's *Appendix* to Benjamin of Tudela, ii. 403). He places the wells entirely on the east of Jordan.

In the list of Levitical cities given out of Naphtali (Josh. xxi. 32) the name of this place seems to be given as *HAMMOTH-DOR*, and in 1 Chr. vi. 76 it is further altered to *HAMMON*. [G.]

**HAMMEDA'THA** (חַמְדָּתָה; Ἀμαδῶθος; *Amadathus*), father of the infamous Haman, and commonly designated as "the *Agagite*" (Esth. iii. 1, 10, viii. 5, ix. 24), though also without that title (ix. 10). By Gesenius (*Lex.* 1855, p. 539) the name is taken to be *Medatha*, preceded by the definite article. For other explanations, see Fürst, *Idbuch.*, and Simonis, *Onomasticum*, 586. The latter derives it from a Persian word meaning "double." For the termination compare *ARIDATHA*.

**HAMME'LEOH** (חַמְלֵי; τοῦ βασιλέως; *Amelech*), rendered in the A. V. as a proper name (Jer. xxxvi. 26, xxxviii. 6); but there is no apparent reason for supposing it to be anything but the ordinary Hebrew word for "the king," i. e. in the first case Jehoakim, and in the latter Zedekiah. If this is so, it enables us to connect with the royal family of Judah two persons, Jerachmeel and Malchiah, who do not appear in the A. V. as members thereof. [G.]

**HAMMER.** The Hebrew language has several names for this indispensable tool. (1.) *Pittish* (פִּיטִישׁ), connected etymologically with *παράσσω*, to strike, which was used by the gold-beater (Is. xli. 7, A. V. "carpenter") to overlay with silver and "smooth" the surface of the image; as well as by the quarry-man (Jer. xliii. 29). (2.) *Mak-káláth* (מַכְלָלֶת), properly a tool for hollowing, hence a stonemason's mallet (1 K. vi. 7), and generally any workman's hammer (Judg. iv. 21; Is. xlv. 12; Jer. x. 4). (3.) *Halmáth* (חַלְמָת), used only in Judg. v. 26, and then with the addition of the word "workmen's" by way of explanation. (4.) A kind of hammer, named *mappétz* (מַפֶּטֶץ), Jer. li. 20 (A. V. "battle-axe"), or *méplhitz* (מֶפְלִיץ), Prov. xxv. 18 (A. V. "maul"), was used as a weapon of war. "Hammer" is used figuratively for any overwhelming power, whether worldly (Jer. l. 23), or spiritual (Jer. xliii. 29). [W. L. B.]

**HAMMOLE'KETH** (חַמְלֵכֶת; with the article, = "the Queen;" ἡ Μαλεχίτις; *Regina*), a woman introduced in the genealogies of Manasseh as daughter of Machir and sister of Gilead (1 Chr. vii. 17, 18), and as having among her children ABI-EZER, from whose family sprang the great judge Gideon. The Targum translates the name by מַלְכֶּת = who reigned. The Jewish tradition, as preserved by Kimchi in his commentary on the passage, is that "she used to reign over a portion of the land which belonged to Gilead," and that for that reason her lineage has been preserved.

**HAM'MON** (חַמּוֹן; Χαμόθ, Alex. Χαμών; *Hamon*, *Ammon*). 1. A city in Asher (Josh. xix. 28), apparently not far from Zidon-rabbah, or "Great Zidon." Dr. Schultz suggested its identification with the modern village of *Hamul*, near the coast, about 10 miles below Tyre (Rob. iii. 3 C).

66), but this is doubtful both in etymology and position.

2. A city allotted out of the tribe of Naphtali to the Levites (1 Chr. vi. 76), and answering to the somewhat similar names HAMMATH and HAMMOTH-DOR in Joshua. [G.]

**HAMMOTH-DOR** (חֲמוֹת דּוֹר; *Ḥammōth Dor*), Alex. *Ἐμαθδὼρ*; *Amnoth Dor*), a city of Naphtali, allotted with its suburbs to the Gershonite Levites, and for a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 32). Unless there were two places of the same or very similar name in Naphtali, this is identical with HAMMATH. Why the suffix Dor is added it is hard to tell, unless the word refers in some way to the situation of the place on the coast, in which fact only had it (as far as we know) any resemblance to Dor, on the shore of the Mediterranean. In 1 Chr. vi. 76 the name is contracted to HAMMON. [G.]

**HAMON'NAH** (חֲמוֹן נָח; *Poludnōriah*; *Amona*), the name of a city mentioned in a highly obscure passage of Ezekiel (xxxix. 16); apparently that of the place in or near which the multitudes of Gog should be buried after their great slaughter by God, and which is to derive its name—"multitude"—from that circumstance. [G.]

**HAMON-GOG, THE VALLEY** of (חֲמוֹן גּוֹג; *Ḥamōn Gōg*), the name to be bestowed on a ravine or glen, previously known as "the ravine of the passengers on the east of the sea," after the burial there of "Gog and all his multitude" (Ez. xxxix. 11, 15).

**HAM'OR** (חֲמֹר, *i. e.* in Heb. a large he-ass, the figure employed by Jacob for Issachār; *Ἑμωρ*; *Hamor*), a Hivite (or according to the Alex. LXX. a Horite, who at the time of the entrance of Jacob on Palestine was prince (*Nasi*) of the land and city of Shechem, and father of the impetuous young man of the latter name whose ill treatment of Dinah brought destruction on himself, his father, and the whole of their city (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 24, 26). Hamor would seem to have been a person of great influence, because, though alive at the time, the men of his tribe are called after him *Bene-Hamor*, and he himself, in records narrating events long subsequent to this, is styled *Hamor-Abi-Shechem* (Josh. xxiv. 32; Judg. ix. 28; Acts vii. 16). In the second of these passages his name is used as a signal of revolt, when the remnant of the ancient Hivites attempted to rise against Abimelech son of Gideon. [SHE-  
CHEM.] For the title *Abi-Shechem*, "father of Shechem," compare "father of Bethlehem," "father of Tekoah," and others in the early lists of 1 Chr. ii. iv. In Acts vii. 16 the name is given in the Greek form of EMMOR, and Abraham is said to have bought his sepulchre from the "sons of Emmor."

**HA'MUEL** (חַמּוּל, *i. e.* Hammūel; *Ἀμουήλ*; *Amuel*), a man of Simeon; son of Miahma, of the family of Shaul (1 Chr. iv. 26), from whom, if we follow the records of this passage, it would seem the whole tribe of Simeon located in Palestine were derived. In many Hebrew MSS. the name is given as Chamūel.

\* The LXX. have here read the word without its initial guttural, and rendered it *παρὰ τῶν Ἀμορραίων*, "from the Amorites."

**HAMUL** (חַמּוּל; Sam. חַמּוּל; *Ἰεμουήλ*, *Ἰαμουήλ*; *Amul*), the younger son of Pharez, Judah's son by Tamar (Gen. xlii. 12; 1 Chr. ii. 5). Hamul was head of the family of the Hamulites (Num. xxvi. 21), but none of the genealogy of his descendants is preserved in the lists of 1 Chronicles, though those of the descendants of Zerah are fully given.

**HAMULITES, THE** (חַמּוּלִּיטִּים; *Ἰαμουήλ*, Alex. *Ἰαμουήλ*; *Amulites*), the family (חַמּוּלִּיטִּים) of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 21).

**HAMUTAL** (חַמּוּטָל; = perhaps, "kin to the *דָּם*;" *Ἀμιτάλ*, in Jer. *Ἀμειντάλ*; *Anital*), daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah; one of the wives of king Josiah, and mother of the unfortunate prince Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 31), and Mattaniah or Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 18; Jer. lii. 1). In the two last passages the name is given in the original text as *חַמּוּטָל*, *Chamital*, a reading which the LXX. follow throughout.

**HAN'AMKEEL** (חַנַּאמְכֵּל; *Ἀναμικήλ*; *Hanameel*), son of Shallum, and cousin of Jeremiah. When Judaea was occupied by the Chaldeans, Jerusalem beleaguered, and Jeremiah in prison, the prophet bought a field of Hanameel in token of his assurance that a time was to come when land should be once more a secure possession (Jer. xxxi. 7, 8, 9, 12; and comp. 44). The suburban fields belonging to the tribe of Levi could not be sold (Lev. xiv. 34); but possibly Hanameel may have inherited property from his mother. Compare the case of Barnabas, who also was a Levite; and the note of Grotius on Acts iv. 37. Henderson (on Jer. xxxii. 7) supposes that a portion of the Levitical estates might be sold within the tribe. [W. T. B.]

**HAN'AN** (חַנָּן; *Ἀνάν*; *Hanan*). 1. One of the chief people of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 23).

2. The last of the six sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 38, ix. 44).

3. "Son of Maachah," *i. e.* possibly a Syrian of Aram-Maachah, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the extended list of 1 Chr. xi. 43.

4. Bene-Chanan were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 46; Neh. vii. 49). In the parallel list, 1 Esdr. v. 30, the name is given as ANAN.

5. (LXX. omits.) One of the Levites who assisted Ezra in his public exposition of the law (Neh. viii. 7). The same person is probably mentioned in x. 10, as sealing the covenant, since several of the same names occur in both passages.

6. One of the "heads" of the "people," that is of the laymen, who also sealed the covenant (x. 22).

7. (*Ἀνάν*.) Another of the chief laymen on the same occasion (x. 26).

8. Son of Zaccur, son of Mattaniah, whom Nehemiah made one of the storekeepers of the provisions collected as tithes (Neh. xiii. 13). He was probably a layman, in which case the four storekeepers represented the four chief classes of the people—priests, scribes, levites, and laymen.

9. Son of Igdaiah "the man of God" (Jer. xxxv. 4). The sons of Hanan had a chamber in the Temple. The Vat. LXX. gives the name twice—*Ἰωνᾶν υἱοῦ Ἀνανίου*.

**HANANEEL, THE TOWER OF** (מגדל חנניהל; *túrris Hananeel*), a tower which formed part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1, xii. 39). From these two passages, particularly from the former, it might almost be inferred that Hananeel was but another name for the Tower of Meah (מגדל מאה = "the hundred"); at any rate they were close together, and stood between the sheep-gate and the fish-gate. This tower is further mentioned in Jer. xxi. 38, where the reference appears to be to an extensive breach in the wall, reaching from that spot to the "gate of the corner" (comp. Neh. iii. 24, 32), and which the prophet is announcing shall be "rebuilt to Jehovah;" and "not be thrown down any more for ever." The remaining passage in which it is named (Zech. xiv. 10) also connects this tower with the "corner gate," which lay on the other side of the sheep-gate. This verse is rendered by Ewold with a different punctuation to the A. V.—"from the gate of Benjamin, on to the place of the first (or early) gate, on to the corner-gate and Tower Hananeel, on to the king's wine-presses." [JERUSALEM.]

**HANA'NI** (חנני; *'Avaṣi*; *Hanani*). 1. One of the sons of Heman, David's Seer, who were separated for song in the house of the Lord, and head of the 18th course of the service (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 25).

2. A Seer who rebuked (B.C. 941) Asa, king of Judah, for his want of faith in God, which he had showed by buying off the hostility of Benhadad I. king of Syria (2 Chr. xvi. 7). For this he was imprisoned by Asa (10). He (or another Hanani) was the father of Jehu the Seer, who testified against Baasha (1 K. xvi. 1, 7), and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 2, xx. 34).

3. One of the priests who in the time of Ezra were connected with strange wives (Ezr. x. 20). In Esdras the name is ANANIAS.

4. A brother of Nehemiah, who returned B.C. 446 from Jerusalem to Susa (Neh. i. 2); and was afterwards made governor of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (vii. 2).

5. A priest mentioned in Neh. xii. 36.

[W. T. B.]

HANANI'AH (חנניה and חנניה; 'Ανανία; Ananias and Hunanias. In N. Test. 'Ανανίας; Ananias).

1. One of the 14 sons of Heman the singer, and chief of the sixteenth out of the 24 courses or wards into which the 288 musicians of the Levites were divided by king David. The sons of Heman were especially employed to blow the horns (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 5, 23).

2. One of the chief captains of the army of king Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 11).

3. Father of Zedekiah, one of the princes in the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah (Jer. xxxvi. 12).

4. Son of Azur, a Benjamite of Gibeon and a false prophet in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah. In the 4th year of his reign, B.C. 595, Hanneiah withstood Jeremiah the prophet, and publicly prophesied in the temple that within two years Jeconiah and all his fellow-captives, with the vessels of the Lord's house which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away to Babylon, should be brought back to Jerusalem (Jer. xxviii.): an indication that treacherous negotiations were already secretly

opened with Pharaoh-Hophra (who had just succeeded Psammis on the Egyptian throne\*), and that strong hopes were entertained of the destruction of the Babylonian power by him. The preceding chapter (xxvii. 3) shows further that a league was already in progress between Judah and the neighbouring nations of Edom, Ammon, Moab, Tyre and Zidon, for the purpose of organizing resistance to Nebuchadnezzar, in combination no doubt with the projected movements of Pharaoh-Hophra. Hananiah corroborated his prophecy by taking from off the neck of Jeremiah the yoke which he wore by Divine command (Jer. xxviii. 1) in token of the subjection of Judaea and the neighbouring countries to the Babylonian empire), and breaking it, adding, "Thus saith Jehovah, Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all nations within the space of two full years." But Jeremiah was bid to go and tell Hananiah that for the wooden yokes which he had broken he should make yokes of iron, so that the dominion of Babylon destined to be for seventy years. The prophet Jeremiah added this rebuke and prediction of Hananiah's death, the fulfilment of which closes the history of this false prophet. "Hear now, Hananiah; Jehovah hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith Jehovah, Behold I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against Jehovah. So Hananiah the prophet died the same year, in the seventh month" (Jer. xxviii.). The above history of Hananiah is of great interest, as throwing much light upon the Jewish politics of that eventful time, divided as parties were into the partisans of Babylon on one hand, and Egypt on the other. It also exhibits the machinery of false prophecies, by which the irreligious party sought to promote their own policy, in a very distinct form. At the same time too that it explains in general the sort of political calculation on which such false prophecies were hazarded, it supplies an important clue in particular by which to judge of the date of Pharaoh-Hophra's (or Apries') accession to the Egyptian throne, and the commencement of his ineffectual effort to restore the power of Egypt (which had been prostrate since Necho's overthrow, Jer. xli. 2) upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire. The leaning to Egypt, indicated by Hananiah's prophecy as having begun in the fourth of Zedekiah, had in the sixth of his reign issued in open defection from Nebuchadnezzar, and in the guilt of perjury, which cost Zedekiah his crown and his life, as we learn from Ez. xvii. 12-20; the date being fixed by a comparison of Ez. viii. 1 with xx. 1. The temporary success of the intrigue which is described in Jer. xxviii. was speedily followed by the return of the Chaldeans and the destruction of the city, according to the prediction of Jeremiah. This history of Hananiah also illustrates the manner in which the false prophets hindered the mission, and obstructed the beneficent effects of the ministry, of the true prophets, and affords a remarkable example of the way in which they prophesied smooth things, and said peace when there was no peace (comp. 1 K. xxi. 11, 24, 25).

5. Grandfather of Iriyah, the captain of the ward

\* Pharaoh-Hophra succeeded Psammis, B.C. 595. The dates of the Egyptian reigns from Psammethichus are fixed by that of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.

at the gate of Benjamin who arrested Jeremiah on a charge of deserting to the Chaldeans (Jer. xxxvii. 13).

1. Head of a Benjamite house (1 Chr. viii. 24).

7. The Hebrew name of Shadrach. [SHADRACH.] He was of the house of David, according to Jewish tradition (Dan. i. 3, 6, 7, 11, 19; ii. 17). [ANANIAS.]

8. Son of Zerubbabel, 1 Chr. iii. 19, from whom CHRIST derived his descent. He is the same person who is by St. Luke called *Ἰωαννᾶς*, Joanna, and who, when Rhesa is discarded, appears there also as Zerubbabel's son. [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.] The identity of the two names Hananiah and Joanna is apparent immediately we compare them in Hebrew. חַנְּנִיָּה (Hananiah) is compounded of חַנַּן and the Divine name, which always takes the form הָי, or הַי, at the end of compounded names (as in Jeremiah, Shepheth-iah, Nehem-iah, Azar-iah, &c.). It means *gratiosè dedit Dominus*. Joanna (יוֹחָנָה) is compounded of the Divine name, which at the beginning of compound names takes the form יוֹ, or יָה; (as in Jeho-shua, Jeho-shaphat, Jo-zadak, &c.), and the same word, חַנַּן, and means *Dominus gratiosè dedit*. Examples of a similar transposition of the elements of a compound name in speaking of the same individual, are יְהוֹנָדָה, Jecon-iah, and יְהוֹיָכִין, Jeho-jachin, of the same king of Judah; Ahaz-iah and Jeho-ahaz of the same son of Jehoram; Eli-am, and Ammi-el, of the father of Bathsheba; and El-asah for Asah-el, and Ishma-el, for Eli-shama, in some MSS. of Ezr. x. 15 and 2 K. xxv. 25. This identification is of great importance, as bringing St. Luke's genealogy into harmony with the Old Testament. Nothing more is known of Hananiah.

9. The two names Hananiah and Jehohanan stand side by side Ezr. x. 28, as sons of Bebai, who returned with Ezra from Babylon.

10. A priest, one of the "apothecaries" or makers of the sacred ointments and incense (Ex. xxx. 22-38, 1 Chr. ix. 30), who built a portion of the wall of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 8). He may be the same as is mentioned in ver. 30 as having repaired another portion. If so, he was son of Shelemiah; perhaps the same as is mentioned xii. 41.

11. Head of the priestly course of Jeremiah in the days of Joiakim the high-priest, Neh. xii. 12.

12. Ruler of the palace (שַׂר הַבַּיִת) at Jerusalem under Nehemiah. He is described as "a faithful man, and one who feared God above many." His office seems to have been one of authority and trust, and perhaps the same as that of Eliakim, who was "over the house" in the reign of Hezekiah. [ELIAKIM.] The arrangements for guarding the gates of Jerusalem were entrusted to him with Hanani, the Tirshatha's brother. Prideaux thinks that the appointment of Hanani and Hananiah indicates that at this time Nehemiah returned to Persia, but without sufficient ground. Nehemiah seems to have been continuously at Jerusalem for some time after the completion of the wall (vii. 5, 65, viii. 9, x. 1). If, too, the term הַבַּיִת means, as Gesenius supposes, and as the use of it in Neh. ii. 8 makes not improbable, "not the palace, but the fortress of the Temple, called by Josephus *βέλις*—there is still less reason to imagine Nehemiah's absence. In this case Hananiah would be a priest, perhaps of the

same family as the preceding. The rendering moreover of Neh. vii. 2, 3 should probably be, "And I enjoined (or gave orders to) Hanani . . . and Hananiah the captains of the fortress . . . concerning Jerusalem, and said, Let not the gates," &c. There is no authority for rendering עַל by "over"—"He gave such an one charge over Jerusalem." The passages quoted by Gesenius are not one of them to the point.

13. An Israelite, Neh. x. 23 (hebr. 24). [ANANIAS.]

14. Other Hananiahs will be found under ANANIAS, the Greek form of the name. [A. C. H.]

HANDICRAFT (*τέχνη, ἐργασία*; *ars, artificium*, Acts xviii. 3, xix. 25; Rev. xviii. 22). Although the extent cannot be ascertained to which those arts were carried on whose invention is ascribed to Tubal-Cain, it is probable that this was proportionate to the nomadic or settled habits of the antediluvian races. Among nomad races, as the Bedouin Arabs, or the tribes of Northern and Central Asia and of America, the wants of life, as well as the arts which supply them, are few; and it is only among the city-dwellers that both of them are multiplied and make progress. This subject cannot, of course, be followed out here: in the present article brief notices can only be given of such handicraft trades as are mentioned in Scripture.

1. The preparation of iron for use either in war, in agriculture, or for domestic purposes, was doubtless one of the earliest applications of labour; and, together with iron, working in brass, or rather copper alloyed with tin, bronze (*חֹמֶשֶׁת*, Gesen. p. 875), is mentioned in the same passage as practised in ante-diluvian times (Gen. iv. 22). The use of this last is usually considered as an art of higher antiquity even than that of iron (Hesiod, *Works & Days*, 150; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. p. 152, abridg.), and there can be no doubt that metal, whether iron or bronze, must have been largely used, either in material or in tools, for the construction of the Ark (Gen. vi. 14, 16). Whether the weapons for war or chase used by the early warriors of Syria and Assyria, or the arrow-heads of the archer Ishmael were of bronze or iron cannot be ascertained; but we know that iron was used for warlike purposes by the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 194), and on the other hand that stone-tipped arrows, as was the case also in Mexico, were used in the earlier times by the Egyptians as well as the Persians and Greeks, and that stone or flint knives continued to be used by them, and by the inhabitants of the desert, and also by the Jews, for religious purposes after the introduction of iron into general use (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 353, 354, ii. 163; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 118; Ex. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2; 1st Egypt. room, Brit. Mus. case 36, 37). In the construction of the Tabernacle, copper, but no iron, appears to have been used, though the use of iron was at the same period well known to the Jews, both from their own use of it and from their Egyptian education, whilst the Canaanite inhabitants of Palestine and Syria were in full possession of its use both for warlike and domestic purposes (Ex. xx. 25, xxv. 3, xivii. 19; Num. xxxv. 16; Deut. iii. 11, iv. 20, viii. 9; Josh. viii. 31, xvii. 16, 18). After the establishment of the Jews in Canaan, the occupation of a smith (*חָרֶשֶׁת*) became recognised as a distinct employment (1 Sam. xiii. 19). The designer of a higher order

appears to have been called specially **כַּסְיָה** (Gesen. p. 531; Ex. xxxv. 30, 35; 2 Chr. xxvi. 15; Saalschütz, *Arch. Hebr.* c. 14 §16). The smith's work and its results are often mentioned in Scripture (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 K. vi. 7; 2 Chr. xxvi. 14; Is. xlii. 12, liv. 16). Among the captives taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar were 1000 "craftsmen" and smiths, who were probably of the superior kind (2 K. xxiv. 16; Jer. xxix. 2).

The worker in gold and silver (**קַדְשָׁן**; *ἀργυροκόπος*; *χρυσευτής*, *argentarius*, *aurifex*) must have found employment both among the Hebrews and the neighbouring nations in very early times, as appears from the ornaments sent by Abraham to Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 22, 53, xxxv. 4, xxxviii. 18; Deut. vii. 25). But, whatever skill the Hebrews possessed, it is quite clear that they must have learned much from Egypt and its "iron-furnaces," both in metal-work and in the arts of setting and polishing precious stones; arts which were turned to account both in the construction of the Tabernacle and the making of the priests' ornaments, and also in the casting of the golden calf as well as its destruction by Moses, probably, as suggested by Goguet, by a method which he had learnt in Egypt (Gen. xli. 42; Ex. iii. 22, xii. 35, xxxi. 4, 5, xxxii. 2, 4, 20, 24, xxxvii. 17, 24, xxxviii. 4, 8, 24, 25, xxxix. 6, 39; Neh. iii. 8; Is. xlii. 12). Various processes of the goldsmiths' work (No. 1) are illustrated by Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 136, 152, 162).

After the conquest frequent notices are found both of moulded and wrought metal, including soldering, which last had long been known in Egypt; but the Phœnicians appear to have possessed greater skill than the Jews in these arts, at least in Solomon's time (Judg. viii. 24, 27, xvii. 4; 1 K. vii. 13, 45, 46; Is. xli. 7; Wld. xv. 4; Ecclus. xxviii. 28; Bar. vi. 50, 55, 57; Wilkinson, ii. p. 162). [ZAREPHATH.] Even in the desert, mention is made of beating gold into plates, cutting it into wire, and

also of setting precious stones in gold (Ex. xxxix. 3, 6, &c.; Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 414; Gesen. p. 1229).

Among the tools of the smith are mentioned—

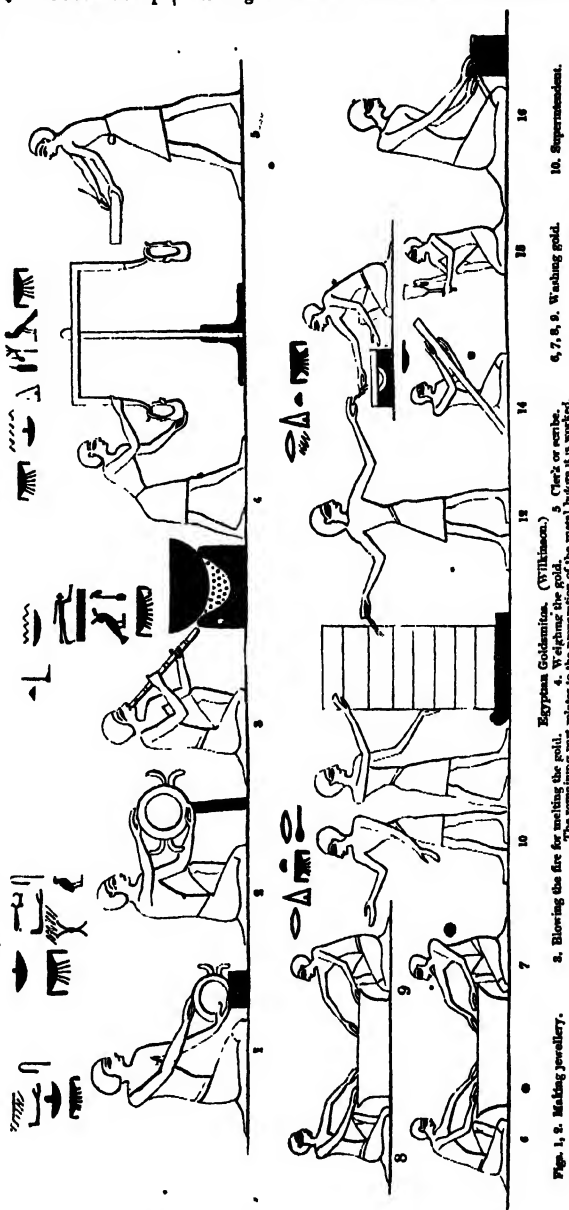
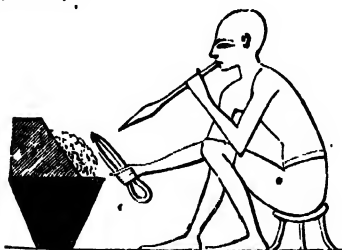


Fig. 1, 2. Making jewellery. 3. Blowing the fire for melting the gold. 4. Weighing the gold. 5. Setting or embelishing. 6, 7, 8, 9. Washing gold. 10. Superintending.

tongs (**מַחֲבֵרֶת**, *λαβίς*, *forceps*, Gesen. p. 761; Is. vi. 6), hammer (**מַרְבֵּץ**, *σφυρά*, *malleus*, Gesen. p. 1101), anvil (**אֲנָבִי**, Gesen. p. 1118), bellows

(ΠΙΣ). *φυστήρ*, *sufflatorium*, Gesen. p. 896; Is. xli. 7; Jer. vi. 29; Ecclus. xxxviii. 28; Wilkinson, ii. 316).



Egyptian Blowpipe, and small fireplace with cheeks to confine and reflect the heat. (Wilkinson.)

In N.T. Alexander "the coppersmith" (ὁ χαλκός) of Ephesus is mentioned, where also was carried on that trade in "silver shrines" (ναὶ ἀργυροί), which was represented by Demetrius the silversmith (ἀργυροκόπτης) as being in danger from the spread of Christianity (Acts xix. 24, 28; 2 Tim. iv. 14).

2. The work of the carpenter (ἔρση ἔρση, τέκτων, *artifex lignarius*) is often mentioned in Scripture (e. g. Gen. vi. 14; Ex. xxvii.; Is. xli. 13). In the palace built by David for him-

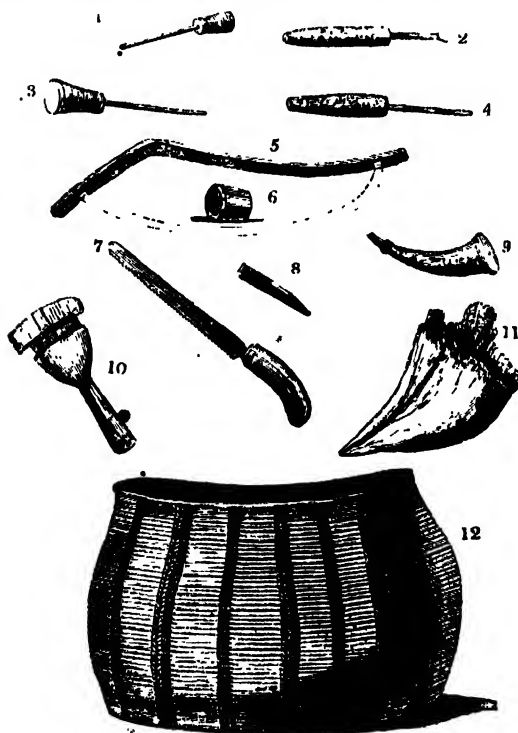
self the workmen employed were chiefly Phoenicians sent by Hiram (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Chr. xiv. 1), as most probably were those, or at least the principal of those who were employed by Solomon in his works (1 K. v. 6). But in the repairs of the Temple, executed under Josiah king of Judah, and also in the rebuilding under Zerubbabel, no mention is made of foreign workmen, though in the latter case the timber is expressly said to have been brought by sea to Joppa by Zidonians (2 K. xii. 11; 2 Chr. xxiv. 12; Ezra iii. 7). That the Jewish carpenters must have been able to carve with some skill is evident from Is. xli. 7, xli. 13, in which last passage some of the implements used in the trade are mentioned:—the rule (רֹדֶן, *rodan*, possibly a chalk pencil, Gesen. p. 1337), measuring-line (רֹדֶן, Gesen. p. 1201), compass (מִסְכָּה, *misakah*, *circinus*, Gesen. p. 450), plane, or smoothing instrument (מִסְכָּה, *misakah*, *runcina*, Gesen. pp. 1228, 1338), axe (רֹדֶן, Gesen. p. 302, or רֹדֶן, Gesen. p. 1236, *axiv*, *securis*).

The process of the work, and the tools used by Egyptian carpenters, and also coopers and wheelwrights, are displayed in Egyptian monuments and relics; the former, including dovetailing, veneering, drilling, glueing, varnishing, and inlaying, may be seen in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 111-119. Of the latter many specimens, including saws,

hatchets, knives, awls, nails, a hone, and a drill, also turned objects in bone, exist in the British Museum, 1st Egypt. Room, case 42-43, Nos. 6046-6188. See also Wilkinson, ii. p. 113, fig. 395.

In N.T. the occupation of a carpenter (τέκτων) is mentioned in connexion with Joseph the husband of the Virgin Mary, and ascribed to our Lord himself by way of reproach (Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55; and Just. Mart. *dial. Tryph.* c. 88).

3. The masons (ἰσχυροί, wall-builders, Gesen. p. 269) employed by David and Solomon, at least the chief of them, were Phoenicians, as is implied also in the word ἰσχυροί, men of Gebal, Jebail; Byblus (Gesen. p. 258; 1 K. v. 18; Ez. xxvii. 9; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 179). Among their implements are mentioned the saw (רֹדֶן, *rodan*), the plumb-line (רֹדֶן, *rodan*, Gesen. p. 125), the measuring-reed (רֹדֶן, *rodan*, Gesen. p. 1221). Some of these, and also the chisel and mallet, are represented on Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 313, 314), or preserved in the Brit. Mus. (1st Egypt. Room, No. 6114, 6038). The large stones used in Solomon's Temple are said by Josephus to have been fitted together exactly without either mortar or cramps, but the foundation stones



Tools of an Egyptian Carpenter. (Wilkinson.)

Figs 1, 2, 3, 4. Chisels and drills.

5. Part of drill.

6. Nut of wood belonging to drill

7, 8. Saws.

Fig. 9. Horn of oil.

10. Mallet.

11. Rasket of nails.

12. Basket which held them

to have been fastened with lead (Joseph, *Ant.* viii. 3, §2; xv. 11, §3). For ordinary building, mortar, מִיָּט (Gesen. p. 1328) was used; sometimes, perhaps, bitumen, as was the case at Babylon (Gen. xi. 3). The lime, clay, and straw of which mortar is generally composed in the East, requires to be very carefully mixed and united so as to resist wet (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 27; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 206). • The wall "daubed with untempered mortar" of Ezekiel (xiii.

10) was perhaps a sort of cob-wall of mud or clay without lime (Gesen. p. 1516), which would give way under heavy rain. The use of white-wash on tombs is remarked by our Lord (Matt. xxiii. 27. See also Mishn. *Maaser Sheni*, v. 1). Houses infected with leprosy were required by the Law to be re-plastered (Lev. xiv. 40-45).

4. Akin to the craft of the carpenter is that of ship and boat-building, which must have been exer-

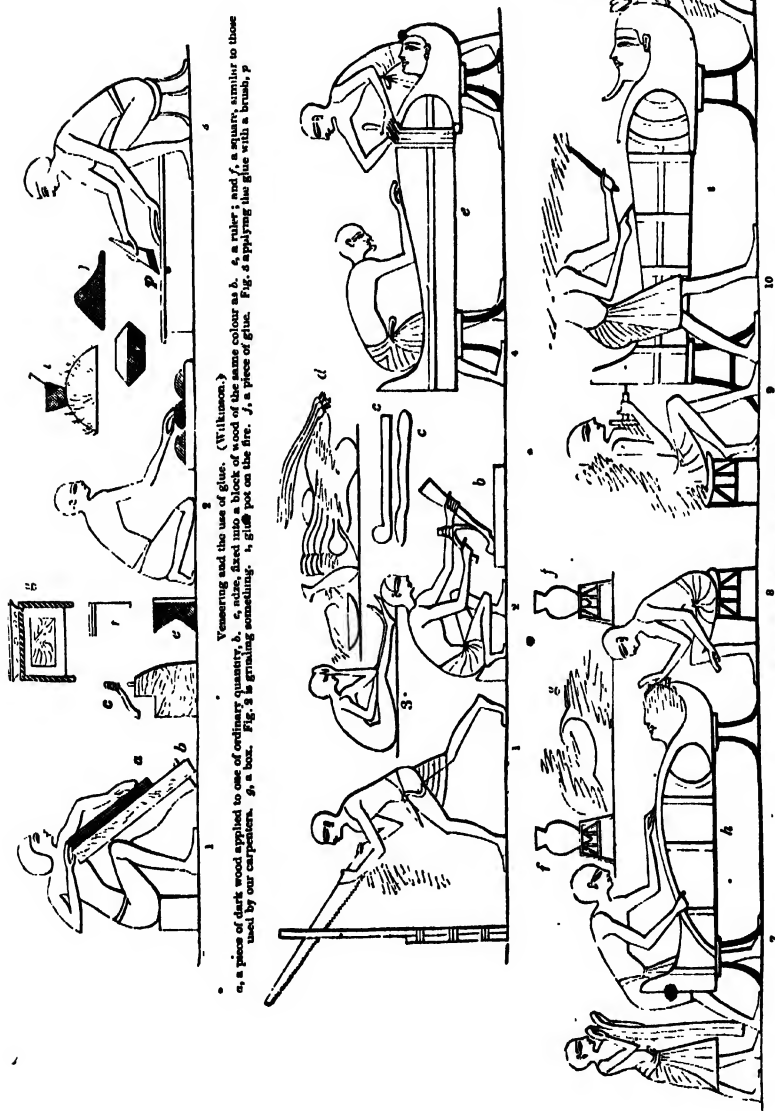


Fig. 1. sawing wood. 2, cutting the top of a chair, selecting the trade of the carpenter. 3, a man fallen asleep. 4, c, wood ready for cutting. 5, online and other provisions, which occur again at 9, with vase, f. 6 and 7, binding mummies. 8, bring the headgear. 9, using the drill. 10, 11, painting and polishing the case.



Trade in all its branches was much developed after the Captivity; and for a father to teach his son a trade was reckoned not only honourable but indispensable (Mishn. *Pirke Ab.* ii. 2; *Kiddush.* iv. 14). Some trades, however, were regarded as less honourable (Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.* §84).

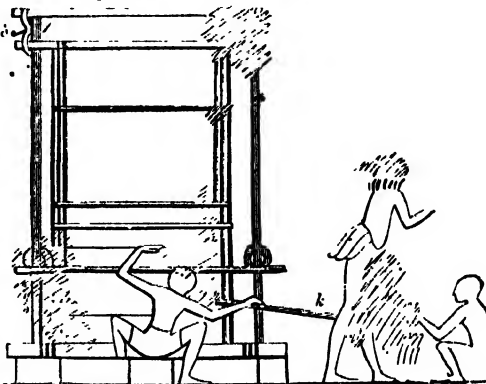
Some, if not all trades, had special localities, as was the case formerly in European, and is now in Eastern cities (Jer. xxxvii. 21; 1 Cor. x. 25; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, §1, and 8, §1; Mishn. *Becor.* v. 1; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 20; Chardin, *Voyages*, vii. 274, 394; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 145).

One feature, distinguishing Jewish from other workmen, deserves peculiar notice, viz. that they were not slaves, nor were their trades necessarily hereditary, as was and is so often the case among other, especially heathen nations (Jahn, *Bibl. Antiq.* c. v. §81-84; Smalshütz, *Hebr. Arch.* c. 14. Wiener, *s. v. Handwerke*). [MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; POTTERY; GLASS; LEATHER.] [H. W. P.]

### HANDKERCHIEF, NAPKIN, APRON.

The two former of these terms, as used in the A. V. = *σουλδριον*, the latter = *σμηκτινιον*: they are classed together, inasmuch as they refer to objects of a very similar character. Both words are of Latin origin: *σουλδριον* = *suldarium* from *sudo*, "to sweat;" the Lutheran translation preserves the reference to its etymology in its rendering, *schweiß-tuch*; *σμηκτινιον* = *semicinctum*, i. e. "a half girdle." Neither is much used by classical writers; the *suldarium* is referred to as used for wiping the face (*cardulo frontem suldario tergeret*, Quintil. vi. 3), or hands (*suldarium manus tergens, quod in collo habebat*, Petron. in *fragm. Tragic.* cap. 67); and also as worn over the face for the purpose of concealment (Sueton. in *Neron.* cap. 48); the word was introduced by the Romans into Palestine, where it was adopted by the Jews, in the form סִירְרָא as *סִרְרָא* in Ruth iii. 15. The *suldarium* is noticed in the N. T. as a wrapper to fold up money (Luke xix. 20)—as a cloth bound about the head of a corpse (John xi. 44, xx. 7), being probably brought from the crown of the head under the chin—and lastly as an article of dress that could be easily removed (Acts xix. 12), probably a handkerchief worn on the head like the *keffiyeh* of the Bedouins. The *semicinctum* is noticed by Martial xiv. *epigr.* 153, and by Petron. in *Satyr.* cap. 94. The distinction between the *cinctus* and the *semicinctum* consisted in its width (Isidor. *Orig.* xix. 33): with regard to the character of the *σμηκτινιον*, the only inference from the passage in which it occurs (Acts xix. 12) is that it was easily removed from the person, and probably was worn next to the skin. According to Suidas the distinction between the *suldarium* and the *semicinctum* was very small, for he explains the latter by the former, *σμηκτινιον* φακιδλιον ἢ σουλδριον, the *φακιδλιον* being a species of head-dress: Hesychius likewise explains *σμηκτινιον* by *φακιδλιον*. According to the scholast (in *Cod. Steph.*), as quoted by Schleusner (*Lex. s. v. σουλδριον*), the distinction between the two terms is that the *suldarium* was worn on the head, and the *semicinctum* used as a handkerchief. The

difference was probably not in the shape, but in the use of the article; we may conceive them to have been bands of linen of greater or less size, which



An Egyptian loom. (Wilkinson.)

k is a shuttle, not thrown, but put in with the hand. It had a hook at each end.

might be adapted to many purposes, like the article now called *lungi* among the Arabs, which is applied sometimes as a girdle, at other times as a turban (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 321). [W. L. B.]

**HANES** (חֲנֶה; *Hanes*), a place in Egypt only mentioned in Is. xxx. 4: "For his princes were at Zoan, and his messengers came to Hanes." The LXX. has "Οἱ εἰσὶν ἐν Τάβει ἀρχηγοὶ ἑγγε-λοι ποταμῶν," evidently following an entirely different reading. Hanes has been supposed by Vitringa, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, to be the same as Heracleopolis Magna in the Heptanomis,

Copt. *εἰς Νεϋ, εἰς Νεϋ, εἰς Νεϋ*. This identification depends wholly upon the similarity of the two names: a consideration of the sense of the passage in which Hanes occurs shows its great improbability. The prophecy is a reproof of the Jews for trusting in Egypt; and according to the Masoretic text, mention is made of an embassy, perhaps from Hoshea, or else from Ahaz, or possibly Hezekiah, to a Pharaoh. As the king whose assistance is asked is called Pharaoh, he is probably not an Ethiopian of the xxvth dynasty, for the kings of that line are mentioned by name—So, Tirhakah—but a sovereign of the xxiii<sup>d</sup> dynasty, which, according to Manetho, was of Tanite kings. It is supposed that the last king of the latter dynasty, Manetho's Zet, is the Sethos of Herodotus, the king in whose time Sennacherib's army perished, and who appears to have been mentioned under the title of Pharaoh by Rabshakeh (Is. xxxvi. 6; 2 K. xviii. 21), though it is just possible that Tirhakah may have been intended. If the reference be to an embassy to Zet, Zonn was probably his capital, and in any case then the most important city of the eastern part of Lower Egypt. Hanes was most probably in its neighbourhood; and we are disposed to think that the Chald. Paraphr. is right in identifying it with *חֲנֶה*, or *חֲנֶה*, once written, if the Kethibh be correct, in the form *חֲנֶה*, Daphnae, a fortified town on the eastern frontier. [TAN-PANIES.] Gesenius remarks, as a kind of apology for the identification of Hanes with Heracleopolis

Magna, that the latter was formerly a royal city. It is true that in Manetho's list the ixth and xth dynasties are said to have been of Herculopolite kings; but it has been lately suggested, on strong grounds, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that this is a mistake in the case of the ixth dynasty for Hermouthis (Herod. ed. Rawlinson, vol. ii, p. 348). If this supposition be correct as to the ixth dynasty, it must also be so as to the xth; but the circumstance whether Herculopolis was a royal city or not, a thousand years before Isaiah's time, is obviously of no consequence here.

[R. S. P.]

**HANGING; HANGINGS.** These terms represent both different words in the original, and different articles in the furniture of the Temple.

(1.) The "hanging" (חֲסִי; ἑλκυσματόν; *tentorium*) was a curtain or "covering" (as the word radically means) to close an entrance; one was placed before the door of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvii. 36, 37, xxxix. 38); it was made of variegated stuff wrought with needlework, and was hung on five pillars of acacia wood: another was placed before the entrance of the court (Ex. xxvii. 16, xxxviii. 18; Num. iv. 26); the term is also applied to the veil that concealed the Holy of Holies, in the full expression "veil of the covering" (Ex. xxxv. 12, xxxix. 34, xl. 21; Num. iv. 5). [CURTAINS, 2.]

(2.) The "hangings" (קַלְעִים; ἱστία; *tentoria*) were used for covering the walls of the court of the Tabernacle, just as tapestry was in modern times (Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 9; Num. iii. 26, iv. 26). The rendering in the LXX. implies that they were made of the same substance as the sails of a ship, i. e. (as explained by Rashi) "meshy, not woven;" this opinion is, however, incorrect, as the material of which they were constructed was "fine twined linen." The hangings were carried only five cubits high, or half the height of the walls of the court (Ex. xxvii. 18; comp. xvi. 16). [TABERNACLE.]

In 2 K. xxiii. 7, the term *botim*, בֹּתִים, strictly "houses," A. V. "hangings," is probably intended to describe tents used as portable sanctuaries. [W. L. B.]

**HAN'IEL** (חַנְיָאֵל; i. e. Channiel; Ἀνιήλ; *Haniel*), one of the sons of Ulla, a chief prince, and a choice hero in the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 39).

**HAN'NAH** (חַנָּה, *grace, or prayer*; Ἄννα; *Anna*), one of the wives of Elkanah, and mother of Samuel (1 Sam. i. ii.); a prophetess of considerable repute, though her claim to that title is based upon one production only, viz., the hymn of thanksgiving for the birth of her son. This hymn is in the highest order of prophetic poetry; its resemblance to that of the Virgin Mary (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 1-10 with Luke i. 46-55; see also Ps. cxiii.) has been noticed by the commentators; and it is especially remarkable as containing the first designation of the Messiah under that name. In the Targum it has been subjected to a process of magniloquent dilution, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel even in the pompous vagaries of that paraphrase (Eichhorn, *Eint.* ii. p. 68). [SAMUEL.] [T. E. B.]

**HAN'NATHON** (חַנְנָתוֹן; Ἀμωθ, Alex. Ἐμωθ; *Hannathon*), one of the cities of Zebulun, a point apparently on the northern boundary (Josh. xix. 14). It has not yet been identified. [G.]

**HAN'NIEL** (חַנְנְיָאֵל; Ἀνιήλ; *Hanniel*), son of Ephod; as prince (*Nasi*) of Manasseh, he assisted

in the division of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 23). The name is the same as HANIEL.

**HA'NOCH** (חֲנוֹךְ; Ἐνώχ; *Henoch*). 1. The third in order of the children of Midian, and therefore descended from Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 4). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. i. 33, the name is given in the A. V. as HENOCH.

• 2. (חֲנוֹךְ; Ἐνώχ; *Henoch*), eldest son of Reuben (Gen. xli. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 5; 1 Chr. v. 3), and founder of the family of

**HA'NOCHITES, THE** (חֲנוֹכִּי; ἑνός τοῦ Ἐνώχ; *familia Henochitarum*), Num. xxvi. 5.

**HA'NUN** (חֲנָנִי; Ἀννών; *Hanon*). 1. Son of Nahash (2 Sam. x. 1, 2; 1 Chr. xix. 1, 2), king of Ammon about B.C. 1037, who dishonoured the ambassadors of David (2 Sam. x. 4), and involved the Ammonites in a disastrous war (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xix. 6). [W. T. B.]

2. A man who, with the people of Zanoah, repaired the ravine-gate in the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 13).

3. A man specified as "the 6th son of Zalaph," who also assisted in the repair of the wall, apparently on the east side (Neh. iii. 30).

**HAPHRA'IM** (חַפְרַיִם; i. e. Chaphraïm; Ἀφρῖν, Alex. Ἀφεραεῖν; *Hapharaim*), a city of Issachar, mentioned next to Shunem (Josh. xix. 19). The name possibly signifies "two pits." In the *Oncomasticon* ("Aphraim") it is spoken as still known under the name of Afraea (Eus. Ἀφραία), and as standing six miles north of Legio. About that distance north-east of *Lejjun*, and two miles west of *Solan* (the ancient Shunem), stands the village of *el-Afuleh* (العفولة), which may be the representative of Chapharaim, the guttural *Ain* having taken the place of the Hebrew *Cheth*. [G.]

**HA'RA** (חָרָא; Ἀρά; *Ara*), which appears only in 1 Chr. v. 26, and even there is omitted by the LXX., is either a place utterly unknown, or it must be regarded as identical with Haran or Charran (חָרָן), the Mesopotamian city to which Abraham came from Ur. The names in Chronicles often vary from those elsewhere used in Scripture, being later forms; and *Hara* would nearly correspond to *Currahæ*, which we know from Strabo and Ptolemy to have been the appellation by which Haran was known to the Greeks. We may assume then the author of Chronicles to mean, that a portion of the Israelites carried off by Pul and Tiglath-Pileser were settled in *Haran* on the *Belit*, while the greater number were conveyed to the *Chabour*. (Compare 1 Chr. v. 26 with 2 K. xvii. 6, xviii. 11, and xix. 12; and see articles on CHARRAN and HADOR.) [G. R.]

**HAR'ADAH** (חָרָדָה, with the article; Χαραδδ; *Arada*), a desert station of the Israelites. Num. xxxiii. 24, 25; its position is uncertain. [H. H.]

**HAR'AN**. 1. (חָרָן; Ἀρρά; Jos. Ἀράν; *Aran*). The third son of Terah, and therefore youngest brother of Abram (Gen. xi. 26). Three children are ascribed to him—Lot (27, 31), and two daughters, viz. Milcah, who married her uncle Nahor (29), and Iscah (29), of whom we merely possess her name, though by some (e. g. Josephus) she is held to be identical with Sarah. Haran was born in Ur of the Chaldees, and he died there while his father

was still living (28). His sepulchre was still shown there when Josephus wrote his history (*Ant.* i. 6, §5). The ancient Jewish tradition is that Haran was burnt in the furnace of Nimrod for his wavering conduct during the fiery trial of Abraham. (See the Targum P's. Jonathan; Jerome's *Quaest. in Genesim*, and the notes thereto in the edit. of Migne.) This tradition seems to have originated in a translation of the word Ur, which in Hebrew signifies "fire." It will be observed that although this name and that of the country appear the same in the A. V., there is in the original a certain difference between them; the latter commencing with the *harah* guttural Cheth.

2. (Δαν, Alex. Ἀδν; Aran). A Gershonite Levite in the time of David, one of the family of Shimci (1 Chr. xxiii. 9). [G.]

HA'ARAN (הָאָרָן; i. e. Charan; Ἀράμ, Alex. Ἀράν; Haran), a son of the great Caleb by his concubine Ephah (1 Chr. ii. 46). He himself had a son named GAZEZ.

HARAN (הָרָן; Ἀράν; Strab., Ptol. Καρβαί; Haran), is the name of the place whither Abraham migrated with his family from Ur of the Chaldees, and where the descendants of his brother Nahor established themselves. Haran is therefore called "the city of Nahor" (comp. Gen. xxiv. 10, with xxvii. 43). It is said to be in Mesopotamia (Gen. xiv. 40), or more definitely, in Padan-Aram (xxv. 20), which is the "cultivated district at the foot of the hills" (Stanley's *S. & P.*, 129 note), a name well applying to the beautiful stretch of country which lies below Mount Masius between the *Khabour* and the Euphrates. [PADAN-ARAM.] Here, about midway in this district, is a town still called *Harrán*, which really seems never to have changed its appellation, and beyond any reasonable doubt is the Haran or Charan of Scripture (Bochart's *Phalgy*, i. 14; Ewald's *Geschichte*, i. 384). It is remarkable that the people of *Harrán* retained to a late time the Chaldean language and the worship of Chaldean deities (Assman. *Bibl. Or.* i. 327; Chwolson's *Sabier und der Sabismus*, ii. 39). *Harrán* lies upon the *Belgh* (ancient Bilichus), a small affluent of the Euphrates, which falls into it nearly in long. 39°. It was famous among the Romans for being near the scene of the defeat of Crassus (Plin. *H. N.* v. 24). About the time of the Christian era it appears to have been included in the kingdom of Edessa (Mos. Chor. ii. 32), which was ruled by Agharus. Afterwards it passed with that kingdom under the dominion of the Romans, and appears as a Roman city in the wars of Caracalla (Mos. Chor. ii. 72) and Julian (Jo. Malal. p. 329). It is now a small village inhabited by a few families of Arabs.

In the A. V. of the New Test. the name follows the Greek form, and is given as CHARRAN (Acts vii. 2, 4). [G. R.]

HA'ARITE, THE (הָאָרִיתִי, perhaps = "the mountaineer," Ges. *Thes.* 392; *de Arari*, or *Orori*, *Ararites*): the designation of three men connected with David's guard.

1. (δ' Ἀρουχῆος) "AGEE, a Hararite" (there is no article here in the Hebrew), father of Shammah, the third of the three chiefs of the heroes

(2 Sam. xxiii. 11. In the parallel passage, 1 Chr. xi., the name of this warrior is entirely omitted).

2. (Ἀρωθίτης) "SHAMMAH the Hararite" is named as one of the thirty in 2 Sam. xxiii. 33. In 1 Chr. xi. 34 the name is altered to Shage. Kennicott's conclusion, from a minute investigation, is that the passage should stand in both, "Jonathan son of Shammah the Hararite"—Shammah being identical with Shimei, David's brother.

3. (Σαρωπύτης, δ' Ἀραπί) "SHARAR (2 Sam. xxiii. 33) or SACAR (1 Chr. xi. 35) the Hararite" was the father of Ahiam, another member of the guard. Kennicott inclines to take Sacar as the correct name.

HARBONA (הַרְבוֹנָה; Ὀρβῶνα, Alex. Ὀαρβῶνα; Harbona), the third of the seven chamberlains, or eunuchs, who served king Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10), and who suggested Haman's being hung on his own gallows (vii. 9). In the latter passage the name is

HARBO'NAH (הַרְבוֹנָה; Βουρβῶνα; Harbona).

HARE (הָרֵי; δασύπους; lepus). The hare is reckoned among the unclean animals (Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7), on the ground that it chews the cud. But ruminating animals have four stomachs, molar teeth, and a peculiarly formed jaw-bone adapted for the circular movement of chewing the cud. The hare possesses none of these characteristics; and on the other hand it has incisor teeth in its upper jaw, which the ruminant class has not. The mistake arose from a peculiar movement of the mouth in the hare, not unlike that of an animal chewing the cud. Hares abound in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt: a difference of opinion has in all ages existed as to the value of the hare as an article of food: the Greeks and Romans ate it, in spite of an opinion that prevailed that it was not very wholesome; so also do the modern Arabs (Russell, *Aleppo*, ii. 20). The Turks and Armenians, on the other hand, and particularly the Parsees, abominate it. The term *arnebeth* probably includes the *iabbi* as well as the hare. [W. L. B.]

HAREM. [HOUSE.]

HA'REPH (הָרֵף; Ἀρή, Alex. Ἀρή; Haraphé), a name occurring in the genealogies of Judah, as a son of Caleb, and as "father of Beth-gader" (1 Chr. ii. 51, only). In the lists of Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. the similar name HARIPIH is found; but nothing appears to establish a connexion between the two.

HA'RETH, THE FOREST OF (הָרֵת; ἔν δόλει; in both MSS.—reading ἔν ὄρει—Ἀρή, Alex. Ἀρή; in *saltum Haret*), in which David took refuge, after, at the instigation of the prophet Gad, he had quitted the "hold" or fastness of the cave of Adullam—if indeed it was Adullam and not Mizpeh of Moab, which is not quite clear (1 Sam. xxii. 5). Nothing appears in the narrative by which the position of this forest, which has long since disappeared, can be ascertained, except the very general remark that it was in the "land of Judah," i. e. according to Josephus, the inheritance proper of that tribe, ἡ ἐκκλησίαν τῆς φυλῆς, as opposed to the "desert," ἡ ἐρημία, in which he had before been lurking (*Ant.* vi. 12, §4). We might take it to be the "wood"

\* The same reading is found in Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 12, 4). This is one of three instances in this chapter

alone in which the reading of Josephus departs from the Hebrew text, and agrees with the LXX.

in the "wilderness of Ziph" in which he was subsequently hidden (xxiii. 15, 19), but that the Hebrew term is different (*choreah* instead of *yaar*). In the *Onomasticon*, "Arith" is said to have then existed west of Jerusalem.

### HARHAI'AH (חַרְהַיָּא; Ἀραχάιος; *Araia*).

Uzziel son of Charhailah, of the goldsmiths, assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 8).

**HAR'HAS** (חַרְהָס; Ἀράς; *Araas*), an ancestor of Shallum the husband of Huldah, the prophetess in the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 14). In the parallel passage in Chronicles the name is given as **HAARAH**.

**HAR'HUR** (חַרְהוּר; Ἀρούρ; *Harhur*). Bene-Charhur were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53). In the Apocryphal Esdras the name has become ASSUR, PHARACIM.

**HA'RIM** (חַרִּים). 1. (Χαρίβ, Alex. *Χαρημ*; *Harim*), a priest who had charge of the third division in the house of God (1 Chr. xxiv. 8).

2. (Ἡρέμ; Alex. Ἡράμ) Bene-Harim, probably descendants of the above, to the number of 1017, came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 39; Neh. vii. 42). [*CARME*.] The name, probably as representing the family, is mentioned amongst those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 5); and amongst the priests who had to put away their foreign wives were five of the sons of Harim (Ezr. x. 21). In the parallel to this latter passage in Esdras the name is given ANNAS.

3. (Ἀπέ.) It further occurs in a list of the families of priests "who went up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua," and of those who were their descendants in the next generation—in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 15). In the former list (xii. 4) the name is changed to REHUM (רְחֻם) by a not unfrequent transposition of letters. [*REHUM*.]

4. Another family of Bene-Harim, three hundred and twenty in number, came from the captivity in the same caravan (Ezr. ii. 32; Neh. vii. 35). These were laymen, and seem to have taken their name from a place, at least the contiguous names in the list are certainly those of places. These also appear among those who had married foreign wives (Ezr. x. 31), as well as those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 27). [*EANES*.]

**HA'RIPH** (חַרִּיף; Ἀρίφ, Alex. Ἀρείμ; *Hareph*), a hundred and twelve of the Bene-Chariph returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 24). The name occurs again among the "heads of the people," who sealed the covenant (x. 19). In the lists of Ezra and Esdras, Hariph appears as JORAH and AZEPHURITH respectively. An almost identical name, Hareph, appears in the lists of Judah as the father of Bethgader [*comp. HAREPHITE*].

**HARLOT** (זוֹנָה, often with אִשָּׁה נִכְרִיָּה, קַדְשָׁה). That this condition of persons existed in

the earliest states of society is clear from Gen. xxxviii. 15. So Rahab (Jeh. ii. 1), who is said by the Chaldee paraph. (*ad loc.*), to have been an in-keeper,\* but if there were such persons, considering what we know of Canaanitish morals (Lev. xviii. 27), we may conclude that they would, if women, have been of this class. The law forbids (xix. 29) the father's compelling his daughter to sin, but does not mention it as a voluntary mode of life on her part without his complicity. It could indeed hardly be so. The isolated act which is the subject of Deut. xxii. 28, 29, is not to the purpose. Male relatives<sup>b</sup> were probably allowed a practically unlimited discretion in punishing family dishonour incurred by their women's unchastity (Gen. xxxviii. 24). The provision of Lev. xxi. 9, regarding the priest's daughter, may have arisen from the fact of his home being less guarded owing to his absence when ministering, as well as from the scandal to sanctity so involved. Perhaps such abominations might, if not thus severely marked, lead the way to the excesses of Gentile ritualistic fornication, to which indeed, when so near the sanctuary, they might be viewed as approximating (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 268). Yet it seems to be assumed that the harlot class would exist, and the prohibition of Deut. xxiii. 18, forbidding offerings from the wages of such sin, is perhaps due to the contagion of heathen example, in whose worship practices abounded which the Israelites were taught to abhor. The term קַדְשָׁה (meaning properly "consecrated") points to one description of persons, and that נִכְרִיָּה ("strange woman") to another, of whom this class mostly consisted. The first term refers to the impure worship of the Syrian<sup>c</sup> Astarte (Num. xxv. 1; comp. Herod. i. 199; Justin, xviii. 5; Strabo viii. 378, xii. 559; Val. Max. ii. 6, 15; August. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 4), whose votaries, as idolatry progressed, would be recruited from the daughters of Israel; hence the common mention of both these sins in the Prophets, the one indeed being a metaphor of the other (Is. i. 21, lvii. 8; Jer. ii. 20; comp. Ez. xxxiv. 15, 16; Jer. iii. 1, 2, 6; Ez. xvi. xxiii.; Hos. i. 2, ii. 4, 5, iv. 11, 13, 14, 15, v. 3). The latter class would grow up with the growth of great cities and of foreign intercourse, and hardly could enter into the view of the Mosaic institutes. As regards the fashions involved in the practice, similar outward marks seem to have attended its earliest forms to those which we trace in the classical writers, e. g. a distinctive dress and a sent by the way side (Gen. xxxviii. 14; comp. Ez. xvi. 16, 25; Bar. vi. 43;<sup>d</sup> Petron. *Arb. Sat.* xvi.; Juv. vi. 118 foll.; Doughty, *Analect. Sacr. Exc.* xxiv.). Public singing in the streets occurs also (Is. xxiii. 16; Eccles. ix. 4). Those who thus published their infamy were of the worst repute, others had houses of resort, and both classes seem to have been known among the Jews (Prov. vii. 12, xxiii. 28; Eccles. ix. 7, 8); the two women, 1 K. iii. 16, lived as Greek hetærae sometimes did in a house together (*Diet. Gr. and Rom. Ant. s. v. HETÆRA*). The baneful fascination ascribed to them in Prov. vii. 21-23, may be compared with

\* Deyling, *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 470, פְּנִיקִיָּתָא, i. e. pandeurepsia.

<sup>b</sup> Philo (*lib. de spec. legib.* 6, 7) contends that whoredom was punished under the Mosaic law with stoning; but this is by Selden (*de Uz. Heb.* iii. 18) shown to be unfounded.

<sup>c</sup> So at Corinth were 1000 ἱεροδοῦλῶν dedicated to

Aphrodite and the gross sins of her worship, and similarly at Comana, in Armenia (Strabo, li. c.).

<sup>d</sup> Ἀδραὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς ῥαβδούρους ἐναπαύσονται (Theophr. *Char.* xxxi.). So Catullus (Carm. xxxvii. 16) speaks conversely of *semitarios merchæ*.

what Chardin says of similar effects among the young nobility of Persia (*Voyages en Perse*, i. 163, ed. 1711), as also may Luke xv. 30, for the sums lavished on them (ib. 162). In earlier times the price of a kid is mentioned (Gen. xxxviii.), and great wealth doubtless sometimes accrued to them (Ex. xvi. 33, 39, xxiii. 26). But lust, as distinct from gain, appears as the inducement, in Prov. vii. 14, 15 (see Douglai Anal. Sac. ad loc.), where the victim is further allured by a promised sacrificial banquet (comp. Ter. Eun. iii. 3). The "harlots" are classed with "publicans," as those who lay under the ban of society in the N. T. (Matt. xxi. 32). No doubt they multiplied with the increase of polygamy, and consequently lowered the estimate of marriage. The corrupt practices imported by Gentile converts into the Church occasion most of the other passages in which allusions to the subject there occur, 1 Cor. v. 1, 9, 11; 2 Cor. xii. 21; 1 Thess. iv. 3; 1 Tim. i. 10. The decree, Acts xv. 29, has occasioned doubts as to the meaning of *πορνεία* there, chiefly from its context, which may be seen discussed at length in Deyling's *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 470, foll.; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 468; Spencer and Hammond, *ad loc.* The simplest sense however seems the most probable. The children of such persons were held in contempt, and could not exercise privileges nor inherit (John viii. 41; Deut. xxiii. 2; Judg. xi. 1, 2). On the general subject Michaelis' *Laws of Moses*, bk. v. Art. 268; Selden, *de Utr. Heb.* i. 16, iii. 12, and *de Jur. Natur.* v. 4, together with Schoettgen, and the authorities there quoted, may be consulted. [H. H.]

The words *וַיִּשְׁבַּח אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים*, A. V. "and they washed his armour" (1 K. xii. 38) should be "and the harlots washed," which is not only the natural rendering, but in accordance with the LXX. and Josephus.

**HARNEPHER** (הַרְנֶפֶר; Ἀρναφῆρ; *Harnapher*), one of the sons of Zophai, of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 36).

**HA'ROD, THE WELL OF** (acc. "the spring of 'harod," עֵין הָרֹד; Ἀρῶδ, Alex. ἡρῶδ; ἡρῶδ; *fons qui vocatur Harad*), a spring by (עַל) which Gideon and his great army encamped on the morning of the day which ended in the rout of the Midianites (Judg. vii. 1), and where the trial of the people by their mode of drinking apparently took place. The word, slightly altered, recurs in the proclamation to the host—"Who-soever is fearful and trembling (חָרָד, *chared*) let him return" (ver. 3); but it is impossible to decide whether the name Charod was, as Prof. Stanley proposes, bestowed on account of the trembling, or whether the mention of the trembling was suggested by the previously existing name of the fountain: either would suit the paronomastic vein in which these ancient records so delight. The word *chared* (A. V. "was afraid") recurs in the description of another event which took place in this neighbourhood, possibly at this very spot—Saul's last encounter with the Philistines—when he "was afraid, and his heart trembled greatly," at the sight of their fierce hosts (1 Sam. xviii. 5). The *Ain Jalud*, with which Prof. Stanley would identify Harod (*S. & P.*), is very suitable to the circumstances, as being at present the largest spring in the neighbourhood, and as forming a pool of considerable size, at which great numbers might drink (Rob. ii. 323). But if at that time so

copious, would it not have been seized by the Midianites before Gideon's arrival? However, if the *Ain Jalud* be not this spring, we are very much in the dark, since the "hill of Moreh," the only landmark afforded us (vii. 1), has not been recognised. The only hill of Moreh of which we have any certain knowledge was by Shechem, 25 miles to the south. If *Ain Jalud* be Harod, then *Jebel Duhy* must be Moreh.

It is quite possible that the name *Jalud* is a corruption of Harod. In that case it is a good example of the manner in which local names acquire a new meaning in passing from one language to another. Harod itself probably underwent a similar process after the arrival of the Hebrews in Canaan, and the paronomastic turn given to Gideon's speech, as above, may be an indication of the change. [G.]

**HA'RODITE, THE** (הַרְדִּי; δ' Ἀρῶδιος, Alex. Ἀρῶδιος; *de Harodi*), the designation of two of the thirty-seven warriors of David's guard, SHAMMAH and ELIKA (2 Sam. xxiii. 25), doubtless derived from a place named Harod, either that just spoken of or some other. In the parallel passage of Chronicles by a change of letter the name appears as HARORITE.

**HA'RO'EH** (הָרֹאֵה, i. e. ha-loeh = "the seer;" Ἀραδ, a name occurring in the genealogical lists of Judah as one of the sons of "Shobal, father of Kijath-jearim" (1 Chr. ii. 52). The Vulg. translates this and the following words, *qui videbat dimidium requietum*. A somewhat similar name—HEAIAH—is given in iv. 2 as the son of Shobal, but there is nothing to establish the identity of the two.

**HAR'ORITE, THE** (הַרְוִרִי; δ' Ἀρῶρι, Alex. Ἀρῶρι; *Arorites*), the title given to SHAMMOTH, one of the warriors of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 27). We have here an example of the minute discrepancies which exist between these two parallel lists. In this case it appears to have arisen from an exchange of ר, D, for ר, R, and that at a very early date, since the LXX. is in agreement with the present Hebrew text. But there are other differences, for which see SHAMMAH.

**HARO'SHETH** (חַרְשֶׁת, *Charosheth*, Ἀρισῶθ; *Haroseth*), or rather "Haroseth of the Gentiles," as it was called (probably for the same reason that Galilee was afterwards), from the mixed races that inhabited it, a city in the north of the land of Canaan, supposed to have stood on the west coast of the lake Merom (*el-Hideh*), from which the Jordan issues forth in one unbroken stream, and in the portion of the tribe of Naphtali. It was the residence of Sisera, captain of Jabin, king of Canaan (Judg. iv. 2), whose capital, Hazor, one of the fenced cities assigned to the children of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36), lay to the north-west of it; and it was the point to which the victorious Israelites under Barak pursued the discomfited host and chariots of the second potentate of that name (Judg. iv. 16). Probably from intermarriage with the conquered Canaanites, the name of Sisera became afterwards a family name (Ezr. ii. 53). Neither is it irrelevant to allude to this coincidence in connexion with the moral effects of this decisive victory; for Hazor, once "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. xi. 6, 10), had been taken and burnt by Joshua; its king, Jabin I., put to the sword; and the whole confederation of the Canaanites of the north broken and slaughtered in the celebrated battle of the waters of

Merom (Josh. xi. 5-14)—the first time that "chariots and horses" appear in array against the invading host, and are so summarily disposed of, according to Divine command, under Joshua; but which subsequently the children of Joseph feared to face in the valley of Jezreel (Josh. xvii. 16-18); and which Judah actually failed before in the Philistine plain (Judg. i. 19). Herein was the great difficulty of subduing plains, similar to that of the Jordan, beside which Harosheth stood. It was not till the Israelites had asked for and obtained a king, that they began "to multiply chariots and horses" to themselves, contrary to the express words of the law (Dent. xvii. 16), as it were to fight the enemy with his own weapons. (The first instance occurs 2 Sam. viii. 4, comp. 1 Chr. xviii. 4; next in the histories of Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 1, and of Adonijah, 1 K. i. 5; while the climax was reached under Solomon, 1 K. iv. 26.) And then it was that their decadence set in! They were strong in faith, when they hamstrung the horses, and burned the chariots with fire, of the kings of Hazor, of Madon, of Shimon, and of Achshaph (Josh. xi. 1). And yet so rapidly did they decline when their illustrious leader was no more, that the city of Hazor had risen from its ruins; and in contrast to the kings of Mesopotamia and of Moab (Judg. iii.), who were both of them foreign potentates, another Jabin, the territory of whose ancestors had been assigned to the tribe of Naphtali, claimed the distinction of being the first to revolt against and shake off the dominion of Israel in his newly acquired inheritance. But the victory won by Deborah and Barak was well worthy of the song of triumph which it inspired (Judg. v.), and of the proverbial celebrity which ever afterwards attached to it (Ps. lxxiii. 9-10). The whole territory was gradually won back, to be held permanently, as it would seem (Judg. iv. 24); at all events we hear nothing more of Hazor, Harosheth, or the Canaanites of the north, in the succeeding wars.

The site of Harosheth does not appear to have been identified by any modern traveller. [E. S. Ff.]

**HARP** (כִּנּוֹר; *Kinnor*), in Greek *κινύρα*, or *Kynra*, from the Hebrew word, the sound of which corresponds with the thing signified, like the German *Knarren*, "to produce a shrill tone" (Liddell and Scott). Gesenius inclines to the opinion that כִּנּוֹר is derived from כָּנַן, "an unused onomatopoeic root which means to give forth a tremulous and stridulous sound, like that of a string when touched". The *kinnor* was the national instrument of the Hebrews, and was well known throughout Asia. There can be little doubt that it was the earliest instrument with which man was acquainted, as the writer of the Pentateuch assigns its invention, together with that of the זָבֵב, *Ugab*, incorrectly translated "organ" in the A. V., to the antediluvian period (Gen. iv. 21). Dr. Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Com. on the Old Test.*) considers *Kinnor* to stand for the whole class of stringed instruments (*Nagmoth*), as *Ugab*, says he, "is the type of all wind instruments." Writers who connect the *κινύρα* with *κινυρός* (wailing), *κινύραμος* (I lament), conjecture that this instrument was only employed by the Greeks on occasions of sorrow and distress. If this were the case with the Greeks it was far different with the Hebrews, amongst whom the *kinnor* served as an accompaniment to songs of cheerfulness and mirth as well as of praise and thanksgiving to the Supreme Being (Gen. xxxi. 27;

1 Sam. xvi. 23; 2 Chr. xx. 28; Ps. xxxiii. 2), and was very rarely used, if ever, in times of private or national affliction. The Jewish bard finds no employment for the *kinnor* during the Babylonian captivity, but describes it as put aside or suspended on the willows (Ps. cxxxvii. 2); and in like manner Job's harp "is changed into mourning" (xxx. 31) whilst the hand of grief pressed heavily upon him. The passage "my bowels shall sound like a harp for Moab" (Is. xvi. 11) has impressed some biblical critics with the idea that the *kinnor* had a lugubrious sound; but this is an error, since כִּנּוֹר יְהוָה refers to the vibration of the chords and not to the sound of the instrument (Gesen. and Hitzig, in *Comment.*).

Touching the shape of the *kinnor* a great difference of opinion prevails. The author of *Shilte Haggibborim* describes it as resembling the modern harp; Pfeiffer gives it the form of a guitar; and St. Jerome declares it to have resembled in shape the Greek letter delta; and this last view is supported by Hieronymus, quoted by Joel Brill in the preface to *Mendelssohn's Psalms*. Josephus records (*Antiq.* vii. 12, §3) that the *kinnor* had ten strings, and that it was played on with the plectrum; others assign to it twenty-four, and in the *Shilte Haggibborim* it is said to have had forty-seven. Josephus's statement, however, ought not to be received as conclusive, as it is in open contradiction to what is set forth in the 1st book of Samuel (xvi. 23, xviii. 10), that David played on the *kinnor* with his *hand*. As it is reasonable to suppose that there was a smaller and a larger *kinnor*, inasmuch as it was sometimes played by the Israelites whilst walking (1 Sam. x. 5), the opinion of Munk—"ou jouait peut-être des deux manières, suivant les dimensions de l'instrument"—is well entitled to consideration. The Talmud (*Mass. Béa'hoth*) has preserved a curious tradition to the effect that over the bed of David, facing the north, a *kinnor* was suspended, and that when at midnight the north wind touched the chords they vibrated, and produced musical sounds.

The כִּנּוֹר עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית—"harp on the Sheminith" (1 Chr. xv. 21)—was so called from its eight strings. Many learned writers, including the author of *Shilte Haggibborim*, identify the word "Sheminith" with the octave; but it would indeed be rash to conclude that the ancient Hebrews understood the octave in the sense in which it is employed in modern times. [SHEMINITH.] The skill of the Jews on the *kinnor* appears to have reached its highest point of perfection in the age of David, the effect of whose performances, as well as of those by the members of the "Schools of the Prophets," are described as truly marvellous (comp. 1 Sam. x. 5; xvi. 23, and xix. 20). [D. W. M.]

**HARROW.** The word so rendered 2 Sam. xii. 31, 1 Chr. xx. 3 (חֲרָרָה), is probably a threshing-machine, the verb rendered "to harrow" (חָרַר), Is. xxviii. 24; Job xxxix. 10; Hos. x. 11, expresses apparently the breaking of the clods, and is so far analogous to our harrowing, but whether done by any such machine as we call "a harrow," is very doubtful. In modern Palestine, oxen are sometimes turned in to trample the clods, and in some parts of Asia a bush of thorns is dragged over the surface, but all these processes, if used, occur (not after, but) before the seed is committed to the soil. [See AGRICULTURE.] [H. H.]

**HAR'SHA** (חַרְשָׁא; 'Apoś; *Harsa*). Bene-Charsha were among the families of Nethinim who came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 53; Neh. vii. 54). In the parallel list in Esdras the name is CHAREA.

**HART** (חַרְת; *ḥartos; cervus*). The hart is reckoned among the clean animals (Deut. xii. 15, xiv. 5, xv. 22), and seems, from the passages quoted as well as from 1 K. iv. 23, to have been commonly killed for food. Its activity furnishes an apt comparison in Is. xxxv. 6, though in this respect the hind was more commonly selected by the sacred writers. In Ps. xlii. 1 the feminine termination of the verb renders an emendation necessary: we must therefore substitute the hind; and again in Lam. i. 6 the true reading is חַרְלִים; "rams" (as given in the LXX. and Vulg.). The proper name Ajalon is derived from *ayyal*, and implies that harts were numerous in the neighbourhood. [W. L. B.]

**HA'RUM** (חַרְמ; *ḥarim; Alex. Ἰαρίμ; Arum*). A name occurring in one of the most obscure portions of the genealogies of Judah, in which Coz is said to have begotten "the families of Aharhel son of Harum" (1 Chr. iv. 8).

**HARU'MAPH** (חַרְוּמָפָה; *Ḥarūmāph; Haromaph*), father or ancestor of Jediah, who assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

**HARUPHITE**, THE (חַרְוּפִית; *Ḥaruphit; δ Χαρυφίτης, Alex. Ἀρουφί*): the designation of Shephatiah, one of the Korhites who repaired to David at Ziklag when he was in distress (1 Chr. xii. 5). The Masorets read the word Hariphite, and point it accordingly, חַרְיִפִּי.

**HAR'UZ** (חַרְוִי; *Ḥarūz; Harus*), a man of Jotbah, father of Meshullemeth, queen of Manasseh, and mother of AMON king of Judah (2 K. xxi. 19).

**HARVEST**. [AGRICULTURE.]

**HASADIAH** (חַסְדִּיָּה; *Ḥasāḏia; Hasadiah*), one of a group of five persons among the descendants of the royal line of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 20), apparently sons of Zerubbabel, the leader of the return from Babylon. It has been conjectured that this latter half of the family was born after the restoration, since some of the names, and amongst them this one—"beloved of Jehovah"—appear to embody the hopeful feeling of that time.

**HASENU'AH** (חַסְנִיָּה; *f. e. has-Senuah; Ἰασουῶς, Alex. Ἀσανῶς; Asana*), a Benjamite, of one of the chief families in the tribe (1 Chr. ix. 7). The name is really Senuah, with the definite article prefixed.

**HASHABIAH** (חַשְׁבִּיָּה; and with final *ā*, חַשְׁבִּיָּה; *Ḥasabias, Ḥasbia; Hasabias, Hasobia*), a name signifying "regarded of Jehovah," much in request among the Levites, especially at the date of the return from Babylon.

1. A Merarite Levite, son of Amaziah, in the line of Ethan the singer (1 Chr. vi. 45; heb. 30).

2. Another Merarite Levite (1 Chr. ix. 14).

3. CHASHABIAHU: another Levite, the fourth of the six sons of Jeduthun (the sixth is omitted here, but is supplied in ver. 17), who played the harp in the service of the house of God under

David's order (1 Chr. xxv. 3), and had charge of the twelfth course (19).

4. CHASHABIAHU: one of the Hebronites, *i. e.* descendants of Hebron the son of Kohath, one of the chief families of the Levites (1 Chr. xxvi. 30). He and the 1700 men of his kindred had superintendence for King David over business both sacred and secular on the west\* of Jordan. Possibly this is the same person as

5. The son of Kemuel, who was "prince" (שַׂר) of the tribe of Levi in the time of David. (1 Chr. xxvii. 17).

6. CHASHABIAHU: another Levite, one of the "chiefs" (שָׂרֵי) of his tribe, who officiated, for King Josiah at his great passover-feast (2 Chr. xxxv. 9). In the parallel account of 1 Esdras the name appears as ASSARIAS.

7. A Merarite Levite who accompanied Ezra from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 19). In 1 Esdras the name is ASEMLA.

8. One of the chiefs of the priests (and therefore of the family of Kohath) who formed part of the same caravan (Ezr. viii. 24). In 1 Esdras the name is ASSANIAS.

9. "Ruler" (שַׂר) of half the circuit or environs (חֵצְיֹנָה) of Keilah; he repaired a portion of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 17).

10. One of the Levites who sealed the covenant of reformation after the return from the captivity (Neh. x. 11). Probably this is the person named as one of the "chiefs" (שָׂרֵי) of the Levites in the times immediately subsequent to the return from Babylon (xii. 24; comp. 26).

11. Another Levite, son of Bunni (Neh. xi. 15). Notwithstanding the remarkable correspondence between the lists in this chapter and those in 1 Chr. ix.—and in none more than in this verse compared with 1 Chr. ix. 14—it does not appear that they can be identical, inasmuch as this relates to the times after the captivity, while that in Chronicles refers to the original establishment of the ark at Jerusalem by David, and of the tabernacle (comp. 19, 21, and the mention of Gibeon, where the tabernacle was at this time, in ver. 35). But see NEHEMIAH.

12. Another Levite in the same list of attendants on the Temple; son of Mattaniah (Neh. xi. 22).

13. A priest of the family of Hilkiah in the days of Joiakim son of Jeshua, that is in the generation after the return from the captivity (Neh. xii. 21; comp. 1, 10, 26).

**HASHAB'NAH** (חַשְׁבִּנָּה; *Ḥasabnā; Hasobna*), one of the chief ("heads") of the "people" (*i. e.* the laymen) who sealed the covenant at the same time with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 25).

**HASHABNIAH** (חַשְׁבִּנְיָה; *Ḥasabnā, Alex. Ἀσβαρία; Hasobnia, Hasobnia*). 1. Father of Hattush, who repaired part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

2. A Levite who was among those who officiated at the great fast under Ezra and Nehemiah when the covenant was sealed (Neh. ix. 5). This and several other names are omitted in both MSS. of the LXX.

\* This is one of the instances in which the word *ebor* (beyond) is used for the west side of Jordan. To

remove the anomaly, our translators have rendered it "on this side."

**HASHBADA'NA** (הַשְּׁבַדָּנָה; 'Asaḅadud; *Hasbadana*), one of the men (probably Levites) who stood on Ezra's left hand while he read the law to the people in Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 4).

**HA'SHEM** (הַשֵּׁם; 'Asdu; *Asom*). The sons of Hashem the Gizonite are named amongst the members of David's guard in the catalogue of 1 Chr. (xi. 34.) In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. we find "of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan." After a lengthened examination, Kennicott decides that the text of both passages originally stood "of the sons of Hashem, Guni" (*Dissertation*, 198-203).

**HASHMAN'NIM** (הַשְּׁמַנִּים; ἡσμανῖν; *lo-gati*). This word occurs only in the Hebrew of Ps. lxxviii. 31: "Hashmannim (A. V. "princes") shall come out of Egypt, Cush shall make her hands to hasten to God." In order to render this word "princes," or the like, modern Hebraists have had recourse to extremely improbable derivations from the Arabic. The old derivation from the civil name of Hermopolis Magna in the Heptanomis, pre-

served in the modern Arabic **اشمونين**, "the two Ashmoons," seems to us more reasonable. The ancient Egyptian name is Ha-shmen, or Ha-shmoon, the abode of eight; the sound of the signs for eight, however, we take alone from the Coptic, and Brugsch reads them Sesennu (*Geog. Inschr.* i. pp. 219, 220), but not, as we think, on conclusive grounds. The Coptic form is **ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲓ**, "the two Shmoons," like the Arabic. If we suppose that Hashmannim is a proper name and signifies Hermopolites, the mention might be explained by the circumstance that Hermopolis Magna was the great city of the Egyptian Heimes, Thoth, the god of wisdom; and the meaning might therefore be that even the wisest Egyptians should come to the temple, as well as the distant Cushites. [R. S. P.]

**HASHMO'NAH** (הַשְּׁמוֹנָה; ἡσμωνά; Alex. *Asamona*; *Hesmona*), a station of the Israelites, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 29, as next before Moseroth, which, from xx. 28 and Deut. x. 6, was near Mt. Horeb; this tends to indicate the locality of Hashmonah. [H. H.]

**HA'SHUB** (הַשְּׁחָב; i. e. Chasshub; 'Asoub; *Asub*). The reduplication of the Sh has been overlooked in the A. V., and the name is identical with that elsewhere correctly given as **HASSHUB**.

1. A son of Pahath-Moab who assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 11).

2. Another man who assisted in the same work, but at another part of the wall (Neh. iii. 23).

3. The name is mentioned again among the heads of the "people" (that is the laymen) who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 23). It may belong to either of the foregoing.

4. A Merarite Levite (Neh. xi. 15). In 1 Chr. ix. 14, he appears again as **HASSHUB**.

**HASHUBAH** (הַשְּׁחָבָה; 'Asoubé, Alex. *Asé-bá*; *Husaba*), the first of a group of five men, apparently the latter half of the family of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 20). For a suggestion concerning these persons, see **HASADIAH**.

**HA'SHUM** (הַשֻּׁם; 'Asóu, 'Hódu; *Asem*).

1. Bene-Chashum, two hundred and twenty-three in number, came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 19; Neh. vii. 22). Seven men of

them had married foreign wives from whom they had to separate (Ezr. x. 33). The chief man of the family was among those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 18).

2. ('Asóu; *Asum*). The name occurs amongst the priests or Levites who stood on Ezra's left hand while he read the law to the congregation (Neh. viii. 4). In 1 Esdr. ix. 44 the name is given corruptly as **LOTHASUBUS**.

**HASHUPHA** (הַשְּׁפָה; 'Asáf, one of the families of Nethinim who returned from captivity in the first caravan (Neh. vii. 46). The name is accurately **HASUPHA**, as in Ezr. ii. 43. [**ASIPHA**.]

**HAS'RAH** (הַסְּרָה; 'Apds, Alex. *'Essephs*; *Hasra*), the form in which the name **HARHAS** is given in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22 (comp. 2 K. xxii. 14).

**HASENA'AH** (הַסְּנָאָה; 'Asand; *Asnaa*). The Bene-has-sannah rebuilt the fish-gate in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 3). The name is doubtless that of the place mentioned in Ezr. ii. 35, and Neh. vii. 38—**SENAATH**, with the addition of the definite article, perhaps it has some connexion with the rock or cliff **SENEH** (1 Sam. xiv. 4).

**HASSH'UB** (הַשְּׁחָב; 'Asáf; *Assub*), a Merarite Levite (1 Chr. ix. 14). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 15, in what may be a repetition of the same genealogy; but here the A. V. have given the name as **HASHUB**.

**HASU'PHA** (הַשְּׁפָה; 'Assoufá; *Hassupha*). Bene-Chasupha were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 43). In Nehemiah the name is inaccurately given in the A. V. **HASHUPHA**; in Esdras it is **ASIPHA**.

**HA'TACH** (הַתָּךְ; Ἀχραθαῖος, Alex. *'Achra-thés*; *Athach*), one of the eunuchs (A. V. "chamberlains") in the court of Ahasuerus, in immediate attendance on Esther (Esth. iv. 5, 6, 9, 10). The LXX. alters ver. 5 to **τὸν εὐνοῦχον αὐτῆς**.

**HA'THATHI** (הַתָּתִי; Ἀθῆθ; *Hathath*), a man in the genealogy of Judah; one of the sons of Othniel the Kenazite, the well-known judge of Israel (1 Chr. iv. 13).

**HAT'IPHA** (הַתִּפָּה; Ἀτουφά, *'Atíphá*; *Hatípha*). Bene-Chatípha were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 54; Neh. vii. 56). [**ATIPHA**.]

**HAT'ITA** (הַתִּטָּה; Ἀτιτῶ, *'Hatítá*; *Hatítá*). Bene-Chatita were among the "porters" or "children of the porters" (הַשְּׁעָרִים, i. e. the gate-keepers), a division of the Levites who returned from the captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45). In Esdras the name is abbreviated to **TETA**.

**HAT'TIL** (הַתִּיל; Ἀτίλ, Ἐττίλ, Alex. *'Atíla*; *Ilutí*). Bene-Chattil were among the "children of Solomon's slaves" who came back from captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59). [**HAGIA**.]

**HATTUSH** (הַתּוּשׁ; Καττούς, Ἀττούς; *Hattús*). 1. A descendant of the kings of Judah, apparently one of the "sons of Shechaniah" (1 Chr. iii. 22), in the fourth or fifth generation from Zerubbabel. A person of the same name, expressly specified as one of the "sons of David of the sons of Shechaniah," accompanied Ezra on his journey

from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 2), whither Zerubbabel himself had also come only seventy or eighty years before (Ezr. ii. 1, 2). Indeed in another statement Hattush is said to have actually returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 2). At any rate he took part in the sealing of the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4). To obviate the discrepancy between these last-mentioned statements and the interval between Hattush and Zerubbabel in 1 Chr. iii., Lord A. Hevey proposes to read the genealogy in that chapter as if he were the nephew of Zerubbabel, Shemaiah in ver. 22 being taken as identical with Shimei in ver. 19. For these proposals the reader is referred to Lord H.'s *Genealogies*, 103, 307, 322, &c. [LETTEN; SHECHANIAH.]

2. (Αἰτωλὸς) Son of Hashabniah; one of those who assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

HAURAN (Ἡὺρᾶν; Αὐραῖνις; *Auran*; Arab.

حوران), a province of Palestine twice mentioned by Ezekiel in defining the north-eastern border of the Promised Land (xlvii. 16, 18). Had we no other data for determining its situation we should conclude from his words that it lay north of Damascus. There can be little doubt, however, that it is identical with the well-known Greek province of *Auranitis*, and the modern *Haurān*. The name is probably derived from the word ἦρ, *Hur*, "a hole or cave;" the region still abounds in caves which the old inhabitants excavated partly to serve as cisterns for the collection of water, and partly for granaries in which to secure their grain from plunderers. Josephus frequently mentions *Auranitis* in connexion with Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Gaulanitis, which with it constituted the ancient kingdom of Bashan (*B. J.* i. 20, §4; ii. 17, §4). It formed part of that *Τραχυνητιδος χώρα* referred to by Luke (iii. 1) as subject to Philip the tetrarch (comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 11, §4). It is bounded on the west by Gaulanitis, on the north by the wild and rocky district of Trachonitis, on the east by the mountainous region of Batanaea, and on the south by the great plain of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 21). The surface is perfectly flat and the soil is among the richest in Syria. Not a stone is to be seen save on the few low volcanic *tells* that rise up here and there, like islands in a sea. It contains upwards of a hundred towns and villages, most of them now deserted, though not ruined. The buildings in many of these are remarkable, the walls are of great thickness, and the roofs and doors are of stone, evidently of remote antiquity (see Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, vol. ii.). Some Arab geographers have described the *Haurān* as much more extensive than here stated (Bohæd. *Vit. Sal.* ed. Schult. p. 70; Abulfed. *Tab. Syr.* s. v.); and at the present day the name is applied by those at a distance to the whole country east of *Jaulān*; but the inhabitants themselves define it as above. [J. L. P.]

HAYILAH (Ἡὺλᾶ; Εὐδα, Εδεῖλδ: *Hayila*). 1. A son of Cush (Gen. x. 7); and 2. a son of Joktan (x. 29). Various theories have been advanced respecting these obscure peoples. It appears to be most probable that both stocks settled in the same country, and there intermarried; thus receiving one name, and forming one race, with a common descent. It is immaterial to the argument to decide whether in such instances the settlements were contemporaneous, or whether new immigrants took the

name of the older settlers. In the case of Havilah, it seems that the Cushite people of this name formed the westernmost colony of Cush along the south of Arabia, and that the Joktanites were an earlier colonization. It is commonly thought that the district

of Khāwīlān (خَوْلَان), in the Yemen, preserves the trace of this ancient people; and the similarity of name (خ being interchangeable with Π, and the termination being redundant), and the group of Joktanite names in the Yemen, render the identification probable. Niebuhr states that there are two Khāwīlāns (*Descr.* 270, 280), and thus has hence been argued by some that we have thus the Cushite and the Joktanite Havilah. The second *Khāwīlān*, however, is a town, and not a large and well-known district like the first, or more northern one; and the hypothesis based on Niebuhr's assertion is unnecessary, if the theory of a double settlement be adopted. There is also another town in the

Yemen called *Hāwīlān* (حوالان).

The district of Khāwīlān lies between the city of San'a and the Hijaḡ, i. e. in the north-western portion of the Yemen. It took its name, according to the Arabs, from Khāwīlān, a descendant of Kahtān [JOKTAN] (*Murāsīl*, s. v.), or, as some say, of Kahlān, brother of Himyer (Causin, *Essai*, i. 113, and tab. ii.). This genealogy says little more than that the name was Joktanite; and the difference between Kahtān and Kahlān may be neglected, both being descendants of the first Joktanite settler, and the whole of these early traditions pointing to a Joktanite settlement, without perhaps a distinct preservation of Joktan's name, and certainly none of a correct genealogy from him downwards.

Khāwīlān is a fertile territory, embracing a large part of myrriferous Arabia; mountainous; with plenty of water; and supporting a large population. It is a tract of Arabia better known to both ancients and moderns than the rest of the Yemen, and the eastern and central provinces. It adjoins Nejdān (the district and town of that name), mentioned in the account of the expedition of Aelius Gallus, and the scene of great persecutions of the Christians by Dhu-Nuwās, the last of the Tubbaas before the Abyssinian conquest of Arabia, in the year 523 of our era (cf. Causin, *Essai*, i. 121, *seqq.*). For the Chaulaitae, see the *Dictionary of Geography*.

An argument against the identity of Khāwīlān and Havilah has been found in the mentions of a Havilah on the border of the Ishmaelites, "as thou goest to Assyria" (Gen. xxv. 18), and also on that of the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 7). It is not however necessary that these passages should refer to 1 or 2; the place named may be a town or country called after them; or it may have some reference to the Havilah named in the description of the rivers of the garden of Eden; and the LXX. render it, following apparently the last supposition, Εὐδαῖν in both instances, according to their spelling of the Havilah of Gen. ii. 11.

Those who separate the Cushite and Joktanite Havilah either place them in Niebuhr's two Khāwīlāns (as already stated), or they place 2 on the north of the peninsula, following the supposed argument derived from Gen. xiv. 18, and 1 Sam. xv. 7, and finding the name in that of the *Χαυλοταῖοι* (Era.

tooth. *ap.* Strabo, xvi. 767), between the Nabataei and the Agraeci, and in that of the town of **حوبلة** *Hubla* on the Persian Gulf (Niebuhr, *Descr.* 342). A Joktanite settlement so far north is however very improbable. They discover 1 in the Avalaitae on the African coast (Ptol. iv. 7; Arrian, *Periplus* 263, ed. Müller), the modern name of the shore of the Sinus Avalatis being, says Gesenius, Zeylah = Zawaylah = Havilah, and Saudiah having three times in Gen. written Zeylah for Havilah. But Gesenius seems to have overlooked the true orthography of the name of the modern country, which is not **زيلة**, but **زِيلَع**, with a final letter very rarely added to the Hebrew.

[E. S. P.]

**HAVILAH** (Gen. ii. 11). [EDEN, p. 484.]

**HAVOTH-JAIR** (חַיִּיִּתַיִם יָאִיר, *i. e.* Chavoth Jair; *ἐπαύλεις καὶ κώμαι Ἰαίρ, Θανώθ*; *vicus, Avoth Jair, vicus Jair*), certain villages on the east of Jordan, in Gilead or Bashan. The word Chavvah, which occurs in the Bible in this connexion only, is perhaps best explained by the similar term in modern Arabic, which denotes a small collection of huts or hovels in a country place (see the citations in Gesenius, *Thes.* 451; and Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §84).

(1.) The earliest notice of the Havoth-jair is in Num. xxxii. 41, in the account of the settlement of the Transjordanic country, where Jair, son of Manasseh, is stated to have taken some villages (A. V. "the small towns;") but there is no article in the Hebrew of Gilead—which was allotted to his tribe—and to have named them after himself, Havvoth-jair. (2.) In Deut. iii. 14 it is said that Jair "took all the tract of Argob, unto the boundary of the Geshurite and the Manacathite, and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair." Here the villages are referred to, but there must be a hiatus after the word "Manacathite," in which they were mentioned, or else there is nothing to justify the plural "them." (3.) In the records of Manasseh in Josh. xiii. 30, and 1 Chr. ii. 23 (A. V., in both "towns of Jair"), the Havvoth-jair are reckoned with other districts as making up sixty "cities" (עָרִי). In 1 K. iv. 13 they are named as part of the commissariat district of Ben-geber, next in order to the "sixty great cities" of Argob. There is apparently some confusion in these different statements as to what the sixty cities really consisted of, and if the interpretation of Chavvah given above be correct, the application of the word "city" to such transient erections is remarkable and puzzling. Perhaps the remoteness and inaccessibility of the Transjordanic district in which they lay may explain the one, and our ignorance of the real force of the Hebrew word *Ir*, rendered "city," the other. Or perhaps, though retaining their ancient name, they had changed their original condition, and had become more important, as has been the case in our own country with more than one place still designated as a "hamlet," though long since a populous town. (4.) No less doubtful is the number of the Havoth-jair. In 1 Chr. ii. 22 they are specified as twenty-three, but in Judg. x. 4, as thirty. In the latter passage, however, the allusion is to a second Jair, by whose thirty sons they were governed, and for whom the original number may have been increased. The word עָרִי, "cities," is perhaps employed here for the sake of

the play which it affords with **עֵרֶץ**, "ass-colts." [JAIR; BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR.] [G.]

**IIAWK** (יָיִן; *lépax*; *accipiter*). The Hebrew *netz* is expressive of strong and rapid flight, and is therefore highly appropriate to the hawk: the similarity of the Latin name *nisus* is worthy of notice. The hawk is noticed as an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15), and as "stretching her wings toward the south" (Job xxxix. 26)—an expression which has been variously understood as referring either to the migratory habits of the bird, one species alone being an exception to the general rule in this respect (Plin. x. 9); or to its moulting and seeking the warmth of the sun's rays in consequence (Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 9); or lastly to the opinion prevalent in ancient times that it was the only bird whose keen eye could bear the direct rays of the sun (Aelian, *H. A.* x. 14). The hawk, though not migratory in our country, is so in the south of Europe, and in parts of Asia. It was common in Syria and the surrounding countries. In Egypt one species was regarded as sacred, and frequently appears on the ancient monuments. [W. L. B.]

**HA'ZAEŁ** (חַזְאֵל, *Ḥazā'el*; *Haza'el*) was a king of Damascus, who reigned from about B.C. 886 to B.C. 840. He appears to have been previously a person in a high position at the court of Benhadad, and was sent by his master to Elisha, when that prophet visited Damascus, to inquire if he would recover from the malady under which he was suffering. Elisha's answer that Benhadad *would* recover, but *would* die, and his announcement to Hazael that he would one day be king of Syria, which seems to have been the fulfilment of the commission given to Elijah (1 K. xix. 15) to appoint Hazael king—led to the murder of Benhadad by his ambitious servant, who forthwith mounted the throne (2 K. viii. 7-15). He was soon engaged in hostilities with Ahaziah king of Judah, and Jehoram king of Israel, for the possession of the city of Ramoth-Gilead (*ibid.* viii. 28). The Assyrian inscriptions show that about this time a bloody and destructive war was being waged between the Assyrians on the one side, and the Syrians, Hittites, Hamathites, and Phoenicians on the other. [See DAMASCUS.] Benhadad had recently suffered several severe defeats at the hands of the Assyrian king; and upon the accession of Hazael the war was speedily renewed. Hazael took up a position in the fastnesses of the Anti-Libanus, but was there attacked by the Assyrians, who defeated him with great loss, killing 16,000 of his warriors, and capturing more than 1100 chariots. Three years later the Assyrians once more entered Syria in force; but on this occasion Hazael submitted and helped to furnish the invaders with supplies. After this, internal troubles appear to have occupied the attention of the Assyrians, who made no more expeditions into these parts for about a century. The Syrians rapidly recovered their losses; and towards the close of the reign of Jehu, Hazael led them against the Israelites (about B.C. 860), whom he "smote in all their coasts" (2 K. x. 32), thus accomplishing the prophecy of Elisha (*ibid.* viii. 12). His main attack fell upon the eastern provinces, where he ravaged "all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan" (*ibid.* x. 33). After this he seems to have held the kingdom of Israel in a

species of subjection (ibid. xiii. 3-7, and 22); and towards the close of his life he even threatened the kingdom of Judah. Having taken Gath (ibid. xii. 17; comp. Am. vi. 2), he proceeded to attack Jerusalem, defeated the Jews in an engagement (2 Chr. xxiv. 24), and was about to assault the city, when Joash induced him to retire by presenting him with "all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and in the king's house" (2 K. xii. 18). Hazael appears to have died about the year B.C. 840 (ibid. xiii. 24), having reigned 46 years. He left his crown to his son Benhadad (ibid.). [G. R.]

**HAZAI'AH** (הַזַּיְאִי; Ὁζαία; *Hazia*), a man of Judah of the family of the Shilonites (A. V. "Shiloni"), or descendants of SHELAIH (Neh. xi. 5).

**HA'ZAR-ADDAR**, &c. [HAZER.]

**HAZARMA'VETH** (הַזַּרְמַּוֶּת; *Ḥazarmāweth*; *Asarmoth*; "the court of death," Ges.), the third, in order, of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26). The name is preserved, almost literally, in the Arabic

*Ḥazramūt* (حَضْرَمَوْت) and *Ḥazramūt* (حَضْرَمَوْت).

(حَضْرَمَوْت), and the appellation of a province and an ancient people of Southern Arabia. This identification of the settlement of Hazarmaveth is accepted by Biblical scholars as not admitting of dispute. It rests not only on the occurrence of the name, but is supported by the proved fact that Joktan settled in the Yemen, along the south coast of Arabia, by the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of this region, and by the identification of the names of several others of the sons of Joktan. The province of Hadramāwt is situate east of the modern Yemen (anciently, as shown in ARABIA, the limits of the latter province embraced almost the whole of the south of the peninsula), extending to the districts of Shihr and Mahreh. Its capital is Shibām, a very ancient city, of which the native writers give curious accounts, and its chief ports are Mirbāt, Zafāri [SEPHAR], and Kisheem, from whence a great trade was carried on, in ancient times, with India and Africa. Hadramāwt itself is generally cultivated, in contrast to the contiguous sandy deserts (called El-Ahkāf, where lived the gigantic race of 'Ad), is partly mountainous, with watered valleys, and is still celebrated for its frankincense (El-Idreesi, ed. Jonard, i. p. 54; Niebuhr, *Descr.* 245), exporting also gum-arabic, myrrh, dragon's blood, and aloes, the latter, however, being chiefly from Socotra, which is under the rule of the sheykh of Kesheem (Niebuhr, *l. c. et seq.*). The early kings of Hadramāwt were Joktanites, distinct from the descendants of Yaarub, the progenitor of the Joktanite Arabs generally; and it is hence to be inferred that they were separately descended from Hazarmaveth. They maintained their independence against the powerful kings of Himyar, until the latter were subdued at the Abyssinian invasion ('bu-Khaldoon, *op. Causin, Essai*, i. 135, *seqq.*). The Greeks and Romans call the people of Hadramāwt, variously, Chatramotitae, Chatrammitae, &c.; and there is little doubt that they were the same as the Adramitae, &c. (the latter not applying to the descendants of HADORAM, as some have suggested); while the native appellation of an inhabitant, Hadramee, comes

very near Adramitae in sound. The modern people, although mixed with other races, are strongly characterized by fierce, fanatical, and restless dispositions. They are enterprising merchants, well known for their trading and travelling propensities. [E. S. P.]

**HAZEL** (הַזֵּל). The Hebrew term *lāz* occurs only in Gen. xxx. 37, where it is coupled with the "poplar" and "chestnut," as one of the trees from which Jacob cut the rods, which he afterwards peeled. Authorities are divided between the hazel and the almond-tree, as representing the *lāz*; in favour of the former we have Kimchi, Rashi, Luther, and others; while the Vulgate, Snodias, and Gesenius adopt the latter view. The rendering in the LXX., *κάρυον*, is equally applicable to either. We think the latter most probably correct, both because the Arabic word *lāz* is undoubtedly the "almond-tree," and because there is another word in the Hebrew language, *ayōz* (אֵיזָה), which is applicable to the hazel. The strongest argument on the other side arises from the circumstance of another word, *shālāl* (שָׁלָל), having reference to the almond; it is supposed, however, that the latter applies to the fruit exclusively, and the word under discussion to the tree: Rosenmüller identifies the *shaked* with the cultivated, and *lāz* with the wild almond-tree. For a description of the almond-tree, see the article on that subject. The Hebrew term appears as a proper name in Lūz, the old appellation of Bethel. [W. L. B.]

**HAZELEI'PO'NI** (הַזֵּלַיְפוֹנִי; Ἑσηλεββών, Alex. Ἑσηλλεφών; *Asalepionai*), the sister of the sons of Elam in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The name has the definite article prefixed, and is accurately "the Tzeleponite," as of a family rather than an individual.

**HA'ZER** (הַזֵּר, *i. e.* Chatzer, from חָצֵר, to surround or enclose), a word which is of not unfrequent occurrence in the Bible in the sense of a "court" or quadrangle to a palace\* or other building, but which topographically seems generally employed for the "villages" of people in a roving and unsettled life, the semi-permanent collections of dwellings which are described by travellers among the modern Arabs to consist of rough stone walls covered with the tent cloths, and thus holding a middle position between the tent of the wanderer — so transitory as to furnish an image of the sudden termination of life (Is. xxxviii. 12) — and the settled, permanent, town.

As a proper name it appears in the A. V. —

1. In the plural, **HAZERIM**, and **HAZEROTH**, for which see below.

2. In the slightly different form of **HAZOR**.

3. In composition with other words, giving a special designation to the particular "village" intended. When thus in union with another word the name is **Hazar** (Chatzar). The following are the places so named, and it should not be overlooked that they are all in the wilderness itself, or else quite on the confines of civilised country: —

1. **HAZAR-ADDAR** (הַזֵּר אֲדָר; *Ἐραυλὶς Ἀράδ*, *Σάραδα*, Alex. Ἀδδαρά; *Vulgi nomine Adar*, *Adar*), a place named as one of the landmarks on the southern boundary of the land promised to Israel, between Kadesh-barnea and Azmon (Num. xxiv. 4). In the specification of the south boundary of

\* In 2 K. xx. 4, the Masorets (*Keri*) have substituted הַזֵּר (A. V. "court") for the חָצֵר of the

original text. The same change should probably be made in Jer. xli. 7. [See ISHMAYL, 6.]



destroyed, and who were no doubt pursuing thus far exactly the same route as the Assyrians had done a thousand years before them. Here the explanation, "which is En-gedi," is added. The existence of the earlier appellation, after En-gedi had been so long in use, is a remarkable instance of the tenacity of these old Oriental names, of which more modern instances are frequent. See ACCHO, BETTUSIDA, &c.

Hazonon-tamar is interpreted in Hebrew to mean the "pruning or felling of the palm" (Gen. Thes. p. 512). Jerome (*Quæst. in Gen.*) renders it *urbis palmiarum*. This interpretation of the name is borne out by the ancient reputation of the palms of En-gedi (Ecclus. xxiv. 14, and the citations from Pliny, given under that name). The Samaritan Version has **פלג נדר** — the Valley of Cadi, possibly a corruption of En-gedi. The Targums have En-gedi.

Perhaps this was the "city of palm-trees" (*Ir hat-tamarim*) out of which the Kenites, the tribe of Moses' father-in-law, went up into the wilderness of Judah, after the conquest of the country (Judg. i. 16). If this were so, the allusion of Balaam to the Kenite (Num. xxiv. 21) is at once explained. Standing as he was on one of the lofty points of the highlands opposite Jericho, the western shore of the Dead Sea as far as Engedi would be before him, and the cliff, in the clefts of which the Kenites had fixed their secure "nest," would be a prominent object in the view. This has been already alluded to by Professor Stanley (*N. & P.* 225, n. 4.). [G.]

**HA'ZIEL** (חזיאל; 'Iezîl, Alex. 'Αζήλ; *Hosiel*), a Levite in the time of king David, of the family of Shimei or Shimi, the younger branch of the Gershonites (1 Chr. xliii. 9).

**HAZO** (חזו; 'Aazû, *Azun*), a son of Nahor, by Milcah his wife (Gen. xxii. 22): perhaps, says Gesenius, for **חזון**, "a vision." The name is unknown, and the settlements of the descendants of Hazo cannot be ascertained. The only clue is to be found in the identification of Chesil, and the other sons of Nahor; and hence he must, in all likelihood, be placed in Ur of the Chaldees, or the adjacent countries. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. pt. 2, 49) suggests Chazene by the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, or the Chazene in Assyria (Strabo, xvi. p. 736). [E. S. P.]

**HA'ZOR** (חצר; 'Asôr; *Asor*). 1. A fortified city, which on the occupation of the country was allotted to Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36). Its position was apparently between Ramah and Kedesh (ibid. xii. 19), on the high ground overlooking the Lake of Merom (*ὕπερκειρα τῆς Σαμωωνίτιδος λίμνης*, Joseph. *Ant.* v. 5, §1). There is no reason for supposing it a different place from that of which Jabin was king (Josh. xi. 1), both when Joshua gained his signal victory over the northern confederation, and when Deborah and Barak routed his general Sibera (Judg. iv. 2, 17; 1 Sam. xii. 9). It was the principal city of the whole of the North Palestine, "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. 10, and see Onomasticon, *Asor*). Like the other strong places of that part, it stood on an eminence (**חצר**, Josh. xi. 13, A. V. "strength"), but the district around must have been on the whole flat, and suitable for the manoeuvres of the "very many" chariots and horses which formed part of the forces of the king of Hazor and his confederates

(Josh. xi. 4, 6, 9; Judg. iv. 3). Hazor was the only one of those northern cities which was burnt by Joshua, doubtless it was too strong and important to leave standing in his rear. Whether it was rebuilt by the men of Naphtali, or by the second Jabin (Judg. iv.), we are not told, but Solomon did not overlook so important a post, and the fortification of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, the points of defence for the entrance from Syria and Assyria, the plain of Esdraelon, and the great maritime lowland respectively, was one of the chief pretexts for his levy of taxes (1 K. ix. 15). Later still it is mentioned in the list of the towns and districts whose inhabitants were carried off to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xv. 29; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 11, §1). We encounter it once more in 1 Macc. xi. 67, where Jonathan, after encamping for the night at the "water of Gennesar," advances to the "plain of Asor" (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §7; the Greek text of the Maccabees has prefixed an *n* from the preceding word *πεδιον*; A. V. Nasor) to meet Demetrius, who was in possession of Kadesh (xi. 63, Joseph. as above). [NASOR.]

Several places bearing names probably derived from ancient Hazor, have been discovered in this district. A list will be found in Rob. iii. 366 *note* (and compare also Van de Velde, *Syria & P.* ii. 178; Poter, *Ammonica*, i. 304). But none of these answer to the requirements of this Hazor. The nearest is the site suggested by Dr. Robinson, viz. *Tell Khurailch*, "the ruins," which, though without any direct evidence of name or tradition in its favour, is so suitable, in its situation on a rocky eminence, and in its proximity both to Kedesh and the Lake *Hulch*, that we may accept it until a better is discovered (Rob. iii. 364, 5).

2. (*Ἀσוריων*), including the following name; Alex. omits: *Asor*) one of the "cities" of Judah in the extreme south, named next in order to Kedesh (Josh. xv. 23). It is mentioned nowhere else, nor has it yet been identified (see Rob. ii. 34 *note*). The Vatican LXX. unites Hazor with the name following it, Ithnan; which causes Ireland to maintain that they form but one (*Pal.* 144, 708); but the LXX. text of this list is so corrupt, that it seems impossible to argue from it. In the Alex. MSS. Hazor is entirely omitted, while Ithnan again is joined to Ziph.

3. (LXX. omits; *Asor nova*.) Hazor-Hadattah, = "new Hazor," possibly contr. distinguished from that just mentioned; another of the southern towns of Judah (Josh. xv. 25). The words are improperly separated in the A. V.

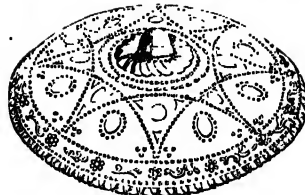
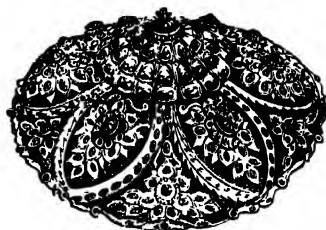
4. (*Ἀσρών* *ἄστρον* 'Asôr, Alex. 'Ασωναμί; *Asron*, *huc est Asor*.) "Hazoron which is Hazor" (Josh. xv. 25); but whether it be intended that it is the same Hazor as either of those named before, or that the name was originally Hazor, and had been changed to Hazon, we cannot now decide.

5. (Alex. 'Ασôr, Vat. omits; *Asor*.) A place in which the Benjamites resided after their return from the captivity (Neh. xi. 33). From the places mentioned with it, as Anathoth, Nob, Ramah, &c., it would seem to have lain north of Jerusalem, and at no great distance therefrom. But it has not yet been discovered. The above conditions are not against its being the same place with BAAL-HAZOR, though there is no positive evidence beyond the name in favour of such an identification.

The word appears in combination—with Baal in BAAL-HAZOR, with Ain in EN-HAZOR. [G.]

**HEAD-DRESS.** The Hebrews do not appear to have regarded a covering for the head as an essential article of dress. The earliest notice we have of such a thing is in connexion with the sacerdotal vestments, and in this case it is described as an ornamental appendage "for glory and for beauty" (Ex. xxviii. 40). The absence of any allusion to a head-dress in passages where we should expect to meet with it, as in the trial of jealousy (Num. v. 18), and the regulations regarding the leper (Lev. xiii. 45), in both of which the "uncovering of the head" refers undoubtedly to the *hair*, leads to the inference that it was not ordinarily worn in the Mosaic age; and this is confirmed by the practice, frequently alluded to, of covering the head with the mantle. Even in after times it seems to have been reserved especially for purposes of ornament: thus the *Tzānīph* (תְּצַנִּיף) is noticed as being worn by nobles (Job xxix. 14), ladies (Is. iii. 23), and kings (Is. lxii. 3), while the *Peēr* (פֶּעַר) was an article of holiday dress (Is. lxi. 3, A. V. "beauty"; Ez. xxiv. 17, 23), and was worn at weddings (Is. lxi. 10): the use of the *mitra* was restricted to similar occasions (Jud. xvi. 8; Bar. v. 2). The former of these terms undoubtedly describes a kind of *turban*: its primary sense (תְּצַנִּיף; "to roll around") expresses the folds of linen wound round the head, and its form probably resembled that of the High-priest's *Mitnepheth* (a word derived from the same root, and identical in meaning, for in Zech. iii. 5 *Tzānīph* = *Mitnepheth*), as described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §3). The renderings of the term in the A. V., "hood" (Is. iii. 23), "diadem" (Job xxix. 14; Is. lxii. 3), "mitre" (Zech. iii. 5) do not convey the right idea of its meaning. The other term, *Peēr*, primarily means an *ornament*, and is so rendered in the A. V. (Is. lxi. 10; see also ver. 3, "beauty"), and is specifically applied to the head-dress from its ornamental character. It is uncertain what the term properly describes: the modern turban consists of two parts, the *Kaok*, a stiff, round cap occasionally rising to a considerable height, and the *Shush*, a long piece of muslin wound about it (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 104): Josephus' account of the High-priest's head-dress implies a similar construction; for he says that it was made of thick bands of

linen doubled round many times, and sewn together; the whole covered by a piece of fine linen to conceal the seams. Sanlschütz (*Archæol.* i. 27 note) suggests that the *Tzanīph* and the *Peēr* represent the *Shush* and the *Kaok*, the latter rising high above the other, and so the most prominent and striking feature. In favour of this explanation it may be remarked that the *Peēr* is more particularly connected with the *Mighbush*, the high cap of the ordinary priests, in Ex. xxix. 28, while the *Tzanīph*, as we have seen, resembled the High-priest's mitre, in which the cap was concealed by the linen folds. The objection, however, to this explanation is that the etymological force of *Peēr* is not brought out; may not that term have applied to the jewels and other ornaments with which the turban is frequently decorated (Russell, i. 106), some of which are represented in the accompanying illustration borrowed from Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* Appen. A. The term used for putting on either



Modern Egyptian Head-dresses. (Lane.)

the *Tzanīph* or the *Peēr* is תְּצַנִּיף, "to bind round" (Ex. xxix. 9; Lev. viii. 13): hence the words in Ez. xvi. 10, "I girdled thee about with fine linen," are to be understood of the turban; and by the use of the same term Jonah (ii. 5) represents the weeds wrapped as a turban round his head. The turban as now worn in the East varies very much in shape; the most prevalent forms are shown in Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 102.

If the *Tzānīph* and the *Peēr* were reserved for holiday attire, it remains for us to inquire whether any and what covering was ordinarily worn over the head. It appears that frequently the robes supplied the place of a head-dress, being so ample that they might be thrown over the head at pleasure: the *Rāthīl* and the *Tsāthīl* at all events were so used [DRESS], and the veil served a similar purpose. [VEIL.] The ordinary head-dress of the Bedouin consists of the *kiffiyeh*, a square handkerchief, generally of red and yellow cotton, or cotton and silk, folded so that three of the corners hang down over the back and shoulders, leaving the face exposed, and bound round the head by a cord (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 48). It is not improbable that a similar covering was used by the Hebrews on certain occasions: the "kerchief" in



Modern Syrian and Egyptian Head-dresses.

Ez. xiii. 18 has been so understood by some writers (Harmer, *Observations*, ii. 393), though the word more probably refers to a species of veil; and the *σικκινθιον* (Acts xix. 12, A. V. "apron"), as explained by Suidas (τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φόρημα) was applicable to the purposes of a head-dress. [HANDKERCHIEF.] Neither of these cases, however, supplies positive evidence on the point, and the general absence of allusions leads to the inference that the head was usually uncovered, as is still the case in many parts of Arabia (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 73). The introduction of the Greek hat (*πέτασος*) by Jason, as an article of dress adapted to the *gymnasium*, was regarded as a national dishonour (2 Macc. iv. 12): in shape and material the *Pétasus* very much resembled the common felt hats of this country (*Dict. of Ant.* art. PILEUS).



Belouin Head-dress: the Keffiyeh

The Assyrian head-dress is described in Ez. xxiii. 15 under the terms *סִרְחִי טְבִילִים*, "exceeding in dyed attire;" it is doubtful, however, whether *tebûlîm* describes the coloured material of the head-dress (*tia-raa* a coloribus quibus tinctae sint); another sense has been assigned to it more appropriate to the description of a turban (*fasciis obvolvit*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 542). The term Engl. *s'rákê* expresses the flowing character of the Eastern head-dress, as it falls down over the back (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 308). The word rendered "huts" in Dan. iii. 21 (*בָּרִבְּלָא*) properly applies to a *cloak*. [W. L. B.]

**HEARTH.** 1. *חֶבֶר; ἑστῦρα*; *arula* (Ges. 69), a pot or brazier for containing fire. 2. *כֹּאֶר* *m.* and *כֹּאֶרָה* *f.* *καύστρα*, *kaûstis*; *incendium* (Ges. 620), 3. *בֵּיִר*, or *בֵּיר* (Zech. xii. 6); *βαλς*; *caninus*; in dual, *בֵּירִים* (Lev. xi. 35); *χυτρό-ποδες*; *chytropodes*; A. V. "ranges for pots" (Ges. 672).

One way of baking much practised in the East is to place the dough on an iron plate, either laid on, or supported on legs above the vessel sunk in the ground, which forms the oven. This plate or "hearth" is in Arabic *طاجين*, *tajin*; a word which has probably passed into Greek in *τήγανον*. The cakes baked "on the hearth" (Gen. xviii. 6, *ἐγκρυφίλας*, *subcinericiis panes*) were probably baked in the existing Belouin manner, on hot stones covered with ashes. The "hearth" of king Jehoiakim's winter palace, Jer. xxxvi. 23, was possibly a pan or brazier of charcoal. (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 58; P. della Valle, *Viaaggi*, i. 437; Harmer, *Obs.*

i. p. 477, and note; Rauwolf, *Travels*, ap. Ray, ii. 163; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 231; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, p. 45; Schleusner, *Lex. Vet. Test. תִּהְיוּנוֹן*; Gesen. s. v. *חֶבֶר*, p. 997.) [FIRE.] [H. W. P.]

**HEATHEN.** The Hebrew words *גוֹי, גוֹיִם*, *gôî, gôyim*, together with their Greek equivalents *ἔθνος, ἔθνη*, have been somewhat arbitrarily rendered "nations," "gentiles," and "heathen" in the A. V. It will be interesting to trace the manner in which a term, primarily and essentially general in its signification, acquired that more restricted sense which was afterwards attached to it. Its development is parallel with that of the Hebrew people, and its meaning at any period may be taken as significant of their relative position with regard to the surrounding nations.

1. While as yet the Jewish nation had no political existence, *gôyim* denoted generally the nations of the world, especially including the immediate descendants of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 18; comp. Gal. iii. 16). The latter, as they grew in numbers and importance, were distinguished in a most marked manner from the nations by whom they were surrounded, and were provided with a code of laws and a religious ritual, which made the distinction still more peculiar. They were essentially a separate people (Lev. xx. 23); separate in habits, morals, and religion, and bound to maintain their separate character by denunciations of the most terrible judgments (Lev. xxvi. 14-38; Deut. xxviii.). On their march through the desert they encountered the most obstinate resistance from Amalek, "chief of the *gôyim*" (Num. xxiv. 20), in whose sight the deliverance from Egypt was achieved (Lev. xxvi. 45). During the conquest of Canaan and the subsequent wars of extermination, which the Israelites for several generations carried on against their enemies, the seven nations of the Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and Girgashites (Ex. xxiv. 24), together with the remnants of them who were left to prove Israel (Josh. xxiii. 13; Judg. iii. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 55), and teach them war (Judg. iii. 2), received the especial appellation of *gôyim*. With these the Israelites were forbidden to associate (Josh. xxiii. 7); intermarriages were prohibited (Josh. xxiii. 12; 1 K. xi. 2); and as a warning against disobedience the fate of the nations of Canaan was kept constantly before their eyes (Lev. xviii. 24, 25; Deut. xviii. 12). They are ever associated with the worship of false gods, and the foul practices of idolaters (Lev. xviii. xx.), and these constituted their chief distinctions, as *gôyim*, from the worshippers of the one God, the people of Jehovah (Num. xv. 41; Deut. xxviii. 10). This distinction was maintained in its full force during the early times of the monarchy (2 Sam. vii. 23; 1 K. xi. 4-8, xiv. 24; Ps. cvi. 35). It was from among the *gôyim*, the degraded tribes who submitted to their arms, that the Israelites were permitted to purchase their bond servants (Lev. xxv. 44, 45), and this special enactment seems to have had the effect of giving to a national tradition the force and sanction of a law (comp. Gen. xxi. 15). In later times this regulation was strictly adhered to. To the words of Eccl. ii. 7 "I bought menservants and maid-servants," the Targum adds, "of the children of Ham, and the rest of the foreign nations."

And not only were the Israelites forbidden to intermarry with these *gôyim*, but the latter were

virtually excluded from the possibility of becoming naturalised. An Ammonite or Moabite was shut out from the congregation of Jehovah even to the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 3), while an Edomite or Egyptian was admitted in the third (vers. 7, 8). The necessity of maintaining a separation so broadly marked is ever more and more manifest as we follow the Israelites through their history, and observe their constantly recurring tendency to idolatry. Offence and punishment followed each other with all the regularity of cause and effect (Judg. ii. 12, iii. 6-8, &c.).

2. But, even in early Jewish times, the term *gōyim* received by anticipation a significance of wider range than the national experience (Lev. xxvi. 33, 38; Deut. xxx. 1), and as the latter was gradually developed during the prosperous times of the monarchy, the *gōyim* were the surrounding nations generally, with whom the Israelites were brought into contact by the extension of their commerce, and whose idolatrous practices they readily adopted (Ez. xxiii. 30; Am. v. 26). Later still, it is applied to the Babylonians who took Jerusalem (Neh. v. 8; Ps. lxxix. 1, 6, 10), to the destroyers of Moab (Is. xvi. 8), and to the several nations among whom the Jews were scattered during the captivity (Ps. cvi. 47; Jer. xli. 28; Lam. i. 3, &c.), the practice of idolatry still being their characteristic distinction (Is. xxxvi. 18; Jer. x. 2, 3, xiv. 22).<sup>\*</sup> This significance it retained after the return from Babylon, though it was used in a more limited sense as denoting the mixed race of colonists who settled in Palestine during the captivity (Neh. v. 17), and who are described as fearing Jehovah, while serving their own gods (2 K. xvii. 29-33; Ezr. vi. 21).

Tracing the synonymous term *ἔθνη* through the Apocryphal writings, we find that it is applied to the nations around Palestine (1 Macc. i. 11), including the Syrians and Philistines of the army of Gorgias (1 Macc. iii. 41, iv. 7, 11, 14), as well as the people of Ptolemata, Tyre and Sidon (1 Macc. v. 9, 10, 15). They were image-worshippers (1 Macc. iii. 48; Wisd. xv. 15), whose customs and fashions the Jews seem still to have had an unconquerable propensity to imitate, but on whom they were bound by national tradition to take vengeance (1 Macc. ii. 68; 1 Esdr. viii. 85). Following the customs of the *gōyim* at this period denoted the neglect or concealment of circumcision (1 Macc. i. 15), disregard of sacrifices, profanation of the sabbath, eating of swine's flesh and meat offered to idols (2 Macc. vi. 6-9, 18, xv. 1, 2), and adoption of the Greek national games (2 Macc. iv. 12, 14). In all points Judaism and heathenism are strongly contrasted. The "barbarous multitude" in 2 Macc. ii. 21 are opposed to those who played the man for Judaism, and the distinction now becomes an ecclesiastical one (comp. Matt. xviii. 17). In 2 Esdr. iii. 33, 34, the "gentes" are defined as those "qui habitant in seculo" (comp. Matt. vi. 32; Luke xii. 30).

As the Greek influence became more extensively felt in Asia Minor, and the Greek language was generally used, Hellenism and heathenism became convertible terms, and a Greek was synonymous with a foreigner of any nation. This is singularly evident in the Syriac of 2 Macc. v. 9, 10, 13; cf. John vii. 35; 1 Cor. x. 32; 2 Cor. xi. 2.

In the N. T. again we find various shades of meaning attached to *ἔθνη*. In its narrowest sense it is opposed to "those of the circumcision" (Acts

x. 45; cf. Esth. xiv. 15, where ἀλλοτρίος = ἀπεριτμήτος), and is contrasted with Israel, the people of Jehovah (Luke ii. 32), thus representing the Hebrew *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* at one stage of its history. But, like *gōyim*, it also denotes the people of the earth generally (Acts xvii. 26; Gal. iii. 14). In Matt. vi. 7 *ἔθνη* is applied to an idolater.

But, in addition to its significance as an ethnographical term, *gōyim* had a moral sense which must not be overlooked. In Ps. ix. 5, 15, 17 (comp. Ez. vii. 21) the word stands in parallelism with *רָשָׁע*, *rāshā*, the wicked, as distinguished by his moral obliquity (see Hupfeld on Ps. i. 1); and in ver. 17 the people thus designated are described as "forgetters of God," that know not Jehovah (Jer. x. 25). Again in Ps. lix. 5 it is to some extent commensurate in meaning with *בְּנֵי דָעַר*, *bōy'ḏe'āren*, "iniquitous transgressors;" and in these passages, as well as in Ps. x. 15, it has a deeper significance than that of a merely national distinction, although the latter idea is never entirely lost sight of.

In later Jewish literature a technical definition of the word is laid down which is certainly not of universal application. Elias Levita (quoted by Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 665) explains the sing. *gōi* as denoting one who is not of Israelitish birth. This can only have reference to its after signification; in the O. T. the singular is never used of an individual, but is a collective term, applied equally to the Israelites (Josh. iii. 17) as to the nations of Canaan (Lev. xx. 23), and denotes simply a body politic. Another distinction, equally unsupported, is made between *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*, *gōyim*, and *אֻמִּים*, *umim*, the former being defined as the nations who had served Israel, while the latter were those who had not (*Sulkit Chukash*, fol. 20, no. 20; Eisenmenger, i. 667). Abubaud on Joel iii. 2 applies the former to both Christians and Turks, or Ishmaelites, while in *Sepher Juchasin* (fol. 148, col. 2) the Christians alone are distinguished by this appellation. Eisenmenger gives some curious examples of the disabilities under which a *gōi* laboured. One who kept sabbaths was judged deserving of death (ii. 206), and the study of the law was prohibited to him under the same penalty; but on the latter point the doctors are at issue (ii. 209).

[W. A. W.]

**HEAVEN.** There are four Hebrew words thus rendered in the O. T., which we may briefly notice.

1. *רָקַע* (*strepēma*; *firmamentum*; Luth. *Veste*), a solid expanse, from *רָקַע*, "to beat out;" a word used primarily of the hammering out of metal (Ex. xxxix. 3, Num. xvi. 38). The fuller expression is *רָקַע הַשָּׁמַיִם* (Gen. i. 14, sq.). That Moses understood it to mean a solid expanse is clear from his representing it as the barrier between the upper and lower waters (Gen. i. 6 sq.), i. e. as separating the reservoir of the celestial ocean (Ps. civ. 3, xxix. 3) from the waters of the earth, or those on which the earth was supposed to float (Ps. cxxxvi. 6). Through its open lattices (*אֲרָבוֹת*, Gen. vi. 11; 2 K. vii. 2, 19; comp. *κόσκινον*, Aristoph. *Nub.* 373) or doors (*דְּלָתִים*, Ps. lxxviii. 23) the dew and snow and hail are poured upon the earth (Job xxxviii. 22, 37, where we have the curious expression "bottles of heaven," "utres coeli"). This

firm vault, which Job describes as being "strong as a molten looking-glass" (xxxvii. 18), is transparent, like pellucid sapphire, and splendid as crystal (Dan. xii. 3; Ex. xxiv. 10; Ez. i. 22; Rev. iv. 6), over which rests the throne of God (Is. lxvi. 1; Ez. i. 26), and which is opened for the descent of angels, or for prophetic visions (Gen. xxviii. 17; Ez. i. 1; Acts vii. 56, x. 11). In it, like gems or golden lamps, the stars are fixed to give light to the earth, and regulate the seasons (Gen. i. 14-19); and the whole magnificent, immeasurable structure (Jer. xxxi. 37) is supported by the mountains as its pillars, or strong foundations (Ps. xviii. 7; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xiv. 11). Similarly the Greeks believed in an *οὐρανὸς πολύχαλκος* (Hom. *Il.* v. 504), or *σιδήρεος* (Hom. *Od.* xv. 328), or *ἀδάμαστος* (Orph. *Hymn. ad Caelum*), which the philosophers called *στερέμιον*, or *κρυσταλλοειδές* (Emped. *ap. Plut. de Phil. princ.* ii. 11; Artemid. *ap. Sen. Nat. Quaest.* vii. 13; quoted by Gesenius, s. v.). It is clear that very many of the above notions were mere metaphors resulting from the simple primitive conception, and that later writers among the Hebrews had arrived at more scientific views, although of course they retained much of the old phraseology, and are fluctuating and undecided in their terms. Elsewhere, for instance, the heavens are likened to a curtain (Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22). In A. V. "heaven" and "heavens" are used to render not only רָקִיעַ, but also שָׁמַיִם, מָרוֹם, and שְׁחָקִים, for which reason we have thrown together under the former word the chief features ascribed by the Jewish writers to this portion of the universe.

2. שָׁמַיִם is derived from שָׁם, "to be high." This is the word used in the expression "the heaven and the earth," or "the upper and lower regions" (Gen. i. 1), which was a periphrasis to supply the want of a single word for the *Cosmos* (Deut. xxxii. 1; Is. i. 2; Ps. cxlviii. 13). "Heaven of heavens" is their expression of infinity (Neh. ix. 6; Eccles. xvi. 18).

3. מָרוֹם, used for heaven in Ps. xviii. 16; Jer. xlv. 30; Is. xxiv. 18. Properly speaking it means a mountain, as in Ps. cii. 19, Ez. xvi. 23. It must not, however, be supposed for a moment that the Hebrews had any notion of a "Mountain of Meeting," like *Albordah*, the northern hill of Babylonish mythology (Is. xiv. 13), or the Greek *Olympus*, or the Hindoo *Meru*, the Chinese *Kuen-lun*, or the Arabian *Caf* (see Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 24, and the authorities there quoted), since such a fancy is incompatible with the pure monotheism of the Old Testament.

4. שְׁחָקִים, "expanses," with reference to the extent of heaven, as the last two words were derived from its height; hence this word is often used together with שָׁמַיִם, as in Deut. xxxiii. 26; Job xxxv. 5. In the A. V. it is sometimes rendered *clouds*, for which the fuller term is עָבִי שְׁחָקִים (Ps. xviii. 12). The word שְׁחָקִים means first "to pound," and then "to wear out." So that, according to some, "clouds" (from the notion of dust) is the original meaning of the word. Gesenius, however, rejects this opinion (*Thesaur.* s. v.).

In the N. T. we frequently have the word *οὐρανοί*, which some consider to be a Hebraism, or a plural of excellence (Schleusner, *Lec. Nov. Test.*, s. v.). St. Paul's expression *εἰς τρίτου οὐρανοῦ*

(2 Cor. xii. 2) has led to much conjecture. Grotius said that the Jews divided the heaven into three parts, viz. 1. Nubifun, the air or atmosphere, where clouds gather; 2. Astriferum, the firmament, in which the sun, moon, and stars are fixed; 3. Empyreum, or Angeliferum, the upper heaven, the abode of God and his angels, *i. e.* 1. שָׁמַיִם

(or רָקִיעַ); 2. עוֹלָם הַתְּכֹנִן (or (שָׁמַיִם); and 3. עוֹלָם הַעֲלִיִּין (or "heaven of heavens," שָׁמַיִם). This curiously explicit statement is entirely unsupported by Rabbinic authority, but it is hardly fair of Meyer to call it a *fiction*, for it may be supposed to rest on some vague Biblical evidence (cf. Dan. iv. 12, "the fowls of the heaven;" Gen. xxii. 17, "the stars of the heaven;" Ps. ii. 4, "he that sitteth in the heavens," &c.). The Rabbis spoke of two heavens (cf. Deut. x. 14, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens"), or seven (עֶבֶר οὐρανοῦ οὗς τινες ἀριθμοῦσι κατ' ἐναντίας, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 7, 636). "Resch Lakisch dixit septem esse coelos, quorum nomina sunt, 1. velum; 2. expansum; 3. nubes; 4. habitaculum; 5. habitatio; 6. sedes fixa; 7. Araboth," or sometimes "the treasury." At the sin of Adam, God ascended into the first; at the sin of Cain into the second; during the generation of Enoch into the third, &c.; afterwards God descended downwards into the sixth at the time of Abraham, into the fifth during the life of Isaac, and so on down to the time of Moses, when He descended into the first (see many passages quoted by Wetstein, ad 2 Cor. xii. 2). Of all these definitions and deductions we may remark simply with Origen, *ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ οὐρανοῦς ἢ ὅλας περιορισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησιασταῖς οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλουσι γραφαί* (c. *Cels.* vi. 289).

If nothing has here been said on the secondary senses attached to the word "heaven," the omission is intentional. The object of this Dictionary is not practical, but exegetical; not theological, but critical and explanatory. A treatise on the nature and conditions of future beatitude would here be wholly out of place. We may however remark that as heaven was used metaphorically to signify the abode of Jehovah, it is constantly employed in the N. T. to signify the abode of the spirits of the just. (See for example Matt. v. 12, vi. 20; Luke x. 20, xii. 33; 2 Cor. v. 1; Col. i. 5.) [F. W. F.]

HE'BER. The Heb. עֶבֶר and חֶבֶר are more forcibly distinguished than the English Eber and Heber. In its use, however, of this merely aspirate distinction the A. V. of the O. T. is consistent: Eber always = עֶבֶר, and Heber חֶבֶר. In Luke iii. 35, Heber = עֶבֶר, 'Eβέρ; the distinction so carefully observed in the O. T. having been neglected by the translators of the N. T.

The LXX. has a similar distinction, though not consistently carried out. It expresses עֶבֶר by 'Eβερ (Gen. x. 21), 'Eβερ (1 Chr. i. 25), 'Eβραῖον (Num. xxiv. 24); while חֶבֶר is variously given as Χοβέρ, Χαβέρ, 'Αβέρ, or 'Αβέρ. In these words, however, we can clearly perceive two distinct groups of equivalents, suggested by the effort to express two radically different forms. The transition from Χοβέρ through Χαβέρ to 'Αβέρ is sufficiently obvious.

The Vulg. expresses both indifferently by *Heber*, except in Judg. iv. 11 ff., where *Haber* is probably

suggested by the LXX. *Ἰαβὲρ*; and Num. xxiv. 24, *Hebraeos*, evidently after the LXX. *Ἑβραῖους*. Excluding Luke iii. 35, where Heber = Eber, we have in the O. T. six of the name.

1. Grandson of the Patriarch Asher (Gen. xlv. 17; 1 Chr. vii. 31; Num. xxvi. 45).
2. Of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 18).
3. A Gadite (1 Chr. v. 13).
4. A Benjamite (1 Chr. viii. 17).
5. Another Benjamite (1 Chr. viii. 22).
6. Heber, the Kenite, the husband of Jael (Judg. iv. 11-17, v. 24). It is a question how he could be a Kenite, and yet trace his descent from Hobab, or Jethro, who was priest of Midian. The solution is probably to be sought in the nomadic habits of the tribe, as shown in the case of Heber himself, of the family to which he belonged (Judg. i. 16), and of the Kenites generally (in 1 Sam. xv. 6, they appear among the Amalekites). It should be observed that Jethro is never called a Midianite, but expressly a Kenite (Judg. i. 16); that the expression "priest of Midian," may merely serve to indicate the country in which Jethro resided; lastly, that there would seem to have been two successive migrations of the Kenites into Palestine, one under the sanction of the tribe of Judah at the time of the original occupation, and attributed to Jethro's descendants generally (Judg. i. 16); the other a special, nomadic expedition of Heber's family, which led them to Kedesh in Naphtali, at that time the debatable ground between the northern tribes, and Jabin, King of Canaan. We are not to infer that this was the final settlement of Heber: a tent seems to have been his sole habitation when his wife smote Sisera (Judg. iv. 21).

7. (*Ἑβερ*; *Heber*.) The form in which the name of the patriarch EBER is given in the genealogy, Luke iii. 35. [T. E. B.]

**HEBREW, HEBREWS.** This word first occurs as applied to Abraham (Gen. xiv. 1.); it was afterwards given as a name to his descendants.

Four derivations have been proposed:—

- I. Patronymic from Abram.
- II. Appellative from עֶבֶר.
- III. Appellative from עֵבֶר.
- IV. Patronymic from Eber.

I. From Abram, *Abraei*, and by euphony *Hebraei* (August., Ambrose). Displaying, as it does, the utmost ignorance of the language, this derivation was never extensively adopted, and was even retracted by Augustine (*Retract.* 16). The euphony alleged by Ambrose is quite imperceptible, and there is no parallel in the Lat. *meridie* = *medietas*.

II. עֶבֶר, from עָבַר = "crossed over," applied by the Canaanites to Abraham upon his crossing the Euphrates (Gen. xiv. 13, where LXX. *ἡμετέρας* = *transitor*). This derivation is open to the strong objection that Hebrew nouns ending in *er* are either patronymics, or gentile nouns (Buxtorf, Leusden). This is a technical objection which, though fatal to the *ἡμετέρας*, or *appellative* derivation as traced back to the verb, does not apply to the same as referred to the noun עֶבֶר. The analogy of Galli, Angli, Hispani derived from Gallia, Anglia, Hispania (Leusd.) is a complete blunder in ethnography; and at any rate it would confirm rather than destroy the derivation from the noun.

III. This latter comes next in review, and is es-

entially the same with II.; since both rest upon the hypothesis that Abraham and his posterity were called Hebrews in order to express a distinction between the races E. and W. of the Euphrates. The question of fact is not essential whether Abraham was the first person to whom the word was applied, his posterity as such inheriting the name; or whether his posterity equally with himself were by the Canaanites regarded as men from "the other side" of the river. The real question at issue is whether the Hebrews were so called from a progenitor Eber (which is the fourth, and last derivation), or from a country which had been the cradle of their race, and from which they had emigrated westward into Palestine; in short, whether the word Hebrew is a Patronymic, or a Gentile noun.

IV. The latter opinion in one or other of its phases indicated above is that suggested by the LXX., and maintained by Jerome, Theodor., Origen, Chrysost., Arias Montanus, R. Bechai, Paul Burg., Munster, Grotius, Scaliger, Selden, Rosenm., Gesen., Eichhorn; the former is supported by Joseph., Suidas, Bochart, Vatablus, Drusius, Vossius, Buxtorf, Hottinger, Leusden, Whiston, Bauer. As regards the derivation from עֶבֶר, the noun (or according to others the prep.), Leusden himself, the great supporter of the Buxtorfian theory, indicates the obvious analogy of Transmaini, Transylvani, Transalpine, words which from the description of a fixed and local relation attained in process of time to the independence, and mobility of a Gentile name. So natural indeed is it to suppose that Eber (*trans*, *on the other side*) was the term used by a Canaanite to denote the country E. of the Euphrates, and Hebrew the name which he applied to the inhabitants of that country, that Leusden is driven to stake the entire issue as between derivations III. and IV. upon a challenge to produce any passage of the O. T. in which עֶבֶר = עָבַר. If we accept Rosenm. *Schol.* on Num. xxiv. 24, according to which Eber by parallelism with Asshur = Trans-euphrat, this challenge is met. But if not, the facility of the abbreviation is sufficient to create a presumption in its favour; while the derivation with which it is associated harmonizes more perfectly than any other with the later usage of the word *Hebrew*, and is confirmed by negative arguments of the strongest kind. In fact it seems almost impossible for the defenders of the Patronymic, *Eber* theory, to get over the difficulty arising from the circumstance that no special prominence is in the genealogy assigned to Eber such as might entitle him to the position of head, or founder of the race. From the genealogical scheme in Gen. xi. 10-26, it does not appear that the Jews thought of Eber as a source primary, or even secondary of the national descent. The genealogy neither starts from him, nor in its uniform sequence does it rest upon him with any emphasis. There is nothing to distinguish Eber above Arphaxad, Peleg, or Serug. Like them he is but a link in the chain by which Shem is connected with Abraham. Indeed the tendency of the Israelitish retrospect is to stop at Jacob. It is with Jacob that their history as a nation begins; beyond Jacob they held their ancestry in common with the Edomites; beyond Isaac they were in danger of being confounded with the Ishmaelites. The predominant figure of the emphatically *Hebrew* Abraham might tempt them beyond those points of affinity with other races, so distasteful, so anti-national; but it is almost incon-

ceivable that they would voluntarily originate, and perpetuate an appellation of themselves which lauded them on a platform of ancestry where they met the whole population of Arabia (Gen. x. 25, 30).

As might have been expected, an attempt has been made to show that the position which Eber occupies in the genealogy is one of no ordinary kind, and that the Hebrews stood in a relation to him which was held by none other of his descendants, and might therefore be called *par excellence* "the children of Eber."

There is, however, only one passage in which it is possible to imagine any peculiar resting-point as connected with the name of Eber. In Gen. x. 21 Shem is called "the father of all the children of Eber." But the passage is apparently not so much genealogical as ethnographical; and in this view it seems evident that the words are intended to contrast Shem with Ham and Japheth, and especially with the former. Now Babel is plainly fixed as the extreme E. limit of the posterity of Ham (ver. 10), from whose land Nimrod went out into Assyria (ver. 11, margin of A. V.): in the next place, Egypt (ver. 13) is mentioned as the W. limit of the same great race; and these two extremes having been ascertained, the historian proceeds (ver. 15-19) to fill up his ethnographic sketch with the intermediate tribes of the Canaanites. In short in ver. 6-20 we have indications of three geographical points which distinguish the posterity of Ham, viz. Egypt, Palestine, and Babylon. At the last-mentioned city, at the river Euphrates, their proper occupancy, unaffected by the exceptional movement of Ashur, terminated, and at the same point that of the descendants of Shem begun. Accordingly the sharpest contrast that could be devised is obtained by generally classing these latter nations as those *beyond* the river Euphrates; and the words "father of all the children of Eber," i. e. father of the nations to the east of the Euphrates, find an intelligible place in the context.

But a more tangible ground for the specialty implied in the derivation of Hebrew from Eber is sought in the supposititious fact that Eber was the only descendant of Noah who preserved the one primeval language; and it is maintained that this language transmitted by Eber to the Hebrews, and to them alone of all his descendants, constitutes a peculiar and special relation (Theodor, Voss, Leusd.).

It is obvious to remark that this theory rests upon three entirely gratuitous assumptions: first, that the primeval language has been preserved; next, that Eber alone preserved it; lastly, that having so preserved it, he communicated it to his son Peleg, but not to his son Joktan.

The first assumption is utterly at variance with the most certain results of ethnology: the two others are grossly improbable. The Hebrew of the O. T. was not the language of Abraham when he first entered Palestine: whether he inherited his language from Eber or not, decidedly the language which he did speak must have been Chaldee (comp. Gen. xxxi. 47), and not Hebrew (Eichhorn). This supposed primeval language was in fact the language of the Canaanites, assumed by Abraham as more or less akin to that in which he had been

brought up, and could not possibly have been transmitted to him by Eber.

The appellative (*ἑβραῖος*) derivation is strongly confirmed by the historical use of the word *Hebrew*. A patronymic would naturally be in use only among the people themselves, while the appellative which had been originally applied to them as strangers in a strange land would probably continue to designate them in their relations to neighbouring tribes, and would be their current name among foreign nations. This is precisely the case with the terms *Israelite* and *Hebrew* respectively. The former was used by the Jews of themselves among themselves, the latter was the name by which they were known to foreigners. It is used either when foreigners are introduced as speaking (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17, xli. 12; Ex. i. 16, ii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 6, 9, xiii. 19, xiv. 11, xxix. 3), or where they are opposed to foreign nations (Gen. xliii. 32; Ex. i. 15, ii. 11; Deut. xv. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7). So in Greek and Roman writers we find the name *Hebraei*, or, in later times, *Jævi* (Pausan. v. 5, §2, vi. 24, §8; Plut. *Sympos.* iv. 6, 1; Tac. *Hist.* v. 1; Joseph. *pessim*). In N. T. we find the same contrast between Hebrews and foreigners (Acts vi. 1; Phil. iii. 5): the Hebrew language is distinguished from all others (Luke xliii. 38; John v. 2, xix. 13; Acts xxi. 40, xxvi. 14; Rev. ix. 11); while in 2 Cor. xi. 22 the word is used as only second to *Israelite* in the expression of national peculiarity.

Gesenius has successfully controverted the opinion that the term *Israelite* was a sacred name, and *Hebrew* the common appellation.

Briefly, we suppose that *Hebrew* was originally a Cis-Euphratian word applied to Trans-Euphratian immigrants: it was accepted by these immigrants in their external relations; and after the general substitution of the word *Jew*, it still found a place in that marked and special feature of national contradistinction, the language (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §4; Suidas, s. v. *Ἑβραῖος*; Euseb. *de Priep. Evang.* ii. 4; Ambrose, *Comment.* in Phil. iii. 5; August. *Quæst.* in Gen. 24; *Consens. Evang.* 14; comp. *Retract.* 16; Grot. *Annot.* ad Gen. xiv. 13; Voss. *Elym.* s. v. *supra*; Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 14; Buxt. *Diss. de Ling. Heb. Conserv.* 31; Hottinger, *Thes.* i. 1, 2; Leusden, *Phil. Heb. Diss.* 21, 1; Bauer, *Entwurf*, &c., §xi.; Rosenm. *Schol.* ad Gen. x. 21, xiv. 13, and Num. xxiv. 24; Eichhorn, *Einleit.* i. p. 60; Gesen. *Lex.*, and *Gesch. d. Heb. Spr.* 11, 12). [T. E. B.]

**HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE.** The principal questions which have been raised, and the opinions which are current respecting the Epistle may be considered under the following heads:

- I. Its canonical authority.
- II. Its author.
- III. To whom was it addressed?
- IV. Where and when was it written?
- V. In what language was it written?
- VI. Condition of the Hebrews, and scope of the Epistle.
- VII. Literature connected with it.

I. The most important question that can be entertained in connexion with this Epistle touches its canonical<sup>a</sup> authority.

<sup>a</sup> The Rev. J. Jones, in his *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T.*, indicates the way in which an inquiry into this subject should be conducted; and Dr. N. Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History* is a storehouse of ancient authorities. But

both these great works are nearly superseded for ordinary purposes by the invaluable compendium of the Rev. B. F. Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament*, to which the first part of this article is greatly indebted.

The universal Church, by allowing it a place among the Holy Scriptures, acknowledges that there is nothing in its contents inconsistent with the rest of the Bible. But the peculiar position which is assigned to it among the Epistles shows a trace of doubts as to its authorship or canonical authority, two points which were blended together in primitive times. Has it then a just claim to be received by us as a portion of that Bible which contains the rule of our faith and the rule of our practice, laid down by Christ and His apostles? Was it regarded as such by the Primitive Church, to whose clearly-expressed judgment in this matter all later generations of Christians agree to defer?

Of course, if we possessed a declaration by an inspired apostle that this Epistle is canonical, all discussion would be superfluous. But the interpretation (by E. Staehelin and later writers) of 2 Pet. iii. 15 as a distinct reference to St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews seems scarcely tenable. For, if the "you" whom St. Peter addresses be all Christians (see 2 Pet. i. 1), the reference must not be limited to the Epistle to the Hebrews; or if it include only (see 2 Pet. iii. 1) the Jews named in 1 Pet. i. 1, there may be special reference to the Galatians (vi. 7-9) and Ephesians (ii. 3-5), but not to the Hebrews.

Was it then received and transmitted as canonical by the immediate successors of the apostles? The most important witness among these, Clement (A.D. 70 or 95) refers to this Epistle in the same way as, and more frequently than, to any other canonical book. It seems to have been "wholly transfused," says Mr. Westcott (*On the Canon*, p. 32) into Clement's mind. Little stress can be laid upon the few possible allusions to it in Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, and Ignatius. But among the extant authorities of orthodox Christianity during the first century after the Epistle was written, there is not one dissentient voice, whilst it is received as canonical by Clement writing from Rome; by Justin Martyr,<sup>b</sup> familiar with the traditions of Italy and Asia; by his contemporaries, Pinytus (?) the Cretan bishop, and the predecessors of Clement and Origen at Alexandria; and by the compilers of the Peshito version of the New Testament. Among the writers of this period who make no reference to it, there is not one whose subject necessarily leads us to expect him to refer to it. Two heretical teachers, Basilides at Alexandria and Marcion at Rome, are recorded as distinctly rejecting the Epistle.

But at the close of that period, in the North African church, where first the Gospel found utterance in the Latin tongue, orthodox Christianity first doubted the canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Gospel, spreading from Jerusalem along the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, does not appear to have borne fruit in North Africa until after the destruction of Jerusalem had cut off intercourse with Palestine. And it came thither not on the lips of an inspired apostle, but shorn of much of that oral tradition in which, with many other facts, was embodied the ground of the Eastern belief in the canonical authority and authorship of this anonymous Epistle. To the old Latin version of the Scriptures, which was

completed probably about A.D. 170, this Epistle seems to have been added as a composition of Barnabas, and as destitute of canonical authority. The opinion or tradition thus embodied in that age and country cannot be traced farther back. About that time the Roman Church also began to speak Latin; and even its latest Greek writers gave up, we know not why, the full faith of the Eastern Church in the canonical authority of this Epistle.

During the next two centuries the extant fathers of the Roman and North African churches regard the Epistle as a book of no canonical authority. Tertullian, if he quotes it, disclaims its authority and speaks of it as a good kind of apocryphal book written by Barnabas. Cyprian leaves it out of the number of St. Paul's Epistles, and, even in his books of Scripture Testimonies against the Jews, never makes the slightest reference to it. Irenaeus, who came in his youth to Gaul, defending in his great work the Divinity of Christ, never quotes, scarcely refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon leaves it out of the list of St. Paul's Epistles. So did Cains and Hippolytus, who wrote at Rome in Greek; and so did Victorinus of Pannonia. But in the fourth century its authority began to revive; it was received by Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer and Faustinus of Cagliari, Fabius and Victorinus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and Philaster (?) and Gaudentius of Brescia. At the end of the fourth century, Jerome, the most learned and critical of the Latin Fathers, reviewed the conflicting opinions as to the authority of this Epistle. He considered that the prevailing, though not universal view of the Latin churches was of less weight than the view not only of ancient writers, but also of all the Greek and all the Eastern churches, where the Epistle was received as canonical and read daily; and he pronounced a decided opinion in favour of its authority. The great contemporary light of North Africa, St. Augustine, held a similar opinion. And after the declaration of these two eminent men, the Latin churches united with the East in receiving the Epistle. The 3rd Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, and a Decretal of Pope Innocent, A.D. 416, gave a final confirmation to their decision.

Such was the course and the end of the only considerable opposition which has been made to the canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its origin has not been ascertained. Some critics have conjectured that the Montanist or the Novatian controversy instigated, and that the Arian controversy dissipated so much opposition as proceeded from orthodox Christians. The references to St. Paul in the Clementine Homilies have led other critics to the startling theory that *orthodox* Christians at Rome, in the middle of the second century, commonly regarded and described St. Paul as an enemy of the Faith;—a theory which, if it were established, would be a much stranger fact than the rejection of the least accredited of the epistles which bear the Apostle's name. But perhaps it is more probable that that jealous care, with which the Church everywhere, in the second century, had learned to scrutinize all books claiming canonical authority, misled, in this instance, the churches of

<sup>b</sup> Lardner's remark, that it was not the method of Justin to use allusions so often as other authors have done, may supply us with something like a middle point between the conflicting declarations of two living writers, both entitled to be heard with attention.

The index of Otto's edition of Justin contains more than 50 references by Justin to the Epistles of St. Paul; while Prof. Jewett (*On the Thessalonians, &c.*, 1st Ed. i. 315) puts forth in England the statement that Justin was unacquainted with St. Paul and his writings.

North Africa and Rome. For to them this Epistle was an anonymous writing, unlike an epistle in its opening, unlike a treatise in its end, differing in its style from every apostolic epistle, abounding in arguments and appealing to sentiments which were always foreign to the Gentile, and growing less familiar to the Jewish mind. So they went a step beyond the church of Alexandria, which, while doubting the authorship of this Epistle, always acknowledged its authority. The church of Jerusalem, as the original receiver of the Epistle, was the depository of that oral testimony on which both its authorship and canonical authority rested, and was the fountain-head of information which satisfied the Eastern and Greek churches. But the church of Jerusalem was early hidden in exile and obscurity. And Palestine, after the destruction of Jerusalem, became unknown ground to that class of "dwellers in Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome," who once maintained close religious intercourse with it. All these considerations may help to account for the fact that the Latin churches hesitated to receive an epistle, the credentials of which, from peculiar circumstances, were originally imperfect, and had become inaccessible to them when their version of Scripture was in process of formation, until religious intercourse between East and West again grew frequent and intimate in the fourth century.

But such doubts were confined to the Latin churches from the middle of the second to the close of the fourth century. All the rest of orthodox Christendom from the beginning was agreed upon the canonical authority of this Epistle. No Greek or Syriac writer ever expressed a doubt. It was acknowledged in various public documents; received by the framers of the Apostolical Constitutions (about A.D. 250, *Beveridge*); quoted in the epistle of the Synod of Antioch, A.D. 269; appealed to by the debaters in the first Council of Nice; included in that catalogue of canonical books which was added (perhaps afterwards) to the canons of the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 365; and sanctioned by the Quinisextine Council at Constantinople, A.D. 692.

Cardinal Cajetan, the opponent of Luther, was the first to disturb the tradition of a thousand years, and to deny the authority of this Epistle. Erasmus, Calvin and Beza questioned only its authorship. The bolder spirit of Luther, unable to perceive its agreement with St. Paul's doctrine, pronounced it to be the work of some disciple of the Apostle who had built not only gold, silver, and precious stones, but also wood, hay, and stubble upon his master's foundation. And whereas the Greek church in the fourth century gave it sometimes the tenth place, or at other times, as it now does, and as the Syrian, Roman, and English churches do, the fourteenth place among the Epistles of St. Paul, Luther, when he printed his version of the Bible, separated this book from St. Paul's Epistles, and placed it with the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, next before the Revelation; indicating by this change of order his opinion that the four relegated books are of less importance and less authority than the rest of the New Testament. His opinion found some promoters; but it

has not been adopted in any confession of the Lutheran church.

The canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews is then secure so far as it can be established by the tradition of Christian churches. The doubts which affected it were admitted in remote places, or in the failure of knowledge, or under the pressure of times of intellectual excitement; and they have disappeared before full information and calm judgment.

II. *Who was the author of the Epistle?*—This question is of less practical importance than the last; for many books are received as canonical, whilst little or nothing is known of their writers. In this Epistle the superscription, the ordinary source of information, is wanting. Its omission has been accounted for, since the days of Clement of Alexandria (*apud* Euseb. *E. II.* vi. 14) and Chrysostom, by supposing that St. Paul withheld his name, lest the sight of it should repel any Jewish Christians who might still regard him rather as an enemy of the law (Acts xxi. 21) than as a benefactor to their nation (Acts xxiv. 17). And Pantaenus, or some other predecessor of Clement, adds that St. Paul would not write to the Jews as an apostle because he regarded the Lord Himself as their apostle (see the remarkable expression, Heb. iii. 1, twice quoted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 12, 63).

It was the custom of the earliest fathers to quote passages of Scripture without naming the writer or the book which supplied them. But there is no reason to doubt that at first, everywhere, except in North Africa, St. Paul was regarded as the author. "Among the Greek fathers," says Olshausen (*Opuscula*, p. 95), "no one is named either in Egypt, or in Syria, Palestine, Asia, or Greece, who is opposed to the opinion that this Epistle proceeds from St. Paul." The Alexandrian fathers, whether guided by tradition or by critical discernment, are the earliest to note the discrepancy of style between this Epistle and the other thirteen. And they received it in the same sense that the speech in Acts xxii. 1-21 is received as St. Paul's. Clement ascribed to St. Luke the translation of the Epistle into Greek from a Hebrew original of St. Paul. Origen, embracing the opinion of those who, he says, preceded him, believed that the thoughts were St. Paul's, the language and composition St. Luke's or Clement's of Rome. Tertullian, knowing nothing of any connexion of St. Paul with the Epistle, names Barnabas as the reputed author according to the North African tradition, which in the time of Augustine had taken the less definite shape of a denial by some that the Epistle was St. Paul's, and in the time of Isidore of Seville appears as a Latin opinion (founded on the dissonance of style) that it was written by Barnabas or Clement. At Rome Clement was silent as to the author of this as of the other epistles which he quotes; and the writers who follow him, down to the middle of the fourth century, only touch on the point to deny that the Epistle is St. Paul's.

The view of the Alexandrian fathers, a middle point between the Eastern and Western traditions, won its way in the Church. It was adopted as the most probable opinion by Eusebius; and its gradual reception may have led to the silent transfer, which

\* The Vatican Codex (B) A.D. 350 bears traces of an earlier assignment of the fifth place to the Ep. to the Hebrews.

<sup>d</sup> See Bleek, i. pp. 247 and 447.

\* Professor Blunt, *On the Right Use of the Early Fathers*, pp. 439-444, gives a complete view of the evidence of Clement, Origen, and Eusebius as to the authorship of the Epistle.

was made about his time, of this Epistle from the tenth place in the Greek Canon to the fourteenth, at the end of St. Paul's Epistles, and before those of other Apostles. This place it held everywhere till the time of Luther; as if to indicate the deliberate and final acquiescence of the universal church in the opinion that it is one of the works of St. Paul, but not in the same full sense<sup>f</sup> as the other ten Epistles, addressed to particular churches, are his.

In the last three centuries every word and phrase in the Epistle has been scrutinised with the most exact care for historical and grammatical evidence as to the authorship. The conclusions of individual inquirers are very diverse; but the result has not been any considerable disturbance of the ancient tradition.<sup>g</sup> No new kind of difficulty has been discovered: no hypothesis open to fewer objections than the tradition has been devised. The laborious work of the Rev. C. Forster (*The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews*), which is a storehouse of grammatical evidence, advocates the opinion that St. Paul was the author of the language, as well as the thoughts of the Epistle. Professor Stuart, in the Introduction to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, discusses the internal evidence at great length, and agrees in opinion with Mr. Forster. Dr. C. Wordworth, *On the Canon of the Scriptures*, Lect. ix., leans to the same conclusion. Dr. S. Davidson, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, gives a very careful and minute summary of the arguments of all the principal modern critics who reason upon the internal evidence, and concludes, in substantial agreement with the Alexandrian tradition, that St. Paul was the author of the Epistle, and that, as regards its phraseology and style, St. Luke co-operated with him in making it what it now appears. The tendency of opinion in Germany has been to ascribe the Epistle to some other author than St. Paul. Luther's conjecture, that Apollas was the author, has been widely adopted by L. Cleic, Bleck, De Wette, Tholuck, Bunsen, and others.<sup>h</sup> Barnabas has been named by Wieseler, Thiersch, and others.<sup>i</sup> Luke by Grotius, Silas by others. Neander attributes it to some apostolic man of the Pauline school, whose training and method of stating doctrinal truth diffused from St. Paul's. The distinguished name of H. Ewald has been given recently to the hypothesis (justly anticipated by Wetstein), that it was written neither by St. Paul, nor to the Hebrews, but by some Jewish teacher residing at Jerusalem to a church in some important Italian town, which is supposed to have sent a deputation to Palestine. Most of these guesses are quite destitute of historical evidence, and require the support of imaginary facts to place them on a seeming equality with the tra-

ditionary account. They cannot be said to rise out of the region of possibility into that of probability; but they are such as any man of leisure and learning might multiply till they include every name in the limited list that we possess of St. Paul's contemporaries.

The tradition of the Alexandrian fathers is not without some difficulties. It is truly said that the style of reasoning is different from that which St. Paul uses in his acknowledged epistles. But it may be replied,—Is the adoption of a different style of reasoning inconsistent with the versatility of that mind which could express itself in writings so diverse as the Pastoral Epistles and the preceding nine? or in speeches so diverse as those which are severally addressed to pagans at Athens and Lycaonia, to Jews at Pisidian Antioch, to Christian elders at Miletus? Is not such diversity just what might be expected from the man who in Syrian Antioch resisted circumcision and St. Peter, but in Jerusalem kept the Nazarite vow, and made concessions to Hebrew Christians; who professed to become "all things to all men" (1 Cor. ix. 22); whose education qualified him to express his thoughts in the idiom of either Syria or Greece, and to vindicate to Christianity whatever of eternal truth was known in the world, whether it had become current in Alexandrian philosophy, or in Rabbinical tradition?

If it be asked to what extent, and by whom was St. Paul assisted in the composition of this Epistle, the reply must be in the words of Origen, "Who wrote [i. e. as in Rom. xvi. 22, wrote from the author's dictation\*] this Epistle, only God knows." The style is not quite like that of Clement of Rome. Both style and sentiment are quite unlike those of the author of the Epistle of Barnabas. Of the three apostolic men named by African fathers, St. Luke is the most likely to have shared in the composition of this Epistle. The similarity in phraseology which exists between the acknowledged writings of St. Luke and this Epistle; his constant companionship with St. Paul, and his habit of listening to and recording the Apostle's arguments, form a strong presumption in his favour.

But if St. Luke were joint-author with St. Paul, what share in the composition is to be assigned to him? This question has been asked by those who regard joint-authorship as an impossibility, and ascribe the Epistle to some other writer than St. Paul. Perhaps it is not easy, certainly it is not necessary, to find an answer which would satisfy or silence persons who pursue an historical inquiry into the region of conjecture. Who shall define the exact responsibility of Timothy or Silvanus, or Sosthenes in those seven Epistles which St. Paul

<sup>f</sup> In this sense may be fairly understood the indirect declaration that this Epistle is St. Paul's, which the Church of England puts into the mouth of her ministers in the Offices for the Visitation of the Sick and the Solemnization of Matrimony.

<sup>g</sup> Bishop Pearson (*De successione priorum Romae episcoporum*, ch. viii. §8) says that the way in which Timothy is mentioned (xiii. 23) seems to him a sufficient proof that St. Paul was the author of this Epistle. For another view of this passage see Bleck, l. 273.

<sup>h</sup> Among these must now be placed Dean Alford, who in the fourth vol. of his *Greek Testament* (published since the above article was in type), discusses the question with great care and candour, and concludes that the Epistle was written by Apollas to the Romans, about A.D. 69, from Ephesus.

<sup>i</sup> Among these are some, who, unlike Origen, deny that Barnabas is the author of the Epistle which bears his name. If it be granted that we have no specimen of his style, the hypothesis which connects him with the Epistle to the Hebrews becomes less improbable. Many circumstances show that he possessed some qualifications for writing such an Epistle; such as his Levitical descent, his priestly education, his reputation at Jerusalem, his acquaintance with Gentile churches, his company with St. Paul, the tradition of Tertullian, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Lünemann, followed by Dean Alford, argues that Origen must have meant here, as he confessedly does a few lines farther on, to indicate an author not a scribe by *ὁ γράψας*; but he acknowledges that Olshausen, Stenglein, and Delitzsch, do not allow the necessity.

inscribes with some of their names conjointly with his own? To what extent does St. Mark's language clothe the inspired recollections of St. Peter, which, according to ancient tradition, are recorded in the second Gospel? Or, to take the acknowledged writings of St. Luke himself,—what is the share of the “eye-witnesses and ministers of the word” (Luke i. 2), or what is the share of St. Paul himself in that Gospel, which some persons, not without countenance from tradition, conjecture that St. Luke wrote under his master's eye, in the prison at Caesarea; or who shall assign to the follower and the master their portions respectively in those seven characteristic speeches at Antioch, Lystra, Athens, Miletus, Jerusalem, and Caesarea? If St. Luke wrote down St. Paul's Gospel, and condensed his missionary speeches, may he not have taken afterwards a more important share in the composition of this Epistle?

III. *To whom was the Epistle sent?*—This question was agitated as early as the time of Chrysostom, who replies,—to the Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine. The ancient tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria, that it was originally written in Hebrew by St. Paul, points to the same quarter. The unflinching tenacity with which the Eastern Church from the beginning maintained the authority of this Epistle leads to the inference that it was sent thither with sufficient credentials in the first instance. Like the first Epistle of St. John it has no inscription embodied in its text, and yet it differs from a treatise by containing several direct personal appeals, and from a homily, by closing with messages and salutations. Its present title, which, though ancient, cannot be proved to have been inscribed by the writer of the Epistle, might have been given to it, in accordance with the use of the term *Hebrews* in the N. T., if it had been addressed either to Jews who lived at Jerusalem, and spoke Aramaic (Acts vi. 1), or to the descendants of Abraham generally (2 Cor. xi. 22; Phil. iii. 5).

But the argument of the Epistle is such as could be used with most effect to a church consisting exclusively of Jews by birth, personally familiar with, and attached to the Temple-service. And such a community (as Bleek, *Hebræer*, i. 31, argues) could be found only in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. And if the church at Jerusalem retained its former distinction of including a great company of priests (Acts vi. 7)—a class professionally familiar with the songs of the Temple, accustomed to discuss the interpretation of Scripture, and acquainted with the prevailing Alexandrian philosophy,—such a church would be peculiarly fit to appreciate this Epistle. For it takes from the Book of Psalms the remarkable proportion of sixteen out of thirty-two quotations from the O. T., which it contains. It relies so much on deductions from Scripture that this circumstance has been pointed out as inconsistent with the tone of independent apostolic authority, which characterises the undoubted Epistles of St. Paul. And so fre-

quent is the use of Alexandrian philosophy and exegesis that it has suggested to some critics Apollon as the writer, to others the Alexandrian church as the primary recipient of the Epistle.<sup>m</sup> If certain members of the church at Jerusalem possessed goods (Heb. x. 34), and the means of ministering to distress (vi. 10), this fact is not irreconcilable, as has been supposed, with the deep poverty of other inhabitants of Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26, &c.); but it agrees exactly with the condition of that church thirty years previously (Acts ii. 45, and iv. 34), and with the historical estimate of the material prosperity of the Jews at this time (Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vi. 531, ch. lix.). If St. Paul quotes to Hebrews the LXX. without correcting it where it differs from the Hebrew, this agrees with his practice in other Epistles, and with the fact that, as elsewhere so in Jerusalem, Hebrew was a dead language, acquired only with much pains by the learned. The Scriptures were popularly known in Aramaic or Greek: quotations were made from memory, and verified by memory. Probably Prof. Jowett is correct in his inference (1st Edit. i. 361), that St. Paul did not *familiarly* know the Hebrew original, while he possessed a minute knowledge of the LXX.

Ebrard limits the primary circle of readers even to a section of the church at Jerusalem. Considering such passages as v. 12, vi. 10, x. 32, as probably inapplicable to the whole of that church, he conjectures that St. Paul wrote to some neophytes whose conversion, though not mentioned in the Acts, may have been partly due to the Apostle's influence in the time of his last recorded sojourn in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 22).

Some critics have maintained that this Epistle was addressed directly to Jewish believers everywhere: others have restricted it to those who dwelt in Asia and Greece. Almost every city in which St. Paul laboured has been selected by some critic as the place to which it was originally sent. Not only Rome and Caesarea, where St. Paul was long imprisoned, but, and the profound silence of its early Fathers, Alexandria also, which he never saw, have each found their advocates. And one conjecture connects this Epistle specially with the Gentile Christians of Ephesus. These guesses agree in being entirely unsupported by historical evidence; and each of them has some special plausibility combined with difficulties peculiar to itself.

IV. *Where and when was it written?*—Eastern traditions of the fourth century, in connexion with the opinion that St. Paul is the writer, name Italy and Rome, or Athens, as the place from whence the Epistle was written. Either place would agree with, perhaps was suggested by, the mention of Timothy in the last chapter. An inference in favour of Rome may be drawn from the Apostle's long captivity there in company with Timothy and Luke. Caesarea is open to a similar inference; and it has been conjecturally named as the place of the composition of the Epistle to the

<sup>l</sup> For an explanation of the alleged ignorance of the author of Heb. ix. as to the furniture of the Temple, see Ebrard's *Commentary* on the passage, or Professor Stuart's *Excursus*, xvi. and xvii.

<sup>m</sup> The influence of the Alexandrian school did not begin with Philo, and was not confined to Alexandria. [ALEXANDRIA.] The means and the evidence of its progress may be traced in the writings of the son of Sirach (Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*,

i. § 8, p. 234), the author of the Book of Wisdom (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 548), Aristobolus, Ezekiel, Philo, and Theodorus (Ewald, iv. 287); in the phraseology of St. John (Prof. Jowett, *On the Theognostians*, &c. 1st Edit. i. 408), and the arguments of St. Paul (ibid. p. 361); in the establishment of an Alexandrian synagogue at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 9), and the existence of schools of scriptural interpretation there (Ewald, *Geschichte*, v. 63, and vi. 231).

Colossians, Ephesians, and Philipians: but it is not supported by any tradition. From the expression "they of (ἀπὸ) Italy," xii. 24, it has been inferred that the writer could not have been in Italy; but Winer (*Grammatik*, §66. 6), denies that the preposition necessarily has that force.

The Epistle was evidently written before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The whole argument, and specially the passages viii. 4 and sq., ix. 6 and sq. (where the present tenses of the Greek are unaccountably changed into past in the English version), and xiii. 10 and sq. imply that the Temple was standing, and that its usual course of Divine service was carried on without interruption. A Christian reader, keenly watching in the doomed<sup>a</sup> city for the fulfilment of his Lord's prediction, would at once understand the ominous references to "that which beareth thorns and briers, and is rejected, and is high unto cursing, whose end is to be burned;" "that which decayeth and waxeth old, and is ready to vanish away;" and the coming of the expected "Day," and the removing of those things that are shaken, vi. 8, viii. 13, x. 25, 37, xii. 27. But these forebodings seem less distinct and circumstantial than they might have been if uttered immediately before the catastrophe. The references to former teachers xiii. 7, and earlier instruction v. 12, and x. 32, might suit any time after the first years of the church; but it would be interesting to connect the first reference with the martyrdom of St. James at the Passover A.D. 62. Modern criticism has not destroyed, though it has weakened, the connexion of this Epistle with St. Paul's Roman captivity (A.D. 61-63) by substituting the reading τοῖς δεσμοῖς, "the prisoners" for τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου (A. V. "me in my bonds"), x. 34; by proposing to interpret ἀπολελυμένον xiii. 23 as "sent away," rather than "set at liberty;" and by urging that the condition of the writer, as portrayed in xiii. 18, 19, 23, is not necessarily that of a prisoner, and that there may possibly be no allusion to it in xiii. 3. On the whole, the date which best agrees with the traditional account of the authorship and destination of the Epistle is A.D. 63, about the end of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, or a year after Albinus succeeded Festus as Procurator.

V. *In what language was it written?*—Like St. Matthew's Gospel, the Epistle to the Hebrews has afforded ground for much unimportant controversy respecting the language in which it was originally written. The earliest statement is that of Clement of Alexandria (preserved in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14), to the effect that it was written by St. Paul in Hebrew, and translated by St. Luke into Greek; and hence, as Clement observes, arises the identity of the style of the Epistle and that of the Acts. This statement is repeated, after a long interval, by Eusebius, Theodoret, Jerome, and several later fathers: but it is not noticed by the majority. Nothing is said to lead us to regard it as a tradition, rather than a conjecture suggested by the style of the Epistle. No person is said to have used or seen a Hebrew original. The Aramaic copy, included in the Peshito, has never been regarded otherwise than as a translation. Among the few modern supporters of an Aramaic original the most distinguished are Joseph Hallet, an English

writer in 1727 (whose able essay is most easily accessible in a Latin translation in Wolf's *Curse Philologicae*, iv. 806-837), and J. D. Michaelis, *Erklär. des Briefes an die Hebräer*. Bleek (i. 6-23), argues in support of a Greek original, on the grounds of (1.) the purity and easy flow of the Greek; (2.) the use of Greek words which could not be adequately expressed in Hebrew without long periphrase; (3.) the use of paronomasia—milder which head he disallows the inference against an Aramaic original which has been drawn from the double sense given to διαθήκη, ix. 15; and (4.) the use of the Septuagint in quotations and references which do not correspond with the Hebrew text.

VI. *Condition of the Hebrews, and scope of the Epistle.*—The numerous Christian churches scattered throughout Judaea (Acts ix. 31; Gal. i. 22) were continually exposed to persecution from the Jews (1 Thess. ii. 14), which would become more searching and extensive as churches multiplied, and as the growing turbulence of the nation ripened into the insurrection of A.D. 66. Personal violence, spoliation of property, exclusion from the synagogue, and domestic strife were the universal forms of persecution. But in Jerusalem there was one additional weapon in the hands of the predominant oppressors of the Christians. Their magnificent national Temple, hallowed to every Jew by ancient historical and by gentler personal recollections, with its irresistible attractions, its soothing strains, and mysterious ceremonies, might be shut against the Hebrew Christian. And even if, amid the fierce factions and frequent oscillations of authority in Jerusalem, this affliction were not often laid upon him, yet there was a secret burden which every Hebrew Christian bore within him—the knowledge that the end of all the beauty and awfulness of Zion was rapidly approaching. Paralyzed, perhaps, by this consciousness, and enfeebled by their attachment to a lower form of Christianity, they became stationary in knowledge, weak in faith, void of energy, and even in danger of apostasy from Christ. For, as afflictions multiplied round them, and made them feel more keenly their dependence on God, and their need of near and frequent and associated approach to Him, they seemed, in consequence of their Christianity, to be receding from the God of their fathers, and losing that means of communion with Him which they used to enjoy. Angels, Moses, and the High-priest—their intercessors in heaven, in the grave, and on earth—became of less importance in the creed of the Jewish Christian; their glory waned as he grew in Christian experience. Already he felt that the Lord's day was superseding the Sabbath, the New Covenant the Old. What could take the place of the Temple, and that which was behind the veil, and the Levitical sacrifices, and the Holy City, when they should cease to exist? What compensation could Christianity offer him for the loss which was pressing<sup>b</sup> the Hebrew Christian more and more?

James, the bishop of Jerusalem, had just left his place vacant by a martyr's death. Neither to Cephas at Babylon, nor to John at Ephesus, the third pillar of the Apostolic Church, was it given to understand all the greatness of his want, and to speak to him the word in season. But there came to him from Rome the voice of one who had been

<sup>a</sup> See Josephus, *B. J.* vi. 5, §3.

<sup>b</sup> See Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9, §1; Euseb. *E. H.* ii. 23; and Recogn. Clement. i. 70, ap. Cotelier. i. 509.

<sup>c</sup> See the ingenious, but perhaps overstrained, interpretation of Heb. xi. in Thiersch's *Commentatio Historica de Epistola ad Hebræos*.

the foremost in sounding the depth and breadth of that love of Christ which was all but incomprehensible to the Jew, one who feeling more than any other Apostle the weight of the care of all the churches, yet clung to his own people with a love ever ready to break out in impassioned words, and unsought and ill-requited deeds of kindness. He whom Jerusalem had sent away in chains to Rome again lifted up his voice in the hallowed city among his countrymen; but with words and arguments suited to their capacity, with a strange, borrowed accent, and a tone in which reigned no apostolic authority, and a face veiled in very love from wayward children who might refuse to hear divine and saving truth, when it fell from the lips of Paul.

He meets the Hebrew Christians on their own ground. His answer is—"Your new faith gives you Christ, and, in Christ, all you seek, all your fathers sought. In Christ the Son of God you have an all-sufficient Mediator, nearer than Angels to the Father, eminent above Moses as a benefactor, more sympathizing and more prevailing than the High-priest as an intercessor: His sabbath awaits you in heaven; to His covenant the old was intended to be subservient; His atonement is the eternal reality of which sacrifices are but the passing shadow; His city heavenly, not made with hands. Having Him, believe in Him with all your heart,—with a faith in the unseen future, strong as that of the saints of old, patient under present, and prepared for coming woe, full of energy, and hope, and holiness, and love."

Such was the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We do not possess the means of tracing out step by step its effect upon them; but we know that the result at which it aimed was achieved. The church at Jerusalem did not apostatize. It migrated to Pella (Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 5); and there, no longer dwindled under the cold shadow of overhanging Judaism, it followed the Hebrew Christians of the Dispersion in gradually entering on the possession of the full liberty which the law of Christ allows to all.

And this great Epistle remains to aftertimes, a keystone binding together that succession of inspired men which spans over the ages between Moses and St. John. It teaches the Christian student the substantial identity of the revelation of God, whether given through the Prophets, or through the Son; for it shows that God's purposes are unchangeable, however diversely in different ages they have been "reflected in broken and fitful rays, glancing back from the troubled waters of the human soul." It is a source of inexhaustible comfort to every Christian sufferer in inward perplexity, or amid "reprouches and afflictions." It is a pattern to every Christian teacher of the method in which larger views should be imparted, gently, reverently, and seasonably, to feeble spirits prone to cling to ancient forms, and to rest in accustomed feelings.

VII. *Literature connected with the Epistle.*—In addition to the books already referred to, four commentaries may be selected as the best representatives of distinct lines of thought;—those of Chrysostom, Calvin, Estius, and Bleek. Linemann

(1855), and Delitzsch (1858) have recently added valuable Commentaries to those already in existence.

The Commentaries accessible to the English reader are those of Professor Stuart (of Andover, U. S.), and of Ebrard, translated by the Rev. J. Fulton. Dr. Owen's Exegetical Notes on the Hebrews are not chiefly valuable as an attempt at exegesis. The Paraphrase and Notes of Pierce are praised by Dr. Doddridge. Among the well-known collections of English notes on the Greek text, or English version of the N. T. those of Hammond, Fell, Whitty, Mac-knight, Wordsworth, and Alford may be particularly mentioned. In Prof. Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age* there is a thoughtful and eloquent sermon on this Epistle; and it is the subject of three Warburtonian Lectures, by the Rev. F. D. Maurice.

A tolerably complete list of Commentaries on this Epistle may be found in Bleek, vol. ii. pp. 10-16, and a comprehensive but shorter list at the end of Ebrard's *Commentary*. [W. T. B.]

HEBRON (הֶבְרוֹן; *Xεβρών; Hebron*). 1. The third son of Kohath, who was the second son of Levi; the younger brother of Amram, father of Moses and Aaron (*Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 19; 1 Chr. vi. 2, 18, xxiii. 12*). The immediate children of Hebron are not mentioned by name (*comp. Ex. vi. 21, 22*), but he was the founder of a "family" (*Mishpachah*) of Hebronites (*Num. iii. 27, xvi. 58; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23, 30, 31*) or Bene-Hebron (*1 Chr. xv. 9, xxi. 19*), who are often mentioned in the enumerations of the Levites in the passages above cited. JERIAH was the head of the family in the time of David (*1 Chr. xxiii. 19, xvi. 31, xxiv. 23*; in the last of these passages the name of Hebron does not now exist in the Hebrew, but has been supplied in the A. V. from the other lists). In the last year of David's reign we find them settled at Jazer in Gilead (a place not elsewhere named as a Levitical city), "mighty men of valour"

(בְּנֵי חַיִל), 2700 in number, who were superintendants for the king over the two and a half tribes in regard to all matters sacred and secular (*1 Chr. xxvi. 31, 32*). At the same time 1700 of the family under Hashabiah held the same office on the west of Jordan (*30*).

2. This name appears in the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah (*1 Chr. ii. 42, 43*), where Mareshah is said to have been the "father of Hebron," who again had four sons, one of whom was Tappuah. The three names just mentioned are those of places, as are also many others in the subsequent branches of this genealogy—Ziph, Maon, Bethzur, &c. But it is impossible at present to say whether these names are intended to be those of the places themselves or of persons who founded them. [G.]

HEBRON (הֶבְרוֹן; *Xεβρώμ and Xεβρόν*; Arab. الحبليل = "the friend"), a city of Judah (*Josh. xv. 54*); situated among the mountains (*Josh. xx. 7*), 20 Roman miles south of Jerusalem, and the same distance north of Beersheba (*Onom. s. v. Ἀρὰβ*).

deduced probably by the word following, "westward," our translators have rendered it "on this side" (*comp. Deut. i. 1, 5, Josh. ix. 1, &c.*). May not the meaning be that Hashabiah and his brethren were settled on the western side of the Transjordanic country?

\* See Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, ii. 5, §8.  
The expression here is literally "we were superintendents of Israel beyond (לְעֵבֶר) Jordan for the west (מִצְרַיִם) in all the business," &c. "Beyond Jordan" generally means "on the east," but here, in-

Hebron is one of the most ancient cities in the world still existing; and in this respect it is the rival of Damascus. It was built, says a sacred writer, "seven years before Zann in Egypt" (Num. xiii. 22). But when was Zann built? It is well we can prove the high antiquity of Hebron independently of Egypt's mythical annals. It was a well-known town when Abraham entered Canaan 3780 years ago (Gen. xiii. 18). Its original name was Kirjath-Arba (קִרְיַת־אַרְבַּע; LXX., *Kiriath-arba-oseph*, Judg. i. 10), "the city of Arba;" so called from Arba, the father of Anak, and progenitor of the giant Anakim (Josh. xvi. 11, xv. 13, 14). It was sometimes called Mamre, doubtless from Abraham's friend and ally, Mamre the Amoiite (Gen. xiii. 19, xxv. 27); but the "oak of Mamre," where the Patriarch so often pitched his tent, appears to have been not in, but near Hebron. [MAMRE.] The chief interest of this city arises from its having been the scene of some of the most remarkable events in the lives of the patriarchs. Sarah died at Hebron; and Abraham then bought from Ephron the Hittite the field and cave of Machpelah, to serve as a family tomb (Gen. xxiii. 2-20). The cave is still there; and the massive wall of the *Haram* or mosque, within which it lies, form the most remarkable object in the whole city. [MACHPELAH.] Abraham is called by Mohammedans *el-Kahil*, "the Friend," i. e. of God; and this is the modern name of Hebron. When the Israelites entered Palestine Hebron was taken by Joshua from the descendants of Anak, and given to Caleb (Josh. x. 30, xiv. 6-15, xv. 13, 14). It was assigned to the Levites, and made "a city of refuge" (Josh. xvi. 11-13). Here David first established the seat of his government, and dwelt during the seven years and a half he reigned over Judah (2 Sam. v. 5). Hebron was rebuilt after the captivity; but it soon fell into the hands of the Edomites, from whom it was rescued by Judas Maccabaeus (Neh. xi. 25; 1 Macc. v. 65; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, §6). A short time before the capture of Jerusalem Hebron was burned by an officer of Vespasian (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, §9). About the beginning of the 12th century it was captured by the Crusaders. It subsequently lay for a time in ruins (Albert Aq. vii. 15; Saewulf in *Early Travels in Pal.* p. 45); but in A.D. 1167 it was made the seat of a Latin bishopric (Will. Tyr. x. 3). In 1187 it reverted to the Muslims, and has ever since remained in their hands.

Hebron now contains about 5000 inhabitants, of whom some 50 families are Jews. It is picturesque situated in a narrow valley, surrounded by rocky hills. This, in all probability, is that "valley of Eschol," whence the Jewish spies got the great bunch of grapes (Num. xiii. 23). Its sides are still clothed with luxuriant vineyards, and its grapes are considered the finest in Southern Palestine. Groves of gray olives, and some other fruit trees, give variety to the scene. The valley runs from north to south; and the main quarter of the town, surmounted by the lofty walls of the venerable *Haram*, lies partly on the eastern slope (Gen. xxvii. 14; comp. xxiii. 19). The houses are all of stone, solidly built, flat-roofed, each having one or two small cupolas. The town has no walls, but the main streets opening on the principal roads have gates. In the bottom of the valley south of the town is a large tank, 130 ft. square, by 50 deep; the sides are solidly built with hewn stones.

At the northern end of the principal quarter is another, measuring 85 ft. long, by 55 broad. Both are of high antiquity; and one of them, probably the former, is that over which David hanged the murderers of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12). About a mile from the town, up the valley, is one of the largest oak-trees in Palestine. It stands quite alone in the midst of the vineyards. It is 23 ft. in girth, and its branches cover a space 90 ft. in diameter. This, say some, is the very tree beneath which Abraham pitched his tent; but, however this may be, it still bears the name of the patriarch. (Poiter's *Handbook*, 67 sq.; Rob. ii. 73 sq.) [J. L. P.]

2. (עֶבְרֹן, and עֶבְרָן; *Ἐβρώ*, Alex. *Ἀχράν*; *Achran*, later editions *Abran*). One of the towns in the territory of Asher (Josh. xiv. 28), on the boundary of the tribe. It is named next to Rehob, and is apparently in the neighbourhood of Zidon. By Eusebius and Jerome it is merely mentioned (*Onomast.* *Achran*), and no one in modern times has discovered its site. It will be observed that the name in the original is quite different from that of Hebron, the well-known city of Judah (No. 1), although in the A. V. they are the same, our translators having represented the *ain* by H, instead of by G, or by the vowel only, as is their usual custom. But, in addition, it is not certain whether the name should not rather be Ebdon or Abdon (עֶבְדֹן), since that form is found in many MSS. (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*; Gesen. *Thes.* 980), and since an Abdon is named amongst the Levitical cities of Asher in other lists, which otherwise would be unmentioned here. On the other hand, the old versions (excepting only the Vat. LXX., which is obviously corrupt) unanimously retain the R. [ABDON.] [G.]

HEDGE מְסֻכָּה, גְּדֵרָה, גְּדֵר, גְּדֵרָה; *φραγμός*). The first three words thus rendered in the A. V., as well as their Greek equivalent, denote simply that which surrounds or encloses, whether it be a stone wall (גְּדֵר, *geder*, Prov. xxiv. 31; Ez. xlii. 10), or a fence of other materials. גְּדֵר, *gâlér*, and גְּדֵרָה, *g'dérâh*, are used of the hedge of a vineyard (Num. xxii. 24; Ps. lxxxix. 40; 1 Chr. iv. 23), and the latter is employed to describe the wide walls of stone, or fences of thorn, which served as a shelter for sheep in winter and summer (Num. xxxii. 16). The stone walls which surround the sheepfolds of modern Palestine are frequently crowned with sharp thorns (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 299), a custom at least as ancient as the time of Homer (*Od.* xiv. 10), when a kind of prickly pear (*ἀχάρεος*) was used for that purpose, as well as for the fences of corn-fields at a later period (Arist. *Ecol.* 355). In order to protect the vineyards from the ravages of wild beasts (Ps. lxxx. 12) it was customary to surround them with a wall of loose stones or mud (Matt. xvi. 33; Mark xii. 1), which was a favorite haunt of serpents (Eccl. x. 8), and a retreat for locusts from the cold (Nah. iii. 17). Such walls are described by Maundrell as surrounding the gardens of Damascus. "They are built of great pieces of earth, made in the fashion of brick and hardened in the sun. In their dimensions they are each two yards long and somewhat more than one broad, and half a yard thick. Two rows of these, placed one upon another, make a cheap, expeditious, and, in this dry country, a durable wall" (*Early Trav. in Pal.*

p. 487). A wall or fence of this kind is clearly distinguished in Is. v. 5 from the tangled hedge, **מִשְׁכָּח**, *m'sedeh* (מִסְכָּח, Mic. vii. 4), which was planted as an additional safeguard to the vineyard (cf. Ecclus. xxviii. 24), and was composed of the thorny shrubs with which Palestine abounds. The prickly pear, a species of cactus, so frequently employed for this purpose in the East at present, is believed to be of comparatively modern introduction. The aptness of the comparison of a tangled hedge of thorn to the difficulties which a slothful man conjures up as an excuse for his inactivity, will be at once recognised (Prov. xv. 19; cf. Hos. ii. 6). The narrow paths between the hedges of the vineyards and gardens, "with a fence on this side and a fence on that side" (Num. xxii. 24), are distinguished from the "highways," or more frequented tracks, in Luke xiv. 23. [W. A. W.]

**HEGAI** (הֶגַי; *Gaf; Egeus*), one of the eunuchs (A. V. "chamberlains") of the court of Ahasuerus, who had special charge of the women of the harem (Esth. ii. 8, 15). According to the Hebrew text he was a distinct person from the "keeper of the concubines"—Shashtagaz (14), but the LXX. have the same name in 14 as in 8, while in 15 they omit it altogether. In verse 3 the name is given under the different form of

**HE'GE** (הֶגֶי; *Egeus*, probably a Persian name. *Aja* signifies eunuch in Sanscrit, in accordance with which the LXX. have *ἡγεῖς*. *Hegias*, *H'vias*, is mentioned by Ctesias as one of the people about Xerxes, Gesenius, *Thes.* Addenda, 83 b).

**HEIFER** (עֵיֶלָה; פָּרָה; *δευκαλις; vacca*). The Hebrew language has no expression that exactly corresponds to our heifer; for both *eylah* and *parah* are applied to cows that have calved (1 Sam. vi. 7-12; Job xxi. 10; Is. vii. 21): indeed *eylah* means a young animal of any species, the full expression being *eylah bakar*, "heifer of kine" (Deut. xxi. 3; 1 Sam. xvi. 2; Is. vii. 21). The heifer or young cow was not commonly used for ploughing, but only for treading out the corn (Hos. x. 11; but see Judg. xiv. 18), when it ran about without any headstall (Deut. xxv. 4); hence the expression an "unbroken heifer" (Hos. iv. 16; A. V. "backsliding"), to which Israel is compared. A similar sense has been attached to the expression "calf of three years old," i. e. *unsubdued*, in Is. xv. 5, Jer. xlviii. 34; but it is much more probably to be taken as a proper name, *Eylath Shetishiyah*, such names being not uncommon. The sense of "dissolute" is conveyed undoubtedly in Am. iv. 1. The comparison of Egypt to a "fair heifer" (Jer. xli. 20) may be an allusion to the well known form under which Apis was worshipped (to which we may also refer the words in ver. 15, as understood in the LXX., "Why is the bullock (*μῦθος ἐκλεπτός*) swept away?") the "destruction" threatened being the bite of the gal-fly, to which the word *keretz* would fitly apply. "To plough with another man's heifer" (Judg. xiv. 18) implies that an advantage has been gained by unfair means. The proper names Eglah, En-eglaim, and Parah, are derived from the Hebrew terms at the head of this article. [W. L. B.]

**HEIR**. The Hebrew institutions relative to inheritance were of a very simple character. Under the Patriarchal system the property was divided among the sons of the legitimate wives (Gen. xxi.

16, xxiv. 36, xxv. 5), a larger portion being assigned to one, generally the eldest, on whom devolved the duty of maintaining the females of the family. [BIRTHRIGHT.] The sons of concubines were portioned off with presents (Gen. xxv. 6): occasionally they were placed on a par with the legitimate sons (Gen. xlix. 1 ff.), but this may have been restricted to cases where the children had been adopted by the legitimate wife (Gen. xxx. 3). At a later period the exclusion of the sons of concubines was rigidly enforced (Judg. xi. 1 ff.). Daughters had no share in the patrimony (Gen. xxi. 14), but received a marriage portion, consisting of a maid-servant (Gen. xxix. 24, 29), or some other property. As a matter of special favour they sometimes took part with the sons (Job xlii. 15). The Mosiac law regulated the succession to real property thus: it was to be divided among the sons, the eldest receiving a double portion (Deut. xxi. 17), the others equal shares: if there were no sons, it went to the daughters (Num. xxvii. 8), on the condition that they did not marry out of their own tribe (Num. xxvi. 6 ff.; Tob. vi. 12, vii. 13), otherwise the patrimony was forfeited (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §5). If there were no daughters, it went to the brother of the deceased; if no brother, to the paternal uncle; and, failing these, to the next of kin (Num. xxvii. 9-11). In the case of a widow being left without children, the nearest of kin on her husband's side had the right of marrying her, and in the event of his refusal the next of kin (Ruth iii. 12, 13): with him rested the obligation of redeeming the property of the widow (Ruth iv. 1 ff.), if it had been either sold or mortgaged: this

obligation was termed **הַיִּשְׁפָּט הַזֶּה** ("the right of inheritance"), and was exercised in other cases besides that of marriage (Jer. xxii. 7 ff.). If none stepped forward to marry the widow, the inheritance remained with her until her death, and then reverted to the next of kin. The object of these regulations evidently was to prevent the alienation of the land, and to retain it in the same family: the Mosiac law enforced, in short, a strict entail. Even the assignment of the double portion, which under the patriarchal *regime* had been at the disposal of the father (Gen. xlviii. 22), was by the Mosiac law limited to the eldest son (Deut. xxi. 15-17). The case of Achan, to whom Calab presented a field (Josh. xv. 18, 19; Judg. i. 15), is an exception: but perhaps even in that instance the land reverted to Calab's descendants either at the death of Achan or in the year of Jubilee. The land being thus so strictly tied up, the notion of *heirship*, as we understand it, was hardly known to the Jews: succession was a matter of right, and not of favour—a state of things which is embodied

in the Hebrew language itself, for the word **יָרַשׁ** (A. V. "to inherit") implies *possession*, and very often *forcible possession* (Deut. ii. 12; Judg. i. 29, xi. 24), and a similar idea lies at the root of the words **אִתְּחִילָה** and **נִחִלָה**, generally translated "inheritance." Testamentary dispositions were of course superfluous: the nearest approach to the idea is the *blessing*, which in early times conveyed temporal as well as spiritual benefits (Gen. xxvi. 19, 37; Josh. xv. 19). The references to wills in St. Paul's writings are borrowed from the usages of Greece and Rome (Heb. ix. 17), whence the custom was introduced into Judaea: several wills are

noticed by Josephus in connexion with the Herods (*Ant.* xiii. 16, §1, xvii. 3, §3; *B. J.* ii. 2, §1).

With regard to *personal* property, it may be presumed that the owner had some authority over it, at all events during his life-time. The admission of a slave to a portion of the inheritance with the sons (*Prov.* xvii. 2) probably applies only to the personality. A presentation of half the personality formed the marriage portion of Tobit's wife (*Tob.* viii. 21). A distribution of goods during the father's life-time is implied in Luke xv. 11-13: a distinction may be noted between *οὐσία*, a general term applicable to personality, and *κληρονομία*, the *landed* property, which could only be divided after the father's death (*Luke* xii. 13).

There is a striking resemblance between the Hebrew and Athenian customs of heirship, particularly as regards heiresses (*εἰρηληγοί*), who were, in both nations, bound to marry their nearest relation: the property did not vest in the husband even for his life-time, but devolved upon the son of the heiress as soon as he was of age, who also bore the name, not of his father, but of his maternal grandfather. The object in both countries was the same, viz. to preserve the name and property of every family (*Dict. of Ant. art.* *Ἐπικληρος*). [W. L. B.]

**HELAH** (הֶלַח; *Ἡλᾶδ*, Alex. *Ἡλαδ*; *Hulaa*), one of the two wives of Ashur, father of Tekoa (*1 Chr.* iv. 5). Her three children are enumerated in ver. 7. In the LXX. the passage is very much confused, the sons being ascribed to different wives from what they are in the Hebrew text.

**HE'LAM** (הֶלָם; *Ἡλάμ*; *Helam*), a place east of the Jordan, but west of the Euphrates ("the river"), at which the Syrians were collected by Hadadzer, and at which David met and defeated them (*2 Sam.* x. 16, 17). In the latter verse the name appears as Chelamah (חֶלְמָה), but the final syllable is probably only the particle of motion. This longer form, *Χαλαμάκ*, the present text<sup>a</sup> of the LXX. inserts in ver. 16 as if the name of the river; while in the two other places it has *Ἀλάμ*, corresponding to the Hebrew text. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, §3) the name is given as *Χαλαμά*, and as being that of the king of the Syrians beyond Euphrates—*πρὸς Χαλαμὰν τὸν τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου Σύρων βασιλέα*.

In the Vulgate no name is inserted after *fluvium*; but in ver. 16, for "came to Helam," we find *adduxit exercitum eorum*, reading *הֶלַח*, "their army." This too is the rendering of the old translator Aquila—*ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν*—of whose version ver. 16 has survived. In 17 the Vulgate agrees with the A. V.

Many conjectures have been made as to the locality of *Helam*; but to none of them does any certainty attach. The most feasible perhaps is that it is identical with Alamatha, a town named by Ptolemy, and located by him on the west of the Euphrates near Nicophorium. [G.]

**HEL'BAH** (הֶלְבָּה; *Ἡλβᾶδ*; *Helba*), a town of Asher, probably on the plain of Phoenicia, not far from Sidon (*Judg.* i. 31). [J. L. P.]

<sup>a</sup> This is probably a late addition, since in the LXX. text as it stood in Origen's *Hexapla*, *Χαλαμάκ* was omitted after *ποταμοῦ* (see Barchin, *ad loc.*).

**HEL'BON** (הֶלְבֹן; *Ἡλβών*), a place only mentioned once in Scripture. Ezekiel, in describing the wealth and commerce of Tyre, says, "Damascus was thy merchant in the wine of Helbon." The Vulgate translates these words *in vino pingui*; and some other ancient versions also make the word descriptive of the quality of the wine. There can be no doubt, however, that Helbon is a proper name. Strabo speaks of the wine of Chalybon (*οἶνον ἐκ Συρίας τὸν Χαλυβόνιον*) from Syria as among the luxuries in which the kings of Persia indulged (xv. 735); and Athenaeus assigns it to Damascus (i. 22). Geographers have hitherto represented Helbon as identical with the city of Aleppo, called

*Halab* (حلب) by the Arabs; but there are strong reasons against this. The whole force and beauty of the description in Ezekiel consists in this, that in the great market of Tyre every kingdom and city found ample demand for its own staple products. Why, therefore, should the Damascenes supply wine of Aleppo, conveying it a long and difficult journey overland? If strange merchants had engaged in this trade, we should naturally expect them to be some maritime people who could carry it cheaply along the coast from the port of Aleppo.

A few years ago the writer directed attention to a village and district within a few miles of Damascus, still bearing the ancient name *Helbon* (the Arabic

حلبون corresponds exactly to the Hebrew *הֶלְבֹן*), and still celebrated as producing the finest grapes in the country. (See *Journal of Soc. Lit.* July 1853, p. 260; *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 330 sq.). There cannot be a doubt that this village, and not Aleppo, is the Helbon of Ezekiel and Strabo. The village is situated in a wild glen, high up in Antilebanon. The remains of some large and beautiful structures are strewn around it. The bottom and sides of the glen are covered with terraced vineyards; and the whole surrounding country is rich in vines and fig-trees (*Handbk. for Syr. and Pal.* pp. 495-6). [J. L. P.]

**HELOHIAH** (*Ἡελκίας*; *Helcias*), 1 *Esd.* viii. 1. [HILKIAH.]

**HELOHIA'S** (*Holcias*), the same person as the preceding, 2 *Esd.* i. 1. [HILKIAH.]

**HEL'DAI** (הֶלְדַּי; *Χολδαί*, Alex. *Χολδαί*; *Holdai*). 1. The twelfth captain of the monthly courses for the temple services (*1 Chr.* xxvii. 15). He is specified as "the Netophathite," and as a descendant of Othniel.

2. An Israelite who seems to have returned from the Captivity; for whom, with others, Zechariah was commanded to make certain crowns as memorials (*Zech.* vi. 10). In ver. 14 the name appears to be changed to HELEM. The LXX. translate *παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων*.

**HE'LEB** (הֶלֶב; *Ἡλεβ*, Vat. omits, *Ἡλᾶδ*; *Heled*), son of Baanah, the Netophathite, one of the heroes of king David's guard (*2 Sam.* xxiii. 29). In the parallel list the name is given as

**HELED** (הֶלֶד; *Χηλᾶδ*, Alex. *Ἡλᾶδ*; *Heled*), 1 *Chr.* vi. 30.

**HE'LEK** (הֵלֶק; *Xelék*, Alex. *Xelék*; *Holec*), one of the descendants of Manasseh; the second son of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 30), and founder of the family of the HELEKITES. The Bene-Chelek are mentioned in Josh. xvii. 2 as of much importance in their tribe. The name has not however survived, at least it has not yet been met with.

**HELEKITES, THE** (הֵלֶקִיתִּי, i. e. "the Chelkite"; *δ Χελεκι*, Alex. *Χελεκι*; *familia Holciturum*), the family descended from the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30).

**HE'LEM** (הֵלֶם; *'Eldm*; *Helem*). 1. A man named among the descendants of Asher, in a passage evidently much disordered (1 Chr. vii. 35). If it be intended that he was the brother of Shamer, then he may be identical with Hotham, in ver. 32, the name having been altered in copying; but this is mere conjecture. Burrrington (i. 265) quotes two Hebrew MSS., in which the name is written **הֵלֶם**, *Chelos*.

2. A man mentioned only in Zech. vi. 14. Apparently the same who is given as HELDAI in ver. 10 (Ewald, *Propheien*, 536 note).

**HE'LEPH** (הֵלֶפֶת; *Mooldm*, Alex. *Meleph*—both include the preposition prefixed; *Heleph*), the place from which the boundary of the tribe of Naphtali started (Josh. xix. 33), but where situated, or on which quarter, cannot be ascertained from the text. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 320) proposes to identify it with *Beitlif*, an ancient site nearly due east of the *Rus Abyud*, and west of *Kudes*, on the edge of a very marked ravine, which probably formed part of the boundary between Naphtali and Asher (Van de Velde, *Syria*, i. 233; and see his map, 1858). [G.]

**HE'LEZ** (הֵלֶז; *Xelals*—the initial *X* is probably from the end of the preceding word—Alex. *'Ealals*, *Xelals*; *Heles*, *Helles*). 1. One of "the thirty" of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 27: in the latter, **הֵלֶז**), an Ephraimite, and captain of the seventh monthly course (1 Chr. xxvii. 10). In both these passages of Chronicles he is called "the Pelonite," of which Kennicott decides that "the Paltite" of Samuel is a corruption (*Dissertation*, &c., 183-4). [PALTITE.]

2. A man of Judah, son of Azariah (1 Chr. ii. 39); a descendant of Jerahmeel, of the great family of Hezron.

**HE'LI** (הַלִּי; *'Hael*; *Heli*), the father of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary (Luke iii. 23); maintained by Lord A. Hervey, the latest investigator of the genealogy of Christ, to have been the real brother of Jacob the father of the Virgin herself. (Hervey, *Genealogies*, 130, 138.) The name, as we possess it, is the same as that employed by the LXX. in the O. T. to render the Hebrew **יֵלִי**, *ELI* the high-priest.

3. The third of three names inserted between ACHITOB and AMARIAS in the genealogy of Ezra, in 2 Esd. i. 2 (compare *Ezr.* vii. 2, 3).

**HELI'AS**, 2 Esd. vii. 39. [ELIAH.]

**HELIODORUS** (*Ἡλιόδωρος*), the treasurer (*δ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων*) of Seleucus Philopator, who was commissioned by the king, at the instigation of Apollonius [APOLLONIUS] to carry away the private treasures deposited in the Temple at Jerusalem. According to the narrative in 2 Macc. iii. 9 ff., he was stayed from the execution of his

design by a "great apparition" (*ἐπιφάνεια*), in consequence of which he fell down "compos'd with great darkness," and speechless. He was afterwards restored at the intercession of the High-priest Onias, and bore witness to the king of the inviolable majesty of the Temple (2 Macc. iii.). The full details of the narrative are not supported by any other evidence. Josephus, who was unacquainted with 2 Macc., takes no notice of it; and the author of the so-called iv. Macc. attributes the attempt to plunder the Temple to Apollonius, and differs in his account of the miraculous interposition, though he distinctly recognises it (*de Macc.* 4 *οὐρανὸν ἐφίπτοι προφάνησαν ἄγγελοι . . . καταπέσαν δὲ ἡμῶν δ' Ἀπολλώνιος . . .*). Heliodorus afterwards murdered Seleucus, and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Syrian crown B.C. 175 (App. *Syr.* 45). Cf. Weinsdorf, *De fide Libr. Macc.* §liv. Radcliffe's grand picture of "Heliodorus" will be known to most by copies and engravings, if not by the original. [B. F. W.]

**HEL'KAI** (הֵלְכַי; *'Ealkai*; *Helci*), a priest of the family of Meraioth (or Meremoth, see ver. 3), who was living in the days of Josiah the high-priest, i. e. in the generation following the return from Babylon under Joshua and Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 15; comp. 10, 12).

**HEL'KATH** (הֵלְכָת; *'Eelakeθ*, Alex. *Xelkadθ*; *Alcath*, and *Elbath*), the town named as the starting-point for the boundary of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 25), and allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xii. 31). The enumeration of the boundary seems to proceed from south to north; but nothing absolutely certain can be said thereon, nor has any traveller recovered the site of Helkath. Eusebius and Jerome report the name much corrupted (*Onom. Ethae*), but evidently knew nothing of the place. Schwarz (191) suggests the village *Yerka*, which lies about 8 miles east of *Abka* (see Van de Velde's map); but this requires further examination.

In the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi. HUKOK is substituted for Helkath. [H.]

**HEL'KATH HAZ'ZURIM** (הֵלְכָת הַצֻּרִים; *μῆτρος τῶν ἐπιβούλων*—perhaps reading *ἰμῶν*; *Aquila*, *Καῖρος τῶν στερεῶν*; *Ager robustorum*), a smooth piece of ground, apparently close to the pool of Gibeon, where the combat took place between the two parties of Joab's men and Abner's men, which ended in the death of the whole of the combatants, and brought on a general battle (2 Sam. ii. 16). [GIBEON; JOAB.] Various interpretations are given of the name. In addition to those given above, Gesenius (*Thes.* 485 a) renders it "the field of swords." The margin of the A. V. has "the field of strong men," agreeing with *Aquila* and the Vulgate. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 147) "das Feld der Tückischen." [G.]

**HELIKI'AS** (*Xelcias*; Vulg. omits). A fourth variation of the name of Hilkiah the high-priest, 1 Esd. i. 8. [HILKIAH.]

**HELL**. This is the word generally and unfortunately used by our translators to render the Hebrew *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל, or שְׁאֹל; *Ἅδης*, and once *θάνατος*, 2 Sam. xxii. 6; *Inferi* or *Inferna*, or sometimes *Mors*). We say unfortunately, because—although, as St. Augustin truly asserts, *Sheol*, with its equivalents *Inferi* and *Hades*, are never

used in a good sense (*De Gen. ad Lit.* xii. 83), yet—the English word Hell is mixed up with numberless associations entirely foreign to the minds of the ancient Hebrews. It would perhaps have been better to retain the Hebrew word *Sheol*, or else render it always by “the grave” or “the pit.” Ewald accepts Luther’s word *Hölle*; even *Unterwelt*, which is suggested by De Wette, involves conceptions too human for the purpose.

Passing over the derivations suggested by older writers, it is now generally agreed that the word comes from the root *hlyw*, “to make hollow” (comp. Germ. *Hölle*, “hell,” with *Hölle*, “a hollow”), and therefore means the vast hollow subterranean resting-place which is the common receptacle of the dead (*Gen. Thes.* 1348; Böttcher, *de inferis*, c. iv. p. 137 sq.; Ewald, *ad Ps.* p. 42). It is deep (Job xi. 8) and dark (Job xi. 21, 22), in the centre of the earth (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxii. 23), having within it depths on depths (Prov. ix. 18), and fastened with gates (Is. xxxviii. 10) and bars (Job xvii. 16). Some have fancied (as Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §203, Eng. ed.) that the Jews, like the Greeks, believed in infernal rivers: thus Clemens Alex. defines Gehenna as “a river of fire” (*Prægn.* 38), and expressly compares it to the fiery rivers of Tartarus (*Stroma*, v. 14, 92); and Tertullian says that it was supposed to resemble Pyriphlegethon (*Apolog.* cap. xlvii.). The notion, however, is not found in Scripture, for Ps. xvii. 4 is a mere metaphor. In this cavernous realm are the souls of dead men, the Lephaim and ill-spirits (Ps. lxxxvi. 13, lxxxix. 48; Prov. xxiii. 14; Ez. xxxi. 17, xxxii. 21). It is all-devouring (Prov. i. 12, xxx. 16), insatiable (Is. v. 14), and remorseless (Cant. viii. 6). The shadows, not of men only, but even of trees and kingdoms, are placed in Sheol (Is. xiv. 9-20; Ez. xxxi. 14-18, xxxii. *passim*).

It is clear that in many passages of the O. T. *Sheol* can only mean “the grave,” and is so rendered in the A. V. (see, for example, Gen. xxxvii. 35, xlii. 38; 1 Sam. ii. 6; Job xiv. 13). In other passages, however, it seems to involve a notion of punishment, and is therefore rendered in the A. V. by the word “Hell.” But in many cases this translation misleads the reader. It is obvious, for instance, that Job xi. 8; Ps. cxaxix. 8; Am. ix. 2 (where “hell” is used as the antithesis of “heaven”), merely illustrate the Jewish notions of the locality of Sheol in the bowels of the earth. Even Ps. ix. 17, Prov. xv. 24, v. 5, ix. 18, seem to refer rather to the danger of terrible and precipitate death than to a place of infernal anguish. An attentive examination of all the passages in which the word occurs will show that the Hebrew notions respecting *Sheol* were of a vague description. The rewards and punishments of the Mosaic law were temporal, and it was only gradually and slowly that God revealed to his chosen people a knowledge of future rewards and punishments. Generally speaking, the Hebrews regarded the grave as the final end of all sentient and intelligent existence, “the land where all things are forgotten” (Ps. lxxxviii. 10-12; Is. xxxviii. 9-20; Ps. vi. 5; Eccl. ix. 10; Eccl. xvii. 27, 28). Even the righteous Hezekiah trembled lest, “when his eyes closed upon the cherubim and the mercy-seat,” he should no longer “see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living.”

In the N. T. the word Hades (like Sheol) sometimes means merely “the grave” (Rev. xx. 13;

Acts ii. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 55), or in general “the unseen world.” It is in this sense that the creeds say of our Lord *πατήλας ἐν ᾧ ἢ οὐκ εἰς ἄδου, descendit ad inferos, or inferna*, meaning “the state of the dead in general, without any restriction of happiness or misery” (Beveridge on *Art.* iii.), a doctrine certainly, though only virtually, expressed in Scripture (Eph. iv. 9; Acts ii. 25-31). Similarly Josephus uses *Hades* as the name of the place whence the soul of Samuel was evoked (*Ant.* vi. 14, §2). Elsewhere in the N. T. Hades is used of a place of torment (Luke xvi. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Matt. xi. 23, &c.). Consequently it has been the prevalent, almost the universal, notion that Hades is an intermediate state between death and resurrection, divided into two parts, one the abode of the blessed and the other of the lost. This was the belief of the Jews after the exile, who gave to the places the names of Paradise and Gehenna (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §3; cf. Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. vv.), of the Fathers generally (Tert. *de Animâ*, c. iv.; Jerome in *Eccl.* iii.; Just. Mart. *Phil.* c. *Troph.* §105, &c.; see Pearson on *Cred.* Art. v.), and of many moderns (Trench on the *Parables*, p. 467; Alford on *Luke* xvi. 23). In holding this view, main reliance is placed on the parable of Dives and Lazarus; but it is impossible to ground the proof of an important theological doctrine on a passage which confessedly abounds in Jewish metaphors. “Theologia pseudo-logica non est demonstrativa” is a rule too valuable to be forgotten; and if we are to turn rhetoric into logic, and build a dogma on every metaphor, our belief will be of a vague and contradictory character. “Abraham’s bosom,” says Dean Trench, “is not heaven, though it will issue in heaven, so neither is Hades hell though to issue in it, when death and Hades shall be cast into the lake of fire which is the proper hell. It is the place of painful restraint (*φωλακή*, 1 Pet. iii. 19; *ἄβυσσος*, Luke viii. 31), where the souls of the wicked are reserved to the judgment of the great day.” But respecting the condition of the dead whether before or after the resurrection we know very little indeed; nor shall we know anything certain until the awful curtains of mortality are drawn aside. Dogmatism on this topic appears to be peculiarly misplaced. [See PARADISE.]

The word most frequently used in the N. T. for the place of future punishment is *Gehenna* (*γέεννα*), or *Gehenna of fire* (*ἡ γ. τοῦ πυρός*), and this word we must notice only so far as our purpose requires; for further information see GEHENNA and HINNOM. The valley of Hinnom, for which Gehenna is the Greek representative, once pleasant with the waters of Siloa (“irrigua et nemorosa, pleneque deliciis,” Hieron. *ad Jer.* vii. 19, 31; Matt. v. 22), and which afterwards regained its old appearance (“*hodieque hortorum præbens deliciis*,” *id.*), was with its horrible associations of Moloch-worship (Jer. vii. 31, xix. 2-6; 2 K. xxiii. 10), so abhorrent to Jewish feeling that they adopted the word as a symbol of disgust and torment. The feeling was kept up by the pollution which the valley underwent at the hands of Josiah, after which it was made the common sink of all the filth and corruption in the city, ghastly fires being kept burning (acc. to R. Kimchi) to preserve it from absolute putrefaction (see authorities quoted in Otho *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Innom*, &c.). The fire and the worm were fit emblems of anguish, and as such had seized hold of the Jewish imagination (Is. lvi. 24; Jud. xvi. 17; Ecclus. vii. 17); hence

the application of the word *Gehennai* and its accessories in Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; Luke xii. 5.

A part of the valley of Hinnom was named Tophet (2 K. xxiii. 10; for its history and derivation see ΤΟΠΗΤ), a word used for what is defiled and abominable (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6-13). It was applied by the Rabbis to a place of future torment (Aug. on Is. xxx. 33; Talm. *Erubin*. f. 19, 1; Böttcher, pp. 80, 85), but does not occur in the N. T. In the vivid picture of Isaiah (xxx. 33), which is full of fine irony against the enemy, the name is applied to purposes of threatening (with a probable allusion to the recent acts of Hezekiah, see Rosenmüller *ad loc.*). Besides the authorities quoted, see Bochart (*Phaleg*, p. 528), Ewald (*Proph.* ii. 55), Selden (*de Dis Syris*, p. 172 sqq.), Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 499), &c.

The subject of the punishment of the wicked and of Hell as a place of torment belongs to a Theological rather than a Biblical Dictionary. [F. W. F.]

**HELLENIST** (Ἑλληνιστής; *Graecus*; cf. Ἑλληνιστής, 2 Mac. iv. 13). In one of the earliest notices of the first Christian Church at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 1), two distinct parties are recognised among its members, "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" (Greeks), who appear to stand towards one another in some degree in a relation of jealous rivalry. So again when St. Paul first visited Jerusalem after his conversion, he "spoke and disputed with the Hellenists" (Acts ix. 29), as if expecting to find more sympathy among them than with the rulers of the Jews. The term Hellenist occurs once again in the N. T. according to the common text, in the account of the foundation of the Church at Antioch (Acts xi. 20), but there the context, as well as the form of the sentence (*καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλ.*, though the *καὶ* is doubtful), seems to require the other reading "Greeks," (Ἕλληνας), which is supported by great external evidence, as the true antithesis to "Jews" (Ἰουδαίους, not Ἑβραίους, v. 19).

The name, according to its derivation, whether the original verb (Ἑλληνίζω) be taken, according to the common analogy of similar forms (μυθίζω, ἀγγιζω, φιλιππίζω), in the general sense of adopting the spirit and character of Greeks, or, in the more limited sense of using the Greek language (Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, §25), marks a class distinguished by peculiar habits, and not by descent. Thus the Hellenists as a body included not only the proselytes of Greek (or foreign) parentage (οἱ σεβόμενοι Ἕλληνας, Acts xvii. 4 (?); οἱ σεβόμενοι προσηλύτοι, Acts xiii. 43; οἱ σεβόμενοι, Acts xvii. 17), but also those Jews who, by settling in foreign countries, had adopted the prevalent form of the current Greek civilisation, and with it the use of the common Greek dialect, to the exclusion of the Aramaic, which was the national representative of the ancient Hebrew. Hellenism was thus a type of life, and not an indication of origin. Hellenists might be Greeks, but when the latter term is used (Ἕλληνας, John xii. 20), the point of race and not of creed is that which is foremost in the mind of the writer.

The general influence of the Greek conquests in the East, the rise and spread of the Jewish Dispersion, and the essential antagonism of Jew and Greek, have been noticed in other articles [ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ALEXANDRIA; DISPERSION; ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES], and it remains only to characterise briefly the elements which the Hellenists contributed to the language of the N. T., and

the immediate effects which they produced upon the Apostolic teaching:—

1. The flexibility of the Greek language gained for it in ancient times a general currency similar to that which French enjoys in modern Europe; but with this important difference, that Greek was not only the language of educated men, but also the language of the masses in the great centres of commerce. The colonies of Alexander and his successors originally established what has been called the Macedonian dialect throughout the East; but even in this the prevailing power of Attic literature made itself distinctly felt. Peculiar words and forms adopted at Alexandria were undoubtedly of Macedonian origin, but the later Attic may be justly regarded as the real basis of Oriental Greek. This first type was, however, soon modified, at least in common use, by contact with other languages. The vocabulary was enriched by the addition of foreign words, and the syntax was modified by new constructions. In this way a variety of local dialects must have arisen, the specific characters of which were determined in the first instance by the conditions under which they were formed, and which afterwards passed away with the circumstances which had produced them. But one of these dialects has been preserved after the ruin of the people among whom it arose, by being consecrated to the noblest service which language has yet fulfilled. In other cases the dialects perished together with the communities who used them in the common intercourse of life, but in that of the Jews the Alexandrine version of the O. T., acting in this respect like the great vernacular versions of England and Germany, gave a definiteness and fixity to the popular language which could not have been gained without the existence of some recognised standard. The style of the LXX. itself is, indeed, different in different parts, but the same general character runs through the whole, and the variations which it presents are not greater than those which exist in the different books of the N. T.

The functions which this Jewish-Greek had to discharge were of the widest application, and the language itself combined the most opposite features. It was essentially a fusion of Eastern and Western thought. For disregarding peculiarities of inflection and novel words, the characteristic of the Hellenistic dialect is the combination of a Hebrew spirit with a Greek body, of a Hebrew form with Greek words. The conception belongs to one race, and the expression to another. Nor is it too much to say that this combination was one of the most important preparations for the reception of Christianity, and one of the most important aids for the adequate expression of its teaching. On the one hand, by the spread of the Hellenistic Greek, the deep, theoretic aspect of the world and life, which distinguishes Jewish thought, was placed before men at large; and on the other, the subtle truths, which philosophy had gained from the analysis of mind and action, and enshrined in words, were transferred to the service of revelation. In the fulness of time, when the great message came, a language was prepared to convey it; and thus the very dialect of the N. T. forms a great lesson in the true philosophy of history, and becomes in itself a monument of the providential government of mankind.

This view of the Hellenistic dialect will at once remove one of the commonest misconceptions relating to it. For it will follow that its deviations from the ordinary laws of classic Greek are them-

selves bound by some common law, and that irregularities of construction and altered usages of words are to be traced to their first source, and interpreted strictly according to the original conception out of which they sprang. A popular, and even a corrupt, dialect is not less precise, or, in other words, is not less human than a polished one, though its interpretation may often be more difficult from the want of materials for analysis. But in the case of the N. T., the books themselves furnish an ample store for the critic, and the Septuagint, when compared with the Hebrew text, provides him with the history of the language which he has to study.

2. The adoption of a strange language was essentially characteristic of the true nature of Hellenism. The purely outward elements of the national life were laid aside with a facility of which history offers few examples, while the inner character of the people remained unchanged. In every respect the thought, so to speak, was clothed in a new dress. Hellenism was, as it were, a fresh incorporation of Judaism according to altered laws of life and worship. But as the Hebrew spirit made itself distinctly visible in the new dialect, so it remained undestroyed by the new conditions which regulated its action. While the Hellenistic Jews followed their natural instinct for trade, which was originally curbed by the Mosaic Law, and gained a deeper insight into foreign character, and with this a truer sympathy, or at least a wider tolerance towards foreign opinions, they found means at the same time to extend the knowledge of the principles of their divine faith, and to gain respect and attention even from those who did not openly embrace their religion. Hellenism accomplished for the outer world what the Return (CYRUS) accomplished for the Palestinian Jews: it was the necessary step between a religion of form and a religion of spirit: it witnessed against Judaism as final and universal, and it witnessed for it, as the foundation of a spiritual religion which should be bound by no local restrictions. Under the influence of this wider instruction a Greek body grew up around the Synagogue, not admitted into the Jewish Church, and yet holding a recognised position with regard to it, which was able to apprehend the Apostolic teaching, and ready to receive it. The Hellenists themselves were at once missionaries to the heathen, and prophets to their own countrymen. Their lives were an abiding protest against polytheism and pantheism, and they retained with unshaken zeal the sum of their ancient creed, when the preacher had popularly occupied the place of the priest, and a service of prayer and praise and exhortation had succeeded in daily life to the elaborate ritual of the Temple. Yet this new development of Judaism was obtained without the sacrifice of national ties. The connexion of the Hellenists with the Temple was not broken, except in the case of some of the Egyptian Jews. [THE DISPERSION.] Unity coexisted with dispersion; and the organisation of a Catholic church was foreshadowed, not only in the widening breadth of doctrine, but even externally in the scattered communities which looked to Jerusalem as their common centre.

In another aspect Hellenism served as the preparation for a Catholic creed. As it furnished the language of Christianity, it supplied also that literary instinct which counteracted the traditional reserve of the Palestinian Jews. The writings of the N. T., and all the writings of the Apostolic age, with the exception of the original Gospel of

St. Matthew, were, as far as we know, Greek; and Greek seems to have remained the sole vehicle of Christian literature, and the principal medium of Christian worship, till the Church of North Africa rose into importance in the time of Tertullian. The Canon of the Christian Scriptures, the early Creeds, and the Liturgies, are the memorials of this Hellenistic predominance in the Church, and the types of its working; and if in later times the Greek spirit descended to the investigation of painful subtleties, it may be questioned whether the fulness of Christian truth could have been developed without the power of Greek thought tempered by Hebrew discipline.

The general relations of Hellenism to Judaism are well treated in the histories of Ewald and Jost; but the Hellenistic language is as yet, critically speaking, almost unexplored. Winer's Grammar (*Gramm. d. N. T. Sprachidioms*, 6te Aufl. 1855) has done great service in establishing the idea of law in N. T. language, which was obliterated by earlier interpreters, but even Winer does not investigate the origin of the peculiarities of the Hellenistic dialect. The idioms of the N. T. cannot be discussed apart from those of the LXX.; and no explanation can be considered perfect which does not take into account the origin of the corresponding Hebrew idioms. For this work even the materials are as yet deficient. The text of the LXX. is still in a most unsatisfactory condition; and while Bruder's concordance leaves nothing to be desired for the vocabulary of the N. T., Trommius' concordance to the LXX., however useful, is quite untrustworthy for critical purposes. [B. F. W.]

#### HELMET. [ARMS, p. 112 a.]

HELON (ἥλον; Χαλδών; *Helen*), father of Eliab, who was the chief man of the tribe of Zebulun, when the census was taken in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 9, ii. 7, vii. 24, 29, x. 16).

#### HEM OF GARMENT (ἡμὴν; κρᾶσινδον;

*himbrin*). The importance which the later Jews, especially the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 5), attached to the hem or fringe of their garments was founded upon the regulation in Num. xv. 38, 39, which attached a symbolical meaning to it. We must not, however, conclude that the fringe owed its origin to that passage: it was in the first instance the ordinary mode of finishing the robe, the ends of the threads composing the woof being left in order to prevent the cloth from unravelling, just as in the Egyptian *calasiris* (Her. ii. 81; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 90), and in the Assyrian robes as represented in the bas-reliefs of Nineveh: the blue riband being added to strengthen the border. The Hebrew word *tzitzit* is expressive of this *fretted edge*: the Greek *κρᾶσινδα* (the etymology of which is uncertain, being variously traced to *κρᾶσός*, *ἄκρος πῶδον*, and *κρημίσ*) applies to the edge of a river or mountain (Xen. *Hist. Gr.* iii. 2, §18, iv. 6, §8), and is explained by Hesychius as τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄκρῃ τοῦ ἱματίου κεκλωσμένα ῥάμματα καὶ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ. The *beged* or outer robe was a simple quadrangular piece of cloth, and generally so worn that two of the corners hung down in front: these corners were ornamented with a "riband of blue," or rather *dark violet*, the riband itself being, as we may conclude from the word used, *לִּתְּלִי*, as narrow as a thread or piece of stinging. The Jews attached great sanctity to this

fringe (Matt. ix. 20, xiv. 36; Luke viii. 44), and the Pharisees made it more prominent than it was originally designed to be, enlarging both the fringe and the riband to an undue width (Matt. xxiii. 5). Directions were given as to the number of threads of which it ought to be composed, and other particulars, to each of which a symbolical meaning was attached, (Carpov, *Apparat*, p. 198). It was appended in later times to the *talith* more especially, as being the robe usually worn at devotions: whence the proverbial saying quoted by Lightfoot (*Exercit* on Matt. v. 40), "He that takes care of his fringes deserves a good coat." [W. L. B.]

**HE'MAM** (הֵמָם; Ἀμὰμ; *Heman*). Hori (*i. e.* Horite) and Hemam were sons (A. V. "children," but the word is *Bene*) of Lotan, the eldest son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 22). In the list in 1 Chr. i. the name appears as HOMAM, which is probably the correct form.

**HE'MAN** (הֵמָן; Ἀμὰν and Ἀμὰν). 1. Son of Zerah, 1 Chr. ii. 6; 1 K. iv. 31. See following article.

2. Son of Joel, and grandson of Samuel the prophet, a Kohathite. He is called "the singer" (הַמְשִׁיר), rather, the *musician*, 1 Chr. vi. 33, and was the first of the three chief Levites to whom was committed the vocal and instrumental music of the temple-service in the reign of David, as we read 1 Chr. xv. 16-22, Asaph and Ethan, or rather, according to xxv. 1, 3, Jeduthun,\* being his colleagues. [JEDUTHUN.] The genealogy of Heman is given in 1 Chr. vi. 33-38 (A. V.), but the generations between Assir, the son of Korah, and Samuel are somewhat confused, owing to two collateral lines having got mixed. A rectification of this genealogy will be found at p. 214 of *the Genealogies of our Lord*, where it is shown that Heman is 14th in descent from Levi. A further account of Heman is given 1 Chr. xxv., where he is called (ver. 5) "the king's seer in the matters of God," the word הָקֵן, "seer," which in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15 is applied to Jeduthun, and in xxix. 30 to Asaph, being probably used in the same sense as is נָבִי, "prophesied," of Asaph and Jeduthun in xxv. 1-3. We there learn that Heman had fourteen sons, and three daughters [HANANIAH I.], of which the sons all assisted in the music under their father, and each of whom was head of one of the twenty-four wards of Levites, who "were instructed in the songs of the Lord," or rather, in sacred music. Whether or no this Heman is the person to whom the 88th Psalm is ascribed is doubtful. The chief reason for supposing him to be the same is, that as other Psalms are ascribed to Asaph and Jeduthun, so it is likely that this one should be to Heman the singer. But on the other hand he is there called "the Ezrahite;" and the 89th Psalm is ascribed to "Ethan the Ezrahite."† But since Heman and Ethan are described in 1 Chr. ii. 6, as "sons of Zerah," it is in the highest degree probable that Ezrahite means "of the family of Zerah," and consequently that Heman of the 88th Psalm is different from Heman the singer, the Kohathite. In 1 K. iv. 31 again (hebr. v. 11), we have mention, as of the wisest of mankind, of Ethan the Ezrahite,

Heman, Chalcol and Darda, the sons of Mahol, a list corresponding with the names of the sons of Zerah, in 1 Chr. ii. 6. The inference from which is that there was a Heman, different from Heman the singer, of the family of Zerah the son of Judah, and that he is distinguished from Heman the singer, the Levite, by being called the Ezrahite. As regards the age when Heman the Ezrahite lived, the only thing that can be asserted is that he lived before Solomon, who was said to be "wiser than Heman," and after Zerah the son of Judah. His being called "son of Zerah" in 1 Chr. ii. 6, indicates nothing as to the precise age when he and his brother lived. They are probably mentioned in this abridged genealogy, only as having been illustrious persons of their family. Nor is anything known of Mahol their father. It is of course uncertain whether the tradition which ascribed the 88th Psalm to Heman's authorship is trustworthy. Nor is there anything in the Psalm itself which clearly marks the time of its composition. The 89th Psalm, ascribed to Ethan, seems to be subsequent to the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, unless possibly the calamities described in the latter part of the Psalm may be understood of David's flight at Absalom's rebellion, in which case ver. 41 would allude to Shimei the son of Gera.

If Heman the Kohathite, or his father, had married an heiress of the house of Zerah, as the sons of Hakkoz did of the house of Barzillai, and was so reckoned in the genealogy of Zerah, then all the notices of Heman might point to the same person, and the musical skill of David's chief musician, and the wisdom of David's seer, and the genius of the author of the 88th Psalm, concurring in the same individual, would make him fit to be joined with those other worthies whose wisdom was only exceeded by that of Solomon. But it is impossible to assert that this was the case.

Rosenm. *Proleg. in Psalm.* p. xvii.; J. Olshausen, *on Psalms; Einleit.* p. 22; *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.* [A. C. H.]

**HE'MATH** (הֵמַת; Ἀμὰθ, Alex. Ἐμὰθ; *Emath*). Another form—not warranted by the Hebrew—of the well-known name HAMATH (Am. vi. 14).

**HE'MATH** (הֵמַת, *i. e.* Hammath; Ἀμὰθ; Vulg. translates *de colore*), a person, or a place, named in the genealogical lists of Judah, as the origin of the Kenites, and the "father" of the house of RECHAB (1 Chr. ii. 55).

**HEM'DAN** (הֵמְדָן; Ἀμὰδδ; *Amdan*, or *Hamdān*, some copies *Hamdam*), the eldest son of Dishon, son of Anah the Horite (Gen. xxvi. 26). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. (i. 41) the name is changed to *Hanran* (חַנְרָן), which in the A. V. is given as AMRAM, probably following the Vulgate *Hanran*, in the earliest MSS. *Amaran*.

The name Hemdan is by Knobel (*Genesis*, 256) compared with those of *Humeidy* and *Hamudy*, two of the five families of the tribe of *Omran* or *Amran*, who are located to the E. and S.E. of Akaba. Also with the *Bene-Hamdy*, who are found a short distance S. of Kerek (S.E. corner of the Dead Sea) and from thence to *el-Busairch*, probably the ancient

\* אִתָּן and יְדִיתָן are probably only clerical variations. See also 2 Chr. xxix. 13, 14.

† St. Augustine's copy read, with the LXX., *Israelite*,

for *Ezrahite*, in the titles to the 88th and 89th Psalms. His explanation of the title of Ps. lxxviii. is a curious specimen of spiritualizing interpretation.

BOZRAH, on the road to Petra. (See Burckhardt, *Syria*, &c., 695, 407.)

**HEMLOCK** (חֶמֶל). The Hebrew *rōsh* is rendered "hemlock" in two passages (Hos. x. 4; Am. vi. 12), but elsewhere "gall." It is impossible to decide what, or indeed whether any particular plant is meant. From a comparison of the passages in which it is noticed we may infer that it grew rankly in the corn-fields (Hos. x. 4), and bore a berry or fruit (Deut. xxii. 32; Am. vi. 12), from which a juice might be expressed (Jer. viii. 14) of a very bitter flavour (Deut. xxix. 18; Jer. ix. 15, xliii. 15; Lam. iii. 19), but not necessarily poisonous, as Winer (s. v. *Gift*) assumes. In the LXX. it is rendered by a general term, *χαλὴ*, expressive of bitterness, with the exception of the passage in Hosea, where ἄγρωστις, "couch grass," occurs. Various conjectures have been made as to the plant: Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1251) suggests, on etymological grounds, "poppy-heads," or the seed-vessels of the *papaver smaltiferum*, from which an intoxicating liquor may be extracted: the objection to this, however, is that it is not bitter. The colocyth (*conium maculatum*) has been proposed; this is notoriously bitter, but is not found growing wild in corn-fields. Michaelis (*Suppl.* 2220) is in favour of the daniel (*folium temulentum*, the ζιζάνιον of Matt. xiii. 25), which grows amidst wheat, and has a prejudicial effect if not separated from it in bread (Robinson, *Researches*, ii. 55); the objection, in this case, is that it produces no fruit or berry. Celsus (*Herob.* ii. 46) is in favour of the "hemlock," and quotes the opinion of a most learned Rabbi, Ben Melech, to that effect. It seems more probable that the name may have been applied to several plants having an acid juice. [W. L. B.]

**HEN** (חֵן; *Hen*). According to the rendering of the passage (Zech. vi. 14) adopted in the A. V. Hen (or accurately Chen) is the name of a son of Zephaniah, and apparently the same who is called Josiah in ver. 10. But by the LXX. (χαρίης, Ewald) (*Græc.*), and other interpreters, the words are taken to mean "for the favour of the son of Zephaniah."

**HEN**. The hen is nowhere noticed in the Bible except in the passages (Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34), where our Saviour touchingly compares His anxiety to save Jerusalem to the tender care of a hen "gathering her chickens under her wings." The word employed is *ὄρνις*, which is used in the same specific sense in classical Greek (Aristoph. *Av.* 102, *esp.* 811). That a bird, so intimately connected with the household, and so common in Palestine, as we know from Rabbinical sources, should receive such slight notice, is certainly singular; it is almost equally singular that it is nowhere represented in the paintings of ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 234). [W. L. B.]

**HEN'A** (חֵנָא; *Hen'a*; *Ana*) seems to have been one of the chief cities of a monarchical state which the Assyrian kings had reduced shortly before the time of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13). Its connexion with Sepharvaim, or Sippara, would lead us to place it in Babylonia, or at any rate on the Euphrates. Here, at no great distance from Sippara (now *Musaib*), is an ancient town called *Ana* or *Anah*, which seems to have been in former times a place of considerable importance. It is mentioned by Abulfeda, by William of Tyre, and others

(see Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 560, and p. 717). The conjecture by some (see Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, s. v.) that this may be *Henat*, is probable, and deserves acceptance. A further conjecture identifies *Ana* with a town called *Anat* (Ἄ) is merely the feminine termination), which is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as situated on an island in the Euphrates (Fox Talbot's *Assyrian Texts*, 21; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 355) at some distance below its junction with the *Chabour*; and which appears as *Anatho* (Ἀναθώ) in Isidore of Charax (*Mans. Parth.* p. 4). The modern *Anat* is on the right bank of the stream, while the name also attaches to some ruins a little lower down upon the left bank; but between them is "a string of islands" (Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 53), on one or more of which the ancient city may have been situated. [G. R.]

**HEN'ADAD** (הֶנְאָדָד; *Henaadd*; *Enadad*), the head of a family of Levites who took a prominent part in the rebuilding of the Temple under Jeshua (Ezr. iii. 9). Bani and Binui (Neh. iii. 18, 24), who assisted in the repair of the wall of the city, probably belonged to the same family. The latter also represented his family at the signing of the covenant (Neh. x. 9).

**HENOC** (הֶנוֹךְ; *Enoch*; *Henoch*). 1. The form in which the well-known name ENOCH is given in the A. V. of 1 Chr. i. 3. The Hebrew word is the same both here and in Genesis, viz. *Chamoc*. Perhaps in the present case our translators followed the Vulgate. 2. So they appear also to have done in 1 Chr. i. 33 with a name which in Gen. xiv. 4 is more accurately given as HANOC.

**HEPHER** (הֶפֶר; *Opher*; *Hepher*). 1. A descendant of Manasseh. The youngest of the sons of Gilead (Num. xvi. 32), and head of the family of the HEPHERITES. Hephher was father of ZILOPHEAD (xxvi. 33; xxvii. 1), whose daughters first raised the question of the right of a woman having no brother, to hold the property of her father.

2. (*Ἡφάλα*; *Hepher*) The second son of Nunah, one of the two wives of Ashur, the "father of Tekoa" (1 Chr. iv. 6), in the genealogy of Judah.

3. The Mecherathite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the list of 1 Chr. xi. 36. In the catalogue of 2 Samuel this name does not exist (see xxiii. 34); and the conclusion of Kennicott, after a full investigation of the passages, is that the names in Samuel are the originals, and that Hephher is a mere corruption of them.

**HEPHER** (הֶפֶר; *Opher*; *Opher*), a place in ancient Canaan, which, though not mentioned in the history of the conquest, occurs in the list of conquered kings (Josh. xii. 17). It was on the west of Jordan (comp. 7). Was also the "land of Hephher" (חֶפֶר הָאֶרֶץ, *terra Ephher*), which is named with Socoh as one of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 10). To judge from this catalogue it lay towards the south of central Palestine, at any rate below Dor: so that there cannot be any connexion between it and GATH-HEPHER, which was in Zebulun near Sepphoris. [G.]

**HEPHERITES**, THE (הֶפֶרִיִּים, i. e. "the Hephherite"; ὁ *Opheri*; *familia Hephheritarum*), the family of Hephher the son of Gilead (Num. xvi. 32).

**HEPHZI-BAH** (הֶפְזִי-בָּח; *θέλημα ἐμὸν*; *voluntas mea in eu*). 1. A name signifying "My delight in her," which is to be borne by the restored Jerusalem (Is. lxii. 4). The succeeding sentence contains a play on the word—"for Jehovah delighteth (יִשְׂמַח, *chuphetz*) in thee."

2. (Ἀψιδά, Alex. Ὀψιδά; Joseph. Ἀχιδὰ; *Haphsida*). It was actually the name of the queen of King Hezekiah, and the mother of Manassah (2 K. xxi. 1). In the parallel account (2 Chr. xxxiii. 1) her name is omitted. No clue is given us to the character of this queen. But if she was an adherent of Jehovah—and this the wife of Hezekiah could not fail to be—it is not impossible that the words of Is. lxii. 4 may contain a complimentary allusion to her.

**HERALD** (הֶרָלֵד). The only notice of this officer in the O. T. occurs in Dan. iii. 4; the term there used is connected etymologically with the Greek *κηρύσσω* and *κράζω*, and with our "cry." There is an evident allusion to the office of the herald in the expressions *κηρύσσω*, *κήρυξ*, and *κήρυγμα*, which are frequent in the N. T., and which are but inadequately rendered by "preach," &c. The term "herald" might be substituted in 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11; 2 Pet. ii. 5. [W. L. B.]

**HERCULES** (Ἡρακλῆς), the name commonly applied by the Western nations to the tutelary deity of Tyre, whose national title was *Melkart* (מֶלְכָּרְת, i. e. מֶלֶךְ קֶרֶת, *the king of the city* = *πολιούχος*, *Melikepos*, Phil. Bybl. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10). The identification was based upon a similarity of the legends and attributes referred to the two deities, but Herodotus (ii. 44) recognised their distinctness, and dwells on the extreme antiquity of the Tyrian rite (Herod. *l. c.*; cf. Strabo, xvi. 757; Arr. *Alex.* ii. 16; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, §3; *c. Apion.* i. 18). The worship of Melkart was spread throughout the Tyrian colonies, and was especially established at Carthage (cf. *Hannibal*), where it was celebrated even with human sacrifices (Plin. *II. N.* xxvi. 4 (5); cf. Jer. xix. 5). Mention is made of public embassies sent from the colonies to the mother state to honour the national God (Arr. *Alex.* ii. 24; Q. Curt. iv. 2; Polyb. xxxi. 20), and this fact places in a clearer light the offence of Jason in sending envoys (θεωροὺς) to his festival (2 Macc. iv. 19 ff.).

There can be little doubt but that Melkart is the proper name of the Baal—the Prince (הַבַּעַל)—mentioned in the later history of the O. T. The worship of "Baal" was introduced from Tyre (1 K. xvi. 31; cf. 2 K. xli. 18) after the earlier Canaanitish idolatry had been put down (1 Sam. vii. 4; cf. 1 K. xi. 5-8), and Melkart (Hercules) and Astarte appear in the same close relation (Joseph. *Ant.* i. c.) as Baal

and Astarte. The objections which are urged against the identification appear to have little weight; but the supposed connexions between Melkart and other gods (Moloch, &c.) which have been suggested (Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* s. v. *Melcart*) appear less likely (cf. Gesenius, *l. c.*; Movers, *Phoenizier*, i. 176 ff., 385 ff. [BAAL].)

The direct derivation of the word Hercules from Phœnician roots either as *הרכל*, *circulator*, the traveller, in reference to the course of the sun, with whom he was identified, or to the journeys of the hero, or again as *הרכל* (*Ἀρχαλεύς*, *Etym. M.*) *the strong conqueror*, has little probability. [B. F. W.]

**HERD, HERDSMAN.** The herd was greatly regarded both in the patriarchal and Mosaic period. Its multiplying was considered as a blessing, and its decrease as a curse (Gen. xiii. 2; Deut. vii. 14, xxviii. 4; Ps. cvii. 38, cxliv. 14; Jer. li. 23). The ox was the most precious stock next to horse and mule, and (since those were rare) the thing of great value which was commonly possessed (1 K. xviii. 5). Hence we see the force of Saul's threat (1 Sam. xi. 7). The herd yielded the most esteemed sacrifice (Num. vii. 3; Ps. lxi. 31; Is. lvi. 3); also flesh-meat and milk, chiefly converted, probably, into butter and cheese (Deut. xxii. 14; 2 Sam. xvii. 29), which such milk yields more copiously than that of small cattle (Arist. *Hist. Anim.* iii. 20). The full-grown ox is hardly ever slaughtered in Syria; but, both for sacrificial and convivial purposes, the young animal was preferred (Ex. xxix. 1)—perhaps three years might be the age up to which it was so regarded (Gen. xv. 9)—and is spoken of as a special dainty (Gen. xviii. 8; Am. vi. 4; Luke xv. 23). The case of Gideon's sacrifice was one of exigency (Judg. vi. 25) and exceptional. So that of the people (1 Sam. xiv. 32) was an act of wanton excess. The agricultural and general usefulness of the ox, in ploughing, threshing [AGRICULTURE], and as a beast of burden (1 Chr. xii. 40; Is. xlv. 1), made such a slaughtering seem wasteful; nor, owing to difficulties of grazing, fattening, &c., is beef the product of an eastern climate. The animal was broken to service probably in his third year (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34; comp. Plin. *N. H.* viii. 70, ed. Par.). In the moist season, when grass abounded in the waste lands, especially in the "south" region, herds grazed there; *c. g.* in Carmel on the W. side of the Dead Sea (1 Sam. xiv. 2; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10). Dothan also, Mishor, and Sharon (Gen. xxxvii. 17; comp. Robinson, iii. 122; Stanley, *S. & P.* 247, 260, 484, 5; 1 Chr. xxvii. 29; Is. lxx. 10) were favourite pastures. For such purposes Uzziah built towers in the wilderness (2 Chr. xxvi. 10). Not only grass,\* but foliage, is acceptable to the ox, and the hills and woods of Bashan and Gilead afforded both abundantly; on such upland (Ps. l. 10, lxx. 12)

rendered "butter" (which Gesenius, *s. v.*, is mistaken in declaring to be "hardly known to the Orientals, except as a medicine"). The word *בָּהֵל*, Job x. 10,

is the same as the Arab. *جبن*, applied by the Bedouins to their goats' milk cheese.

\* In Num. xxii. 4, the word *יֵרֶק*, in A. V. "grass," really includes all vegetation. Comp. Ex. x. 15, Is. xxvii. 20, Cato de R. R. c. 30, Varro de R. R. l. 15, and ii. 5. *יֵרֶק*, Job iii. 42, xl. 15, seems used in a signification equally wide.

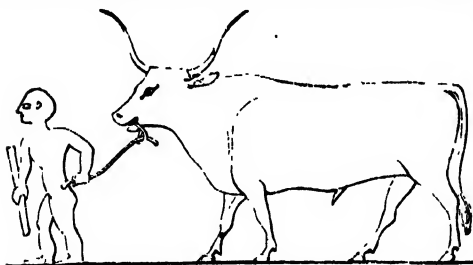
\* This identification is distinctly made in a Maltese inscription quoted by Gesenius (Errech und Gruber's *Encyclop.* s. v. *Bel*, and *Thesaurus*, s. v. *בעל*), where *מלכרת בעל צר* answers to *Ἡρακλεὶ ἀρχηγῆτι*.

These were common, and are frequently alluded to. The expression *בָּשֶׂת-בָּהֵל*, 2 Sam. xvii. 29, means cheese of cows' milk; that *בָּהֵל*, Arab. *خُبْأ*, Gen. xviii. 8, Is. vii. 15, 2 Sam. xvii. 29, Job xx. 17, Judg. v. 23, Prov. xxx. 33, is properly



Egyptian farm-yard. (Wilkinson.)

pastures cattle might graze, as also, of course, by river sides, when driven by the heat from the regions of the "wilderness." Especially was the eastern table-land (Ex. xxxix. 18; Num. xxxii. 4) "a place for cattle," and the pastoral tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, who settled there, retained something of the nomadic character and handed down some image of the patriarchal life (Stanley, *S. & P.* 324-5). Herdsmen, &c., in Egypt were a low, perhaps the lowest, caste; hence as Joseph's kindred, through his position, were brought into contact with the highest castes, they are described as "an abomination;" but of the abundance of cattle in Egypt, and of the care there bestowed on them, there is no doubt (Gen. xlvii. 6, 17; Ex. ix. 4, 20). Brands were used to distinguish the owner's herds (Wilkinson, iii. 8, 195; iv. 125-131).



A deformed oxherd, so represented to mark contempt. (Wilkinson)

So the plague of hail was sent to smite especially the cattle (Ps. lxxviii. 48), the firstborn of which also were smitten (Ex. xii. 29). The Israelites departing stipulated for (Ex. x. 26) and took "much cattle" with them (xii. 38). [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.] Cattle formed thus one of the traditions of the Israelitish nation in its greatest period, and became almost a part of that greatness. They are the subject of providential care and legislative ordinance (Ex. xx. 10, xxi. 28, xxiv. 19; Lev. xix. 19, xxv. 7; Deut. xi. 15, xxii. 1, 4, 10, xxv. 4; Ps. civ. 14; Is. xxx. 23; Jon. iv. 11), and even the Levites, though not holding land, were allowed cattle (Num. xxxv. 2, 3). When pasture failed, a mixture of various grains (called, Job vi. 5, בָּלִיל, rendered "fodder" in the A. V., and, Is. xxx. 24, "pro-vender;" comp. the Roman *furrago* and *ocymum*, Plin. xviii. 10 and 42) was used, as also חֶבֶן, "chopped straw" (Gen. xxiv. 25; Is. xi. 7, lxxv. 25), which was torn in pieces by the threshing-machine and used probably for feeding in stalls.

<sup>d</sup> Rabbis differ on the question whether the owner of the animal was under this enactment liable or not liable. See *de R. E. Veterum Hebraeorum*, a. ii.; Ugolini, xxix.

These last formed an important adjunct to cattle-keeping, being indispensable for shelter at certain seasons (Exod. ix. 6, 19). The herd, after its harvest-duty was done, which probably caused it to be in high condition, was specially worth caring for; at the same time most open pastures would have failed because of the heat. It was then probably stalled, and would continue so until vegetation returned. Hence the failure of "the herd" from "the stalls" is mentioned as a feature of scarcity (Hab. iii. 17). "Calves of the stall" (Mal. iv. 2; Prov. xv. 17) are the objects of watchful care. The Reubenites, &c., bestowed their cattle "in cities" when they passed the Jordan to share the toils of conquest (Dent. iii. 19), i. e. probably in some pastures closely adjoining, like the "suburbs" appointed for the cattle of the Levites (Num. xxxv. 2, 3; Josh. xxi. 2). Cattle were ordinarily allowed as a prey in war to the captor (Dent. xx. 14; Josh. vii. 2), and the case of Amalek is exceptional, probably to mark the extreme cause to which that people was devoted (Ex. xvii. 14; 1 Sam. xv. 3). The occupation of herdsman was honourable in early times (Gen. xlvii. 6; 1 Sam. xi. 5; 1 Chr. xxvii. 29, xxviii. 1). Saul himself resumed it in the interval of his cares as king; also Doeg was certainly high in his confidence (1 Sam. xxi. 7). Pharaoh made some of Joseph's brethren "rulers over his cattle."

David's herd-masters were among his chief officers of state. In Solomon's time the relative importance of the pursuit declined as commerce grew, but it was still extensive (Eccl. ii. 7; 1 K. iv. 23). It must have greatly suffered from the invasions of the enemies to which the country under the later kings of Judah and Israel was exposed. Uzziah, however (2 Chr. xxvi. 10), and Hezekiah (xxxii. 28, 29), resuming command of the open country, revived it. Josiah also seems to have been rich in herds (xxv. 7-9). The prophet Amos at first followed this occupation (Am. i. 1, vii. 14). A goad was used (Judg. iii. 31; 1 Sam. xiii. 21, מַלְחֵם, מִלְחָם), being, as mostly, a staff armed with a spike. For the word Herd as applied to swine, see SWINE; and on the general subject, Ugolini, xxix., *de R. R. vet.* Hebr. c. ii., which will be found nearly exhaustive of it. [H. H.]

HERES (Is. ix. 18; A. V. "destruction" or "the sun"). See IR-HA-HERES.

HERESH (חֶרֶשׁ = artificer; Ἀρῆς, Alex.

\* The word seems to be derived from חָרַשׁ, to mix. The passage in Isaiah probably means that in the abundant yield of the crops the cattle should eat of the best, such as was usually consumed by man.

'*Ap̄s; carpentarius*), a Levite; one of the staff attached to the tabernacle (1 Chr. ix. 15).

**HERMAS** ('Ερμᾶς, from 'Ερμῆς, the "Greek god of gaid;" or Mercury), the name of a person to whom St. Paul sends greeting in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14), and consequently then resident in Rome, and a Christian: and yet the origin of the name, like that of the other four mentioned in the same verse, is Greek. However, in those days, even a Jew, like St. Paul himself, might acquire Roman citizenship. Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen, agree in attributing to him the work called the *Shepherd*: which, from the name of Clement occurring in it, is supposed to have been written in the pontificate of Clement I.; while others affirm it to have been the work of a namesake in the following age, and brother to Pius I.; others again have argued against its genuineness. (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s. v.; Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nic.* i. 2, 3-6; *Defens. Praef. ad Hermas Past.*) From internal evidence, its author, whoever he was, appears to have been a married man and father of a family: a deep mystic, but without ecclesiastical rank. Further, the work in question is supposed to have been originally written in Greek—in which language it is frequently cited by the Greek Fathers—though it now only exists entire in a Latin version. It was never received into the canon; but yet was generally cited with respect only second to that which was paid to the authoritative books of the N. T., and was held to be in some sense inspired (Caillau's *Patres*, tom. i. p. 17). It may be styled the *Pilgrim's Progress* of ante-Nicene times; and is divided into three parts: the first containing four visions, the second twelve moral and spiritual precepts, and the third ten similitudes, each intended to shadow forth some verity (Caillau, *ibid.*). Every man, according to this writer, is attended by a good and bad angel, who are continually endeavouring to affect his course through life; a doctrine which forcibly recalls the fable of Prodicus respecting the choice of Hercules (Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 1).

The Hermas of the Epistle to the Romans is celebrated as a saint in the Roman calendar on May 9 (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, May 9). [E. S. Ff.]

**HERMES** ('Ερμῆς), the name of a man mentioned in the same Epistle with the preceding (Rom. xvi. 14). "According to the Greeks," says Calmet (*Dict.* s. v.), "he was one of the Seventy disciples, and afterwards Bishop of Dalmatia." His festival occurs in their calendar upon April 8 (Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. 774). [E. S. F.]

**HERMOGENES** ('Ερμῳγῆνης), a person mentioned by St. Paul in the Intest of all his Epistles (2 Tim. i. 15; see Alford's *Prolog.* c. vii. §35), when "all in Asia" (i. e. those whom he had left there) "had turned away from him," and among their number "Phygellus and Hermogenes." It does not appear whether they had merely forsaken his cause, now that he was in bonds, through fear, like those of whom St. Cyprian treats in his celebrated work *De Lapsis*; or whether, like Hymenaeus and Philetus (*ibid.* ch. ii. 18), they had embraced false doctrine. It is just possible that there may be a contrast intended between these two sets of deserters. According to the legendary history, bearing the name of Abdias (Fabricii *Cod. Apocryph.* N. T. p. 517) Hermogenes had been a magician, and was, with Philetus, converted by St. James the Great, who destroyed the charm of his spells. Neither the Hermogenes, who suffered

in the reign of Domitian (Hoffman, *Lex. Univ.* s. v.; Alford on 2 Tim. i. 15), nor the Hermogenes, against whom Tertullian wrote—still less the martyrs of the Greek calendar (Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. p. 770, January 24, and p. 781, September 1)—are to be confounded with the person now under notice, of whom nothing more is known. [E. S. Ff.]

**HERMON** (הַרְמוֹן; Ἀἰμώδν), a mountain on the north-eastern border of Palestine (Deut. iii. 8; Josh. xii. 1), over against Lebanon (Josh. xi. 17), adjoining the plateau of Bashan (1 Chr. v. 23). Its situation being thus clearly defined in Scripture, there can be no doubt as to its identity. It stands at the southern end, and is the culminating point of the anti-Libanus range; it towers high above the ancient border-city of Dan and the fountains of the Jordan, and is the most conspicuous and beautiful mountain in Palestine or Syria. The name *Hermion* was doubtless suggested by its appearance—"a lofty prominent peak," visible from afar (הַרְמוֹן has the

same meaning as the Arabic (حرم); just as *Lebanon* was suggested by the white character of its limestone strata. Other names were also given to Hermon, each in like manner descriptive of some striking feature. The Sidonians called it *Sirion* (שִׁרְיוֹן, from שִׁירָה, "to glitter"), and the Amorites *Shenir* (שֶׁנִּיר, from שָׁנַר, "to clatter"), both signifying "breastplate," and suggested by its rounded glittering top, when the sun's rays were reflected by the snow that covers it (Deut. iii. 9; Cant. iv. 8; Ez. xxvii. 5). It was also named *Sion*, "the elevated" (שֵׁן), towering over all its competitors (Deut. iv. 48). So now, at the present day, it is called *Jebel esh-Sheikh* (جبل الشيخ), "the chief mountain"—a name it well deserves; and *Jebel eth-Thelj* (جبل الثلج), "snowy

mountain," which every man who sees it will say is peculiarly appropriate. When the whole country is parched with the summer-sun, white lines of snow streak the head of Hermon. This mountain was the great landmark of the Israelites. It was associated with their northern border almost as intimately as the sea was with the western (see D in Ex. xxvii. 12, A. V. "west;" Josh. viii. 9). They conquered all the land east of the Jordan, "from the river Arnon unto Mount Hermon" (Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48; Josh. xi. 17). Baal-gad, the border-city before Dan became historic, is described as "under Mount Hermon" (Josh. xiii. 5, xi. 17); and when the half-tribe of Manasseh conquered their whole allotted territory, they are said to have "increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon and Senir, and unto Mount Hermon" (1 Chr. v. 23). In one passage Hermon would almost seem to be used to signify "north," as the word "sea" (ים) is for "west"—"the north and the south Thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name" (Ps. lxxxix. 12). The reason of this is obvious. From whatever part of Palestine the Israelite turned his eyes northward, Hermon was there, terminating the view. From the plain along the coast, from the mountains of Samaria, from the Jordan valley, from the heights of Moab and Gilead, from the plateau of Bashan, the pale-blue, snow-capped

cone forms the one feature on the northern horizon. The "dew of Hermon" is once referred to in a passage which has long been considered a geographical puzzle—"As the dew of Hermon, the dew that descended on the mountains of Zion" (Ps. cxxiii. 3). *Zion* (צִיּוֹן) is probably used here for *Sion* (שִׁיּוֹן), one of the old names of Hermon (Deut. iv. 48). The snow on the summit of this mountain condenses the vapours that float during the summer in the higher regions of the atmosphere, causing light clouds to hover around it, and abundant dew to descend on it, while the whole country elsewhere is parched, and the whole heaven elsewhere cloudless.

Hermon has three summits, situated like the angles of a triangle, and about a quarter of a mile from each other. They do not differ much in elevation. This may account for the expression in Ps. xlii. 7 (6), "I will remember thee from the land of the Jordan and the *Hermons* (הַרְמוֹנִים)—perhaps also for the three appellations in 1 Chr. v. 23. On one of the summits are curious and interesting ruins. Round a rock which forms the crest of the peak are the foundations of a rude circular wall, composed of massive stones; and within the circle is a large heap of hewn stones, surrounding the remains of a small and very ancient temple. This is evidently one of those "high places" which the old inhabitants of Palestine, and the Jews frequently in imitation of them, set up "upon every high mountain and upon every hill" (Deut. xii. 2; 2 K. xvii. 10, 11). In two passages of Scripture this mountain is called *Baal-hermon* (בְּעַל הַרְמוֹן, Judg. iii. 3; 1 Chr. v. 23); and the only reason that can be assigned for it is that Baal was there worshipped. Jerome says of it, "*diciturque in vertice ejus insigne templum, quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Paneadis et Libani*"—reference must here be made to the building whose ruins are still seen (*Onom. s. v. Hermon*). It is remarkable that Hermon was anciently encompassed by a circle of temples, *all facing the summit*. Can it be that this mountain was the great sanctuary of Baal, and that it was to the old Syrians what Jerusalem was to the Jews, and what Mecca is to the Muslims? (See *Handb. for Syr. and Pal.* 454, 457; *Reland, Pal.* 323 sq.)

The height of Hermon has never been measured, though it has been often estimated. It is unquestionably the second mountain in Syria, ranking next to the summit of Lebanon near the Cedars, and only a few hundred feet lower than it. It may safely be estimated at 10,000 feet. It rises up an obtuse truncated cone, from 2000 to 3000 feet above the ridges that radiate from it—thus having a more commanding aspect than any other mountain in Syria. The cone is entirely naked. A coating of disintegrated limestone covers the surface, rendering it smooth and bleak. The snow never disappears from its summit. In spring and early summer the top is entirely covered. As summer advances the snow gradually melts from

the tops of the ridges, but remains in long glittering streaks in the ravines that radiate from the centre, looking in the distance like the white locks that scantily cover the head of old age. (See *Five Years in Damascus*, vol. i.)

A tradition, originating apparently about the time of Jerome (*Reland*, p. 326), gave the name Hermon to the range of *Jebel ed-Dukh* near Tabor, the better to explain Ps. lxxxix. 12. The name still continues in the monasteries of Palestine, and has thus crept into books of travel. [J. L. P.]

**HEROD** (Ἡρώδης, i. e. Herodes). THE HERODIAN FAMILY. The history of the Herodian family presents one side of the last development of the Jewish nation. The evils which had existed in the hierarchy which grew up after the Return, found an unexpected embodiment in the tyranny of a foreign usurper. Religion was adopted as a policy; and the hellenizing designs of Antiochus Epiphanes were carried out, at least in their spirit, by a man who professed to observe the Law. Side by side with the spiritual "kingdom of God," proclaimed by John the Baptist, and founded by the Lord, a kingdom of the world was established, which in its external splendour recalled the traditional magnificence of Solomon. The simultaneous realization of the two principles, national and spiritual, which had long variously influenced the Jews, in the establishment of a dynasty and a church, is a fact pregnant with instruction. In the fulness of time a descendant of Esau established a false counterpart of the promised glories of Messiah.

Various accounts are given of the ancestry of the Herods; but neglecting the exaggerated statements of friends and enemies,\* it seems certain that they were of Idumean descent (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 1, 3), a fact which is indicated by the forms of some of the names which were retained in the family (*Ewald, Geschichte*, iv. 477 note). But though aliens by race, the Herods were Jews in faith. The Idumeans had been conquered and brought over to Judaism by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 130, *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 9 §1); and from the time of their conversion they remained constant to their new religion, looking upon Jerusalem as their mother city and claiming for themselves the name of Jews (*Joseph. Ant.* xx. 7, §7; *B. J.* i. 10, §4, iv. 4, §4).

The general policy of the whole Herodian family, though modified by the personal characteristics of the successive rulers, was the same. It centred in the endeavour to found a great and independent kingdom, in which the power of Judaism should subserve to the consolidation of a state. The protection of Rome was in the first instance a necessity, but the designs of Herod I. and Agrippa I. point to an independent Eastern empire as their end, and not to a mere subject monarchy. Such a consummation of the Jewish hopes seems to have found some measure of acceptance at first [HERODIANS]; and by a natural reaction the temporal dominion of the Herods opened the way to the destruction of the Jewish nationality. The religion which was degraded into the instrument of unscrupulous

\* The Jewish partisans of Herod (Nicolaus Damascus, *ap. Jos. Ant.* xiv. 1, 3) sought to raise him to the dignity of a descendant from one of the noble families which returned from Babylon; and, on the other hand, early Christian writers represented his origin as utterly mean and servile. Africanus has preserved a tradition (*Routh, Rel. Sacr.* ii. p. 235), on the authority of "the natural kinsmen of the Saviour," which makes Antipater, the father of Herod, the son of one Herod,

a slave attached to the service of a temple of Apollo at Ascalon, who was taken prisoner by Idumean robbers, and kept by them as his father could not pay his ransom. The locality (*cf. Philo, Leg. ad Caium*, §30) no less than the office was calculated to fix a heavy reproach upon the name (*cf. Routh, ad loc.*). This story is repeated with great inaccuracy by Epiphanius (*Harr.* xx.).

pulous ambition lost its power to quicken a united people. The high-priests were appointed and deposed by Herod I. and his successors with such a reckless disregard for the character of their office (Jos., *Gesch. d. Juden*, pp. 322, 325, 421), that the office itself was deprived of its sacred dignity (comp. Acts xxiii. 2 ff.; Jos., 430, &c.). The nation was divided, and amidst the conflict of sects a universal faith arose, which more than fulfilled the nobler hopes that found no satisfaction in the treacherous grandeur of a court.

The family relations of the Herods are singularly complicated from the frequent recurrence of the same names, and the several accounts of Josephus are not consistent in every detail. The following table, however, seems to offer a satisfactory summary of his statements. The members of the Herodian family who are mentioned in the N. T. are distinguished by capitals.

Josephus is the one great authority for the history of the Herodian family. The scanty notices which occur in Hebrew and classic writers throw very little additional light upon the events which he narrates. Of modern writers Ewald has treated the whole subject with the widest and clearest view. Jos. in his several works has added to the records of Josephus gleanings from later Jewish writers. Where the original sources are so accessible, monographs are of little use. The following are quoted by Winer:—Noldii *Hist. Idumaea* . . . *Franeq.* 1666; E. Spanheim *Stemna* . . . *Herodis M.*, which are reprinted in Havercamp's *Josephus* (ii. 331 ff.; 402 ff.).

I. HEROD THE GREAT (*Ἡρώδης*) was the second son of Antipater, who was appointed procurator of Judaea by Julius Caesar, B.C. 47, and Cyprus, an Arabian of noble descent (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, §3). At the time of his father's elevation, though only fifteen years old, he received the government of Galilee (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, §2), and shortly afterwards that of Coele-Syria. When Antony came to Syria, B.C. 41, he appointed Herod and his elder brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judaea (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13, §1). Herod was forced to abandon Judaea next year by an invasion of the Parthians, who supported the claims of Antigonus, the representative of the Asmonaeon dynasty, and fled to Rome (B.C. 40). At Rome he was well received by Antony and Octavian, and was appointed by the senate king of Judaea to the exclusion of the Hasmonaeon line (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 14, §4; App. *Bell.* i. 39). In the course of a few years, by the help of the Romans, he took Jerusalem (B.C. 37), and completely established his authority throughout his dominions. An expedition which he was forced to make against Arabia saved him from taking an active part in the civil war, though he was devoted to the cause of Antony. After the battle of Actium he visited Octavian at Rhodes, and his noble bearing won for him the favour of the conqueror, who confirmed him in the possession of the kingdom, B.C. 31, and in the next year increased it by the addition of several important cities (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, §1 ff.), and afterwards gave him the province of Trachonitis and the district of Paneas (Jos. *Ant.* i. c.). The remainder of the reign of Herod was undisturbed by external troubles, but his domestic life was embittered by an almost uninterrupted series

of injuries and cruel acts of vengeance. Herod's grandfather of his wife Mariamne, was put to death shortly before his visit to Augustus. Mariamne herself, to whom he was passionately devoted, was next sacrificed to his jealousy. One execution followed another, till at last in B.C. 6, he was persuaded to put to death the two sons of Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobolus, in whom the chief hope of the people lay. Two years afterwards he condemned to death Antipater, his eldest son, who had been their most active accuser, and the order for his execution was among the last acts of Herod's life, for he died himself five days after the death of his son, B.C. 4, in the same year which marks the true date of the Nativity. [JESUS CHRIST].

These terrible acts of bloodshed which Herod perpetrated in his own family were accompanied by others among his subjects equally terrible, from the numbers who fell victims to them. The infirmities of his later years exasperated him to yet greater cruelty; and, according to the well-known story, he ordered the nobles whom he had called to him in his last moments to be executed immediately after his decease, that so at least his death might be attended by universal mourning (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 7, §5). It was at the time of this fatal illness that he must have caused the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 16-18), and from the comparative insignificance of the murder of a few young children in an unimportant village when contrasted with the deeds which he carried out or designed, it is not surprising that Josephus has passed it over in silence. The number of children in Bethlehem and "all the borders thereof" (*ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις*) may be estimated at about ten or twelve;<sup>b</sup> and the language of the Evangelist leaves in complete uncertainty the method in which the deed was effected (*ἀποστείλας ἀνέλεν*). The scene of open and undisguised violence which has been consecrated by Christian art is wholly at variance with what may be supposed to have been the historic reality. At a later time the murder of the children seems to have been connected with the death of Antipater. Thus, according to the anecdote preserved by Macrobius (c. A.D. 410), *Augustus, cum audisset inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, Rex Judaeorum, intra bimatum (Matt. ii. 16; Ib. vulg. a matatu et infra) fuisse interfecit, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium* (Macrobi. *Sat.* ii. 4). But Josephus has preserved two very remarkable references to a massacre which Herod caused to be made shortly before his death, which may throw an additional light upon the history. In this it is said that Herod did not spare "those who seemed most dear to him" (*Ant.* xvi. 11, §7), but "slew all those of his own family who sided with the Pharisees (*ὁ Φαρισαῖος*)" in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor, while they looked forward to a change in the royal line (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2, §6; cf. Lardner, *Credibility*, &c., i. pp. 278 ff., 332 f., 349 f.). How far this event may have been directly connected with the murder at Bethlehem it is impossible to say, from the obscurity of the details, but its occasion and character throw a great light upon St. Matthew's narrative.

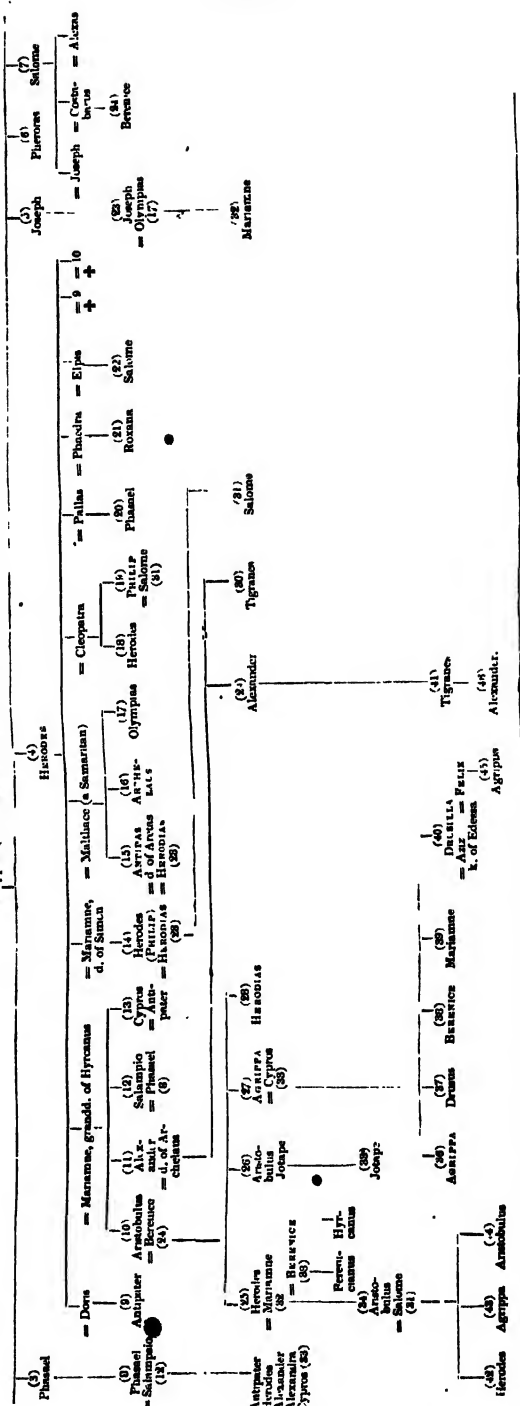
In dealing with the religious feelings or preju-

<sup>b</sup> The language of St. Matthew offers an instructive contrast to that of Justin M. (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 78): *ὁ Ἡρώδης . . . πάντας ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ*

*ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκλέξαντι ἀναγκάσθαι*. Cf. Orig. c. *Cels.* l. p. 47, ed. Spence. δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἀνέλεν πάντα τὰ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τοὺς ὁρίους αὐτῆς παιδία . . .

## (1) Antipater (Antipus), governor of Idumaea (Jos. Ant. xiv. 1, 3).

(2) Antipater  
= Cyprus (see Arabian: Jos. Ant. vii. 7, 9)



Q. Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6, 4.  
Ant. xiv. 1, 2.  
B. J. I. 1, 1, 2.

(4) Herod the King, Matt. ii. 1 ff.; Luc. 3, 2.  
(15) Herod the Tetrarch, Matt. xiv. 1; Luc. iii. 1, 19, iv. 7. King Herod, Mark vi. 14.  
(17) Herod the King, Acts xii. 1.  
(38) King Agrippa, Acts xiv. 12.

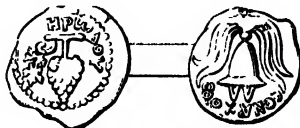
dices of the Jews, Herod showed as great contempt for public opinion as in the execution of his personal vengeance. He signalised his elevation to the throne by offerings to the Capitoline Jupiter (Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden*, p. 318), and surrounded his person by foreign mercenaries, some of whom had been formerly in the service of Cleopatra (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, §3; xvii. 1, §1; 8, §3). His coins and those of his successors bore only Greek legends; and he introduced heathen games within the walls of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8, §1). He displayed ostentatiously his favour towards foreigners (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5, §3), and oppressed the old Jewish aristocracy (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1, §1). The later Jewish traditions describe him as successively the servant of the Hasmoneans and the Romans, and relate that one Rabbi only survived the persecution which he directed against them, purchasing his life by the loss of sight (Jost, 319 &c.).

While Herod alienated in this manner the affections of the Jews by his cruelty and disregard for the Law, he adorned Jerusalem with many splendid monuments of his taste and magnificence. The Temple, which he rebuilt with scrupulous care, so that it might seem to be a restoration of the old one rather than a new building (Jos. *Ant.* xv. §11), was the greatest of these works. The restoration was begun B.C. 20, and the Temple itself was completed in a year and a half (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, §6). The surrounding buildings occupied eight years more (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, §5). But fresh additions were constantly made in succeeding years, so that at the time of the Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the beginning of His ministry, it was said that the Temple was "built (φικοδομήθη) in forty and six years" (John ii. 20), a phrase which expresses the whole period from the commencement of Herod's work to the completion of the latest addition then made, for the final completion of the whole building is placed by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, §7, ἥδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπετέλειτο) in the time of Herod Agrippa II. (c. A.D. 50).

Yet even this splendid work was not likely to mislead the Jews as to the real spirit of the king. While he rebuilt the Temple at Jerusalem, he rebuilt also the Temple at Samaria (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8, §5), and made provision in his new city Caesarea for the celebration of heathen worship (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, §5); and it has been supposed (Jost, *Gesch. d. Juden*, 323) that the rebuilding of the Temple furnished him with the opportunity of destroying the authentic collection of genealogies which was of the highest importance to the priestly families. Herod, as appears from his public designs, affected the dignity of a second Solomon, but he joined the license of that monarch to his magnificence; and it was said that the monument which he raised over the royal tombs was due to the fear which seized him after a sacrilegious attempt to rob them of secret treasures (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 7, §1).

It is, perhaps, difficult to see in the character of Herod any of the true elements of greatness. Some have even supposed that the title—the great—is a mistranslation for the elder (ἡλικίᾳ, Jost, p. 319 note; δ μέγας, Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 473, &c.); and yet on the other hand he seems to have possessed the good qualities of our own Henry VIII. with his vices. He maintained peace at home during a long reign by the vigour and timely generosity of his administration. Abroad he conciliated the goodwill of the Romans under circumstances of unusual difficulty. His ostentatious display and even his arbi-

rary tyranny was calculated to inspire Orientals with awe. Bold and yet prudent, oppressive and yet profuse, he had many of the characteristics which make a popular hero; and the title which may have been first given in admiration of successful despotism now serves to bring out in clearer contrast the terrible price at which the success was purchased.



Copper Coin of Herod the Great.

Obv. ΗΡΩΔΑΟΥ. Βασιλ. τῆς Γαλιλαίας. Rev. ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟ. Μακεδονικὸν ἑλμῆτι. in the field.

II. HEROD ANTIPAS (Ἀντιπάτρος, Ἀντίπας) was the son of Herod the Great by Malthace, a Samaritan (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1, §3). His father had originally destined him as his successor in the kingdom (cf. Matt. ii. 22; ARCHELAUS), but by the last change of his will appointed him "tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea" (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1, Ἡρ. δ τετραρρχης, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19, ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1. Cf. Luke iii. 1, τετραρχούντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρ.). which brought him a yearly revenue of 200 talents (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §4; cf. Luke viii. 3, Χουῖα τετραρρχίου Ἡρ.). He first married a daughter of Aretas, "king of Arabia Petraea," but after some time (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, §1) he made overtures of marriage to Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod-Philip, which she received favourably. Aretas, indignant at the insult offered to his daughter, found a pretext for invading the territory of Herod, and defeated him with great loss (Jos. *l. c.*). This defeat, according to the famous passage in Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §2), was attributed by many to the murder of John the Baptist, which had been committed by Antipas shortly before, under the influence of Herodias (Matt. xiv. 4 ff.; Mark vi. 17 ff.; Luke iii. 19). At a later time the ambition of Herodias proved the cause of her husband's ruin. She urged him to go to Rome to gain the title of king (cf. Mark vi. 14, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρ. by courtesy), which had been granted to his nephew Agrippa; but he was opposed at the court of Caligula by the emissaries of Agrippa [HEROD AGRIPPA], and condemned to perpetual banishment at Lugdunum, A.D. 39 (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 7, §2), whence he appears to have retired afterwards to Spain (*B. J.* ii. 9, §6; but see note on p. 796). Herodias voluntarily shared his punishment, and he died in exile. [HERODIAS.]

Pilate took occasion from our Lord's residence in Galilee to send Him for examination (Luke xiii. 6 ff.) to Herod Antipas, who came up to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6, §3), and thus heal the feud which had existed between the tetrarch and himself (Luke xiii. 12; cf. Luke xiii. 1, περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὅτι τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτου ἔμεινεν μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν). The share which Antipas thus took in the Passion is specially noticed in the Acts (iv. 27) in connexion with I's. ii. 1, 2. His character, as it appears in the Gospels, answers to the general tenor of his life. He was unscrupulous (Luke iii. 19, περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν τοιούτων), tyrannical (Luke xiii. 31), and weak

(Matt. xiv. 9). Yet his cruelty was marked by cunning (Luke xiii. 32, *τῇ ἀλῶσκει ταύτην*), and followed by remorse (Mark vi. 14). In contrast with Pilate he presents the type of an Eastern despot, capricious, sensual, and superstitious. This last element of superstition is both natural and clearly marked. For a time "he heard John gladly" (Mark vi. 20), and was anxious to see Jesus (Luke ix. 9, xiii. 8) in the expectation, as it is said, of witnessing some miracle wrought by Him (Luke xiii. 31, xiii. 8).

The city of TIBERIAS, which Antipas founded and named in honour of the emperor, was the most conspicuous monument of his long reign; but, like the rest of the Herodian family, he shewed his passion for building cities in several places, restoring Sepphoris, near Tabor, which had been destroyed in the wars after the death of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12, §9; xviii. 2, §1) and Bethaniamtha (Beth-haram) in Perea, which he named Julius, "from the wife of the emperor" (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1; Hieron. *Euseb. Chron.* A.D. 29, *Livius*).

III. ARCHELAUS (*Ἀρχέλαος*) was, like Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great and Malthace. He was brought up with his brother at Rome (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, §3), and in consequence of the accusations of his eldest brother Antipater, the son of Doris, he was excluded by his father's will from any share in his dominions. Afterwards, however, by a second change, the "kingdom" was left him, which had been designed for his brother Antipas (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1), and it was this unexpected arrangement which led to the retreat of Joseph to Galilee (Matt. ii. 22). Archelaus did not enter on his power without strong opposition and bloodshed (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 9); but Augustus confirmed the will of Herod in its essential provisions, and gave Archelaus the government of "Idumaea, Judaea, and Samaria, with the cities of Caesarea, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem" (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, 5), which produced a revenue of 400 (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §3) or 600 talents (*Ant.* xvii. 13, 5). For the time he received the title of Ethnarch, with the promise of that of king, if he proved worthy of it (Joseph. *l. c.*). His conduct justified the fears which his character inspired. After violating the Mosaic law by the marriage with Glaphyra, his brother's widow (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §1), he roused his subjects by his tyranny and cruelty to appeal to Rome for redress. Augustus at once summoned him to his presence, and after his cause was heard he was banished to Vienne in Gaul (A.D. 7), where probably he died (Joseph. *l. c.*; cf. Strab. xvi. p. 765; Dio Cass. lv. 27); though in the time of Jerome his tomb was shown near Bethlehem (Onomasticon).

IV. HEROD PHILIP I. (*Φίλιππος*, Mark vi. 17) was the son of Herod the Great, and Mariamne the daughter of a high-priest Simon (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 4), and must be carefully distinguished from the tetrarch Philip. [HEROD PHILIP II.] He married Herodias, the sister of Agrippa I., by whom he had a daughter Salome. Herodias, however, left him, and made an infamous marriage with his half-brother Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19). He is called only

Herod by Josephus, but, the repetition of the name Philip is fully justified by the frequent recurrence of names in the Herodian family (e. g. Antipater). The two Philips were confounded by Jerome (*ad Matt. l. c.*); and the confusion was the more easy, because the son of Mariamne was excluded from all share in his father's possessions (*τῆς διαθήκης ἐξήλειψεν*) in consequence of his mother's treachery (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 30, §7), and lived afterwards in a private station.

V. HEROD PHILIP II. (*Φίλιππος*) was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra (*Ἑεροκλωμῆτις*). Like his half-brothers Antipas and Archelaus, he was brought up at home (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, 3), and on the death of his father advocated the claims of Archelaus before Augustus (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §1). He received as his own government "Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis (Gaulonitis), and some parts about Jamnia" (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §3), with the title of tetrarch (Luke iii. 1, *Φίλιππου . . . τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνιτίδος χώρας*). His rule was distinguished by justice and moderation (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. §2, 4), and he appears to have devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office without sharing in the intrigues which disgraced his family (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, 6). He built a new city on the site of Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, which he called Caesarea (*Καίσαρεια ἡ Φιλίππου*, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27), and raised Bethsaida (in lower Gaulonitis) to the rank of a city under the title of Julius (Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9, §1; xviii. 2, §1), and died there A.D. 34 (xviii. 5, §6). He married Salome, the daughter of Philip (1.) and Herodias (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §4), but as he left no children at his death his dominions were added to the Roman province of Syria (xviii. 5, §6).

VI. HEROD AGRIPPA I. (*Ἡρώδης*, Acts; *Ἀγρίππας*, Joseph.) was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great. He was brought up at Rome with Claudius and Drusus, and after a life of various vicissitudes (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7), was thrown into prison by Tiberius for an ungarded speech, where he remained till the accession of Caligula (Caligula) A.D. 37. The new Emperor gave him the governments formerly held by the tetrarchs Philip and Lysanias, and bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty and other marks of favour (Acts xii. 1, *Ἡρ. ὁ βασιλεὺς*). The jealousy of Herod Antipas and his wife Herodias was excited by these distinctions, and they sailed to Rome in the hope of supplanting Agrippa in the Emperor's favour. Agrippa was aware of their design, and anticipated it by a counter-charge against Antipas of treasonous correspondence with the Parthians. Antipas failed to answer the accusation, and was banished to Gaul (A.D. 39), and his dominions were added to those already held by Agrippa (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7, §2). Afterwards Agrippa rendered important services to Claudius (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 11, §2, 3), and received from him in return (A.D. 41) the government of Judaea and Samaria; so that his entire dominions equalled in extent the kingdom of Herod the Great. Unlike his predecessors, Agrippa was a strict observer of the Law (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 7, §3), and he sought with success the favour of the Jews.<sup>a</sup> It is pro-

<sup>a</sup> Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1, Josephus calls Philip *Ἀρχελάου ἀδελφὸς γνήσιος*; but elsewhere he states their distinct descent.

<sup>a</sup> Jost (*Gench. d. Judenthums*, 420) quotes a legend that Agrippa burst into tears on reading in a public service Deut. xvi. 15; whereupon the people cried out,

bable that it was with this view\* he put to death James the son of Zebedee, and further imprisoned Peter (Acts xii. 1 ff.). But his sudden death, which followed immediately afterwards, interrupted his ambitious projects.

In the fourth year of his reign over the whole of Judaea (A.D. 44) Agrippa attended some games at Capua, held in honour of the Emperor. When he appeared in the theatre (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8, §2, *δεντέρα τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρα*; Acts xii. 21, *τακτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*) in "a robe of silver stuff (*ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιμένην πᾶσαν*, Joseph. ; *ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν*, Acts xii. 21) which shone in the morning light, his flatterers saluted him as a god; and suddenly he was seized with terrible pains, and being carried from the theatre to the palace died after five days agony (*ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγῆματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν*, Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8; *γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν*, Acts xii. 23; cf. 2 Mac. ix. 5-9).

By a singular and instructive confusion Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 10; cf. Heineichen, *Exc.* 2, ad loc.) converts the owl, which, according to Josephus, appeared to Herod as a messenger of evil (*ἐγγελας κακῶν*) into "the angel" of the Acts, who was the unseen minister of the Divine Will (Acts xii. 23, *ἐπαύξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου*; cf. 2 K. xix. 35, LXX.).

Various conjectures have been made as to the occasion of the festival at which the event took place. Josephus (*l. c.*) says that it was "in behalf of the Emperor's safety," and it has been supposed that it might be in connexion with his return from Britain; but this is at least very uncertain (cf. Wieseler, *Chron. d. Apost. Zeit.* 131 ff.). Josephus mentions also the concourse "of the chief men throughout the province" who were present on the occasion; and though he does not notice the embassy of the Tyrians and Agrippa's speech, yet his narrative is perfectly consistent with both facts.

VII. HEROD AGRIPPA II. (*Ἀγρίππας*, N. T. Joseph.) was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros, a grand-niece of Herod the Great. At the time of the death of his father A.D. 44 he was at Rome, and his youth (he was 17 years old) prevented Claudius from carrying out his first intention of appointing him his father's successor (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9, §1-2). Not long afterwards, however, the Emperor gave him (c. A.D. 50) the kingdom of Chalcis, which had belonged to his uncle (who died A.D. 48; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 4, §2; *B. J.* ii. 12, 1); and then transferred him (A.D. 52) to the tetrarchies formerly held by Philip and Lysanias (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, §1; *B. J.* ii. 12, §8), with the title of king (Acts xiv. 13, *Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς*, xxi. 2, 7, &c.).

Nero afterwards increased the dominions of Agrippa by the addition of several cities (*Ant.* x. 6, §4); and he displayed the lavish magnificence which marked his family by costly buildings

at Jerusalem and Berytus, in both cases doing violence to the feelings of the Jews (*Ant.* xv. 7, §11; 8, §4). The relation in which he stood to his sister Berenice (Acts xxv. 13, was the cause of grave suspicion (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, §3), which was noticed by Juvenal (*Sat.* vi. 155 ff.). In the last Roman war Agrippa took part with the Romans, and after the fall of Jerusalem retired with Berenice to Rome, where he died in the third year of Trajan (A.D. 100), being the last prince of the house of Herod (Phot. *Cod.* 33).



Copper Coin of Herod Agrippa II., with Titus.

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΒΑ. Head laureate to the right. Rev. ΕΤΟ ΚΣ ΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ (year 26.) Victory advancing to the right: in the field a star.

The appearance of St. Paul before Agrippa (A.D. 60) offers several characteristic traits. Agrippa seems to have been intimate with Festus (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7, §11); and it was natural that the Roman governor should avail himself of his judgment on a question of what seemed to be Jewish law (Acts xxv. 18 ff., 26; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8, §7). The "pomp" (*πολλὴ φαντασία*) with which the king came into the audience chamber (Acts xxv. 23) was accordant with his general bearing; and the cold irony with which he met the impassioned words of the Apostle (Acts xxvi. 27, 28) suits the temper of one who was contented to take part in the destruction of his nation.

#### VIII. BERENICE. [BERENICE.]

#### IX. DRUSILLA. [DRUSILLA.] [B. F. W.]

HERODIANS (*Ἡρῳδῖανοι*). In the account which is given by St. Matthew (xxii. 15 ff.) and St. Mark (xii. 13 ff.) of the last efforts made by different sections of the Jews to obtain from our Lord Himself the materials for His accusation, a party under the name of *Herodians* is represented as acting in concert with the Pharisees\* (Matt. xxii. 16; Mark xii. 13). St. Mark mentions the combination of the two parties for a similar object at an earlier period (Mark iii. 6), and in another place (viii. 15; cf. Luke xii. 1) he preserves a saying of our Lord, in which "the heaven of Herod" is placed in close connexion with "the heaven of the Pharisees." In the Gospel of St. Luke, on the other hand, the Herodians are not brought forward at all by name.

These very scanty notices of the Evangelists as to the position of the Herodians are not compensated by other testimonies; yet it is not difficult to fix

\* Be not distressed, Agrippa, thou art our brother," in virtue, that is, of his half-descent from the Hasmoneans.

\* Jost (p. 421, &c.), who objects that these acts are inconsistent with the known humanity of Agrippa, entirely neglects the reason suggested by St. Luke (Acts xii. 3).

\* Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* tom. xvii. §26) regards this combination of the Herodians and Pharisees as a combination of antagonistic parties, the one favourable to the Roman government (*εὐεχὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν*

*λαὸν τότε οἱ μὲν διδάσκοντες τολᾶν τὸν φόρον Καίσαρι ἐκαλοῦντο Ἡρῳδῖανοι ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ θελόντων τοῦτο γενέσθαι . . .*) and the other opposed to it; but this view, which is only conjectural (*εὐεχὸν* does not offer a complete solution of the various relations of the Herodians to the other parties of the times. Jerome, following Origen, limits the meaning of the term yet more: "*Cum Herodianis, id est, militibus Herodis, seu quos illudantes Pharisei, quia Romanis tributis volebant, Herodianos vocabant et non divino cultui deditos*" (Hieron. *Comm. in Matt.* xxii. 15).

their characteristic by a reference to the condition of Jewish feeling in the Apostolic age. There were probably many who saw in the power of the Herodian family the pledge of the preservation of their national existence in the face of Roman ambition. In proportion as they regarded the independent nationality of the Jewish people as the first condition of the fulfilment of its future destiny, they would be willing to acquiesce in the dominion of men who were themselves of foreign descent [HEROD], and not rigid in the observance of the Mosaic ritual. Two distinct classes might thus unite in supporting what was a domestic tyranny as contrasted with absolute dependence on Rome, those who saw in the Herods a protection against direct heathen rule, which was the one object of their fear (cf. *Juchas*, f. 19, ap. Lightfoot, *Herm. Ep.* p. 470, Ed. Teulst. Herodes etiam senem Hillel magno in honore habuit; namque hi homines regem illum esse non aegre ferebant), and those who were inclined to look with satisfaction upon such a compromise between the ancient faith and heathen civilisation, as Herod the Great and his successors had endeavoured to realise, as the true and highest consummation of Jewish hopes.<sup>b</sup> On the one side the Herodians—partisans of Herod in the widest sense of the term—were thus brought into union with the Pharisees, on the other, with the Sadducees. Yet there is no reason to suppose that they endeavoured to form any very systematic harmony of the conflicting doctrines of the two sects, but rather the conflicting doctrines themselves were thrown into the background by what appeared to be a paramount political necessity. Such coalitions have been frequent in every age; and the rarity of the allusions to the Herodians, as a marked body, seems to show that this, like similar coalitions, had no enduring influence as the foundation of party. The feelings which led to the coalition remained, but they were incapable of animating the common action of a united body for any length of time.

[B. F. W.]

**HERODIAS** (*Ἡρώδης*, a female patronymic from *Ἡρώδης*; on patronymics and gentile names in *as*, see Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* §101 and 103), the name of a woman of notoriety in the N. T., daughter of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Mariamne and Herod the Great, and consequently sister of Agrippa I.

She first married Herod, surnamed Philip, another of the sons of Mariamne and the first Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, §4; comp. *B. J.* i. 29, §4), and therefore her full uncle; then she eloped from him, during his lifetime (*Ant.* *ibid.*), to marry Herod Antipas, her step-uncle, who had been long married to, and was still living with, the daughter of Aeneas or Aretas—his assumed name—king of Arabia (*ibid.* xvii. 9, §4). Thus she left her husband, who was still alive, to connect herself with a man, whose wife was still alive. Her paramour was indeed less of a blood relation than her original hus-

band; but being likewise the half-brother of that husband, he was already connected with her by affinity—so close, that there was only one case contemplated in the law of Moses, where it could be set aside, namely, when the married brother had died childless (*Lev.* xviii. 16, and xx. 21, and for the exception *Deut.* xxv. 5 and seq.). Now Herodias had already had one child—Salome—by Philip (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §4), and, as he was still alive, might have had more. Well therefore may she be charged by Josephus with the intention of confounding her country's institutions (*ibid.* xviii. 5, §4); and well may St. John the Baptist have remonstrated against the enormity of such a connexion with the tetrarch, whose conscience would certainly seem to have been a less hardened one (*Matt.* xiv. 9 says he "was sorry;" *Mark* vi. 20 that he "feared" St. John; and "heard him gladly").

The consequences both of the crime, and of the reproof which it incurred, are well known. Aretas made war upon Herod for the injury done to his daughter, and routed him with the loss of his whole army (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §1). The head of St. John the Baptist was granted to the request of Herodias (*Matt.* xiv. 8-11; *Mark* vi. 21-28). According to Josephus the execution took place in a fortress called Machanerus, on the frontier between the dominions of Aretas and Herod, according to Pliny (v. 15), looking down upon the Dead Sea from the south (comp. Robinson, i. 570 *note*). And it was to the iniquity of this act, rather than to the immorality of that illicit connexion, that the historian says, some of the Jews attributed the defeat of Herod. In the closing scene of her career indeed Herodias exhibited considerable magnanimity; as she preferred going with Antipas to Lugdunum,<sup>a</sup> and there sharing his exile and reverses, till death ended them, to the remaining with her brother Agrippa I., and partaking of his elevation (*Ant.* xviii. 7, §2).

There are few episodes in the whole range of the N. T. more suggestive to the commentator than this one scene in the life of Herodias.

1. It exhibits one of the most remarkable of the undesigned coincidences between the N. T. and Josephus; that there are some discrepancies in the two accounts; only enhances their value. More than this, it has led the historian into a brief digression upon the life, death, and character of the Baptist, which speaks volumes in favour of the genuineness of that still more celebrated passage, in which he speaks of "Jesus," that "wise man, if man he may be called" (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §3; comp. xx. 9, §1, unhesitatingly quoted as genuine by Euseb. *H. E.* i. 11).

2. It has been warmly debated whether it was the adultery, or the incestuous connexion, that drew down the reproof of the Baptist. It has been already shown that, either way, the offence merited condemnation upon more grounds than one.

<sup>b</sup> In this way the Herodians were said to regard Herod (Antipas) as "the Messiah;" "*Ἡρώδης καὶ αἰσίου τοῦ χρόνου ἦσαν οἱ τοῦ Ἡρώδου Χριστὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ὡς ἰσοπέποιται* (Vicot. *Ant. ap. Crm. Cat. in Marc.* p. 400). Philastrius (*Haer.* xviii.) applies the same belief to Herod Agrippa; Epiphanius (*Haer.* xix.) to Herod the Great. Jerome in one place (*ad Matt.* xxii. 15) calls the idea "a ridiculous notion of some Latin writers, which rests on no authority (*quod nusquam legitur*); and again (*Dial. c. Lucifer.* xxiii.) mentions it in a general summary of heretical notions without hesitation. The belief was, in fact, one of general senti-

ment, and not of distinct and pronounced confession.

<sup>a</sup> This town is probably Lugdunum Convenarum, a town of Gaul, situated on the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, now *St. Bertrand de Comminges* (Murray, *Handb. of France*, p. 314); Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 11, says *Pleura*, confounding Antipas with Archelaus. Burton on *Matt.* xiv. 3, Alfred, and moderns in general, *Lyons*. In Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 9, §6), Antipas is said to have died in Spain—apparently, from the context, the land of his exile. A town on the frontier, therefore, like the above, would satisfy both passages.

3. The birthday feast is another undesigned coincidence between Scripture and profane history. The Jews abhorred keeping birthdays as a pagan custom (Bland on *Matt.* xiv. 6). On the other hand, it was usual with the Egyptians (*Gen.* xl. 20; comp. *Joseph. Ant.* xii. 4, §7), with the Persians (*Herod.* i. 133), with the Greeks, even in the case of the dead, whence the Christian custom of keeping anniversaries of the martyrs (*Bähr, ad Herod.* iv. 26), and with the Romans (*Pers. Sat.* ii. 1-3). Now the Herods may be said to have gone beyond Rome in the observance of all that was Roman. Herod the Great kept the day of his accession; Antipater—as we read here—and Agrippa I., as Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xix. 7, §1), their birthday, with such magnificence, that the “birthdays of Herod” (*Herodias dies*) had passed into a proverb when Persius wrote (*Sat.* v. 180).

4. And yet dancing, on these festive occasions, was common to both Jew and Gentile; and was practised in the same way—Youths and virgins, singly, or separated into two bands, but never intermingled, danced to do honour to their deity, their hero, or to the day of their solemnity. Miriam (*Ex.* xv. 20), the daughter of Jephthah (*Judges* xi. 34) and David (*2 Sam.* vi. 14) are familiar instances in Holy Writ: the “Carmen Saeculare” of Horace, to quote no more, points to the same custom amongst Greeks and Romans. It is plainly owing to the elevation of woman in the social scale, that dancing in pairs (still unknown to the East) has come into fashion.

5. The rash oath of Herod, like that of Jephthah in the O. T., has afforded ample discussion to casuists. It is now ruled that all such oaths, where there is no reservation, expressed or implied, in favour of the laws of God or man, are illicit and without force. And so Solomon had long since decided (*1 K.* ii. 20-24; see Sanderson, *The Jewish Oblig.* *Prælect.* iii. 16). [E. S. Ff.]

**HERODION** (Ἡροδίων; *Herodion*), a relative of St. Paul (τὸν συγγενὴ μου; *cognatus*), to whom he sends his salutation amongst the Christians of the Roman Church (*Rom.* xvi. 11). Nothing appears to be certainly known of him. By Hippolytus, however, he is said to have been bishop of Tarsus; and by Pseudochrythostom, of Patras (Winer, *sub voc.*).

**HERON** (Ἡρὸν). The Hebrew *anāphoth* appears as the name of an unclean bird in *Lev.* xi. 19, *Deut.* xiv. 18. From the addition of the words “after her kind,” we may infer that it was a generic name for a well known class of birds, and hence it is the more remarkable that the name does not occur elsewhere in the Bible. It is quite uncertain what bird is intended: the only point on which any two commentators seem to agree is that it is not the *heron*, for many suppose the preceding word translated in the A. V. “stork” to apply in reality to the heron. The LXX. translates it ἡραδῖος, which may be regarded as applicable to all birds frequenting swampy ground (ἐν ἡραδῖος), but more particularly to the plover. This explanation loses what little weight it might otherwise have had, from the probability that it originated in a false reading, viz., ἀγαθή, which the translators connected with ἀγαθή, “a bank.” The Talmudists evidently were at a loss, for they describe it indefinitely as a “high flying bird of prey” (*Chulin*, 63 a). The only ground on which an opinion can be formed, is the etymology of the word;

it is connected by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 127) with the root *anaph*, “to snort in anger,” and is therefore applicable to some irritable bird, perhaps the goose. The parrot, swallow, and a kind of eagle have been suggested without any real reason. [W. L. B.]

**HESED** (חֶסֶד; 'Esdī, Alex. 'Esd; *Beneded*), the son of Hesel, or Ben-Chesel, was commissary for Solomon in the district of “the Arubboth, Socoh, and all the land of Hephher” (*1 K.* iv. 10).

**HESH'BON** (חֶשְׁבֹן; 'Esebōn; *Heshbon*), the capital city of Sihon king of the Amorites (*Num.* xxi. 26). It stood on the western border of the high plain (*Mishor*, *Josh.* xiii. 17), and on the boundary-line between the tribes of Reuben and Gad. The ruins of *Heshbān*, 20 miles east of the Jordan, on the parallel of the northern end of the Dead Sea, mark the site, as they bear the name of the ancient Heshbon. The city is chiefly celebrated from its connexion with Sihon, who was the first to give battle to the invading Israelites. He marched against them to Jahaz, which must have been situated a short distance south of Heshbon, and was there completely overthrown (*Deut.* ii. 32 sq.). Heshbon was rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben (*Num.* xxvii. 37), but was assigned to the Levites in connexion with the tribe of Gad (*Josh.* xxi. 39). After the captivity it fell into the hands of the Moabites, to whom it had originally belonged (*Num.* xxi. 26), and hence it is mentioned in the prophetic denunciations against Moab (*Is.* xv. 4; *Jer.* xlviii. 2, 34, 45). In the fourth century it was still a place of some note (*Onom.* s. v. *Esebon*), but it has now been for many centuries wholly desolate.

The ruins of Heshbon stand on a low hill rising out of the great undulating plateau. They are more than a mile in extent; but not a building remains entire. Towards the western part is a singular structure, whose crumbling ruins exhibit the workmanship of successive ages—the massive stones of the Jewish period, the sculptured cornice of the Roman era, and the light Sasanian arch, all grouped together. There are many cisterns among the ruins; and towards the south, a few yards from the base of the hill, is a large ancient reservoir, which calls to mind the passage in *Ant.* vii. 4, “Thine eyes are like the fishpools of Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim.” (see Buckhardt, *Trac. in Syr.* p. 365; Irbay and Maugles, p. 472.) [BATH-RABIM.] [J. L. P.]

**HESH'MON** (חֶשְׁמֹן; LXX. omits, both MSS.; *Heshmon*), a place named, with others, as lying between Moladah and Beersheba (*Josh.* xv. 27), and therefore in the extreme south of Judah. Nothing further is known of it; but may it not be another form of the name AZMON, given in *Num.* xxiv. 4 as one of the landmarks of the southern boundary of Judah? [G.]

**HETH** (חֶת, i. e. Cheth; Xēṛ; *Heth*), the forefather of the nation of the HITTITES. In the genealogical tables of *Gen.* x. and *1 Chr.* i., Heth is stated as a son of Canaan, younger than Zidon the firstborn, but preceding the Jebusite, the Amorite, and the other Canaanite families. Heth and Zidon alone are named as persons; all the rest figure as tribes (*Gen.* x. 15; *1 Chr.* i. 13; LXX. τὸν Χετταῖον; and so *Josephus, Ant.* i. 6, §2).

The Hittites were therefore a Hamitic race, neither of the “country” nor the “kindred” of Abraham and Isaac (*Gen.* xxiv. 3, 4; xxviii. 1, 2). In the

earliest historical mention of the nation—the beautiful narrative of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah—they are styled, not Hittites, but Bene-Cheth (A. V. "sons, and children of Heth," Gen. xxiii. 3, 5, 7, 10, 16, 18, 20; xxv. 16; xlv. 32). Once we hear of "daughters of Heth" (xxvii. 46); the "daughters of the land;" at that early period still called, after their less immediate progenitor, "daughters of Canaan" (xxviii. 1, 8, compared with xxvii. 46, and xxvi. 34, 35).

In the Egyptian monuments the name *Chat* is said to stand for Palestine (Bunsen, *Aegypten*, quoted by Ewald, *Gesch.* i. §17 note). [G.]

**HETH'LON** (חֶתְלוֹן), "the way of Hethlon", the name of a place on the northern border of the "promised land." It is mentioned only twice in Scripture (Ex. xlvii. 15, xlviii. 1). In all probability the "way of Hethlon" is the pass at the northern end of Lebanon, from the sea-coast of the Mediterranean to the great plain of Hamath, and is thus identical with "the entrance of Hamath" in Num. xxv. 8, &c. (See *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 356.) [J. L. P.]

**HEZEKĪ** (חֶזְקִיָּה, i. e. Hizki, a short form of Hizkiah, "strength of Jehovah" = Hezekiah; אֲחָז; *Hezezi*), a man in the genealogies of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Elpaal, a descendant of Shaaraim (1 Chr. viii. 17).

**HEZEKĪAH** (חֶזְקִיָּהוּ, generally חֶזְקִיָּהוּ, *Hizkiyahu*, and also with initial יֶחֶזְקִיָּהוּ; LXX. and Joseph. *Ezekias*; *Ezechias*; = "strength of Jehovah," comp. Germ. "*Gothard*," Gesen.), twelfth king of Judah, son of the apostate Ahaz and Abi (or Abijah), ascended the throne at the age of 25, B.C. 726. Since, however, Ahaz died at the age of 36, some prefer to make Hezekiah only 20 years old at his accession (reading כ for כה), as otherwise he must have been born when Ahaz was a boy of 11 years old. This indeed is not impossible (Hieron. *Ep. ad Vitalem*. 132, quoted by Bochart, *Geogr. Sacra*. p. 920; see Keil on 2 K. xviii. 1; Knobel, *Jes.* 22, &c.); but, if any change be desirable, it is better to suppose that Ahaz was 25 and not 20 years old at his accession (LXX. Syr. Arab. 2 Chr. xviii. 1), reading כ for כ in 2 K. xvi. 2.

Hezekiah was one of the three most perfect kings of Judah (2 K. xviii. 5; Eccles. xlix. 4). His first act was to purge, and repair, and reopen with splendid sacrifices and perfect ceremonial, the Temple which had been despoiled and neglected during the careless and idolatrous reign of his father. This consecration was accompanied by a revival of the theocratic spirit, so strict as not even to spare "the high places," which, although tolerated by many well-intentioned kings, had naturally been profaned by the worship of images and Asherahs (2 K. xviii. 4). On the extreme importance and probable consequences of this measure, see HIGH PLACES. A still more decisive act was the destruction of a brazen serpent, said to have been the one used by Moses in the miraculous healing of the Israelites (Num. xxi. 9), which had been removed to Jerusalem, and had become, "down to those days," an object of adoration, partly in consequence of its venerable character as a relic, and partly perhaps from some diin tendencies to the ophiolatry

common in ancient times (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 622). To break up a figure so curious and so highly honoured showed a strong mind, as well as a clear-sighted zeal, and Hezekiah briefly justified his procedure by calling the image נִחְשֵׁת, "a brazen thing," possibly with a contemptuous play on the word נֶחֱשֶׁת, "a serpent." How necessary this was in such times may be inferred from the fact that "the brazen serpent" is, or was, revered in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan (Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 19, Oxf. ed.).<sup>a</sup> When the kingdom of Israel had fallen, Hezekiah extended his pious endeavours to Ephraim and Manasseh, and by inviting the scattered inhabitants to a peculiar Passover kindled their indignation also against the idolatrous practices which still continued among them. This Passover was, from the necessities of the case, celebrated at an unusual, though not illegal (Num. ix. 10, 11) time, and by an excess of Levitical zeal, it was continued for the unprecedented period of fourteen days. For these latter facts the Chronicler (2 Chr. xxix., xxx., xxxi.) is our sole authority, and he characteristically narrates them at great length. It would appear at first sight that this Passover was celebrated immediately after the purification of the Temple (see Prideaux, *l. c.*), but careful consideration makes it almost certain that it could not have taken place before the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, when the fall of Samaria had stricken remorseful terror into the heart of Israel (2 Chr. xxxi. 1, xxx. 6, 9, and Keil on 2 K. xviii. 3).

By a rare and happy providence the most pious of kings was confirmed in his faithfulness, and seconded in his endeavours by the powerful assistance of the noblest and most eloquent of prophets. The influence of Isaiah was, however, not gained without a struggle with the "sensual" remnant of the former royal counsellors (Is. xxviii. 14), who in all probability recommended to the king such alliances and compromises as would be in unison rather with the dictates of political expediency, than with that sole unhesitating trust in the arm of Jehovah, which the prophets inculcated. The leading man of this cabinet was Shebua, who, from the omission of his father's name, and the expression in Is. xxii. 16 (see Blunt, *Undes. Coincidences*), was probably a foreigner, perhaps a Syrian (Hitzig). At the instance of Isaiah, he seems to have been subsequently degraded from the high post of prefect of the palace (which office was given to Eliakim, Is. xxii. 21), to the inferior, though still honourable, station of state-secretary (סֹפֵר, 2 K. xviii. 18); the further punishment of exile with which Isaiah had threatened him (xvii. 18) being possibly forgiven on his amendment, of which we have some traces in Is. xxvii. 2 sqq. (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 617).

At the head of a repentant and united people, Hezekiah ventured to assume the aggressive against the Philistines, and in a series of victories not only rewon the cities which his father had lost (2 Chr. xxviii. 18), but even dispossessed them of their own cities except Gaza (2 K. xviii. 8) and Gath (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 13. §3). It was perhaps to the purposes of this war that he applied the money which would otherwise have been used to pay the tribute exacted by Sennacherib, according to the agreement of Ahaz with his predecessor, Tiglath Pileser. When, after the capture of Samaria, the king of Assyria

<sup>a</sup> "Un serpent de bronze qui selon une croyance populaire serait celui que leva Moïse, et qui doit siffler à la fin du monde." (*Itin. de l'Italie*, p. 117.)

applied for this impost, Hezekiah refused it, and in open rebellion omitted to send even the usual presents (2 K. xviii. 7), a line of conduct to which he was doubtless encouraged by the splendid exhortation of his prophetic guide.

Instant war was averted by the heroic and long-continued resistance of the Tyrians under their king Eluloeus (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14), against a siege, which was abandoned only in the fifth year (Grote, *Greece*, iii. 359; 4th Ed.), when it was found to be impracticable. This must have been a critical and intensely anxious period for Jerusalem, and Hezekiah used every available means to strengthen his position, and render his capital impregnable (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 3-5, 30; Is. xlii. 8-11, xxxiii. 18; and to these events Ewald also refers Ps. xlviii. 13). But while all Judea trembled with anticipation of Assyrian invasion, and while Shebna and others were relying "in the shadow of Egypt," Isaiah's brave heart did not fail, and he even denounced the wrath of God against the proud and sinful merchant-city (Is. xliii.), which now seemed to be the main bulwark of Judea against immediate attack.

It was probably during the siege of Samaria that Shalmanezar died, and was succeeded by Sargon, who, jealous of Egyptian influence in Judea, sent an army under a Tartan or general (Is. xx. 1), which penetrated Egypt (Nah. iii. 8-10) and destroyed No-Amon; although it is clear from Hezekiah's rebellion (2 K. xviii. 7) that it can have produced but little permanent impression. Sargon, in the tenth year of his reign (which is the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah), made an expedition to Palestine; but his annals make no mention of any conquests from Hezekiah on this occasion, and he seems to have occupied himself in the siege of Ashdod (Is. xx. 1), and in the inspection of mines (Rosenmüller, *1866. Geogr.* ix.). This must therefore be the expedition alluded to in 2 K. xviii. 13; Is. xxxvi. 1; an expedition which is merely alluded to, as it led to no result. But if the Scripture narrative is to be reconciled with the records of Assyrian history it seems necessary to make a transposition in the text of Isaiah (and therefore of the book of Kings). That some such expedient must be resorted to, if the Assyrian history is trustworthy, is maintained by Dr. Hincks in a paper *On the rectification of Chronology, which the newly-discovered Apis-steles render necessary*. "The text," he says, "as it originally stood was probably to this effect: 2 K. xviii. 13. Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah the king of Assyria came up [alluding to the attack mentioned in Sargon's *Annals*]; xx. 1-19. In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death, &c., xviii. 13. And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them, &c., xviii. 13, xix. 37" (Dr. Hincks, in *Journal of Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1858). Perhaps some later transcriber, unaware of the earlier and unimportant invasion, confused the allusion to Sargon in 2 K. xviii. 13 with the detailed story of Sennacherib's attack (2 K. xviii. 14 to xix. 37), and, considering that the account of Hezekiah's illness broke the continuity of the narrative, removed it to the end.

According to this scheme, Hezekiah's dangerous illness (2 K. xx.; Is. xxxviii.; 2 Chr. xxxii. 24) nearly synchronised with Sargon's futile invasion, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, eleven years before Sennacherib's invasion. That it must have preceded the attack of Sennacherib is nearly obvious from the promise in 2 K. xx. 6, as well as

from modern discoveries (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* i. 145); and such is the view adopted by the Rabbin (Seder Olam, cap. xxiii.), Ussher, and by most commentators, except Vittinga and Gesenius (Keil, *ad loc.*; Prideaux, i. 22). There seems to be no ground whatever for the vague conjecture so confidently advanced (Winer, *s. v. Hiskias*; Jahn, *Hebr. Common.* §xli.) that the king's illness was the same plague which had destroyed the Assyrian

army. The word מִדְּבָרָא is not elsewhere applied to the plague, but to carbuncles and inflammatory ulcers (Ex. ix. 9; Job ii. 1, &c.). Hezekiah, whose kingdom was in a dangerous crisis, who had at that time no heir (for Manasseh was not born till long afterwards, 2 K. xxi. 1), and who regarded death as the end of existence (Is. xxxviii.), "turned his face to the wall and wept sore" at the threatened approach of dissolution. God had compassion on his anguish, and heard his prayer. Isaiah had hardly left the palace when he was ordered to promise the king immediate recovery, and a fresh lease of life, ratifying the promise by a sign, and curing the boil by a plaster of figs, which were often used medicinally in similar cases (Gesen. *Thes.* i. 311; Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. 377; Butholius, *De Morbis Biblicis*, x. 47). What was the exact nature of the disease we cannot say; according to Meade it was fever terminating in abscess. For some account of the retrogression of the shadow on the sundial of Ahaz, see DIAL. On this remarkable passage we must be content to refer the reader to Καρμάν, *App. Crit.* p. 351 ff.; Winer, *s. v. Hiskias*; Uhren; Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 332 sqq.; the elaborate notes of Keil on 2 K. xx.; Rosenmüller and Gesenius on Is. xxxviii., and especially Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 638.

Various ambassadors came with letters and gifts to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery (2 K. xxxii. 23), and among them an embassy from Merodach-Baladan (or Berodach, 2 K. xx. 12; ὁ Βαλαδὰς, Joseph. *l. c.*), the viceroy of Babylon, the Mardokempados of Ptolemy's canon. The ostensible object of this mission was to compliment Hezekiah on his convalescence (2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1), and "to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land" (2 Chr. xxxii. 31), a rumour of which could not fail to interest a people devoted to astrology. But its real purpose was to discover how far an alliance between the two powers was possible or desirable, for Mardokempados, no less than Hezekiah, was in apprehension of the Assyrians. In fact Sargon expelled him from the throne of Babylon in the following year (the 16th of Hezekiah), although after a time he seems to have returned and re-established himself for six months, at the end of which he was murdered by Belibos (Dr. Hincks, *l. c.*; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* ch. viii.; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* i. 141). Community of interest made Hezekiah receive the overtures of Babylon with unconcealed gratification; and, perhaps, to enhance the opinion of his own importance as an ally, he displayed to the messengers the princely treasures which he and his predecessors had accumulated. The mention of such rich stores is an additional argument for supposing these events to have happened before Sennacherib's invasion (see 2 K. xviii. 14-16), although they are related after them in the Scripture historians. If ostentation were his motive it received a terrible rebuke, and he was informed by Isaiah that from the then tottering and subordinate province of Babylon, and not from

the mighty Assyria, would come the ruin and captivity of Judah (Is. xxix. 5). This prophecy and the one of Micah (Mic. iv. 10) are the earliest definition of the locality of that hostile power, where the clouds of exile so long threatened (Lev. xvi. 33; Deut. iv. 27, xxx. 3) were beginning to gather. It is an impressive and fearful circumstance that the moment of exultation was chosen as the opportunity for warning, and that the prophecies of the Assyrian deliverance are set side by side with those of the Babylonian captivity (Davidson *On Prophecy*, p. 256). The weak friend was to accomplish that which was impossible to the powerful foe. But, although pride was the sin thus vehemently checked by the prophet, Isaiah was certainly not blind to the *political* motives (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 2, §2), which made Hezekiah so complaisant to the Babylonian ambassadors. Into those motives he had inquired in vain, for the king met *that* portion of his question ("What said these men?") by emphatic silence. Hezekiah's meek answer to the stern denunciation of future woe has been most unjustly censured as "a false resignation which combines selfishness with silliness" (Newman, *Hebr. Mon.* p. 274). On the contrary it merely implies a conviction that God's decree could not be otherwise than just and right, and a natural thankfulness for even a temporary suspension of its inevitable fulfilment.

Sargon was succeeded (B.C. 702) by his son Sennacherib, whose two invasions occupy the greater part of the Scripture records concerning the reign of Hezekiah. The first of these took place in the third year of Sennacherib (B.C. 702), and occupies only three verses (2 K. xviii. 13-16), though the route of the advancing Assyrians may be traced in Is. x. 5, xi. The rumour of the invasion redoubled Hezekiah's exertions, and he prepared for a siege by providing offensive and defensive armour, stopping up the wells, and diverting the watercourses, conducting the water of Gihon into the city by a subterranean canal (Ezekiel, xlviii. 17. For a similar precaution taken by the Mohammedans, see Will. Tyr. viii. 7, Keil). But the main hope of the political faction was the alliance with Egypt, and they seem to have sought it by presents and private entreaties (Is. xxx. 6), especially with a view to obtaining chariots and cavalry (Is. xxxi. 1-3), which was the weakest arm of the Jewish service, as we see from the decision which it excited (2 K. xviii. 23). Such overtures kindled Isaiah's indignation, and Shebna may have lost his high office by recommending them. The prophet clearly saw that Egypt was too weak and faithless to be serviceable, and the applications to Pharaoh (who is compared by Isaiah to one of the weak reeds of his own river), implied a want of trust in the help of God. But Isaiah did not disapprove of the spontaneously proffered assistance of the tall and warlike Ethiopians (Is. xlviii. 2, 7, acc. to Ewald's transl.); because he may have regarded it as a providential aid.

The account given of this first invasion in the *Annals of Sennacherib* is that he attacked Hezekiah, because the Ekronites had sent their king Padiya (or "Haddiya" acc. to Col. Rawlinson) as a prisoner to Jerusalem (cf. 2 K. xviii. 8); that he took forty-six cities ("all the fenced cities" in 2 K. xviii. 13 is apparently a general expression, cf. xix. 8) and 200,000 prisoners; that he besieged Jerusalem with mounds (cf. 2 K. xix. 32); and although Hezekiah promised to pay 800 talents of silver (of which perhaps 300 only were ever paid) and

30 of gold (2 K. xviii. 14; but see Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* 4, p. 148), yet not content with this he mulcted him of a part of his dominions, and gave them to the kings of Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 475 sq.). So important was this expedition that Demetrius, the Jewish historian, even attributes to Sennacherib the Great Captivity (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 146, ed. Sylb.). In almost every particular this account agrees with the notice in Scripture, and we may see a reason for so great a sacrifice on the part of Hezekiah in the glimpse which Isaiah gives us of his capital city driven by desperation into licentious and impious mirth (xlii. 12-14). This campaign must at least have had the one good result of proving the worthlessness of the Egyptian alliance; for at a place called Altargi (the Eltekon of Josh. xv. 59 p.) Sennacherib inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the combined forces of Egypt and Ethiopia, which had come to the assistance of Ekron. But Isaiah regarded the purchased treaty as a cowardly defection, and the sight of his fellow-citizens gazing peacefully from the house-tops on the bright array of the car-borne and quivered Assyrians, filled him with indignation and despair (Is. xxii. 1-7, if the latest explanations of this chapter be correct).

Hezekiah's bribe (or fine) brought a temporary release, for the Assyrians marched into Egypt, where, if Herodotus (ii. 141) and Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1-3) are to be trusted, they advanced without resistance to Pelusium, owing to the hatred of the warrior-caste against Sethos the king-priest of Ptah, who had, in his priestly predilections, interfered with their prerogatives. In spite of this advantage, Sennacherib was forced to raise the siege of Pelusium, by the advance of Tirhakah or Tanakos, the ally of Sethos and Hezekiah, who afterwards united the crowns of Egypt and Ethiopia. This magnificent Ethiopian hero, who had extended his conquests to the pillars of Hercules (Strab. xv. 472), was indeed a formidable antagonist. His deeds are recorded in a temple at Medinet Haboo, but the jealousy of the Memphites (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 141) concealed his assistance, and attributed the deliverance of Sethos to the miraculous interposition of an army of mice (Herod. ii. 141). This story may have had its source, however, not in jealousy, but in the use of a mouse as the emblem of destruction (Horapoll. *Hierogl.* i. 50; Rawlinson, *Herod.* ad loc.), and of some sort of disease or plague (? 1 Sam. vi. 18; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §185). The legend doubtless gained ground from the extraordinary circumstances which afterwards ruined the army of Sennacherib. We say *afterwards*, because, however much the details of the two occurrences may have been confused, we cannot agree with the majority of writers (Prideaux, Bochart, Michaelis, Jahn, Keil, Newman, &c.) in identifying the flight of Sennacherib from Pelusium with the event described in 2 K. xix. We prefer to follow Josephus in making them allude to distinct events.

Returning from his futile expedition (*ἀναχώρησε*, Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1, §4) Sennacherib "dealt treacherously" with Hezekiah (Is. xxxiii. 1) by attacking the stronghold of Lachish. This was the commencement of that *second* invasion, respecting which we have such full details in 2 K. xviii. 17 sq.; 2 Chr. xxxii. 9 sq.; Is. xxxvi. That there were two invasions (contrary to the opinion of Layard, Bosanquet, Vance Smith, &c.) is clearly proved by the details of the first given in the Assyrian annals (see Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. p. 477).

Although the annals of Sennacherib on the great cylinder in the Brit. Museum, reach to the end of his *eighth* year, and this second invasion belongs to his fifth year (B.C. 698, the twenty-eighth year of Hezekiah), yet no allusion to it has been found. So shameful a disaster was naturally concealed by national vanity. From Lachish he sent against Jerusalem an army under two officers and his cup-bearer the orator Rabshakeh, with a blasphemous and insulting summons to surrender, deriding Hezekiah's hopes of Egyptian succour, and apparently endeavouring to inspire the people with distrust of his religious innovations (2 K. xviii. 22, 25, 30). The reiteration and peculiarity of the latter argument, together with Rabshakeh's fluent mastery of Hebrew (which he used to tempt the people from their allegiance by a glowing promise, v. 31, 32), give countenance to the supposition that he was an apostate Jew. Hezekiah's ministers were thrown into anguish and dismay; but the undaunted Isaiah hurled back threatening for threatening with unrivalled eloquence and force. He even prophesied that the fires of Tophet were already burning in expectancy of the Assyrian corpses which were destined to feed their flame. Meanwhile Sennacherib, having taken Lachish (an event possibly depicted on a series of slabs at Mosul, Layard, *N. & B.* 148-152), was besieging Libnah, when, alarmed by a "rumour" of Tirhakah's advance (to avenge the defeat at Altagd?), he was forced to relinquish once more his immediate designs, and content himself with a defiant letter to Hezekiah. Whether on the occasion he encountered and defeated the Ethiopians (as Prideaux precariously infers from Is. xx. *Connect.* i. p. 26), or not, we cannot tell. The next event of the campaign, about which we are informed, is that the Jewish king with simple piety prayed to God with Sennacherib's letter outspread before him (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 48), and received a prophecy of immediate deliverance. Accordingly "that night the Angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men."

There is no doubt that some secondary cause was employed in the accomplishment of this event. We are certainly "not to suppose," as Dr. Johnson observed, "that the angel went about with a sword in his hand stabbing them one by one, but that some powerful natural agent was employed." The Babylonish Talmud and some of the Targums attribute it to storms of lightning (Vitringa, Vogel, &c.); Prideaux, Heine (*de causâ Strag. Assy.*), and Faber to the Simoon; R. Jose, Ussher, Preiss (*de causâ clad. Assy.*), &c. &c., to a nocturnal attack by Tirhakah; Paulus to a poisoning of the waters; and finally Josephus, followed by an immense majority of ancient and modern commentators, including even Keil, to the Pestilence. This would be a cause not only adequate (Justin, xix. 11; Diodor. xix. p. 434: see the other instances quoted by Rossmüller, Winer, Keil, Jahn, &c.), but most probable in itself from the crowded and terrified state of the camp. There is therefore no necessity to adopt the ingenious conjectures by which Döderlein, Koppe, and Weesser endeavour to get rid of the large number 185,000.

After this reverse Sennacherib fled precipitately to Nineveh, where he revenged himself on as many Jews as were in his power (Tob. i. 18), and after many years (not fifty-five days, as Tobit says, i. 21), was murdered by two of his sons as he drank himself drunk in the house of Nisroch (Assarac?) his god. He certainly lived till B.C.

680, for his 22nd year is mentioned on a clay tablet (Rawlinson, *l. c.*); he must therefore have survived Hezekiah by some seventeen years. It is probable that several of the Psalms (*e. g.* xli.-xlviii. lxxvi.) allude to his discomfiture.

Hezekiah only ~~lived~~ <sup>lived</sup> to enjoy for about one year more his well-earned peace and glory. He slept with his fathers after a reign of twenty-nine years, in the 56th year of his age (B.C. 697), and was buried with great honour and universal mourning "in the chiefest of the sepulchres" (or "the road leading up to the sepulchres," *ἡ ἀναβαίνει τὰς πυλῶν*, LXX., because, as Thénius conjectures, the actual sepulchres were full) of the sons of David" (2 Chr. xxxii. 33). He had found time for many works of peace in the noble and almost blameless course of his troubled life, and to his pious labours we are indebted for at least one portion of the present canon (1 Prov. xxv. 1; Eccles. xlviii. 17 sq.). He can have no finer paenegyric than the words of the son of Sirach, "even the kings of Judah failed, for they forsook the law of the Most High; *all except David, and Ezekias, and Judas failed.*"

Besides the many authors and commentators who have written on this period of Jewish history (on which much light has been recently thrown by Mr. Layard, Sir G. Wilkinson, Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and other scholars who have studied the Nineveh remains), see for continuous lives of Hezekiah, Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 13—x. 2), Prideaux (*Connect.* i. 16-30), Jahn (*Hebr. Com.* §xii.), Winer (*s. v. Hiskias*), and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 614-644, 2nd ed.).

2. Son of Neariah, one of the descendants of the royal family of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 23).

3. The same name, though rendered in the A. V. HIZKIAH, is found in Zeph. i. 1.

4. ATER-OF-HEZEKIAH. [ATER.] [F. W. F.]

HEZION (חִזְיוֹן; *ʿAḏūn*; Alex. *ʿAḏāḥ*: *Hezion*), a king of Aram (Syria), father of Tabrimon, and grandfather of Benhadad I. He and his father are mentioned only in 1 K. xv. 18, and their names are omitted by Josephus. In the absence of all information, the natural suggestion is that he is identical with REZON, the contemporary of Solomon, in 1 K. xi. 23; the two names being very similar in Hebrew, and still more so in other versions (compare Arah and Peshito on the latter passage); and indeed this conclusion has been adopted by some translators and commentators (Junius, Köhler, Dathe, Ewald). Against it are, (a.) that the number of generations of the Syrian kings would then be one less than those of the contemporary kings of Judah. But then the reign of Abijam was only three years, and in fact Jeroboam outlived both Rehoboam and his son. (b.) The statement of Nicolaus of Damascus (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, §2), that from the time of David for ten generations the kings of Syria were of the dynasty, each king taking the name of Hadad, "as did the Ptolemies in Egypt." But this would exclude, not only Hezion and Tabrimon, but Rezon, unless we may interpret the last sentence to mean that the official title of Hadad was held in addition to the ordinary name of the king. [REZON; TABRIMON.] [G.]

HEZIR (חִזְרִי; *Xezir*, Alex. *ʿIezir*, *ʿHzir*; *Ezir*, *Azir*). 1. A priest in the time of David, leader of the 17th monthly course in the service (1 Chr. xxiv. 15).

2. One of the heads of the people (laymen) who

sealed the solemn covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 20).

**HEZ'RAI** (הֶזְרַי, according to the *Keri* of the Masorets, but the original reading of the text, *Cetib*, has הֶזְרִי = Hezro; 'Asrapai; 'Asrai), a native of Carmel, perhaps of the southern one, and in that case possibly once a slave or adherent of Nabul; one of the 30 heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xviii. 35). In the parallel list the name appears as

**HEZ'RO** (הֶזְרִי; 'Hesepé, Alex. 'Asrapai; Asro), in 1 Chr. xi. 37. Kennicott however (*Dissertation*, 207, 8) decides, on the almost unanimous authority of the ancient version, that Hetzru is the original form of the name.

**HEZ'RON** (הֶזְרִי; 'Asrapé; Hesron). 1. A son of Reuben (Gen. xli. 9; Ex. vi. 14), who founded the family of the Hezronites (Num. xxvi. 6).

2. A son of Pharez, and one of the direct ancestors of David (Gen. xli. 12; Ruth iv. 18); in LXX. 'Ezrapón (once var. lect. Arab. 'Asrapón), and 'Ezrapm, which is followed in Matt. i. 3. [T. E. B.]

**HID'DAI** (הִידְדָּי; Alex. 'Aθdai; Vat. omits; *Hedilai*), one of the thirty-seven heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 30), described as "of the torrents of Gush." In the parallel list of 1 Chr. (xi. 32) the name is given as HURAI. Kennicott (*Dissert.* 194) decides in favour of "Hurai" on grounds for which the reader must be referred to his work.

**HID'DEKEL** (הִידְדֶּקֶל; Tigris, Tigris-Eδδελός; *Tygris, Tigris*), one of the rivers of Eden, the river which "goeth eastward to Assyria" (Gen. ii. 14), and which Daniel calls "the great river" (Dan. x. 4), seems to have been rightly identified by the LXX. with the Tigris. It is difficult to account for the initial H, unless it be for H, "lively," which is used of running water in Gen. xxvi. 19. *Dekel*

(דֶּקֶל) is clearly an equivalent of *Digla* or *Diglat*, a name borne by the Tigris in all ages. The form *Diglat* occurs in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* i. 1), in the Armenian Eusebius (*Chron. Can. Pars i. c. 2*), in Zonaras (*Ann.* i. 2), and in the Armenian version of the Scriptures. It is hardened to *Diglit* (Diglito) by Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 27). The name now in use among the inhabitants of Mesopotamia is *Digleh*.

It has generally been supposed that *Digla* is a mere Semitic corruption of *Tigra*, and that this latter is the true name of the stream. Strabo (xi. 14, 88), Pliny (*loc. cit.*) and other writers tell us that the river received its designation from its rapidity, the word Tigris (*Tigra*) meaning in the Medo-Persic language "an arrow." This seems probable enough; but it must be observed that the two forms are found side by side in the Babylonian transcript of the Behistun inscription, and that the ordinary name of the stream in the inscriptions of Assyria is *Tiggar*. Moreover, if we allow the *Dekel* of *Hiddekel*, to mean the Tigris, it would seem probable that this was the more ancient of the two appellations. Perhaps therefore it is best to suppose that there was in early Babylonian a root *dik* equivalent in meaning, and no doubt connected in origin, with the Arian *tij* or *tif*, and that from these two roots were formed independently the two names, *Dekel*, *Dikla*, or *Digla*, and *Tiggar*, *Tigra*, or Tigris. The stream was known by either name indifferently; but on the whole the Arian appellation predominated in ancient times, and

was that most commonly used even by Semitic races. The Arabians, however, when they conquered Mesopotamia, revived the true Semitic title, and this (*Digleh*) continues to be the name by which the river is known to the natives down to the present day. The course of the river is described under TIGRIS.

[G. R.]

**HIEL** (הִיֵּל, perhaps for הִיֵּל; 'Aχιλά; *Hiel*), a native of Bethel, who rebuilt Jericho in the reign of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 34); and in whom was fulfilled the curse pronounced by Joshua (Josh. v. i. 26). Strabo speaks of this cursing of a destroyed city as an ancient custom, and instances the curses imprecated by Agamemnon, and Croesus (Grot. *Annot. ad Josh.* vi. 26); Masius compares the cursing of Carthage by the Romans (Pol. *Syn.*).

The term Bethelite (בֵּיתֶלִי) here only is rendered *family of cursing* (Pet. Mart.), and also *house or place of cursing* (Ar., Syr., and Chald. verss.), qu. בֵּית אֱלֹהִים; but there seems no reason for questioning the accuracy of the LXX. δ Βασιλειῆς, which is approved by most commentators, and sanctioned by Gesen. (Lex. s. v.). The rebuilding of Jericho was an intrusion upon the kingdom of Jehoshaphat, unless with Pet. Mart. we suppose that Jericho had already been detached from it by the kings of Israel. [T. E. B.]

**HIERAPOLIS** (Ἱερὰ πόλις). This place is mentioned only once in Scripture, and that incidentally, viz. in Col. iv. 13, where its church is associated with those of COLOSSAE and LAODICEA. Such association is just what we should expect; for the three towns were all in the basin of the Macander, and within a few miles of one another. It is probable that Hierapolis was one of the "inhabited Asiatic urbes" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) which, with Laodicea, were simultaneously desolated by an earthquake about the time when Christianity was established in this district. There is little doubt that the church of Hierapolis was founded at the same time with that of Colossae, and that its characteristics in the Apostolic period were the same. Its modern name is *Pamhuk-Kalessi*. The most remarkable feature of the neighbourhood consists of the hot calcareous springs, which have deposited the vast and singular incrustations noticed by travellers. See, for instance, Chandler, *Trav. in Asia Minor* (1817), i. pp. 264-272; Hamilton, *Res. in A. M.* (1842), i. pp. 507-522. The situation of Hierapolis is extremely beautiful; and its ruins are considerable, the theatre and gymnasium being the most conspicuous. [J. S. H.]

**HIER'EL** (Ἱερεῖλ; *Jeeleek*), 1 Esd. ix. 21. [JERIEL.]

**HIER'EMOTH** (Ἱεραμόθ; *Erimoth, Jerimoth*). 1. 1 Esd. ix. 27. [JEREMOTH.] 2. 1 Esd. ix. 30. [RAMOTH.]

**HIERIELUS** (Ἱερὶ ἐλῖος, i. e. Iezrielos; *Jezrelus*), 1 Esd. ix. 27. This answers to JERIEL in the list of Ezr. x.; but whence our translators obtained their form of the name does not appear.

**HIER'MAS** (Ἱερμάς; *Remias*), 1 Esd. ix. 26. [RAMIAH.]

**HIERONYMUS** (Ἱερώνυμος; *Hieronymus*), a Syrian general in the time of Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2). The name was made distinguished among the Asiatic Greeks by Hieronymus of Cardia, the historian of Alexander's successors. [B. F. W.]

**HIGGAION** (הִגְּיוֹן: חֲדָשׁ), a word which occurs three times in the book of Psalms (ix. 17, xix. 15, xcii. 4). Mendelssohn translates it *meditation, thought, idea*. Knapp (*Die Psalmen*) identifies it in Ps. ix. 17, with the Arabic הִגְּיוֹן and חֲדָשׁ, "to mock," and hence his rendering "What a shout of laughter!" (because the wicked are entrapped in their own snares); but in Ps. xcii. 4, he translates it by "lieder" (songs). R. David Kimchi likewise assigns two separate meanings to the word; on Ps. ix. 17 he says, "This aid is for us (a subject of) meditation and thankfulness," whilst in his commentary on the passage, Ps. xcii. 4, he gives to the same word the signification of *melody*, "this is the melody of the hymn when it is recited (played) on the harp." "We will meditate on this for ever" (Rashi *Comm. on Ps. ix. 17*). In Ps. ix. 17, Aben Ezra's Comment. on "Higgaion. Selah" is, "this will I record in truth:" on Ps. xcii. 4 he says, "Higgaion means the melody of the hymn, or it is the name of a musical instrument." According to Fürst, הִגְּיוֹן is derived from הִנָּה, "to whisper:" (α), it refers to the vibration of the harp, or to the opening of an interlude, an opinion supported by the LXX., Symmachus, and Aquilas: (β), it refers to *silent meditation*: this is agreeable to the use of the word in the Talmud and in the Rabbinical writings; hence הִגְּיוֹן for *logic* (*Concord. Hebr. atque Chald.*).

It should seem, then, that Higgaion has two meanings, one of a general character implying *thought, reflection*, from הִנָּה (comp. והִגְּיוֹן לִבִּי, Ps. ix. 17, and another in Ps. ix. 17, and Ps. xcii. 4, of a technical nature, bearing on the import of musical sounds or signs well-known in the age of David, but the precise meaning of which cannot at this distance of time be determined. [D. W. M.]

**HIGH PLACES** (בָּמוֹת); in the historical books, τὰ ὑψηλά, τὰ ὕψη; in the Prophets, βωμοί; in the Pentateuch, ὄρη, Lev. xvi. 30, &c.; and once ὄρεα, Ez. xvi. 16; *Excelsa, fana*. From the earliest times it was the custom among all nations to erect altars and places of worship on lofty and conspicuous spots. We find that the Trojans sacrificed to Zeus on Mount Ida (*Il. x. 171*), and we are repeatedly told that such was the custom of the Persians, Greeks, Germans, &c., because they fancied that the hill-tops were nearer heaven, and therefore the most favourable places for prayer and incense (Herod. i. 131; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7; *Mem.* iii. 8, §10; Strab. xv. 732; Luc. *de Sacrif.* i. 4; Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 159; Winer, s. v. *Berggötter*). To this general custom we find constant allusion in the Bible (*Is. lxxv. 7; Jer. iii. 6; Ez. vi. 13, xviii. 6; Hos. iv. 13*), and it is especially attributed to the Moabites (*Is. xv. 2, xvi. 12; Jer. xlviii. 35*). Even Abraham built an altar to the Lord on a mountain near Bethel (*Gen. 12. 7, 8; cf. xxii. 2-4, xxxi. 54*) which shows that the practice was then as innocent as it was natural; and although it afterwards became mingled with idolatrous observances (*Num. xxiii. 3*), it was in itself far less likely to be abused than the consecration of groves (*Hos. iv. 13*). The external religion of the patriarchs was in some outward observances different from that subsequently established by the Mosaic law, and therefore they should not be condemned for actions which afterwards

became sinful only because they were forbidden (Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* II. iii. §53).

It is, however, quite obvious that if every grove and eminence had been suffered to become a place for legitimate worship, especially in a country where they had already been defiled with the sins of polytheism, the utmost danger would have resulted to the pure worship of the one true God (Hävernick, *Einl.* i. p. 592). It would infallibly have led to the adoption of nature-goddesses, and "gods of the hills" (1 K. xx. 23). It was therefore implicitly forbidden by the law of Moses (*Deut. xii. 11-14*), which also gave the strictest injunction to destroy these monuments of Canaanitish idolatry (*Lev. xxvi. 30; Num. xxxiii. 52; Deut. xxxiii. 29; ubi LXX. τρεφῆλαι*), without stating any general reason for this command, beyond the fact that they had been connected with such associations. It seems, however, to be assumed that every Israelite would perfectly understand why groves and high places were prohibited, and therefore they are only condemned by virtue of the injunction to use but one altar for the purposes of sacrifice (*Lev. xvii. 3, 4; Deut. xii. pussim, xvi. 21; John iv. 20*).

The command was a *prospective* one, and was not to come into force until such time as the tribes were settled in the promised land, and "had rest from all their enemies round about." Thus we find that both Gideon and Manoah built altars on high places by Divine command (*Judg. vi. 25, 26, xiii. 16-23*), and it is quite clear from the tone of the book of Judges that the law on the subject was either totally forgotten or practically obsolete. Nor could the unsettled state of the country have been pleaded as an excuse, since it seems to have been most fully understood, even during the life of Joshua, that burnt-offerings could be legally offered on one altar only (*Josh. xxii. 29*). It is more surprising to find this law absolutely ignored at a much later period, when there was no intelligible reason for its violation—as by Samuel at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 10) and at Bethlehem (xvi. 5); by Saul at Gilgal (xiii. 9) and at Ajalon (? xiv. 35); by David (1 Chr. xxi. 26); by Elijah on Mount Carmel (1 K. xviii. 30); and by other prophets (1 Sam. x. 5). To suppose that in all these cases the rule was superseded by a divine intimation appears to us an unwarrantable expedient, the more so as the actors in the transactions do not appear to be aware of anything extraordinary in their conduct. The Rabbis have invented elaborate methods to account for the anomaly: thus they say that high places were allowed until the building of the Tabernacle; that they were then illegal until the arrival at Gilgal, and then during the period while the Tabernacle was at Shiloh; that they were once more permitted whilst it was at Nob and Gideon (*cf. 2 Chr. i. 3*), until the building of the Temple at Jerusalem rendered them finally unlawful (*R. Sol. Jarchi, Abarbanel, &c.*, quoted in *Chapzov, App. Crit.* p. 333 sq.; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. 8 sq.). Others content themselves with saying that until Solomon's time all Palestine was considered holy ground, or that there existed a recognised exemption in favour of high places for private and spontaneous, though not for the stated and public sacrifices.

Such explanations are sufficiently unsatisfactory; but it is at any rate certain that, whether from the obvious temptations to the disobedience, or from the example of other nations, or from ignorance of any definite law against it, the worship in high places was organised and all but universal through-

out Judea, not only during (1 K. iii. 2-4), but even after the time of Solomon. The convenience of them was obvious, because, as local centres of religious worship, they obviated the unpleasant and dangerous necessity of visiting Jerusalem for the celebration of the yearly feasts (2 K. xxiii. 9). The tendency was engrained in the national mind; and although it was severely reprehended by the later historians, we have no proof that it was known to be sinful during the earlier periods of the monarchy, except of course where it was directly connected with idolatrous abominations (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13). In fact the high places seem to have supplied the need of synagogues (1s. lxiv. 8), and to have obviated the extreme self-denial involved in having but one legalised locality for the highest forms of worship. Thus we find that Rehoboam established a definite worship at the high places, with its own peculiar and separated priesthood (2 Chr. xi. 15; 2 K. xxiii. 9), the members of which were still considered to be priests of Jehovah (although in 2 K. xxiii. 5 they are called by the opprobrious term **בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ**). It was therefore no wonder that Jeroboam found it so easy to seduce the people into his symbolic worship at the high places of Dan and Bethel, at each of which he built a chapel for his golden calves. Such chapels were of course frequently added to the mere altars on the hills, as appears from the expressions in 1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xvii. 9, &c. Indeed the word **בָּמֹת** became so common that it was used for any idolatrous shrine even in a valley (Jer. vii. 31), or in the streets of cities (2 K. xvii. 9; Ez. xvi. 31). These chapels were probably not structures of stone, but mere tabernacles hung with coloured tapestry (Ez. xvi. 16; *ἐμβόλισμα*, Aqu. Theod.; Jer. ad loc.; *εἰδωλον βαπτόν*, LXX.), like the *σκηνη* *λεπὰ* of the Carthaginians (Diod. Sic. xx. 65; Creuzer, *Symbol.* v. 176, quoted by Gesen. *Theol.* i. 188), and like those mentioned in 2 K. xxiii. 7; Am. v. 26.

Many of the pious kings of Judah were either too weak or too ill-informed to repress the worship of Jehovah at these local sanctuaries, while they of course endeavoured to prevent it from being contaminated by polytheism. It is therefore appended as a matter of blame or (perhaps venial) drawback to the character of some of the most pious princes, that they tolerated this disobedience to the provision of Deuteronomy and Leviticus. On the other hand it is mentioned as an aggravation of the sinfulness of other kings that they built or raised high places (2 Chr. xxi. 11, xxviii. 25), which are generally said to have been dedicated to idolatrous purposes. It is almost inconceivable that so direct a violation of the theocratic principle as the permitted existence of false worship should have been tolerated by kings of even ordinary piety, much less by the highest sacerdotal authorities (2 K. xii. 3). When therefore we find the recurring phrase, "only the high places were not taken away; as yet the people did sacrifice and burn incense on the high places" (2 K. xiv. 4, xv. 5, 35; 2 Chr. xv. 17, &c.), we are forced to limit it (as above) to places dedicated to Jehovah only. The subject, however, is made more difficult by a double discrepancy, for the assertion that Aza "took away the high places" (2 Chr. xiv. 3) is opposite to what is stated in the first book of Kings (xv. 14), and a similar discrepancy is found in the case of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 6, xx. 33). Moreover in both instances the chronicler is apparently at issue with *himself*

(xiv. 3, xv. 17, xvii. 6, xx. 33). It is incredible that this should have been the result of carelessness or oversight, and we must therefore suppose, either that the earlier notices expressed the will and endeavour of these monarchs to remove the high places, and that the later ones recorded their failure in the attempt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 468; Keil, *Apology. Versuch.* p. 290; Winer, *s. vv. Asa, Josaphat*); or that the statements refer respectively to Bamoth, dedicated to Jehovah and to idols (Michaelis, Schulz, Bertheau on 2 Chr. xvii. 6, &c.). "Those devoted to false gods were removed, those misdevoted to the true God were suffered to remain. The kings opposed impiety, but winked at error" (Bishop Hall).

At last Hezekiah set himself in good earnest to the suppression of this prevalent corruption (2 K. xviii. 4, 22), both in Judah and Israel (2 Chr. xxxi. 1), although, so rapid was the growth of the evil, that even his sweeping reformation required to be finally consummated by Josiah (2 K. xxiii.), and that too in Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3). The measure must have caused a very violent shock to the religious prejudices of a large number of people, and we have a curious and almost unnoticed trace of this resentment in the fact that Rabshakeh appeals to the discontented fiction, and represents Hezekiah as a dangerous innovator who had provoked God's anger by his arbitrary impiety (2 K. xvii. 22; 2 Chr. xxxii. 12). After the time of Josiah we find no further mention of these Jewish high places. [F. W. F.]

**HIGH-PRIEST** (**הַכֹּהֵן**), with the definite article, i. e. "the Priest," and in the books subsequent to the Pentateuch with the frequent addition **הַגָּדֹל** and **הָאֵשֶׁת**. Lev. xxi. 10 seems to exhibit the epithet **גָּדֹל** (as *ἐπισκοπος* and *διάκονος* in the N. T.) in a transition state, not yet wholly technical; and the same may be said of Num. xxxv. 25, where the explanation at the end of the verse, "which was anointed with the holy oil," seems to show that the epithet **גָּדֹל** was not yet quite established as distinctive of the chief priest (cf. ver. 28). In all other passages of the Pentateuch it is simply "the priest," Ex. xxix. 30, 44; Lev. xvi. 32; or yet more frequently "Aaron," or "Aaron the priest," as Num. iii. 6, iv. 33; Lev. i. 7, &c. So too "Elazar the priest," Num. xxvii. 22, xxxi. 26, 29, 31, &c. In the LXX. *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς*, or *ιερεὺς*, where the Heb. has only **כֹּהֵן**. Vulg. *Sacerdos magnus*, or *primus pontifex*, *princeps sacerdotum*.

In treating of the office of high-priest among the Israelites it will be convenient to consider it—*I. Legally. II. Theologically. III. Historically.*

*I. The legal view of the high-priest's office comprises all that the law of Moses ordained respecting it. The first distinct separation of Aaron to the office of the priesthood, which previously belonged to the firstborn, was that recorded Ex. xxviii. A partial anticipation of this call occurred at the gathering of the manna (ch. xvi.), when Moses bid Aaron take a pot of manna, and lay it up before the Lord: which implied that the ark of the Testimony would thereafter be under Aaron's charge, though it was not at that time in existence. The taking up of Nadab and Abihu with their father Aaron to the Mount, where they beheld the glory of the God of Israel, seems also to have been intended as a preparatory intimation of Aaron's hereditary priest-*

hood. See also xxvii. 21. But it was not till the completion of the directions for making the tabernacle and its furniture that the distinct order was given to Moses, "Take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons" (Ex. xxviii. 1). And after the order for the priestly garments to be made "for Aaron and his sons," it is added, "and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute; and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons," and "I will sanctify both Aaron and his sons to minister to me in the priest's office," xix. 9, 44.

We find from the very first the following characteristic attributes of Aaron and the high-priests his successors, as distinguished from the other priests.

(1.) Aaron alone was anointed. "He poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctify him" (Lev. viii. 12): whence one of the distinctive epithets of the high-priest was הַכֹּהֵן הַמְּשֻׁחַ, "the anointed priest" (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, xxi. 10; see Num. xxxv. 25). This appears also from Ex. xix. 29, 30, where it is ordered that the one of the sons of Aaron who succeeds him in the priest's office shall wear the holy garments that were Aaron's for seven days, to be anointed therein, and to be consecrated in them. Hence Josephus (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 6; *Dem. Evang.* viii.) understands the Anointed (A. V. "Messiah," or, as the LXX. read, *χρῆσμα*) in Dan. ix. 26, the anointing of the Jewish high-priests: "It means nothing else than the succession of high-priests, whom the Scripture commonly calls *χρηστούς*, anointed;" and so too Tertullian and Theodoret (*Roseum. ad l. c.*). The anointing of the sons of Aaron, i. e., the common priests, seems to have been confined to sprinkling their garments with the anointing oil (Ex. xxix. 21, xxviii. 41, &c.), though according to Kalisch on Ex. xxix. 8, and Lightfoot, following the Rabbinical interpretation, the difference consists in the abundant pouring of oil (שֶׁמֶן) on the head of the high-priest, from whence it was drawn with the finger into two streams, in the shape of a Greek X, while the priests were merely marked with the finger dipped in oil on the forehead (מִשָּׁחָ). But this is probably a late invention of the Rabbins. The anointing of the high-priest is alluded to in Ps. cxxiii. 2: "It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments." The composition of this anointing oil, consisting of myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, cassia, and oil olive, is prescribed Ex. xxx. 22-25, and its use for any other purpose, but that of anointing the priests, the tabernacle, and the vessels, was strictly prohibited on pain of being "cut off from his people." The manufacture of it was entrusted to certain priests, called apothecaries (*Neh.* iii. 8). But this oil is said to have been wanting under the second Temple (*Prideaux*, i. 151; *Selden*, cap. ix.).

\* In Lev. viii. 7-12 there is a complete account of the putting on of these garments by Aaron, and the whole ceremony of his consecration and that of his sons. It there appears distinctly that, besides the girdle common to all the priests, the high-priest also wore the curious girdle of the ephod.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus, however, whom Bähr follows, calls the

(2.) The high-priest had a peculiar dress, which, as we have seen, passed to his successor at his death. This dress consisted of eight parts, as the Rabbins constantly note, the *breastplate*, the *ephod* with its curious girdle, the *robe* of the ephod, the *mitre*, the *broidered coat* or *diaper tunic*, and the *girdle*, the materials being gold, blue, red, crimson, and fine (white) linen (Ex. xxviii.). To the above are added, in ver. 42, the *breeches* or *drawers* (Lev. xvi. 4) of linen; and to make up the number 8, some reckon the high-priest's mitre, or the plate (פָּתָח) separately from the bonnet; while others reckon the curious girdle of the ephod separately from the ephod.\*

Of these 8 articles of attire, 4, viz., the coat or tunic, the girdle, the breeches, and the bonnet or turban, מִצְנַעַת, instead of the mitre, מִצְנַעַת, belonged to the common priests.

It is well known how, in the Assyrian sculptures, the king is in like manner distinguished by the shape of his head-dress; and how in Persia none but the king wore the cidaris or erect tiara. Taking the articles of the high-priest's dress in the order in which they are enumerated above, we have (a) the breastplate, or, as it is further named, ver.

15, 29, 30, the breastplate of judgment, חֹשֶׁן הַיָּדָיִם, *λογίον τῶν κρίσεων* (or *τῆς κρίσεως*) in the LXX., and only in ver. 4, *περιστήθιον*. It was, like the inner curtains of the tabernacle, the veil, and the ephod, of "cunning work" מְעָשֶׂה חָשֵׁב, "opus plumarium," and "arte plumaria," Vulg. [*See EMBROIDERER.*] The breastplate was originally 2 spans long, and 1 span broad, but when doubled it was square, the shape in which it was worn. It was fastened at the top by rings and chains of wreathen gold to the two onyx stones on the shoulders, and beneath with two other rings and a lace of blue to two corresponding rings in the ephod, to keep it fixed in its place, above the curious girdle. But the most remarkable and most important part of this breastplate, were the 12 precious stones, set in 4 rows, 3 in a row, thus corresponding to the 12 tribes, and divided in the same manner as their camps were; each stone having the name of one of the children of Israel engraved upon it. Whether the order followed the ages of the sons of Israel, or, as seems most probable, the order of the eucampment, may be doubted; but unless any appropriate distinct symbolism of the different tribes be found in the names of the precious stones, the question can scarcely be decided. According to the LXX. and Josephus, and in accordance with the language of Scripture, it was these stones which constituted the *Urim* and *Thummim*, nor does the notion advocated by Goenius after Spencer and others, that these names designated two little images placed between the folds of the breastplate, seem to rest on any sufficient ground, in spite of the Egyptian analogy<sup>d</sup> brought to bear upon it. Josephus's opinion, on the other hand, improved upon by the Rabbins, as to the manner in which the stones gave

bonnets of the priests by the name of מִצְנַעַת. See below.

\* Bähr compares also the apices of the flamen Dialis.

<sup>d</sup> For an account of the image of Thmei worn by the Egyptian judge and priest, see Kalisch's note on Ex. xxviii.; Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses*; Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, ii. 27, &c.

out the oracular answer, by preternatural illumination, appears equally destitute of probability. It seems to be far simplest and most in agreement with the different accounts of enquiries made by Urim and Thummim (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, 19, xxiii. 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, xxviii. 6; Judg. xx. 28; 2 Sam. v. 23, &c.) to suppose that the answer was given simply by the Word of the Lord to the high-priest (comp. John xi. 51), when he had enquired of the Lord clothed with the ephod and breastplate. Such a view agrees with the true notion of the breastplate, of which it was not the leading characteristic to be oracular (as the term *λογεῖον* supposes, and as is by many thought to be, intimated by the descriptive addition "of judgment," i.e., as they understand it, "decision"), but only an incidental privilege connected with its fundamental meaning. What that meaning was we learn from Ex. xxviii. 30, where we read "Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually." Now *מִשְׁפָּט* is the judicial sentence by which any one is either justified or condemned. In prophetic vision, as in actual Oriental life, the sentence of justification was often expressed by the nature of the robe worn. "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels" (Is. lxi. 10), is a good illustration of this; cf. lvii. 3. In like manner, in Rev. iii. 5, vii. 9, xix. 14, &c., the white linen robe expresses the righteousness or justification of saints. Something of the same notion may be seen in Esth. vi. 8, 9, and on the contrary ver. 12.

The addition of precious stones and costly ornaments expresses glory beyond simple justification. Thus in Is. lxii. 3, "Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God." Exactly the same symbolism of glory is assigned to the precious stones in the description of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 11, 12-21), a passage which ties together with singular force the arrangement of the tribes in their camps, and that of the precious stones in the breastplate. But, moreover, the high-priest being a representative personage, the fortunes of the whole people would most properly be indicated in his person. A striking instance of this, in connexion too with symbolical dress, is to be found in Zech. iii. "Now Joshua (the high-priest, ver. 1) was clothed with filthy garments and stood before the angel. And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment. And I said, Let them set a fair mitre (*צִיָּה*) upon his head. So they set a fair mitre upon his head, and clothed him with garments." Here the priest's garments, *בְּגָדִים*, and the mitre, expressly typify the restored righteousness of the nation. Hence it seems to be sufficiently obvious that the breastplate of righteousness or judgment, resplendent with the same precious stones which symbolize the glory of the New Jerusalem, and on which were engraved the names of the 12 tribes, worn by the high-priest, who was then said to bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart, was intended to express by symbols the acceptance of Israel grounded upon the sacerdotal functions of the high-priest. The sense of

the symbol is thus nearly identical with such passages as Num. xxiii. 21, and the meaning of the Urim and Thummim is explained by such expressions as *קָמִי אֹרִי כִּיבָא אֹרֶךְ*, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come" (Is. lx. 1). Thummim expresses alike complete prosperity and complete innocence, and so falls in exactly with the double notion of light (Is. lx. 1, and lxii. 1, 2). The privilege of receiving an answer from God bears the same relation to the general state of Israel symbolized by the priest's dress, that the promise in Is. liv. 13, "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord," does to the preceding description, "I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires, and I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones," ver. 11, 12; comp. also ver. 14 and 17 (Heb.). It is obvious to add how entirely this view accords with the blessing of Levi in Deut. xxxiii. 8, where Levi is called God's holy one, and God's Thummim and Urim are said to be given to him, because he came out of the trial so clear in his integrity. (See also Bar. v. 2.)

(b.) The Ephod (*אֶפֶד*). This consisted of two parts, of which one covered the back, and the other the front, i. e., the breast and upper part of the body, like the *strophos* of the Greeks (see *Dict. of Antiquities*, art. TUNICA, p. 1172). These were clasped together on the shoulder with two large onyx stones, each having engraved on it 6 of the names of the tribes of Israel. It was further united by a "curious girdle" of gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen round the waist. Upon it was placed the breastplate of judgment, which in fact was a part of the ephod, and included in the term in such passages as 1 Sam. ii. 28, xiv. 3, xxii. 9, and was fastened to it just above the curious girdle of the ephod. Linen ephods were also worn by other priests (1 Sam. xii. 18), by Samuel, who was only a Levite (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David when bringing up the ark (2 Sam. vi. 14). The expression for wearing an ephod is "girded with a linen ephod." The ephod was also frequently used in the idolatrous worship of the Israelites. See Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, &c. [EPHOD; GIRDLE.]

(c.) The Robe of the ephod (*מִעֵלָה*). This was of inferior material to the ephod itself, being all of blue (ver. 31), which implied its being only of "woven work" (*מִעֵלָה אֲרָנִי*, xxxix. 22). It was worn immediately under the ephod, and was longer than it, though not so long as the brodered coat or tunic (*בִּתְּחֵת תְּשַׁבֵּץ*), according to some statements (Bähr, Winer, Kalisch, &c.). The Greek rendering, however, of *מִעֵלָה*, *ποδήμην*, and Josephus's description of it (*B. J. v. 5, §7*) seem to outweigh the reasons given by Bähr for thinking the robe only came down to the knees, and to make it improbable that the tunic should have been seen below the robe. It seems likely therefore that the sleeves of the tunic, of white diaper linen, were the only parts of it which were visible, in the case of the high-priest, when he wore the blue robe over it. For the blue robe had no sleeves, but only slits in the sides for the arms to come through. It had a hole for the head to pass through, with a border round it of woven work, to prevent its being rent: The skirt of this robe had a remarkable trimming of pomegranates in blue, red, and crimson, with a

bell of gold between each pomegranate alternately. The bells were to give a sound when the high-priest went in and came out of the Holy Place. Josephus in the *Antiquities* gives no explanation of the use of the bells, but merely speaks of the studied beauty of their appearance. In his Jewish War, however, he tells us that the bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. For Philo's very curious observations see Lightfoot's Works, ix. p. 25.

Neither does the son of Sirach very distinctly explain it (Ecclus. xlv.), who in his description of the high-priest's attire seems chiefly impressed with its beauty and magnificence, and says of this trimming, "He compassed him with pomegranates and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people." Perhaps, however, he means to intimate that the use of the bells was to give notice to the people outside, when the high-priest went in and came out of the sanctuary, as Whiston, Vatablus, and many others have supposed.

(d.) The fourth article peculiar to the high-priest is the mitre or upper turban, with its gold plate, engraved with HOLINESS TO THE LORD, fastened to it by a ribbon of blue. Josephus applies the term *מִצְנֶפֶת* (*μασναμφής*) to the turbans of the common priests as well, but says that in addition to this, and sewn on to the top of it, the high-priest had another turban of blue; that beside this he had outside the turban a triple crown of gold, consisting, that is, of 3 rims one above the other, and terminating at top in a kind of conical calyx, like the inverted calyx of the herb hyoscyamus. Josephus doubtless gives a true account of the high-priest's turban as worn in his day. It may be fairly conjectured that the crown was appended when the Asmoneans united the temporal monarchy with the priesthood, and that this was continued, though in a modified shape,\* after the sovereignty was taken from them. Josephus also describes the *πέταλον*, the lamina or gold plate, which he says covered the forehead of the high-priest. In *Ant.* vii. 3, §8, he says that the identical gold plate made in the days of Moses existed in his time; and Whiston adds in a note that it was still preserved in the time of Origen, and that the inscription on it was engraved in Samaritan characters (*Ant.* iii. 3, §6). It is certain that K. Eliezer, who flourished in Hadrian's reign, saw it at Rome. It was doubtless placed, with other spoils of the Temple, in the Temple of Peace, which was burnt down in the reign of Commodus. These spoils, however, are expressly mentioned as part of Alaric's plunder when he took Rome. They were carried by Genseric into Africa, and brought by Belisarius to Byzantium, where they adorned his triumph. On the warning of a Jew the emperor ordered them back to Jerusalem, but what became of them is not known (Reland, *de Spoliis Templi*).

(e.) The broidered coat, *כִּתְלֵי חֹשֶׁת*, was a tunic or long shirt of linen with a tessellated or diaper pattern, like the setting of a stone. The girdle, *אֲבֵזָה*, also of linen, was wound round the body several times from the breast downwards, and the ends hung down to the ankles. The breeches or drawers, *מִכְנַסִּים*, of linen, covered the loins and

thighs; and the bonnet or *מִצְנֶפֶת* was a turban of linen, partially covering the head, but not in the form of a cone like that of the high-priest when the mitre was added to it. These four last were common to all priests. Josephus speaks of the robes (*ἐνδύματα*) of the chief priests, and the tunics and girdles of the priests, as forming part of the spoil of the Temple, (*B. J.* vi. 8, §3). Aaron, and at his death Eleazar (*Numm.* xx. 26, 28), and their successors in the high-priesthood, were solemnly inaugurated into their office by being clad in these eight articles of dress on seven successive days. From the time of the second Temple, when the sacred oil (said to have been hid by Josiah, and lost) was wanting, this putting on of the garments was deemed the official investiture of the office. Hence the robes, which had used to be kept in one of the chambers of the Temple, and were by Hyrcanus deposited in the Baris, which he built on purpose, were kept by Herod in the same tower, which he called Antonia, so that they might be at his absolute disposal. The Romans did the same till the government of Vitellius in the reign of Tiberius, when the custody of the robes was restored to the Jews (*Ant.* xv. 11, §4; xviii. 4, §3).

(3.) Aaron had peculiar functions. To him alone it appertained, and he alone was permitted, to enter the Holy of Holies, which he did once a year, on the great day of atonement, when he sprinkled the blood of the sin-offering on the mercy-seat, and burnt incense within the veil (*Lev.* xvi.). He is said by the Talmudists, with whom agree Lightfoot, Selden, Grotius, Winer, Bähr, and many others, not to have worn his full pontifical robes on this occasion, but to have been clad entirely in white linen (*Lev.* xvi. 4, §2). It is singular, however, that on the other hand Josephus says that the great fast day was the chief, if not the only day in the year, when the high-priest wore all his robes (*B. J.* v. 5, §7), and in spite of the alleged impropriety of his wearing his splendid apparel on a day of humiliation, it seems far more probable that on the one occasion when he performed functions peculiar to the high-priest, he should have worn his full dress. Josephus too could not have been mistaken as to the fact, which he repeats (*cont. Ap.* lib. ii. §7), where he says the high-priests alone might enter into the Holy of Holies, "propiā stolā circumamicti." For although Selden,<sup>f</sup> who strenuously supports the Rabbinical statement that the high-priest only wore the 4 linen garments when he entered the Holy of Holies, endeavours to make Josephus say the same thing, it is impossible to twist his words into this meaning. It is true on the other hand, that *Lev.* xvi. distinctly prescribes that Aaron should wear the 4 priestly garments of linen when he entered into the Holy of Holies, and put them off immediately he came out, and leave them in the Temple: no one being present in the Temple while Aaron made the atonement (*ver.* 17). Either therefore in the time of Josephus this law was not kept in practice, or else we must reconcile the apparent contradiction by supposing that in consequence of the great jealousy with which the high-priest's robes were kept by the civil power at this time, the custom had arisen for him to wear them, not even always on the 3 great festival (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §3), but only on the great day of

\* Josephus (*A. J.* xx. 10) says that Pompey would not allow Hyrcanus to wear the diadem, when he restored him to the high priesthood.

<sup>f</sup> Selden himself remarks (*cap.* vii. *in fin.*) that Josephus and others always describe the pontifical robes by the name of *τῆς στολῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς*.

expiation. Clad in this gorgeous attire he would enter the Temple in presence of all the people, and after having performed in secret, as the law requires, the rites of expiation in the linen dress, he would resume his pontifical robes and so appear again in public. Thus his wearing the robes would easily come to be identified chiefly with the day of atonement; and this is perhaps the most probable explanation. In other respects the high-priest performed the functions of a priest, but only on new moons and other great feasts, and on such solemn occasions as the dedication of the Temple under Solomon, under Zerubbabel, &c. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

(4.) The high-priest had a peculiar place in the law of the manslayer, and his taking sanctuary in the cities of refuge. The manslayer might not leave the city of refuge during the lifetime of the existing high-priest who was anointed with the holy oil (Num. xxxv. 25, 28). It was also forbidden to the high-priest to follow a funeral, or rend his clothes for the dead, according to the precept in Lev. x. 6.

The other respects in which the high-priest exercised superior functions to the other priests arose rather from his position and opportunities, than were distinctly attached to his office, and they consequently varied with the personal character and abilities of the high-priest. Such were reforms in religion, restorations of the Temple and its service, the preservation of the Temple from intrusion or profanation, taking the lead in ecclesiastical or civil affairs, judging the people, presiding in the Sanhedrim (which, however, he is said by Lightfoot rarely to have done), and other similar transactions, in which we find the high-priest sometimes prominent, sometimes not even mentioned. (See the historical part of this article.) Even that portion of power which most naturally and usually fell to his share, the rule of the Temple, and the government of the priests and Levites who ministered there, did not invariably fall to the share of the high-priest. For the title "Ruler of the House of God," *רֹאשׁ בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים*, which usually denotes the high-priest, is sometimes given to those who were not high-priests, as *c. g.* to Pashur the son of Immer in Jer. xx. 1; comp. 1 Chr. xii. 27. The Rabbins speak very frequently of one second in dignity to the high-priest, whom they call the Sagan, and who often acted in the high-priest's room.<sup>8</sup> He is the same who in the O. T. is called "the second priest" (2 K. xxiii. 4, xxv. 18). They say that Moses was sagan to Aaron. Thus too it is explained of Annas and Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2), that Annas was sagan. Ananias is also thought by some to have been sagan, acting for the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 2). In like manner they say Zadok and Abiathar were high-priest and sagan in the time of David. The sagan is also very frequently called *Memuneh*, or Prefect of the Temple, and upon him chiefly lay the care and charge of the Temple services (Lightfoot, *passim*). If the high-priest was incapacitated from officiating by any accidental uncleanness, the sagan or vice-high-priest took his place. Thus, *c. g.*, the Jerusalem Talmud tells a story of Simon son of Kamith, that "on the eve of the day of expiation, he went out to speak with the king, and some spittle fell upon his garments and defiled him: therefore Judah his brother went in on the day of expiation, and served

in his stead; and so their mother Kamith saw two of her sons high-priests in one day. She had seven sons, and they all served in the high-priesthood" (Lightfoot, ix. 35). It does not appear by whose authority the high-priests were appointed to their office before there were kings of Israel. But as we find it invariably done by the civil power in later times, it is probable that, in the times preceding the monarchy, it was by the elders, or Sanhedrim. The installation and anointing of the high-priest or clothing him with the eight garments, which was the formal investiture, is ascribed by Maimonides to the Sanhedrim at all times (Lightfoot, ix. 22).

It should be added, that the usual age for entering upon the functions of the priesthood, according to 2 Chr. xxxi. 17, is considered to have been 20 years, though a priest or high-priest was not actually incapacitated if he had attained to puberty, as appears by the example of Aristobulus, who was high-priest at 17. Onias, the son of Simon the Just, could not be high-priest, because he was but a child at his father's death. Again, according to Lev. xxi., no one that had a blemish could officiate at the altar. Moses enumerates 11 blemishes, which the Talmud expands into 142. Josephus relates how Antigonus mutilated Hyrcanus's ears, to incapacitate him for being restored to the high-priesthood. Illegitimate birth was also a bar to the high-priesthood, and the subtlety of Jewish distinctions extended this illegitimacy to being born of a mother who had been taken captive by heathen conquerors (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. §7). Thus Kleazar said to John Hyrcanus (though, Josephus says, falsely) that if he was a just man, he ought to resign the pontificate, because his mother had been a captive, and he was therefore incapacitated. Lev. xxi. 13, 14, was taken as the ground of this and similar disqualifications. For a full account of this branch of the subject the reader is referred to Golden's learned treatise *De Successionibus*, &c., and *De Success. in Pontif. Ebraeor.* and to Trilemus, ii. 306. It was the universal opinion of the Jews that the deposition of a high-priest, which became so common, was unlawful. Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 3) says that Antiochus Epiphanes was the first who did so, when he deposed Jeoan or Jason; Aristobulus, who deposed his brother Hyrcanus, the second; and Herod, who took away the high-priesthood from Ananias to give it to Aristobulus the Third. See the story of Jonathan son of Ananias, *Ant.* xix. 6, §4.

II. Theologically. The theological view of the high-priesthood does not fall within the scope of this Dictionary. It must suffice therefore to indicate that such a view would embrace the consideration of the office, dress, functions, and ministrations of the high-priest, considered as typical of the priesthood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as setting forth under shadows the truths which are openly taught under the Gospel. This has been done to a great extent in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is occasionally done in other parts of Scripture, as *c. g.*, Rev. i. 13, where the *vestments*, and the girdle about the paps, are distinctly the robe, and the curious girdle of the ephod, characteristic of the high-priest. It would also embrace all the moral and spiritual teaching supposed to be intended by such symbols. Philo (*de vitâ Mosis*), Origen (*Homil. in Levit.*), Eusebius (*Demonst. Evng.* lib. iii.), Epiphanius (*cont. Melchized.* iv. &c.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* i., *Eliae Crtenae*, and *Comment.* p. 185, Augustine (*Quaest. in Exod.*)

<sup>8</sup> There is a controversy as to whether the deputy high-priest was the same as the Sagan. Lightfoot thinks not.

may be cited among many others of the ancients who have more or less thus treated the subject. Of moderns, Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*), Failleira (*Typologia of Script.*), Kūlich (*Comment. on Exod.*) have entered fully into this subject, both from the Jewish and Christian point of view.

III. To pass to the historical view of the subject. The history of the high-priests embraces a period of about 1370 years, according to the opinion of the present writer, and a succession of about 80 high-priests, beginning with Aaron, and ending with Phannias. "The number of all the high-priests (says Josephus, *Ant.* x. 10) from Aaron . . . until Phannas . . . was 81," where he gives a comprehensive account of them. They naturally arrange themselves into three groups—(a.) those before David; (b.) those from David to the captivity; (c.) those from the return from the Babylonish captivity till the cessation of the office at the destruction of Jerusalem. The two former have come down to us in the canonical books of Scripture, and so have a few of the earliest and the latest of the latter; but for by far the larger portion of the latter group we have only the authority of Josephus, the Talmud, and some other profane writers.

(a.) The high-priests of the first group who are distinctly made known to us as such are—1. Aaron; 2. Eleazar; 3. Phinehas; 4. Eli; 5. Ahitub (1 Chr. ix. 11; Neh. xi. 11; 1 Sam. xiv. 3); 6. Ahiah; 7. Ahimelech. Phinehas the son of Eli, and father of Ahitub, died before his father, and so was not high-priest. Of the above the three first succeeded in regular order, Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's eldest sons, having died in the wilderness (Lev. x.). But Eli, the 4th, was of the line of Ithamar. What was the exact interval between the death of Phinehas and the accession of Eli, what led to the transference of the chief priesthood from the line of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, and whether any, or which, of the descendants of Eleazar between Phinehas and Zadok (seven in number, viz., Abishua, Bukki, Uzzi, Zeriahah, Menioth, Amariah, Ahitub), were high-priests, we have no means of determining from Scripture. Judg. xx. 28, leaves Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, priest at Shiloh, and 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, finds Eli high-priest there, with two grown-up sons priests under him. The only clue is to be found in the genealogies, by which it appears that Phinehas was 6th in succession from Levi, while Eli, supposing him to be the same generation as Samuel's grandfather, would be 10th. If however Phinehas lived, as is probable, to a great old age, and Eli, as his age admits, be placed about half a generation backward, a very small interval will remain. Josephus asserts (*Ant.* viii. 1, §3) that the father of Bukki—whom he calls Joseph, and (*Ant.* v. 11, §5) Abiezer, i. e., Abishua—was the last high-priest of Phinehas's line, before Zadok. This is probably a true tradition, though Josephus, with characteristic levity, does not adhere to it in the above passage of his 5th book, where he makes Bukki and Uzzi to have been both high-priests, and Eli to have succeeded Uzzi; or in bk. xx. 10, where he reckons the high-priests before Zadok and Solomon to have been 13 (a reckoning which includes apparently all Eleazar's descendants down to Ahitub), and adds Eli and his son Phinehas, and Abiah, whom he calls Eli's grandson. If Abishua died, leaving a son or grandson under age, Eli, as head of the line of Itha-

mar, might have become high-priest, as a matter of course, or he might have been appointed by the elders. His having judged Israel 40 years (1 Sam. iv. 18) marks him as a man of ability. If Ahiah and Ahimelech are not variations of the name of the same person, they must have been brothers, since both were sons of Ahitub. The high-priests then before David's reign may be set down as eight in number, of whom seven are said in Scripture to have been high-priests, and one by Josephus alone. The bearing of this on the chronology of the times from the Exodus to David, tallying as it does with the number of the ancestors of David, is too important to be passed over in silence. It must also be noted that the tabernacle of God, during the high-priesthood of Aaron's successors of this first group, was pitched at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim, a fact which marks the strong influence which the temporal power already had in ecclesiastical affairs, since Ephraim was Joshua's tribe, as Judah was David's (Josh. xxiv. 30, 33; Judg. xx. 27, 28, xxi. 21; 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, 24, iv. 3, 4, xiv. 3, &c.; Ps. lxxviii. 60). This strong influence and interference of the secular power is manifest throughout the subsequent history. This first period was also marked by the calamity which befell the high-priests as the guardians of the ark, in its capture by the Philistines. This probably suspended all inquiries by Urim and Thummim, which were made before the ark (1 Chr. xiii. 3; comp. Judg. xx. 27; 1 Sam. vii. 2, xiv. 18), and must have greatly diminished the influence of the high-priests, on whom the largest share of the humiliation expressed in the name Ichabod, would naturally fall. The rise of Samuel as a prophet at this very time, and his paramount influence and importance in the State, to the entire eclipsing of Ahiah the priest, coincides remarkably with the absence of the ark, and the means of inquiring by Urim and Thummim.

(b.) Passing to the second group, we begin with the unexplained circumstance of there being two priests in the reign of David, apparently of nearly equal authority, viz., Zadok and Abiathar (1 Chr. xv. 11; 2 Sam. viii. 17). Indeed it is only from the deposition of Abiathar, and the placing of Zadok in his room, by Solomon (1 K. ii. 35), that we learn certainly that Abiathar was the high-priest, and Zadok the second. Zadok was son of Ahitub, of the line of Eleazar (1 Chr. vi. 8), and the first mention of him is in 1 Chr. xii. 28, as "a young man, mighty in valour," who joined David in Hebron after Saul's death, with 22 captains of his father's house. It is therefore not unlikely that after the death of Ahimelech and the secession of Abiathar to David, Saul may have made Zadok priest, as far as it was possible for him to do so in the absence of the ark and the high-priest's robes, and that David may have avoided the difficulty of deciding between the claims of his faithful friend Abiathar, and his new and important ally Zadok (who perhaps was the means of attaching to David's cause the 4600 Levites and the 3700 priests who came under Jehoiada their captain, ver. 26, 27), by appointing them to a joint priesthood: the first place, with the Ephod, and Urim and Thummim, remaining with Abiathar, who was in actual possession of them. Certain it is that from this time Zadok and Abiathar are constantly named together, and singularly Zadok always first, both in the book of Samuel and that of Kings. We can, however, trace very clearly up to a certain point the division

of the priestly offices and dignities between them, coinciding as it did with the divided state of the Levitical worship in David's time. For we learn from 1 Chr. xvi. 1-7, 37 compared with 39, 40, and yet more distinctly from 2 Chr. i. 3, 4, 5, that the tabernacle and the brazen altar made by Moses and Bezalel in the wilderness, were at this time at Gibeon, while the ark was at Jerusalem, in the separate tent made for it by David. [GIBBEON, p. 693.] Now Zadok the priest and his brethren the priests were left "before the tabernacle at Gibeon" to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord morning and evening, and to do according to all that is written in the law of the Lord (1 Chr. xvi. 39, 40). It is therefore obvious to conclude that Abiathar had special charge of the ark and the services connected with it, which agrees exactly with the possession of the ephod by Abiathar, and his previous position with David before he became king of Israel, as well as with what we are told 1 Chr. xxvii. 34, that Jehoiada and Abiathar were the king's counsellors next to Ahithophel. Residence at Jerusalem with the ark, and the privilege of inquiring of the Lord before the ark, both well suit his office of counsellor. Abiathar, however, forfeited his place by taking part with Adonijah against Solomon, and Zadok was made high-priest in his place. The pontificate was thus again consolidated and transferred permanently from the line of Ithamar to that of Eleazar. This is the only instance recorded of the deposition of a high-priest (which became common in later times, especially under Herod and the Romans) during this second period. It was the fulfilment of the prophetic denunciations of the sin of Eli's sons (1 Sam. ii., lii.).

The first considerable difficulty that meets us in the historical survey of the high-priests of the second group is to ascertain who was high-priest at the dedication of Solomon's Temple—Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, §6) asserts that Zadok was, and the Seder Olam makes him the high-priest in the reign of Solomon. But first it is very improbable that Zadok, who must have been very old at Solomon's accession (being David's contemporary), should have lived to the 11th year of his reign; and next, 1 K. iv. 2 distinctly asserts that Azariah the son of Zadok was priest under Solomon, and 1 Chr. vi. 10 tells us of Azariah,<sup>a</sup> "he it is that executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem," obviously meaning at its first completion. We can hardly therefore be wrong in saying that Azariah the son of Ahimaz was the first high-priest of Solomon's temple. The non-mention of him in the account of the dedication of the temple, even where one would most have expected it (as 1 K. viii. 3, 6, 10, 11, 62; 2 Chr. v. 7, 11, &c.), and the prominence given to Solomon—the civil power—are certainly remarkable. Compare also 2 Chr. viii. 14, 15. The probable inference is that Azariah had no great personal qualities or energy. In constructing the list of the succession of priests of this group, our method must be to compare the genealogical list in 1 Chr. vi. 8-15 (A. V.) with the notices of high-priests in the sacred history, and with the list given by Josephus, who, it must be remembered, had access to the lists preserved in the archives at Jerusalem: testing the whole by the application of the ordinary rules of genealogical succession. Now as regards the

genealogy, it is seen at once that there is something defective; for whereas from David to Jeconiah there are 20 kings, from Zadok to Jehozadak there are but 13 priests. Moreover the passage in question is not a list of high-priests, but the pedigree of Jehozadak. Then again, while the pedigree in its six first generations from Zadok, inclusive, exactly suits the history—for it makes Amariah the sixth priest, while the history (2 Chr. xix. 11) tells us he lived in Jehoshaphat's reign, who was the sixth king from David, inclusive; and while the same pedigree in its five last generations also suits the history—inasmuch as it places Hilkiyah the son of Shallum fourth from the end, and the history tells us he lived in the reign of Josiah, the fourth king from the end—yet is there a great gap in the middle. For between Amariah, the high-priest in Jehoshaphat's reign, and Shallum the father of Hilkiyah, the high-priest in Josiah's reign—an interval of about 240 years—there are but two names, Ahitub and Zadok, and those liable to the utmost suspicion from their reproducing the same sequence which occurs in the earlier part of the same genealogy—Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok. Besides which they are not mentioned by Josephus. This part therefore of the pedigree is useless for our purpose. But the historical books supply us with four or five names for this interval, viz. Jehoiada in the reigns of Athaliah and Josiah, and probably still earlier; Zechariah his son; Azariah in the reign of Uzziah; Urijah in the reign of Ahaz; and Azariah in the reign of Hezekiah. If, however, in the genealogy of 1 Chr. vi. Azariah and Hilkiyah have been accidentally transposed, as is not unlikely, then the Azariah who was high-priest in Hezekiah's reign will be the Azariah of 1 Chr. vi. 13, 14. Putting the additional historical names at four, and deducting the two suspicious names from the genealogy, we have 15 high-priests indicated in Scripture as contemporary with the 20 kings, with room, however, for one or two more in the history. Turning to Josephus, we find his list of 17 high-priests (whom he reckons as 18 (*Ant.* xx. 10), as do also the Rabbins) in places exceedingly corrupt, a corruption sometimes caused by the end of one name sticking on to the beginning of the following (as in Axiolanius), sometimes apparently by substituting the name of the contemporary king or prophet for that of the high-priest, as Joel and Jotham. Perhaps, however, Sudeas, who corresponds to Zedekiah in the reign of Amaziah in the Seder Olam, and Odeas, who corresponds to Hoshaiiah in the reign of Manasseh; according to the same Jewish chronicle, may really represent high-priests whose names have not been preserved in Scripture. This would bring up the number to 17, or, if we retain Azariah as the father of Seraliah, to 18, which agrees with the 20 kings.

Reviewing the high-priests of this second group, the following are some of the most remarkable incidents:—(1) The transfer of the seat of worship from Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim to Jerusalem in the tribe of Judah, effected by David, and consolidated by the building of the magnificent temple of Solomon. (2) The organization of the temple service under the high-priests, and the division of the priests and Levites into courses, who resided at the temple during their term of service—all which necessarily put great power into the hands of an able high-priest.

<sup>a</sup> It appears from 1 Chr. vi. 9 that Azariah was grandson to Zadok, being the son of Ahimaz. The

notice in ver. 10 seems to belong to him, and not to the son of Johanan.

(3) The revolt of the ten tribes from the dynasty of David and from the worship at Jerusalem, and the setting up of a schismatical priesthood at Dan and Beersheba (1 K. xii. 31; 2 Chr. xiii. 9, &c.).

(4) The overthrow of the usurpation of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, by Jehoiada the high-priest, whose near relationship to king Joash, added to his zeal against the idolatries of the house of Ahab, stimulated him to bend the revolution with the force of priests and Levites at his command. (5) The boldness and success with which the high-priest Azariah withstood the encroachments of the king Uzziah upon the office and functions of the priesthood.

(6) The repair of the temple by Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, the restoration of the temple services by Azariah in the reign of Hezekiah, and the discovery of the book of the law, and the religious reformation by Hilkiah in the reign of Josiah. [HILKIAH.]

(7) In all these great religious movements, however, excepting the one headed by Jehoiada, it is remarkable how the civil power took the lead. It was David who arranged all the temple service, Solomon who directed the building and dedication of the temple, the high-priest being not so much as named; Jehoshaphat who sent the priests about to teach the people, and assigned to the high-priest Amariah his share in the work; Hezekiah who healed the reformation, and urged on Azariah and the priests and Levites; Josiah who encouraged the priests in the service of the house of the Lord. On the other hand we read of no opposition to the idolatries of Manasseh by the high-priest, and we know how shamefully subservient Urijah the high-priest was to king Ahaz, actually building an altar according to the pattern of one at Damascus, to displace the brazen altar, and joining the king in his profane worship before it (2 K. xvi. 10-16). The preponderance of the civil over the ecclesiastical power, as an historical fact, in the kingdom of Judah, although kept within bounds by the hereditary succession of the high-priests, seems to be proved from these circumstances.

The priests of this series ended with Serniah, who was taken prisoner by Nebuzar-adan, and slain at Riblah by Nelmchadnezzar, together with Zephaniah the second priest or sagan, after the burning of the temple and the plunder of all the sacred vessels (2 K. xxv. 18). His son Jehozadak or Josedech was at the same time carried away captive (1 Chr. vi. 15).

The time occupied by these (say) eighteen high-priests who ministered at Jerusalem, was about 454 years, which gives an average of something more than twenty-five years to each high-priest. It is remarkable that not a single instance is recorded after the time of David of an inquiry by Urim and Thummim as a means of inquiring of the Lord. The ministry of the prophets seems to have superseded that of the high-priests (see *c. g.* 2 Chr. xv., xviii. xx. 14, 15; 2 K. xix. 1, 2, xxii. 12-14; Jer. xxi. 1, 2). Some think that Urim and Thummim ceased with the theocracy; others with the division of Israel into two kingdoms. Nehemiah seems to have expected the restoration of it (Neh. vii. 65), and so perhaps did Judas Macabaeus, 1 Macc. iv. 46; comp. xiv. 41, while Josephus affirms that it had been exercised for the last time 200 years before he wrote, viz., by John Hyrcanus (Whiston, *note on Ant.* iii. 8, and *Prid. Connect.* i. 150, 151). It seems therefore scarcely true to reckon Urim and Thummim as one of the marks of God's presence with Solomon's temple,

which was wanting to the second temple (*Prid.* i. 138, 144, *seq.*). This early cessation of answers by Urim and Thummim, though the high-priest's office and the wearing of the breast-plate continued in force during so many centuries, seems to confirm the notion that such answers were not the fundamental, but only the accessory uses of the breastplate of judgment.

(c.) An interval of about fifty-two years elapsed between the high-priests of the second and third group, during which there was neither temple, nor altar, nor ark, nor priest. Jehozadak, or Josedech, as it is written in Haggai (i. 1, 14, &c.), who should have succeeded Serniah, lived and died a captive at Babylon. The pontifical office revived in his son Jeshua, of whom such frequent mention is made in Ezra and Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, 1 Esdr. and Ecclus.; and he therefore stands at the head of this third and last series, honourably distinguished for his zealous co-operation with Zerubbabel in rebuilding the temple, and restoring the dilapidated commonwealth of Israel. His successors, as far as the O. T. guides us, were Joakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan (or Jonathan), and Jaddua. Of these we find Eliashib hindering rather than seconding the zeal of the devout Tishathia Nehemiah for the observance of God's law in Israel (Neh. xiii. 4, 7); and Johanan, Josephus tells us, murdered his own brother Jesus or Joshua in the temple, which led to its further profanation by Bagoes, the general of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army (*Ant.* xi. 7). Jaddua was high-priest in the time of Alexander the Great. Concerning him Josephus relates the story that he went out to meet Alexander at Sapha (probably the ancient Mizpeh) at the head of a procession of priests; and that when Alexander saw the multitude clothed in white, and the priests in their linen garments, and the high-priest in blue and gold, with the mitre on his head, and the gold plate, on which was the name of God, he stepped forward alone and adored the Name, and hastened to embrace the high-priest (*Ant.* xi. 8, §5). Josephus adds among other things that the king entered Jerusalem with the high-priest, and went up to the temple to worship and offer sacrifice; that he was shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning himself, and at the high-priest's intercession granted the Jews liberty to live according to their own laws, and freedom from tribute on the Sabbatical years. The story, however, has not obtained credit. It was the brother of this Jaddua, Manasseh, who, according to the same authority, was at the request of Sanballat made the first high-priest of the Samaritan temple by Alexander the Great.

Jaddua was succeeded by Onias I., his son, and he again by Simon the Just, the last of the men of the great synagogue, as the Jews speak, and to whom is usually ascribed the completion of the Canon of the O. T. (*Prideaux, Conn.* i. 545). Of him Jesus, the son of Sirach, speaks in terms of most glowing eulogy in Ecclus. l., and ascribing to him the repair and fortification of the temple, with other works. The passage (1-21) contains an interesting account of the ministrations of the high-priest. Upon Simon's death, his son Onias being under age, Eleazar, Simon's brother, succeeded him. The high-priesthood of Eleazar is memorable as being that under which the LXX. version of the Scriptures was made at Alexandria for Ptolemy Philadelphus, according to the account of Josephus taken from Aristens (*Ant.* xii. 2). This translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, valuable as it was

with reference to the wider interests of religion, and marked as was the Providence which gave it to the world at this time as a preparation for the approaching advent of Christ, yet viewed in its relation to Judaism and the high-priesthood, was a sign, and perhaps a helping cause of their decay. It marked a growing tendency to Hellenise, utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the Mosaic economy. Accordingly in the high-priesthood of Eleazar's rival nephews, Jesus and Onias, we find their very names changed into the Greek ones of Jason and Menelaus, and with the introduction of this new feature of rival high-priests we find one of them, Menelaus, strengthening himself and seeking support from the Syro-Greek kings against the Jewish party, by offering to forsake their national laws and customs, and to adopt those of the Greeks. The building of a gymnasium at Jerusalem for the use of these apostate Jews, and their endeavour to conceal their circumcision when stripped for the games (1 Macc. i. 14, 15; 2 Macc. iv. 12-15; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1), show the length to which this spirit was carried. The acceptance of the spurious priesthood of the temple of Onion from Ptolemy Philometor by Onias (the son of Onias the high-priest), who would have been the legitimate high-priest on the death of Menelaus, his uncle, is another striking indication of the same degeneracy. By this flight of Onias into Egypt the succession of high-priests in the family of Jozadak ceased; for although the Syro-Greek kings had introduced much uncertainty into the succession, by deposing at their will obnoxious persons, and appointing whom they pleased, yet the dignity had never gone out of the one family. Alcimus, whose Hebrew name was Jakim (1 Chr. xxiv. 12), or perhaps Jachin (1 Chr. ix. 10, xxiv. 17), or, according to Rufinus (ap. Selden), Joachin, and who was made high-priest by Antiochus Eupator on Menelaus being put to death by him, was the first who was of a different family. One, says Josephus, that "was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of this family" of Jozadak.

What, however, for a time saved the Jewish institutions, infused a new life and consistency into the priesthood and the national religion, and enabled them to fulfil their destined course till the advent of Christ, was the cruel and impolitic persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. This thoroughly aroused the piety and national spirit of the Jews, and drew together in defence of their temple and country all who feared God and were attached to their national institutions. The result was that after the high-priesthood had been brought to the lowest degradation by the apostacy and crimes of the last Onias or Menelaus, and after a vacancy of seven years had followed the brief pontificate of Alcimus, his no less infamous successor, a new and glorious succession of high-priests arose in the Asmonean family, who united the dignity of civil rulers, and for a time of independent sovereigns, to that of the high-priesthood. Josephus, who is followed by Lightfoot, Selden, and others, calls Judas Maccabæus "high-priest of the union of Judah" (*Ant.* xii. 10, §6), but, according to the far better authority of 1 Macc. x. 20, it was not till after the death of Judas Maccabæus that Alcimus himself died, and that Alexander, king of Syria, made Jonathan, the brother of Judas, high-priest.

Josephus himself too calls Jonathan "the first of the sons of Asmoneus, who was high-priest" (*Vita*, §1). It is possible, however, that Judas may have been elected by the people to the office of high-priest, though never confirmed in it by the Syrian kings. The Asmonean family were priests of the course of Joarib, the first of the twenty-four courses (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and whose return from captivity is recorded 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10. They were probably of the house of Eleazar, though this cannot be affirmed with certainty; and Josephus tells us that he himself was related to them, one of his ancestors having married a daughter of Jonathan, the first high-priest of the house. This Asmonean dynasty lasted from B.C. 153, till the family was damaged by intestine divisions, and then destroyed by Herod the Great. Aristobulus, the last high-priest of his line, brother of Mariamne, was murdered by order of Herod, his brother-in-law, B.C. 35. The independence of Judæa, under the priest-kings of this race, had lasted till Pompey took Jerusalem, and sent king Aristobulus II. (who had also taken the high-priesthood from his brother Hyrcanus) a prisoner to Rome. Pompey restored Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood, but forbade him to wear the diadem. Everything Jewish was now, however, hastening to decay. Herod made men of low birth high-priests, deposed them at his will, and named others in their room. In this he was followed by Archelaus, and by the Romans when they took the government of Judæa into their own hands; so that there were no fewer than twenty-eight high-priests from the reign of Herod to the destruction of the Temple by Titus, a period of 107 years.<sup>1</sup> The N. T. introduces us to some of these later, and oft-changing high-priests, viz., Annas and Caiaphas--the former, high-priest at the commencement of John Baptist's ministry, with Caiaphas as second priest; and the latter high-priest himself at our Lord's crucifixion--and Ananias, thought to be the same as Ananus who was murdered by the Zealots just before the siege of Jerusalem, before whom St. Paul was tried, as we read Acts xxiii., and of whom he said "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." Theophilus, the son of Ananus, was the high-priest from whom Saul received letters to the synagogue at Damascus (Acts ix. 1, 14, Kunoel). Both he and Ananias seem certainly to have presided in the Sanhedrim, and that officially, nor is Lightfoot's explanation (viii. 450, and 484) of the mention of the high-priest, though Gamaliel and his son Simeon were respectively presidents of the Sanhedrim, at all probable or satisfactory (see Acts v. 17, &c.). The last high-priest was appointed by lot by the Zealots from the course of priests called by Josephus Eniachim (probably a corrupt reading for Jachin). He is thus described by the Jewish historian. "His name was Phannias: he was the son of Samuel of the village of Aphtha, a man not only not of the number of the chief priests, but who, such a mere rustic was he, scarcely knew what the high-priesthood meant. Yet did they drag him reluctant from the country, and setting him forth in a borrowed character as on the stage, they put the sacred vestments on him, and instructed him how to act on the occasion. This shocking impiety, which to them was a subject of merriment and sport, drew tears from the

<sup>1</sup> Josephus tells us of one Ananus and his five sons who all filled the office of high-priest in turn. One of these, Ananus the younger, was deposed by king

Agrippa for the part he took in causing "James the brother of Jesus who was called Christ" to be stoned (*Ant.* xx. 9, §1).

other priests, who beheld from a distance their law turned into ridicule, and groaned over the subversion of the sacred honours" (*B. J.* iv. 3, §8). Thus ignominiously ended the series of high-priests which had stretched in a scarcely broken line, through nearly fourteen, or, according to the common chronology, sixteen centuries. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, which the Jewish high-priests had seen in turn overshadowing the world, had each, except the last, one by one withered away and died—and now the last successor of Aaron was stripped of his sacerdotal robes, and the temple which he served laid level with the ground to rise no more. But this did not happen, till the true High-priest and King of Israel, the Minister of the sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man, had offered His one sacrifice, once for all, and had taken His place at the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, bearing on His breast the judgment of His redeemed people, and continuing a Priest for ever, in the Sanctuary which shall never be taken down!

The subjoined table shows the succession of high-priests, as far as it can be ascertained, and of the contemporary civil rulers.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Moses . . . . .	Aaron.
Joshua . . . . .	Eleazar.
Othniel . . . . .	Phinehas.
Abishua . . . . .	Abishua.
Eli . . . . .	Eli.
Eumiel . . . . .	Abitub.
Saul . . . . .	Ahijah.
David . . . . .	Zadok and Abiathar.
Solomon . . . . .	Azariah.
Abijah . . . . .	Johanan.
Asa . . . . .	Azariah.
Jehoshaphat . . . . .	Amariah.
Jehoram . . . . .	Jehoiada.
Ahaziah . . . . .	Do. and Zechariah.
Jehoash . . . . .	?
Amaziah . . . . .	Azariah.
Uzziah . . . . .	?
Jotham . . . . .	Urijah.
Ahaz . . . . .	Azariah.
Heczekiah . . . . .	Azariah.
Manasseh . . . . .	Shallum.
Amon . . . . .	"
Josiah . . . . .	Hilkiah.
Jehoiakim . . . . .	Azariah?
Zedekiah . . . . .	Seraiah.
Evil-Merodach . . . . .	Jehozadak.
Zerubbabel (Cyrus Darius).	Joshua.
Mordecai? (Xerxes)	Joiakim.
Ezra and Nehemiah (Artaxerxes).	Eliashib.
Darius Nothus . . . . .	Joiada.
Artaxerxes Mnemon . . . . .	Johanan.
Alexander the Great . . . . .	Jaddua.
Onias I. (Ptolemy Soter, Antigonus).	Onias I.
Ptolemy Soter . . . . .	Simon the Just.
Ptolemy Philadelphus . . . . .	Eleazar.
" . . . . .	Manasseh.
Ptolemy Euergetes . . . . .	Onias II.
Ptolemy Philopator . . . . .	Simon II.
Ptolemy Epiphanes and Antiochus.	Onias III.
Antiochus Epiphanes . . . . .	(Joshua, or) Jason.
" . . . . .	Onias, or Menelaus.
Demetrius . . . . .	Jacimus, or Alcimus.
Alexander Balas . . . . .	Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabeus (Asmonean).

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Simon (Asmonean) . . . . .	Simon (Asmonean).
John Hyrcanus (Asm.) . . . . .	John Hyrcanus (Do.).
King Aristobulus (Asm.) . . . . .	Aristobulus (Do.).
King Alexander Jannæus (Asmonean).	Alexander Jannæus (Do.).
Queen Alexandra (Asm.) . . . . .	Hyrcanus II. (Do.).
King Aristobulus II. (Asmonean).	Aristobulus II. (Do.).
Pompey the Great and Hyrcanus, or rather, towards the end of his pontificate, Antipater.	Hyrcanus II. (Do.).
Pacorus the Parthian . . . . .	Antigonus (Do.).
Herod K. of Judæa . . . . .	Ananias.
" . . . . .	Aristobulus (last of Asmoneans) murdered by Herod.
" . . . . .	Ananias restored.
Herod the Great . . . . .	Jesus, son of Faneus.
" . . . . .	Simon, son of Boethus, father-in-law to Herod.
" . . . . .	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
" . . . . .	Jozar, son of Simon.
Archelaus, K. of Judæa . . . . .	Eleazar.
" . . . . .	Jesus son of Sic.
" . . . . .	Jozar, (second time).
Cyrenius, governor of Syria, second time.	Ananias.
Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judæa.	Ishmael, son of Phabi.
" . . . . .	Eleazar, son of Ananias.
" . . . . .	Simon, son of Kamith.
" . . . . .	Caiaphas, called also Joseph.
Vitellius, governor of Syria . . . . .	Jonathan, son of Ananias.
" . . . . .	Theophilus, brother of Jonathan.
Herod Agrippa . . . . .	Simon Cantheras.
" . . . . .	Matthias, brother of Jonathan, son of Ananias.
" . . . . .	Elioseus, son of Cantheras.
Herod, king of Chalcis . . . . .	Joseph, son of Camel.
" . . . . .	Ananias, son of Nebedcus.
" . . . . .	Jonathan.
" . . . . .	Ismael, son of Fabi.
" . . . . .	Joseph, son of Simon.
" . . . . .	Ananias, son of Ananias, or Ananias.
Appointed by the people . . . . .	Jesus son of Gamaliel.
Do. (Whiston on <i>B. J.</i> iv. 3, §7).	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
Chosen by lot . . . . .	Phannias son of Samuel.

The latter part of the above list is taken partly from Lightfoot, vol. ix. ch. iv.—also in part from Josephus directly, and in part from Whiston's note on *Ant.* xv. 8, §5. [A. C. II.]

**HIL'EN** (הִילְעֵן; ἡ Ξελα, Alex. Νηλῶν; \**Helen*), the name of a city of Judah allotted with its "suburbs" to the priests (1 Chr. vi. 58); and which in the corresponding lists of Joshua is called **HOLON**. [G.]

**HILKIAH** (הִלְכִּיָּהּ and הִלְקִיָּהּ, "the Lord is my portion;" *Xelcias; Helcias*). 1. **HILKIAHU**, father of Eliakim (2 K. xviii. 37; Is. xxii. 20, xxxvi. 22). [*ELIAKIM*.]

2. High-priest in the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 4 sqq.; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9 sqq.; 1 Esdr. i. 8). According to the genealogy in 1 Chr. vi. 13 (A. V.) he was son of Shallum, and from Ezr. vii. 1, apparently the ancestor of Ezra the scribe. His high-

\* In the LXX. this name appears in ver. 59, having changed places with Jattir.

priesthood was rendered particularly illustrious by the great reformation effected under it by king Josiah, by the solemn Passover kept at Jerusalem in the 18th year of that king's reign, and above all by the discovery which he made of the book of the law of Moses in the temple. With regard to the latter, Kennicott (*H. b. Text.* ii. 299) is of opinion that it was the original autograph copy of the Pentateuch written by Moses which Hilkiah found. He argues from the peculiar form of expression in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 14, **סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת יְהוָה בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה**, "the book of the law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses;" whereas in the fourteen other places in the O. T. where the law of Moses or the book of Moses are mentioned, it is either "the book of Moses," or "the law of Moses," or "the book of the law of Moses." But the argument is far from conclusive, because the phrase in question may quite as properly signify "the book of the law of the Lord given through Moses." Compare the expression **בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה** (Gal. iii. 19), and **בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה** (Ex. ix. 35, xxxv. 29; Neh. x. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 6; Jer. i. 1). Though, however, the copy cannot be proved to have been Moses' autograph from the words in question, it seems probable that it was, from the place where it was found, viz. in the temple; and, from its not having been discovered before, but being only brought to light on the occasion of the repairs which were necessary, and from the discoverer being the high-priest himself, it seems natural to conclude that the particular part of the temple where it was found was one not usually frequented, or ever by any but the high-priest. Such a place exactly was the one where we know the original copy of the law was deposited by command of Moses, viz. by the side of the ark of the covenant within the veil, as we learn from Deut. xxxi. 9, 26. A difficult and interesting question arises, What was the book found by Hilkiah? Was it the whole Pentateuch, as Le Clerc, Keil, Ewald, &c., suppose, or the three middle books, as Bertheau, or the book of Deuteronomy alone, as De Wette, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, &c.? Our means of answering this question seem to be limited, (1) to an examination of the terms in which the depositing the book of the law by the ark was originally enjoined; (2) to an examination of the contents of the book discovered by Hilkiah, as far as they transpire; (3) to any indications which may be gathered from the contemporary writings of Jeremiah, or from any other portions of Scripture. As regards the first, a comparison of Deut. i. 5 with xxxi. 9; the consideration how exactly suited Deuteronomy is for the purpose of a public recital, as commanded Deut. xxxi. 10-13, whereas the recital of the whole Pentateuch is scarcely conceivable; and perhaps even the smaller bulk of a copy of Deuteronomy compared with that of the whole law, considered with reference to its place by the ark, point strongly to the conclusion that "the book of the law" ordered to be put "in the side of the ark of the covenant," was the book of Deuteronomy alone, whether or no exactly in its present form is a further question. As regards the second, the 28th and 29th chapters of Deut. seem to be those especially referred to in 2 K. xxii. 13, 16, 17, and 2 K. xxiii. 2, 3 seem to point directly to Deut. xix. 1, in the mention of the covenant, and ver. 8 of the former to Deut. xxx. 2, in the expression *with all their heart and all their soul*. The words in 2 Chr. xxxv. 3, "The Levites that taught all

Israel," seem also to refer to Deut. xxxiii. 10. All the actions of Josiah which followed the reading of the book found, the destruction of all idolatrous symbols, the putting away of wizards and workers with familiar spirits, and the keeping of the Passover, were such as would follow from hearing the 16th, 18th, and other chapters of Deuteronomy, while there is not one that points to any precept contained in the other books, and not in Deuteronomy. If there is any exception to this statement it is to be found in the description of the Passover in ch. xxxv. The phrases "on the fourteenth day of the first month," in ver. 1; "Sanctify yourselves, and prepare your brethren, that they may do according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses," ver. 6; "The priests sprinkled the blood," ver. 11; and perhaps the allusion in ver. 12, may be thought to point to Lev. xxiii. 5, or Num. ix. 3; to Lev. xxii. and Num. vii. 20-22; to Lev. i. 5; iii. 2, &c.; and to Lev. iii. 3-5, &c. respectively. But the allusions are not imited, and it must be remembered that the Levitical institutions existed in practice, and that the other books of Moses were certainly extant, though they were not kept by the side of the ark. As regards the third, it is well known how full the writings of Jeremiah are of direct references and of points of resemblance to the book of Deuteronomy. Now this is at once accounted for on the supposition of the law thus found by Hilkiah being that book, which would thus naturally be an object of special curiosity and study to the prophet, and as naturally influence his own writings. Moreover, in an undated prophecy of Jeremiah's (ch. xi.), which seems to have been occasioned by the finding of this covenant—for he introduces the mention of "the words of this covenant" quite abruptly—he quotes word for word from Deut. xxvii. 26, answering AMEN himself, as the people are there directed to do, with reference to the curse for disobedience (see ver. 3, 5); a very strong confirmation of the preceding arguments which tend to prove that Deuteronomy was the book found by Hilkiah. But again: in Josh. viii. we have the account of the first execution by Joshua and the Israelites of that which Moses had commanded relative to writing the law upon stones to be set upon Mount Ebal; and it is added in ver. 34, "and afterwards he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law." In ver. 32 he had said "he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses." Now not only is it impossible to imagine that the whole Pentateuch was transcribed on these stones, but all the references which transpire are to the book of Deuteronomy. The altar of whole stones untouched by iron tool, the peace-offerings, the blessings and the cursings, as well as the act itself of writing the law on stones and setting them on Mount Ebal, and placing half the tribes on Mount Ebal, and the other half on Mount Gerizim, all belong to Deuteronomy. And therefore when it is added in ver. 35, "There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel," we seem constrained to accept the words with the limitation to the book of Deuteronomy, as that which alone was ordered by Moses to be thus publicly read. And

\* Hitzig, on Jer. xi., also supposes the expressions in this chapter to have been occasioned by the finding of the book of the law.

this increases the probability that here too the expression is limited to the same book.

The only discordant evidence is that of the book of Nehemiah. In the 8th chapter of that book, and ix. 3, we have the public reading by Ezra of "the book of the law of Moses" to the whole congregation at the feast of Tabernacles, in evident obedience to Deut. xxxi. 10-13. But it is quite certain, from Neh. viii. 14-17, that on the second day they read out of Leviticus, because the directions about dwelling in booths are found there only, in ch. xxiii. Moreover in the prayer of the Levites which follows Neh. ix. 5, and which is apparently based upon the previous reading of the law reference is freely made to all the books of Moses, and indeed to the later books also. It is, however, perhaps not an improbable inference that, Ezra having lately completed his edition of the Holy Scriptures, more was read on this occasion than was strictly enjoined by Deut. xxxi., and that therefore this transaction does not really weaken the foregoing evidence.

But no little surprise has been expressed by critics at the previous non-acquaintance with this book on the part of Hilkiah, Josiah, and the people generally, which their manner of receiving it plainly evidences; and some have argued from hence that "the law of Moses" is not of older date than the reign of Josiah: in fact that Josiah and Hilkiah invented it, and pretended to have found a copy in the temple in order to give sanction to the reformation which they had in hand. The following remarks are intended to point out the true inferences to be drawn from the narrative of this remarkable discovery in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The direction in Deut. xxxi. 10-13 for the public reading of the law at the feast of Tabernacles on each seventh year, or year of release, to the whole congregation, as the means of perpetuating the knowledge of the law, sufficiently shows that at that time a multiplication of copies and a multitude of readers was not contemplated. The same thing seems to be implied also in the direction given in Deut. xvii. 18, 19, concerning the copy of the law to be made, for the special use of the king, distinct from that in the keeping of the priests and Levites. And this paucity of copies and of readers is just what one would have expected in an age when the art of reading and writing was confined to the professional scribes, and the very few others who, like Moses, had learnt the art in Egypt (Acts vii. 22). The troublous times of the Judges were obviously more likely to obliterate than to promote the study of letters. And whatever occasional revival of sacred learning may have taken place under such kings as David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Jotham, and Hezekiah, yet on the other hand such reigns as that of Athaliah, the last years of Josiah, that of Ahaz, and above all the long reign of Manasseh, with their idolatries and national calamities, must have been most unfavourable to the study of "the sacred letters." On the whole, in the days of Josiah irreligion and ignorance had overflowed all the dykes erected to stay their progress. In spite of such occasional acts as the public reading of the law to the people, enjoined by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 9), and such insulated evidences of the king's reading the law, as commanded by Moses, as the action recorded of Amaziah affords (2 K. xiv. 6)—where by the way the reference is still to the book of Deuteronomy—and the yet more marked acquaintance with the law attributed to Hezekiah

(2 K. xviii. 5, 6) [GENEALOGY], everything in Josiah's reign indicates a very low state of knowledge. There were indeed still professional scribes among the Levites (2 Chr. xxiv. 13), and Shaphan was the king's scribe. But judging from the narrative, 2 K. xxii. 8, 10; 2 Chr. xxxiv., it seems probable that neither Hilkiah nor Josiah could read. The same may perhaps be said of Jeremiah, who was always attended by Baruch the scribe, who wrote down the words of Jeremiah from his mouth (Jer. xxxvi. 2, 4, 6, 8, 18, 28, 32, alv., &c.). How then can we wonder that under such circumstances the knowledge of the law had fallen into desuetude? or fail to see in the incident of the startling discovery of the copy of it by Hilkiah one of those many instances of simple truthfulness which impress on the Scripture narrative such an unmistakable stamp of authenticity, when it is read in the same guileless spirit in which it is written? In fact, the ignorance of the law of Moses which this history reveals is in most striking harmony with the prevalent idolatry disclosed by the previous history of Judah, especially since its connexion with the house of Ahab, as well as with the low state of education which is apparent from so many incidental notices.

The story of Hilkiah's discovery throws no light whatever upon the mode in which other portions of the Scriptures were preserved, and therefore this is not the place to consider it. But Thénien truly observes that the expression in 2 K. xxii. 8 clearly implies that the existence of the law of Moses was a thing well known to the Jews. It is interesting to notice the concurrence of the king with the high-priest in the restoration of the temple, as well as the analogy of the circumstances with what took place in the reign of Josiah, when Jehoiada was high-priest, as related 2 Chr. xxiv. (Berthieu, *ad loc.*; Frideaux, *Connect.* i. 43, 315; Lewis, *Orig. Heb.* B. viii. ch. 8, &c.). [CHELCIAS.] [A. C. H.]

3. HILKIAH (LXX. omits; *Heliás*), a Merarite Levite, son of Amzi, one of the ancestors of ETHAN (1 Chr. vi. 45; hebr. 30).

4. HILKIAHU; another Merarite Levite, second son of Hosah; among the doorkeepers of the tabernacle in the time of king David (1 Chr. xxvi. 11).

5. HILKIAH; one of those who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the law to the people. Doubtless a Levite, and probably a priest (Neh. viii. 4). He may be identical with the Hilkiah who came up in the expedition with Jeshua and Zerubbabel (xii. 7), and whose descendant Hashabiah is commemorated as living in the days of Joiakim (xii. 21).

6. HILKIAHU; a priest, of Anathoth, father of the prophet JEREMIAH (Jer. i. 1).

7. HILKIAH, father of Gemariah, who was one of Zelekiah's envoys to Babylon (Jer. xxxi. 3).

HIL'LEL (לֵל); 'ΕΛΛΗΛ, Alex. ΉΛΛΗΛ; Joseph. "ΕΛΛηλος; *Illel*), a native of Pirathon in Mount Ephraim, father of ABDON, one of the judges of Israel (Judg. xii. 13, 15).

HILLS. The structure and characteristics of the hills of Palestine will be most conveniently noticed in the general description of the features of the country. [PALESTINE.] But it may not be unprofitable to call attention here to the various Hebrew terms for which the word "hill" has been employed in the Auth. Version.

1. *Gibeah*, גִּבְעָה, from a root akin to גָּבַהּ,

which seems to have the force of curvature or humpishness. A word involving this idea is peculiarly applicable to the rounded hills of Palestine, and from it are derived, as has been pointed out under ΓΙΝΕΑΙΗ, the names of several places situated on hills. Our translators have been consistent in rendering *gibeah* by "hill," in four passages only qualifying it as "little hill," doubtless for the more complete antithesis to "mountain" (Ps. lxx. 12, lxxii. 3, xiv. 4, 6).

2. But they have also employed the same English word for the very different term *har*, הַר, which has a much more extended sense than *gibeah*, meaning a whole district rather than an individual eminence, and to which our word "mountain" answers with tolerable accuracy. This exchange is always undesirable, but it sometimes occurs so as to confuse the meaning of a passage where it is desirable that the topography should be unmistakable. For instance, in Ex. xiv. 4, the "hill" is the same which is elsewhere in the same chapter (12, 13, 18, &c.) and book, consistently and accurately rendered "mount" and "mountain." In Num. xiv. 44, 45, the "hill" is the "mountain" of ver. 40, as also in Deut. i. 41, 43, compared with 24, 44. In Josh. xv. 9, the allusion is to the Mount of Olives, correctly called "mountain" in the preceding verse; and so also in 2 Sam. xvi. 13. The country of the "hills," in Deut. i. 7; Josh. ix. 1, x. 40, xi. 16, is the elevated district of Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim, which is correctly called "the mountain" in the earliest descriptions of Palestine (Num. xiii. 29), and in many subsequent passages. The "holy hill" (Ps. iii. 4), the "hill of Jehovah" (xlv. 3), the "hill of God" (lxviii. 15), are nothing else than "Mount Zion." In 2 K. i. 9 and iv. 27, the use of the word "hill" obscures the allusion to Carmel, which in other passages of the life of the prophet (e. g. 1 K. xviii. 19; 2 K. iv. 25) has the term "mount" correctly attached to it. Other places in the historical books in which the same substitution weakens the force of the narrative, are as follows: Gen. vii. 19; Deut. viii. 7; Josh. xiii. 6, xviii. 13, 14; Judg. xvi. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 14; xxv. 20; xxvi. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 34; 1 K. xx. 23, 28, xxii. 17, &c.

3. On one occasion the word *Ma'aleh*, מַעֲלֶה, is rendered "hill," viz. 1 Sam. ix. 11, where it would be better to employ "ascent" or some similar term.

4. In the N. T. the word "hill" is employed to render the Greek word *βουνός*; but on one occasion it is used for *ὄρος*, elsewhere "mountain," so as to obscure the connexion between the two parts of the same narrative. The "hill" from which Jesus was coming down in Luke ix. 37, is the same as "the mountain" into which He had gone for His transfiguration the day before (comp. ver. 28). In Matt. v. 14, and Luke iv. 29, *ὄρος* is also rendered "hill," but not with the inconvenience just noticed. In Luke i. 39, the "hill country" (ἡ ὄρεινή) is the same "mountain of Judah" to which frequent reference is made in the O. T. [G.]

#### HINN. [MEASURES.]

**HIND** (הַיָּנָה; *Elaphos*; *cervus*), the female of the common stag or *cervus elaphus*. It is frequently noticed in the poetical parts of Scripture as emblematic of activity (Gen. xlix. 21; 2 Sam. xxii. 34; Ps. xviii. 33; Hab. iii. 19), gentleness (Prov. v. 19), feminine modesty (Cant. ii. 7, iii.

5), earnest longing (Ps. xlii. 1), and maternal affection (Jer. xiv. 5). Its shyness and remoteness from the haunts of men are also noticed (Job xxxix. 1), and its timidity, causing it to cast its young at the sound of thunder (Ps. xxix. 9). The conclusion which some have drawn from the passage last quoted that the hind produces her young with great difficulty, is not in reality deducible from the words, and is expressly contradicted by Job xxxix. 3. The LXX. reads ἡ γαίη in Gen. xlix. 21, rendering it *στéλεχος ἀνειμένον*, "a luxuriant terebinth:" Lowth has proposed a similar change in Ps. xxix., but in neither case can the emendation be accepted: Naphtali verified the comparison of himself to a "graceful or tall hind" by the events recorded in Judg. iv. 6-9, v. 18. The inscription of Ps. xvii., "the hind of the morning," probably refers to a tune of that name. [A1JELUTH-SHAHAR.] [W. L. B.]

**HINGE.** 1. *ῥῆγ, στροφῆγῆ, cardo*, with the notion of turning (Ges. p. 1165). 2. *ῥῆγ, θύραμα, cardo*, with the notion of insertion (Ges. p. 1096). Both ancient Egyptian and modern Oriental doors were and are hung by means of pivots turning in sockets both on the upper and lower sides. In Syria, and especially the Hamdan, there are many ancient doors consisting of stone slabs with pivots carved out of the same piece, inseted in sockets above and below, and fixed during the building of the house. The allusion in Prov. xxvi. 14 is thus clearly explained. The hinges mentioned in 1 K. vii. 50 were probably of the Egyptian kind, attached to the upper and lower sides of the door (Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 177; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 22, 192; Maundrell, *Early Travels*, pp. 447, 448 (Bohn); Shaw, *Travels*, p. 210; Lord Lindsay, *Letters*, p. 292; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg. abridgm.* i. 15). [H. W. P.]

**HINNOM, VALLEY OF**, otherwise called "the valley of the son" or "children of Hinnom" (צִיְהוֹנָם, or "צִיְהוֹנָם, or "צִיְהוֹנָם, variously rendered by LXX. *φάραγξ Ἐννόμ*, or *οὐδὸς Ἐννόμ*, or *Γαίενα*, Jos. xviii. 16; *ἐν γῇ Βενέμμο*, 2 Chr. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; *τὸ πολυάνδριον οὐλὸν τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν*, Jer. xix. 2, 6), a deep and narrow ravine, with steep, rocky sides to the S. and W. of Jerusalem, separating Mount Zion to the N. from the "Hill of Evil Counsel," and the sloping rocky plateau of the "plain of Rephaim" to the S., taking its name, according to Professor Stanley, from "some ancient hero, the son of Hinnom" having encamped in it (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 172). The earliest mention of the Valley of Hinnom in the sacred writings is Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, where the boundary-line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin is described with minute topographical accuracy, as passing along the bed of the ravine. On the southern brow, overlooking the valley at its eastern extremity, Solomon erected high places for Molech (1 K. xi. 7), whose horrid rites were revived from time to time in the same vicinity by the later idolatrous kings. Ahaz and Manasseh made their children "pass through the fire" in this valley (2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6), and the fiendish custom of infant sacrifice to the fire-gods seems to have been kept up in Tophet, at its S.E. extremity for a considerable period (Jer. vii. 31; 2 K. xxiii. 10). [TOPHET.] To put an end to these abominations the place was polluted by Josiah, who rendered it ceremonially unclean by spreading over it human bones, and other corrup-

tions (2 K. xxiii. 10, 13, 14; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, 5), from which time it appears to have become the common cesspool of the city, into which its sewage was conducted, to be carried off by the waters of the Kidron, as well as a laystall, where all its solid filth was collected. Most commentators follow Buxtorf, Lightfoot, and others, in asserting that perpetual fires were here kept up for the consumption of bodies of criminals, carcasses of animals, and whatever else was combustible; but the Rabbinical authorities usually brought forward in support of this idea appear insufficient, and Robinson declares (i. 274) that "there is no evidence of any other fires than those of Molech having been kept up in this valley," referring to Rosenmüller, *Biblisch. Geogr.* II. i. 156, 164. For the more ordinary view, see Heugstenberg, *Christol.* ii. 454, iv. 41; Keil on *Kings* ii. 147, (Clark's edit.; and cf. *Is.* xxx. 33, lxvi. 24.

From its ceremonial defilement, and from the detested and abominable fire of Molech, if not from the supposed everburning funeral piles, the later Jews applied the name of this valley *Ge Hinnom*, *Gehenna*, to denote the place of eternal torment, and some of the Rabbins here fixed the "door of hell," a sense in which it is used by our Lord. [GEHENNA.] It is called Jer. ii. 23, "the valley," κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and perhaps "the valley of dead bodies," xxxi. 40, and "the valley of vision," *Is.* xxii. 1, 5 (Stanley, *S. & P.* 172, 482). The name by which it is now known is (in ignorance of the meaning of the initial syllable) *Wady Jehennam*, or *Wady er Rubeh* (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 56, Suppl.), though in Mohammedan traditions the name Gehenna is applied to the Valley of Kedron (Ibn Batutah, 12, 4; Stanley, *ut sup.*).

The valley commences in a broad sloping basin to the W. of the city, S. of the Jaffa road (extending nearly to the brow of the great Wady, on the W.), in the centre of which, 700 yards from the Jaffa gate, is the large reservoir, supposed to be the "upper pool," or "Gihon" (GITHON) (*Is.* vii. 3, xxxvi. 2; 2 Chr. xxxii. 30), now known as *Birket-el-Manilla*. After running about three quarters of a mile E. by S. the valley takes a sudden bend to the S. opposite the Jaffa gate, but in less than another three quarters of a mile it encounters a rocky hill-side which forces it again in an eastern direction, sweeping round the precipitous S.W. corner of Mount Zion almost at a right angle. In this part of its course the valley is from 50 to 100 yards broad, the bottom everywhere covered with small stones, and cultivated. At 290 yards from the Jaffa gate it is crossed by an aqueduct on nine very low arches, conveying water from the "pools of Solomon" to the Temple Mount, a short distance below which is the "lower pool" (*Is.* xxii. 9), *Birket-es-Sultân*. From this point the ravine narrows and deepens, and descends with great rapidity between broken cliffs, rising in successive terraces, honeycombed with innumerable sepulchral recesses, forming the northern face of the "Hill of Evil Counsel," to the S., and the steep shelving, but not precipitous southern slopes of Mount Zion, which rise to about the height of 150 feet, to the N. The bed of the valley is planted with olives and other fruit trees, and when practicable is cultivated. About 400 yards from the S. W. angle of Mount Zion the valley contracts still more, becomes quite narrow and stony, and descends with much greater rapidity towards the "valley of Jehoshaphat," or "of the brook Kidron," before joining

which it opens out again, forming an oblong plot, the site of Tophet, devoted to gardens irrigated by the waters of Siloam. Towards the eastern extremity of the valley is the traditional site of "Aeldama," authenticated by a bed of white clay still worked by potters (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 495), opposite to which, where the cliff is thirty or forty feet high, the tree on which Judas hanged himself was placed during the Frankish kingdom (Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 208). Not far from Aeldama is a conspicuously situated tomb with a Doric pediment, sometimes known as the "whited sepulchre," near which a large sepulchral recess with a Doric portal hewn in the native rock is known as the "Latibulum apostolorum," where the Twelve are said to have concealed themselves during the time between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The tombs continue quite down to the corner of the mountain, where it bends off to the S. along the valley of Jehoshaphat. None of the sepulchral recesses in the vicinity of Jerusalem are so well preserved; most of them are very old—small gloomy caves, with narrow, rock-hewn doorways.

Robinson places "the valley gate," Neh. ii. 13, 15; 2 Chr. xxvi. 9, at the N.W. corner of Mount Zion in the upper part of this valley (Robinson, i. 220, 239, 274, 320, 353; Williams, *Holy City*, i. Suppl. 56, ii. 495; Barclay, *City of Great King*, 205, 208). [But see JERUSALEM.] [E. V.]

**HIPPOPOTAMUS.** There is hardly a doubt that the Hebrew *behemoth* (בְּהֵמוֹת) describes the hippopotamus: the word itself bears the strongest resemblance to the Coptic name *pehemout*, "the water-ox," and at the same time expresses in its Hebrew form, as the plural of בְּהֵמָה, the idea of a very large beast. Though now no longer found in the lower Nile, it was formerly common there (Wilkinson, i. 239). The association of it with the crocodile in the passage in which it is described (Job xl. 15 ff.), and most of the particulars in that passage, are more appropriate to the hippopotamus than to any other animal. Behemoth "eateth grass as an ox" (Job xl. 15)—a circumstance which is noticed as peculiar in an animal of aquatic habits; this is strictly true of the hippopotamus, which leaves the water by night, and feeds on vegetables and green crops. Its strength is enormous, vv. 16, 18, and the notice of the power of the muscles of the belly, "his force is in the navel of his belly," appears to be strictly correct. The tail, however, is short, and it must be conceded that the first part of ver. 17, "he moveth his tail like a cedar," seems not altogether applicable. His mode of attack is with his mouth, which is armed with a formidable array of teeth, projecting incisors, and enormous curved canines; thus "his creator offers him a sword," for so the words in ver. 19 may be rendered. But the use of his sword is mainly for pacific purposes, "the beasts of the field playing" about him as he feeds; the hippopotamus being a remarkably inoffensive animal. His retreat is among the lotuses (*tzetlan*; A. V. "shady trees"), which abounded about the Nile, and amid the reeds of the river. Thoroughly at home in the water, "if the river riseth, he doth not take to flight; and life cares not if a Jordan (here an allusive for a "stream") press on his mouth." Ordinary means of capture were ineffectual against the great strength of this animal. "Will any take him before his eyes?" (i. e. openly, and without cunning), "will any bore his nose with a gin?" as was usual with large

fish. The method of killing it in Egypt was with a spear, the animal being in the first instance secured by a lasso, "and repeatedly struck until it became exhausted (Wilkinson, i. 240); the very same method is pursued by the natives of South Africa at the present day (Livingstone, p. 73; instances of its great strength are noticed by the same writer, pp. 231, 232, 497). [W. L. B.]

**HIRAH** (חִירָה; *Elpds; Hiram*), an Adulamite, the friend (רֵעַ) of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 1. 12; and see 20). For "friend" the LXX. and Vulg. have "shepherd," probably reading רֵעֵהוּ.

**HIRAM**, or **HURAM** (חִירָם, or חִירָם: on the different forms of the name see HURAM). 1. The king of Tyre who sent workmen and materials to Jerusalem, first (2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Chr. xiv. 1) to build a palace for David whom he ever loved (1 K. v. 1), and again (1 K. v. 10, vii. 13, 2 Chr. ii. 14, 16) to build the Temple for Solomon, with whom he had a treaty of peace and commerce (1 K. v. 11, 12). The contempt with which he received Solomon's present of Cabul (1 K. ix. 12) does not appear to have caused any breach between the two kings. He admitted Solomon's ships, issuing from Joppa, to a share in the profitable trade of the Mediterranean (1 K. x. 22); and Jewish sailors, under the guidance of Tyrians, were taught to bring the gold of India (1 K. ix. 26) to Solomon's two harbours on the Red Sea (see Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 345-347).

Eupolemon (*ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. 30) states that David, after a war with Hiram, reduced him to the condition of a tributary prince. Dius the Phœnician historian, and Menander of Ephesus (*ap. Joseph. c. Ap. i. 17, 18*) assign to Hiram a prosperous reign of 34 years; and relate that his father was Abibal, his son and successor Baleazar; that he rebuilt various idol-temples, and dedicated some splendid offerings; that he was successful in war; that he enlarged and fortified his city; that he and Solomon had a contest with riddles or dark sayings (compare Samson and his friends, *Judg. xiv. 12*), in which Solomon, after winning a large sum of money from the king of Tyre, was eventually outwitted by Abdenon, one of his subjects. The intercourse of these great and kindred-minded kings was much celebrated by local historians. Josephus (*Ant. viii. 2, §8*) states that the correspondence between them with respect to the building of the Temple was preserved among the Tyrian archives in his days. With the letters in 1 K. v. and 2 Chr. ii. may be compared not only his copies of the letters, but also the still less authentic letters between Solomon and Hiram, and between Solomon and Vaphres (Apries?), which are preserved by Eupolemon (*ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. 30), and mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor (*ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 21, p. 332*). Some Phœnician historians (*ap. Tatian. cont. Græc.* §37) relate that Hiram, besides supplying timber for the Temple, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon. Jewish writers in less ancient times cannot overlook Hiram's uncircumcision in his services towards the building of the Temple. Their legends relate (*ap. Eisenm. Ent. Jud. i. 868*) that because he was a God-fearing man and built the Temple he was received alive into Paradise; but that, after he had been there a thousand years, he sinned by pride, and was thrust down into hell.

2. Hiram was the name of a man of mixed race

(1 K. vii. 13, 40), the principal architect and engineer sent by king Hiram to Solomon; also called Huram in the Chronicles. On the title of חִירָם = "master," or "father," given to him in 2 Chr. ii. 13, iv. 16, see HURAM, No. 3. [W. T. B.]

**HIRCANUS** (Ἱρκανός; *Hircanus*), "a son of Tobias," who had a large treasure placed for security in the treasury of the temple at the time of the visit of Heliodorus (c. 187 B.C.; 2 Macc. iii. 11). Josephus also mentions "children of Tobias" (*Ant. xii. 5, §1, παῖδες Τωβίου*), who, however, belonged to the fiction of Menelaus, and notices especially a son of one of them (Joseph) who was named Hircanus (*Ant. xii. 4, §2 ff.*). But there is no sufficient reason for identifying the Hircanus of 2 Macc. with this grandson of Tobias either by supposing that the ellipse (τοῦ Τωβίου) is to be so filled up (Grotius, Calmet), or that the sons of Joseph were popularly named after their grandfather (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 309), which could scarcely have been the case in consequence of the great eminence of their father.

The name appears to be simply a local appellative, and became illustrious afterwards in the Maccabean dynasty, though the circumstances which led to its adoption are unknown (yet comp. Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, §4). [MACCABEES.] [B. F. W.]

**HITTITES, THE**, the nation descended from Cheth (A. V. "Heth"), the second son of Canaan. (1.) With five exceptions, noticed below, the word is חִתִּי = "the Chittite;" in the singular number, according to the common Hebrew idiom. It is occasionally rendered in the A. V. in the singular number, "the Hittite" (*Ex. xxiii. 28, xxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3*), but elsewhere plural (*Gen. xv. 20; Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23; Num. xiii. 29; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17, Josh. iii. 10, xii. 8, xxiv. 11; Judg. iii. 5; 1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. vii. 7; Ezer. ix. 1; Neh. ix. 8, 1 Esd. viii. 69, Xerxaloi*). (2.) The plural form of the word is חִתִּים = the Chittim, or Hittites (*Josh. i. 4; Judg. i. 26; 1 K. x. 29; 2 K. vii. 6; 2 Chr. i. 17*). (3.) "A Hittite [woman]" is חִתִּית (*Ex. xvi. 3, 45*). In 1 K. x. i, the same word is rendered "Hittites."

1. Our first introduction to the Hittites is in the time of Abraham, when he bought from the Bene-Cheth, "Children of Heth"—such was then their title—the field and the cave of Machpelah, belonging to Ephron the Hittite. They were then settled at the town which was afterwards, under its new name of Hebron, to become one of the most famous cities of Palestine, then bearing the name of Kirjath-arba, and perhaps also of Mamre (*Gen. xiii. 19, xxv. 9*). The propensities of the tribe appear at that time to have been rather commercial than military. The "money current with the merchant," and the process of weighing it, were familiar to them; the peaceful assembly "in the gate of the city" was their manner of receiving the stranger who was desirous of having a "possession" "secured" to him among them. The dignity and courtesy of their demeanour also come out strongly in this narrative. As Ewald well says, Abraham chose his allies in warfare from the Amorites, but he goes to the Hittites for his grave. But the tribe

"a Canaanite" has in many places the force of "merchant" or "trafficker." See among others the examples in 248 b.

was evidently as yet but small, not important enough to be noticed beside "the Canaanite and the Perizzite" who shared the bulk of the land between them (Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7). In the southern part of the country they remained for a considerable period after this, possibly extending as far as Gerar and Beersheba, a good deal below Hebron (xvi. 17, xviii. 10). From their families Esau married his two first wives; and her fear lest Jacob should take the same course is the motive given by Rebekah for sending Jacob away to Haran. It was the same feeling that had urged Abram to send to Mesopotamia for a wife for Isaac. The descendant of Shem could not wed with Hamites—"with the daughters of the Canaanites among whom I dwell . . . wherein I am a stranger," but "go to my country and thy kindred" is his father's command, "to the house of thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence" (Gen. xxviii. 2, xxiv. 4).

2. Throughout the book of Exodus the name of the Hittites occurs only in the usual formula for the occupants of the Promised Land. Changes occur in the mode of stating this formula [CANAAN, p. 248 b], but the Hittites are never omitted (see Ex. xxiii. 28). In the report of the spies, however, we have again a real historical notice of them: "the Hittite, the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain" (Num. xiii. 29). Whatever temporary circumstances may have attracted them so far to the south as Beersheba, a people having the quiet commercial tastes of Ephron the Hittite and his companions can have had no call for the roving, skirmishing life of the country bordering on the desert; and thus, during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, they had withdrawn themselves from those districts, retiring before Amalek (Num. xiii. 29) to the more secure mountain country in the centre of the land. Perhaps the words of Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45) may imply that they helped to found the city of Jerusalem.

From this time, however, their quiet habits vanish, and they take their part against the invader, in equal alliance with the other Canaanite tribes (Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3, &c.).

3. Hereforward the notices of the Hittites are very few and faint. We meet with two individuals, both attached to the person of David. (1.) "Ahimelech the Hittite," who was with him in the hill of Hachilah, and with Abiathar accompanied him by night to the tent of Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). He is nowhere else mentioned, and was possibly killed in one of David's expeditions, before the list in 2 Sam. xxiii. was drawn up. (2.) "Uriah the Hittite," one of "the thirty" of David's body-guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 39; 1 Chr. xi. 41), the deep tragedy of whose wrongs forms the one blot in the life of his master. In both these persons, though warriors by profession, we can perhaps detect traces of those qualities which we have noticed as characteristic of the tribe. In the case of the first, it was Abishai, the practical, unscrupulous "son of Zeruiah," who pressed David to allow him to kill the sleeping king: Ahimelech is clear from that stain. In the case of Uriah, the absence from suspicion and the generous self-denial which he displayed are too well known to need more than a reference (2 Sam. xi. 11, 12).

4. The Egyptian annals tell us of a very powerful confederacy of Hittites in the valley of the Orontes, with whom Sether I., or Sethos, waged war about B.C. 1340, and whose capital, Ketesh, situated near Emesa, he conquered. [KAYRAT, p. 511.]

5. In the Assyrian inscriptions, as lately deci-

phered, there are frequent references to a nation of *Akatti*, who "formed a great confederacy ruled by a number of petty chiefs," whose territory also lay in the valley of the Orontes, and who were sometimes assisted by the people of the sea-coast, probably the Phœnicians (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 463). "Twelve kings of the Southern Khatti are mentioned in several places." If the identification of these people with the Hittites should prove to be correct, it agrees with the name *Chat*, as noticed under HETH, and affords a clue to the meaning of some passages which are otherwise puzzling. These are (a) Josh. i. 4, where the expression "all the land of the Hittites" appears to mean all the land of Canaan, or at least the northern part thereof. (b) Judg. i. 26. Here nearly the same expression recurs. [L'E.] (c) 1 K. x. 29; 2 Chr. i. 17: "All the kings of the Hittites and kings of Aram" (probably identical with the "kings on this side Euphrates," 1 K. iv. 24) are mentioned as purchasing chariots and horses from Egypt, for the possession of which they were so notorious, that (d) it would seem to have become at a later date almost proverbial in allusion to an alarm of an attack by chariots (2 K. vii. 6).

6. Nothing is said of the religion or worship of the Hittites. Even in the enumeration of Solomon's idolatrous worship of the gods of his wives—among whom were Hittite women (1 K. xi. 1)—no Hittite deity is alluded to. (See 1 K. xi. 5, 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13.)

7. The names of the individual Hittites mentioned in the Bible are as follow. They are all susceptible of interpretation as Hebrew words, which would lead to the belief either that the Hittites spoke a dialect of the Aramaic or Hebrew language, or that the words were Hebraized in their transcription to the Bible records.

ADAH (woman), Gen. xxvi. 2.

AHIMELECH, 1 Sam. xxvi. 6.

BASHMATH, accur. BAS'MATH (woman); possibly a second name of Adah, Gen. xxvi. 34.

BEERI (father of Judith, below), Gen. xxvi. 34.

ELON (father of Basmath), Gen. xxvi. 34.

EPIRON, Gen. xxiii. 10, 13, 14, &c.

JUDITH (woman), Gen. xxvi. 34.

URIAH, 2 Sam. xi. 3, &c., xxiii. 39, &c.

ZOHAR (father of Ephron), Gen. xxiii. 8.

In addition to the above, SIBBECHAI, who in the Hebrew text is always denominated a Hushathite, is by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §2) styled a Hittite. [G.]

**HIVITES, THE** (חִיטִּי, *i. e.* the Chivvite; *δ Εβαιοι; Hævoeni*). The name is, in the original, uniformly found in the singular number. It never has, like that of the Hittites, a plural, nor does it appear in any other form. Perhaps we may assume from this that it originated in some peculiarity of locality or circumstance, as in the case of the Amorites—"mountaineers;" and not in a progenitor, as did that of the Ammonites, who are also styled Bene-Ammou—children of Ammon—or the Hittites, Bene-Cheth—children of Heth. The name is explained by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 318) as *Binnenländer*, that is, "Midlanders;" by Gesenius (*Thes.* 451) as *pagan*, "villagers." In the following passages the name is given in the A. V. in the singular—**THE HIVITE**:—Gen. x. 17; Ex. xxiii. 28, xxiii. 2, xxiv. 11; Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3; 1 Chr. i. 15; also Gen. xxiv. 2, xxvi. 1. In all the rest it is plural.

1. In the genealogical tables of Genesis, "the Hivite" is named as one of the descendants—the

sixth in order—of Canaan, the son of Ham (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chr. i. 15). In the first enumeration of the nations who, at the time of the call of Abraham, occupied the promised land (Gen. xv. 19-21), the Hivites are omitted from the Hebrew text (though in the Samaritan and LXX. their name is inserted). This has led to the conjecture, amongst others, that they are identical with the KADMONITES, whose name is found there and there only (Reland, *Pal.* 140; Bochart, *Phal.* iv. 36; *Can.* i. 19). But are not the Kadmonites rather, as their name implies, the representatives of the Benekedem, or "children of the East"? The name constantly occurs in the formula by which the country is designated in the earlier books (Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11), and also in the later ones (1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. viii. 7; but comp. Ezr. ix. 1, and Neh. ix. 8). It is, however, absent in the report of the spies (Num. xiii. 29), a document which fixes the localities occupied by the Canaanite nations at that time. Perhaps this is owing to the then insignificance of the Hivites, or perhaps to the fact that they were indifferent to the special locality of their settlements.

2. We first encounter the actual people of the Hivites at the time of Jacob's return to Canaan. Shechem was then (according to the current Hebrew text) in their possession, Hamor the Hivite being the "prince (<sup>נֶזֶר</sup>) of the land" (Gen. xxiv. 2). They were at this time, to judge of them by their rulers, a warm and impetuous people, credulous, and easily deceived by the crafty and cruel sons of Jacob. The narrative further exhibits them as peaceful and commercial, given to "trade" (10, 21), and to the acquiring of "possessions" of cattle and other "wealth" (10, 23, 28, 29). Like the Hittites they held their assemblies or conferences in the gate of their city (20). We may also see a testimony to their peaceful habits in the absence of any attempt at revenge on Jacob for the massacre of the Shechemites. Perhaps a similar indication is furnished by the name of the god of the Shechemites some generations after this—Baal-berith—Baal of the league, or the alliance (Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4, 46); by the way in which the Shechemites were beaten by Abimelech (40); and by the unmilitary character, both of the weapon which caused Abimelech's death and of the person who discharged it (ix. 53).

The Alex. MS., and several other MSS. of the LXX., in the above narrative (Gen. xxiv. 2) substitute "Horite" for "Hivite." The change is remarkable from the usually close adherence of the Alex. Codex to the Hebrew text, but it is not corroborated by any other of the ancient versions, nor is it recommended by other considerations. No instances occur of Horites in this part of Palestine, while we know, from a later narrative, that there was an important colony of Hivites on the highland of Benjamin at Gibeon, &c., no very great distance from Shechem. On the other hand, in Gen. xxvi. 2, where Abolibama, one of Esau's wives, is said to have been the daughter of the daughter of Zibson the Hivite, all considerations are in favour of reading "Horite" for "Hivite." In this case we fortunately possess a detailed genealogy of the family, by comparison of which little doubt is left of the propriety of the change (comp. verses 20, 24, 25, 30, with 2), although no ancient version has suggested it here.

3. We next meet with the Hivites during the conquest of Canaan (Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19). Their character is now in some respects materially altered. They are still evidently averse to fighting, but they have acquired—possibly by long experience in traffic—an amount of craft which they did not before possess, and which enables them to turn the tables on the Israelites in a highly successful manner (Josh. ix. 3-27). The colony of Hivites,\* who made Joshua and the heads of the tribes their dupes on this occasion, had four cities—Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim—situated, if our present knowledge is accurate, at considerable distances asunder. It is not certain whether the three last were destroyed by Joshua or not (xi. 19); Gibeon certainly was spared. In ver. 11 the Gibeonites speak of the "elders" of their city, a word which does not necessarily point to any special form of government, as is assumed by Winer (*Heviter*), who uses the ambiguous expression that they "lived under a republican constitution" (*in republicanischer Verfassung*)! See also Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 318, 9).

4. The main body of the Hivites, however, were at this time living on the northern confines of western Palestine—"under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh" (Josh. xi. 3)—"in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-Hermon to the entering in of Hamath" (Judg. iii. 3). Somewhere in this neighbourhood they were settled when Joab and the captains of the host, in their tour of numbering, came to "all the cities of the Hivites" near Tyre (2 Sam. xxiv. 7). In the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. x. 17, they are called Tripolitans (<sup>טְרִיפּוֹלִיטָאן</sup>), a name which points to the same general northern locality.

5. In speaking of the AVİM, or Avvites, a suggestion has been made by the writer that they may have been identical with the Hivites. This is apparently corroborated by the fact that, according to the notice in Dent. ii. the Avites seem to have been dispersed before the Hivites appear on the scene of the sacred history. [G.]

HIZKI'AH (<sup>חִזְקִיָּא</sup>); 'Eṣeklos; *Ezechia*, an ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1).

HIZKI'JAH (<sup>חִזְקִיָּא</sup>); 'Eṣekla; *Ezechia*, according to the punctuation of the A. V. a man who sealed the covenant of reformation with Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. x. 17). But there is no doubt that the name should be taken with that preceding it, as "Ater-Hizkijah," a name given in the lists of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. It appears also extremely likely that the two names following these in x. 17, 18 (Azzur, Hodijah) are only corrupt repetitions of them.

This and the preceding name are identical, and are the same with that given in the A. V. as HZEKIAH.

HO'BAB (<sup>חֹבָב</sup>); ḥ'osab, Alex. ḥ'osab, in Judg. i. 16; *Hobab*. This name is found in two places only (Num. x. 29; Judg. iv. 11), and it seems doubtful whether it denotes the father-in-law of Moses, or his son. (1.) In favour of the latter are (a.) the express statement that Hobab was "the son of Raguel" (Num. x. 29); Raguel or Reuel—the Hebrew word in both cases is the same—being identified with Jethro, not only in Ex. ii. 18 (comp.

\* Here again the LXX. (both MSS.) have Horites for Hivites; but we cannot accept the change without further consideration.

iii. 1, &c.), but also by Josephus, who constantly gives him that name. (b.) The fact that Jethro had some time previously left the Israelite camp to return to his own country (Ex. xviii. 27). The words "the father-in-law of Moses" in Num. x. 29, though in most of the ancient versions connected with Hobab, will in the original read either way, so that no argument can be founded on them. (2.) In favour of Hobab's identity with Jethro are (a.) the words of Judg. iv. 11; but it should be remembered that this is (ostensibly) of later date than the other, and altogether a more casual statement. (b.) Josephus in speaking of Raguel remarks once (*Ant.* ii. 12, §1) that he "had lothor (i. e. Jethro) for a surname" (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπικλημα τῷ Παγούλῃ). From the absence of the article here, it is inferred by Whiston and others that Josephus intends that he had more than one surname, but this seems hardly safe.

The Mahometan traditions are certainly in favour of the identity of Hobab with Jethro. He is known in the Koran and elsewhere, and in the East at the present day, by the name of *Sho'eb* (شعيب).

doubtless a corruption of Hobab. According to those traditions he was the prophet of God to the idolaters of *Madyen* (Midian), who not believing his message were destroyed (Lane's *Koran*, 179-181); he was blind (ib. 180 note); the rod of Moses was his gift, it had once been the rod of Adam, and was of the myrtle of Paradise, &c. (ib. 190); Weil's *Bibl. Legends*, 107-109). The name of *Sho'eb* still remains attached to one of the Wadis on the East side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, through which, according to the tradition of the locality (Seezen, *Reisen*, 1854, ii. 319, 376), the children of Israel descended to the Jordan. [BETH-NIMRAH.] According to this tradition, therefore, he accompanied the people as far as the Promised Land, though whatever weight that may possess is, when the statement of Ex. xviii. 27 is taken into account, against his identity with Jethro. Other places bearing his name and those of his two daughters are shown at Sinai and on the Gulf of Akaba (Stanley, *S. & P.* 33).

But whether Hobab was the father-in-law of Moses or not, the notice of him in Num. x. 29-32, though brief, is full of point and interest. While Jethro is preserved to us as the wise and practised administrator, Hobab appears as the experienced Bedouin sheikh, to whom Moses looked for the material safety of his cumbersome caravan in the new and difficult ground before them. "The tracks and passes of that "waste howling wilderness" were all familiar to him, and his practised sight would be to them "instead of eyes" in discerning the distant clumps of verdure which betokened the wells or springs for the daily encampment, and in giving timely warning of the approach of Amalekites or other spoilers of the desert. [JETHRO.] [G.]

HO'BAH (חֹבָה; *Xobá*; *Hoba*), the place to which Abraham pursued the kings who had pillaged Sodom (*Gen.* xiv. 15). It was situated "to the north of Damascus" (מִצְמָל לְדָמָשְׁק). Josephus mentions a tradition concerning Abraham which he takes from Nicolaus of Damascus:—"Abraham reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner . . . and his name is still famous in the country; and there is shown a village called from him *The Habitation of Abraham*" (*Ant.* i. 7, §2). It is remarkable that in the

village of *Burzeh*, three miles north of Damascus, there is a *wely* held in high veneration by the Mohammedans, and called after the name of the patriarch, *Musjed Ibrahim*, "the prayer-place of Abraham." The tradition attached to it is that here Abraham offered thanks to God after the total discomfiture of the eastern kings. Behind the *wely* is a cleft in the rock, in which another tradition represents the patriarch as *taking refuge* on one occasion from the giant Nimrod. It is remarkable that the word *Hobab* signifies "a hiding-place."

The Jews of Damascus affirm that the village of *Idbar*, not far from Burzeh, is the Hobab of Scripture. They have a synagogue there dedicated to Elijah, to which they make frequent pilgrimages (see p. 540 *b*, note; also *Hundb. for Syr. and Pal.* pp. 491, 492). [J. L. P.]

HOD (הֹד; 'Hód, Alex. 'Hod; *Hod*), one of the sons of Zophah, among the descendants of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 37).

HODAT'AH (חֶדֶת, i. e. HODAVIAHU; 'Oðola, Alex. 'Oðola; *Oduia*), son of Elioenai, one of the last members of the royal line of Judah; mentioned 1 Chr. iii. 24.

HODAVIAH (הֹדָוְיָה; 'Oðola; *Oduia*, *Oduia*). 1. A man of Manasseh, one of the heads of the half-tribe on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

2. A man of Benjamin, son of Haseenuah (1 Chr. ix. 7).

3. A Levite, who seems to have given his name to an important family in the tribe—the Bene Hodaviah (Ezr. ii. 40). In Nehemiah the name appears as HODEVAH. Lord A. Hervey has called attention to the fact that this name is closely connected with Judah (*Genealogies*, 119). This being the case, we probably find this Hodaviah mentioned again in iii. 9.

HO'DESH (חֹדֶשׁ; 'Aðd; *Hodes*), a woman named in the genealogies of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 9) as the wife of a certain Shuharaim, and mother of seven children. Shuharaim had two wives besides Hodesh, or possibly Hodesh was a second name of one of those women (ver. 8). The LXX. by reading Baad, and Hodesh, 'Aðd, seem to wish to establish such a connexion.

HODEVAH (הֹדְוָה, *keri* HODVIA, Alex. Oðdovul; *Oduia*), Bene-Hodevah, a Levite family, returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (*Neh.* vii. 43). In the parallel lists it is given as HODAVIAH (No. 3) and SUDIAS.

HODIAH (הֹדְיָה; 'Hodvā, Alex. 'Ioudala; *Oduia*), one of the two wives of Ezra, a man of Judah, and mother to the founders of Keilah and Eshtemoa (1 Chr. iv. 19). She is doubtless the same person as Jehudijah (in verse 18, that is "the Jewess"), in fact, except the article, which is disregarded in the A. V., the two names are identical [comp. HODAVIAH, No. 3]. Hodiah is exactly the same name as HODIJAH, under which form it is given more than once in the A. V.

HODIJAH (הֹדִיָּה; 'Hodvā, 'Hodvū; *Oduia*, *Oduia*). This is in the original precisely the same name as the preceding, though spelt differently in the A. V. It occurs

1. A Levite in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah

(Neh. viii. 7; and probably also ix. 5; x. 10). The name with others is omitted in the two first of these passages in the LXX.

2. Another Levite at the same time (Neh. x. 13).

3. A layman; one of the "heads" of the people at the same time (Neh. x. 18).

**HOG'LAH** (הֹגְלָה; 'Eγλά, Alex. Αἰγλά, Αἰγλάμ; *Hegla*), the third of the five daughters of Zelophehad, in whose favour the law of inheritance was altered so that a daughter could inherit her father's estate when he left no sons (Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 11, Josh. xvii. 3).

The name also occurs in BETH-HOGLAH, which see.

**HO'HAM** (הוֹהָם; 'Eλάμ, Alex. Αἰλάμ; *Oham*), king of Hebron at the time of the conquest of Canaan (Josh. x. 3); one of the five kings who were pursued by Joshua down the pass of Beth-horon, and who were at last captured in the cave at Makkedah and there put to death. As king of Hebron he is frequently referred to in Josh. x., but his name occurs in the above passage only.

**HOLOFERNES**, or, more correctly, **OLOFERNES** (Ὀλοφέρνης), was, according to the book of Judith, a general of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians (Jud. ii. 4), who was slain by the Jewish heroine Judith during the siege of Bethulia. [**JUDITH.**] The name occurs twice in Cappadocian history, as borne by the brother of Ariarathes I. (c. B.C. 350), and afterwards by a pretender to the Cappadocian throne, who was at first supported and afterwards imprisoned by Demetrius Soter (c. B.C. 158). The termination (*Tissaphernes*, &c.) points to a Persian origin, but the meaning of the word is uncertain. [B. F. W.]

**HOL'ON** (חֹלֹן; Χαλὸν καὶ Χαννά, Alex. Χιλονάν; ἡ Γελλά, Alex. Ὠλάν; *Holon, Holon*). 1. A town in the mountains of Judah; one of the first group, of which Debir was apparently the most considerable. It is named between GOSHEN and HILON (Josh. xv. 51), and was allotted with its "suburbs" to the priests (xxi. 15). In the list of priest's cities of 1 Chr. vi. the name appears as HILEN. In the Onomasticon ("Holon" and "Olou") it is mentioned, but not so as to imply its then existence. Nor has the name been since recognised by travellers.

2. (חֹלֹן; Χελών; *Holon*), a city of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 21, only). It was one of the towns of the *Mishor*, the level downs (A. V. "plain country") east of Jordan, and is named with Jahazah, Dibon, and other known places; but no identification of it has yet taken place, nor does it appear in the parallel lists of Num. xxxii. and Josh. xiii. [G.]

**HO'MAM** (חֹמָם; Αἰμάν; *Homan*), the form under which in 1 Chr. i. 39, an Edomite name appears, which in Gen. xxvii. is given HEMAM. Homan is assumed by Gesenius to be the original form (*Theo.* 385 a). By Knobel (*Genesis*, 254), the name is compared with that of *Homaima* (حميماء), a town now ruined, though once important, halfway between Petra and Ailath, on the ancient road at the back of the mountain. See

\* In each MS. the same equivalent as the above has been given for HORMA.

Laborde, *Journey*, 207, *Ameim*; also the Arabic authorities mentioned by Knobel. [4.]

### HOMER. [MEASURES.]

**HONEY.** We have already noticed [**FOON**] the extensive use of honey as an article of ordinary food among the Hebrews: we shall therefore in the present article restrict ourselves to a description of the different articles which passed under the Hebrew name of *debash* (דְּבַשׁ). In the first place it applies to the product of the bee, to which we exclusively apply the name of honey. All travellers agree in describing Palestine as a land "flowing with honey" (Ex. iii. 8), bees being abundant even in the remote parts of the wilderness, where they deposit their honey in the crevices of the rocks or in hollow trees. In some parts of northern Arabia the hills are so well stocked with bees, that no sooner are hives placed than they are occupied (Wellsted's *Travels*, ii. 123). The Hebrews had special expressions to describe the exuding of the honey from the comb, such as *nopheth* (נֹפֶת) "dropping" (Cant. iv. 11; Prov. v. 3, xxiv. 13), *tzuph* (צִזֵּף) "overflowing" (Ps. xix. 10; Prov. xvi. 24), and *yaur* (יָזַר) or *yaurah* (יָזַרָה) (1 Sam. xiv. 27; Cant. v. 1)—expressions which answer to the *mel actum* of Pliny (xi. 15): the second of these terms approaches nearest to the sense of "honey comb," inasmuch as it is connected with *nopheth* in Ps. xix. 10, "the droppings of the comb." (2.) In the second place, the term *debash* applies to a decoction of the juice of the grape, which is still called *dibs*, and which forms an article of commerce in the East; it was this, and not ordinary bee-honey, which Jacob sent to Joseph (Gen. xliii. 11), and which the Tyrians purchased from Palestine (Ez. xxvii. 17). The mode of preparing it is described by Pliny (xiv. 11): the must was either boiled down to a half (in which case it was called *defrutum*), or to a third (when it was called *siracum*, or *sapa*, the *σίραπος*, *sapos*, and *ἔψημα* of the Greeks): it was mixed either with wine or milk (Virg. *Georg.* i. 296; Ov. *Fast.* iv. 780): it is still a favourite article of nutriment among the Syrians, and has the appearance of coarse honey (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 82). (3.) A third kind has been described by some writers as "vegetable" honey, by which is meant the exudations of certain trees and shrubs, such as the *Tamarix mannifera*, found in the peninsula of Sinai, or the stunted oaks of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia. The honey, which Jonathan ate in the wood (1 Sam. xiv. 25), and the "wild honey," which supported St. John (Matt. iii. 4), have been referred to this species. We do not agree to this view: the honey in the wood was in such abundance that Jonathan took it up on the end of a stick; but the vegetable honey is found only in small globules, which must be carefully collected and strained before being used (Wellsted, ii. 50). The use of the term *yaur* in that passage is decisive against this kind of honey. The *μέλι ἄγριον* of Matthew need not mean anything else than the honey of the wild bees, which we have already stated to be common in Palestine, and which Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, §3) specifies among the natural productions of the plain of Jericho: the expression is certainly applied by Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94) to honey exuded from trees; but it may also be applied like the Latin *mel silvestre* (Plin. xi. 16) to a particular kind of bee-honey. (4.) A fourth kind is described by Jo-

sephus (*l. c.*), as being manufactured from the juice of the date

The prohibition against the use of honey in meat offerings (Lev. ii. 11) appears to have been grounded on the fermentation produced by it, honey soon turning sour, and even forming vinegar (Plin. xli. 48). This fact is embodied in the Talmudical word *kidbish* = "to ferment," derived from *d'bash*. Other explanations have been offered, as that bees were unclean (Phil. ii. 255), or that the honey was the artificial *dibs* (Bähr, *Symbol*, ii. 323). [W. L. B.]

**HOOK, HOOKS.** Various kinds of hooks are noticed in the Bible, of which the following are the most important.

1. Fishing-hooks (חֹמֶץ, סִיר, Am. iv. 2; חֹמֶץ, Job xli. 2; Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15). The two first of these Hebrew terms mean primarily *thorns*, and secondarily *fishing-hooks*, from the similarity in shape, or perhaps from thorns having been originally used for the purpose; in both cases the LXX. and Vulg. are mistaken in their renderings, giving *σπλους* and *contis* for the first, *λέβητας* and *ollis* for the second; the third term refers to the contraction of the mouth by the hook.

2. חֹן (A. V. "thorn,"), properly a *ring* (ψέλαιον, *circulus*) placed through the mouth of a large fish and attached by a cord (חֹן) to a stake for the purpose of keeping it alive in the water (Job xli. 2); the word meaning the *cord* is rendered "hook" in the A. V. and = *σχοινός*.

3. חֹן and חֹן, generally rendered "hook" in the A. V. after the LXX. *ἀγκιστρον*, but properly a *ring* (*circulus*), such as in our country is placed through the nose of a bull, and similarly used in the East for leading about lions (Ex. xix. 4, where the A. V. has "with chains"), camels and other animals. A similar method was adopted for leading prisoners, as in the case of Manasseh who was led with rings (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11; A. V. "in the thorns"). An illustration of this practice is found in a bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad (Layard, ii. 376). The expression is used several times in this sense (2 K. xli. 23; Is. xxxvii. 29; Ez. xxix. 4, xxxviii. 4). The term מִוֹקֵשׁ is used in a similar sense in Job xl. 24 (A. V. "bore his nose with a gin," margin).



Hook. (Layard's *Nineveh*.)

4. חֹן, a term exclusively used in reference to the Tabernacle, rendered "hooks" in the A. V. The LXX. varies in its rendering, sometimes giving *κεφαλῆς*, *i. e.* the *capital* of the pillars, sometimes *κρίκος* and *ἀγκύλη*, the expenditure of gold, as given in Ex. xxxviii. 28, has led to this doubt; they were however most probably *hooks* (Ex. xxvi. 32, 37, xxvii. 10 ff., xxxviii. 10 ff.); the word seems to have given name to the letter *ḥ* in the Hebrew alphabet, possibly from a similarity of the form in which the latter appears in the Greek *Diagramma*, to that of a hook.

5. מִוֹמֵר, a vine-dresser's pruning-hook (Is. ii. 4, xviii. 5; Mic. iv. 3; Joel iii. 10).

6. מִוֹלֵךְ and מִוֹלֵכָה (*κρέδγχα*), a *flesh-hook* for

getting up the joints of meat out of the boiling-pot (Ex. xxvii. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 13-14).

7. חֹמֶץ (Ex. xl. 43), a term of very doubtful meaning, probably meaning "hooks" (as in the A. V.), used for the purpose of hanging up animals to flay them (*paxilli bifurci*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* 1470): other meanings given are—ledges (*labi*, Vulg.), or eaves, as though the word were חֹמֶץ; pens for keeping the animals previous to their being slaughtered; heath-stones, as in the margin of the A. V.; and lastly, gutters to receive and carry off the blood from the slaughtered animals. [W. L. B.]

**HOPH'NI** (חֹפְנִי, "a fighter;" 'Οφνί) and PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס, *Phineas*), the two sons of Eli, who fulfilled their hereditary sacerdotal duties at Shiloh. Their brutal rapacity and lust, which seemed to acquire fresh violence with their father's increasing years (1 Sam. ii. 22, 12-17), filled the people with disgust and indignation, and provoked the curse which was denounced against their father's house first by an unknown prophet (27-36), and then by Samuel (1 Sam. iii. 11-14). They were both cut off in one day in the flower of their age, and the ark which they had accompanied to battle against the Philistines was lost on the same occasion (1 Sam. iv. 10, 11). The predicted ruin and ejection of Eli's house were fulfilled in the reign of Solomon. [ELI; ZADOK.] The unbridled licentiousness of these young priests gives us a terrible glimpse into the fallen condition of the chosen people (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 538-638). The Scripture calls them "sons of Belial" (1 Sam. ii. 12); and to this our great poet alludes in the words—

— "to him no temple stood  
Or altar smoked; yet who more oft than he  
In temples and at altars, when the priest  
Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who filled  
With lust and violence the house of God"

*Par. Lost*, i. 492. [F. W. F.]

**HOR, MOUNT** (הָרִי הָהָר, *i. e.* "Hor the mountain," remarkable as the only case in which the name comes first). 1. ("Ḥor ṭḥ ḥor: *Mons Hor*), the mountain in which Amon died (Num. xx. 25, 27). The word *Hor* is regarded by the lexicographers as an archaic form of *Hor*, the usual Hebrew term for "mountain" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 391 b; Fuerst, *Harwbch.* ad voc. &c.), so that the meaning of the name is simply "the mountain of mountains," as the LXX. have it in another case (see below, No. 2) ṭḥ ḥor ṭḥ ḥor; Vulg. *mons altissimus*; and Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam*) *non in monte simpliciter sed in montis monte*.

The few facts given us in the Bible regarding Mount Hor are soon told. It was "on the boundary line" (Num. xx. 23) or "at the edge" (xxxiii. 37) of the land of Edom. It was the next halting-place of the people after Kadesh (xx. 22, xxxiii. 37), and they quitted it for Zalmonah (xxxiii. 41) in the road to the Red Sea (xxi. 4). It was during the encampment at Kadesh that Aaron was gathered to his fathers. At the command of Jehovah, he, his brother, and his son ascended the mountain, in the presence of the people, "in the eyes of all the congregation." The garments, and with the garments the office, of high-priest were taken from Aaron and put upon Eleazar, and Aaron died there in the top of the mountain. In the circumstances of the ascent of the height to die, and in the marked exclusion from the Promised Land, the end of the one brother resembled the end of the other; but in

the presence of the two survivors, and of the gazing crowd below, there is a striking difference between this event and the solitary death of Moses.

Mount Hor "is one of the very few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites which admit of no reasonable doubt" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 86). It is almost unnecessary to state that it is situated on the eastern side of the great valley of the *Arabah*, the highest and most conspicuous of the whole range of the sandstone mountains of Edom, having close beneath it on its eastern side—though strange to say the two are not visible to each other—the mysterious city of Petra. The tradition has existed from the earliest date. Josephus does not mention the name of Hor (*Ant.* iv. 4, §7), but he describes the death of Aaron as taking place "on a very high mountain which surrounded the metropolis of the Arabs," which latter "was formerly called Arke, but now Petra." In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome it is *Or mons*—"a mountain in which Aaron died, close to the city of Petra." When it was visited by the Crusaders (see the quotations in Rob. 521) the sanctuary

was already on its top, and there is little doubt that it was then what it is now—the *Jebel Nebi-Harūn*, "the mountain of the Prophet Aaron."

Of the geological formation of Mount Hor we have no very trustworthy accounts. The general structure of the range of Edom, of which it forms the most prominent feature, is new red sandstone, displaying itself to an enormous thickness. Above that is the Jura lime-stone, and higher still the cretaceous beds, which latter in Mount Seir are reported to be 3500 feet in thickness (Wilson, *Lands*, i. 194). Through these deposited strata longitudinal dykes of red granite and porphyry have forced their way, running nearly north and south, and so completely silicifying the neighbouring sandstone as often to give it the look of a primitive rock. To these combinations are due the extraordinary colours for which Petra is so famous. Mount Hor itself is said to be entirely sandstone, in very horizontal strata (Wilson, i. 290). Its height, according to the latest measurements, is 4800 feet (Eng.) above the Mediterranean, that is to say about 1700 feet above the town of Petra, 4000 above the level of



View of the summit of Mount Hor. (From Laborde.)

the *Arabah*, and more than 6000 above the Dead Sea (Roth, in Petermann's *Mittheil.* 1858, i. 3). The mountain is marked far and near by its double top, which rises like a huge castellated building from a lower base, and is surmounted by the circular dome of the tomb of Aaron, a distinct white spot on the dark red surface of the mountain (Stanley, 86; Laborde, 143; Stephens, *Incidents*). This lower base is the "plain of Aaron," beyond which Burckhardt was, after all his toils, prevented from ascending. "Out of this plain, culminating in its two summits, springs the red sandstone mass, from its base upwards rocky and naked, not a bush or a tree to relieve the rugged and broken corners of the sandstone blocks which compose it. On ascending this mass a little plain is found to lie between the two peaks, marked by a white cypress, and not unlike the celebrated plain of the cypress under the summit of *Jebel Mûsa*, traditionally believed to be the scene of Elijah's vision. The southernmost of the two, on approaching, takes a conical form. The northernmost is truncated, and crowned by the chapel of Aaron's tomb." The chapel or mosk

is a small square, building, measuring inside about 28 feet by 33 (Wilson, 295), with its door in the S.W. angle. It is built of rude stones, in part broken columns; all of sandstone, but fragments of granite and marble lie about. Steps lead to the flat roof of the chapel, from which rises a white dome as usual over a saint's tomb. The interior of the chapel consists of two chambers, one below the other. The upper one has four large pillars and a stone chest, or tombstone, like one of the ordinary slabs in churchyards, but larger and higher, and rather bigger at the top than the bottom. At its head is a high round stone, on which sacrifices are made, and which retained, when Stephens saw it, the marks of the smoke and blood of recent offerings. "On the slab are Arabic inscriptions, and it is covered with shawls chiefly red. One of the pillars is hung with votive offerings of beads, &c., and two ostrich eggs are suspended over the chest. Steps in the N.W. angle lead down to the lower chamber, which is partly in the rock, but plastered. It is perfectly dark. At the end, apparently under the stone chest above, is a recess

guarded by a grating. Within this is a rude protuberance, whether of stone or plaster was not ascertainable, resting on wood, and covered by a ragged pall. This lower recess is no doubt the tomb, and possibly ancient. What is above is only the artificial monument and certainly modern." \* In one of the walls of the upper chamber is a "round polished black stone," one of those mysterious stones of which the prototype is the Kaaba at Mecca, and which, like that, would appear to be the object of great devotion (Martineau, 419, 20).

The impression received on the spot is that Aaron's death took place in the small basin between the two peaks, and that the people were stationed either on the plain at the base of the peaks, or at that part of the *Wady Abu-Kishaybeh* from which the top is commanded. Josephus says that the ground was sloping downwards (*καταρτες ην το χωριον*; Ant. iv. 4, §7). But this may be the mere general expression of a man who had never been on the spot. The greater part of the above information has been kindly communicated to the writer by Professor Stanley.

The chief interest of Mount Hor will always consist in the prospect from its summit—the last view of Aaron—"that view which was to him what Hagar's was to his brother." It is described at length by Iby (134), Wilson (i. 292-9), Martineau (420), and is well summed up by Stanley in the following words: "We saw all the main points on which his eye must have rested. He looked over the valley of the Arabah countersected by its hundred water-courses, and beyond, over the white mountains of the wilderness they had so long traversed; and at the northern edge of it there must have been visible the heights through which the Israelites had vainly attempted to force their way into the Promised Land. This was the western view. Close around him on the east were the rugged mountains of Edom, and far along the horizon the wide downs of Mount Seir, through which the passage had been denied by the wild tribes of Esau who hunted over their long slopes." On the north lay the mysterious Dead Sea gleaming from the depths of its profound basin (Stephens, *Incidents*). "A dreary moment, and a dreary scene—such it must have seemed to the aged priest. . . . The peculiarity of the view is the combination of wide extension with the scarcity of marked features. Petra is shut out by intervening rocks. But the survey of the Desert on one side, and the mountains of Edom on the other, is complete; and of these last the great feature is the mass of red bald-headed sandstone rocks, intersected not by valleys but by deep seams" (*S. & P.* 87). Though Petra itself is entirely shut out, one outlying building—if it may be called a building—is visible, that which goes by the name of the *Deir*, or Convent. Professor Stanley has thrown out a suggestion on the connexion between the two which is well worth further investigation.

Owing to the natural difficulties of the locality and the caprices of the Arabs, Mount Hor and Petra are more difficult of access than any other places which Europeans usually attempt to visit. The records of these attempts—not all of them successful—will be found in the works of Burckhardt, Irby and Mangies, Stephens, Wilson, Robinson, Martineau, and Stanley. They are sufficient

to invest the place with a secondary interest, hardly inferior to that which attaches to it as the halting-place of the children of Israel, and the burial-place of Aaron.

2. (רֹם הָרִים *mons altissimus*.) A mountain, entirely distinct from the preceding, named, in Num. xxiv. 7, 8, only, as one of the marks of the northern boundary of the land which the children of Israel were about to conquer. The identification of this mountain has always been one of the puzzles of Sacred Geography. The Mediterranean was the western boundary. The northern boundary started from the sea; the first point in it was Mount Hor, and the second the entrance of Hamath. Since Sidon was subsequently allotted to the most northern tribe—Asher, and was, as far as we know, the most northern town so allotted, it would seem probable that the northern boundary would commence at about that point; that is, opposite to where the great range of Lebanon breaks down to the sea. The next landmark, the entrance to Hamath, seems to have been determined by Mr. Porter as the pass at *Kidat el-Hum*, close to *Hums*, the ancient Hamath—at the other end of the range of Lebanon. Surely "Mount Hor" then can be nothing else than the great chain of Lebanon itself. Looking at the massive character and enormous height of the range, it is very difficult to suppose that any individual peak or mountain is intended and not the whole mass, which takes nearly a straight course between the two points just named, and includes below it the great plain of the *Buka'a* and the whole of Palestine properly so called.

The Targum Pseudojon. renders Mount Hor by *Umanos*, probably intending Amman. The latter is also the reading of the Talmud (*Gittin* 8, quoted by Fuerst, *sub voce*), in which it is connected with the Amman named in Cant. iv. 8. But the situation of this Amman is nowhere indicated by them. It cannot have any connexion with the Amman or Abana river which flowed through Damascus, as that is quite away from the position required in the passage. By the Jewish geographers Schwarz (24, 25) and l'archi (Benj. of Tudela, 413, &c.), for various traditional and linguistic reasons, a mountain is fixed upon very far to the north, between Tripoli and Hamath, in fact, though they do not say so, very near the Mons Amanus of the classical geographers. But this is some 200 miles north of Sidon, and 150 above Hamath, and is surely an unwarranted extension of the limits of the Holy Land. The great range of Lebanon is so clearly the natural northern boundary of the country, that there seems no reason to doubt that the whole range is intended by the term Hor. [G.]

HO'RAM (הֹרָם; Ὁράμ, Alex. Αἰδάμ; *Horam*), king of GEZER at the time of the conquest of the south-western part of Palestine (Josh. x. 33). He came to the assistance of Lachish, but was slaughtered by Joshua with all his people. Whether the Gezer which he governed was that commonly mentioned, or another place further south, is not determinable.

HO'REB. Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6; Deut. i. 2, 6, 19, iv. 10, 15, v. 2, ix. 8, xviii. 16, xxix. 1, 1 K. viii. 9, xix. 8; 2 Chr. v. 10; Ps. cvi. 19; Mal. iv. 4; Eccles. xlviii. 7. [SINAI.]

HO'REM (הֹרֵם; Μερυλααριμ, Alex. Μαρδα-

\* If Burckhardt's informants were correct (*Syria*, 131), there is a considerable difference between what the tomb was even when he sacrificed his kid on the

plain below, and when Irby and Mangies visited it, six years after.

Ληροδάμ, both by inclusion of the preceding name; *Horev*), one of the fortified places in the territory of Naphthali; named with Iron and Migdal-el (Josh. xix. 38). Van de Velde (i. 178, 9; *Memoir*, 322) suggests *Hurrah* as the site of Horem. It is an ancient site in the centre of the country, half-way between the *Ras en-Nakhura* and the Lake Merom, on a *tell* at the southern end of the *Wady el-Ain*, one of the natural features of the country. It is also in favour of this identification that *Hurrah* is near *Yarân*, probably the representative of the ancient *Iron*, named with Horem. [G.]

**HOR HAGIDGAD** (הֹר הַגִּידְגָּד; ὄρος ἡγιδγὰδ: *Mons Gadgad*—both reading הֹר for הָר), the name of a desert station where the Israelites encamped (Num. xxxiii. 32), probably the same as Gudgodah (Deut. x. 7). In both passages it stands in sequence with three others, Moserah or Moseroth, (Beeroth) Bene Jankan, and Jotbath or Jotbathah; but the order is not strictly preserved. Hengstenberg (*Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, ii. 356) has sought to account for this by supposing that they were in Deut. x. 7 going the opposite way to that in Num. xxxiii. 32. For the consideration of this see WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.

Gedged (Arab. جَدِجِد) means a hard and level tract. We have also Gudgud (Arab. جَدِجِد), which has among other meanings that of a well abounding in water. The plural of either of these might closely approximate in sound to Gudgud. It is observable that on the west side of the Arabian Robinson (vol. i., map) has a *Wady Ghûlâghûh*, which may bear the same meaning; but as that meaning might be perhaps applied to a great number of localities, it would be dangerous to infer identity. The junction of this *wady* with the Arabian would not, however, be unsuitable for a station between Mount Hor, near which Moserah lay (comp. Num. xx. 28, Deut. x. 6), and Ezion Geber. Robinson also mentions a shrub growing in the Arabian itself, which he calls غُضْلُك, *Ghûlak* (ii. 121 comp. 119), which may also possibly suggest a derivation for the name. [H. H.]

**HOR'I.** 1. (חֹרִי, but in Chron. חֹרִי; *Xoppol*, Alex. *Xoppel*, in Chron. *Xoppel*, *Hori*), a Horite, as his name betokens; son of Lotan the son of Seir, and brother to Henam or Honam (Gen. xxxvi. 22; 1 Chr. i. 39). No trace of the name appears to have been met with in modern times.

2. (*Xoppé*, Alex. *Xoppel*; *Horracorum*). In Gen. xxxvi. 30, the name has in the original the definite article prefixed—הֹרִי = "the Horite;" and is in fact precisely the same word with that which in the preceding verse, and also in 21, is rendered in the A. V. "the Horites."

3. (חֹרִי; \**Xopl* in both MSS.; *Huri*). A man of Simeon; father of Shaphat, who represented that tribe among the spies sent up into Canaan by Moses (Num. xiii. 5).

**HORITES** and **HORIMS** (חֹרִי, Gen. xiv. 6, and חֹרִים, Deut. ii. 12; *Xoppaiot*; *Chorraes*), the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir (Gen. xiv. 6), and probably allied to the Emims and Rephaims.

\* For this *Σ*, representing *Π*, comp. *HELEN*, *HILLEL*, *HEMAL*.

The name *Horite* (חֹרִי, "a troglodyte," from חֹר, "a hole" or "cave") appears to have been derived from their habits as "cave-dwellers." Their excavated dwellings are still found in hundreds in the sandstone cliffs and mountains of Edom, and especially in Petra. [EDOM and EDMITES.] It may, perhaps, be to the Horites *Job* refers in xxx. 6, 7. They are only three times mentioned in Scripture: first, when they were smitten by the kings of the East (Gen. xiv. 6); then when their genealogy is given in Gen. xxxvi. 20-30 and 1 Chr. i. 38-42; and lastly when they were exterminated by the Edomites (Deut. ii. 12, 22). It appears probable that they were not Canaanites, but an earlier race, who inhabited Mount Seir before the posterity of Canaan took possession of Palestine (Ewald, *Geschichte*, vol. i. 304, 5). [J. L. P.]

**HORMAH** (חֶרְמָה; its earlier name Zephath, צַפַּת, is found Judg. i. 17) was the chief town of a "king" of a Canaanitish tribe on the south of Palestine, reduced by Joshua (Joseph. xii. 14), and became a city of the territory of Judah (xv. 30; 1 Sam. xxx. 30), but apparently belonged to Simeon, whose territory is reckoned as parcel of the former (Joseph. xix. 4; comp. Judg. i. 17; 1 Chr. iv. 30). The seeming inconsistency between Num. xxi. 3, and Judg. i. 17 may be relieved by supposing that the vow made at the former period was fulfilled at the latter, and the name (the root of which, חָרַם, constantly occurs in the sense of to devote to destruction, or utterly to destroy) given by anticipation. Robinson (ii. 181) identifies the pass *Es-Sûfâ*, الصَّفَا, with Zephath, in respect both of the name, which is sufficiently similar, and of the situation, which is a probable one, viz. the gap in the mountain barrier, which, running about S.W. and N.E., completes the plateau of Southern Palestine, and rises above the less elevated step—the level of the desert *et-Tih*—interposed between it and the Ghor. [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.] [H. H.]

**HORN.** 1. LITERAL. (Josh. vi. 4, 5; comp. Ex. xix. 13; 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39; Job xlii. 14).—Two purposes are mentioned in the Scriptures to which the horn seems to have been applied. Trumpets were probably at first merely horns perforated at the tip, such as are still used upon mountain-farms for calling home the labourers at meal-time. If the A. V. of Josh. vi. 4, 5 ("rams' horns," קְרֹן הַיּוֹבֵל) were correct, this would settle the question: but the fact seems to be that קְרֹן has nothing to do with *ram*, and that קְרֹן, *horn*, serves to indicate an instrument which originally was made of horn, though afterwards, no doubt, constructed of different materials (comp. Varr. *L. L.* v. 24, 33, "cornua quod ea quæ nunc sunt ex ære tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu"). [CORNET.] The horns which were thus made into trumpets were probably those of oxen rather than of rams: the latter would scarcely produce a note sufficiently imposing to suggest its association with the fall of Jericho.

The word *horn* is also applied to a flask, or vessel made of horn, containing oil (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39), or used as a kind of toilet-bottle, filled with the preparation of antimony with which women tinged their eye-lashes (*Keren-happuch* = *paint-horn*, name of one of Job's daughters, Job

xlii. 14). So in English drinking-horn (commonly called a *horn*). In the same way the Greek *κέρας* sometimes signifies bugle, trumpet (Xen. An. ii. 2, §4), and sometimes drinking-horn (vii. 2, §23). In like manner the Latin *cornu* means *trumpet*, and also *oil-cruet* (Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 61), and *funnel* (Virg. Georg. iii. 509).

II. METAPHORICAL. — 1. *From similarity of form.*—To this use belongs the application of the word *horn* to a trumpet of metal, as already mentioned. Horns of ivory, that is, elephants' teeth, are mentioned in Ez. xxvii. 15; either metaphorically from similarity of form; or, as seems more probable, from a vulgar error. The *horns of the altar* (Ex. xxvii. 2) are not supposed to have been made of horn, but to have been metallic projections from the four corners (*γωνίαι κερατοειδείς*, Joseph B. J. v. 5, §6). [ALTAR, p. 53 a.] The *peak* or *summit* of a hill was called a horn (Is. v. 1, where hill = horn in Heb.; comp. *κέρας*, Xen. An. v. 6, §7, and *cornu*, Stat. Theb. v. 532; Arab. Kurân Hattîn, Robinson, Bibl. Res. ii. 370; Germ. *Schreckhorn*, *Wetterhorn*, *Aarhorn*; Celt. *cairn*). In Hab. iii. 4 ("he had horns coming out of his hand") the context implies *rays of light*.

The deominative קֶרַן = "to emit rays," is used of Moses' face (Ex. xxxiv. 29, 30, 35); so all the versions except Aquila and the Vulgate, which have the translations *κερατώδης ἦν*, *cornuta erat*. This curious idea has not only been perpetuated by paintings, coins, and statues (Zornius, *Biblioth. Antiq.* i. 121), but has at least passed muster with Grotius (*Annot. ad loc.*), who cites Aben-Ezra's identification of Moses with the horned Mnevis of Egypt, and suggests that the phenomenon was intended to remind the Israelites of the golden calf! Spencer (*Ley. Hebr.* iii., *Diss.* i. 4) tries a reconciliation of renderings upon the ground that *cornua* = *radii lucis*; but Spanheim (*Diss.* vii. 1), not content with stigmatising the efforts of art in this direction as "*præpostera industria*," distinctly attributes to Jerome a belief in the veritable horns of Moses. Bishop Taylor, in all good faith, though of course rhetorically, compares the "sun's golden horns" to those of the Hebrew Lawgiver.

2. *From similarity of position and use.*—Two principal applications of this metaphor will be found—*strength* and *honour*. Of *strength* the horn of the unicorn [UNICORN] was the most frequent representative (Deut. xxxiii. 17, &c.), but not always; comp. 1 K. xxii. 11, where probably horns of iron, worn defiantly and symbolically on the head, are

the Druses upon Mount Lebanon the married women wear silver horns on their heads. The spiral coils of gold wire projecting on either side from the female head-dress of some of the Dutch provinces are evidently an ornament borrowed from the same original idea.



Heads of modern Asiatics ornamented with horns.

In the sense of *honour*, the word *horn* stands for the *abstract* (*my horn*, Job xvi. 15; *all the horns of Israel*, Lam. ii. 3), and so for the supreme authority (comp. the story of Cippus, Ovid, *Met.* xv. 565; and the horn of the Indian Sâchem mentioned in Clarkson's *Life of Penn*). It also stands for *concrete*, whence it comes to mean *king*, *kingdom* (Dan. viii. 2, &c.; Zech. i. 18; comp. Tarquin's dream in Accius, ap. Cic. *Dir.* i. 22); hence on coins Alexander and the Seleucidae wear horns (see drawings on p. 44), and the former is called in Arab. two-horned (Kor. xviii. 85 fl.), not without reference to Dan. viii.

Out of either or both of these two last metaphors sprang the idea of representing gods with horns. Spanheim has discovered such figures on the Roman denarius, and on numerous Egyptian coins of the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines (*Diss.* v. p. 353). The Bacchus *Ταυροκέρας*, or *cornutus*, is mentioned by Euripides (*Bacch.* 100), and among other pagan absurdities Arnobius enumerates "*Dii cornuti*" (c. *Gen.* vi.). In like manner river-gods are represented with horns ("*tauriformis Aulidis*," Hor. *Od.* iv. 14, 25; *ταυρομορφον ὕμνα Κηφισοῦ*, Eur. *Ion.* 1261). For various opinions on the ground-thought of this metaphor, see *Notes and Queries*, i. 419, 456. Manx legends speak of a *tarroo-whatey*, i. e. *water-bull* (see Cregwen's *Manx Dict.*). (See Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 288; and, for an admirable compendium, with references, Zornius, *Bibliotheca Antiquaria*, ii. 106 ff.). [T. E. B.]

### HORNET (קֶרַן; σφηκία; crabro)

That the Hebrew word קֶרַן describes the hornet, may be taken for granted on the almost unanimous authority of the ancient versions. Not only were bees exceedingly numerous in Palestine, but from the name Zoreah (Josh. xv. 33) we may infer that hornets in particular infested some parts of the country; the frequent notices of the animal in the Talmudical writers (Lewysohn, *Zool.* §405) lead to the same conclusion. In Scripture the hornet is referred to only as the means which Jehovah employed for the extirpation of the Canaanites (Ex. xlii. 28; Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12; Wisd.

8). Some commentators regard the word as



Hair of South Africans ornamented with buffalo-horns. Livingstone, *Travels*, 430, 431.

intended. Expressive of the same idea, or perhaps merely a decoration, is the Oriental military ornament mentioned by Taylor (*Cabnet's Frag. cur.*), and the conical cap observed by Dr. Livingstone among the natives of S. Africa, and not improbably suggested by the horn of the rhinoceros, so abundant in that country (see Livingstone's *Travels*, 365, 450, 557; comp. Taylor, *l. c.*). Among

used in its literal sense, and adduce authenticated instances, where armies have been seriously molested by hornets (Aelian, xi. 28, xvii. 35; Ammian. Marcellin. xxiv. 8). But the following arguments seem to decide in favour of a metaphorical sense:—(1) that the word "hornet" in Ex. xxiii. 28 is parallel to "fear" in ver. 27; (2) that similar expressions are undoubtedly used metaphorically, e.g. "to chase as the bees do" (Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12); (3) that a similar transfer from the literal to the metaphorical sense may be instanced in the classical *oestrus*, originally a "gad-fly," afterwards *terror* and *madness*; and lastly (4), that no historical notice of such intervention as hornets occur in the Bible. We may therefore regard it as expressing under a vivid image the consternation with which Jehovah would inspire the enemies of the Israelites, as declared in Deut. ii. 25, Josh. ii. 11.

[W. L. B.]

**HORONAIM** (חֹרֹנַיִם = "two caverns;" *Ἀρωναιμ*, Alex. *Ἀδωναιμ*; *Ἀρωναιμ*; *Oronaim*), a town of Moab named with Zoar and Luhith (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34), but to the position of which no clue is afforded either by the notices of the Bible or by mention in other works. It seems to have been on an eminence, and approached (like Beth-horon) by a road which is styled the "way" (דֶּרֶךְ, Is. xv. 5), or the "descent" (מִוֶּרֶד, Jer. xlviii. 5). From the occurrence of a similar expression in reference to LUHITH, we might imagine that these two places were sanctuaries, on the high places to which the Eastern worship of those days was so addicted. If we accept the name as Hebrew, we may believe the dual form of it to arise, either from the presence of two caverns in the neighbourhood, or from there having been two towns, possibly an upper and a lower, as in the case of the two Beth-horons, connected by the ascending road.

From Horonaim possibly came Sanballat the Horonite.

[G.]

**HOR'ONITE, THE** (חֹרֹנִי; *δ' Ἀρωνί; Horonites*), the designation of Sanballat, who was one of the principal opponents of Nehemiah's works of restoration (Neh. ii. 10, 19; xiii. 28). It is derived by Gesenius (*Thes.* 459) from Horonaim the Moabite town, but by Fürst (*Handb.*) from Horon, i. e. Beth-horon. Which of these is the more accurate is quite uncertain. The former certainly accords well with the Ammonite and Arabian who were Sanballat's comrades; the latter is perhaps more grammatically correct.

[G.]

**HORSE.** The most striking feature in the Biblical notices of the horse is the exclusive application of it to warlike operations; in no instance is that useful animal employed for the purposes of ordinary locomotion or agriculture, if we except Is. xxviii. 28, where we learn that horses (A. V. "horsemen") were employed in threshing, not however in that case put in the gears, but simply driven about wildly over the strewed grain. This remark will be found to be borne out by the historical passages hereafter quoted; but it is equally striking in the poetical parts of Scripture. The animated description of the horse in Job xxxix. 19-25, applies solely to the war-horse; the mane streaming in the breeze (A. V. "thunder") which "clothes his neck;" his lofty bounds "as a grass-hopper;" his hoofs "digging in the valley" with

excitement; his terrible snorting—are brought before us, and his ardour for the strife—

He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage;  
Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.  
He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha!  
And he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.

So again the bride advances with her charms to an immediate conquest "as a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots" (Cant. i. 9); and when the prophet Zechariah wishes to convey the idea of perfect peace, he represents the horse, no more mixing in the fray as before (ix. 10), but bearing on his bell (which was intended to strike terror into the foe) the peaceable inscription "Holiness unto the Lord" (xiv. 20). Lastly, the characteristic of the horse is not so much his speed or his utility, but his strength (Ps. xxxiii. 17, xlvii. 10), as shown in the special application of the term *abbir* (אַבִּיר), i. e. strong, as an equivalent for a horse (Jer. viii. 16, xlvii. 3, l. 11).

The terms under which the horse is described in the Hebrew language are usually *sās* and *pārāsh* (סָס, פָּרָשׁ). The origin of these terms is not satisfactorily made out; Pott (*Etym. Forsch.* i. 60) connects them respectively with Susa and Pares, or Persia, as the countries whence the horse was derived; and it is worthy of remark that *sās* was also employed in Egypt for a *mare*, showing that it was a foreign term there, if not also in Palestine. There is a marked distinction between the *sās* and the *parash*; the former were horses for driving in the war chariot, of a heavy build, the latter were for riding, and particularly for cavalry. This distinction is not observed in the A. V. from the circumstance that *pārāsh* also signifies horseman; the correct sense is essential in the following passages—1 K. iv. 26, "fifty-thousand *chariot-horses* and twelve thousand *cavalry-horses*;" Ez. xxvii. 14, "driving-horses and riding-horses;" Joel ii. 4, "as riding-horses, so shall they run;" and Is. xxi. 7, "a train of horses in couples." In addition to these terms we have *recesh* (רֶכֶשׁ), of undoubted Hebrew origin) to describe a swift horse, used for the royal post (Esth. viii. 10, 14) and similar purposes (1 K. iv. 28; A. V. "dromedary" as also in Esth.) or for a rapid journey (Mic. i. 13); *rammad* (רָמָד), used once for a *mare* (Esth. viii. 10); and *sāsāh* סָסָה in Cant. i. 9, where it is regarded in the A. V. as a collective term, "company of horses;" it rather means, according to the received punctuation, "my mare," but still better, by a slight alteration in the punctuation, "mares."

The Hebrews in the patriarchal age, as a pastoral race, did not stand in need of the services of the horse, and for a long period after their settlement in Canaan they dispensed with it, partly in consequence of the hilly nature of the country, which only admitted of the use of chariots in certain localities (Judg. i. 19), and partly in consequence of the prohibition in Deut. xvii. 16, which would be held to apply at all periods. Accordingly they hamstringed the horses of the Canaanites (Josh. xi. 6, 9). David first established a force of cavalry and chariots after the defeat of Hadadzezer (2 Sam. viii. 4), when he reserved a hundred chariots, and, as we may infer, all the horses: for the rendering "houghed all the chariot-horses" is manifestly incorrect. Shortly after this Absalom was possessed of some (2 Sam. xv. 1). But the great supply of

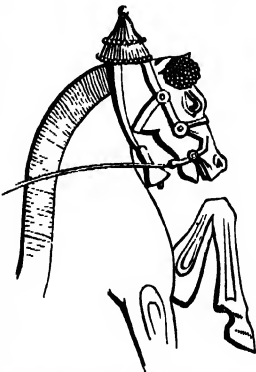
horses was subsequently effected by Solomon through his connexion with Egypt; he is reported to have had "40,000 stalls of horses for his chariots, and 12,000 cavalry-horses" (1 K. iv. 26), and it is worthy of notice that these forces are mentioned parenthetically to account for the great security of life and property noticed in the preceding verse. There is probably an error in the former of these numbers; for the number of chariots is given in 1 K. x. 26; 2 Chr. i. 14, as 1400, and consequently if we allow three horses for each chariot, two in use and one as a reserve, as was usual in some countries (Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, §27), the number required would be 4200, or, in round numbers, 4000, which is probably the correct reading. Solomon also established a very active trade in horses, which were brought by dealers out of Egypt and resold at a profit to the Hittites, who lived between Palestine and the Euphrates. The passage in which this commerce is described (1 K. x. 28, 29), is unfortunately obscure; the tenour of ver. 28 seems to be that there was a regularly established traffic, the Egyptians bringing the horses to a mart in the south of Palestine and handing them over to the Hebrew dealers at a fixed tariff. The price of a horse was fixed at 150 shekels of silver, and that of a chariot at 600; in the latter we must include the horses (for an Egyptian war-chariot was of no great value) and conceive, as before, that three horses accompanied each chariot, leaving the value of the chariot itself at 150 shekels. In addition to this source of supply, Solomon received horses by way of tribute (1 K. x. 25). The force was maintained by the succeeding kings, and frequent notices occur both of riding horses and chariots (2 K. ix. 21, 33, xi. 16), and particularly of war-chariots (1 K. xxii. 4; 2 K. iii. 7; Is. ii. 7). The force seems to have failed in the time of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 23) in Judah, as it had previously in Israel under Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 7). The number of horses belonging to the Jews on their return from Babylon is stated as 736 (Neh. vii. 68).

In the countries adjacent to Palestine, the use of the horse was much more frequent. It was introduced into Egypt probably by the Hyksos, as it is not represented on the monuments before the 18th dynasty (Wilkinson, i. 386, *abridgm.*). At the period of the Exodus horses were abundant there (Gen. xlvii. 17, l. 9; Ex. ix. 3, xiv. 9, 23; Deut. xvii. 17), and subsequently, as we have already seen, they were able to supply the nations of Western Asia. The Jewish kings sought the assistance of the Egyptians against the Assyrians in this respect (Is. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 8; Ez. xvii. 15). The Canaanites were possessed of them (Deut. xx. 1; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. iv. 3, v. 22, 28), and likewise the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 K. x. 1; 2 K. vi. 14, vii. 7, 10)—notices which are confirmed by the pictorial representations on Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, i. 393, 397, 401), and by the Assyrian inscriptions relating to Syrian expeditions. But the cavalry of the Assyrians themselves and other eastern nations was regarded as most formidable; the horses themselves were highly bred, as the Assyrian sculptures still testify, and fully merited the praise bestowed on them by Habakkuk (i. 8), "swifter than leopards, and more fierce than the evening wolves;" their riders "clothed in blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men" (Ez. xxiii. 6), armed with "the bright sword and glittering spear" (Nah. iii. 3), made a deep impression on the Jews, who, plainly

clad, went on foot; as also did their regular array as they proceeded in couples, contrasting with the disorderly troops of asses and camels which followed with the baggage (Is. xxi. 7, *recob* in this passage signifying rather a *train* than a single chariot). The number employed by the eastern potentates was very great, Holofernes possessing not less than 12,000 (Jud. ii. 15). At a later period we have frequent notices of the cavalry of the Græco-Syrian monarchs (1 Macc. i. 18, iii. 39, &c.).

With regard to the trappings and management of the horse, we have little information; the bridle (*resen*) was placed over the horse's nose (Is. xxx. 28), and a bit or curb (*metheg*) is also noticed (2 K. xix. 28; Ps. xxxii. 9; Prov. xxvi. 3; Is. xxxvii. 29; in the A. V. it is incorrectly given "bridle," with the exception of Ps. xxxii.). The harness of the Assyrian horses was profusely decorated, the bits being gilt (1 Esdr. iii. 6), and the bridles adorned with tassels; on the neck was a collar terminating in a bell, as described by Zechariah (xiv. 20). Saddles were not used until a late period; only one is represented on the Assyrian sculptures (Layard, ii. 357). The horses were not shod, and therefore hoofs as hard "as flint" (Is. v. 28) were regarded as a great merit. The chariot-horses were covered with embroidered trappings—the "precious clothes" manufactured at Dedan (Ez. xxvii. 20): these were fastened by straps and buckles, and to this perhaps reference is made in Prov. xxx. 31, in the term *azazir*, "one girded about the loins" (A. V. "greyhound"). Thus adorned, Mordecai rode in state through the streets of Shushan (Esth. vi. 9). White horses were more particularly appropriate to such occasions as being significant of victory (Rev. vi. 2, xix. 11, 14). Horses and chariots were used also in idolatrous processions, as noticed in regard to the sun (2 K. xiii. 11).

Trappings of Assyrian horse. (Layard.)



**HOSAH** (חֹסָה; Alex. *ῥοσά*; Vat. omits; *Hosa*), a city of Asher (Josh. xix. 29), the next landmark on the boundary to Tyre. [G.]

**HOS'AH** (חֹסֶה; 'Osd, Alex. *ῥοσῆ* and *ῥοσά*; *Hosa*), a man who was chosen by David to be one of the first doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") to the ark after its arrival in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 38). He was a Merarite Levite (xxvi. 10), with "sons and brethren" thirteen, of whom four were certainly sons (10, 11); and his charge was especially the "gate Shallecheth," and the causeway, or raised road which ascended (16, מִסְלַח הַעֲלִיָּה).

**HOSAN'NA** (ῥοσαννά; Heb. הוֹשֵׁעַ נָא, "Save, we pray;" ὁσῶν δὴ, as Theophylact correctly interprets it), the cry of the multitudes as they thronged in our Lord's triumphal procession into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 9, 15; Mar. xi. 9, 10;

John xii. 13). The Psalm from which it was taken, the 118th, was one with which they were familiar from being accustomed to recite the 25th and 26th verses at the Feast of Tabernacles. On that occasion the Great Hallel, consisting of Psalms cxiii.-cxviii., was chanted by one of the priests, and at certain intervals the multitudes joined in the responses, waving their branches of willow and palm, and shouting as they waved them Hallelujah, or Hosanna, or "O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity" (Ps. cxviii. 25). This was done at the recitation of the first and last verses of Ps. cxviii.; but, according to the school of Hillel, at the words "Save now, we beseech thee" (ver. 25). The school of Shammai, on the contrary, say it was at the words "Send now prosperity" of the same verse. Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshua were observed by R. Akiba to wave their branches only at the words "Save now, we beseech thee" (Mishna, *Succah*, iii. 9). On each of the seven days during which the feast lasted the people thronged in the court of the Temple, and went in procession about the altar, setting their boughs bending towards it; the trumpets sounding as they shouted Hosanna. But on the seventh day they marched seven times round the altar, shouting meanwhile the great Hosanna to the sound of the trumpets of the Levites (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xvi. 2). The very children who could wave the palm branches were expected to take part in the solemnity (Mishna, *Succah*, iii. 15; Matt. xxi. 15). From the custom of waving the boughs of myrtle and willow during the service the name Hosanna was ultimately transferred to the boughs themselves, so that according to Elias Levita (*Thibbi*, s. v.), "the bundles of the willows of the brook which they carry at the Feast of Tabernacles are called Hosannas." The term is frequently applied by Jewish writers to denote the Feast of Tabernacles, the seventh day of the feast being distinguished as the great Hosanna (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. *שִׁשִּׁי*). It was not uncommon for the Jews in later times to employ the observances of this feast, which was pre-eminently a feast of gladness, to express their feelings on other occasions of rejoicing (1 Macc. xiii. 51; 2 Macc. x. 6, 7), and it is not, therefore, matter of surprise that they should have done so under the circumstances recorded in the Gospels. [W. A. W.]

**HOSEA** (הוֹשֵׁעַ, 'Hōshē, LXX.; 'Ωσηέ, N. T.; Osee, son of Beeri, and first of the Minor Prophets as they appear in the A. V. The name is precisely the same as HOSHEA, which is more nearly equivalent to the Hebrew.

**Time.**—This question must be settled, as far as it can be settled, partly by reference to the *title*, partly by an inquiry into the contents of the book. (a.) As regards the title, an attempt has been made to put it out of count by representing it as a later addition (Calmet, Rosenmüller, Jahn). But it can easily be shown that this is unnecessary; and Eichhorn, suspicious as he ordinarily is of titles, lets that of Hosea pass without question. It has been most unreasonably inferred from this title that it intends to describe the prophetic life of Hosea as extending over the entire reigns of the monarchs whom it mentions as his contemporaries. Starting with this hypothesis, it is easy to show that these reigns, including as they do upwards of a century, are an impossible period for the duration of a prophet's ministry. But the title does not necessarily

imply any such absurdity; and interpreted in the light of the prophecy itself it admits of an obvious and satisfactory limitation. For the *beginning* of Hosea's ministry the title gives us the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, but limits this vague definition by reference to Jeroboam II., king of Israel. The title therefore gives us Uzziah, and more definitely gives us Uzziah as contemporary with Jeroboam; it therefore yields a date not later than B.C. 783. The question then arises how much farther back it is possible to place the first public appearance of Hosea. To this question the title gives no answer; for it seems evident that the only reason for mentioning Jeroboam at all may have been to indicate a certain portion of the reign of Uzziah. (b.) Accordingly it is necessary to refer to the contents of the prophecy; and in doing this Eichhorn has clearly shown that we cannot allow Hosea much ground in the reign of Jeroboam (823-783). The book contains descriptions which are utterly inapplicable to the condition of the kingdom of Israel during this reign (2 K. xiv. 25 ff.). The pictures of social and political life which Hosea draws so forcibly are rather applicable to the interregnum which followed the death of Jeroboam (782-772), and to the reign of the succeeding kings. The calling in of Egypt and Assyria to the aid of rival factions (x. 3, xiii. 10) has nothing to do with the strong and able government of Jeroboam. Nor is it conceivable that a prophet who had lived long under Jeroboam should have omitted the mention of that monarch's conquests in his enumeration of Jehovah's kindnesses to Israel (ii. 8). It seems then almost certain that very few at least of his prophecies were written until after the death of Jeroboam (783).

So much for the beginning; as regards the end of his career the title leaves us in still greater doubt. It merely assures us that he did not prophesy beyond the reign of Hezekiah. But here again the contents of the book help us to reduce the vagueness of this indication. In the sixth year of Hezekiah the prophecy of Hosea was fulfilled, and it is very improbable that he should have permitted this triumphant proof of his Divine mission to pass unnoticed. He could not therefore have lived long into the reign of Hezekiah; and as it does not seem necessary to allow more than a year of each reign to justify his being represented as a contemporary on the one hand of Jeroboam, on the other of Hezekiah, we may suppose that the life, or rather the prophetic career of Hosea, extended from 784 to 725, a period of fifty-nine years.

The Hebrew reckoning of ninety years ('Oven, a Lap.) was probably limited by the fulfilment of the prophecy in the sixth of Hezekiah, and by the date of the accession of Uzziah, as apparently indicated by the title: 809-720, or 719 = 90 years.

**Place.**—There seems to be a general impression among commentators that the prophecies contained in this collection were delivered in the kingdom of Israel, for whose warning they were principally intended. Eichhorn does not attempt to decide this question (iv. 284). He thinks it possible that they may have been primarily communicated to Judah, as an indirect appeal to the conscience of that kingdom; but he evidently leans toward the opposite supposition that having been first published in Israel they were collected, and a copy sent into Judah. The title is at least an evidence that at a very early period these prophecies were supposed to concern both Israel and Judah, and, unless we allow

them to have been transmitted from the one to the other, it is difficult to account for their presence in our canon. As a proof of their northern origin Eichhorn professes to discover a Samaritanism in the use of **יָנִי** as masc. suff. of the second person.

*Tiibe and Parentage.*—Tiibe quite unknown. The Pseudo Epiphanius, it is uncertain upon what ground, assigns Hosea to the tiibe of Issachar. His father, Beeri, has by some writers been confounded with Beerah, of the tribe of Reuben (1 Chr. v. 8): this is an anachronism. The Jewish fancy that all prophets whose birth-place is not specified are to be referred to Jerusalem (lt. David, Vatab.) is probably nothing more than a fancy (Corn. à Lap.). Of his father Beeri we know absolutely nothing. Allegorical interpretations of the name, marvellous for their frivolous ingenuity, have been adduced to prove that he was a prophet (Jerome *ad Zeph.* init.; Basil *ad Is.* i.); but they are as little trustworthy as the Jewish dogma, which decides that, when the father of a prophet is mentioned by name, the individual so specified was himself a prophet.

*Order in the Prophetic series.*—Most ancient and mediæval interpreters make Hosea the first of the prophets; their great argument being an old rendering of i. 2, according to which "the beginning of the word by Hosea" implies that the streams of prophetic inspiration began with him, as distinct from the other prophets. Modern commentators have rejected this interpretation, and substituted the obvious meaning that the particular prophecy which follows was the first communicated by God to Hosea. The consensus for some time seems to have been for the third place. Wall (*Crit. Not. O. T.*) gives Jonah, Joel, Hosea; Horne's Table gives Jonah, Amos, Hosea; Gesenius writes Joel, Amos, Hosea. The order adopted in the Hebrew and the Versions is of little consequence.

In short there is great difficulty in arranging these prophets: as far as titles go, Amos is Hosea's only rival; but 2 K. xiv. 25 goes far to show that they must both yield to Jonah. It is perhaps more important to know that Hosea must have been more or less contemporary with Isaiah, Amos, Jonah, Joel, and Nahum.

*Division of the Book.*—It is easy to recognise two great divisions, which accordingly have been generally adopted: (1.) chap. i. to iii.; (2.) iv. to end.

The subdivision of these several parts is a work of greater difficulty: that of Eichhorn will be found to be based upon a highly subtle, though by no means precarious criticism.

(1.) According to him the first division should be subdivided into three separate poems, each originating in a distinct aim, and each after its own fashion attempting to express the idolatry of Israel by imagery borrowed from the matrimonial relation. The first, and therefore the least elaborate of these is contained in chap. iii., the second in i. 2-11, the third in i. 2-9, and ii. 1-23. These three are progressively elaborate developments of the same reiterated idea. Chap. i. 2-9 is common to the second and third poems, but not repeated with each severally (iv. 273 ff.). (2.) Attempts have been made by Wells, Eichhorn, &c., to subdivide the second part of the book. These divisions are made either according to reigns of contemporary kings, or according to the subject-matter of the poem. The former course has been adopted by Wells, who gets *five*, the latter by Eichhorn, who gets *sixteen* poems out of this part of the book.

These prophecies—so scattered, so unconnected that Bishop Lowth has compared them with the leaves of the Sibyl—were probably collected by Hosea himself towards the end of his career.

*Hosea's marriage with Gomer.*—This passage (i. 2 foll.) is the *verata questio* of the book. Of course it has its literal and its allegorical interpreters. For the literal view we have the majority of the fathers, and of the ancient and mediæval commentators. There is some little doubt about Jerome, who speaks of a *figurative and typical* interpretation; but he evidently means the word *typical* in its proper sense as applied to a factual reality figuratively representative of something else (Corn. à Lap.). At the period of the Reformation the allegorical interpreters could only boast the Chaldee Paraphrase, some few Rabbins, and the Hermeneutic school of Origen. Soon afterwards the theory obtained a vigorous supporter in Junius, and more recently has been adopted by the bulk of modern commentators. Both views are embarrassed by serious inconveniences, though it would seem that those which beset the literal theory are the more formidable. One question which sprang out of the literal view was whether the connexion between Hosea and Gomer was marriage, or fornication. Another question which followed immediately upon the preceding was "an Deus possit dispensare ut fornicatio sit licita." This latter question was much discussed by the schoolmen, and by the Thomists it was avowed in the affirmative. But notwithstanding the difficulties besetting the literal interpretation, Bps. Horsley and Lowth have declared in its favour. Eichhorn sees all the weight on the side of the literal interpretation, and shows that marrying a harlot is not necessarily implied by אִשָּׁתִּי זָנִיָּה, which may very well imply a wife who after marriage becomes an adulteress, though chaste before. In favour of the literal theory, he also observes the unfitness of a wife unchaste before marriage to be a type of Israel.

*References in N. T.*—Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7, Hos. vi. 6; Luke xxiii. 30, Rev. vi. 16, Hos. x. 8; Matt. ii. 15, Hos. xi. 1; Rom. ix. 25, 26, 1 Pet. ii. 10, Hos. i. 10, ii. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 4, Hos. vi. 2; Heb. xiii. 15, Hos. xiv. 2.

*Style.*—"Commutatus," *Japome*. "Osea quanto profundius loquitur, tanto operosius penetrat," *August*. Obscure brevity seems to be the characteristic quality of Hosea; and all commentators agree that "of all the prophets he is, in point of language, the most obscure and hard to be understood" (Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, p. 2). Eichhorn is of opinion that he has never been adequately translated, and in fact could not be translated into any European language. He compares him to a bee flying from flower to flower, to a painter revelling in strong and glaring colours, to a tree that wants pruning. Horsley detects another important speciality in pointing out the excessively *local* and *individual* tone of these prophecies, which above all others he declares to be intensely Jewish.

Hosea's obscurity has been variously accounted for. Lowth attributes it to the fact that the extant poems are but a sparse collection of compositions scattered over a great number of years (*Prael.* xxi.) Horsley (*Pref.*) makes this obscurity individual and peculiar; and certainly the heart of the prophet seems to have been so full and fiery that it might well burst through all restraints of diction (Eichhorn).

[T. E. B.]

HOSHAI'AH (חֹשַׁי'אֵה; *Oshai'a*). 1. ('*Oshai'a*).

A man who assisted in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem after it had been rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. vii. 32). He led the princes (שָׂרִים) of Judah in the procession, but whether himself one of them we are not told.

2. (*Maasalos*). The father of a certain Jezaniah, or Azariah, who was a man of note after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xlii. 1, xliii. 2).

HOSH'AMA (חֹשַׁי'אֵה; '*Oshamā*, Alex. '*Ἰωσαμᾶς*; *Sihua*), one of the sons of Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, the last king of Judah but one (1 Chr. iii. 18). It is worthy of notice that, in the narrative of the capture of Jeconiah by Nebuchadnezzar, though the mother and the wives of the king are mentioned, nothing is said about his sons (2 K. xxiv. 12, 15). In agreement with this is the denunciation of him as a childless man in Jer. xxii. 30. There is good reason for suspecting some confusion in the present state of the genealogy of the royal family in 1 Chr. iii.; and these facts would seem to confirm it.

HOSH'E'A (חֹשֶׁה'א; '*Oshé*; *Osee*), the nineteenth, last, and best king of Israel. He succeeded Pekah, whom he slew in a successful conspiracy, thereby fulfilling a prophecy of Isaiah (Is. vii. 16). Although Josephus calls Hoshea a friend of Pekah (φίλου τινός ἐπιβουλευσάντος αὐτόν, *Ant.* ix. 13, §1), we have no ground for calling this "a treacherous murder" (Prideaux, i. 16). It took place B.C. 737, "in the 20th year of Jotham" (2 K. xv. 30), i.e. "in the 20th year after Jotham became sole king," for he only reigned 16 years (2 K. xv. 33). But there must have been an interregnum of at least eight years before Hoshea came to the throne, which was not till B.C. 729, in the 12th year of Ahaz (2 K. xvii. 1: we cannot, with Clericus, read 4th for 12th in this verse, because of 2 K. xviii. 9). This is the simplest way of reconciling the apparent discrepancy between the passages, and has been adopted by Ussher, Des Vignoles, Tiele, &c. (Winer, s. v. *Hosheus*). The other methods suggested by Hitzig, Lightfoot, &c., are mostly untenable (Keil on 2 K. xv. 30).

It is expressly stated (2 K. xvii. 2) that Hoshea was not so sinful as his predecessors. According to the Rabbis this superiority consisted in his removing from the frontier-cities the guards placed there by his predecessors to prevent their subjects from worshipping at Jerusalem (*Seder Olam Rabbā*, cap. 22, quoted by Prideaux, i. 16), and in his not hindering the Israelites from accepting the invitation of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 10), nor checking their zeal against idolatry (id. xxxi. 1). This eunomian, however, is founded on the untenable supposition that Hezekiah's passover preceded the fall of Samaria [HEZEKIAH], and we must be content with the general fact that Hoshea showed a more theocratic spirit than the former kings of Israel. The compulsory cessation of the calf-worship may have removed his greatest temptation, for Tiglath-Pileser had carried off the golden calf from Dan some years before (*Sed. Ol. Rth.* 22), and that at Bethel was taken away by Shalmaneser in his first invasion (2 K. xvii. 3; Hos. x. 14; Prideaux, i. c.). But, whatever may have been his excellencies, he still "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and it was too late to avert retribution by any improvements.

In the third year of his reign (B.C. 726) Shal-

maneser, impelled probably by mere thirst of conquest, came against him, cruelly stormed the strong caves of Beth-arbel (Hos. x. 14), and made Israel tributary (2 K. xvii. 3) for three years. At the end of this period, encouraged perhaps by the revolt of Hezekiah, Hoshea entered into a secret alliance with So, king of Egypt (who was either the *Σεύχος* of Manetho, and son of *Σαβακῶς*, Herod. ii. 137; Keil, Vitringer, Gesenius, &c.; Jahn, *Hebr. Com.* §xl.; or else Sabaeco himself, Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 139; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 610), to throw off the Assyrian yoke. The alliance did him no good; it was revealed to the court of Nineveh by the Assyrian party in Ephraim, and Hoshea was immediately seized as a rebellious vassal, shut up in prison, and apparently treated with the utmost indignity (Mic. v. 1). If this happened before the siege (2 K. xvii. 4), we must account for it either by supposing that Hoshea, hoping to dissemble and gain time, had gone to Shalmaneser to account for his conduct, or that he had been defeated and taken prisoner in some unrecorded battle. That he disappeared very suddenly, like "foam upon the water," we may infer from Hos. xiii. 11, x. 7. The siege of Samaria lasted three years; for that "glorious and beautiful" city was strongly situated like "a crown of pride" among her hills (Is. xxviii. 1-5). During the course of the siege Shalmaneser must have died, for it is certain that Samaria was taken by his successor Sargon, who thus ironically describes the event in his annals:—"Samaria I looked at, I captured; 27,280 men (families?) who dwelt in it I carried away. I constructed fifty chariots in their country . . . I appointed a governor over them, and continued upon them the tribute of the former people" (Botta, 145, 11, quoted by Dr. Hincks, *J. of Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1858; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* i. 148). This was probably B.C. 721 or 720. For the future history of the unhappy Ephraimites, the places to which they were transplanted by the policy of their conqueror and his officer, "the great and noble Assnapper" (Ezr. iv. 10), and the nations by which they were superseded, see SAMARIA. Of the subsequent fortunes of Hoshea we know nothing. He came to the throne too late, and governed a kingdom torn to pieces by foreign invasion and intestine broils. Sovereign after sovereign had fallen by the dagger of the assassin; and we see from the dark and terrible delineations of the contemporary prophets [HOSHEA, MICAH, ISAIAH], that murder and idolatry, drunkenness and lust, had eaten like "an incurable wound" (Mic. i. 9) into the inmost heart of the national morality. Ephraim was doomed to its ruin by the apostate policy of the renegade who had asserted its independence (2 K. xvii.; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14; Prideaux, i. 15 sq.; Keil, *On Kings*, ii. 50 sq., Engl. ed.; Jahn, *Hebr. Com.* §xl.; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 607-613; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* chap. ix., Engl. transl.; Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 149.) [F. W. F.]

HOSH'E'A (חֹשֶׁה'א = help). The name is precisely the same as that of the prophet known to us as HOSEA. 1. The son of Nun, i. e. Joshua (Deut. xxxii. 44; and also in Num. xiii. 8, though there the A. V. has OSH'E'A). It was probably his original name, to which the Divine name of Jah was afterwards added—Jehoshua, Joshua—"Jehovah's help." The LXX. in this passage miss the distinction, and have 'Ἰησοῦς; Vulg. Josue.

2. ('*Oshé*; *Osee*). Son of Azaziah (1 Chr. xxvii.

20); like his great namesake, a man of Ephraim, ruler (*nagid*) of his tribe in the time of king David.

3. (*Ḥone*; *Osee*). One of the heads of the "people"—i. e. the laymen—who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 23).

**HOSPITALITY.** The rites of hospitality are to be distinguished from the customs prevailing in the entertainment of guests [FOOD; MEALS], and from the laws and practices relating to charity, almsgiving, &c.; and they are thus separately treated, as far as possible, in this article.

Hospitality was regarded by most nations of the ancient world as one of the chief virtues, and especially by peoples of the Semitic stock; but that it was not characteristic of the latter alone is amply shown by the usages of the Greeks and even the Romans. Race undoubtedly influences its exercise, and it must also be ascribed in no small degree to the social state of a nation. Thus the desert tribes have always placed the virtue higher in their esteem than the townsfolk of the same descent as themselves; and in our own day, though an Arab townsman is hospitable, he entertains different notions on the subject from the Arab of the desert (the Bedawee). The former has fewer opportunities of showing his hospitality; and when he does so, he does it not as much with the feeling of discharging an obligatory act as a social and civilised duty. With the advance of civilisation the calls of hospitality become less and less urgent. The dweller in the wilderness, however, finds the entertainment of wayfarers to be a part of his daily life, and that to refuse it is to deny a common humanity. Viewed in this light, the notions of the Greeks and the Romans must be appreciated as the recognition of the virtue where its necessity was not of the urgent character that it possesses in the more primitive hordes of the East. The ancient Egyptians resembled the Greeks; but, with a greater exclusiveness, they limited their entertainments to their own countrymen, being constrained by the national and priestly abhorrence and dread of foreigners. This exclusion throws some obscurity on their practices in the discharge of hospitality; but otherwise their customs in the entertainment of guests resembled those well known to classical scholars—customs probably derived in a great measure from Egypt.

While hospitality is acknowledged to have been a wide-spread virtue in ancient times, we must concede that it flourished chiefly among the race of Shem. The O. T. abounds with illustrations of the divine command to use hospitality, and of the strong national belief in its importance: so too in the writings of the N. T.; and though the Eastern Jews of modern times dare not entertain a stranger lest he be an eunuch, and the long oppression they have endured has begotten that greed of gain that has made their name a proverb, the ancient hospitality still lives in their hearts. The desert, however, is yet free; it is as of old a howling wilderness; and hospitality is as necessary and as freely given as in patriarchal times. Among the Arabs we find the best illustrations of the old Bible narratives, and among them we see traits that might besem their ancestor Abraham.

The laws respecting strangers (Lev. xix. 33, 34) and the poor (Lev. xiv. 14 seq.; Deut. xv. 7), and concerning redemption (Lev. xxv. 23 seq.), &c., are framed in accordance with the spirit of hospitality; and the strength of the national feeling regarding it is shown in the incidental mentions of its practice in the Law, compassion to strangers is constantly

enforced by the words, "for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (as Lev. xix. 34). And before the Law, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 1 seq.), and Lot's (xix. 1), are in exact agreement with its precepts and with modern usage. So Moses was received by Jethro, the priest of Midian, who reproached his daughters, though he believed him to be an Egyptian, saying, "And where is he? why is it [that] ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread" (Ex. ii. 20). The story of Joseph's hospitality to his brethren, although he knew them to be stich, appears to be narrated as an ordinary occurrence; and in like manner Pharaoh received Jacob with a liberality not merely dictated by his relationship to the saviour of Egypt. Like Abraham, "Moses said unto the angel of the Lord, I pray thee let us detain thee until we shall have made ready a kid for thee" (Judg. xiii. 15); and like Lot, the old man of Gibeah sheltered the Levite when he saw him, "a wayfaring man in the street of the city: and the old man said, Whither guest thou? and whence comest thou? . . . Peace be with thee; howsoever [let] all thy wants [lie] upon me; only lodge not in the street. So he brought him into his house, and gave provender unto the asses; and they washed their feet, and did eat and drink" (Judg. xix. 17, 20, 21).

In the N. T. hospitality is yet more markedly enjoined; and in the more civilised state of society which then prevailed, its exercise became more a social virtue than a necessity of patriarchal life. The good Samaritan stands for all ages as an example of Christian hospitality, embodying the command to love one's neighbour as himself; and our Lord's charge to the disciples strengthened that command: "He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. . . . And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water [only], in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in nowise lose his reward" (Matt. x. 42). The neglect of Christ is symbolised by inhospitality to our neighbour, in the words, "I was a stranger and ye took me not in" (Matt. xxv. 43). The Apostles urged the church to "follow after hospitality," using the forcible words *τῇ φιλοφρονίᾳ διακονῆτε* (Rom. xii. 13; cf. 1 Tim. v. 10), to remember Abraham's example, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares" (Heb. xiii. 2); to "use hospitality one to another without grudging" (1 Pet. iv. 9); while a bishop must be a "lover of hospitality" (Tit. i. 8, cf. 1 Tim. iii. 2). The practice of the early Christians was in accord with these precepts. They had all things in common, and their hospitality was a characteristic of their belief.

If such has been the usage of Biblical times, it is in the next place important to remark how hospitality was shown. In the patriarchal ages we may take Abraham's example as the most fitting, as we have of it the fullest account; and by the light of Arab custom we may see, without obscurity, his hastening to the tent-door to meet his guests, with the words, "My lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant: let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree, and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts." And, continue the narrative in the vigorous language of the A. V., "Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make

ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead [it], and make cakes upon the hearth. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave [it] unto a young man, and he hastened to dress it. And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed; and set [it] before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat." A traveller in the Eastern desert may see, through the vista of ages, this far-off example in its living traces. Mr. Lane's remarks on this narrative and the general subject of this article are too apposite to be omitted: he says, "Hospitality is a virtue for which the natives of the East in general are highly and deservedly admired; and the people of Egypt are well entitled to commendation on this account. A word which signifies literally 'a person on a journey' (musafir) is the term most commonly employed in this country in the sense of a visitor or guest. There are very few persons here who would think of sitting down to a meal, if there was a stranger in the house, without inviting him to partake of it, unless the latter were a menial, in which case he would be invited to eat with the servants. It would be considered a shameful violation of good manners if a Muslim abstained from ordering the table to be prepared at the usual time because a visitor happened to be present. Persons of the middle classes in this country [Egypt], if living in a retired situation, sometimes take their supper before the door of their house, and invite every passenger of respectable appearance to eat with them." This is very commonly done among the lower orders. In cities and large towns claims on hospitality are unfrequent, as there are many *wekkilehs* or *khāns*, where strangers may obtain lodging; and food is very easily procured; but in the villages travellers are often lodged and entertained by the *Sheykh* or some other inhabitant; and if the guest be a person of the middle or higher classes, or even not very poor, he gives a present to the host's servants, or to the host himself. In the desert, however, a present is seldom received from a guest. By a *Sunnah* law a traveller may claim entertainment, of any person able to afford it to him, for three days. The account of Abraham's entertaining the three angels, related in the Bible, presents a perfect picture of the manner in which a modern *Bedawee sheykh* receives travellers arriving at his encampment. He immediately orders his wife or women to make bread, slaughters a sheep or some other animal, and dresses it in haste, and bringing milk and any other provisions that he may have ready at hand, with the bread and the meat which he has dressed, sets them before his guests. If these be persons of high rank, he stands by them while they eat, as Abraham did in the case above alluded to. Most *Bedawees* will suffer almost any injury to themselves or their families rather than allow their guests to be ill-treated while under their protection. There are Arabs who even regard the

chastity of their wives as not too precious to be sacrificed for the gratification of their guests (see Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, &c., 8vo. ed. i. 179, 180); and at an encampment of the *Bishāreen*, I ascertained that there are many persons in this great tribe (which inhabits a large portion of the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea) who offer their unmarried daughters (cf. Gen. xxi. 8; Judg. xix. 24) to their guests, merely from motives of hospitality, and not for hire" (*Mod. Eg.* ch. xiii.). Mr. Lane adds that there used to be a very numerous class of persons, called *Tufeylees*, who lived by sponging, presuming on the well-known hospitality of their countrymen, and going from house to house where entertainments were being given. The Arabs along the Syrian frontier usually pitch the *Sheykh's* tent towards the west, that is, towards the inhabited country, to invite passengers and lodge them on their way (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, &c., 8vo. ed. i. 33); it is held to be disgraceful to encamp in a place out of the way of travellers; and it is a custom of the *Bedawees* to light fires in their encampments to attract travellers, and to keep dogs who, besides watching against robbers, may in the night-time guide wayfarers to their tents. Hence a hospitable man is proverbially called "one whose dogs bark loudly." Approaching an encampment, the traveller often sees several horsemen coming towards him, and striving who shall be first to claim him as a guest. The favourite national game of the Arabs before *El-Islām* illustrates their hospitality. It was called "*Meysir*," and was played with arrows, some notched and others without marks. A young camel was bought and killed, and divided into 24 portions; those who drew marked arrows had shares in proportion to the number of notches; those who drew blanks paid the cost of the camel among them. Neither party, however, ate of the flesh of the camel, which was always given to the poor, and "this they did out of pride and ostentation," says Sale, "it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion." Sale, however, is hardly philosophical in this remark, which concerns only the abuse of a practice originally arising from a national virtue: but Mohammed forbade the game, with all other games of chance, on the plea that it gave rise to quarrels, &c. (Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 96, ed. 1836, and *Kur-ān*, ch. ii. and v.).

The Oriental respect for the covenant of bread and salt, or salt alone, certainly sprang from the high regard in which hospitality was held. Even accidentally to taste another's salt imposes this obligation; and to so great an extent is the feeling carried that a thief has been known to give up his booty in obedience to it. Thus *El-Leys Es-Sallār*, when a robber, left his booty in the passage of the royal treasury of *Sijistān*; accidentally he stumbled over, and, in the dark, tasted a lump of rock-salt: his respect for his covenant gained him pardon, and he became the founder of a royal dynasty (Lane's

\* "It is said to have been a custom of some of the *Barmakees* (the family so renowned for their generosity) to keep open house during the hours of meals, and to allow no one who applied at such times for admission to be repulsed."—LANE'S *Thousand and One Nights*, ch. v. note 97.

The time of entertainment, according to the precept of Mohammed, is three days, and he permitted a guest to take this right by force; although one day and one night is the period of the host's being "kind"

to him (*Mishkāt al-Musūbeeh*, ii. 329, cited in Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, Intr. note 13). Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouins*, &c., i. 178, 179, cited in the same note) says that a stranger without friends in a camp alights at the first tent, where the women, in the absence of the owner, provide for his refreshment. After the lapse of three days and four hours, he must, if he would avoid censure, either assist in household duties, or claim hospitality at another tent.

*Thousand and One Nights*, xv. note 21). The Arab peculiarity was carried into Spain by the so-called Moors.

For the customs of the Greeks and Romans in the entertainment of guests, and the exercise of hospitality generally, the reader is referred to the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, at. *Hospitalium*. They are incidentally illustrated by passages in the N. T., but it is difficult to distinguish between those so derived, and the native Oriental customs which, as we have said, are very similar. To one of the customs of classical antiquity a reference is supposed to exist in Rev. ii. 17: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth [it]." [E. S. P.]

**HOTHAM** (חֹתָם; *Xothām*, Alex. *Xothām*; *Hotham*), a man of Asher; son of Heber, of the family of Beriah (1 Chr. vii. 32).

**HOTHAN** (חֹתָן, *i. e.* *Hotham*; *Xothām*, Alex. *Xothām*; *Hotham*), a man of Aroer, father of Shamm and Jothiel, two of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 44). The substitution of Hothan for Hotham is an error which has been retained from the edition of 1611 till now. (Comp. the rendering of the LXX. both of this and the preceding name.)

**HOTHIR** (חֹתִיר; Ὀθιρ, Alex. Ὡθεσιρ; *Othir*), the 13th son of HEMAN "the king's seer" (1 Chr. xxv. 4), and therefore a Kohathite Levite. He had the charge of the twenty-first course of the musicians in the service of the tabernacle (xxv. 28).

**HOURL** (שָׁעָה, שְׁעָה, Chald.). This word is first found in Dan. iii. 6, iv. 19, 33, v. 5; and it occurs several times in the Apocrypha (Jud. xiv. 8, 2 Esd. ix. 44). It seems to be a vague expression for a short period, and the frequent phrase "in the same hour" means "immediately": hence we find שָׁעָה, substituted in the Targum for פְּרָנֶה, "in a moment" (Num. xvi. 21, &c.). "ὥρα" is frequently used in the same way by the N. T. writers (Matt. viii. 13; Luke xii. 39, &c.). It occurs in the LXX. as a rendering for various words meaning time, just as it does in Greek writers long before it acquired the specific meaning of our word "hour." *Sa'ah* is still used in Arabic both for an hour and a moment.

The ancient Hebrews were probably unacquainted with the division of the natural day into 24 parts. The general distinctions of "morning, evening, and noonday" (Ps. lv. 17) were sufficient for them at first, as they were for the early Greeks (Hom. *Il.* xxi. 111); afterwards the Greeks adopted five marked periods of the day (Jul. Pollux, *Onom.* i. 68; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* ii. *de Glor.*), and the Hebrews parcelled out the period between sunrise and sunset into a series of minute divisions distinguished by the sun's course [DAY], as is still done by the Arabs, who have stated forms of prayers for each period (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. 3).

The early Jews appear to have divided the day into four parts (Neh. ix. 3), and the night into three watches (Judg. vii. 19) [DAY; WATCHES], and even in the N. T. we find a trace of this division in Matt. xx. 1-5. There is however no proof of the assertion sometimes made, that *ἡσπ* in the Gospels may occasionally mean a space of three hours.

The Greeks adopted the division of the day into

12 hours from the Babylonians (Herod. ii. 109; comp. Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. p. 334). At what period the Jews became first acquainted with this way of reckoning time is unknown, but it is generally supposed that they too learnt it from the Babylonians during the Captivity (Wachner, *Ant. Hebr.* §v. i. 8, 9.). They may have had some such division at a much earlier period, as has been inferred from the fact that Abaz erected a sun-dial in Jerusalem, the use of which had probably been learnt from Babylon. There is however the greatest uncertainty as to the meaning of the word מְעֻלֹת (A. V. "degrees," Is. xxxviii. 8). [DIAL.] It is strange that the Jews were not acquainted with this method of reckoning even earlier, for, although a purely conventional one, it is naturally suggested by the months in a year. Sir G. Wilkinson thinks that it arose from a less obvious cause (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 334). In whatever way originated, it was known to the Egyptians at a very early period. They had 12 hours of the day and of the night (called *Nau*=hour), each of which had its own genius, drawn with a star on its head. The word is said by Lepsius to be found as far back as the 5th dynasty (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 135).

There are two kinds of hours, viz. (1.) the astronomical or equinoctial hour, *i. e.* the 24th part of a civil day, which although "known to astronomers, was not used in the affairs of common life till towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era" (*Dict. of Ant. s. v. Hora*): and (2.) the natural hour (which the Rabbis called מְנִיָּוֶה, *kaupical* or temporales), *i. e.* the 12th part of the natural day, or of the time between sunrise and sunset. These are the hours meant in the N. T., Josephus, and the Rabbis (John xi. 9, &c.; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, §3), and it must be remembered that they perpetually vary in length, so as to be very different at different times of the year. Besides this an hour of the day would always mean a different length of time from an hour of the night except at the equinox. From the consequent uncertainty of the term there arose the proverbial expression "not all hours are equal" (R. Joshua ap. Carpzov, *App. Crit.* 345). At the equinoxes the third hour would correspond to 9 o'clock; the sixth would always be at noon. To find the exact time meant at other seasons of the year we must know when the sun rises in Palestine, and reduce the hours to our reckoning accordingly. [DAY.] (Wiener, *s. v. Tag, Uhren*; Jahn *Arch. Bibl.* §101.) What horologic contrivances the Jews possessed in the time of our Lord is uncertain; but we may safely suppose that they had gnomons, dials, and clepsydræ, all of which had long been known to the Persians and other nations with whom they had come in contact. Of course the two first were inaccurate and uncertain indications, but the water-clock by ingenious modifications, according to the season of the year, became a very tolerable assistance in marking time. Mention is also made of a curious invention called שְׁעָרֵי הַשָּׁעָה, by which a figure was constructed so as to drop a stone into a brazen basin every hour, the sound of which was heard for a great distance and announced the time (Otho, *l. c.* Rab. s. v. *Horæ*).

For the purposes of prayer the old division of the day into 4 portions was continued in the Temple service, as we see from Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, x. 9. The Jews supposed that the 3rd hour had been consecrated by Abraham, the 6th by Isaac, and the

the 9th by Jacob (Kinchi; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr. ad Acts* iii. 1). It is probable that the canonical hours observed by the Romanists (of which there are 8 in the 24) are derived from these Temple hours (*Moses and Aar.* iii. 9).

The Rabbis pretend that the hours were divided into 1080 חלקים (minutes), and 56,848 רגעים (seconds), which numbers were chosen because they are so easily divisible (*Gen. Hier. Berachoth*, 2, 4; in *Behaui Ant. Hebr.* iv. 1, §19). [F. W. F.]

**HOUSE** (בַּיִת; *oikos*; *domus*; Chald. בֵּית, *to pass the night*, Gesen. *Thes.* 191 b.), a dwelling in general, whether literally, as house, tent, palace, citadel, tomb, derivatively as tabernacle, temple, heaven, or metaphorically as family. Although in Oriental language, every tent (see Gesen. p. 32) may be regarded as a house (Harmer, *Obs.* i. 194), yet the distinction between the permanent dwelling-house and the tent must have taken rise from the moment of the division of mankind into dwellers in tents and builders of cities, i. e. of permanent habitations (*Gen.* iv. 17, 20; *Is.* xxxviii. 12). The Hebrews did not become dwellers in cities till the sojourn in Egypt and after the conquest of Canaan (*Gen.* xlvii. 3; *Ex.* xii. 7; *Heb.* xi. 9), while the Canaanites as well as the Assyrians were from an earlier period builders and inhabitants of cities, and it was into the houses and cities built by the former that the Hebrews entered to take possession after the conquest (*Gen.* x. 11, 19, xix. 1, xxiii. 10, xxxiv. 20; *Num.* xi. 27; *Deut.* vi. 10, 11). The private dwellings of the Assyrians and Babylonians have altogether perished, but the solid material of the houses of Syria, east of the Jordan, may perhaps have preserved entire specimens of the ancient dwellings, even of the original inhabitants of that region (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 195, 196; C. C. Graham in *Camb. Essays*, 1859, p. 160, &c.; comp. Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 171, 172).

In inferring the plan and arrangement of ancient Jewish or Oriental houses, as alluded to in Scripture, from existing dwellings in Syria, Egypt, and the East in general, allowance must be made for the difference in climate between Egypt, Persia, and Palestine, a cause from which would proceed differences in certain cases of material and construction, as well as of domestic arrangement.

1. The houses of the rural poor in Egypt, as well as in most parts of Syria, Arabia, and Persia, are for the most part mere huts of mud, or sun-burnt bricks. In some parts of Palestine and Arabia stone is used, and in certain districts caves in the rock are used as dwellings (*Amos*, v. 11; Bartlett, *Walks*, p. 117; *CAVES*). The houses are usually of one story only, viz. the ground floor, and sometimes contain only one apartment. Sometimes a small court for the cattle is attached; and in some cases the cattle are housed in the same building, or the people live on a raised platform, and the cattle round them on the ground (1 *Sam.* xxviii. 24; Irby and Mangles, p. 70; Jolliffe, *Letters*, i. 43; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 170; Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii. 119). In lower Egypt the oxen occupy the width of the chamber farthest from the entrance; it is built of brick or mud, about four feet high, and the top is often used as a sleeping place in winter. The windows are small apertures high up in the walls, sometimes grated with wood (Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 241, ii. 101, 119, 301, 329; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 44). The roofs are commonly but not always flat, and are usually

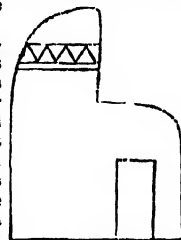
formed of a plaster of mud and straw laid upon boughs or rafters; and upon the flat roofs, tents or "booths" of boughs or rushes are often raised to be used as sleeping-places in summer (Irby and



A Netherian House, with stages upon the roof for sleeping. (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 177.)

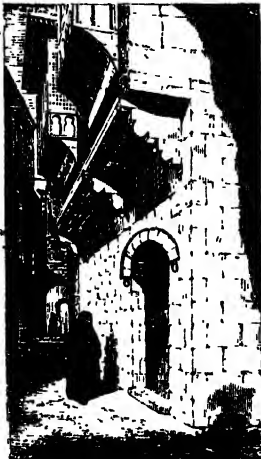
Mangles, 71; Niebuhr, *Descr.* 49, 53; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* 112; *Nineveh*, i. 176; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 280; *Travels*, i. 190; Van Egmont, ii. 32; Malan, *Magdala & Bethany*, 15). To this description the houses of ancient Egypt and also of Assyria, as represented in the monuments, in great measure correspond (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pt. ii. pl. 49, 50; bas-relief in Brit. Mus. Assyrian room, No. 49; first Egypt. room, case 17; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 13; Martineau, *East. Life*, i. 19, 97). In the towns the houses of the inferior kind do not differ much from the above description, but they are sometimes of more than one story, and the roof-terraces are more carefully constructed. In Palestine they are often of stone (Jolliffe, i. 20).

2. The difference between the poorest houses and those of the class next above them is greater than between these and the houses of the first rank. The prevailing plan of Eastern houses of this class presents, as was the case in ancient Egypt, a front of wall, whose blank and mean appearance is usually relieved only by the door and a few latticed and projecting windows (*Views in Syria*, ii. 25). Within this is a court or courts with apartments opening into them. Some of the finest houses in the East are to be found at Damascus, where in some of them are seven such courts. When there are only two, the innermost is the *harem*, in which the women and children live, and which is jealously secluded from the entrance of any man but the master of the house (Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 188; Van Egmont, ii. 246, 253; Shaw, p. 207; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 34, 37, 60; Chardin, *Voyages*, vi. 6; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 179, 207). Over the door is a projecting window with a lattice more or less elaborately wrought, which, except in times of



Assyrian house, Kuyunjik.

public celebrations, is usually closed (2 K. ix. 30; Shaw, *Travels*, 207; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 27). The doorway or door bears an inscription from the



Entrance to house in Cairo. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*.)

Kurūn, as the ancient Egyptian houses had inscriptions over their doors, and as the Israelites were directed to write sentences from the Law over their gates, [GATE.] The entrance is usually guarded within from sight by a wall or some arrangement of the passages. In the passage is a stone seat for the porter and other servants (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 32; Shaw, *Trav.* 207; Chardin, *Voy.* i. 111). Beyond this passage is an open court like the Roman impluvium, often paved with marble. Into this the principal apartments look, and are either open to it in front, or are entered from it by doors. An awning is sometimes drawn over the court,



Inner court of house in Cairo, with Mak'ad. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*.)

and the floor strewn with carpets on festive occasions (Shaw, 208). On the ground-floor there is generally an apartment for male visitors, called

*mamdarah*, having a portion of the floor sunk below the rest called *durk'ah*. This is often paved with marble or coloured tiles, and has in the centre a fountain. The rest of the floor is a raised platform called *leevān*, with a mattress and cushions at the back on each of the three sides. This seat or sofa is called *deavān*. Every person on entrance takes off his shoes on the *durk'ah* before stepping on the *leevān* (Ex. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15; Luke vii. 38). The ceilings over the *leevān* and *durk'ah* are often richly panelled and ornamented (Jer. xxii. 14). [CEILING.] The stairs to the upper apartments are in Syria usually in a corner of the court (Robinson, iii. 302). When there is no upper story the lower rooms are usually loftier. In Persia they are open from top to bottom, and only divided from the court by a low partition (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 10; Chardin, iv. 119; Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 18, 19; *Vieus in Syria*, i. 56). Around part, if not the whole, of the court is a verandah, often nine or ten feet deep, over which, when there is more than one floor, runs a second gallery of like depth with a balustrade (Shaw, p. 208). Bearing in mind that the reception room is raised above the level of the court (Chardin, iv. 118; *Vieus in Syria*, i. 56), we may, in explaining the circumstances of the miracle

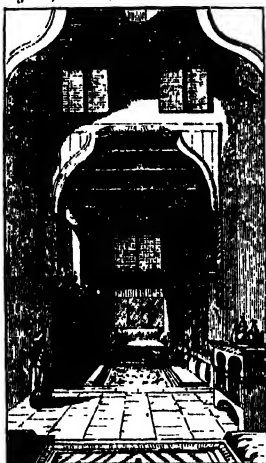


Court of house at Antioch.

of the paralytic (Mark ii. 3; Luke v. 18), suppose, 1. either that our Lord was standing under the verandah, and the people in front in the court. The bearers of the sick man ascended the stairs to the roof of the house, and taking off a portion of the boarded covering of the verandah, or removing the awning over the impluvium, *τὸ μέσον*, in the former case let down the bed through the verandah roof, or in the latter, down by way of the roof, *διὰ τῶν κεραυῶν*, and deposited it before the Saviour (Shaw, 212). 2. Another explanation presents itself in considering the room where the company were assembled as the *δρεφῶν*, and the roof opened for the bed to be the true roof of the house (Trench, *Miracles*, 199; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 39). 3. And one still more simple is found in regarding the house as one of the rude dwellings now to be seen near the Sea of Galilee, a mere room "10 or 12 feet high and as many or more square," with no opening except the door. The roof, used as a sleeping-place, is reached by a ladder from the outside, and the bearers of the paralytic, unable to approach the door, would thus have ascended the roof, and having uncovered it (*ἐξοβήσαντες*), let him down into the room where our Lord was (Malan, l. c.).

The stairs to the upper apartments or to the roof are often shaded by vines or creeping plants,

and the courts, especially the inner ones, planted with trees. The court has often a well or tank in it (Ps. cxxviii. 3; 2 Sam. xvii. 18; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 24, 32; Wilkinson, i. 6, 8; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 32; *Views in Syria*, i. 56).



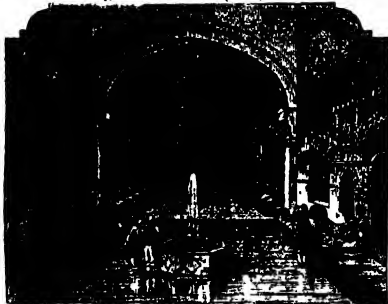
Ka'ah of house in Cairo. (Lane.)

Besides the *mandarah*, there is sometimes a second room, either on the ground or the upper floor, called *Ka'ah*, fitted with *deccans*, and at the corners of these rooms portions taken off and enclosed form retiring rooms (Lane, i. 39; Russell, i. 31, 33).

When there is no second floor, but more than one court, the women's apartments, *hareem*, *harem* or

*haram* (حريم and حرم, secluded, or prohibited,

with which may be compared the Hebrew *Armon* ארמון, Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §82), are usually in the second court; otherwise they form a separate building within the general enclosure, or are above on the first floor (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 179, 207; *Views in Syria*, i. 56). The entrance to the harem is crossed by no one but the master of the house and the domestics belonging to the female establishment. Though this remark would not apply in the same degree to Jewish habits, the privacy of the women's apartments may possibly be indicated by the "inner chamber" (חדר, *chamar*; *cubiculum*) resorted to as a hiding-place (1 K. xx. 30, xxii. 25; see Judg. xv. 1). Solomon, in his marriage with a foreigner, introduced also



Interior of house (harem) in Damascus.

foreign usage in this respect, which was carried farther in subsequent times (1 K. vii. 8; 2 K. xxiv. 15. [WOMEN.] The harem of the Persian monarch (שֵׁן בֵּית; δ γυναικῶν; *donus fœminarum*) is noticed in the book of Esther (iii. 3).

When there is an upper story, the Ka'ah forms the most important apartment, and thus probably answers to the *δρεφῶν*, which was often the "guest-chamber" (Luke xxii. 12; Acts i. 13, ix. 37, xx. 8; Burchardt, *Trav.* i. 154). The windows of the upper rooms often project one or two feet, and form a kiosk or latticed chamber, the ceilings of which are elaborately ornamented (Lane, i. 27; Russell, i. 102; Burchardt, *Trav.* i. 190). Such may have been the "chamber in the wall"

(חֵבֶל; *δρεφῶν*; *cornaculum*; Gesen. p. 1030) made, or rather set apart for Elisha, by the Shunemite woman (2 K. iv. 10, 11). So also the "summer parlour" of Eglon (Judg. iii. 20, 23, but see Wilkinson, i. 11), the "loft" of the widow of Zarephath (1 K. xvii. 19). The "lattice" (חַלְזָה; *δικτυωτόν*; *cancelli*) through which Ahaziah fell, perhaps belonged to an upper chamber of this kind (2 K. i. 2), as also the "third loft" (*τρίστεινον*) from which Eutyclus fell (Acts xx. 9; comp. Jer. xxii. 13). There are usually no special bed-rooms in Eastern houses, and thus the room in which Ishbosheth was murdered was probably an ordinary room with a *deccan*, on which he was sleeping during the heat of the day (2 Sam. ii. 5, 6; Lane, i. 41).

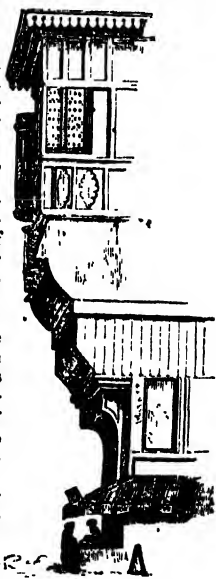
Sometimes the *deccan* is raised sufficiently to allow of cellars underneath for stores of all kinds (*ταμεία*, Matt. xxiv. 26; Russell, i. 32).

The outer doors are closed with a wooden lock, but in some cases the apartments are divided from each other by curtains only (Lane, i. 42; Chardin, iv. 123; Russell, i. 21).

There are no chimneys, but fire is made when required with charcoal in a shading-dish; or a fire of wood might be kindled in the open court of the house (Luke xxii.

55; Russell, i. 21; Lane, i. 41; Chardin, iv. 120).

Besides the *mandarah* some houses in Cairo have an apartment called *muk'ad*, open in front to the court, with two or more arches, and a railing; and a pillar to support the wall above (Lane, i. 38). It was in a chamber of this kind, probably one of the largest size to be found in a palace, that our Lord was being arraigned before the High-priest, at the time when the denial of Him by St. Peter took place. He "turned and looked" on Peter as he stood by the fire in the court (Luke xxii. 56, 61;



House in a street at Cairo. (From Roberts.)

John xviii.<sup>24</sup>), whilst He himself was in the "hall of Judgment," the *mak'ad*. Such was the "porch of judgment" built by Solomon (1 K. vii. 7) which finds a parallel in the golden alcove of Mohammed (Uzbek [Ibn Battuta, *Trav.* 76, ed. Lee).

Before quitting the interior of the house we may observe, that on the *decadan*, the corner is the place of honour, which is never quitted by the master of the house in receiving strangers (Russell, i. 27; Malan, *Tyre and Sidon*, 38). The roofs of Eastern houses are, as has been said, mostly flat, though there are sometimes domes over some of the rooms. The flat portions are plastered with a composition of mortar, tar, ashes, and sand, which in time becomes very hard, but when not laid on at the proper season is apt to crack in winter, and the rain is thus admitted. In order to prevent this, every roof is provided with a roller, which is set at work after rain. In many cases the terrace roof is little better than earth rolled hard. On ill-compacted roofs grass is often found springing into a short-lived existence (Prov. xix. 13, xxvii. 15; Ps. cxix. 6, 7; Is. xxxvii. 27; Shaw, 210; Lane, i. 27; Robinson, iii. 39, 44, 60).

In no point do Oriental domestic habits differ more from European than in the use of the roof. Its flat surface is made useful for various household purposes, as drying corn, hanging up linen, and preparing figs and raisins (Shaw, 211; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 191). The roofs are used as places of recreation in the evening, and often as sleeping-places at night (2 Sam. xi. 2, xvi. 22; Dan. iv. 29; 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26; Job xxvii. 18; Prov. xxi. 9; Shaw, 211; Russell, i. 35; Chardin, iv. 116; Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 177). They were also used as places for devotion, and even idolatrous worship (Jer. xxiii. 29, xix. 13; 2 K. xiii. 12; Zeph. i. 5; Acts x. 9). At the time of the Feast of Tabernacles booths were erected by the Jews on the tops of their houses, as in the present day huts of boughs are sometimes erected on the housetops as sleeping-places, or places of retirement from the heat in summer time (Neh. vii. 16; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 280). As among the Jews the seclusion of women was not carried to the extent of Mohammedan usage, it is probable that the house-top was made, as it is among Christian inhabitants, more a place of public meeting both for men and women, than is the case among Mohammedans, who carefully seclude their roofs from inspection by partitions (Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 191; comp. Wilkinson, i. 23). The Christians at Aleppo, in Russell's time, lived contiguous, and made their housetops a means of mutual communication to avoid passing through the streets in time of plague (Russell, i. 35). In the same manner the house-top might be made a means of escape by the stairs by which it was reached without entering any of the apartments of the house (Matt. xxiv. 17, x. 27; Luke xii. 3).

Both Jews and heathens were in the habit of wailing publicly on the house-tops (Is. xv. 3, xlii. 1; Jer. xlviii. 38). Protection of the roof by parapets was enjoined by the law (Deut. xxii. 8). The parapets thus constructed, of which the types may be seen in ancient Egyptian houses, were sometimes of open work, and it is to a fall through, or over one of those that the injury by which Alhaziah suffered is sometimes ascribed (Shaw, 211). To pass over roofs for plundering purposes, as well as for safety, would be no difficult matter (Joel ii. 9). In ancient Egyptian and also in Assyrian houses a sort of raised story was sometimes built above the

roof, and in the former an open chamber, roofed or covered with awning, was sometimes erected on the house-top (Wilkinson, i. 9; Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* ii. pl. 49, 50).

There are usually no fire-places, except in the kitchen, the furniture of which consists of a sort of raised platform of brick with receptacles in it for fire, answering to the "boiling places" (מִבְשָׁלוֹת; μαγειρεία; *culinae*) of Ezekiel (xlii. 23; Lane, i. 41; Gesen. p. 249).

Special apartments were devoted in larger houses to winter and summer uses (Jer. xxxvi. 22; Am. iii. 15; Chardin, iv. 119).

The ivory house of Ahab was probably a palace largely ornamented with inlaid ivory. [PALACE.]

The circumstance of Samson's pulling down the house by means of the pillars, may be explained by the fact of the company being assembled on tiers of balconies above each other, supported by central pillars on the basement; when these were pulled down the whole of the upper floors would fall also (Judg. xvi. 26; Shaw, 211).

Houses for jewels and armour were built and furnished under the kings (2 K. xx. 13). The draught house (מִחְרָאוֹת; κοπρών; *latrines*) was doubtless a public latrine, such as exists in modern Eastern cities (2 K. x. 27; Russell, i. 34).

Leprosy in the house was probably a nitrous effluence on the walls, which was injurious to the salubrity of the house, and whose removal was therefore strictly enjoined by the law (Lev. xiv. 34, 55; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* p. 112; Winer, s. v. *Häuser*).

The word מֵיָ is prefixed to words constituting a local name, as Bethany, Bethoron, &c. In modern names it is represented by *Beit*, as *Beitlahm*.

[H. W. P.]

**HUK'KOK** (חֻקֹּק; Ἰακκὸ, Alex. Ἰακκ; *Hucca*), a place on the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34) named next to Asnoth-Tabor. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Icoo"), but in such a manner as to show that they knew nothing of it but from the Text. By Hap-Parchi in 1320, and in our own times by Wolcott and by Robinson, Hukkuk has been recovered in *Yakuk*, a village in the mountains of Naphtali, west of the upper end of the Sea of Galilee, about 7 miles S.S.W. of Safed, and at the head of *Wady-el-Amud*. An ancient Jewish tradition locates here the tomb of Halaikkuk (Zunz, in B. Tulela, ii. 421; Schwarz, 182; Robinson, iii. 81, 82.

[G.]

**HUK'KOK** (חֻקֹּק; ἡ Ἀρκκ, Alex. Ἰαρκκ; *Hucca*), a name which in 1 Chr. vi. 75 is substituted for Helkath in the parallel list of the Gershonite cities in Asher, in Josh. xxi.

**HUL** (חֻל; Ὀυλ), the second son of Aram, and grandson of Shem (Gen. x. 23). The geographical position of the people whom he represents, is not well decided. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §4) and Jerome fix it in Armenia; Schultess (*Parad.* p. 262) on etymological grounds (as though the name = חֻל, *sand*) proposes the southern part of Mesopotamia; von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 249) places it in the neighbourhood of Chaldaea. The strongest evidence is in favour of the district about the roots of Lebanon, where the names *Arad-el-Huleh*, a district to the north of Lake Meiron; *Obladaba*, a town noticed by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, §3), between

Galilee and Trachonitis; Golan, and its modern form *Djaulan*, bear some affinity to the original name of *Hul*, or, as it should rather be written, *Chul*. [W. L. B.]

**HUL'DAH** (הִלְדָּה; Ὀλδα; *Olda*), a prophetess, whose husband Shallum was keeper of the wardrobe in the time of king Josiah, and who dwelt in the suburb (Rosenmüller *ad Zeph.* i. 10) of Jerusalem. While Jeremiah was still at Anathoth, a young man unknown to fame, Huldah was the most distinguished person for prophetic gifts in Jerusalem; and it was to her that Josiah had recourse when Hilkiah found a book of the law, to procure an authoritative opinion on it (2 K. xxii. 14; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22). [W. T. B.]

**HUM'TAH** (חֻמָּתַי; Ἐμὲ, Alex. *Χαμματᾶ*; *Athmatha*), a city of Judah, one of those in the mountain-district, the next to Hebron (Josh. xv. 54). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (see *Onomasticon*, "Ammatha"), nor has it since been identified. There is some resemblance between the name and that of Kimath (Κιμάθ), one of the places added in the Vat. LXX. to the list in the Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xxx. 27-31. [G.]

**HUNTING.** The objects for which hunting is practised, indicate the various conditions of society and the progress of civilization. Hunting, as a matter of necessity, whether for the extermination of dangerous beasts, or for procuring sustenance, betokens a rude and semi-civilized state; as an amusement, it betokens an advanced state. In the former, personal prowess and physical strength are the qualities which elevate a man above his fellows and fit him for dominion, and hence one of the greatest heroes of antiquity is described as a "mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. x. 9), while Ishmael, the progenitor of a wild race, was famed as an archer (Gen. xli. 20), and Esau, holding a similar position, was "a cunning hunter, a man of the field" (Gen. xxv. 27). The latter state may be exemplified, not indeed from Scripture itself, but from contemporary records. Among the accomplishments of Herod, his skill in the chase is particularly noticed; he kept a regular stud and a huntman (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 10, §3), followed up the sport in a wild country (*Ant.* xv. 7, §7) which abounded with stags, wild asses, and bears, and is said to have killed as many as forty head in a day (*B. J.* i. 21, §13). The wealthy in Egypt and Assyria followed the sports of the field with great zest; they had their preserves for the express purpose of preserving and hunting game (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 215; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4, §5, 14), and drew from hunting scenes subjects for decorating the walls of their buildings, and even the robes they wore on state occasions.

The Hebrews, as a pastoral and agricultural people, were not given to the sports of the field; the density of the population, the earnestness of their character, and the tendency of their ritual regulations, particularly those affecting food, all combined to discourage the practice of hunting; and perhaps the examples of Ishmael and Esau were recorded with the same object. There was no lack of game in Palestine: on their entrance into the land, the wild beasts were so numerous as to be dangerous (Ex. xxiii. 29); the utter destruction of them was guarded against by the provisions of the Mosaic law (Ex. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 7). Some of the fiercer animals survived to a late period, as lions

(Judg. xiv. 5; 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 K. xiii. 24, xx. 36), and bears (1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 K. ii. 24); jackals (Judg. xv. 4) and foxes (Cant. ii. 15) were also numerous; hart, roebuck, and fallow deer (Deut. xii. 15; 1 K. iv. 23) formed a regular source of sustenance, and were possibly preserved in enclosures. The manner of catching these animals was either by digging a pitfall (תְּבוּשָׁה), which was the usual manner with the larger animals, as the lion (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; Ez. xix. 4, 8); or secondly by a trap (מִכְשָׁל), which was set under ground (Job xviii. 10), in the run of the animal (Prov. xxii. 5), and caught it by the leg (Job xviii. 9); or lastly by the use of the net, of which there were various kinds, as for the gazelle (?) (Is. li. 20, A. V. "wild bull,") and other animals of that class. [NET.] The method in which the net was applied is familiar to us from the descriptions in Virgil (*Aen.* iv. 121, 151 ff., x. 707 ff.); it was placed across a ravine or narrow valley, frequented by the animals for the sake of water, and the game was driven in by the hunters and then despatched either with bow and arrow, or spears (comp. Wilkinson, i. 214). The game selected was generally such as was adapted for food (Prov. xii. 27), and care was taken to pour out the blood of these as well as of tame animals (Lev. xvii. 13).

Birds formed an article of food among the Hebrews (Lev. xvii. 18), and much skill was exercised in catching them. The following were the most approved methods. (1.) The trap (מִכְשָׁל), which consisted of two parts, a net, strained over a frame, and a stick to support it, but so placed that it should give way at the slightest touch; the stick or spring was termed מִכְשָׁל (Am. iii. 5, "gin"; Ps. lxi. 22, "trap"); this was the most usual method (Job xviii. 9; Eccl. ix. 12; Prov. vii. 23). (2.) The snare (מִכְשָׁל, from מִכָּץ, to braid; Job xviii. 9, A. V. "robber"), consisting of a cord (חֶבֶל, Job xviii. 10; comp. Ps. xviii. 5, cxvi. 3, cxi. 5), so set as to catch the bird by the leg. (3.) The net, which probably resembled those used in Egypt, consisting of two sides or frames, over which network was strained, and so arranged that they could be closed by means of a cord: the Hebrew names are various. [NET.] (4.) The decoy, to which reference is made in Jer. v. 26, 27—a cage of a peculiar construction (מִכְשָׁל)—was filled with birds, which acted as decoys; the door of the cage was kept open by a piece of stick acting as a spring (מִכְשָׁל), and closed suddenly with a clap (whence perhaps the term *c'lad*) on the entrance of a bird. The partridge appears to have been used as a decoy (Ecclus. xi. 30). [W. L. B.]

**HUPHAM** (חֻפָּה; LXX. omits in both MSS.; *Hupham*), a son of Benjamin, founder of the family (*Mishpachah*) of the HUPHAMITES (Num. xxvi. 39). In the lists of Gen. xli. and 1 Chr. vii. the name is given as HUPPIM, which see.

**HUPPAH** (חֻפָּה; ὁ Ὀφφά, Alex. Ὀφφά; *Hoppah*), a priest in the time of David, to whom was committed the charge of the 13th of the 24 courses in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xxiv. 13).

**HUP'PIM** (חֻפִּים; Gen. xli. 21; 1 Chr. vii. 12; omitted in LXX., but Cod. Alex. has Ὀφί

*hur* in Gen.; *Ἀφύρ*, and in Cod. Alex. *Ἀφείμ*, 1 Chr. vii. 12—the former is the correct form, if, as we read in Num. xxvi. 39, the name was Hupham; *Hupham* and *Ophim*, head of a Benjamite family. According to the text of the LXX. in Gen., a son of Bela [BELA; BECHER]; but 1 Chr. vii. 12 tells us that he was son of Ir, or Iri (ver. 7), who was one of the five sons of Bela. According to Num. xxvi. the Huphamites were one of the original families of the tribe of Benjamin. The sister of Huphim married into the tribe of Manasseh, 1 Chr. vii. 15. [A. C. H.]

**HUR** (חור; *Hur*). 1. (Ῥορ; Joseph. Ῥορος). A man who is mentioned with Moses and Aaron on the occasion of the battle with Amalek at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 10), when with Aaron he stayed by the hands of Moses (12). He is mentioned again in xxiv. 14, as being, with Aaron, left in charge of the people by Moses during his ascent of Sinai. It would appear from this that he must have been a person connected with the family of Moses and of some weight in the camp. The latter would follow from the former. The Jewish tradition, as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 2, §4), is that he was the husband of Miriam, and (iii. 6, §1) that he was identical with

2. (Ῥορ). The grandfather of Bezalel, the chief artificer of the tabernacle—"son of Uri, son of Hur,—of the tribe of Judah" (Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxviii. 22), the full genealogy being given on each occasion (see also 2 Chr. i. 5). In the lists of the descendants of Judah in 1 Chr. the pedigree is more fully preserved. Hur there appears as one of the great family of Pharez. He was the son of 'aleb ben-Hezron, by a second wife, Ephrath (ii. 19, 20; comp. 5, also iv. 1), the first fruit of the marriage (ii. 50, iv. 4), and the father, besides Uri (ver. 20), of three sons, who founded the towns of Kirjath-jearim, Beth-lehem, and Beth-gader (51). Hur's connexion with Beth-lehem would seem to have been of a closer nature than with the others of these places, for he himself is emphatically called "Abi-Bethlehem"—the "father of Bethlehem" (iv. 4). Certainly Beth-lehem enjoyed, down to a very late period, a traditional reputation for the arts which distinguished his illustrious grandson. Jesse, the father of David, is said to have been a weaver of the vails of the sanctuary (Targ. Jonathan, 2 Sam. xxi. 19), and the dyers were still lingering there when Benjamin of Tudela visited Bethlehem in the 13th century.

In the Targum on 1 Chr. ii. 19 and iv. 4, Ephrath is taken as identical with Miriam: but this would be to contradict the more trustworthy tradition given above from Josephus.

In his comments on 1 Chr. iv. 1 (*Quæst. Hebr. in Paralip.*), Jerome overlooks the fact that the five persons there named as "sons" of Judah are really members of successive generations; and he attempts, as his manner is, to show that each of them is identical with one of the immediate sons of the patriarch. Hur he makes to be another name for Onan.

3. (Οὐρ; Joseph. Οὐρῆς). The fourth of the five

"kings" (מלכים; LXX. and Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §1, βασιλεῖς) of Midian, who were slain with Balaam after the "matter of Peor" (Num. xxxi. 8). In a later mention of them (Josh. xiii. 21) they are called "princes" (ἡγεῖς) of Midian, and "dukes" (ἡγεῖς); not the word commonly rendered "duke," but probably with the force of dependence, see Keil *ad loc.*; LXX. *ἑναρα*) of Sihon king of the Amorites, who was killed at the same time with them. No further light can be obtained as to Hur.

4. (Σοφ). Father of Rephaiah, who was ruler of half of the environs (Ῥῆβ, A. V. "part") of Jerusalem, and assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall (Neh. iii. 9).

5. The "son of Hur"—Ben-Chur—was commissariat officer for Solomon in Mount Ephraim (1 K. iv. 8). The LXX. (both MSS.) give the word Ben both in its original and its translated form (Βέν—Alex. Βέν—vids Ῥορ), a not infrequent custom with them. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, §3) has Οὐρῆς as the name of the officer himself. The Vulg. (*Benhur*) follows the Hebrew, and is in turn followed in the margin of the A. V. It is remarkable that the same form is observed in giving the names of no less than five out of the twelve officers in this list. [G.]

**HURAI** (חוריי; Οὐραί; *Hurai*), one of David's guard—Hurai of the torrents of Gassab—according to the list of 1 Chr. xi. 32. In the parallel catalogue of 2 Sam. xxiii. the R is changed to D, as is frequently the case, and the name stands as HIDDAI. Kennicott has examined the discrepancy, and influenced by the readings of some of the MSS. of the LXX., decides in favour of Hurai as the genuine name (*Dissert.* 194).

**HUR'AM**, 1. (חורא; Οὐράμ, Alex. Ῥωμ; *Huran*), a Benjamite; son of Bela, the first-born of the patriarch (1 Chr. viii. 5).

2. The form in which the name of the king of Tyre in alliance with David and Solomon—and elsewhere given as HURAM—appears in Chronicles. (a). At the time of David's establishment at Jerusalem (1 Chr. xiv. 1). In the A. V. the name is Hiram, in accordance with the *Cetib* or original Hebrew text (חורם); but in the marginal correction of the Masorets (*Kiri*) it is altered to Huram (חורם), the form which is maintained in all its other occurrences in these books. The LXX. *Χειράμ*, Vulg. *Hiram*, and Targum, all agree with the *Cetib*. (b). At the accession of Solomon (2 Chr. ii. 3, 11, 12; viii. 2, 18; ix. 10, 21: in each of these cases also the LXX. have *Χειράμ*, Alex. *Χειράμ*, Vulg. *Hiram*).

3. The same change occurs in Chronicles in the name of Hiram the artificer, which is given as Huram in the following places: 2 Chr. ii. 13; iv. 11, 16. In the first and last of these a singular title is given him—the word Ab, "father"—"Hiram my father,"<sup>a</sup> and "Hiram his father." No doubt this denotes the respect and esteem in which he was held, according to the similar custom of the people of the East at the present day.<sup>b</sup> There also the LXX. and Vulgate follow the form Hiram.

<sup>a</sup> The A. V. of 2 Chr. ii. 13 renders the words "of Hiram my father's," meaning the late king; but this is unnecessary, and the Hebrew will well bear the rendering given above.

<sup>b</sup> Analogous to this, though not exactly similar, is Joseph's expression (Gen. xlv. 8), "God hath made

me a father unto Pharaoh." Compare also 1 Macc. xi. 32; where note the use of the two terms "cousin" (συγγενής, ver. 31) and "father" (32). Somewhat analogous, too, is the use of terms of relationship—"brother," "cousin"—in legal and official documents of our own and other countries.

**HURI** (הורי; 'Huri, Alex. 'Aḏaf; *Huri*), a Gadite; father of Abihail, a chief man in that tribe (1 Chr. v. 14).

### HUSBAND. [MARRIAGE.]

**HUSHAI** (הושי; 'Hosai; *Hosa*), a name which occurs in the genealogies of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 4)—"Ezer, father of Hushai." It may well be the name of a place, like Etam, Gedor, Beth-lehem, and others, in the preceding and succeeding verses; but we have no means of ascertaining the fact, since it occurs no where else. For a patronymic possibly derived from this name see HUSHATHITE.

**HUSHAI** (הושי; Χουσι, LXX. and Joseph; *Chusai*), an Archite, i. e. possibly an inhabitant of a place called Eree (2 Sam. xv. 32 ff., xvi. 16 ff.). He is called the "friend" of David (2 Sam. xv. 37; in 1 Chr. xxvii. 33, the word is rendered "companion;" comp. Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, §2: the LXX. has a strange confusion of Archite and ἀρχιεραιος = chief friend). To him David confided the delicate and dangerous part of a pretended adherence to the cause of Absalom. His advice was preferred to that of Ahithophel, and speedily brought to pass the ruin which it meditated.

We are doubtless correct in assuming that the Hushai, whose son Baana was one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 16), was the famous counsellor of his father. Hushai himself was probably no longer living; at any rate his office was filled by another (comp. ver. 5). [ARCHITE.] [T. E. B.]

**HUSHAM** (הושם; in Chron. הושם; 'Asômu, 'Asômu; *Husum*), one of the kings of Edom, before the institution of monarchy in Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 34, 35; 1 Chr. i. 45, 46). He is described as "Husham of the land of the Temanite;" and he succeeded Jobab, who is taken by the LXX. in their addition to the Book of Job as identical with that patriarch.

**HUSHATHITE, THE** (הושתי, and twice in Chron. הושתי; δ' Ἀσθαθι, Oḡsath, Ζουσαθ; *do Husati, Hushathites*), the designation of two of the heroes of David's guard. 1. SIBBECHAI (2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chr. xi. 29, xx. 4, xxvii. 11). In the last of these passages he is said to have belonged to the Zarithes, that is (probably) the descendants of Zerah of the tribe of Judah. So far this is in accordance with a connexion between this and HUSHAI, a name, apparently of a place, in the genealogies of Judah. Josephus, however (*Ant.* vii. 12, §2), mentions Sibbechai as a Hushite.

2. MEBUNNAI (2 Sam. xxiii. 27). There seems no doubt that this name is a mere corruption of SIBBECHAI.

**HUSHIM**, 1. הושי; 'Asômu; *Husim*). In Gen. xli. 23, "the children (בְּנֵי) of Dan" are said to have been Hushim. The name is plural, as if of a tribe rather than an individual, which perhaps is sufficient to account for the use of the plural in "children." In the list of Num. xxvi. the name is changed to SHUHAM.

Hushim figures prominently in the Jewish traditions of the recognition of Joseph, and of Jacob's burial at Hebron. See the quotations from the Midrash in Weil's *Bib. Legends*, 88 note, and the

Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. i. 13. In the latter he is the executioner of Esau.

2. הוּזָב (i. e. Chusshim; 'Asômu, Alex. 'Asôb; *Husim*), a member of the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 12); and here again apparently (as the text now stands) the plural nature of the name is recognized, and Hushim is stated to be "the sons (Bene) of Aher." (See Bertheau in *Eleg. Hdbuch*, ad loc.)

3. הוּזָב, and הוּזָב; 'Osoy, Alex. 'Osoy; *Husim*, but in ver. 11 *Mehusim*, by inclusion of the Hebrew particle). The name occurs again in the genealogy of Benjamin, but there as that of one of the two wives of Shaharim (1 Chr. viii. 8), and the mother of two of his sons (11). In this case the plural significance of the name is not alluded to.

**HUSKS.** The word *κερατρία*, which our translators have rendered by the general term "husks" (Luke xv. 16), describes really the fruit of a particular kind of tree, viz.: the carob or *Ceratonia siliqua* of botanists. This tree is very commonly met with in Syria and Egypt; it produces pods, shaped like a horn (whence the Greek name), varying in length from 6 to 10 inches, and about a finger's breadth, or rather more. These pods, containing a thick pulpy substance, very sweet to the taste, were eaten; and afforded food not only for cattle (*Mishn. Shabb.* 24, §2), and particularly pigs (*Colum. B. R.* vii. 9), but also for the poorer classes of the population (*Hor. Ep.* ii. 1, 123; *Juv.* xi. 58). The same uses of it prevail in the present day; as the tree readily sheds its fruit, it forms a convenient mode of feeding pigs. The tree is also named St. John's Bread, from a tradition that the Baptist lived upon its fruit in the wilderness. [W. L. B.]

**HUZ** (הוז, i. e. Uz, in which form the name is uniformly given elsewhere in the A. V.: Οὐξ, Alex. 'Oξ; *Hus*), the eldest son of Nahor and Milcah (Gen. xxii. 21. [BUZ; UZ.]

**HUZZAB** (הוזב; ἡ δούσασις; *miles captivus*), according to the general opinion of the Jews (Buxtorf's *Lexicon ad roc. 23*), was the queen of Nineveh at the time when Nahum delivered his prophecy. This view appears to be followed in our version (*Nah.* ii. 7), and it has been recently defended by Ewald. Most modern expositors, however, incline to the belief that *Huzzab* here is not a proper name at all, but the Hophal of the verb הָצַב (see Buxtorf, as above; Gesenius, *Loc.* p. 903), and this is allowed as possible by the alternative rendering in the margin of our English Bible—"that which was established." Still there are difficulties in the way of such an understanding of the passage, and it is not improbable that after all *Huzzab* may really be a proper name. That a Ninevite queen otherwise unknown should suddenly be mentioned, is indeed exceedingly unlikely; for we cannot grant to Ewald that "the Ninevite queens were well nigh as powerful as the kings." But there is no reason why the word should not be a *geographic* term—an equivalent or representative of Assyria, which the prophet intends to threaten with captivity. *Huzzab* may mean "the Zab country," or the fertile tract east of the Tigris, watered by the upper and lower Zab rivers (*Zab Ala* and *Zab Asfal*), the *A-lub-âne*

\* Gen. xxxvi. 25, adduced by Knobel *ad loc.* as a parallel case to this, is hardly so, since a daughter of

Anah is given as well as his son, and the word *Bene* covers both.

of the geographers. This province—the most valuable part of Assyria—might well stand for Assyria itself, with which it is identified by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 12) and Ammianus (xxiii. 6). The name *Zab*, as applied to the rivers, is certainly very ancient, being found in the great inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., which belongs to the middle of the twelfth century B.C. [G. R.]

**HYAENA.** Authorities are at variance as to whether the term *tzabbi'a* (צבבי) in Jer. xii. 9 means a "hyaena," as the LXX. has it, or a "speckled bird," as in the A. V. The etymological force of the word is equally adapted to either, the hyaena being *streaked*. The only other instance in which it occurs is as a proper name, Zeboin (1 Sam. xiii. 18, "the valley of hyaenas," Aquila; Neh. xi. 34). The Talmudical writers describe the hyaena by no less than four names, of which *tzabbi'a* is one (Lewysohn, *Zool.* §119). The opinions of Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 163) and Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1149) are in favour of the same view; nor could any room for doubt remain, were it not for the word *ait* (אית; A. V. "bird") connected with it, which in all other passages refers to a bird. The hyaena was common in ancient as in modern Egypt, and is constantly depicted on monuments (Wilkinson, i. 213, 225): it must therefore have been well known to the Jews, if indeed not equally common in Palestine.\* The sense of the passage in Jeremiah implies a fierce strong beast, not far below the lion in the parallel passage (v. 8): the hyaena fully answers to this description. Though cowardly in his nature, he is very savage when once he attacks, and the strength of his jaws is such that he can crunch the thigh-bone of an ox (Livingstone's *Travels*, p. 600). [ZEBDOIM.] [W. L. B.]

**HYDASPES** (Ἰνδός), a river noticed in Jud. i. 6, in connexion with the Euphrates and Tigris. It is uncertain what river is referred to; the well-known Hydaspes of India (the *Jelum* of the *Punjab*) is too remote to accord with the other localities noticed in the context. We may perhaps identify it with the Chouspes of Susiana. [W. L. B.]

**HYMENAËUS** (Ἰμηνᾶεος), the name of a person occurring twice in the correspondence between St. Paul and Timothy; the first time classed with Alexander, and with him "delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 20); and the second time classed with Philetus, and with him charged with having "erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already," and thereby "overthrown the faith of some" (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18). These latter expressions, coupled with "the shipwreck of faith" attributed to Hymenæus in the context of the former passage (ver. 19), surely warrant our understanding both passages of the same person, notwithstanding the interval between the dates of the two letters. When the first was written he had already made one proselyte; before the second was penned he had seduced another: and if so, the only points further to be considered are, the error attributed to him, and the sentence imposed upon him.

I. The error attributed to him was one that had been in part appropriated from others, and has fre-

quently been revived since with additions. What initiation was to the Pythagoreans, wisdom to the Stoics, science to the followers of Plato, contemplation to the Peripatetics, that "knowledge" (*γνῶσις*) was to the Gnostics. As there were likewise in the Greek schools those who looked forward to a complete restoration of all things (*ἀνοικδοτασις*, v. Heyne ad Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 5, comp. *Aen.* vi. 745): so there was "a regeneration" (Tit. iii. 5; Matt. xix. 28), "a new creation" (2 Cor. v. 17, see Alford *ad loc.*; Rev. xxi. 1), "a kingdom of heaven and of Messiah or Christ" (Matt. xiii.; Rev. vii.)—and herein popular belief among the Jews coincided—unequivocally propounded in the N. T.; but here with this remarkable difference, namely, that, in a great measure, it was present as well as future—the same thing in germ that was to be had in perfection eventually. "The kingdom of God is within you," said our Lord (Luke xvii. 21). "If that is spiritual judgeth all things," said St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 15). "He that is born of God cannot sin," said St. John (1 Ep. iii. 9). There are likewise two deaths and two resurrections spoken of in the N. T.; the first of each sort, that of the soul to and from sin (John iii. 3-8), "the hour which now is" (*ibid.* v. 24, 25, on which see Ang. *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 6); the second, that of the body to and from corruption (1 Cor. xv. 36-44; also John v. 28, 29), which last is prospective. Now as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was found to involve immense difficulties even in those early days (Acts xvii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 35; how keenly they were pressed may be seen in St. Ang. *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 12, et seq.); while, on the other hand, there was so great a predisposition in the then current philosophy (not even extinct now) to magnify the excellence of the soul above that of its earthly tabernacle, it was at once the easier and more attractive course to insist upon and argue from the force of those passages of Holy Scripture which enlarge upon the glories of the spiritual life that now is, under Christ, and to pass over or explain away allegorically all that refers to a future state in connexion with the resurrection of the body. In this manner we may derive the first errors of the Gnostics, of whom Hymenæus was one of the earliest. They were on the spread when St. John wrote; and his grand-disciple, St. Irenæus, compiled a voluminous work against them (*Adv. Hæc.*). A good account of their full development is given by Gieseler, *E. H.*, Per. I. Div. I. §44, et seq.

II. As regards the sentence passed upon him—It has been asserted by some writers of eminence (see Corn. à Lapid. ad 1 Cor. v. 5), that the "delivering to Satan" is a mere synonym for ecclesiastical excommunication. Such can hardly be the case. The Apostles possessed many extraordinary prerogatives, which none have since arrogated. Even the title which they bore has been set apart to them ever since. The shaking off the dust of their feet against a city that would not receive them (St. Matt. x. 14), even though the same injunction was afterwards given to the Seventy (St. Luke x. 11), and which St. Paul found it necessary to act upon twice in the course of his ministry (Acts xiii. 51, and xviii. 6), has never been a practice since with Christian ministers. "Anathema," says Bingham, "is a word that occurs frequently in the ancient canon" (*Antiq.* xvi. 2, 16), but the form "Anathema Maranatha" is one that none have ever ventured upon since St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 22). As the Apostles healed all manner of bodily infirmities, so they seem

\* Prof. Stanley records (*S. & P.* p. 162 note) that the only wild animal he saw in Palestine was a hyaena.

to have possessed and exercised the same power in inflicting them,—a power far too perilous to be continued when the manifold exigencies of the Apostolic age had passed away. Ananias and Sapphira both fell down dead at the rebuke of St. Peter (Acts v. 5 and 10); two words from the same lips, "Tabitha, arise," sufficed to raise Dorcas from the dead (ibid. ix. 40). St. Paul's first act in entering upon his ministry was to strike Elymas the sorcerer with blindness, his own sight having been restored to him through the medium of a disciple (ibid. ix. 17, and xiii. 11); while soon afterwards we read of his healing the cripple of Lystra (ibid. xiv. 8). Even apart from actual intervention by the Apostles, bodily visitations are spoken of in the case of those who approached the Lord's Supper unworthily, when as yet no discipline had been established: "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and a good number (*καὶ οὖτοι*, in the former case it is *πολλοὶ*) sleep" (1 Cor. xi. 30).

On the other hand Satan was held to be the instrument or executioner of all these visitations. Such is the character assigned to him in the book of Job (i. 6-12, ii. 1-7). Similar agencies are described 1 K. xvii. 19-22, and 1 Chr. xxi. 1. In Ps. lxxviii. 49, such are the causes to which the plagues of Egypt are assigned. Even our Lord submitted to be assailed by him more than once (Matt. iv. 1-10; Luke iv. 13 says, "departed from Him for a season"); and "a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet" the very Apostle whose act of delivering another to the same power is now under discussion. At the same time large powers over the world of spirits were authoritatively conveyed by our Lord to His immediate followers (to the Twelve, Luke ix. 1; to the Seventy, as the results showed, ibid. x. 17-20).

It only remains to notice five particulars connected with its exercise, which the Apostle supplies himself. 1. That it was no mere prayer, but a solemn authoritative sentence, pronounced in the name and power of Jesus Christ (1 Cor. v. 3-5). 2. That it was never exercised upon any without the "church: "them that are without God judgeth" (ibid. v. 13), he says in express terms. 3. That it was "for the destruction of the flesh," i. e. some bodily visitation. 4. That it was for the improvement of the offender; that "his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (ibid. v. 5); and that "he might learn not to blaspheme" while upon earth (1 Tim. i. 20). 5. That the Apostle could in a given case empower others to pass such sentence in his absence (1 Cor. v. 3, 4).

Thus, while the "delivering to Satan" may resemble ecclesiastical excommunication in some respects, it has its own characteristics likewise, which show plainly that one is not to be confounded or placed on the same level with the other. Nor again does St. Paul himself deliver to Satan all those in whose company he bids his converts "not even to eat" (1 Cor. v. 11). See an able review of the whole subject by Bingham, *Antiq.* vi. 2, 15. [E. S. FF.]

**HYMN.** This word is not used in the English version of the O. T., and only twice in the N. T. (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16); though in the original of the latter the derivative verb occurs in three places (Matt. xxvi. 30; comp. Mark xiv. 26; Acts xvi. 25; Heb. ii. 12). The LXX., however, employ it freely in translating the Heb. names for almost every kind of poetical composition (Schleusn. *Lex.* ὕμνος). In fact the word does not seem to have

had for the LXX. any very special meaning; and they called the Heb. book of *Tehillim* the book of Psalms, not of Hymns. Accordingly the word *psalm* had for the later Jews a definite meaning, while the word *hymn* was more or less vague in its application, and capable of being used as occasion should arise. If a new poetical form or idea should be produced, the name of *hymn*, not being embarrassed by a previous determination, was ready to associate itself with the fresh thought of another literature. And this seems to have been actually the case.

Among Christians the Hymn has always been something different from the Psalm; a different conception in thought, a different type in composition. There is some dispute about the hymn sung by our Lord and his Apostles on the occasion of the Last Supper; but even supposing it to have been the *Hallel*, or Paschal Hymn, consisting of Ps. cxviii.-cxviii., it is obvious that the word *hymn* is in this case applied not to an individual psalm, but to a number of psalms chanted successively, and altogether forming a kind of devotional exercise which is not unaptly called a hymn. The prayer in Acts iv. 24-30 is not a hymn, unless we allow non-metrical as well as metrical hymns. It may have been a hymn as it was originally altered; but we can only judge by the Greek translation, and this is without metre, and therefore not properly a hymn. In the jail at Philippi, Paul and Silas "sang hymns" (A. V. "psalms") unto God, and so loud was their song that their fellow-prisoners heard them. This must have been what we mean by singing, and not merely recitation. It was in fact a veritable singing of hymns. And it is remarkable that the noun *hymn* is only used in reference to the services of the Greeks, and in the same passages is clearly distinguished from the psalm (Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16), "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs."

It is probable that no Greek version of the Psalms, even supposing it to be accommodated to the Greek metres, would take root in the affections of the Gentile converts. It was not only a question of metre, it was a question of *tune*; and Greek tunes required Greek hymns. So it was in Syria. Richer in tunes than Greece, for Greece had but eight, while Syria had 275 (Benedict. *Pref.* vol. v. *Op. Eph. Syg.*), the Syrian hymnographers revelled in the varied luxury of their native music, and the result was that splendid development of the Hymn, as moulded by the genius of Badesanes, Harmonius, and Ephrem Syrus. In Greece the eight tunes which seem to have satisfied the exigencies of church-music were probably accommodated to fixed metres, each metre being welded to a particular tune; an arrangement to which we can observe a tendency in the *Directions about tunes and measures* at the end of our English metrical version of the Psalms. This is also the case in the German hymnology, where certain ancient tunes are recognised as models for the metres of later compositions, and their names are always prefixed to the hymns in common use.

It is worth while inquiring what profane model the Greek hymnographers chose to work after. In the old religion of Greece the word *hymn* had already acquired a sacred and liturgical meaning, which could not fail to suggest its application to the productions of the Christian muse. So much for the *name*. The special *forms* of the Greek hymn were various. The Homeric and Orphic

hymns were written in the epic style, and in hexameter verse. Their metre was not adapted for singing; and therefore, though they may have been recited, it is not likely that they were sung at the celebration of the mysteries. We turn to the Pindaric hymns, and here we find a sufficient variety of metre, and a definite relation to music. These hymns were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre; and it is very likely that they engaged the attention of the early hymn-writers. The dithyramb, with its development into the dramatic chorus, was sufficiently connected with musical traditions to make its form a fitting vehicle for Christian poetry; and there certainly is a dithyrambic savour about the earliest known Christian hymn, as it appears in Clem. Alex. pp. 312, 313, ed. Potter.

The first impulse of Christian devotion was to run into the moulds ordinarily used by the worshippers of the old religion. This was more than an impulse; it was a necessity, and a twofold necessity. The new spirit was strong; but it had two limitations; the difficulty of conceiving a new musico-poetical literature; and the quality so peculiar to devotional music, of lingering in the heart about the head has been convinced and the belief changed. The old tunes would be a real necessity to the new life; and the exile from his ancient faith would delight to hear on the foreign soil of a new religion the familiar melodies of home. Dean Trench has indeed laboured to show that the reverse was the case, and that the early Christian shrank with horror from the sweet, but polluted, enchantments of his unbelieving state. We can only assent to this in so far as we allow it to be the second phase in the history of hymns. When old traditions died away, and the Christian acquired not only a new belief, but a new social humanity, it was possible, and it was desirable too, to break for ever the attenuated thread that bound him to the ancient world. And so it was broken; and the trochaic and iambic metres, unassociated as they were with heathen worship, though largely associated with the heathen drama, obtained an ascendancy in the Christian church. In 1 Cor. xiv. 26 allusion is made to *improvised* hymns, which being the outburst of a passionate emotion would probably assume the dithyrambic form. But attempts have been made to detect fragments of ancient hymns conformed to more obvious metres in Eph. v. 14; Jam. i. 17; Rev. i. 8 ff., xv. 3. These pretended fragments, however, may with much greater likelihood be referred to the swing of a prose composition unconsciously culminating into metre. It was in the Latin church that the trochaic and iambic metres became most deeply rooted, and acquired the greatest depth of tone and grace of finish. As an exponent of Christian feeling they soon superseded the accentual hexameters; they were used mnemonically against the heathen and the heretics by Commodianus and Augustine. The introduction of hymns into the Latin church is commonly referred to Ambrose. But it is impossible to conceive that the West should have been so far behind the East: similar necessities must have produced similar results; and it is more likely that the tradition is due to the very marked prominence of Ambrose as the greatest of all the Latin hymnographers.

The trochaic and iambic metres, thus impressed into the service of the church, have continued to hold their ground, and are in fact the 7's, S.M.

C.M. and L.M. of our modern hymns; many of which are translations, or at any rate imitations, of Latin originals. These metres were peculiarly adapted to the grave and sombre spirit of Latin Christianity. Less ecstatic than the varied chorus of the Greek church, they did not soar upon the pinion of a lofty praise, so much as they drooped and sank into the depths of a great sorrow. They were subjective rather than objective; they appealed to the heart more than to the understanding; and if they contained less theology, they were fuller of a rich and Christian humanity. (Daniel's *Theaurus Hymnologicus*, Halis, et Lipsiæ, 1841-1855; *Lateinische Hymnen*, &c., by F. G. Mone; *Gesänge Christlicher Vorzeit*, by C. Portlage, Berlin, 1844; *Sacred Latin Poetry*, by R. C. Trench; *Ephrem Syrus*, by Dr. Burgess; Hahn's *Bardesines*.)


[T. E. B.]

**HYSSOP** (חִיטָּה, *hîṭṭā*; ὕσσωπος). Perhaps no plant mentioned in the Scriptures has given rise to greater differences of opinion than this. The question of the identification of the *hîṭṭā* of the Hebrews with any plant known to modern botanists was thought by Casaubon "*quod difficultis ad explicandum, ut videtur Eſaiæ expectandum, qui certi aliquid nos doceat.*" Had the botanical works of Solomon survived they might have thrown some light upon it. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that in the LXX. the Greek ὕσσωπος is the uniform rendering of the Hebrew *hîṭṭā*, and that this rendering is endorsed by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 19, 21), when speaking of the ceremonial observances of the Levitical law. Whether, therefore, the LXX. made use of the Greek ὕσσωπος as the word most nearly resembling the Hebrew in sound, as Stanley suggests (*S. & P.* 21 note), or as the true representative of the plant indicated by the latter, is a point which, in all probability, will never be decided. Botanists differ widely even with regard to the identification of the ὕσσωπος of Dioscorides. The name has been given to the *Satureia Græca* and the *S. Julivna*, to neither of which it is appropriate, and the hyssop of Italy and South France is not met with in Greece, Syria, or Egypt. Daubeny (*Lect. on Rom. Husbandry*, p. 313), following Sibthorpe, identifies the mountain-hyssop with the *Thymra spicata*, but this conjecture is disapproved of by Kühn (*Comm. in Diosc.* iii. 27), who in the same passage gives it as his opinion that the Hebrews used the *Origaniun Aegyptiacum* in Egypt, the *O. Syriacum* in Palestine, and that the hyssop of Dioscorides was the *O. Smyrnæum*. The Greek botanist describes two kinds of hyssop, *ἀραιή* and *κρηεντή*, and gives *πικράλεμ* as the Egyptian equivalent. The Talmudists make the same distinction between the wild hyssop and the garden-plant used for food.

The *hîṭṭā* was used to sprinkle the doorposts of the Israelites in Egypt with the blood of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 22); it was employed in the purification of lepers and leprous houses (Lev. xiv. 4, 51), and in the sacrifice of the red heifer (Num. xix. 6). In consequence of its detergent qualities, or from its being associated with the purificatory services, the Psalmist makes use of the expression, "purge me with *hîṭṭā*" (Ps. li. 7). It is described in 1 Sam. iv. 33 as growing on or near walls. In John xix. 29 the phrase ὕσσωπον περιθέντες corresponds to περιθεῖς καλᾶμ in Matt. xxvii. 48 and Mark xv. 36. If therefore καλᾶμ

be the equivalent of *ῥοσάμω*, the latter must be a plant capable of producing a stick three or four feet in length.

Five kinds of hyssop are mentioned in the Talmud. One is called *זינ* simply, without any epithet: the others are distinguished as Greek, Roman, wild hyssop, and hyssop of Cochali (Mishna, *Negaim*, xiv. 6). Of these the four last mentioned were profane, that is, not to be employed in purifications (Mishna, *Parah*, xi. 7). Maimonides (*de Vacca Rufa*, iii. 2) says that the hyssop mentioned in the law is that which was used as a condiment. According to Porphyry (*De Abst.* iv. 7), the Egyptian priests on certain occasions ate their bread mixed with hyssop; and the *zaatar*, or wild marjoram, with which it has been identified, is often an ingredient in a mixture called *dikkah*, which is to this day used as food by the poorer classes in Egypt (Lane, *Mol. Eg.* i. 200). It is not improbable, therefore, that this may have been the hyssop of Maimonides, who wrote in Egypt; more especially as R. D. Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.), who reckons seven different

kinds, gives as the equivalent the Arabic *صعتر*, *zaatar*, origanum,  marjoram, and the German *Dosten* or *Wohlgewuth* (Rosenm. *Hmbd.*). With this agrees the Tanchum Hieros. MS. quoted by Gesenius. So in the Judæo-Spanish version, Ex. xii. 22 is translated "y tomareis manoja de origano." But Dioscorides makes a distinction between origanum and hyssop when he describes the leaf of a species of the former as resembling the latter (cf. Plin. xx. 87), though it is evident that he, as well as the Talmudists, regarded them as belonging to the same family. In the Syriac of 1 K. iv. 33 hyssop is rendered by *ܠܐܕ*, *lâd*, "houseleek," although in other passages it is represented by *ܠܐܝ*, *zâfô*, which the Arabic translation follows in Ps. li. 9 and Heb. ix. 19, while in the Pentateuch it has *zaatar* for the same. Patrick (on 1 K. iv. 33) was of opinion that *êzôb* is the same with the Ethiopic *azub*, which represents the hyssop of Ps. li. 9, as well as *ῥόδον*, or mint, in Matt. xxiii. 23.

Bochart decides in favour of marjoram, or some plant like it (*Hieroz.* i. b. 2, c. 50), and to this conclusion, it must be admitted, all ancient tradition points. The monks on Jebel Musa give the name of hyssop to a fragrant plant called *jâ'deh*, which grows in great quantities on that mountain (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 157). Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 423), after enumerating eighteen different plants, thyme, southernwood, rosemary, French lavender, wall rue, and the maidenhair fern among others, which have been severally identified with the hyssop of Scripture, concludes that we have no alternative but to accept the *Hyssopus officinalis*, "nisi velimus apostolum corrigere qui *ῥὸ זינ ῥοσάμω* reddit Heb. ix. 19." He avoids the difficulty in John xix. 29 by supposing that a sponge filled with vinegar was wrapped round a bunch of hyssop, and that the two were then fastened to the end of a stick. Dr. Kitto conceived that he had found the peculiarities of the Hebrew *êzôb* in the *Phytolacca decandra*, a native of America. Tremellius and Ben Zeb render it by "moss." It has been reserved for the ingenuity of a German to trace a connexion between Aescop, the Greek

fabulist, and the *êzôb* of 1 K. iv. 33 (Hitzig, *Die Sprüche Salomo's*, Einl. §2).

An elaborate and interesting paper by the late Dr. J. Forbes Royle, *On the Hyssop of Scripture*, in the *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc.* viii. 193-212, goes far to throw light upon this difficult question. Dr. R., after a careful investigation of the subject, arrived at the conclusion that the hyssop is no other than the caper-plant, or *capparis spinosa* of Linnaeus. The Arabic name of this plant, *asuf*, by which it is sometimes, though not commonly, described, bears considerable resemblance to the Hebrew. It is found in Lower Egypt (Forskål, *Flor. Eg.-Arab.*; Plin. xiii. 44). Burckhardt (*Trav. in Syr.* 536) mentions the *asuf* as a tree of frequent occurrence in the valleys of the peninsula of Sinai, "the bright green creeper which climbs out of the fissures of the rocks" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 21, &c.), and produces a fruit of the size of a walnut, called by the Arabs *Fefel Jibbel*, or mountain-pepper (Shaw, *Spec. Phytogr. Afr.* 39). Dr. R. thought this to be undoubtedly a species of *capparis*, and probably the caper-plant. The *capparis spinosa* was found by M. Bové (*Rel. d'un Voy. Bot. en Eg.*, &c.) in the desert of Sinal, at Gaza, and at Jerusalem. Lynch saw it in a ravine near the convent of Mar Saba (*Expéd.* 388). It is thus met with in all the localities where the *êzôb* is mentioned in the Bible. With regard to its habitat, it grows in dry and rocky places and on walls: "quippe quum cupparis quoque seratur siccis maxime" (Plin. xix. 48). De Candolle describes it as found "in muris et rupestribus." The caper-plant was believed to be possessed of detergent qualities. According to Pliny (xx. 59) the root was applied to the cure of a disease similar to the leprosy. Lamaek (*Enc. Botan.* art. *Cuprier*) says, "les capriers . . . sont regardés comme . . . antiscorbutiques." Finally, the caper-plant is capable of producing a stick three or four feet in length. Pliny (xiii. 44) describes it in Egypt as "firmioris ligni frutex," and to this property Dr. Royle attaches great importance, identifying as he does the *ῥοσάμω* of John xix. 29 with the *καλὰμω* of Matthew and Mark. He thus concludes: "A combination of circumstances, and some of them apparently too improbable to be united in one plant, I cannot believe to be accidental, and have therefore considered myself entitled to infer, what I hope I have succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of others, that the caper-plant is the hyssop of Scripture." Whether his conclusion is sound or not, his investigations are well worthy of attention; but it must be acknowledged that, setting aside the passage in John xix., which may possibly admit of another solution, there seems no reason for supposing that the properties of the *êzôb* of the Hebrews may not be found in some one of the plants with which the tradition of centuries has identified it. That it may have been possessed of some detergent qualities which led to its significant employment in the purificatory service is possible; but it does not appear from the narrative in Leviticus that its use was such as to call into action any medicinal properties by which it might have been characterised. In the present state of the evidence, therefore, there does not seem sufficient reason for departing from the old interpretation, which identified the Greek *ῥοσάμω* with the Hebrew *זינ*. [W. A. W.]

## I

**IBHAR** (יְבָר; 'Εβάρ, Εβαρ, Βαρ, Alex. 'Ιεβάρ, 'Ιεβαρ; Syr. *Jucobar*; *Jebahar*, *Jebaar*), one of the sons of David, mentioned in the lists next after Solomon and before Elishua (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chr. iii. 6, xiv. 5). Ibar was born in Jerusalem, and from the second of these passages it appears that he was the son of a wife and not of a concubine. He never comes forward in the history in person, nor are there any traditions concerning him. For the Genealogy of David's family see **DAVID**.

**IB'LEAM** (יְבִלְעָם; 'Ιεβλαμ, Alex. Βαλαμ; *Jeblaam*), a city of Manasseh, with villages or towns (Heb. "daughters") dependent on it (Judg. i. 27). Though belonging to Manasseh, it appears not to have lain within the limits allotted to that tribe, but to have been situated in the territory of either Issachar or Asher (Josh. xvii. 11). It is not said which of the two, though there is no doubt from other indications that it was the former. The ascent of GUR, the spot at which Ahaziah received his death wound from the soldiers of Jehu, was "at (2) Ibleam" (2 K. ix. 27), somewhere near the present *Jenin*, probably to the north of it, about where the village *Jeluna* now stands.

In the list of cities given out of Manasseh to the Kohathite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 70), **BILEAM** is mentioned, answering to Gathrimmon in the list of Josh. xxi. Bileam is probably a mere alteration of Ibleam (comp. the form given in the Alex. LXX. above), though this is not certain. [G.]

**IBNEI'AH** (יְבִנְיָה; 'Ιεμνά, Alex. 'Ιεβνά; *Jobani*), son of Jerobam, a Benjamite, who was a chief man in the tribe apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 8).

**IBNI'IAH** (יְבִנְיָה; 'Ιεμνά, Alex. 'Ιεβανά; *Jebania*), a Benjamite (1 Chr. ix. 8).

**IIB'RI** (יְבִרִי; 'Αβάρ, Alex. 'Ωβρί; *Ilebr*), a Merarite Levite of the family of Jaaziah (1 Chr. xiv. 27), in the time of king David, concerned in the service of the house of Jehovah.

The word is precisely the same as that elsewhere rendered in the A. V. "Hebrew."

**IB'ZAN** (יְבִזָּן; 'Αβισσάν, Alex. 'Εσεβάν; Joseph. 'Αβζαν; *Abzan*), a native of Bethlehem, who judged Israel for seven years after Jephthah (Judg. xii. 8, 10). He had 30 sons and 30 daughters, and took home 30 wives for his sons, and sent out his daughters to as many husbands abroad. He was buried at Bethlehem. From the non-addition of "Ephraim," or "Judah," after Bethlehem, and from Ibsan having been succeeded by a Zebulonite, it seems pretty certain that the Bethlehem here meant is that in the tribe of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 15; see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, §73). There is not a shadow of probability in the notion which has been broached as to the identity of Ibsan with Boaz (יְבִזָּן). The history of his large family is singularly at variance with the impression of Boaz given us in the book of Ruth. [A. C. H.]

**ICH'ABOD** (יְחִיבֹד, from יָחַב, "where?" equivalent to the negative, and יָכָב, "glory," Gesen. p. 79, "inglorious;" Οὐαίβαρχαβᾶθ, which

seems to derive from יָחַב, "woe," *oal*, 1 Sam. iv. 8, Gesen. p. 39; *Ichabod*), the son of Phinehas, and grandson of Eli. In giving birth to him his mother died of grief at the news of the sudden deaths of her husband and father-in-law. His brother's name was Ahiah or Ahimelech (1 Sam. iv. 21, xiv. 3). [H. W. P.]

**ICONIUM** ('Ικόνιον), the modern *Konia*, is situated in the western part of an extensive plain, on the central table-land of Asia Minor, and not far to the north of the chain of *Taurus*. This level district was anciently called **LYCAONIA**. *Xenophon* (*Anab.* i. 2, 19) reckons Iconium as the most easterly town of *ΠΡΩΥΓΙΑ*; but all other writers speak of it as being in *Lycaonia*, of which it was practically the capital. It was on the great line of communication between Ephesus and the western coast of the peninsula on one side, and Tarsus, Antioch, and the Euphrates on the other. We see this indicated by the narrative of *Xenophon* (*l. c.*) and the letters of *Cicero* (*ad Fam.* iii. 8, v. 20, xv. 4). When the Roman provincial system was matured, some of the most important roads intersected one another at this point, as may be seen from the map in *Leake's Asia Minor*. These circumstances should be borne in mind, when we trace St. Paul's journeys through the district. Iconium was a well chosen place for missionary operations. The Apostle's first visit was on his first circuit, in company with Barnabas; and on this occasion he approached it from Antioch in *Isidia*, which lay to the west. From that city he had been driven by the persecution of the Jews (*Acts* xiii. 50, 51). There were Jews in Iconium also; and St. Paul's first efforts here, according to his custom, were made in the synagogue (xiv. 1). The results were considerable both among the Hebrew and Gentile population of the place (*ibid.*). We should notice that the working of miracles in Iconium is emphatically mentioned (xiv. 3). The intrigues of the Jews again drove him away; he was in danger of being stoned, and he withdrew to **LYSTRA** and **DERBE**, in the eastern and wilder part of *Lyconia* (xiv. 6). Thither also the enmity of the Jews of Antioch and Iconium pursued him; and at *Lystra* he was actually stoned and left for dead (xiv. 19). After an interval, however, he returned over the old ground, revisiting Iconium and encouraging the church which he had founded there (xv. 21, 22). These sufferings and difficulties are alluded to in 2 Tim. iii. 11; and this brings us to the consideration of his next visit to this neighbourhood, which was the occasion of his first practically associating himself with **TIMOTHY**. Paul left the Syrian Antioch, in company with Silas (*Acts* xv. 40), on his second missionary circuit; and travelling through **CLICIA** (xv. 41), and up through the passes of *Taurus* into *Lyconia*, approached Iconium from the east, by *Derbe* and *Lystra* (xvi. 1, 2). Though apparently a native of *Lystra*, Timothy was evidently well known to the Christians of Iconium (xvi. 2); and it is not improbable that his circumcision (xvi. 3) and ordination (1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14, vi. 12; 2 Tim. i. 6) took place there. On leaving Iconium St. Paul and his party travelled to the N.W.; and the place is not mentioned again in the sacred narrative; though there is little doubt that it was visited by the Apostle again in the early part of his third circuit (*Acts* xviii. 23). From its position it could not fail to be an important centre of Christian influence in the early ages of the church. The curious apocryphal legend of St. Thecla, of which Iconium is

the scene, must not be entirely passed by. The "Acta Pauli et Theclæ" are given in full by Grabe (*Spicil.* vol. i.), and by Jones (*On the Canon*, vol. ii. pp. 353-411). It is natural here to notice one geographical mistake in that document, viz., that Lystra is placed on the west instead of the east. In the declining period of the Roman empire, Iconium was made a *colonia*. In the middle ages it became a place of great consequence, as the capital of the Seljukian sultans. Hence the remains of Saracenic architecture, which are conspicuous here, and which are described by many travellers. *Könich* is still a town of considerable size. [J. S. H.]

**ID'ALAH** (יְדֹאֵל; 'Ιεραχώ, Alex. 'Ιεραχά; *Jedala*, and *Jerula*), one of the cities of the tribe of Zebulun, named between Shimon and Bethlehem (Josh. xix. 15). Schwarz (172), without quoting his authority, but probably from one of the Talmudical books, gives the name as "Yidalah or Chirii," and would identify it with the village "Kellah al-Chiré, 6 miles S.W. of Semunii." *Semuniyah* is known and marked on many of the maps, rather less than 3 miles S. of *Beit-lahm*; but the other place mentioned by Schwarz has evaded observation. It is not named in the *Onomasticon*. [G.]

**ID'BASH** (יִדְבָּשׁ; 'Ιεβδδς, Alex. 'Ιυαβδς; *Jedebos*), one of the three sons of Abi-Etam—"the father of Etam"—among the families of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The Tzelephonite is named as his sister. This list is probably a topographical one, a majority of the names being those of places.

**ID'DO**. 1. (יְדֹד; 'Αδδω, Alex. 'Αδδω; *Adlo*). The father of Abinadab, one of Solomon's monthly purveyors (1 K. iv. 14).

2. (יְדֹד; 'Αδδ; *Adlo*). A descendant of Gerahom, son of Levi (1 Chr. vi. 21). In the reverse genealogy (ver. 41) the name is altered to UDALAH and we there discover that he was one of the forefathers of Asaph the seer.

3. (יְדֹד; 'Ιδαα, Alex. 'Ιαδδα; *Jaddo*). Son of Zechariah, ruler (*nayid*) of the tribe of Manasse east of Jordan in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 21).

4. (יְדֹד, i. e. Ye'doi; but in the correction of the Keri יְדֹד, Ye'do; 'Ιωδά, 'Αδδω; *Adlo*). A seer (חֹזֶן) whose "visions" (חֲזֹנוֹת) against Jeroboam incidentally contained some of the acts of Solomon (2 Chr. ix. 29). He also appears to have written a chronicle or story (*Midrash*, Gesen. p. 357) relating to the life and reign of Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 22), and also a book "concerning genealogies" in which the acts of Rehoboam were recorded (xii. 15). These books are lost, but they may have formed part of the foundation of the existing books of Chronicles (Bertheau, *On Chron.* Intro. §3). The mention of his having prophesied against Jeroboam probably led to his identification in the ancient Jewish traditions (Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* in 2 Chr. xii. 15, Jaddo; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, §5. 'Ιαδω) with the "Man of God" out of Judah who denounced the altar of that king (1 K. xii. 1). He is also identified with Oded (see Jerome on 2 Chr. xv. 1).

5. (יְדֹד; in Zech. יְדֹד; 'Αδδω; *Adlo*). The grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. i. 1, 7), although in other places Zechariah is called "the son of Iddo" (Ezr. v. 1; vi. 14). Iddo

returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. xii. 4), and in the next generation—the "days of Joiakim," son of Jeshua (10, 12)—his house was represented by Zechariah (ver. 14). In 1 Esdr. vi. 1, the name is ADDO.

6. (יְדֹד; Alex. 'Αδδω; *Eldo*). The chief of those who assembled at Casiphia, at the time of the second caravan from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus B.C. 458. He was one of the Nethuin, of whom 220 responded to the appeal of Ezra to assist in the Return to Judaea (Ezr. viii. 17; comp. 20). In the Apoc. Esdras the name is SADDUS and DADDEUS. [G.]

**IDOL, IMAGE**. As no less than twenty-one different Hebrew words have been rendered in the A. V. either by idol or image, and that by no means uniformly, it will be of some advantage to attempt to discriminate between them, and assign, as nearly as the two languages will allow, the English equivalents for each. But, before proceeding to the discussion of those words which in themselves indicate the objects of false worship, it will be necessary to notice a class of abstract terms, which, with a deep moral significance, express the degradation associated with it, and stand out as a protest of the language against the enormities of idolatry. Such are—

1. אֵין, *āen*, rendered elsewhere "nought," "vanity," "iniquity," "wickedness," "sorrow," &c., and once only "idol" (Is. lvi. 3). The primary idea of the root seems to be emptiness, nothingness, as of breath or vapour; and, by a natural transition, in a moral sense, wickedness in its active form of mischief, and then, as the result, sorrow and trouble. Hence *āen* denotes a vain, false, wicked thing, and expresses at once the essential nature of idols, and the consequences of their worship. The character of the word may be learnt from its associates. It stands in parallelism with עָפֶס, *ephes* (Is. xli. 29), which, after undergoing various modifications, comes at length to signify "nothing;" with הֶבֶל, *hebel*, "breath" or "vapour," itself applied as a term of contempt to the objects of idolatrous reverence (Deut. xxxii. 21; 1 K. xvi. 13; Ps. xxxi. 6; Jer. viii. 19, x. 8); with שָׁוְיָא, *shāw*, "nothingness," "vanity;" and with שֶׁקֶר, *sheker*, "falsehood" (Zech. x. 2): all indicating the utter worthlessness of the idols to whom homage was paid, and the false and delusive nature of their worship. It is employed in an abstract sense to denote idolatry in general in 1 Sam. xv. 23. There is much significance in the change of name from Bethel to Beth-aven, the great centre of idolatry in Israel (Hos. iv. 15).

2. אֵלִיל, *ēlil*, is thought by some to have a sense akin to that of שֶׁקֶר, *sheker*, "falsehood," with which it stands in parallelism in Job xiii. 4, and would therefore much resemble *āen*, as applied to an idol. Delitzsch (on Hab. ii. 18) derives it from the negative particle אַל, *al*, "die Nichtigen." But according to Fürst (*Handw.* v.) it is a diminutive of אֵל, "god," the additional syllable indicating the greatest contempt. In this case the signification above mentioned is a subsidiary one. The same authority asserts that the word denotes a small image of the god, which was consulted as an oracle among the Egyptians and Phœnicians (Is.

ix. 3; Jer. xiv. 14). It is certainly used of the idols of Noph or Memphis (Ez. xxx. 13). In strong contrast with Jehovah it appears in Ps. xc. 5, xvii. 7: the contrast probably being heightened by the resemblance between *ēlīm* and *ēlōhīm*. A somewhat similar play upon words is observable in Hab. i. 18, אֱלִילִים אֱלִילִים, *ēlīlīm ēlīlīm* ("dumb idols," A. V.).

3. אִמָּה, *āmāh*, "horror" or "terror," and hence an object of horror or terror (Jer. l. 38), in reference either to the hideousness of the idols or to the gross character of their worship. In this respect it is closely connected with—

4. מַפְלֵצָה, *maḥlētāh*, a "fright," "horror," applied to the idol of Maachab, probably of wood, which Asa cut down and burned (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16), and which was unquestionably the Phallus, the symbol of the productive power of nature (Movers, *Phoen.* i. 571; Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 5), and the nature-goddess Asherah. Allusion is supposed to be made to this in Jer. x. 5, and Epist. of Jer. 70. In 2 Chr. xv. 16 the Vulg. render "simulacrum Priapi" (cf. Hor., "furum avinimque maxima fornido"). The LXX. had a different reading, which it is not easy to determine. They translate in 1 K. xv. 13 the same word both by

σύνδοδος (with which corresponds the Syr. ܐܝܠܐ, *'ilā*, "a festival," reading perhaps אִסְרֹת, *'āsereth*, as in 2 K. x. 20; Jer. ix. 2) and καταδύσεις, while in Chronicles it is εἰδωλον. Possibly in 1 K. xv. 13 they may have read מַצֻּלָּה, *māṣullāh*, for מַפְלֵצָה, *maḥlētāh*, as the Vulg. *specun*, of which "simulacrum turpissimum" is a correction. With this must be noticed, though not actually rendered "image" or "idol,"

5. בִּשְׁת, *bōsheth*, "shame," or "shameful thing" (A. V. Jer. xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10), applied to Baal or Baal-Peor, as characterising the obscenity of his worship. With *ēlīl* is found in close connexion—

6. גִּלְגָּלִים, *gillālim*, also a term of contempt, but of uncertain origin (Ez. xxx. 13). The Rabbinical authorities, referring to such passages as Ez. iv. 2, Zeph. i. 17, have favoured the interpretation given in the margin of the A. V. to Deut. xxix. 17, "dungy gods" (Vulg. "sordes," "sordes idolorum," 1 K. xv. 12). Jahn connects it with גָּלַל, *gālul*, "to roll," and applies it to the stocks of trees of which idols were made, and in mockery called *gillālim*, "rolling things" (a *voluculo*, he says, though it is difficult to see the point of his remark). Gesenius, repudiating the derivation from

the Arab. جَلَّ, *jalla*, "to be great, illustrious," gives his preference to the rendering "stones, stone gods," thus deriving it from גָּל, *gāl*, "a heap of stones;" and in this he is followed by Fürst, who translates *gillāl* by the Germ. "Steinhaufe." The expression is applied principally in Ezekiel, to false gods and their symbols (Deut. xix. 17; Ez. viii. 10, &c.). It stands side by side with other con-

temptuous terms in Ez. xvi. 36, xx. 8; as for example שֶׁכֶּתֶת, *shekets*, "filth," "abomination" (Ez. viii. 10), and

7. The cognate שֶׁכֶּתֶת, *shekets*, "filth," "impurity," especially applied, like *shekets*, to that which produced ceremonial uncleanness (Ez. xxxvii. 23; Nah. iii. 6), such as food offered in sacrifice to idols (Zech. ix. 7; comp. Acts xv. 20, 29). As referring to the idols themselves, it primarily denotes the obscene rites with which their worship was associated, and hence, by metonymy, is applied both to the objects of worship and also to their worshippers, who partook of the impurity, and thus "became loathsome like their love," the foul Baal-Peor (Hos. ix. 10).

We now come to the consideration of those words which more directly apply to the images or idols, as the outward symbols of the deity who was worshipped through them. These may be classified according as they indicate that the images were made in imitation of external objects, and to represent some idea, or attribute; or as they denote the workmanship by which they were fashioned. To the first class belong—

8. סֶמֶל, *semel*, or סֶמֶל, *semel*, with which Gesenius compares as cognate מַשָּׁל, *māshāl*, and סֶמֶל, *selem*, the Lat. *similis* and Greek *ὁμοιός*, signifies a "likeness," "resemblance." The Targ. in Deut. iv. 16 gives אִימָה, *tsūmā*, "figure" as the equivalent; while in Ez. viii. 3, 5 it is rendered by צֶלֶם, *ts'lem*, "image." In the latter passages

the Syriac has ܐܝܠܐ, *lointā*, "a statue" (the *στήλη* of the LXX.), which more properly corresponds to *matstēbāh* (see No. 15 below);

and in Deut. סֶמֶל, *genēs*, "kind" (= *γένος*).

The passage in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7 is rendered "images of four faces," the latter words representing the one under consideration.\* In 2 Chr. xxxiii. 15 it appears as "carved images," following the LXX. ἡ γλυπτὸν. On the whole the Gk. εἰκών of Deut. iv. 16, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7, and the "simulacrum" of the Vulgate (2 Chr. xxxiii. 15) most nearly resemble the Hebrew *semel*.

9. צֶלֶם, *ts'lem* (Ch. *zēl*, and צֶלֶם, *ts'lem*) is by all lexicographers, ancient and modern, connected with צָל, *tsāl*, "a shadow." It is the "image" of God in which man was created (Gen. i. 27; cf. Wisd. ii. 23), distinguished from דְּמוּת, *demūt*, or "likeness," as the "image" from the "idea" which it represents (Schmidt, *de Imag. Dei in Rom.* p. 84), though it would be rash to insist upon this distinction. In the N. T. εἰκών appears to represent the latter (Col. iii. 10; cf. LXX. of Gen. v. 1), as *ὁμοίωμα* the former of the two words (Rom. i. 23; viii. 29; Phil. ii. 7), but in Heb. x. i *eikōn* is opposed to *σκέα* as the substance to the unsubstantial form, of which it is the perfect representative. The LXX. render *demūt* by *ὁμοίωσις*, *ὁμοίωμα*, *εἰκὼν*, *ὁμοιος*, and *ts'lem* most frequently by *εἰκὼν*, though *ὁμοίωμα*, *εἰδωλον*, and *τύπος* also occur. But whatever abstract term may best define the meaning of *ts'lem*, it is unquestionably used to

\* There are many passages in the Syr. of Chronicles which it is impossible to reconcile with the received Hebrew text; and the translation of these books is on

the whole inferior in accuracy to that of the rest of the O. T.

denote the visible forms of external objects, and is applied to figures of gold and silver (1 Sam. vi. 5; Num. xxxiii. 52; Dan. iii. 1), such as the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as to those painted upon walls (Ez. xxiii. 14). "Image" perhaps most nearly represents it in all passages. Applied to the human countenance (Dan. iii. 19) it signifies the "expression," and corresponds to the *idea* of Matt. xxviii. 3, though *demûth* agrees rather with the Platonic usage of the latter word.

10. תְּמוּנָה, *temûnah*, rendered "image" in Job iv. 16; elsewhere "similitude" (Deut. iv. 12), "likeness" (Deut. v. 8); "form," or "shape" would be better. In Deut. iv. 16 it is in parallelism with תְּבִינִית, *tebûnith*, literally "build;" hence "plan," or "model" (2 K. xvi. 10; cf. Ex. xx. 4; Num. xii. 8).

11. עֵצָב, *'atsab*, 12. עֵצֶב, *'etsab* (Jer. xlii. 28), or 13. עֹצֶב, *'ôtsab* (Is. xlviii. 5), "a figure," all derived from a root עָצַב, *'atsab*, "to work," or "fashion" (akin to חָצַב, *châtsab*, and the like), are terms applied to idols as expressing that their origin was due to the labour of man. The verb in its derived senses indicates the sorrow and trouble consequent upon severe labour, but the latter seems to be the radical idea. If the notion of sorrow were most prominent the words as applied to idols might be compared with *aven* above. Is. lviii. 3 is rendered in the Peshito Syriac "idols" (A. V. "labours"), but the reading was evidently different. In Ps. cxxxix. 24, עֹצֶב, *'ôtsab*, *derec* "idolatry," is "idolatry."

14. צָר, *tsûr*, once only applied to an idol (Is. xlv. 16; LXX. *ἡσσοι*, as if צָרִים, *tsûrim*). The word usually denotes "a pang," but in this instance is probably connected with the roots צָרַר, *tsûr*, and יָצַר, *yâtsar*, and signifies "a shape," or "mould," and hence an "idol."

15. מַצֵּבָה, *matstsebhâh*, anything set up, a "statue" (= מַצֵּבָה, *matstsebhâh*, Jer. xliii. 13), applied to a memorial stone like those erected by Jacob on four several occasions (Gen. xxviii. 18, xxi. 45, xxxv. 14, 15) to commemorate a crisis in his life, or to mark the grave of Rachel. Such were the stones set up by Joshua (Josh. iv. 9) after the passage of the Jordan, and at Shechem (xxiv. 26), and by Samuel when victorious over the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 12). When solemnly dedicated they were anointed with oil, and libations were poured upon them. The word is applied to denote the obelisks which stood at the entrance to the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis (Jer. xliii. 13), two of which were a hundred cubits high and eight broad, each of a single stone (Jer. ii. 111). It is also used of the statues of Baal (2 K. iii. 2), whether of stone (2 K. x. 27) or wood (id. 26), which stood in the innermost recess of the temple at Samaria. Movers (*Phoen.* i. 674) conjectures that the latter were statues or columns distinct from that of Baal, which was of stone and conical (673), like the "meta" of Paphos (Tac. *H. ii.* 3), and probably therefore belonging to other deities who were his *πάρεδροι* or *σύνεθμοι*. The Phœnicians consecrated and anointed stones like that at Bethel, which were called, as some think, from this circumstance *Dactylis*. Many such are said to have been seen on the Lebanon, near Heliopolis, dedicated to various gods, and many prodigies are related of

them (Damascius in Photius, quoted by Bochart, *Canaan*, ii. 2). The same authority describes them as *aërolites*, of a whitish and sometimes purple colour, spherical in shape, and about a span in diameter. The Palladium of Troy, the black stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, said to have been brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and the stone at Ephesus "which fell down from Jupiter" (Acts xix. 35), are examples of the belief, anciently so common, that the gods sent down their images upon earth. In the older worship of Greece stones, according to Pausanias (vii. 22, §4), occupied the place of images. Those at Phœne, about thirty in number, and quadrangular in shape, near the statue of Hermes, received divine honours from the Phœnians, and each had the name of some god conferred upon it. The stone in the temple of Jupiter Ammon (*umbilico maxime similis*), enriched with emeralds and gems (Curt. iv. 7, §31); that at Delphi, which Saturn was said to have swallowed (Paus. *Phoc.* 24, §6); the black stone of pyramidal shape in the temple of Juggernaut, and the holy stone at Pessinus in Galatia, sacred to Cybele, show how widely spread and almost universal were these ancient objects of worship. Closely connected with these "statues" of Baal, whether in the form of obelisks or otherwise, were

16. מְנִיחַ, *chumânîm*, rendered in the margin of most passages "sun-images." The word has given rise to much discussion. In the Vulgate it is translated thrice *simulacra*, thrice *dehbra*, and once *fauna*. The LXX. give *τεμένης* twice, *εἰδωλα* twice, *ξύλινα χειροποίητα, βδελύγματα*, and *τὰ ἰσχυρά*. With one exception (2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, which is evidently corrupt) the Syriac has vaguely either "fears," i. e. objects of fear, or "idols." The Targum in all passages translates it by מְנִיחַ, *chumânîm*, "houses for star-

worship" (Fürst compares the Arab. *خمس*, *Chun-nas*, the planet Mercury or Venus), a rendering which Rosenmüller supports. Gesenius preferred to consider these *chumânîm* as "veils" or "shrines surrounded or shrouded with hangings" (Ez. xvi. 16; Targ. on Is. iii. 19), and scouted the interpretation of Buxtorf—"statuæ solares"—as a mere guess, though he somewhat paradoxically assented to Rosenmüller's opinion that they were "shrines dedicated to the worship of the stars." Kimchi, under the root מְנִיחַ, mentions a conjecture that they were trees like the *Asherim*, but (s. v. מְנִיחַ) elsewhere expresses his own belief that the Nun is epenthetic, and that they were so called "because the sun-worshippers made them." Aben Ezra (on Lev. xvi. 30) says they were "houses made for worshipping the sun," which Bochart approves (*Canaan*, ii. 17), and Jarchi, that they were a kind of idol placed on the roofs of houses. Vossius (*de Idol.* ii. 353), as Scaliger before him, connects the word with Ammanus, or Omanus, the sacred fire, the symbol of the Persian sun-god, and renders it *pyraea* (cf. Selden, ii. 8). Adelung (*Mithrid.* i. 159, quoted by Gesen. on Is. xvii. 8) suggested the same, and compared it with the Sanscrit *homa*. But to such interpretations the passage in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, is inimical (Vitrina on Is. xvii. 8). Gesenius' own opinion appears to have fluctuated considerably. In his notes on Isaiah (l. c.) he prefers the general rendering "columns" to the more definite one of "sun-columns," and is

inclined to look to a Persian origin for the derivation of the word. But in his *Thesaurus* he mentions the occurrence of *Chumman* as a synonym of *Baal* in the Phœnician and Palmyrene inscriptions in the sense of "Dominus Solaris," and its after application to the statues or columns erected for his worship. Spencer (*de Legg. Hebr.* ii. 25), and after him Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.* s. v.), maintained that it signified statues or lofty columns, like the pyramids or obelisks of Egypt. Movers (*Phœn.* i. 441) concludes with good reason that the sun-god *Baal* and the idol "Chumman" are not essentially different. In his discussion of *Chammânin*, he says, "These images of the fire-god were placed on foreign or non-Israelitish altars, in conjunction with the symbols of the nature-goddess *Asherah*, as *σὺνβασις* (2 Chr. xiv. 3, 5, xxiv. 4, 7; Is. vii. 9, xxvii. 9), as was otherwise usual with *Baal* and *Asherah*." They are mentioned with the *Asheim*, and the latter are coupled with the statues of *Baal* (1 K. xiv. 23; 2 K. xxiii. 14). The *chammânin* and statues are used promiscuously (cf. 2 K. xxiii. 14, and 2 Chr. xxiv. 4; 2 Chr. xiv. 3 and 5), but are never spoken of together. Such are the steps by which he arrives at his conclusion. He is supported by the Palmyrene inscription at Oxford, alluded to above, which has been thus rendered: "This column (*חמנא*, *Chammânâ*), and this altar, the sons of Malchu, &c. have erected and dedicated to the Sun." The Venêto Greek Version leaves the word untranslated in the strange form *ἀκδβαρες*. From the expressions in Ez. vi. 4, 6, and Lev. xxvi. 30, it may be inferred that these columns, which perhaps represented a rising flame of fire and stood upon the altar of *Baal* (2 Chr. xxiv. 4), were of wood or stone.

17. *מַסֶּכֶת*, *masceth*, occurs in Lev. xvi. 1; Num. xxiii. 52; Ez. viii. 12: "device," most neatly suits all passages (cf. Ps. lxxii. 7; Prov. xviii. 11, xxv. 11). This word has been the fruitful cause of as much dispute as the preceding. The general opinion appears to be that *מַסֶּכֶת*, *eben masceth*, signifies a stone with figures graven upon it. Ben Zeb explains it as "a stone with figures or hieroglyphics carved upon it," and so Michaelis; and it is maintained by Movers (*Phœn.* i. 105) that the *baetylia* or columns with painted figures, the "*lapides effigati*" of Minucius Felix (c. 3), are these "stones of device," and that the characters engraven on them are the *λεπὰ στοιχεῖα*, or characters sacred to the several deities. The invention of these characters, which is ascribed to Taut, he conjectures originated with the Seres. Gesenius explains it as a stone with the image of an idol, *Baal* or *Astarte*, and refers to his *Mon. Phœn.* 21-24 for others of similar character. Rashi (on Lev. xxxi. 1) derives it from the root *שָׁכַר*, to cover, "because they cover the floor with a pavement of stones." The Targum and Syr., Lev. xvi. 1, give "stone of devotion," and the former in Num. xxiii. 52, has "house of their devotion," where the Syr. only renders "their objects of devotion." For the former the LXX. have *ἱεῖος ἀνείρας*, and for the latter *τὰς σκοπιάς αὐτῶν*, connecting the word with the root *שָׁכַר*, "to look," a circumstance which has induced Naalschütz (*Mos. Recht*, 382-385) to con-

jecture that *eben masceth* was originally a smooth elevated stone employed for the purpose of obtaining from it a freer prospect, and of offering prayer in prostration upon it to the deities of heaven. Hence, generally, he concludes it signifies a stone of prayer or devotion, and the "chambers of imagery" of Ez. viii. 7, are "chambers of devotion." The renderings of the last mentioned passage in the LXX. and Targum, are curious as pointing to a various reading *מַשְׁכֵּתוֹ*, or more probably *מַשְׁכְּבוֹ*.

#### 18. *תְּרָפִים*, *terâphim*. [TERAPHIM.]

The terms which follow have regard to the material and workmanship of the idol rather than to its character as an object of worship.

19. *פֶּסֶל*, *pesel*, and 20. *פְּסִלִּים*, *pesiltim*, usually translated in the A. V. "graven or carved images." In two passages the latter is ambiguously rendered "quarries" (Judg. iii. 19, 26) following the Targum, but there seems no reason for departing from the ordinary signification. In the majority of instances the LXX. have *γλυπτόν*, once *γλυμμα*. The verb is employed to denote the finishing which the stone received at the hands of the masons, after it had been rough-hewn from the quarries (Ex. xxxiv. 4; 1 K. v. 32). It is probably a later usage which has applied *pesel* to a figure cast in metal, as in Is. xl. 19, xlv. 10. These "sculptured" images were apparently of wood, iron, or stone, covered with gold or silver (Deut. vii. 25; Is. xxx. 22; Hab. ii. 19), the more costly being of solid metal (Is. xl. 19). They could be burnt (Deut. vii. 5; Is. xlv. 20; 2 Chr. xxiv. 4), or cut down (Deut. xii. 3) and pounded (2 Chr. xxiv. 7), or broken in pieces (Is. xxi. 9). In making them, the skill of the wise iron-smith (Deut. xxvii. 15; Is. xl. 20) or carpenter, and of the goldsmith, was employed (Judg. xviii. 3, 4; Is. xli. 7), the former supplying the rough mass of iron beaten into shape on his anvil (Is. xlv. 12), while the latter overlaid it with plates of gold and silver, probably from Tarsish (Jer. x. 9), and decorated it with silver chains. The image thus formed received the further adornment of embroidered robes (Ez. xvi. 18), to which possibly allusion may be made in Is. iii. 19. Brass and clay were among the materials employed for the same purpose (Dan. ii. 33, v. 23).<sup>c</sup> A description of the three great images of Babylon on the top of the temple of Belus will be found in Diod. Sic. ii. 9 (comp. Layard, *Nin.* ii. 433). The several stages of the process by which the metal or wood became the "graven image" are so vividly described in Is. xlv. 10-20, that it is only necessary to refer to that passage, and we are at once introduced to the mysteries of idol manufacture, which, as at Ephesus, "brought no small gain unto the craftsmen."

21. *נֶסֶךְ*, *nesec*, and 22. *נֶסֶךְ*, *nesec*, and 22. *מַסֶּכֶת*, *masceth*, are evidently synonymous (Is. xli. 29, xlviii. 5; Jer. x. 14) in later Hebrew, and denote a "molten" image. *Massécêh* is frequently used in distinction from *pesel* or *pesiltim* (Deut. xxvii. 15; Judg. xvii. 3, &c.). The golden-calf which Aaron made was fashioned with "the graver" (*חֶרֶט*, *cheret*), but it is not quite clear for what purpose the graver was used (Ex. xxxii. 4). The

<sup>b</sup> More probably still *pesel* denotes by anticipation the molten image in a later stage after it had been trimmed into shape by the caster.

<sup>c</sup> Images of glazed pottery have been found in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 90; comp. Wied. xv. 8).

*cheret* (of. Gk. *χαρῆτω*) appears to have been a sharp-pointed instrument, used like the *stylus* for a writing implement (Is. viii. 1). Whether then Aaron, by the help of the *cheret*, gave to the molten mass the shape of a calf, or whether he made use of the graver for the purpose of carving hieroglyphics upon it, has been thought doubtful. The

Syr. has *ܠܡܥܝܬܐ*, *tápsé* (*τύπος*), "the mould," for *cheret*. But the expression *ܠܡܥܝܬܐ*, *vayyátsdr*, decides that it was by the *cheret*, in whatever manner employed, that the shape of a calf was given to the metal.

In N. T. *εἰκών* is the "image" or head of the emperor on the coinage (Matt. xxii. 20).

Among the earliest objects of worship, regarded as symbols of deity, were, as has been said above, the meteoric stones which the ancients believed to have been the images of the gods sent down from heaven. From these they transferred their regard to rough unhewn blocks, to stone columns or pillars of wood, in which the divinity worshipped was supposed to dwell, and which were consecrated, like the sacred stone at Delphi, by being anointed with oil, and crowned with wool on solemn days (Paus. *Phoc.* 24, §6. Tavernier (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Alt. & N. Morjendand*, i. §89) mentions a black stone in the pagoda of Benares which was duly anointed with perfumed oil, and such are the "Lingams" in daily use in the Siva worship of Bengal (cf. Arnobius, i. 39; Min. Fel. c. 3). Such customs are remarkable illustrations of the solemn conservation by Jacob of the stone at Bethel, as showing the religious reverence with which these memorials were regarded. And not only were single stones thus honoured, but heaps of stone were, in later times at least, considered as sacred to Hermes (Hom. *Od.* xvi. 471; cf. Vulg. Prov. xxvi. 8, "sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii"), and to these each passing traveller contributed his offering (Cruizer, *Symb.* i. 24). The heap of stones which Laban erected to commemorate the solemn compact between himself and Jacob, and on which he invoked the gods of his fathers, is an instance of the intermediate stage in which such heaps were associated with religious observances before they became objects of worship. Jacob, for his part, dedicated a single stone as his memorial, and called Jehovah to witness, thus holding himself aloof from the rites employed by Laban, which may have partaken of his ancestral idolatry. [JĠGAR-SAIHADŪTHA.]

Of the forms assumed by the idolatrous images we have not many traces in the Bible. Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines, was a human figure terminating in a fish [DAGON]; and that the Syrian deities were represented in later times in a symbolical human shape we know for certainty. The Hebrews imitated their neighbours in this respect as in others (Is. xiv. 13; Wisd. xiii. 13), and from various allusions we may infer that idols in human forms were not uncommon among them, though they were more anciently symbolised by animals (Wisd. xiii. 14), as by the calves of Aaron and Jeroboam, and the brazen serpent which was afterwards applied to idolatrous uses (2 K. xviii. 4; Rom. i. 23). When the image came from the hands of the maker it was decorated richly with silver and gold, and sometimes crowned (Epist. Jer. 9); clad in robes of blue and purple (Jer. x. 9), like the draped images of Pallas and Hera (Müller, *Hand. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, §69), and

fastened in the niche appropriated to it by means of chains and nails (Wisd. xiii. 15), in order that the influence of the deity which it represented might be secured to the spot. So the Ephesians, when besieged by Croesus, connected the wall of their city by means of a rope to the temple of Aphrodite, with the view of ensuring the aid of the goddess (Her. i. 26); and for a similar object the Tyrians chained the stone image of Apollo to the altar of Hercules (Curt. iv. 3, §15). Some images were painted red (Wisd. xiii. 14) like those of Dionysus and the Bacchantes, of Hermes, and the god Pan (Paus. ii. 2, §5; Müller, *Hand. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, §69). This colour was formerly considered sacred. Pliny relates, on the authority of Verrius, that it was customary on festival days, to colour with red-lead the face of the image of Jupiter, and the bodies of those who celebrated a triumph (xxiii. 36). The figures of Priapus, the god of gardens, were decorated in the same manner ("ruber custos" Tibull. i. 1, 18). Among the objects of worship enumerated by Arnobius (i. 39) are bones of elephants, pictures, and garlands suspended on trees, the "rami conati" of Apuleius (*de Mag.* c. 56).

When the process of adorning the image was completed, it was placed in a temple or shrine appointed for it (*oikia*, Epist. Jer. 12, 19; *oiknua*, Wisd. xiii. 15; *εἰδωλείον*, 1 Cor. viii. 10; see Stanley's note on the latter passage). In Wisd. xiii. 15, *oiknua* is thought to be used contemptuously, as in Tibull. i. 10, 19, 20—"cum paupere cultu Stabat in *exiguâ* ligneus *ædæ* dens" (Fritsche and Grimm, *Handb.*), but the passage quoted is by no means a good illustration. From these temples the idols were sometimes carried in procession (Epist. Jer. 4, 26) on festival days. Their priests were maintained from the idol treasury, and feasted upon the meats which were appointed for the idols' use (Bel and the Dragon, 3, 13). These sacrificial feasts formed an important part of the idolatrous ritual [IDOLATRY], and were a great stumbling-block to the early Christian converts. They were to the heathen, as Prof. Stanley has well observed, what the observance of circumcision and the Mosaic ritual were to the Jewish converts, and it was for this reason that St. Paul especially directed his attention to the subject, and laid down the rules of conduct contained in his first letter to the Corinthians (viii.-x.). [W. A. W.]

**IDOLATRY** (עֲבֹדַת הַתְּרָפִים, *t'ráphim*, "teraphim," once only, 1 Sam. xv. 23; *εἰδωλατορτεία*), strictly speaking, denotes the worship of deity in a visible form, whether the images to which homage is paid are symbolical representations of the true God, or of the false divinities which have been made the objects of worship in His stead. With its origin and progress the present article is not concerned. The former is lost amidst the dark mists of antiquity, and the latter is rather the subject of speculation than of history. But under what aspect it is presented to us in the Scriptures, how it affected the Mosaic legislation, and what influence it had on the history of the Israelites, are questions which may be more properly discussed, with some hope of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. Whether, therefore, the deification of the powers of nature, and the representation of them under tangible forms, preceded the worship of departed heroes, who were regarded as the embodiment of some virtue which distinguished their lives, is not in this respect of much importance. Some Jewish writers, indeed,

grounding their theory on a forced interpretation of Gen. iv. 26, assign to Enos, the son of Seth, the unenviable notoriety of having been the first to pay divine honours to the host of heaven, and to lead others into the like error (Maimon. *de Idol.* i. 1). R. Solomon Jarchi, on the other hand, while admitting the same verse to contain the first account of the origin of idolatry, understands it as implying the deification of men and plants. Arabic tradition, according to Sir W. Jones, connects the people of Yemen with the same apostasy. The third in descent from Joktan, and therefore a contemporary of Nahor, took the surname of *Abdu Shams*, or "servant of the sun," whom he and his family worshipped, while other tribes honoured the planets and fixed stars (Hales, *Chronol.* ii. 59, 4to ed.). Nimrod, again, to whom is ascribed the introduction of Zabianism, was after his death transferred to the constellation Orion, and on the slender foundation of the expression "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31) is built the fabulous history of Abraham and Nimrod, narrated in the legends of the Jews and Mussulmans (Jelinek, *Bei he-Midrash*, i. 23; Weil, *Bibl. Leg.* 47-74; Hyde, *Rel. Pers.* c. 2).

I. But, descending from the regions of fiction to sober historic narrative, the first undoubted allusion to idolatry or idolatrous customs in the Bible is in the account of Rachel's stealing her father's teraphim (Gen. xxxi. 19), a relic of the worship of other gods, whom the ancestors of the Israelites served "on the other side of the river, in old time" (Josh. xiv. 2). By these household deities Laban was guided, and these he consulted as oracles (עֲלֵמֵי, Gen. xxx. 27, A. V. "learned by experience") though without entirely losing sight of the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, to whom he appealed when occasion offered (Gen. xxi. 53), while he was ready, in the presence of Jacob, to acknowledge the benefits conferred upon him by Jehovah (Gen. xxx. 27). Such, indeed, was the character of most of the idolatrous worship of the Israelites. Like the Cuthæan colonists in Samaria, who "feared Jehovah and served their own gods" (2 K. xvii. 33), they blended in a strange manner a theoretical belief in the true God with the external reverence which, in different stages of their history, they were led to pay to the idols of the nations by whom they were surrounded. For this species of false worship they seem, at all times, to have had an incredible propension. On their journey from Shechem to Bethel, the family of Jacob put away from among them "the gods of the foreigner:" not the teraphim of Laban, but the gods of the Canaanites through whose land they passed, and the amulets and charms which were worn as the appendages of their worship (Gen. xxxv. 2, 4). And this marked feature of the Hebrew character is traceable throughout the entire history of the people. During their long residence in Egypt, the country of symbolism, they defiled themselves with the idols of the land, and it was long before the taint was removed (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ex. xx. 7). To these gods Moses, as the herald of Jehovah, flung down the gauntlet of defiance (Kurtz, *Gesch. d. Alt. B.* ii. 86), and the plagues of Egypt smote their symbols (Num. xxxiii. 4). Yet, with the memory of their deliverance fresh in their minds, their leader absent, the Israelites clamoured for some visible shape in which they might worship the God who had brought them up out of Egypt (Ex. xxxii.). Aaron lent himself to the

popular cry, and chose as the symbol of deity one with which they had long been familiar—the calf—embodiment of Apis, and emblem of the productive power of nature. But, with a weakness of character to which his greater brother was a stranger, he compromised with his better impulses by proclaiming the solemn feast to Jehovah (Ex. xxxii. 5). How much of the true God was recognised by the people in this brutish symbol it is impossible to conceive; the festival was characterised by all the shameless licentiousness with which idolatrous worship was associated (ver. 25), and which seems to have constituted its chief attraction. But on this occasion, as on all others, the transgression was visited by swift vengeance, and three thousand of the offenders were slain. For a while the erection of the tabernacle, and the establishment of the worship which accompanied it, satisfied that craving for an outward sign which the Israelites constantly exhibited; and for the remainder of their march through the desert, with the dwelling-place of Jehovah in their midst, they did not again degenerate into open apostasy. But it was only so long as their contact with the nations was of a hostile character that this seeming orthodoxy was maintained. The charms of the daughters of Moab, as Balaam's had genius foresaw, were potent for evil: the Israelites were "yoked to Bael-peor" in the trammels of his fair worshippers, and the character of their devotions is not obscurely hinted at (Num. xxv.). The great and terrible retribution which followed left so deep an impress upon the hearts of the people that, after the conquest of the promised land, they looked with an eye of terror upon any indications of defection from the worship of Jehovah, and denounced as idolatrous a memorial so slight as the altar of the Reubenites at the passage of Jordan (Josh. xxii. 16).

During the lives of Joshua and the elders who outlived him, they kept true to their allegiance; but the generation following, who knew not Jehovah, nor the works he had done for Israel, swerved from the plain path of their fathers, and were caught in the toils of the foreigner (Judg. ii.). From this time forth their history becomes little more than a chronicle of the inevitable sequence of offence and punishment. "They provoked Jehovah to anger . . . and the anger of Jehovah was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them" (Judg. ii. 12, 14). The narratives of the book of Judges, contemporaneous or successive, tell of the fierce struggle maintained against their hated foes, and how women forgot their tenderness and forsook their retirement to sing the song of victory over the oppressor. By turns each conquering nation strove to establish the worship of its national god. During the rule of Midian, Jotham the father of Gideon had an altar to Baal, and an Asherah (Judg. vi. 25), though he proved but a lukewarm worshipper (ver. 31). Even Gideon himself gave occasion to idolatrous worship; yet the ephod which he made from the spoils of the Midianites was perhaps but a votive offering to the true God (Judg. viii. 27). It is not improbable that the gold ornaments of which it was composed were in some way connected with idolatry (cf. Is. iii. 18-24), and that from their having been worn as amulets, some superstitious virtue was conceived to cling to them even in their new form. But though in Gideon's lifetime no overt act of idolatry was practised, he was no sooner dead than the Israelites again returned to the service of the Baalim, and, as

if in solemn mockery of the covenant made with Jehovah, chose from among them Baal Berith, "Baal of the Covenant" (cf. *Zēds ḥprios*), as the object of their special adoration (Judg. viii. 33). Of this god we know only that his temple, probably of wood (Judg. ix. 49), was a stronghold in time of need, and that his treasury was filled with the silver of the worshippers (ix. 4). Nor were the calamities of foreign oppression confined to the land of Canaan. The tribes on the east of Jordan went astray after the idols of the land, and were delivered into the hands of the children of Ammon (Judg. x. 8). But they put away from among them "the gods of the foreigner," and with the baseborn Jephthah for their leader gained a signal victory over their oppressors. The exploits of Samson against the Philistines, though achieved within a narrower space and with less important results than those of his predecessors, fill a brilliant page in his country's history. But the tale of his marvellous deeds is prefaced by that ever-recurring phrase, so mournfully familiar, "the children of Israel did evil again in the eyes of Jehovah, and Jehovah gave them into the hand of the Philistines." Thus far idolatry is a national sin. The episode of Micah, in Judg. xvii. xviii., sheds a lurid light on the secret practices of individuals, who without formally renouncing Jehovah, though ceasing to recognise Him as the theocratic King (xvii. 6), linked with His worship the symbols of ancient idolatry. The house of God, or sanctuary, which Micah made in imitation of that at Shiloh, was decorated with an ephod and teraphim dedicated to God, and with a graven and molten image consecrated to some inferior deities (Selden, *de Diis Syris*, synt. i. 2). It is a significant fact, showing how deeply rooted in the people was the tendency to idolatry, that a Levite, who, of all others, should have been most sedulous to maintain Jehovah's worship in its purity, was found to assume the office of priest to the images of Micah; and that this Levite, priest afterwards to the idols of Dan, was no other than Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses. Tradition says that these idols were destroyed when the Philistines defeated the army of Israel and took from them the ark of the covenant of Jehovah (1 Sam. iv.). The Danites are supposed to have carried them into the field, as the other tribes bore the ark, and the Philistines the images of their gods, when they went forth to battle (2 Sam. v. 21; Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 9). But the Seder Olam Rabbā (c. 24) interprets the captivity of the land" (Judg. xviii. 30), of the captivity of Manasseh; and Benjamin of Tudela mistook the remains of later Gentile worship for traces of the altar or statue which Micah had dedicated, and which was worshipped by the tribe of Dan (Selden, *de Diis Syr.* synt. i. c. 2; Stanley, *S. & P.* 398.) In later times the practice of secret idolatry was carried to greater lengths. Images were set up on the corn-floors, in the wine-vats, and behind the doors of private houses (Is. lvii. 8; Hos. ix. 1, 2); and to check this tendency the statute in Deut. xxvii. 15 was originally promulgated. Under Samuel's administration a fast was held, and purificatory rites performed, to mark the public renunciation of idolatry (1 Sam. vii. 3-6). But in the reign of Solomon all this was forgotten. Each of his many foreign wives brought with her the gods of her own nation; and the gods of Ammon, Moab, and Zidon, were openly worshipped. Three of the summits of Olivet were crowned with the

high-places of Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Molech (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13), and the fourth, in memory of his great apostasy, was branded with the opprobrious title of the "Mount of Corruption." Rehoboam, the son of an Ammonite mother, perpetuated the worst features of Solomon's idolatry (1 K. xiv. 22-24); and in his reign was made the great schism in the national religion: when Jeroboam, fresh from his recollections of the Apis worship of Egypt, erected golden calves at Bethel and at Dan, and by this crafty state-policy severed for ever the kingdoms of Judah and Israel (1 K. xii. 26-33). To their use were temples consecrated, and the service in their honour was studiously copied from the Mosaic ritual. High-priest himself, Jeroboam ordained priests from the lowest ranks (2 Chr. xi. 15); incense and sacrifices were offered, and a solemn festival appointed, closely resembling the feast of tabernacles (1 K. xii. 23, 33; cf. Am. iv. 4, 5). [JEROBOAM.] The worship of the calves, "the sin of Israel" (Hos. x. 8), which was apparently associated with the goat-worship of Mendes (2 Chr. xi. 15; Herod. ii. 46) or of the ancient Zabii (Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 3), and the Asherim (1 K. xiv. 15; A. V. "groves"), ultimately spread to the kingdom of Judah, and centred in Beersheba (Am. v. 5, vii. 9). At what precise period it was introduced into the latter kingdom is not certain. The Chronicles tell us how Abijah taunted Jeroboam with his apostasy, while the less partial narrative in 1 Kings represents his own conduct as far from exemplary (1 K. xv. 3). Asa's sweeping reform spared not even the idol of his grandmother Maachah, and, with the exception of the high-places, he removed all relics of idolatrous worship (1 K. xv. 12-14), with its accompanying impurities. His reformation was completed by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 6).

The successors of Jeroboam followed in his steps. till Ahab, who married a Zidonian princess, at her instigation (1 K. xxi. 25) built a temple and altar to Baal, and revived all the abominations of the Amorites (1 K. xxi. 26). For this he attained the bad pre-eminence of having done "more to provoke Jehovah, the God of Israel, to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him" (1 K. xvi. 33). Compared with the worship of Baal, the worship of the calves was a venial offence, probably because it was morally less detestable and also less anti-national (1 K. xii. 28; 2 K. x. 28-31). [ELIJAH, 526 a.] Henceforth Baal-worship became so completely identified with the northern kingdom that it is described as walking in the way or statutes of the kings of Israel (2 K. xvi. 3, xvii. 8), as distinguished from the sin of Jeroboam, which ceased not till the captivity (2 K. xvii. 23), and the corruption of the ancient inhabitants of the land. The idolatrous priests became a numerous and important caste (1 K. xviii. 19), living under the patronage of royalty, and fed at the royal table. The extirpation of Baal's priests by Elijah, and of his followers by Jehu (2 K. x.), in which the royal family of Judah shared (2 Chr. xxii. 7), was a deathblow to this form of idolatry in Israel, though other systems still remained (2 K. xiii. 6). But while Israel thus sinned and was punished, Judah was more morally guilty (Ez. xvi. 51). The alliance of Jehoshaphat with the family of Ahab transferred to the southern kingdom, during the reigns of his son and grandson, all the appurtenances of Baal-worship (2 K. viii. 18, 27). In less than ten years after the death of that king, in

whose praise it is recorded that he "sought not the Baalim," nor walked "after the deed of Israel" (2 Chr. xvii. 3, 4), a temple had been built for the idol, statues and altars erected, and priests appointed to minister in his service (2 K. xi. 18). Jehoiada's vigorous measures checked the evil for a time, but his reform was incomplete, and the high-places still remained, as in the days of Aza, a nucleus for any fresh system of idolatry (2 K. xii. 3). Much of this might be due to the influence of the king's mother, Zibiah of Beersheba, a place intimately connected with the idolatrous defection of Judah (Am. viii. 14). After the death of Jehoiada, the princes prevailed upon Joash to restore at least some portion of his father's idolatry (2 Chr. xxiv. 18). The conquest of the Edomites by Amaziah introduced the worship of their gods, which had disappeared since the days of Solomon (2 Chr. xxv. 14, 20). After this period even the kings who did not lend themselves to the encouragement of false worship had to contend with the corruption which still lingered in the hearts of the people (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Chr. xxvii. 2). Hitherto the temple had been kept pure. The statues of Baal and the other gods were worshipped in their own shrines, but Ahaz, who "sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him" (2 Chr. xxviii. 23), and built altars to them at every corner of Jerusalem, and high-places in every city of Judah, replaced the brazen altar of burnt-offering by one made after the model of "the altar" of Damascus, and desecrated it to his own uses (2 K. xvi. 10-15).\*

The conquest of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser was for them the last scene of the drama of abominations which had been enacted uninterruptedly for upwards of 250 years. In the northern kingdom no reformer arose to vary the long line of royal apostates; whatever was effected in the way of reformation, was done by the hands of the people (2 Chr. xxxi. 1). But even in their captivity they helped to perpetuate the corruption. The colonists, whom the Assyrian conquerors placed in their stead in the cities of Samaria, brought with them their own gods, and were taught at Bethel by a priest of the captive nation "the manner of the God of the land," the lessons thus learnt resulting in a strange admixture of the calf-worship of Jeroboam with the homage paid to their national deities (2 K. xvii. 24-41). Their descendants were in consequence regarded with suspicion by the elders who returned from the captivity with Ezra, and their offers of assistance rejected (Ezr. iv. 3).

The first act of Hezekiah on ascending the throne was the restoration and purification of the temple which had been dismantled and closed during the latter part of his father's life (2 Chr. xxviii. 24, xxix. 3). The multitudes who flocked to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, so long in abeyance, removed the idolatrous altars of burnt-offering and incense erected by Ahaz (2 Chr. xxx. 14). The iconoclastic spirit was not confined to Judah and Benjamin, but spread throughout Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxi. 1), and to all external appearance idolatry was extirpated. But the reform

extended little below the surface (Is. xxix. 13). Among the leaders of the people there were many in high position who conformed to the necessities of the time (Is. xxviii. 14), and under Manasseh's patronage the false worship, which had been merely driven into obscurity, broke out with tenfold virulence. Idolatry of every form, and with all the accessories of enchantments, divination, and witchcraft, was again rife; no place was too sacred, no associations too hallowed, to be spared the contamination. If the conduct of Ahaz in erecting an altar in the temple court is open to a charitable construction, Manasseh's was of no doubtful character. The two courts of the temple were profaned by altars dedicated to the host of heaven, and the image of the Asherah polluted the holy place (2 K. xxi. 7; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7, 15; cf. Jer. xxxii. 34). Even in his late repentance he did not entirely destroy all traces of his former wrong. The people, easily swayed, still burned incense on the high places; but Jehovah was the ostensible object of their worship. The king's son sacrificed to his father's idols, but was not associated with him in his repentance, and in his short reign of two years, restored all the altars of the Baalim, and the images of the Asherah. With the death of Josiah ended the last effort to revive among the people a purer ritual, if not a purer faith. The lamp of David, which had long shed but a struggling ray, flickered for a while and then went out in the darkness of Babylonian captivity.

But foreign exile was powerless to eradicate the deep inbred tendency to idolatry. One of the first difficulties with which Ezra had to contend, and which brought him well nigh to despair, was the haste with which his countrymen took them foreign wives of the people of the land, and followed them in all their abominations (Ezr. ix.). The priests and rulers, to whom he looked for assistance in his great enterprise, were among the first to fall away (Ezr. ix. 2, x. 18; Neh. vi. 17, 18, xiii. 23). Even during the captivity the devotees of false worship plied their craft as prophets and diviners (Jer. xxix. 8; Ez. xiii.), and the Jews who fled to Egypt carried with them recollections of the material prosperity which attended their idolatrous sacrifices in Judah, and to the neglect of which they attributed their exiled condition (Jer. xlii. 17, 18). The conquests of Alexander in Asia caused Greek influence to be extensively felt, and Greek idolatry to be first tolerated, and then practised, by the Jews (1 Macc. i. 43-50, 54). The attempt of Antiochus to establish this form of worship was vigorously resisted by Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 23-26), who was joined in his rebellion by the Assidaeans (ver. 42), and destroyed the altars at which the king commanded them to sacrifice (1 Macc. ii. 25, 45). The erection of synagogues has been assigned as a reason for the comparative purity of the Jewish worship after the captivity (Prideaux, *Conn.* i. 374), while another cause has been discovered in the hatred for images acquired by the Jews in their intercourse with the Persians.

It has been a question much debated whether the Israelites were ever so far given up to idolatry

\* The Syr. supports the rendering of ܐܝܠܗܝܡ in

v. 15, which the A. V. has adopted—"to enquire by"; but Keil translates the clause, "it will be for me to consider," i. e. what shall be done with the altar, in order to support his theory that this altar erected by Ahaz was not directly intended to profane the temple

by idolatrous worship. But it is clear that something of an idolatrous nature had been introduced into the temple, and was afterwards removed by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 5; cf. Ezr. vi. 21, ix. 11). It is possible that this might have reference to the brazen serpent.

as to lose all knowledge of the true God. It would be hard to assert this of any nation, and still more difficult to prove. That there always remained among them a faithful few, who in the face of every danger adhered to the worship of Jehovah, may readily be believed, for even at a time when Baal worship was most prevalent there were found seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed before his image (1 K. xix. 18). But there is still room for grave suspicion that among the masses of the people, though the idea of a supreme Being—of whom the images they worshipped were but the distorted representatives—was not entirely lost, it was so obscured as to be but dimly apprehended. And not only were the ignorant multitude thus led astray, but the priests, scribes, and prophets, became leaders of the apostasy (Jer. ii. 8). Warburton, indeed, maintained that they never formally renounced Jehovah, and that their defection consisted "in joining foreign worship and idolatrous ceremonies to the ritual of the true God" (*Dis. Leg. B. v. § 3*). But one passage in their history, though confessedly obscure, seems to point to a time when, under the rule of the judges, "Israel for many days had no true God, and no teaching priest, and no law" (2 Chr. xv. 3). The correlative argument of Cudworth, who contends from the teaching of the Hebrew doctors and rabbis "that the pagan nations, anciently, at least the intelligent amongst them, acknowledged one supreme God of the whole world; and that all other gods were but creatures and inferior ministers," is controverted by Mosheim (*Intell. Syst. i. 4, § 30*, and notes). There can be no doubt that much of the idolatry of the Hebrews consisted in worshipping the true God under an image, such as the calves at Bethel and Dan (Jos. Ant. vii. 8, § 5; *δαμναίς ἐπαυήτους τῷ θεῷ*) and by associating his worship with idolatrous rites (Jer. xli. 5), and places consecrated to idols (2 K. xviii. 22). From the peculiarity of their position they were never distinguished as the inventors of a new pantheon, nor did they adopt any one system of idolatry so exclusively as ever to become identified with it.<sup>b</sup> But they no sooner came in contact with other nations than they readily adapted themselves to their practices, the old spirit of antagonism died rapidly away, and intermarriage was one step to idolatry.

II. The old religion of the Semitic races consisted, in the opinion of Movers (*Phoen. i. c. 5*), in the deification of the powers and laws of nature; these powers being considered either as distinct and independent, or as manifestations of one supreme and all-ruling being. In most instances the two ideas were co-existent. The deity, following human analogy, was conceived as male and female: the one representing the active, the other the passive principle of nature; the former the source of spiritual, the latter of physical life. The transference of the attributes of the one to the other resulted either in their mystical conjunction in the hermaphrodite, as the Persian Mithra and Phœnician Baal, or the two combined to form a third, which symbolized the essential unity of both.<sup>c</sup> With these two supreme beings all other deities are identical; so that

in different nations the same nature-worship appears under different forms, representing the various aspects under which the idea of the power of nature is presented. The sun and moon were early selected as outward symbols of this all-pervading power, and the worship of the heavenly bodies was not only the most ancient but the most prevalent system of idolatry. Taking its rise, according to a probable hypothesis, in the plains of Chaldaea, it spread through Egypt, Greece, Scythia, and even Mexico and Ceylon. It was regarded as an offence amenable to the civil authorities in the days of Job (xxxi. 26-28), and one of the statutes of the Mosaic law was directed against its observance (Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3); the former referring to the star-worship of Arabia, the latter to the concrete form in which it appeared among the Syrians and Phœnicians. It is probable that the Israelites learnt their first lessons in sun-worship from the Egyptians, in whose religious system that luminary, as Osiris, held a prominent place. The city of On (Bethshemesh or Heliopolis) took its name from his temple (Jer. xliii. 13), and the wife of Joseph was the daughter of his priest (Gen. xli. 45). The Phœnicians worshipped him under the title of "Lord of heaven," *בַּלְשַׁמַּיָּה*, *Baal-shāmāyān* (Βαελσαμην, acc. to Sanchoiatho in Philo Byblius), and Adon, the Greek Adonis, and the Thammuz of Ezekiel (viii. 14). [THAMMUZ.] As Molech or Milcom, the sun was worshipped by the Ammonites, and as Chemosh by the Moabites. The Hadad of the Syrians is the same deity, whose name is traceable in Beshadad, Hadadezer, and Hadad or Adad, the Edomite. The Assyrian Bel or Belus, is another form of Baal. According to Philo (*de Vit. Cont. § 3*) the Essenes were wont to pray to the sun at morning and evening (Jos. B. J. ii. 8, § 5). By the later kings of Judah, sacred horses and chariots were dedicated to the sun-god, as by the Persians (2 K. xxiii. 11; Bochart, *Hieroz.* pt. 1, b. ii. c. xi; Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 8); to march in procession and greet his rising (R. Sol. Jarchi on 2 K. xxiii. 11). The Massagetæ offered horses in sacrifice to him (Strabo, xi. p. 513), on the principle enunciated by Macrobius (*Sat.* vii. 7), "like rejoiceth in like" ("similibus similia gaudet;" cf. Her. i. 216), and the custom was common to many nations.

The moon, worshipped by the Phœnicians under the name of Astarte (Lucian *de Deo Syra*, c. 4), or Baaltis, the passive power of nature, as Baal was the active (Movers, i. 149), and known to the Hebrews as Ashtaroth or Ashtoreth, the tutelary goddess of the Zidonians, appears early among the objects of Israelitish idolatry. But this Syrophœnician worship of the sun and moon was of a grosser character than the pure star-worship of the Magi, which Movers distinguishes as Upper Asiatic or Assyro-Persian, and was equally removed from the Chaldean astrology and Zaubianism of later times. The former of these systems tolerated no images or altars, and the contemplation of the heavenly bodies from elevated spots constituted the greater part of its ritual.

But, though we have no positive historical ac-

<sup>b</sup> As the Moabites with the worship of Chemosh (Num. xxi. 29).

<sup>c</sup> This will explain the occurrence of the name of LXX with the masculine and feminine articles in the LXX; cf. Hos. xi. 2; Jer. xix. 5; Rom. xi. 4. Philochorus, quoted by Macrobius (*Sat.* iii. 8), says

that men and women sacrificed to Venus or the Moon, with the garments of the sexes interchanged, because she was regarded both as masculine and feminine (see Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 2). Hence *Lunus* and *Luna*.

count of star-worship before the Assyrian period, we may infer that it was early practised in a concrete form among the Israelites from the allusions in Amos v. 26, and Acts vii. 42, 43. Even in the desert they are said to have been given up to worship the host of heaven, while Chium and Kemphan, or Kephah, have on various grounds been identified with the planet Saturn. It was to counteract idolatry of this nature that the stringent law of Deut. xvii. 3 was enacted, and with the view of withdrawing the Israelites from undue contemplation of the material universe, Jehovah, the God of Israel, is constantly placed before them as Jehovah Zebaoth, Jehovah of Hosts, the king of heaven (Dan. iv. 35, 37), to whom the heaven and heaven of heavens belong (Deut. x. 14). However this may be, Movers (*Phoen.* i. 65, 66) contends that the later star-worship, introduced by Ahaz and followed by Manasseh, was purer and more spiritual in its nature than the Israelito-Phoenician worship of the heavenly bodies under symbolical forms as Baal and Asherah; and that it was not idolatry in the same sense that the latter was, but of a simply contemplative character. He is supported, to some extent, by the fact that we find no mention of any images of the sun or moon or the host of heaven, but merely of vessels devoted to their service (2 K. xxiii. 4). But there is no reason to believe that the divine honours paid to the "Queen of Heaven" (or as others render, "the frame" or "structure of the heavens")<sup>d</sup> were equally dissociated from image worship. Mr. Layard (*Nin.* ii. 451) discovered a bas-relief at Nimroud, which represented four idolatries in procession by Assyrian warriors. One of these figures he identifies with Hēr the Assyrian Astarte, represented with a star on her head (Am. v. 26), and with the "queen of heaven," who appears on the rock-tablets of Pterium "standing erect on a lion, and crowned with a tower, or mural coronet," as in the Syrian temple of Hierapolis (*Id.* p. 456; Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 31, 32). But, in his remarks upon a figure which resembles the Rhea of Diodorus, Mr. Layard adds, "the representation in a human form of the celestial bodies, themselves originally but a type, was a corruption which appears to have crept at a later period into the mythology of Assyria; for, in the more ancient bas-reliefs, figures with caps surmounted by stars do not occur, and the sun, moon, and planets stand alone" (*Id.* p. 457, 458).

The allusions in Job xxxviii. 31, 32, are too obscure to allow any inference to be drawn as to the mysterious influences which were held by the old astrologers to be exercised by the stars over human destiny, nor is there sufficient evidence to connect them with anything more recondit than the astronomical knowledge of the period. The same may be said of the poetical figure in Deborah's chant of triumph, "the stars from their highways warred with Sisera" (Judg. v. 20). In the later times of the monarchy, Mazzaloth, the planets, or the zodiacal signs, received, next to the sun and moon, their share of popular adoration (2 K. xxiii. 5); and the history of idolatry among the Hebrews shows at all times an intimate connexion between the deifi-

cation of the heavenly bodies, and the superstition which watched the clouds for signs, and used divination and enchantments. It was but a step from such culture of the sideral powers to the worship of Gad and Meni, Babylonian divinities, symbols of Venus or the moon, as the goddess of luck or fortune. Under the latter aspect, the moon was revered by the Egyptians (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 19); and the name Baal Gad is possibly an example of the manner in which the worship of the planet Jupiter as the bringer of luck was grafted on the old faith of the Phœnicians. The false gods of the colonists of Samaria were probably connected with Eastern astrology: Adrammelech, Movers regards as the sun-fire—the Solar Mars, and Anammelech the Solar Saturn (*Phoen.* i. 410, 411). The Vulgate rendering of Prov. xvi. 8, "sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii," follows the Midrash on the passage quoted by Jarchi, and requires merely a passing notice (see Selden, *de Dis Syris*, ii. 15; Main, *de Idol.* iii. 2; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. מרקוליס).

Beast-worship, as exemplified in the calves of Jeroboam and the dark hints which seem to point to the goat of Mendes, has already been alluded to. There is no actual proof that the Israelites ever joined in the service of Dagon,\* the fish-god of the Philistines, though Abaziah sent stealthily to Baalzebub, the fly-god of Ekron (2 K. i.), and in later times the brazen serpent became the object of idolatrous homage (2 K. xviii. 4). But whether the latter was regarded with superstitious reverence as a memorial of their early history, or whether incense was offered to it as a symbol of some power of nature, cannot now be exactly determined. The threatening in Lev. xxvi. 30, "I will put your carcases upon the carcases of your idols," may fully be considered as directed against the tendency to regard animals, as in Egypt, as the symbols of deity. Tradition says that Nergal, the god of the men of Cuth, the idol of fire according to Lensen (*Phil. Hebr. Mixt.* diss. 43), was worshipped under the form of a cock; Ashima as a he-goat, the emblem of generative power; Nibhaz as a dog; Adrammelech as a mule or peacock; and Anammelech as a horse or pheasant.

Of pure hero-worship among the Semitic races we find no trace. Moses indeed seems to have entertained some dim apprehension that his countrymen might, after his death, pay him more honours than were due to man; and the anticipation of this led him to review his own conduct in terms of strong reprobation (Deut. ix. 21, 22). The expression in Ps. cvi. 28, "the sacrifices of the dead," is in all probability metaphorical, and Wisd. xiv. 15 refers to a later practice due to Greek influence. The rabbinical commentators discover in Gen. xlviii. 16, an allusion to the worshipping of angels (Col. ii. 18), while they defend their ancestors from the charge of regarding them in any other light than mediators, or intercessors with God (Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 3). It is needless to add that their inference and apology are equally groundless. With like probability has been advanced the theory of the demon-worship of the

<sup>d</sup> Jer. vii. 18; xli. 19. In the former passage some MSS. have מלכת for מלכת, a reading supported by the LXX., ἡ βασίλισσα, as well as by the Syr. *ܡܠܟܬܐ* *palēkhān*, its equivalent. But in the latter they both agree in the rendering "queen."

\* Some have explained the allusion in Zeph. i. 9, as referring to a practice connected with the worship of Dagon; comp. 1 Sam. v. 5. The Syrians, on the authority of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4, §9), paid divine honours to fish.

Hebrews, the only foundation for it being two highly poetical passages (Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37). It is possible that the Persian dualism is hinted at in Is. xiv. 7.

But if the forms of the false gods were manifold, the places devoted to their worship were almost equally numerous. The singular reverence with which trees have in all ages been honoured is not without example in the history of the Hebrews. The terebinth at Mamre, beneath which Abraham built an altar (Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 18), and the memorial grove planted by him at Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 33), were intimately connected with patriarchal worship, though in after ages his descendants were forbidden to do that which he did with impunity, in order to avoid the contamination of idolatry.<sup>f</sup> As a symptom of their rapidly degenerating spirit, the oak of Shechem, which stood in the sanctuary of Jehovah (Josh. xxiv. 26), and beneath which Joshua set up the stone of witness, perhaps appears in Judges (ix. 37), as "the oak (not 'plain,' as in A. V.) of soothsayers" or "augurs."<sup>g</sup> Mountains and high places were chosen spots for offering sacrifice and incense to idols (1 K. xi. 7, xiv. 23); and the retirement of gardens and the thick shade of woods offered great attractions to their worshippers (2 K. xvi. 4; Is. i. 29; Hos. iv. 13). It was the ridge of Carmel which Elijah selected as the scene of his contest with the priests of Baal, fighting with them the battle of Jehovah as it were on their own ground. [CARMEL.] Carmel was regarded by the Roman historians as a sacred mountain of the Jews (Tac. II. ii. 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 7). The host of heaven was worshipped on the housetop (2 K. xxiii. 12; Jer. xix. 3, xxxii. 29; Zeph. i. 5). In describing the sun-worship of the Nabataei, Strabo (xvi. p. 784) mentions two characteristics which strikingly illustrate the worship of Baal. They built their altars on the roofs of houses, and offered on them incense and libations daily. On the wall of his city, in the sight of the besieging armies of Israel and Edom, the king of Moab offered his eldest son as a burnt-offering. The Persians, who worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra (Strabo, xv. p. 732), sacrificed on an elevated spot, but built no altars or images.

The priests of the false worship are sometimes designated Chemarim, a word of Syriac origin, to which different meanings have been assigned. It is applied to the non-Levitical priests who burnt incense on the high-places (2 K. xxiii. 5) as well as to the priests of the calves (Hos. x. 5); and the corresponding word is used in the Peshito (Judg. xviii. 30) of Jonathan and his descendants, priests to the tribe of Dan, and in Targ. Onkelos (Gen. xlvii. 22) of the priests of Egypt. The Rabbin, followed by Gesenius, have derived it from a root signifying "to be black," and without any authority assert that the name was given to idolatrous priests from the black vest-

ments which they wore. But white was the distinctive colour in the priestly garments of all nations from India to Gaul, and black was only worn when they sacrificed to the subterranean gods (Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 87, &c.). That a special dress was adopted by the Baal-worshippers, as well as by the false prophets (Zech. xiii. 4), is evident from 2 K. x. 22 (where the rendering should be "the apparel"): the vestments were kept in an apartment of the idol temple, under the charge probably of one of the inferior priests. Micah's Levite was provided with appropriate robes (Judg. xvii. 11). The "foreign apparel" mentioned in Zeph. i. 8, refers doubtless to a similar dress, adopted by the Israelites in defiance of the sumptuary law in Num. xv. 37-40.

In addition to the priests there were other persons intimately connected with idolatrous rites, and the impurities from which they were inseparable. Both men and women consecrated themselves to the service of idols: the former as קִדְּשִׁים, *kedeshim*, for which there is reason to believe the A. V. (Deut. xxiii. 17, &c.) has not given too harsh an equivalent; the latter as קִדְּשׁוֹת, *kedeshoth*, who wore shrines for Astarte (2 K. xxiii. 7), and resembled the *ἱεραῖαι* of Corinth, of whom Strabo (viii. p. 378) says there were more than a thousand attached to the temple of Aphrodite. Egyptian prostitutes consecrated themselves to Isis (Juv. vi. 489, ix. 22-24). The same class of women existed among the Phœnicians, Armenians, Lydians, and Babylonians (Her. i. 93, 199; Strabo, xi. p. 532; Epist. of Jeane. ver. 43). They are distinguished from the public prostitutes (Hos. iv. 14) and associated with the performances of sacred rites, just as in Strabo (xii. p. 559) we find the two classes co-existing at Comana, the Corinth of Pontus, much frequented by pilgrims to the shrine of Aphrodite.<sup>h</sup> The wealth thus obtained flowed into the treasury of the idol temple, and against such a practice the injunction in Deut. xxiii. 18 is directed. Dr. Maitland, anxious to defend the moral character of Jewish women, has with much ingenuity attempted to show that a meaning foreign to their true sense has been attached to the words above mentioned; and that, though closely associated with idolatrous services, they do not indicate such foul corruption (*Essay on False Worship*). But if, as Movers, with great appearance of probability, has conjectured (*Phoen.* i. 679), the class of persons alluded to was composed of foreigners, the Jewish women in this respect need no such advocacy. That such customs existed among foreign nations there is abundant evidence to prove (Lucian, *de Syra Dea*, c. 5); and from the juxta-position of prostitution and the idolatrous rites against which the laws in Lev. xix. are aimed, it is probable that, next to its immorality, one main reason why it was visited

<sup>f</sup> Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. *Drye*) mentions an oak near Hebron which existed in his infancy, and was the traditional tree beneath which Abraham dwelt. It was regarded with great reverence, and was made an object of worship by the heathen. Modern Palestine abounds with sacred trees. They are found "all over the land, covered with bits of rags from the garments of passing villagers, hung up as acknowledgments or as deprecatory signals and charms: and we find beautiful clumps of oak trees sacred to a kind of heliops called Jacob's daughters" (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 151). [See Grove.]

<sup>g</sup> Unless, indeed, this be a relic of the ancient Canaanitish worship; an older name associated with idolatry, which the conquering Hebrews were commanded and endeavoured to obliterate (Deut. xii. 3).

<sup>h</sup> An illustration, though not an example, of this is found in the modern history of Europe. At a period of great profligacy and corruption of morals, licentiousness was carried to such an excess in Strasburg that the public prostitutes received the appellation of *les avallors* of the cathedral (Miller, *Phil. of Hist.* ii. 441).

with such stringency was its connexion with idolatry (comp. 1 Cor. vi. 9).

But besides these accessories there were the ordinary rites of worship which idolatrous systems had in common with the religion of the Hebrews. Offering burnt sacrifices to the idol gods (2 K. v. 17), burning incense in their honour (1 K. xi. 8), and bowing down in worship before their images (1 K. xix. 18) were the chief parts of their ritual; and from their very analogy with the ceremonies of true worship were more seductive than the grosser forms. Nothing can be stronger or more positive than the language in which these ceremonies were denounced by Hebrew law. Every detail of idol-worship was made the subject of a separate enactment, and many of the laws, which in themselves seem trivial and almost absurd, receive from this point of view their true significance. We are told by Maimonides (*Mor. Neb. c. 12*) that the prohibitions against sowing a field with mingled seed, and wearing garments of mixed material, were directed against the practices of idolaters, who attributed a kind of magical influence to the mixture (Lev. xix. 19; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr. ii. 18*). Such too were the precepts which forbade that the garments of the sexes should be interchanged (Deut. xviii. 5; Maimon. *De Idol. xii. 9*). According to Macrobius (*Sat. iii. 8*) other Asiatics when they sacrificed to their Venus changed the dress of the sexes. The priests of Cybele appeared in women's clothes, and used to mutilate themselves (Creuzer, *Symb. ii. 34, 42*): the same custom was observed "by the Ithyphalli in the rites of Bacchus, and by the Athenians in their Ascephoria" (Young, *Idol. Cor. in Rel. i. 105*; cf. Lucian, *de Dea Syria, c. 15*). To preserve the Israelites from contamination, they were prohibited for three years after their conquest of Canaan from eating of the fruit-trees of the land, whose cultivation had been attended with magical rites (Lev. xix. 23). They were forbidden to "round the corner of the head," and to "mar the corner of the beard" (Lev. xix. 27), as the Arabians did in honour of their gods (Her. iii. 8, iv. 175). Hence, the phrase **קָטַף כַּרְמֵךְ וְקָטַף שֵׁנֶךְ**, *ketsats phédh*, (literally) "shorn of the corner," is especially applied to idolaters (Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 23). Spencer (*de Leg. Hebr. ii. 9, §2*) explains the law forbidding the offering of honey (Lev. ii. 11) as intended to oppose an idolatrous practice. Strabo describes the Magi as offering in all their sacrifices libations of oil mingled with honey and milk (xv. p. 733). Offerings in which honey was an ingredient were made to the inferior deities and the dead (Horn. *Od. x. 519*; Porph. *de Antr. Nymph. c. 17*). So also the practice of eating the flesh of sacrifices "over the blood" (Lev. xix. 26; Ex. xxxiii. 25, 26) was, according to Maimonides, common among the Zabii. Spencer gives a double reason for the prohibition: that it was a rite of divination, and divination of the worst kind, a species of necromancy by which they attempted to raise the spirits of the dead (comp. Hor. *Sat. i. 8*). There are supposed to be allusions to the practice of necromancy in Is. lxxv. 4, or at any rate to superstitious rites in connexion with the dead. The grafting of one tree upon another was forbidden, because among idolaters the process was accompanied by gross obscenity (Maim. *Mor. Neb. c. 12*). Cutting the flesh for the dead (Lev. xix. 28; 1 K. xviii. 28), and making a baldness between the eyes (Deut. xiv. 1) were

associated with idolatrous rites: the latter being a custom among the Syrians (Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herod. ii. p. 158 note*). The thrice repeated and much-quoted passage, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21), interpreted by some as a precept of humanity, is explained by Cudworth in a very different manner. He quotes from a Karaitic commentary which he had seen in MS.:—"It was a custom of the ancient heathens, when they had gathered in all their fruit, to take a kid and boil it in the dam's milk, and then in a magical way go about and besprinkle with it all the trees and fields and gardens and orchards; thinking by this means they should make them fructify, and bring forth again more abundantly the following year" (*On the Lord's Supper, c. 2*).<sup>1</sup> The law which regulated clean and unclean meats (Lev. xx. 23-26) may be considered both as a sanitary regulation and also as having a tendency to separate the Israelites from the surrounding idolatrous nations. It was with the same object, in the opinion of Michaelis, that while in the wilderness they were prohibited from killing any animal for food without first offering it to Jehovah (*Leves of Moses*, trans. Smith, art. 203). The mouse, one of the unclean animals of Leviticus (xi. 29), was sacrificed by the ancient Magi (Is. lxvi. 17; Movers, *Phoen. i. 219*). It may have been chosen as such reason as that assigned by Lewis (*Orig. Hebr. g. 1*), that the dog was the symbol of an Egyptian deity, which gave rise to the prohibition in Deut. xxiii. 18. Movers says the dog was offered in sacrifice to Moloch (i. 404), as swine to the moon and Dionysus by the Egyptians, who afterwards ate of the flesh (Her. iii. 47; Is. lxxv. 4). Eating of the things offered was a necessary appendage to the sacrifice (comp. Ex. xviii. 12, xxiii. 6; xxxiv. 15; Num. xxy. 2, &c.). Among the Persians the victim was eaten by the worshippers, and the soul alone left for the god (Strabo, xv. 732). "Hence it is that the idolatry of the Jews in worshipping other gods is so often described synecdochically under the notion of feasting. Is. lvii. 7, 'Upon a high and lofty mountain thou hast set thy bed, and thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice;' for in those ancient times they were not wont to sit at feasts, but lie down on beds or couches. Ez. xxiii. 41; Amos ii. 8, 'They laid themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge by every altar,' i. e. laid themselves down to eat of the sacrifice that was offered on the altar: comp. Ez. xviii. 11" (Cudworth, *ut supra*, c. 1; cf. 1 Cor. viii. 10). The Israelites were forbidden "to print any mark upon them" (Lev. xix. 28), because it was a custom of idolaters to brand upon their flesh some symbol of the deity they worshipped, as the ivy-leaf of Bacchus (3 Mace. ii. 29). According to Lucian (*de Dea Syria*, 59) all the Assyrians wore marks of this kind on their necks and wrists (comp. Is. xlv. 5; Gal. vi. 17; Rev. xlv. 1, 11). Many other practices of false worship are alluded to, and made the subjects of rigorous prohibition, but none are more frequently or more severely denounced than those which peculiarly distinguished the worship of Moloch. It has been attempted to deny that the worship of this idol was polluted by the foul stain of human sacrifice, but the allusions are too plain and too pointed to admit of reasonable doubt (Deut.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomson mentions a favourite dish among the Arabs called *lebs imad*, to which he conceives allusion is made (*The Land and the Book, i. 135*).

xii. 31; 2 K. iii. 27; Jer. vii. 31; Ps. cvi. 37; Ez. xxiii. 39). Nor was this practice confined to the rites of Molech; it extended to those of Baal (Jer. xix. 5), and the king of Moab (2 K. iii. 27) offered his son as a burnt-offering to his god Chemosh. The Phœnicians, we are told by Porphyry (*de Abst.* ii. c. 56), on occasions of great national calamity sacrificed to Kronos one of their dearest friends. Some allusion to this custom may be seen in Micah vi. 7. Kissing the images of the gods (1 K. xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2), hanging votive offerings in their temples (1 Sam. xxi. 10), and carrying them to battle (2 Sam. v. 21), as the Jews of Maccabæus' army did with the things consecrated to the idols of the Jammites (2 Macc. xii. 40), are usages connected with idolatry which are casually mentioned, though not made the objects of express legislation. But soothsaying, interpretation of dreams, necromancy, witchcraft, magic, and other forms of divination, are alike forbidden (Deut. xviii. 9; 2 K. i. 2; Is. lxxv. 4; Ez. xxi. 21). The history of other nations—and indeed the too common practice of the lower class of the population of Syria at the present day—shows us that such a statute as that against bestiality (Lev. xviii. 23) was not unnecessary (cf. Her. ii. 46; Rom. i. 26). Purificatory rites in connexion with idol-worship, and eating of forbidden food, were visited with severe retribution (Is. lxvi. 17). It is evident, from the context of Ez. viii. 17, that the votaries of the sun, who worshipped with their faces to the east (v. 16), and "put the branch to their nose," did so in observance of some idolatrous rite. Movers (*Phœn.* i. 66) unhesitatingly affirms that the allusion is to the branch Barsom, the holy branch of the Magi (*Strabo*, xv. p. 733), while Hävernicks (*Conan. zu Ezech.* p. 117), with equal confidence, denies that the passage supports such an inference, and renders, having in view the lament of the women for Thammuz, "sie entsenden den Trauergesang zu ihren Zorn." The waving of a myrtle branch, says Maimonides (*de Idol.* vi. 2), accompanied the repetition of a magical formula in incantations. An illustration of the usage of boughs in worship will be found in the Greek *lætnpia* (Aesch. *Eum.* 43; *Suppl.* 192; *Schol.* on Aristoph. *Plut.* 383; Porphyry, *de Ant. nymph.* c. 33). For detailed accounts of idolatrous ceremonies, reference must be made to the articles upon the several idols.

III. It remains now briefly to consider the light in which idolatry was regarded in the Mosaic code, and the penalties with which it was visited. If one main object of the Hebrew polity was to teach the unity of God, the extermination of idolatry was but a subordinate end. Jehovah, the God of the Israelites, was the civil head of the State. He was the theocratic king of the people, who had delivered them from bondage, and to whom they had taken a willing oath of allegiance. They had entered into a solemn league and covenant with him as their chosen king (comp. 1 Sam. viii. 7), by whom obedience was requited with temporal blessings, and rebellion with temporal punishment. This original contract of the Hebrew government, as it

has been termed, is contained in Ex. xix. 3-8, xx. 2-5; Deut. xxix. 10-xxx.; the blessings promised to obedience are enumerated in Deut. xxviii. 1-14, and the withering curses on disobedience in verses 15-68. That this covenant was faithfully observed it needs but slight acquaintance with Hebrew history to perceive. Often broken and often renewed on the part of the people (Judg. x. 10; 2 Chr. xv. 12, 13; Neh. ix. 38), it was kept with unwavering constancy on the part of Jehovah. To their kings he stood in the relation, so to speak, of a feudal superior: they were His representatives upon earth, and with them, as with the people before. His covenant was nuptial (1 K. iii. 14, xi. 11). Idolatry, therefore, to an Israelite was a state offence (1 Sam. xv. 23),<sup>a</sup> a political crime of the gravest character, high treason against the majesty of his king. It was a transgression of the covenant (Deut. xvii. 2), "the evil" pre-eminently in the eyes of Jehovah (1 K. xxi. 25, opp. to הַיָּשָׁר, "the right," 2 Chr. xxvii. 2). But it was much more than all this. While the idolatry of foreign nations is stigmatised merely as an abomination in the sight of God, which called for his vengeance, the sin of the Israelites is regarded as of more glaring enormity, and greater moral guilt. In the figurative language of the prophets, the relation between Jehovah and his people is represented as a marriage bond (Is. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 14), and the worship of false gods with all its accompaniments (Lev. xv. 56) becomes then the greatest of social wrongs (Hos. ii.; Jer. iii., &c.). This is beautifully brought out in Hos. ii. 16, where the heathen name Baali, my master, which the apostate Israel has been accustomed to apply to her foreign possessor, is contrasted with Ishi, my man, my husband, the native word which she is to use when restored to her rightful husband, Jehovah. Much of the significance of this figure was unquestionably due to the impurities of idolaters, with whom such corruption was of no merely spiritual character (Ex. xxiv. 16; Num. xxv. 1, 2, &c.), but manifested itself in the grossest and most revolting forms (Rom. i. 26-32).

Regarded in a moral aspect, false gods are called "stumbling blocks" (Ex. xiv. 3), "lies" (Am. ii. 4; Rom. i. 25), "horrors" or "fights" (1 K. xv. 13; Jer. l. 38), "abominations" (Deut. xxix. 17, xxxii. 16; 1 K. xi. 5; 2 K. xxiii. 13), "guilt" (abstract for concrete, Am. viii. 14, אֲשָׁמָה, *ashmâh*, comp. 2 Chr. xxix. 18, perhaps with a play on *Ashima*, 2 K. xvii. 30), and with a profound sense of the degradation consequent upon their worship, they are characterised by the prophets, whose mission it was to warn the people against them (Jer. xlv. 4), as "shame" (Jer. xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). As considered with reference to Jehovah, they are "other gods" (Josh. xxiv. 2, 16), "strange gods" (Deut. xxxii. 16), "new gods" (Judg. v. 8), "devils,—not God" (Deut. xxxii. 17; 1 Cor. x. 20, 21); and, as denoting their foreign origin, "gods of the foreigner" (Josh. xxiv. 14, 15).<sup>b</sup> Their powerlessness is indicated by describing them as "gods that cannot save"

<sup>a</sup> The point of this verse is lost in the A. V.: it should be "for the sin of witchcraft (is) rebellion; and idolatry (lit. vanity) and teraphim (are) stubbornness." The Israelites, contrary to command, had spared of the spoil of the idolatrous Amalekites to offer to Jehovah, and thus associated His worship with that of idols.

<sup>b</sup> In the A. V. the terms אֱלֹהִים, *elôim*, "strange," and נִכְרִים, *nekrîm*, "foreign," are not uniformly distinguished, and the point of a passage is frequently lost by the interchange of one with the other, or by rendering both by the same word. So Ps. lxxxi. 9 should be, "There shall not be in thee a strange god, nor shalt thou worship a foreign god."

(Is. xlv. 20), "that made not the heavens" (Jer. x. 11), "nothing" (Is. xli. 24; 1 Cor. viii. 4), "wind and emptiness" (Is. xli. 29), "vanities of the heathen" (Jer. xiv. 22; Acts. xiv. 15); and yet, while their deity is denied, their personal existence seems to have been acknowledged (Kurtz, *Gesch. d. A. B.* ii. 86, &c.), though not in the same manner in which the pretensions of local deities were reciprocally recognised by the heathen (1 K. xx. 23, 28; 2 K. xvii. 26). Other terms of contempt are employed with reference to idols, עֲלֵלִים, *Ellim* (Lev. xix. 4), and גִּילְלִיִּם, *gillilim* (Deut. xxix. 17), to which different meanings have been assigned, and many which indicate ceremonial uncleanness. [IDOL, p. 849.]

Idolatry, therefore, being from one point of view a political offence, could be punished without infringement of civil rights. No penalties were attached to mere opinions. For aught we know, theological speculation may have been as rife among the Hebrews as in modern times, though such was not the tendency of the Semitic mind. It was not, however, such speculations, heterodox though they might be, but overt acts of idolatry, which were made the subjects of legislation (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 245, 246). The first and second commandments are directed against idolatry of every form. Individuals and communities were equally amenable to the rigorous code. The individual offender was devoted to destruction (Ex. xxii. 20); his nearest relatives were not only bound to denounce him and deliver him up to punishment (Deut. xiii. 2-10), but their hands were to strike the first blow when, on the evidence of two witnesses at least, he was stoned (Deut. xvii. 2-5). To attempt to seduce others to false worship was a crime of equal enormity (Deut. xiii. 6-10). An idolatrous nation shared a similar fate. No facts are more strongly insisted on in the O. T. than that the extermination of the Canaanites was the punishment of their idolatry (Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Deut. vii., xii. 29-31, xx. 17), and that the calamities of the Israelites were due to the same cause (Jer. ii. 17). A city guilty of idolatry was looked upon as a cancer of the state; it was considered to be in rebellion, and treated according to the laws of war. Its inhabitants and all their cattle were put to death. No spoil was taken, but everything it contained was burnt with itself; nor was it allowed to be rebuilt (Deut. xiii. 13-18; Josh. vi. 26). Saul lost his kingdom, Achan his life, and Hiel his family, for transgressing this law (1 Sam. xv.; Josh. vii.; 1 K. xvi. 34). The silver and gold with which the idols were covered were accursed (Deut. vii. 25, 26). And not only were the Israelites forbidden to serve the gods of Canaan (Ex. xxiii. 24), but even to mention their names, that is, to call upon them in prayer or any form of worship (Ex. xxiii. 13; Josh. xxiii. 7). On taking possession of the land they were to obliterate all traces of the existing idolatry; statues, altars, pillars, idol-temples, every person and everything connected with it, were to be swept away (Ex. xxiii. 24, 32, xxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, 25, xii. 1-3, xx. 17), and the name and worship of

the idols blotted out. Such were the precautions taken by the framer of the Mosaic code to preserve the worship of Jehovah, the true God, in its purity. Of the manner in which his descendants have "put a fence" about "the law" with reference to idolatry, many instances will be found in Maimonides (*de Idol.*). They were prohibited from using vessels, scarlet garments, bracelets, or rings, marked with the sign of the sun, moon, or dragon (vii. 10); trees planted or stones erected for idol-worship were forbidden (viii. 5, 10); and, to guard against the possibility of contamination, if the image of an idol were found among other images intended for ornament, they were all to be cast into the Dead Sea (vii. 11).

IV. Much indirect evidence on this subject might be supplied by an investigation of proper names. Mr. Layard has remarked, "According to a custom existing from time immemorial in the East, the name of the Supreme Deity was introduced into the names of men. This custom prevailed from the banks of the Tigris to the Phœnician colonies beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and we recognize in the Sardanapulus of the Assyrians, and the Hannibal of the Carthaginians, the identity of the religious system of the two nations, as widely distinct in the time of their existence as in their geographical position" (*Nin.* ii. 450). The hint which he has given can be but briefly followed out here. Traces of the sun-worship of the ancient Canaanites remain in the nomenclature of their country. Beth-Shemesh, "house of the sun," En-Shemesh, "spring of the sun," and Ir-Shemesh, "city of the sun," whether they be the original Canaanitish names or their Hebrew renderings, attest the reverence paid to the source of light and heat, the symbol of the fertilising power of nature. Samson, the Hebrew national hero, took his name from the same luminary, and was born in a mountain-village above the modern *'Ain Shems* (En-Shemesh; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 361). The name of Baal, the sun-god, is one of the most common occurrence in compound words, and is often associated with places consecrated to his worship, and of which perhaps he was the tutelary deity. Bamoth-Baal, "the high-places of Baal;" Baal-Hermon, Beth-Baal-Meon, Baal-Gad, Baal-Hamon, in which compound the names of the sun-god of Phœnicia and Egypt are associated, Baal-Tamar, and many others, are instances of this.\* Nor was the practice confined to the names of places: proper names are found with the same element. Esh-baal, Ish-baal, &c., are examples. The Amorites, whom Joshua did not drive out, dwelt on Mount Heres, in Ajalon, "the mountain of the sun" [TIMNATH-HERES]. Here and there we find traces of the attempt made by the Hebrews, on their conquest of the country, to extirpate idolatry. Thus Bankah or Kirjath-Baal, "the town of Baal," became Kirjath-Jeolim, "the town of forests" (Josh. xv. 60). The Moon, Ashtar or Ashtaroth, gave her name to a city of Bashan (Josh. xiii. 12, 31), and it is not improbable that the name Jericho may have been derived from being associated with the worship of this goddess. [JERICHO.] Nebo, whether it be the name under which the Chaldeans

\* That temples in Syria, dedicated to the several divinities, did transfer their names to the places where they stood is evident from the testimony of Lucian, an Assyrian himself. His derivation of Hiera from the temple of the Assyrian Hera shows that he was

familiar with the circumstance (*de Dra Syri.* c. 1). Balsampas (= Bethshemesh), a town of Arabia, derived its name from the sun-worship (Vossius, *de Theol. Gent.* ii. c. 8) like Kir Heres (Jer. xlviii. 31) of Moab.

worshipped the Moon or the planet Mercury, enters into many compounds: Nebu-zaradan, Samgar-nebo, and the like. Bel is found in Belshazzar, Belteshazzar, and others. Were Baladan of Semitic origin, it would probably be derived from Baal-Adon, or Adonis, the Phœnician deity to whose worship Jer. xxii. 18 seems to refer; but it has more properly been traced to an Indo-Germanic root. Hadad, Hadadezer, Benhadad, are derived from the tutelary deity of the Syrians, and in Nergalsharezer we recognise the god of the Cushites. Chemosh, the fire-god of Moab, appears in Carchemish, and Peor in Beth-Peor. Malcom, a name which occurs but once, and then of a Moabite by birth, may have been connected with Molech and Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites. A glimpse of star-worship may be seen in the name of the city Chesil, the Semitic Orion, and the month Chisleu, without recognising in Rahab "the glittering fragments of the sea-snake trailing across the northern sky." It would perhaps be going too far to trace in Engedi, 'spring of the kid,' any connexion with the goat-worship of Mendes, or any relics of the wars of the giants in Rapha and Rephaim. First, indeed, recognises in Geli, Venus or Astarte, the goddess of fortune, and identical with Gwl (*Hande*, s. v.). But there are fragments of ancient idolatry in other names in which it is not so palpable. Ishbosheth is identical with Eshbaal, and Jerubbesheth with Jerubbaal, and Mephibosheth and Meribbaal are but two names for one person (cf. Jer. xi. 13). The worship of the Syrian Rimmon appears in the names Hadad, Rimmon, and Tabrimmon; and if, as some suppose, it be derived from רִמְוֹן, *Rimmon*, "a pomegranate-tree," we may connect it with the towns of the same name in Judah and Benjamin, with En-Rimmon and the prevailing tree-worship. It is impossible to pursue this investigation to any length: the hints which have been thrown out may prove suggestive.

[W. A. W.]

ID'UEL (Ἰδουήλος; *Eccelon*), 1 Esd. viii. 43. [ARIEL, 1.]

IDUME'A (Ἰδουμαία; *Idumaea*, *Edom*), Is. xxxiv. 5, 6; Ez. xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 5; 1 Macc. iv. 15, 29, 61, v. 3, vi. 31; 2 Macc. xii. 32; Mark iii. 8. [EDOM.]

IDUME'ANS (οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι; *Idumaei*), 2 Macc. x. 15, 16. [EDOM.]

IGAL (יגאל). 1. (יגאל, Alex. 'יגל; *Igal*, *Igant*). Son of Joseph, of the tribe of Issachar; chosen by Moses to represent that tribe among the spies who went up from Kadesh to search the Promised Land (Num. xiii. 7).

2. One of the heroes of David's guard, son of Nathan of Zobah (2 Sam. xxiii. 36, *Igdal*). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. the name is given as "Joel the brother of Nathan" (xi. 38, יואל). Kennicott, after a minute examination of the passage both in the original and in the ancient versions, decides in favour of the latter as most like the genuine text (*Dissertation*, 212-214).

This name is really identical with IGEAL.

IGDAL'AH (יגדליהו, i. e. *Igdaliahu*; *Igdolias* or *Jegedolias*), a prophet or holy man—"the man of God"—named once only (Jer. xxv. 4), as the father of Hanan, in the chamber of whose sons, the Bene-Hanan, in the house of Jehovah, Jeremiah had that remarkable interview with the Rechabites which is recorded in that chapter.

## IJE-ABARIM

IG'AL (יגאל; יואל; *Jegual*), a son of Shemlah; a descendant of the royal house of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 22). According to the present state of the text of this difficult genealogy he is fourth in descent from Zerubbabel; but, according to Lord A. Hervey's plausible alteration, he is the son of Shimei, brother to Zerubbabel, and therefore but one generation distant from the latter (*Genealogy of our Lord*, 107-109). The name is identical with Igal; and, as in that case, the LXX. give it as Joel.

IM (ים). 1. (ימ; *Ieabarim*). The partial or contracted form of the name IJE-ABARIM, one of the later stations of the Israelites on their journey to Palestine (Num. xxxiii. 45). In the Samaritan version Im is rendered by Cephraui, "villages;" and in the Targum Pseudojon. by Gizzeah, גִּזְזֵי, possibly pointing to sheep-shearing in the locality. But in no way do we gain any clue to the situation of the place.

2. (Βακώα; Alex. *Abelmu*; *Im*), a town in the extreme south of Judah, named in the same group with Beersheba, Hormah, &c. (Josh. xv. 28). The Peshito Syriac version has Elin, ܐܠܝܢ. No trace of the name has yet been discovered in this direction. [G.]

IJE-ABARIM (יְעִי הַעֲבָרִים), with the definite article, Iye ha-Abarim—"the heaps, or ruins, of the further regions;" Jerome ad Fabiolam, *acervos lapidum transeuntium*; Ἀχαλγὰλ, and *Igal*; *Jeebarim*, and *Ieabarim*), one of the later halting places of the children of Israel as they were approaching Palestine (Num. xxi. 11, xxxii. 44). It was next beyond Obotoh, and the station beyond it again was the Wady Zared—the torrent of the willows—probably one of the streams which run into the S.E. angle of the Dead Sea. Between Ijeabarim and Dibon-gad, which succeeds it in Num. xxxiii., the Zared and the Arnon have to be inserted from the parallel accounts of xxi. and Deut. ii. Dibon-gad and Almou-Dblathaim, which lay above the Arnon, having in their turn escaped from the two last-named narratives. Ijeabarim was on the boundary—the S.E. boundary—of the territory of Moab; not on the pasture-downs of the Mishor, the modern *Belka*, but in the *nidbar*, the waste uncultivated "wilderness" on its skirts (xxi. 11). Moab they were expressly forbidden to molest (Deut. ii. 9-12); but we may perhaps be allowed to conclude from the terms of ver. 13, "now rise up" (קָמָה), that they had remained on his frontier in Ije-Abarim for some length of time. No identification of its situation has been attempted, nor has the name been found lingering in the locality, which, however, has yet to be explored. If there is any connexion between the Ije-Abarim and the Har-Abarim, the mountain-range opposite Jericho, then Abarim is doubtless a general appellation for the whole of the highland east of the Dead Sea. [ABARIM.]

The rendering given by the LXX. is remarkable. *Igal* is no doubt a version of Iye—the Ain being converted into G; but whence does the Ἀχαλ come? Can it be the vestige of a *nachal*—"torrent" or "wady"—once attached to the name? The Targum Pseudojon. has Meshre Megizthu—the plain of shearing—which is equally puzzling.

In Num. xxxiii. 45 it is given in the shorter form of Im. [G.]

**IJON** (יִזְוֹן, "ruin;" *Aléon* and *'Ahn*; *Ahion*), a town in the north of Palestine, belonging to the tribe of Naphtali. It was taken and plundered by the captains of Benhadad, along with Dan and other store-cities of Naphtali (1 K. xv. 20; 2 Chr. xvi. 4). It was plundered a second time by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29). We find no farther mention of it in history. At the base of the mountains of Naphtali, a few miles N.W. of the site of Dan, is a fertile and beautiful little plain called *Merj 'Ayán*

(مَرْج عَيُون; the Arabic word *عَيُون*, though different in meaning, is radically identical with the Heb. יִזְוֹן); and near its northern end is a large mound called *Tell Dibbin*. The writer visited it some years ago, and found there the traces of a strong and ancient city. This, in all probability, is the site of the long-lost Ijon (Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. 375). [J. L. P.]

**IK'KESH** (יִקְכֶּשׁ; *'Iska*, *'Ekkís*, *'Ekkîs*, Alex. *'Ekkds*; *Acces*), the father of IRA the Tekoite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 28, xxvii. 9).

**ILAI** (יֵלַי; *Hai*; *Ilaí*), an Aholite, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 29). In the list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given ZALMON. Kennicott (*Dissertation*, 187-8) examines the variations at length, and decides in favour of Ilaí as the original name.

**ILLYRICUM** (Ἰλλυρικόν), an extensive district lying along the eastern coast of the Adriatic from the boundary of Italy on the north to Epirus on the south, and contiguous to Moesia and Macedonia on the east: it was divided by the river Drilo into two portions, Illyris Barbaria, the northern, and Illyris Graeca, the southern. Within these limits was included Dalmatia, which appears to have been used indifferently with Illyricum for a portion, and ultimately for the whole of the district. St. Paul records that he preached the Gospel "round about unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19): he probably uses the term in its most extensive sense, and the part visited (if indeed he crossed the boundary at all) would have been about Dyrrachium. [W. L. B.]

#### IMAGE. [IDOL.]

**IM'LA** (יִמְלָא; *'Emḡad*, Alex. *'Imḡad*; *Jemla*), father or progenitor of Micaiah, the prophet of Jehovah, who was consulted by Ahab and Jehoshaphat before their fatal expedition to Ramoth-gilead (2 Chr. xviii. 7, 8). The form .

**IM'LAH** (יִמְלָה; *'Emḡad*, Alex. *'Imḡad*; *Jemla*) is employed in the parallel narrative (1 K. xxii. 8, 9).

**IMMANUEL** (יִמְּאַנּוּעַל, or in two words in many MSS. and editions, יִמְּאַנּוּעַל: *'Emmanouhā*; *Emmanuel*), the symbolical name given by the prophet Isaiah to the child who was announced to Ahaz and the people of Judah, as the sign which God would give of their deliverance from their enemies (Is. vii. 14). It is applied by the Apostle Matthew to the Messiah, born of the Virgin (Matt.

i. 23). By the LXX. in one passage (Is. vii. 14), and in both passages by the Vulg., Syr., and Targ., it is rendered as a proper name; but in Is. viii. 8 the LXX. translate it literally *μεσ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός*. The verses in question have been the battle-field of critics for centuries, and in their discussions there has been no lack of the *odium theologicon*. As early as the times of Justin Martyr the Christian interpretation was attacked by the Jews, and the position which they occupied has of late years been assumed by many continental theologians. Before proceeding to a discussion, or rather to a classification, of the numerous theories of which this subject has been the fruitful source, the circumstances under which the prophecy was delivered claim especial consideration.

In the early part of the reign of Ahaz the kingdom of Judah was threatened with annihilation by the combined armies of Syria and Israel. A hundred and twenty thousand of the choice warriors of Judah, all "sons of might," had fallen in one day's battle. The Edomites and Philistines had thrown off the yoke (2 Chr. xxiii.). Jerusalem was menaced with a siege; the hearts of the king and of the people "shook, as the trees of a forest shunke before the wind" (Is. vii. 2). The king had gone to "the conduit of the upper pool," probably to take measures for preventing the supply of water from being cut off or falling into the enemy's hand, when the prophet met him with the message of consolation. Not only were the designs of the hostile armies to fail, but within sixty-five years the kingdom of Israel would be overthrown. In confirmation of his words, the prophet bids Ahaz ask a sign of Jehovah, which the king, with pretended humility, refused to do. After administering a severe rebuke to Ahaz for his obstinacy, Isaiah announces the sign which Jehovah Himself would give unasked: "behold! the virgin (הַבְּתוּלָה, *hā-bethūlā*)<sup>a</sup> is with child and beareth a son, and she shall call his name *Immanuel*."

The interpreters of this passage are naturally divided into three classes, each of which admits of subdivisions, as the differences in detail are numerous. The first class consists of those who refer the fulfilment of the prophecy to a historical event, which followed immediately upon its delivery. The majority of Christian writers, till within the last fifty years, form a second class, and apply the prophecy exclusively to the Messiah, while a third class, almost equally numerous, agree in considering both these explanations true, and hold that the prophecy had an immediate and literal fulfilment, but was completely accomplished in the miraculous conception and birth of Christ. Among the first are numbered the Jewish writers of all ages, without exception. Jerome refutes, on chronological grounds, a theory which was current in his day amongst the Jews that the prophecy had reference to Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, who from a comparison of 2 K. xvi. 2 with xviii. 2, must have been nine years old at the time it was delivered. The force of his argument is somewhat weakened by the evident obscurity of the numbers in the passages in question, from which we must infer that Ahaz was

<sup>a</sup> *'Almāh* denotes a girl of marriageable age, but not married, and therefore a virgin by implication. It is never even used, as בְּתוּלָה, *bethūlāh*, which more directly expresses virginity, of a bride or betrothed wife (Joel i. 8). *'Almāh* and *bethūlāh* are

both applied to Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 16, 48), as apparently convertible terms; and in addition to the evidence from the cognate languages, Arabic and Syriac, we have the testimony of Jerome (on Is. vii. 14) that in Punic *Alma* denoted a virgin.

eleven years old at the time of Hezekiah's birth. By the Jews in the middle ages this explanation was abandoned as untenable, and in consequence some, as Jaichi and Aben Ezra, refer the prophecy to a son of Isaiah himself, and others to a son of Ahaz by another wife, as Kimchi and Abarbanel. In this case, the 'almah is explained as the wife or betrothed wife of the prophet, or as a later wife of Ahaz. Kelle (Ges. *Comm. über den Jesaja*) degrades her to the third rank of ladies in the harem (comp. Cant. vi. 28). Hitzig (*der Proph. Jesaja*) rejects Gesenius' application of 'almah to a second wife of the prophet, and interprets it of the prophetess mentioned in viii. 3. Hendewerk (*des Proph. Jesaja Weissag.*) follows Gesenius. In either case the prophet is made to fulfil his own prophecy. Isenbiehl, a pupil of Michaelis, defended the historical sense with considerable learning, and suffered unworthy persecution for expressing his opinions. The 'almah in his view was some Hebrew girl who was present at the colloquy between Isaiah and Ahaz, and to whom the prophet pointed as he spoke. This opinion was held by Bauer, Cube, and Rosenmüller (1st ed.). Michaelis, Eichhorn, Paulus, and Ammon, give her a merely ideal existence; while Umbreit allows her to be among the bystanders, but explains the pregnancy and birth as imaginary only. Interpreters of the second class, who refer the prophecy solely to the Messiah, of course understand by the 'almah the Virgin Mary. Among these, Vitringa (*Obs. Sacr. v. c. 1*) vigorously opposes those, who, like Grotius, Pellicanus, and Tirinus, conceded to the Jews that the reference to Christ Jesus was not direct and immediate, but by way of typical allusion. For, he maintains, a young married woman of the time of Ahaz and Isaiah, could not be a type of the Virgin, nor could her issue by her husband be a figure of the child to be born of the Virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Against this hypothesis of a solely Messianic reference, it is objected that the birth of the Messiah could not be a sign of deliverance to the people of Judah in the time of Ahaz. In reply to this, Theodoret advances the opinion that the birth of the Messiah involved the conservation of the family of Jesse, and therefore by implication of the Jewish state. Cocceius argues on the same side, that the sign of the Messiah's birth would intimate that in the interval the kingdom and state of the Jews could not be alienated from God, and besides it confirms ver. 8, indicating that before the birth of Christ Judaea should not be subject to Syria, as it was when Archelaus was removed, and it was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Of all these explanations Vitringa disapproves and states his own conclusion, which is also that of Calvin and Piscator, to be the following:—In vers. 14-16, the prophet gives a sign to the pious in Israel of their deliverance from the impending danger, and in vers. 17, &c. announces the evils which the Assyrians, not the Syrians, should inflict upon Ahaz and such of his people as resembled him. As surely as Messiah would be born of the virgin, so surely would God deliver the Jews from the threatened evil. The principle of interpretation here made use of is founded by Calvin on the custom of the prophets, who confirmed special promises by the assurance that God would send a redeemer. But this explanation involves another difficulty, besides that which arises from the distance of the event predicted. Before the child shall arrive at years of discretion the prophet announces the desolation of

the land whose kings threatened Ahaz. By this Vitringa understands that no more time would elapse before the former event was accomplished than would intervene between the birth and youth of Immanuel, an argument too far-fetched to have much weight. Hengstenberg (*Christology*, ii. 44-66 Eng. trans.) supports to the full the Messianic interpretation, and closely connects vi. 14, with ix. 6. He admits frankly that the older explanation of vers. 15, 16 has exposed itself to the charge of being arbitrary, and confidently propounds his own method of removing the stumbling-block. "In ver. 14 the prophet had seen the birth of the Messiah as present. Holding fast this idea and expanding it, the prophet makes him who has been born accompany the people through all the stages of its existence. We have here an *ideal anticipation of the real incarnation* . . . . What the prophet means, and intends to say here 'is, that, in the space of about a twelvemonth, the overthrow of the hostile kingdoms would already have taken place. As the representative of the contemporaries, he brings forward the wonderful child who, as it were, formed the soul of the popular life . . . . In the subsequent prophecy, the same wonderful child, grown up into a warlike hero, brings the deliverance from Assyria, and the world's power represented by it." The learned professor thus admits the double sense in the case of Assyria, but denies its application to Immanuel. It would be hard to say whether text or commentary be the more obscure.

In view of the difficulties which attend these explanations of the prophecy, the third class of interpreters above alluded to have recourse to a theory which combines the two preceding, viz., the hypothesis of the double sense. They suppose that the immediate reference of the prophet was to some contemporary occurrence, but that his words received their true and full accomplishment in the birth of the Messiah. Jerome (*Comm. in Esaiam*, vii. 14) mentions an interpretation of some Judaizers that Immanuel was the son of Isaiah, born of the prophetess, as a type of the Saviour, and that his name indicates the calling of the nations after the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. Something of the same kind is proposed by Dathe; in his opinion "the miracle, while it immediately repeated the times of the prophet, was a type of the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary." Dr. Pyc Smith conjectured that it had an immediate reference to Hezekiah, "the virgin" being the queen of Ahaz; but, like some other prophetic testimonies, had another and a designed reference to some remoter circumstance, which when it occurred would be the real fulfilment, answering every feature and filling up the entire extent of the original delineation (*Scrip. Test. to the Messiah*, i. 357, 3rd ed.). A serious objection to the application of the prophecy of Hezekiah has already been mentioned. Kennicott separates ver. 16 from the three preceding, applying the latter to Christ, the former to the son of Isaiah (*Sermon on Is. vii. 13-16*).

Such in brief are some of the principal opinions which have been held on this important question. From the manner in which the quotation occurs in Matt. i. 23, there can be no doubt that the Evangelist did not use it by way of accommodation, but as having in view its actual accomplishment. Whatever may have been his opinion as to any contemporary or immediate reference it might contain, this was completely obscured by the full conviction that burst upon him when he realised its

completion in the Messiah. What may have been the light in which the promise was regarded by the prophet's contemporaries we are not in a position to judge; the hypothesis of the double sense satisfies most of the requirements of the problem, and as it does less violence to the text than the others which have been proposed, and is at the same time supported by the analogy of the Apostle's quotations from the O. T. (Matt. ii. 15, 18, 23; iv. 15), we accept it as approximating most nearly to the true solution. [W. A. W.]

**IMMER** (עִמֶּר; 'Εμμερ; *Emmer*), apparently the founder of an important family of priests, although the name does not occur in any genealogy which allows us to discover his descent from Aaron (1 Chr. ix. 12; Neh. xi. 13). This family had charge of, and gave its name to, the sixteenth course of the service (1 Chr. xxiv. 14). From them came I'ashur, chief governor of the Temple in Jeremiah's time, and his persecutor (Jer. xx. 1). They returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr. ii. 37; Neh. vii. 40). Zadok ben-Immer repaired his own house (Neh. iii. 29), and two other priests of the family put away their foreign wives (Ezr. x. 20). But it is remarkable that the name is omitted from the list of those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah, and also of those who came up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and who are stated to have had descendants surviving in the next generation—the days of Joiakim (see Neh. xii. 1, 10, 12-21). [EMMER.] Different from the foregoing must be

2. (Εμμερ, 'Εμμερ, *Emmer*), apparently the name of a place in Babylonia from which certain persons returned to Jerusalem with the first caravan, who could not satisfactorily prove their genealogy (Ezr. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). In 1 Esdras the name is given as 'Ααδα.

**IM'NA** (יִמְנָה; 'Ιμνα; *Jemna*), a descendant of Asher, son of Helem, and one of the "chief princes" of the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 35; comp. 40).

**IM'NAH** (יִמְנָה; 'Ιμνα; *Jemna*). 1. The first-born of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30). In the Pentateuch the name (identical with the present) is given in the A. V. as **JIMNAH**.

2. Kore ben-Imnah, the Levite, assisted in the reforms of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 14).

**IM'RAH** (יִמְרָה; 'Ιμρα; *Jemra*), a descendant of Asher, of the family of ΖΟΡΙΑΗ (1 Chr. vii. 36), and named as one of the chiefs of the tribe.

**IM'RI** (יִמְרִי; 'Αμρα; *Amra*), Alex. omits; *Onrai*, but it seems to have changed places with the preceding name). A man of Judah of the great family of I'pharez (1 Chr. ix. 4).

2. ('Αμρα; *Amra*), father or progenitor of ZACOURI, who assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 2).

**INCENSE**, קְטֹרֶת (*ketōrēth*), Deut. xxxiii. 10; קְטֹרֶת (*ketōrēth*), Ex. xxv. 6, xxx. 1, &c.; לְבֹנָה (*lebōnāh*), Is. xlii. 23, lx. 6, &c. The incense employed in the service of the tabernacle was distinguished as קְטֹרֶת הַשָּׁמִימִים (*ketōrēth hassāmīm*), Ex. xxv. 6, from being compounded of the perfumes stacte, onycha, galbanum, and pure

frankincense. All incense which was not made of these ingredients was called קְטֹרֶת זָרָה (*ketōrēth zārāh*), Ex. xxx. 9, and was forbidden to be offered. According to Rashi on Ex. xxx. 34, the above-mentioned perfumes were mixed in equal proportions, seventy manehs being taken of each. They were compounded by the skill of the apothecary, to whose use, according to Rabbinical tradition, was devoted a portion of the temple, called, from the name of the family whose especial duty it was to prepare the incense, "the house of Abtines." So in the large temples of India "is retained a man whose chief business it is to distill sweet waters from flowers, and to extract oil from wood, flowers, and other substances" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 82). The priest or Levite to whose care the incense was intrusted, was one of the fifteen מְמַדְּבִינִים (*memdabinin*), or prefects of the temple. Constant watch was kept in the house of Abtines that the incense might always be in readiness (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. אֲבִיטִינִים).

In addition to the four ingredients already mentioned Jarchi enumerates seven others, thus making eleven, which the Jewish doctors affirm were communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai. Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, §5) mentions thirteen. The proportions of the additional spices are given by Maimonides (*Cele hammikdash*, ii. 2, §3) as follows. Of myrrh, cassia, spikenard, and saffron, sixteen manehs each. Of costus twelve manehs, cinnamon nine manehs, sweet bark three manehs. The weight of the whole confection was 368 manehs. To these was added the fourth part of a cab of salt of Sodom, with amber of Jordan, and a hebel called "the smoke-raiser" (מַעֲלֵה עֹשֶׁן, *ma'aleh āshēn*), known only to the cunning in such matters, to whom the secret descended by tradition. In the ordinary daily service one maneh was used, half in the morning and half in the evening. Allowing then one maneh of incense for each day of the solar year, the three manehs which remained were again pounded, and used by the high-priest on the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 12). A store of it was constantly kept in the temple (*Jos. B. J.* vi. 8, §3).

The incense possessed the threefold characteristic of being salted (not *tempered* as in A. V.), pure and holy. Salt was the symbol of incorruptness, and nothing, says Maimonides, was offered without it, except the wine of the drink-offerings, the blood, and the wood (cf. Lev. ii. 13). The expression

כֶּבֶד בֶּבֶד (*bad bebad*), Ex. xxx. 34, is interpreted by the Chaldees "weight by weight," that is, an equal weight of each (cf. Jarchi, in *loc.*); and this rendering is adopted by our version. Others however, and among them Aben Ezra and Maimonides, consider it as signifying that each of the spices was separately prepared, and that all were afterwards mixed. The incense thus compounded was specially set apart for the service of the sanctuary: its desecration was punished with death (Ex. xxx. 37, 38); as in some part of India, according to Michuclis (*Mosaisch. Recht*, art. 249), it was considered high treason for any person to make use of the best sort of *Culmbak*, which was for the service of the king alone.

Aaron, as high-priest, was originally appointed to offer incense, but in the daily service of the second temple the office devolved upon the inferior priests, from among whom one was chosen by lot (*Mishna, Yoma*, ii. 4; Luke i. 9), each morning

and evening (Abarbanel on *Lev.* x. 1). A peculiar blessing was supposed to be attached to this service, and in order that all might share in it, the lot was cast among those who were "new to the incense," if any remained (*Mishn. Yoma, l. c.*; Bartenora on *Tamid*, v. 2). Uzziah was punished for his presumption in attempting to infringe the prerogatives of the descendants of Aaron, who were consecrated to burn incense (2 Chr. xxvi. 16-21; *Jos. Ant.* ix. 10, 4). The officiating priest appointed another, whose office it was to take the fire from the brazen altar. According to Maimonides (*Tamid*, *Umus*, ii. 8, iii. 5) this fire was taken from the second pile, which was over against the S.E. corner of the altar of burnt-offering, and was of fig-tree wood. A silver shovel (מַחְלֵה, *machlah*) was first filled with the live coals, and afterwards emptied into a golden one, smaller than the former, so that some of the coals were spilled (*Mishna, Tamid*, v. 5, *Yoma*, iv. 4; cf. *Rev.* viii. 5). Another priest cleared the golden altar from the cinders which had been left at the previous offering of incense (*Mishna, Tamid*, iii. 6, 9, vi. 1).

The times of offering incense were specified in the instructions first given to Moses (*Ex.* xxx. 7, 8). The morning incense was offered when the lamps were trimmed in the Holy place, and before the sacrifice, when the watchman set for the purpose announced the break of day (*Mishna, Yoma*, iii. 1, 5). When the lamps were lighted "between the evenings," after the evening sacrifice and before the drink-offerings were offered, incense was again burnt on the golden altar, which "belonged to the oracle" (1 K. vi. 22), and stood before the veil which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies, the throne of God (*Rev.* viii. 4; Philo, *de Anim. idon.* § 3).

When the priest entered the Holy place with the incense, all the people were removed from the temple, and from between the porch and the altar (Maimon. *Tamid*, *Umus*, iii. 3; cf. *Luke* i. 10). The incense was then brought from the house of Abtines in a large vessel of gold called קַדִּיחַ (*qadich*), in which was a phial (קִיבִּי, *bazic*, properly "a salver") containing the incense (*Mishna, Tamid*, v. 4). The assistant priests who attended to the lamps, the clearing of the golden altar from the cinders, and the fetching fire from the altar of burnt-offering, performed their offices singly, bowed towards the ark of the covenant, and left the Holy place before the priest, whose lot it was to offer incense, entered. Profound silence was observed among the congregation who were praying without (cf. *Rev.* viii. 1), and at a signal from the prefect the priest cast the incense on the fire (*Mishna, Tamid*, vi. 3), and bowing reverently towards the Holy of Holies retired slowly backwards, not prolonging his prayer that he might not alarm the congregation, or cause them to fear that he had been struck dead for offering unworthily (*Lev.* xvi. 13; *Luke* i. 21; *Mishna, Yoma*, v. 1). When he came out he pronounced the blessing in *Num.* vi. 24-26, the "magrephah" sounded, and the Levites burst forth into song, accompanied by the full swell of the temple music, the sound of which, say the Rabbins, could be heard as far as Jericho (*Mishna, Tamid*, iii. 8). It is possible that this may be alluded to in *Rev.* viii. 5. The priest then emptied the censer in a clean place, and hung it on one of the horns of the altar of burnt-offering.

On the day of atonement the service was different.

The high-priest, after sacrificing the bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his family, took incense in his left hand and a golden shovel filled with live coals from the west side of the brazen altar (*Jarchi on Lev.* xvi. 12) in his right, and went into the Holy of Holies. He then placed the shovel upon the ark between the two bars. In the second temple, where there was no ark, a stone was substituted. Then sprinkling the incense upon the coals, he stayed till the house was filled with smoke, and walking slowly backwards came without the veil, where he prayed for a short time (Maimonides, *Yom hakkipur*, quoted by Ainsworth on *Lev.* xvi.; Outram *de Sacrificiis*, i. 8. § 11).

The offering of incense has formed a part of the religious ceremonies of most ancient nations. The Egyptians burnt resin in honour of the sun at its rising, myrrh when in its meridian, and a mixture called Kuphi at its setting (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* v. 315). Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* c. 52, 80) describes Kuphi as a mixture of sixteen ingredients. "In the temple of Siva incense is offered to the Lingam six times in twenty-four hours" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 468). It was an element in the idolatrous worship of the Israelites (*Jer.* xi. 12, 17, xlviii. 35; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 25).

With regard to the symbolical meaning of incense, opinions have been many and widely differing. While Maimonides regarded it merely as a perfume designed to counteract the effluvia arising from the beasts which were slaughtered for the daily sacrifice, other interpreters have allowed their imaginations to run riot, and vied with the wildest speculations of the Midrashim. Philo (*Quis rer. div. haer. sit.* § 41, p. 501) conceives the stacte and onycha to be symbolical of water and earth; galbanum and frankincense of air and fire. Josephus, following the traditions of his time, believed that the ingredients of the incense were chosen from the products of the sea, the inhabited and the uninhabited parts of the earth, to indicate that all things are of God and for God (*B. J.* v. 5, § 5). As the temple or tabernacle was the palace of Jehovah, the theocratic king of Israel, and the ark of the covenant his throne, so the incense, in the opinion of some, corresponded to the perfumes in which the luxurious monarchs of the East delighted. It may mean all this, but it must mean much more. Grotius, on *Ex.* xxx. 1, says the mystical signification is "suum habenda corda." Cornelius a Lapide, on *Ex.* xxx. 34, considers it as an apt emblem of propitiation, and finds a symbolical meaning in the several ingredients. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, ii. 320), with many others, looks upon prayer as the reality of which incense is the symbol, founding his conclusion upon *Ps.* cxli. 2; *Rev.* v. 8, viii. 3, 4. Bähr (*Symb. d. Mos. Cult.* vol. i., c. vi. § 4) opposes this view of the subject, on the ground that the chief thing in offering incense is not the producing of the smoke, which presses like prayer towards heaven, but the spreading of the fragrance. His own exposition may be summed up as follows. Prayer, among all Oriental nations, signifies calling upon the name of God. The oldest prayers consisted in the mere enumeration of the several titles of God. The Scripture places incense in close relationship to prayer, so that offering incense is synonymous with worship. Hence incense itself is a symbol of the name of God. The ingredients of the incense correspond severally to the perfections of God, though it is impossible to decide to which of the four names of God each belongs. Perhaps

stacte corresponds to יְהוָה (*Jehovah*), onycha to יְהוָה (*Eldham*); galbanum to חַי (*chai*), and frankincense to קְדוֹשׁ (*hqdsh*). Such is Bähr's exposition of the symbolism of incense, rather ingenious than logical. Looking upon incense in connexion with the other ceremonial observances of the Mosaic ritual, it would rather seem to be symbolical, not of prayer itself, but of that which makes prayer acceptable, the intercession of Christ. In Rev. viii. 3, 4, the incense is spoken of as something distinct from, though offered with, the prayers of all the saints (cf. Luke i. 10); and in Rev. v. 8 it is the golden vials, and not the odours or incense, which are said to be the prayers of saints. Ps. cxli. 2, at first sight, appears to militate against this conclusion; but if it be argued from this passage that incense is an emblem of prayer, it must also be allowed that the evening sacrifice has the same symbolical meaning. [W. A. W.]

INDIA (יִנְדִּי, i. e. Hoddu; Ἰνδία; *India*). The name of India does not occur in the Bible before the book of Esther, where it is noticed as the limit of the territories of Ahasuerus in the east, as Ethiopia was in the west (1. i; viii. 9); the names are similarly connected by Herodotus (vii. 9). The Hebrew form "*Hoddu*" is an abbreviation of *Honadu*, which is identical with the indigenous names of the river Indus, "*Hindu*," or "*Sindhu*," and again with the ancient name of the country as it appears in the Vendidad, "*Hapta Hendu*," The native form "*Sindus*" is noticed by Pliny (vi. 23). The India of the book of Esther is not the peninsula of Hindostan, but the country surrounding the Indus — the *Punjab*, and perhaps *Scinde* — the India which Herodotus describes (iii. 98) as forming part of the Persian empire under Darius, and the India which at a later period was conquered by Alexander the Great. The name occurs in the inscriptions of Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam, but not in those of Behistun (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 485). In 1 Macc. viii. 8 India is reckoned among the countries which Eumenes, king of Pergamus, received out of the former possessions of Antiochus the Great. It is clear that India proper cannot be understood, inasmuch as this never belonged either to Antiochus or Eumenes. At the same time none of the explanations offered by commentators are satisfactory: the Eneiti of Paphlagonia have been suggested, but these people had disappeared long before (Strab. xii. 534): the India of Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 5, §3, iii. 2, §25), which may have been above the Carian stream named Indus (Plin. v. 29, probably the Calbis), is more likely; but the emendation "*Mysia and Ionia*" for *Media and India*, offers the best solution of the difficulty. [IGNIA.] A more authentic notice of the country occurs in 1 Macc. vi. 37, where Indians are noticed as the drivers of the war-elephants introduced into the army of the Syrian king. (See also 1 Ead. iii. 2; Esth. xiii. 1; xvi. 1).

But though the name of India occurs so seldom, the people and productions of that country must have been tolerably well known to the Jews. There is undoubted evidence that an active trade was carried on between India and Western Asia: the

Tyrians established their depôts on the shores of the Persian gulf, and procured "horns of ivory and ebony," "brodered work and rich apparel" (Ez. xxvii. 15, 24), by a route which crossed the Arabian desert by land, and then followed the coasts of the Indian ocean by sea. The trade opened by Solomon with Ophir through the Red Sea chiefly consisted of Indian articles, and some of the names even of the articles, *alghumim*, "sandal wood," *kophim*, "apes," *thuccim*, "peacocks," are of Indian origin (Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii. 133); to which we may add the Hebrew name of the "topaz," *piddah*, derived from the Sanscrit *ptita*. There is a strong probability that productions of yet greater utility were furnished by India through Syria to the shores of Europe, and that the Greeks derived both the term *κασιόρεπος* (comp. the Sanscrit *kastura*), and the article it represents, "tin," from the coasts of India. The connexion thus established with India led to the opinion that the Indians were included under the ethnological title of Cush, (Gen. x. 6), and hence the Syrian, Chaldaean, and Arabic versions frequently render that term by India or Indians, as in 2 Chr. xxi. 16; Is. xi. 11, xviii. 1; Jer. xlii. 23; Zeph. iii. 10. For the connexion which some have sought to establish between India and Paradise, see EDEN. [W. L. B.]

INHERITANCE. [HEIR.]

INK, INKHORN. [WRITING.]

INN (יָלֵן, *málón*; κατάλυμα, *panthokeion*).

The Hebrew word thus rendered literally signifies "a lodging-place for the night." <sup>a</sup> Inns, in our sense of the term, were, as they still are, unknown in the East where hospitality is religiously practised. The khans, or caravanserais, are the representatives of European inns, and these were established but gradually. It is doubtful whether there is any allusion to them in the Old Testament. The halting-place of a caravan was selected originally on account of its proximity to water or pasture, by which the travellers pitched their tents and passed the night. Such was undoubtedly the "inn" at which occurred the incident in the life of Moses, narrated in Ex. iv. 24. It was probably one of the halting-places of the Ishmaelitic merchants who traded to Egypt with their camel-loads of spices. Moses was on his journey from the land of Midian, and the merchants in Gen. xxxvii. are called indiscriminately Ishmaelites and Midianites. At one of these stations, too, the first which they reached after leaving the city, and no doubt within a short distance from it, Joseph's brethren discovered that their money had been replaced in their wallets (Gen. xlii. 27).

Increased commercial intercourse, and in later times religious enthusiasm for pilgrimages <sup>b</sup> gave rise to the establishment of more permanent accommodation for travellers. On the more frequented routes, remote from towns (Jer. ix. 2), caravanserais were in course of time erected, often at the expense of the wealthy. The following description of one of those on the road from Baghdad to Babylon will suffice for all:—"It is a large and substantial square building, in the distance resembling

<sup>a</sup> In the language of the A. V. "to lodge" has the force of remaining for the night. The word יָלֵן is rendered in 1 K. xix. 9 "lodge;" in Gen. xix. 2 "tarry all night;" comp. also Jer. xiv. 8, &c.

<sup>b</sup> The erection of hospitals in the middle ages was

due to the same cause. Paula, the friend of Jerome, built several on the road to Bethlehem; and the Scotch and Irish residents in France erected hospitals for the use of pilgrims of their own nation, on their way to Rome (Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 457). Hence *hospital*, *hostel*, and finally *hotel*.

a fortress, being surrounded with a lofty wall, and flanked by round towers to defend the inmates in case of attack. Passing through a strong gateway, the guest enters a large court, the sides of which are divided into numerous arched compartments, open in front, for the accommodation of separate parties and for the reception of goods. In the centre is a spacious raised platform, used for sleeping upon at night, or for the devotions of the faithful during the day. Between the outer wall and the compartments are wide vaulted arcades, extending round the entire building, where the benches of burden are placed. Upon the roof of the arcades is an excellent terrace, and over the gateway an elevated tower containing two rooms—one of which is open at the sides, permitting the occupants to enjoy every breath of air that passes across the heated plain. The terrace is tolerably clean; but the court and stabling below are ankle-deep in chopped straw and filth" (Loftus, *Chaldean*, p. 13). The great khans established by the Persian kings and great men, at intervals of about six miles on the roads from Baghdad to the sacred places, are provided with stables for the horses of the pilgrims. "Within these stables, on both sides, are other cells for travellers" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 478 note). The "stall" or "manger," mentioned in Luke ii. 7, was probably in a stable of this kind. Such khans are sometimes situated near running streams, or have a supply of water of some kind, but the traveller must carry all his provisions with him (Ouseley, *Trav. in Persia*, i. 261 note). At Damascus the khans are, many of them, substantial buildings; the small rooms which surround the court, as well as those above them which are entered from a gallery, are used by the merchants of the city for depositing their goods (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 33). The *wekhels* of modern Egypt are of a similar description (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 10).

"The house of paths" (Prov. viii. 2, *ἐν οὐκῶν οὐδὲν*, *Vers. Ven.*), where Wisdom took her stand, is understood by some to refer appropriately to a khan built where many ways met and frequented by many travellers. A similar meaning has been attached to כְּנָחָם, כְּנָחָם *Chinnam*, "the hostel of Chinnam" (Jer. xli. 17) beside Bethlehem, built by the liberality of the son of Barzillai for the benefit of those who were going down to Egypt (Stanley, *S. & P.*, 163; App. §90). The Targum says, "which David gave to Chinnam, son of Barzillai the Gileadite" (comp. 2 Sam. xix. 37, 38). With regard to this passage, the ancient versions are strangely at variance. The LXX. had evidently another reading with כ and נ transposed, which they left untranslated γαβηραχαμδα, Alex. γγ-βηρωχαμδαμ. The Vulgate, if intended to be literal, must have read נָרִים כְּנָחָם, *pergrinantes in Chavum*. The Arabic, following the Alexandrian MS., read it *ἐν γγ Βηρωχαμδαμ*, "in the land of Berothchamam." The Syriac has ܠܐܝܬܐ, *l'adé*, "in the threshing-floors," as if כְּנָחָם, *begornoth*. Josephus had a reading different from all, כְּנָחָם, *begidnith*, "in the folds of" Chinnam; for he says the fugitives went "to a certain place called Mandra" (Μάνδρα λεγόμενον, *Ant.* x. 9, §5), and in this he was followed by Aquila and the Hexaplar Syriac.

The *πανδοκειον* (Luke x. 34) probably differed from the *κατάλυμα* (Luke ii. 7) in having a "host"

or "innkeeper" (*πανδοκός*, Luke x. 35), who supplied some few of the necessary provisions, and attended to the wants of travellers left to his charge. The word has been adopted in the later Hebrew, and appears in the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) under the form פֻּנְדָּק, *pándak*, and the host is פֻּנְדָּקִי, *pándaki*. The Jews were forbidden to put up their beasts at establishments of this kind kept by idolaters (*Aboda Zara*, ii. 1). It appears that houses of entertainment were sometimes, as in Egypt (Her. ii. 35), kept by women, whose character was such that their evidence was regarded with suspicion. In the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) a tale is told of a company of Levites who were travelling to Zoar, the City of Palms, when one of them fell ill on the road and was left by his comrades at an inn, under the charge of the hostess (פֻּנְדָּקִית, *pándakith* = *πανδοκειστροφα*). On their return to enquire for their friend, the hostess told them he was dead and buried, but they refused to believe her till she produced his staff, wallet, and roll of the law. In Josh. ii. 1, זֹנָה, *zónah*, the term applied to Rahab, is rendered in the Targum of Jonathan פֻּנְדָּקִיתָא, *pándakithá*, "a woman who keeps an inn." So in Judg. xi. 1, of the mother of Jephthah; of Dalilah (Judg. xvi. 1) and the two women who appealed to Solomon (1 K. iii. 16). The words, in the opinion of Kimchi on Josh. ii. 1, appear to have been synonymous.

In some parts of modern Syria a nearer approach has been made to the European system. The people of *es-Salt*, according to Burckhardt, support four taverns (*Menzel* or *Medhufe*) at the public expense. At these the traveller is furnished with everything he may require, so long as he chooses to remain, provided his stay is not unreasonably protracted. The expenses are paid by a tax on the heads of families, and a kind of landlord superintends the establishment (*Trav. in Syria*, p. 36). [W. A. W.]

**INSTANT, INSTANTLY.** A word employed by our translators in the N. T. with the force of urgency or earnestness, to render five distinct Greek words. We still say "at the instance of," but as that sense is no longer attached to "instant"—though it is still to the verb "insist," and to other compounds of the same root, such as "persist," "constant"—it has been thought advisable to notice its occurrences. They afford an interesting example, if an additional one be needed, of the close connexion which there is between the Authorised Version and the Vulgate; the Vulgate having, as will be seen, suggested the word in three out of its five occurrences.

1. *σπουδαίως*—"they besought Him instantly" (Luke vii. 4). This word is elsewhere commonly rendered "earnestly," which is very suitable here.
2. *ἐπέειπτο*, from *ἐπιλαμβάνω*, to lie upon:—"they were instant with loud voices" (Vulg. *instabant*), Luke xlii. 23. This might be rendered "they were pressing" (as in ver. 1).
3. *ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ*, "instantly serving God" (Acts xxvi. 7). The metaphor at the root of this word is that of stretching—on the stretch. Elsewhere in the A. V. it is represented by "fervently."
4. *προσκαρτεροῦντες*, "continuing instant" (Rom. xii. 12), Vulg. *instantes*. Here the adjective is hardly necessary, the word being elsewhere rendered by "continuing"—or to preserve the rhythm of so familiar a sentence—"continuing steadfast" (as Acts ii. 42).

5. ἐπιστηθῆ, from ἐπιστάδαι, to stand by or upon—"be instant in season out of season" (2 Tim. iv. 2), Vulg. *insta*. Four verses further on it is rendered, "is at hand." The sense is "stand ready"—"be alert" for whatever may happen. Of the five words this is the only one which contains the same metaphor as "instant."

In Luke ii. 38, "that instant" is literally "that same hour,"—αὐτῇ ᾧ ὥρῃ. [G.]

IO'NIA (Ἰωνία). The substitution of this word for ἡ Ἰνδική in 1 Mac. viii. 8 (A. V. "India") is a conjecture of Grotius without any authority of MSS. It must be acknowledged, however, that the change removes a great difficulty, especially if, as the same commentator suggests, Μυσία [MYΣΙΑ] be substituted for Μηδία or Μηδία in the same context. The passage refers to the cession of territory which the Romans forced Antiochus the Great to make; and it is evident that India and Media are nothing to the purpose, whereas Ionia and Mysia were among the districts *cis* Taurum, which were given up to Eumenes.

As to the term Ionia, the name was given in early times to that part of the western coast of Asia Minor which lay between Aeolis on the north and Doris on the south. These were properly ethnological terms, and had reference to the tribes of Greek settlers along this shore. Ionia, with its islands, was celebrated for its twelve, afterwards thirteen cities; five of which, Ephesus, Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, and Samos, are conspicuous in the N. T. In Roman times Ionia ceased to have any political significance, being absorbed in the province of Asia. The term, however, was still occasionally used, as in Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, §3, from which passage we learn that the Jews were numerous in this district. This whole chapter in Josephus is very interesting, as a geographical illustration of that part of the coast. [JAVAN.] [J. S. H.]

IPHEDEI'AI (Ἰφειδαί), 'Iephad'as, Alex. 'Iephad'as: *Jephadai*, a descendant of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 25); specially named as a chief of the tribe, and as residing in Jerusalem (comp. 28).

IR (עִיר; 'Aq, as if עור; Alex. 'Aqd: *Hir*), 1 Chr. vii. 12. [IIR.]

IRA (עִירָא; *Ira*). 1. ('Ips, Alex. *Elps*). "The Jairite," named in the catalogue of David's great officers (2 Sam. xx. 26) as "priest to David" (פֶּהָרִי; A. V. "a chief ruler"). The Peshito version for "Jairite" has "from Jathir," i. e., probably JATHIR, where David had found friends during his troubles with Saul. [JAIRITE.] If this can be maintained, and it certainly has an air of probability then this Ira is identical with

2. ('Ipas, Alex. *Elps*) "Ira the Ithrite" (יְהִיתִיר; A. V. omits the article), that is, the Jathirite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chr. xi. 40). [ITHRITE; JATHIR; JETHER.]

3. ('Ipas, 'Aqd, Alex. 'Aqal; *Hira*). Another member of David's guard, a Tekoite, son of Ikkeh (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 28). Ira was leader of the sixth monthly course of 24,000, as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxvii. 9).

IRAD (עִירָד; *Irad*) in both MSS.; Joseph. 'Irad'as; Syr. Idar; *Irād*, son of Enoch; grandson of Cain, and father of Mehujael (Gen. iv. 18).

IRAM (עִירָם; *Zaphan*; Hiram; "belonging to a city," Ges.), a leader (חֹמֶל; LXX. *ἡγεμὼν*; "phylarch," A. V. "duke") of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Chr. i. 54), i. e., the chief of a family or tribe. He occurs in the list of "the names of the dukes [that came] of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names" (Gen. xxxvi. 40-43); but none of these names is found in the genealogy of Esau's immediate descendants; the latter being separated from them by the enumeration of the sons of Seir and the kings of Edom, both in Gen. and Chr. They were certainly descendants of Esau, but in what generation is not known; evidently not in a remote one. The sacred records are generally confined to the history of the chosen race, and the reason of the exclusion of the Edomite genealogy beyond the second generation is thus explicable. In remarking on this gap in the genealogy, we must add that there appears to be no safe ground for supposing a chronological sequence of sons and grandsons of Esau, sons of Seir, kings of Edom, and lastly descendants of Esau again, ruling over the Edomites. These were probably in part, or wholly, contemporaneous; and עִירָם we think should be regarded as signifying a chief of a tribe, &c. (as rendered above), rather than a king. The Jewish assertion that these terms signified the same rank, except that the former was uncrowned and the latter crowned, may be safely neglected.

The names of which Iram is one are "according to their families, after their places (or "towns," מְקוֹמָם), by their names" (ver. 40); and again (ver. 43), "These [be] the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession." These words imply that tribes and places were called after their leaders and founders, and tend to confirm the preceding remarks on the descendants of Esau being chiefs of tribes, and probably more or less contemporaneous with each other, and with the kings and Horites named together with them in the same records. It has been suggested that the names we are considering are those of the tribes and places founded by Esau's immediate descendants, mentioned earlier in the record; but no proof has been adduced in support of this theory.

The time of the final destruction of the Horites is uncertain: by analogy with the conquest of Canaan (cf. Deut. ii. 12, 22) we may perhaps infer that it was not immediate on Esau's settlement. No identification of Iram has been found. [E. S. P.]

IR-HA-HERES, in A. V. THE CITY OF DESTRUCTION (עִיר הַהָרָס, var. עִיר הָהָרָס; *Axepes*: *Civitas Solis*), the name or an appellation of a city in Egypt, mentioned only in Is. xix. 18. The reading עִיר הָרָם is that of most MSS, the Syr. Aq; and Theod., the other reading, עִיר הָרָם, is supported by the LXX., but only in form, by Symm. who has πόλις ἡλίου, and the Vulg. Gesenius (*Thes.* 391, a. 592) prefers the latter reading. There are various explanations: we shall first take those that treat it as a proper name, then those that suppose it to be an appellation used by the prophet to denote the future of the city.

1. עִיר הָהָרָם, "the city of the sun," a translation of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, generally called in the Bible On, the Hebrew form of its civil name AN [ON], and once *Beth-Shemesh*, "the house of the sun" (Jer. xlii. 13), a more

literal translation than this supposed one of the sacred name [BETH SHEMESH].

2. עִיר הַהָרִים, or עִיר הָהָרִים, "the city Heres," a transcription in the second word of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, HA-RA, "the abode (lit. "house"), of the sun." This explanation would necessitate the omission of the article. The LXX. favours it.

3. עִיר הַהָרִים, "a city destroyed," lit. "a city of destruction;" in A. V. "the city of destruction," meaning that one of the five cities mentioned should be destroyed, according to Isaiah's idiom.

4. עִיר הַחֲרָם, "a city preserved," meaning that one of the five cities mentioned should be preserved. Gesenius, who proposes this construction, if the second word be not part of the name of the

place, compares the Arabic حَرَسَ, "he guarded, kept, preserved," &c. It may be remarked that the word HERES or HRES in ancient Egyptian, probably signifies "a guardian." This rendering of Gesenius is however merely conjectural, and seems to have been favoured by him on account of its directly contradicting the rendering last noticed.

The first of these explanations is highly improbable, for we find elsewhere both the sacred and the civil names of Heliopolis, so that a third name merely a variety of the Hebrew rendering of the sacred name is very unlikely. The name *Beth-Shemesh* is, moreover, a more literal translation in its first word of the Egyptian name than this supposed one. It may be remarked, however, as to the second word, that one of the towns in Palestine called Beth-shemesh, a town of the Levites on the borders of Judah and Dan, was not far from a Mount Heres, הַרְחֵרִים (Judg. i. 35), so that the two names as applied to the sun as an object of worship might probably be interchangeable. The second explanation, which we believe has not been hitherto put forth, is liable to the same objection as the preceding one, besides that it necessitates the exclusion of the article. The fourth explanation would not have been noticed had it not been supported by the name of Gesenius. The common reading and old rendering remains, which certainly present no critical difficulties. A very careful examination of the sixth chap. of Isaiah, and of the xviii and xxth, which are connected with it, has inclined us to prefer it. Egypt and Ethiopia were then either under a joint rule or under an Ethiopian sovereign. We can, therefore, understand the connexion of the three subjects comprised in the three chapters. Chap. xviii. is a prophecy against the Ethiopians, xix. is the Burden of Egypt, and xx., delivered in the year of the capture of Ashdod by Tartan, the general of Sargon, predicts the leading captive of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, probably the garrison of that great stronghold, as a warning to the Israelites who trusted in them for aid. Chap. xviii. ends with an indication of the time to which it refers, speaking of the Ethiopians—as we understand the passage—as sending "a present" "to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion" (ver. 7). If this is to be taken in a proper and not a tropical sense, it would refer to the conversion of Ethiopians by the preaching of the Law while the Temple yet stood. That such had been the case before the gospel was preached is evident from the instance of the eunuch of Queen Candace, whom Philip met on his return homeward from

worshipping at Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity (Acts viii. 26-39). The Burden of Egypt seems to point to the times of the Persian and Greek dominions over that country. The civil war agrees with the troubles of the Dodecarchy, then we read of a time of bitter oppression by "a cruel lord and [or "even"] a fierce king," probably pointing to the Persian conquests and rule, and specially to Cambyzes, or Cambyzes and Ochus, and then of the drying of the sea (the Red Sea, comp. xi. 15) and the river and canals, of the destruction of the water-plants, and of the misery of the fishers and workers in linen. The princes and counsellors are to lose their wisdom and the people to be filled with fear, all which calamities seem to have begun in the desolation of the Persian rule. It is not easy to understand what follows as to the dread of the land of Judah which the Egyptians should feel, immediately preceding the mention of the subject of the article:—"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called Ir-ha-heres. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them" (xix. 18-20). The partial or entire conversion of Egypt is prophesied in the next two verses (21, 22). The time of the Greek dominion, following the Persian rule, may be here pointed to. There was then a great influx of Jewish settlers, and as we know of a Jewish town, Onion, and a great Jewish population at Alexandria, we may suppose that there were other large settlements. These would "speak the language of Canaan," at first literally, afterwards in their retaining the religion and customs of their fathers. The altar would well correspond to the temple built by Onias; the pillar, to the synagogue of Alexandria, the latter on the northern and western borders of Egypt. In this case Alexander would be the deliverer. We do not know, however, that at this period there was any recognition of the true God on the part of the Egyptians. If the prophecy is to be understood in a proper sense, we can however see no other time to which it applies, and must suppose that Ir-ha-heres was one of the cities partly or wholly inhabited by the Jews in Egypt: of these Onion was the most important, and to it the rendering, "One shall be called a city of destruction," would apply, since it was destroyed by Titus, while Alexandria, and perhaps the other cities yet stand. If the prophecy is to be taken tropically, the best reading and rendering can only be determined by verbal criticism. [R. S. P.]

IRI (Ὀβρία; Alex. Ὀβρί: *Jorus*) 1 Eedr. viii. 62. This name answers to URIAH in Ezra (viii. 33.) But whence did our translators get their form?

IRI or IR (עִיר or עִירי; 'Ovri and 'Ap; *Urus* and *Hir*), a Benjamite son of Bela, according to 1 Chr. vii. 7, 12. The name does not occur in any of the other genealogies of the tribe. [HURHAM.] [A. C. H.]

IRIJAH (ירִיָּיָה; *Ierias*), son of Shelemiah, a "captain of the ward" (בֶּצֶל מִקְדָּת), who met Jeremiah in the gate of Jerusalem called

the "gate of Benjamin," accused him of being about to desert to the Chaldeans, and led him back to the princes (Jer. xxxvii. 13, 14).

**IR-NAHASH** (עִיר-נָחָשׁ = "serpent-city," πόλις *Nāās*; *Urbs Nāās*), a name which, like many other names of places, occurs in the genealogical lists of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 12). Tehinnuh Abi Ir-nahash—"father of Ir-nahash"—was one of the sons of Eshton, all of them being de-cendants of Chelub (ver. 11). But it seems impossible to connect this special genealogy with the general genealogies of Judah, and it has the air of being a fragment of the records of some other family, related, of course, or it would not be here, but not the same. May not "Shuah, the brother of Chelub" (ver. 11), be Shuah the Canaanite, by whose daughter Judah had his three eldest sons (Gen. xlviii. 2, &c.), and these verses be a fragment of Canaanite record preserved amongst those of the great Israelite family, who then became so closely related to the Canaanites? True, the two Shuahs are written differently in Hebrew—שׁוּחַ and שׁוּחָה, but considering the early date of the one passage and the corrupt and incomplete state of the other; this is perhaps not irreconcilable.

No trace of the name of Ir-nahash attached to any site has been discovered. Jerome's interpretation (*Qu. Hebr.* ad loc.)—whether his own or a tradition he does not say—is that Ir-nahash is Bethlehem, Nahash being another name for Jesse. [NAHASH.] [G.]

**IRON** (יָרֹן; *Kepwé*, Alex. ἱερών; *Jeron*), one of the cities of Naphtali, named between Enhazor and Migdal-el (Josh. xix. 38); hitherto totally unknown. [G.]

**IRON** (בַּרְזֶל, *barzel*; Ch. פֶּרֶזְלָא, *parz'la*: σιδηρος), mentioned with brass as the earliest of known metals (Gen. iv. 22). As it is rarely found in its native state, but generally in combination with oxygen, the knowledge of the art of forging iron, which is attributed to Tubal Cain, argues an acquaintance with the difficulties which attend the smelting of this metal. Iron melts at a temperature of about 3000° Fahrenheit, and to produce this heat large furnaces supplied by a strong blast of air are necessary. But, however difficult it may be to imagine a knowledge of such appliances at so early a period, it is perfectly certain that the use of iron is of extreme antiquity, and that therefore some means of overcoming the obstacles in question must have been discovered. What the process may have been is left entirely to conjecture; a method is employed by the natives of India, extremely simple and of great antiquity, which though rude is very effective, and suggests the possibility of similar knowledge in an early stage of civilization (*Ure, Dict. Arts and Sciences, art. Steel*). The smelting furnaces of Aethiopia, described by Diodorus (v. 13), correspond roughly with the modern bloomeries, remains of which still exist in this country (Napier, *Metalurgy of the Bible*, 140). Malleable iron was in common use, but it is doubtful whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The allusions in the Bible supply the following facts.

The natural wealth of the soil of Canaan is indicated by describing it as "a land whose stones are iron" (Deut. viii. 9). By this Winer (*Realw. art. Eisen*) understands the basalt which predominates in the Haurnn, is the material of which Og's bedstead (Deut. iii. 11) was made, and contains a

large per-centage of iron. It is more probable that the expression is a poetical figure. Pliny (xxvi. 11), who is quoted as an authority, says indeed that basalt is "ferrei coloris atque duritiæ," but does not hint that iron was ever extracted from it. The book of Job contains passages which indicate that iron was a metal well known. Of the manner of procuring it, we learn that "iron is taken from dust" (xxviii. 2). It does not follow from Job xix. 24, that it was used for a writing implement, though such may have been the case, any more than that adamant was employed for the same purpose (Jer. xvii. 1), or that shoes were shod with iron and brass (Deut. xxxiii. 25). Indeed iron so frequently occurs in poetic figures, that it is difficult to discriminate between its literal and metaphorical sense. In such passages as the following, in which a "yoke of iron" (Deut. xxviii. 48), denotes hard service; "a rod of iron" (Ps. ii. 9), a stern government; "a pillar of iron" (Jer. i. 18), a strong support "and threshing instruments of iron" (Am. i. 3), the means of cruel oppression; the hardness and heaviness (Ecclus. xxii. 15) of iron are so clearly the prominent ideas, that though it may have been used for the instruments in question, such usage is not of necessity indicated. The "furnace of iron" (Deut. iv. 28; 1 K. viii. 51) is a figure which vividly expresses hard bondage, as represented by the severe labour which attended the operation of smelting. Iron was used for chisels (Deut. xxvii. 5), or something of the kind; for axes (Deut. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 5, 6; Is. x. 34; Hom. *Il.* iv. 485); for harrows and saws (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xx. 3); for nails (1 Chr. xxii. 3), and the fastenings of the temple; for weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii. 7; Job xx. 24), and for war chariots (Josh. xvii. 18, 18; Judg. i. 19, iv. 3, 13). The latter were plated or studded with it. Its usage in defensive armour is implied in 2 Sam. xxiii. 7 (cf. Rev. ix. 9), and as a safeguard in peace it appears in fetters (Ps. cv. 18), prison-gates (Act. xii. 10), and bars of gates or doors (Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xlv. 2), as well as for surgical purposes (1 Tim. iv. 2). Sheet-iron was used for cooking utensils (Ez. iv. 3; cf. Lev. vii. 9),\* and bars of hammered iron are mentioned in Job xl. 18, though here the LXX. perversely render σιδηρος χυτός, "cast-iron." That it was plentiful in the time of David appears from 1 Chr. xxi. 3. It was used by Solomon, according to Josephus, to clamp the large rocks with which he built up the Temple mount (*Ant.* xv. 11, §3); and by Hezekiah's workmen to hew out the conduits of Gihon (Ecclus. xlviii. 17). Images were fastened in their niches in later times by iron brackets or clamps (*Wisd.* xii. 15). Agricultural implements were early made of the same material. In the treaty made by Persena was inserted a condition like that imposed on the Hebrews by the Philistines, that no iron should be used except for agricultural purposes (*Plin.* xxiv. 39). The market of Tyre was supplied with bright or polished iron by the merchants of Dan and Javan (*Ez.* xxvii. 19). Some, as the LXX. and Vulg., render this "wrought iron:" so De Wette "geschmiedetes Eisen." The Targum has "bars of iron," which would correspond with the *stricturæ* of Pliny (xxiv. 41). But Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.) expounds עֲשֻׁלֶּת, 'asloth, as "pure and polished"

\* The passage of Ezekiel is illustrated by the screens behind which the archers stand in the representations of a siege on the Nimrod sculptures.

(= Span. *acero*, steel), in which he is supported by R. Sol. Parchon, and by Ben Zeb, who gives "glänzend" as the equivalent (comp. the Homeric *αἰθων σίδηνος*, *Il.* vii. 473). If the Javan alluded to were Greece, and not, as Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21) seems to think, some place in Arabia, there might be reference to the iron mines of Macedonia, spoken of in the decree of Aemilius Paulus (*Liv.* xiv. 29); but Bochart urges as a very strong argument in support of his theory that, at the time of Ezekiel's prophecy, the Tyrians did not depend upon Greece for a supply of cassia and cinnamon, which are associated with iron in the merchandise of Dan and Javan, but that rather the contrary was the case. Pliny (xxxiv. 41) awards the palm to the iron of Serica, that of Parthia being next in excellence. The Chalybes of the Pontus were celebrated as workers in iron in very ancient times (*Aesch. Prom.* 733). They were identified by Strabo with the Chaldaei of his day (*xii.* 549), and the mines which they worked were in the mountains skirting the sea-coast. The produce of their labour is supposed to be alluded to in *Jer.* xv. 12, as being of superior quality. Iron mines are still in existence on the same coast, and the ore is found "in small nodular masses in a dark yellow clay which overlies a limestone rock" (*Smith's Geog. Dict.* art. *Chalybes*).

It was for a long time supposed that the Egyptians were ignorant of the use of iron, and that the allusions in the Pentateuch were anachronisms, as no traces of it have been found in their monuments; but in the sepulchres at Thebes butchers are represented as sharpening their knives on a round bar of metal attached to their aprons, which from its blue colour is presumed to be steel. The steel weapons on the tomb of Rameses III. are also painted blue; those of bronze being red (*Wilkinson, Anc. Eg.* III. 247). One iron mine only has been discovered in Egypt, which was worked by the ancients. It is at Hammami between the Nile and the Red Sea; the iron found by Mr. Burton was in the form of specular and red ore (*Id.* iii. 246). That no articles of iron should have been found is easily accountable for by the fact that it is easily destroyed by exposure to the air and moisture. According to Pliny (xxxiv. 43) it was preserved by a coating of white lead, gypsum, and liquid pitch. Bitumen was probably employed for the same purpose (xxxv. 52). The Egyptians obtained their iron almost exclusively from Assyria, copper in the form of bricks or pigs (*Layard, Nin.* ii. 415). Specimens of Assyrian iron-work overlaid with bronze were discovered by Mr. Layard, and are now in the British Museum (*Nin. and Bab.* 191). Iron weapons of various kinds were found at Nimroud, but fell to pieces on exposure to the air. Some portions of shields and arrow-heads (*Id.* 194, 596) were rescued, and are now in England. A pick of the same metal (*Id.* 194) was also found, as well as part of a saw (195), and the head of an axe (357), and remains of scale-armour and helmets inlaid with copper (*Nin.* i. 340). It was used by the Etruscans for offensive weapons, as bronze for defensive armour. The Assyrians had daggers and arrow-heads of copper mixed with iron, and hardened with an alloy of tin (*Layard, Nin.* ii. 418). So in the days of Homer war-clubs were shod with iron (*Il.* vii. 141); arrows were tipped with it (*Il.* iv. 123); it was used for the axles of chariots (*Il.* v. 723), for fetters (*Od.* i. 204), for axes and bills (*Il.* iv. 485; *Od.* xxi. 3, 81). Adrastus (*Il.* vi. 48) and Ulysses (*Od.* xvi. 10) reckoned it

among their treasures, the iron weapons being kept in a chest in the treasury with the gold and brass (*Od.* xxi. 61). In *Od.* i. 184, Menes tells Telemachus that he is travelling from Taphos to Tarnese to procure brass in exchange for iron, which Eustathius says was not obtained from the mines of the island, but was the produce of piratical excursions (*Millin, Mineral. Hom.* p. 115, 2nd ed.). Pliny (xxxiv. 40) mentions iron as used symbolically for a statue of Hercules at Thebes (*cf.* *Dan.* ii. 33, v. 4), and goblets of iron as among the offerings in the temple of Mars the Avenger, at Rome. Alyattes the Lydian dedicated to the oracle at Delphi a small goblet of iron, the workmanship of Glaucus of Chios, to whom the discovery of the art of soldering this metal is attributed (*Her.* i. 25). The goblet is described by Pausanias (*x.* 16). From the fact that such offerings were made to the temples, and that Achilles gave as a prize of contest a rudely-shaped mass of the same metal (*Il.* xxiii. 826), it has been argued that in early times iron was so little known as to be greatly esteemed for its rarity. That this was not the case in the time of Lycurgus is evident, and Homer attaches to it no epithet which would denote its preciousness (*Millin*, p. 106). There is reason to suppose that the discovery of brass preceded that of iron (*Lucr.* v. 1292), though little weight can be attached to the line of Hesiod often quoted as decisive on this point (*Op. et Dies*, 150). The Dactyli Idaei of Crete were supposed by the ancients to have the merit of being the first to discover the properties of iron (*Plin.* vii. 57; *Diod. Sic.* v. 64), as the Cyclopes were said to have invented the iron-smith's forge (*Plin.* vii. 57). According to the Arundelian marbles, iron was known B.C. 1370, while Larcher (*Chronol. d'Herod.* 570) assigns a still earlier date, B.C. 1537. Enough has been said to prove that the allusions to iron in the Pentateuch and other parts of the O. T. are not anachronisms.

There is considerable doubt whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The rendering given by the LXX. of *Job* xl. 18, as quoted above, seems to imply that some method nearly like that of casting was known, and is supported by a passage in Diodorus (v. 13). The inhabitants of Aethalia traded with pig-iron in masses like large sponges to Dicaearchia and other marts, where it was bought by the smiths and fashioned into various moulded forms (*πλάσματα παντοδαπά*).

In *Eccles.* xxxviii. 28, we have a picture of the interior of an iron-smith's (Is. xlv. 12) workshop: the smith, parched with the smoke and heat of the furnace, sitting beside his anvil and contemplating the unwrought iron, his ears deafened with the din of the heavy hammer, his eyes fixed on his model, and never sleeping till he has accomplished his task. [STEEL.] [W. A. W.]

IR'PEEL (יִרְפֵּעַל; קאפֿר, Alex. Ἰερφαίλ; *Jarephel*), one of the cities of Benjamin (*Josh.* xviii. 27), occurring in the list between Rekem and Taralah. No trace has yet been discovered of its situation. It will be observed that the Ir in this name is radically different from that in the names Ir-nahash, Ir-shemesh, &c. Taken as a Hebrew name it is Irpe-El = "restored by God." [G.]

IR-SHEMESH (יִרְשֵׁםֶשׁ; קאפֿר, Alex. Ἰρσις Ζαμῆς; *Hersemes*, *id est*, *Ciritus Solis*), a city of the Danites (*Josh.* xix. 41), probably identical with BETH-SHEMESH and, if not identical, at least con-

nected with MOUNT HRES (Judg. i. 35), the "mount of the sun." Beth-shemesh is probably the later form of the name. In other cases Beth appears to have been substituted for other older terms [see BAAL-MEON, &c.], such as Ir or Ar, which is unquestionably a very ancient word. [G.]

IRU. (יְרֻ; 'Hp, Alex. 'Hpa; 'Hir), the eldest son of the great Caleb son of Jephunneh (1 Chr. iv. 15). It is by some supposed that this name should be Ir, the vowel at the end being merely the conjunction "and," properly belonging to the following name.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק, or יִצְחָק, laughter; 'Isads), the son whom Sarah, in accordance with the Divine promise, bore to Abraham in the hundredth year of his age, at Gerar. In his infancy he became the object of Ishmael's jealousy; and in his youth (when twenty-five years old, according to Joseph. *Ant. i. 13, §2*) the victim, in intention, of Abraham's great sacrificial act of faith. When forty years old he married Rebekah his cousin, by whom, when he was sixty, he had two sons, Esau and Jacob. In his seventy-fifth year he and his brother Ishmael buried their father Abraham in the cave of Machpelah. From his abode by the well Lahai-roi, in the South Country—a barren tract, comprising a few pastures and wells, between the hills of Judaea and the Arabian desert, touching at its western end Philistia, and on the north Hebron—Isaac was driven by a famine to Gerar. Here Jehovah appeared to him and bade him dwell there and not go over into Egypt, and renewed to him the promises made to Abraham. Here he subjected himself, like Abraham in the same place and under like circumstances (Gen. xx. 2), to a rebuke from Abimelech the Philistine king for an equivocation. Here he acquired great wealth by his flocks; but was repeatedly dispossessed by the Philistines of the wells which he sunk at convenient stations. At Beersheba Jehovah appeared to him by night and blessed him, and he built an altar there; there, too, like Abraham, he received a visit from the Philistine king Abimelech, with whom he made a covenant of peace. After the deceit by which Jacob acquired his father's blessing, Isaac sent his son to seek a wife in Padan-aram; and all that we know of him during the last forty-three years of his life is that he saw that son, with a large and prosperous family, return to him at Hebron (xxxv. 27) before he died there at the age of 180 years. He was buried by his two sons in the cave of Machpelah.

In the N.T. reference is made to the offering of Isaac (Heb. xi. 17; and James ii. 21) and to his blessing his sons (Heb. xi. 20). As the child of the promise, and as the progenitor of the children of the promise, he is contrasted with Ishmael (Rom. ix. 7, 10; Gal. iv. 28; Heb. xi. 18). In our Lord's remarkable argument with the Sadducees, his history is carried beyond the point at which it is left in the O. T., into and beyond the grave. Isaac, of whom it was said (Gen. xxxv. 29) that he was gathered to his people, is represented as still living to God (Luke xx. 38, &c.); and by the same Divine authority he is proclaimed as an acknowledged heir of future glory (Matt. viii. 11, &c.).

II. Such are the facts which the Bible supplies of the longest-lived of the three Patriarchs, the least migratory, the least prolific, and the least fi-

ronred with extraordinary divine revelations. A few events in this quiet life have occasioned discussion.

(a.) The signification of Isaac's name is thrice alluded to (Gen. xvii. 17, xviii. 12, xxi. 6). Josephus (*Ant. i. 12, §2*) refers to the second of these passages for the origin of the name; Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*) vehemently confines it to the first; Ewald (*Gesch. i. 425*), without assigning reasons, gives it as his opinion that all three passages have been added by different writers to the original record.

(b.) It has been asked what are the persecutions sustained by Isaac from Ishmael to which St. Paul refers (Gal. iv. 29)? If, as is generally supposed, he refers to Gen. xxi. 9, then the word יִצְחָק, παλίστρα, may be translated *mocking*, as in the A. V., or *insulting*, as in xxxix. 14, and in that case the trial of Isaac was by means of "cruel mockings" (ἐμπαιγμῶν), in the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 36). Or the word may include the signification *paying idolatrous worship*, as in Ex. xxxii. 8, or *fighting*, as in 2 Sam. ii. 14. These three significations are given by Jachi, who relates a Jewish tradition (quoted more briefly by Wetstein on Gal. iv. 29) of Isaac suffering personal violence from Ishmael, a tradition which, as Mr. Elliott thinks, was adopted by St. Paul. The English reader who is content with our own version, or the scholar who may prefer either of the other renderings of Jachi, will be at no loss to connect Gal. iv. 29 with Gen. xxi. 9. But Origen (*in Gen. Hom. vii. §3*), and Augustine (*Sermo iii.*), and apparently Professor Jowett (on Gal. iv. 29), not observing that the gloss of the LXX. and the Latin versions "playing with her son Isaac" forms no part of the simple statement in Genesis, and that the words יִצְחָק, παλίστρα, are not to be confined to the meaning "playing," seem to doubt (as Mr. Elliott does on other grounds), whether the passage in Genesis bears the construction apparently put upon it by St. Paul. On the other hand, Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Gen. xxi. 9*) even goes so far as to characterise Isaac—"persecuted"—as a very excellent interpretation of יִצְחָק. (See Drusius on Gen. xxi. 9 in *Crit. Sacr.*, and Estius on Gal. iv. 29.)

(c.) The offering up of Isaac by Abraham has been viewed in various lights. It is the subject of five dissertations by Frischmuth in the *Theol. Philol.* p. 197 (attached to *Crit. Sacri*). By Bishop Warburton (*Div. Leg. b. vi. §5*) the whole transaction was regarded as "merely an information by action (compare Jer. xxvii. 2; Ez. xii. 3; Hos. i. 2), instead of words, of the great sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of mankind, given at the earnest request of Abraham, who longed impatiently to see Christ's day." This view is adopted by Dean Graves (*On the Pentateuch*, pt. iii. §4) and has become popular. But it is pronounced to be unsatisfactory by Davison (*Primitive Sacrifice*, pt. iv. §2), who, pleading for the progressive communication of the knowledge of the Christian atonement, protests against the assumption of a contemporary disclosure of the import of the sacrifice to Abraham, and points out that no expiation or atonement was joined with this emblematic oblation, which consequently symbolized only the act, not the power or virtue of the Christian sacrifice. Mr. Maurice (*Patriarchs and Prophets*,

iv.) draws attention to the offering of Isaac as the last and culminating point (compare Ewald, *Geschichte* i. 430-4) in the divine education of Abraham, that which taught him the meaning and ground of self-sacrifice. The same line of thought is followed up in a very instructive and striking sermon on the sacrifice of Abraham in *Doctrine of Sacrifice*, iii. 31-48. Some German writers have spoken of the whole transaction as a dream (Eichhorn), or a myth (De Wette), and treat other events in Isaac's life as slips of the pen of a Jewish transcriber. Even the merit of novelty cannot be claimed for such views, which appear to have been in some measure forestalled in the time of Augustine (Sermo ii. *de tentatione Abraham*). They are, of course, irreconcilable with the declaration of St. James, that it was a *work* by which Abraham was justified. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* iv. 16, and i. 10) has preserved a singular and inaccurate version of the offering of Isaac in an extract from the ancient Phœnician historian Sanchoniaton; but it is absurd to suppose that the widely-spread (see Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 79, and Thomson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1853, p. 38) heathen practice of sacrificing human beings received any encouragement from a sacrifice which Abraham was forbidden to accomplish (see Waterland, *Works*, iv. 203). Some writers have found for this transaction a kind of parallel—it amounts to no more—in the classical legends of Iphigenia and Phrixus. The story of Iphigenia, which inspired the devout Athenian dramatist with sublime notions of the import of sacrifice and suffering (Æsch. *Agam.* 147, *et seq.*), supplied the Roman infidel only with a keen taunt against religion (Lucr. i. 102), just as the great trial which perfected the faith of Abraham and moulded the character of Isaac, draws from the Romanised Jew of the first century a rhetorical exhibition of his own unacquaintance with the meaning of sacrifice (see Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, §3).

(d.) No passage of his life has produced more reproach to Isaac's character than that which is recorded in Gen. xvi. 6-11. Abraham's conduct while in Egypt (xii.) and in Gerar (xx.), where he concealed the closer connexion between himself and his wife, was imitated by Isaac in Gerar. On the one hand, this has been regarded by avowed adversaries of Christianity as involving the guilt of "lying and endeavouring to betray the wife's chastity," and even by Christians, undoubtedly zealous for truth and right, as the conduct of "a very poor paltry earthworm, displaying cowardice, selfishness, readiness to put his wife in a terrible hazard for his own sake." But, on the other hand, with more reverence, more kindness, and quite as much probability, Waterland, who is no indiscriminate apologist for the errors of good men, after a minute examination of the circumstances, concludes that the patriarch did "right to evade the difficulty so long as it could lawfully be evaded, and to await and see whether Divine Providence might not, some way or other, interpose before the last extremity. The event answered. God did interpose." (*Scripture Vindicated*, in *Works*, iv. 188, 190.)

(e.) Isaac's tacit acquiescence in the conduct of his sons has been brought into discussion. Perhaps Fairbairn (*Typology*, i. 334) seems scarcely justified by facts in his conclusion that the later days of Isaac did not fulfil the promise of his earlier; that, instead of reaching to high attainments in

faith, he fell into general feebleness and decay moral and bodily, and made account only of the natural element in judging of his sons. The inexact translation (to modern ears) of יָצַד, prey taken in hunting, by "venison" (Gen. xxv. 28), may have contributed to form, in the minds of English readers, a low opinion of Isaac. Nor can that opinion be supported by a reference to xxvii. 4; for Isaac's desire at such a time for savoury meat may have sprung either from a dangerous sickness under which he was labouring (Blunt, *Unesigned Coincidences*, pt. i. ch. vi.), or from the same kind of impulse preceding inspiration as prompted Elisha (2 K. iii. 15) to demand the soothing influence of music before he spoke the word of the Lord. For sadness and grief are enumerated in the Gemara among the impediments to the exercise of the gift of prophecy (Smith's *Select Discourses*, vi. 245). The reader who bears in mind the peculiarities of Isaac's character, will scarcely infer from those passages any fresh accession of mental or moral feebleness.

III. Isaac, the gentle and dutiful son, the faithful and constant husband, became the father of a house in which order did not reign. If there were any very prominent points in his character they were not brought out by the circumstances in which he was placed. He appears less as a man of action than as a man of suffering, from which he is generally delivered without any direct effort of his own. Thus he suffers as the object of Ishmael's mocking, of the intended sacrifice on Moriah, of the rapacity of the Philistines, and of Jacob's stratagem. But the thought of his sufferings is effaced by the ever-present tokens of God's favour; and he suffers with the calmness and dignity of a conscious heir of heavenly promises, without uttering any complaint, and generally without committing any action by which he would forfeit respect. Free from violent passions, he was a man of constant, deep, and tender affections. Thus he mourned for his mother till her place was filled by his wife. His sons were nurtured at home till a late period of their lives; and neither his grief for Esau's marriage, nor the anxiety in which he was involved in consequence of Jacob's deceit, estranged either of them from his affectionate care. His life of solitary blamelessness must have been sustained by strong habitual piety such as showed itself at the time of Rebekah's barrenness (xxv. 21), in his special intercourse with God at Gerar and Beersheba (xvi. 2, 23), in the solemnity with which he bestows his blessing and refuses to change it. His life, judged by a worldly standard, might seem inactive, ignoble, and unfruitful; but the "guileless years, prayers, gracious acts, and daily thank-offerings of pastoral life" are not to be so esteemed, although they make no show in history. Isaac's character may not have exercised any commanding influence upon either his own or succeeding generations; but it was sufficiently marked and consistent to win respect and envy from his contemporaries. By his posterity his name is always joined in equal honour with those of Abraham and Jacob; and so it was even used as part of the formula which Egyptian magicians in the time of Origen (*Contra Celsum*, i. 22) employed as efficacious to bind the demons whom they adjured (comp. Gen. xxxi. 42, 53).

If Abraham's enterprising unsettled life fore-

shadowed the early history of his descendants; if Jacob was a type of the careful, commercial, unwarlike character of their later days, Isaac may represent the middle period, in which they lived apart from nations, and enjoyed possession of the fertile land of promise.

IV. The typical view of Isaac is barely referred to in the N. T.; but it is drawn out with minute particularity by Philo and those interpreters of Scripture who were influenced by Alexandrian philosophy. Thus in Philo, Isaac = laughter = the most exquisite enjoyment = the soother and cheerer of peace-loving souls, is foreshadowed in the facts that his father had attained 100 years (the perfect number) when he was born, and that he is specially designated as given to his parents by God. His birth from the mistress of Abraham's household symbolizes happiness proceeding from predominant wisdom. His attachment to one wife (Rebekah = perseverance) is contrasted with Abraham's multiplied connexions and with Jacob's toil-won wives, as showing the superiority of Isaac's heaven-born, self-sufficing wisdom, to the accumulated knowledge of Abraham and the painful experience of Jacob. In the intended sacrifice of Isaac Philo sees only a sign that laughter = rejoicing is the prerogative of God, and is a fit offering to Him, and that He gives back to obedient man as much happiness as is good for him. Clement of Rome (ch. 31), with characteristic soberness, merely refers to Isaac as an example of faith in God. In Tertullian he is a pattern of monogamy and a type of Christ, bearing the cross. But Clement of Alexandria finds an allegorical meaning in the incidents which connect Abimelech with Isaac and Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 8) as well as in the offering of Isaac. In this latter view he is followed by Origen, and by Augustine, and by Christian expositors generally. The most minute particulars of that transaction are invested with a spiritual meaning by such writers as Rabanus Maurus, in *Gen. liii.* Abraham is made a type of the First Person in the blessed Trinity, Isaac of the Second; the two servants dismissed are the Jewish sects who did not attain to a perception of Christ in His humiliation; the ass bearing the wood is the Jewish nation, to whom were committed the oracles of God which they failed to understand; the three days are the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations; the ram is Christ on the Cross; the thicket they who placed Him there. Modern English writers hold firmly the typical significance of the transaction, without extending it into such detail (see Pearson on the *Credo*, i. 243, 251, ed. 1843; Fairbairn's *Typology*, i. 332). A recent writer (A. Jukes, *Types of Genesis*), who has shown much ingenuity in attaching a spiritual meaning to the characters and incidents in the book of Genesis, regards Isaac as representing the spirit of sonship, in a series in which Adam represents human nature, Cain the carnal mind, Abel the spiritual, Noah regeneration, Abraham the spirit of faith, Jacob the spirit of service, Joseph suffering or glory. With this series may be compared the view of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 387-400), in which the whole patriarchal family is a prefigurative group, comprising twelve members with seven distinct modes of relation: 1. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three fathers, respectively personifying active power, quiet enjoyment, success after struggles, distinguished from the rest as Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ulysses among the

heroes of the Iliad, or as the Trojan Anchises, Aeneas, and Aescanius, and mutually related as Romulus, Remus, and Numa; 2. Sarah, with Hagar, as mother and mistress of the household; 3. Isaac as child; 4. Isaac with Rebekah as the type of wedlock (comp. *Alterthümer*, p. 233); 5. Leah and Rachel the plurality of coequal wives; 6. Deborah as nurse (compare Anna and Caieta, *Aen.* iv. 654, and vii. 1); 7. Eliezer as steward, whose office is compared to that of the messenger of the Olympian deities.

V. Jewish legends represent Isaac as an angel made before the world, and descending to earth in human form (Origen, in *Joann.* ii. §25); as one of the three men in whom human sinfulness has no place, as one of the six over whom the angel of death has no power (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 343, 864). He is said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Shem (Jarchi, on *Gen.* xxv.). The ordinance of evening prayer is ascribed to him (*Gen.* xxiv. 63), as that of morning prayer to Abraham (xix. 27), and night prayer to Jacob (xxviii. 11), (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 483).

The Arabian traditions included in the Koran represent Isaac as a model of religion, a righteous person inspired with grace to do good works, observe prayer, and give alms (ch. 21), endowed with the divine gifts of prophecy, children, and wealth (ch. 19). The promise of Isaac and the offering of Isaac are also mentioned (ch. 11, 38). Faith in a future resurrection is ascribed to Abraham; but it is connected, not as in Heb. xi. 19 with the offering of Isaac, but with a fictitious miracle (ch. 2). [W. T. B.]

ISAIAH (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, i. e. Yeshayahu, always in Hebr. Text; but in Rabbinical superscriptions of the Hebr. Bible יְשַׁעְיָהוּ; *Yeshayas*; *Isaias*). The Hebrew name, our shortened form of which occurs of other persons [see JESAJAH, JEMAJAH], signifies *Salvation of Jahu* (a shortened form of *Jehovah*). Reference is plainly made by the prophet himself, Is. viii. 18, to the significance of his own name as well as of those of his two sons. His father Amoz (אֲמוֹז, *Amós*) must not be confounded, as was done by Clemens Alexandrinus and some other of the Fathers through their ignorance of Hebrew, with the prophet Amos (אֲמוֹס, in LXX. also *Amós*), who flourished in the reign of Jeroboam II. Nothing whatever is known of Amoz. He is said by some of the Rabbins to have been also a prophet, and brother of king Amaziah,—the latter apparently a mere guess founded on the affinity of the two names. Kimchi (A.D. 1230) says in his commentary on Is. i. 1, "We know not his race, nor of what tribe he was."

I. The first verse of the book runs thus: "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." A few remarks on this verse will open the way to the solution of several enquiries relative to the prophet and his writings.

1. This verse is not the preface to the first ch. only, nor to any small portion of the book, as is clear from the enumeration of the four kings. It plainly prefaces at least the first part of the book (chs. i.-xxxix.), which leaves off in Hezekiah's reign; and as there appears no reason for limiting its reference even to the first part, the obvious construction would take it as applying to the whole

book (comp. Hos. i. 1; Mic. i. 1). The word *vision* is a collective noun, as in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32; the Heb. *חִזְיוֹן* is never found in the plural. As this is the natural and obvious bearing of the verse,

2. We are authorised to infer, that no part of the *vision*, the fruits of which are recorded in this book, belongs to the reign of Manasseh. Hypotheses therefore, which lengthen Isaiah's prophetic ministration into the reign of Manasseh, appear to lack historical foundation. A rabbinical tradition it is true, apparently confirmed by the *Septuaginta* of Heb. xi. 37, which can be referred to no other known fact, reports the prophet to have been sawn asunder\* in the trunk of a tree by order of Manasseh; but the hostility of the party opposed to the service of Jehovah, which gained the ascendancy at the accession of that prince, had been sufficiently excited by the prophet during the reign of his predecessor to prompt them to the murder, without our lengthening the period of his prophesying beyond the limits which this verse assigns. For indeed,

3. Isaiah must have been an old man at the close of Hezekiah's reign. The ordinary chronology gives 758 B.C. for the date of Jotham's accession, and 698 for that of Hezekiah's death. This gives us a period of 60 years. And since his ministry commenced before Uzziah's death (how long we know not), supposing him to have been no more than 20 years old when he began to prophesy, he would have been 80 or 90 at Manasseh's accession.

4. The circle of hearers upon whom his ministry was immediately designed to operate is determined to be "Judah and Jerusalem." True, we have in the book prophecies relating to the kingdom of Israel,—as also to Moab, Babylon, and other heathen states; but neither in the one case nor the other was the prophesying designed for the benefit of these foreign states, or meant to be communicated to them, but only for Judah, now becoming the sole home of Hebrew blessings and hopes. Every other interest in the prophet's inspired view moves round Judah, and is connected with her.

5. It is the most natural and obvious supposition that the "*visions*" are in the main placed in the collection according to their chronological order; and this supposition it would be arbitrary to set aside without more solid reasons than the mere impulses of subjective fancy. We grant that this presumption might be overruled, if good cause were shown; but till it is shown, we have no warrant for rejecting the principle that the present arrangement is in the main founded upon chronological propriety, only departed from in cases where (as is very natural to suppose) similarity of character occasioned the grouping together of visions which were not uttered at the same time.

6. If then we compare the contents of the book with the description here given of it, we recognise prophesyings which are certainly to be assigned to the reigns of Uzziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; but we cannot so certainly find any belonging to the reign of Jotham. The form of the expression in vi. 1, "the year that king Uzziah died," fixes the time of that vision to the close of Uzziah's reign, and not to the commencement of Jotham's. What precedes ch. vi. may be referred to some preceding part of Uzziah's reign:—except perhaps the first chapter; this may be regarded as a general summary of advice founded upon the whole of what follows,—a kind

of general preface; corresponding at the commencement of the book to the paranesis of the nine chapters at its close. Ch. vii. brings us at once from "the year that king Uzziah died" to "the days of Ahaz." We have then nothing left for Jotham's reign, unless we suppose that some of the group of "burdens" in xiii.—xxiii. belong to it, or some of the perhaps miscellaneous utterances in xxviii.—xxxv. It may be that prophesyings then spoken were not recorded, because, applying to a state of things similar to what obtained in the latter part of Uzziah, they were themselves of a similar strain with chs. ii.—v.

7. We naturally ask, Who was the compiler of the book? The obvious answer is, that it was Isaiah himself aided by a scribe; comp. the very interesting glimpse afforded us by Jer. xxxvi. 1-5, of the relation between the utterance of prophecies and their writing. Isaiah we know was otherwise an author; for in 2 Chr. xxvi. 22 we read: "Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah first and last did Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet write"; and though that historical work has perished, the fact remains to show that Isaiah's mind was not alien from the cares of written composition (comp. also 2 Chr. xxxii. 32; and observe the first person used in viii. 1-5). The organic structure of the whole book also, which we hope to make apparent, favours the same belief. On the whole, that Isaiah was himself the compiler, claims to be accepted as the true view. The principal objection deserving of notice is that founded upon xxvii. 38. It has been alleged (Hitzig, *in loc.*) that Sennacherib's murder took place B.C. 696, two years after Manasseh's accession; others, however, question this (comp. Hävernick's *Einkleitung*): at all events the passage is quite reconcilable with the belief of Isaiah's being the compiler, if we suppose him to have lived two or three years after Manasseh's accession, even without our having recourse to the expedient of attributing the verse in question and the one before it to a later hand. The name given in xxxvi. 11, 13 to the Hebrew spoken in Jerusalem, "the Jews' language," *לשון יהודים*, is no evidence of a later age; it is perfectly conceivable that while the *written* language remained the same in both kingdoms, as is evidenced by the prophetic books, the *spoken* dialect (comp. Judg. xii. 6) of the kingdom of Judah may have diverged so far from that of the (now perished) kingdom of Israel as to have received a distinct designation; and its name would naturally, like that of the kingdom itself, be drawn from the tribe which formed the chief constituent of the population. As we are seeking for objective evidence, we may neglect those wild hypotheses which some have indulged in, respecting an original word and its subsequent modifications; for since they originate in the denial of divine inspiration conjoined with reliance on a merely subjective appreciation of the several writings, such hypotheses must be assigned to the region of fancy rather than of historic investigation.

8. In this introductory verse we have yet to notice the description which it gives of Isaiah's prophesyings: they are "the *vision* which he saw." When we hear of *visions* we are apt to think of a mental condition in which the mind is withdrawn altogether from the perception of objects actually present, and contemplates, instead of these, another

\* The traditional spot of the martyrdom is a very old mulberry-tree which stands near the Pool of

Siloam on the slopes of Ophel, below the S.E. wall of Jerusalem.

set of objects which appear at the moment sensibly present;—a sort of dream without sleep. Such a vision was that of St. Peter at Joppa. Such again we recognise in Is. vi.—the only instance of this kind of pure vision in the book; in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, they abound. But Isaiah's mental state in his prophesying appears ordinarily to have been different from this. Outward objects really present were not withdrawn from his perception, but appear to have blended to his view, at times, with the spiritual which was really present though not recognisable except to the eye of faith (*e.g.*, the presence of Jehovah), at times with the future whether sensible or spiritual which seemed to the prophet as if actually present. In this view, his prophesyings are not to be regarded as utterances, in the delivery of which the Holy Ghost employed the intellectual and physical organs of the prophet as mere instruments wielded by Himself, but as *vision*, *i.e.*, the description by the prophet himself under divine direction (2 Tim. iii. 16) of that which at the time he seemed to himself to see. If this view be just, it follows that in the descriptions which the prophet gives of that which appeared to be before him, we cannot be at once sure, whether he is describing what was actually objectively present, or whether the objects delineated as present belonged to the future. For example; at first sight the description given of the condition of Judah in i. 5-9, portraying an invasion, might be understood of what was actually present, and so might lead us either to supplement the history of 2 K. with a hypothetical invasion, or put forward the time of the prophesying to Ahaz or Hezekiah. But recollecting that it is *vision*, we see that it may be taken as simply predictive and threatening, and therefore as still spoken in Uzziah's reign. Similarly iii. 8, v. 13, x. 28-32, are all predictive. So in the second part is lxi. 11. Further, it would be only in accordance with this method of prophetic sight if we found the prophet describing some future time as if present, and from that standpoint announcing some more distant future, sometimes as future, and sometimes, again, as present. And in fact it is thus that Isaiah represents the coming fortunes of God's people in the second part of his prophesy. Comp. xlii. 13-17, xlix. 18, xlv. 1-4, liii. 3-10, 11, 12, lxiii. 1-6, as illustrations of the manner in which the relations of past, present, and future time, are in vision blended together.

It has been remarked above as characteristic of Isaiah's ordinary prophetic vision, that the actually present is not lost to view. In fact this was essential to his proper function. His first and immediate concern was with his contemporaries, as the reprover of sin, and to build up the piety of believers. Even when his vision the most contemplates the future, he yet does not lose his reference to the present, but (as we shall see even in the second part) he makes his prophesyings tell by exhortation and reproof upon the state of things actually around him. From all this it results, that we often find it difficult to discriminate his predictions from his rebukes of present disorders. His contemporaries, however, would be under no such difficulty. The idolatrous and ungodly Hebrew would promptly recognise his own description; the pious would be confirmed and cheered.

II. In order to realise the relation of Isaiah's prophetic ministry to his own contemporaries, we need to take account both of the foreign relations of Judah at the time, and internally of its social and

religious aspects. Our materials are scanty, and are to be collected partly out of 2 K. and 2 Chr., and partly out of the remaining writings of contemporary prophets, Joel (probably), Obadiah, and Micah, in Judah; and Hosea, Amos, and Jonah, in Israel. Of these the most assistance is obtained from Micah.

1. Under Uzziah the political position of Judah had greatly recovered from the blows suffered under Amaziah; the fortifications of Jerusalem itself were restored; castles were built in the country; new arrangements in the army and equipments of defensive artillery were established; and considerable successes in war gained against the Philistines, the Ammonites, and the Ammonites. [UZZIAH.] This prosperity continued during the reign of Jotham, except that towards the close of this latter reign, troubles threatened from the alliance of Israel and Syria. [JOTHAM.] The consequence of this prosperity was an influx of wealth, and this with the increased means of military strength withdrew men's confidence from Jehovah, and led them to trust in worldly resources. Moreover great disorders existed in the internal administration, all of which, whether moral or religious, were, by the very nature of the commonwealth, as theocratic, alike amenable to prophetic rebuke. It was the very business of Isaiah and other prophets to raise their voices as public reformers, as well as to fulfil the work which belongs to religious teachers in edifying God's true servants and calling the irreligious to repentance. Accordingly our prophet steps forward into public view with the divine message, dressed after the manner of prophets in general—girded in course and black, or at least dark coloured, hair-cloth (comp. Is. xx. 2, l. 3; 2 K. i. 8; Zech. xiii. 4),—emblematically indicating by this attire of mourning that Jehovah spoke to His people in grief and resentment. [SACK-CLOTH.] From his house, which appears to have been in Jerusalem (comp. vii. 3, xxxvii. 5), he goes forth to places of general concourse, chiefly no doubt, as Christ and His Apostles afterwards did, to the colonnades and courts of the Temple, and proclaims in the audience of the people "the word of Jehovah."

2. And what is the tenor of his message in the time of Uzziah and Jotham? This we read in chs. i.-v. Chap. i. is very general in its contents. In perusing it we may fancy that we hear the very voice of the Seer as he stands (perhaps) in the Court of the Israelites denouncing to nobles and people, then assembling for divine worship, the whole estimate of their character formed by Jehovah, and His approaching chastisements. "They are a sinful nation; they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger. Flourishing as their worldly condition now appears, the man whose eyes are opened sees another scene before him (1-9),—the land laid waste, and Zion left as a cottage in a vineyard,—(a picture realised in the Syro-Ephraimite war, and more especially in the Assyrian invasion—the great event round which the whole of the first part of the book revolves). Men of Sodom and Gomorrah that they are, let them hearken! they may go on if they will with their ritual worship, 'trampling' Jehovah's courts; nevertheless, He loathes them; the stain of innocent blood is on their hands; the weak are oppressed; there is bribery and corruption in the administration of justice. Let them reform; if they will not, Jehovah will burn out their sins in the smelting fire of His judgment. Zion shall be purified, and thus

saved, whilst the sinners and recreants from Jehovah in her shall perish in their much-loved idolatries." This discourse suitably heads the book; it sounds the keynote of the whole; fires of judgment destroying, but purifying a remnant,—such was the burden all along of Isaiah's prophesings.

Of the other public utterances belonging to this period, chs. ii.-iv. are by almost all critics considered to be one prophesying,—the leading thought of which is that the present prosperity of Judah should be destroyed for her sins, *to make room for the real glory of piety and virtue*; while ch. v. forms a distinct discourse, whose main purport is that Israel, God's vineyard, shall be brought to desolation. The idolatry denounced in these chapters is to be taken as that of private individuals, for both Uzziah and Jotham served Jehovah. They are prefaced by the vision of the exaltation of the mountain on which Jehovah dwells above all other mountains, to become the source of light and moral transformation to all mankind (ii. 2-4).

Here we are met by the fact that this same vision is found in very nearly the same words in Micah iv. 1-3. The two prophets were contemporary, and one may very well have heard the other, and adopted his words. Compare a nearly similar phenomenon in 1 Pet. v. 5-9, compared with Jam. iv. 6-10; for Peter and James had no doubt often heard each other's public teaching at Jerusalem. Which was the prior speaker of the words we cannot in either case determine. In many cases *writers* of Scripture adopt the words of former inspired *writers*; why not speakers also? In this instance, Isaiah or Micah may without improbability be imagined as standing by whilst the other announced Jehovah's word, and himself, still under divine inspiration, afterwards repeating the same word. As among the prophets in the Christian Church some were directed to remain in silence, and "judge" whilst others spoke; so we may believe that occasions frequently occurred in which the prophesying of one sable-dressed prophet was listened to, and ratified by other prophets, one or more, standing by, who might add their testimony: "This is the word of Jehovah" (comp. 1 K. xxii. 11, 12).

After thus refreshing pious souls with delineating future (Messianic) glories, Isaiah is recalled by the sad present. Far distant is God's people as yet from the high calling of being the teacher of the world. "All is now wrong. Heathenism is flooding the land with charmers and diviners, with silver and gold, with horses and chariots, and with idols! Jehovah, forgive them not!—Jehovah's day of judgment is coming, when all human glory shall disappear before His glory, and in consternation Hebrew idolaters shall hurl their images into any corner. Lo, Jehovah-Zebaoth will take away every stay of order and well-being in the state, leaving only the refuse of society to rule (if indeed they will) the desolated city. Look at them only! They are as shameless as Sodom! O my people, thy leaders lead thee astray, thy princes oppress: what mean ye that ye grind the faces of My poor? saith Jehovah. Look again at their ladies, with their jewels and their head-gear, and their fine dresses, and their trinkets! Jehovah will take all of it away, leaving to them only shame and sack-cloth. Yes, Zion shall lose both sons and daughters (so many are they who offend!), and bereaved of all shall sit on the bare ground. Yet

out of these judgments shall issue purity and peace. He, the Branch of Jehovah's appointing (iv. 2), shall appear in glory, and the redeemed springing out of the earth shall shine with accordant splendour in what is left of Israel. All in Zion shall then be holy, and the pillar of fire by night, and the overshadowing cloud by day, shall as of yore cheer and protect;—what is precious must need be protected! Sweet shall be the security and refreshment of those days."

Again the prophet is seen in the public course. At first he invites attention by reciting a parable (of the vineyard) in calm and composed accents (ch. v.). But as he interprets the parable his note changes, and a bold "woe" is poured forth with terrible invective. It is levelled against the covetous amassers of land, breaking down those landmarks which fenced the small hereditary freeholders whose perpetuity formed an essential element in the original constitution of the Hebrew commonwealth (comp. 1 K. xxi. 3); against luxurious revellers; against bold sinners who defied God's works of judgment, with which the prophets threatened them (comp. the similar association of revelling with hardened unbelief in Israel, Am. v. 18, vi. 3-5); against those who confounded moral distinctions; against self-conceited sceptics; and against profligate perverters of judicial justice. In fury of wrath Jehovah stretches forth His hand. Here there is an awful vagueness in the images of terror which the prophet accumulates, till at length out of the cloud and mist of wrath we hear Jehovah hiss for the stern and irresistible warriors (the Assyrians), who from the end of the earth should crowd forward to spoil,—after which all distinctness of description again fades away in vague images of sorrow and despair.

What effect (we may ask) would such denunciations produce upon the mass of Hebrew hearers? It was not from Isaiah only that the same persons heard them. Oppression, denounced by him (iii. 14, 15, v. 7-10), was denounced also by Micah (ii. 1, 2); maladministration of justice (Is. i. 23, v. 23) is noted also by Micah (iii. 1-3, 9-11, vii. 3); the combination of idolatry, diviners, and horses found in Is. ii. 6-8, 15, is paralleled in Mic. v. 10-15. This concurrence of prophetic testimony would not be without weight with those who had still some faith in Jehovah. But the worldly-minded, however silent when flagrant immorality was censured, might find what they would count plausible ground for demurring, when the prophet put the multiplication of gold, silver, horses, and chariots, in the same category with idols, or when with unsparring satire he particularised articles of female adornment as objects of Jehovah's wrath. But God's law through Moses had given similar injunctions (Deut. xvii. 16, 17); and indeed in general there is not a single page of the prophetic books in which the Pentateuch is not again and again referred to. The Hebrew commonwealth was not designed to be a commercial state, but a system of small hereditary landowners under a theocracy. Material progress and ever heightening embellishment, whether in the court or in society in general, with the men or with the women, removed it further and further from its original constitution, and from Jehovah its God. Something resembling Spartan plainness belonged essentially to the idea of the Hebrew state.

3. In the year of Uzziah's death an ecstatic vision fell upon Isaiah, which, in compiling his prophecies

long after, he was careful to record, both for other reasons, and also because he had then become aware of the failure of his ministry in reference to the bulk of his contemporaries, and of the desolation, yet not without hope, which awaited his people. We see in the case of St. Peter at Joppa (Acts x. 9-16) that such a state of *ecstasis*, though unquestionably of divine origin, yet in its form adapts itself to the previous condition, whether corporeal or psychological, of the patient. Isaiah at this period (as we must infer from the placing of the narrative) had been already for some time engaged in his ministry; and we may venture to surmise he lamented his little success. Seeing what he saw around him, and foreseeing what he foresaw, could he do otherwise than feel deeply how little he was able to effect for the welfare of his beloved country? In this vision he saw Jehovah, the Second Person of the Godhead (John xii. 41; comp. Mal. iii. 1), enthroned aloft in His own earthly tabernacle, attended by seraphim, whose praise filled the sanctuary as it were with the smoke of incense. As John at Patmos, so Isaiah was overwhelmed with awe: he felt his own sinfulness and that of all with whom he was connected, and cried "woe" upon himself as if brought before Jehovah to receive the reward of his deeds. But, as at Patmos the Son of Man laid His hand upon John saying "Fear not!" so, in obedience evidently to the will of Jehovah, a seraph with a hot stone taken from the altar touched his lips, the principal organ of good and evil in man, and thereby removing his sinfulness, qualified him to join the seraphim in whatever service he might be called to. And now the condescending invitation of the Great King is heard: "Whom shall I send? Who will go for us?" "Here am I! send me." Had he not borne Jehovah's commission before? No doubt he had; yet now, with the intense sense of the reality of divine things which that hour brought him, he felt as if he had not. What heaven-taught minister does not understand this? And what was to be the nature of his work? "Make the understanding of this people (not "my people") torpid; dull their ears; close up their eyes; the more they hear thy word, the more hardened they shall become; they must not, they shall not, receive the message so as to repent." A heart-crushing commission for one who loved his people as Isaiah did! The moan of grief at length finds utterance: "Lord, how long?" "Till the land be desolate—saving a small remnant utterly desolate—a remnant of a holy seed, which will be a stock to sprout forth, but again and again to be cut back and burnt, and yet still to survive."

This vision in the main was another mode of representing what, both in previous and in subsequent prophesying, is so continually denounced—the almost utter destruction of the Hebrew people, with yet a purified remnant. But while this prediction was its principal purport, we are sure that the inspired Editor of his prophesying so many years after, beheld in it also the sketch of the fruits of his ministry, which at the time when the revelation was made to him must have had no small effect upon his own private feelings. He goes afresh about his work, despairingly as to the main result for the present, yet with seraph-like zeal, ardent and heaven-purged, and not without

hope too, for the time to come. The "holy seed" was to be the "stock." It was to be his business to form that holy seed.

It is a touching trait, illustrating the prophet's own feelings, that when he next appears before us, some years later, he has a son named Shearjashub, "Remnant-shall-return." The name was evidently given with significance; and the fact discovers alike the sorrow which ate his heart, and the hope in which he found solace.

4. Some years elapse between chs. vi. and vii., and the political scenery has greatly altered. The Assyrian power of Nineveh now threatens the Hebrew nation; Tiglath-pileser has already spoiled Pekah of some of the fairest parts of his dominions—of the country east of Jordan and the vale of the Sea of Galilee, removing the inhabitants probably to people the wide and as yet uninhabited space inclosed by the walls of Nineveh (A.C. 746). After the Assyrian army was withdrawn, the Syrian kingdom of Damascus rises into notice; its monarch, Rezin, combines with the now weakened king of Israel, and probably with other small states around, to consolidate (it has been conjectured) a power which shall confront Assyria. Ahaz keeps aloof, and becomes the object of attack to the allies; he has been already twice defeated (2 Chr. xxviii. 5, 6); and now the allies are threatening him with a combined invasion (741). The news that "Aram is encamped in Ephraim" (Is. vii. 2) fills both king and people with consternation, and the king is gone forth from the city to take measures, as it would seem, to prevent the upper reservoir of water from falling into the hands of the enemy. Under Jehovah's direction Isaiah goes forth to meet the king, surrounded no doubt by a considerable company of his officers and of spectators.<sup>b</sup> The prophet is directed to take with him the child whose name, Shearjashub, was so full of mystical promise, to add greater emphasis to his message. "Fear not," he tells the king, "Damascus is the head of Syria, and of Syria only; and Rezin head of Damascus, and not of Jerusalem; and within 65 years Ephraim shall be broken to be no more a kingdom; so far shall Ephraim be from annexing Judah! Samaria again is head only of Ephraim, and Remaliah's son only of Samaria. If ye will be established, believe this!"

"Dost thou hesitate? Ask what sign thou wilt to assure thee that thus it shall be." The young king is already resolved not to let himself into the line of policy which Isaiah is urging upon him; he is bent upon an alliance with Assyria. To ask a sign might prove embarrassing; for, if it should be given —? Ahaz therefore, with a half-mocking show of reverence, declines to "tempt Jehovah."

"O house of David, are ye not satisfied with trying the patience of an honest and wisely advising prophet, that you will put this contempt also upon the God who speaks through me? Jehovah Himself, irrespective of your deservings, gives you a guarantee that the commonwealth of Israel is not yet to perish. Behold, the Virgin is with child, and is bearing a son, and thou, O mother (comp. Gen. xvi. 11), shalt call his name Immanuel. I seem to see that Child already born! Behold Him there! Cream and honey, abundance of the best food, shall he eat, when, ten or twenty years hence, he comes to the age of discretion; the devastating inroad of

<sup>b</sup> The reader will observe the particular specification of the place, indicating the authenticity of the

narrative. (Comp. Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, pt. iii. no. 1.)

Syria and Israel shall be past then; for before that, the land of the two kings thou holdest so formidable shall be desolate. But"—here the threat which mingles with the promise in *Shearjashub* appears—"upon thy people and upon thy family, not only in thy lifetime, but afterwards, Jehovah will bring an enemy more terrible than Jacob has ever known, Asshur—Asshur, whom thou wouldest fain hire to help (v. 20), but who shall prove a razor that will shave but too clean; he shall so desolate the land that its inhabitants shall be sparse and few." Again Isaiah predicts the Assyrian invasion; comp. ch. xxxvi.\*

5. As the Assyrian empire began move and more to threaten the Hebrew commonwealth with utter overthrow, it is now that the prediction of the Messiah, the Restorer of Israel, becomes more positive and clear. Micah (v. 2) points to Bethlehem as the birthplace, and (v. 3) speaks of "her that travaileth" as an object to prophetic vision seeming almost present. Would not Micah and Isaiah confer with each other in these dark days of prevailing unbelief, upon the cheering hope which the Spirit of Christ that was in them suggested to their minds? (comp. Mal. iii. 16).

The king was bent upon an alliance with Assyria. This Isaiah steadfastly opposes (comp. x. 20). In a theocracy the messenger of Jehovah would frequently appear as a political adviser. "Neither fear Aram and Israel, for they will soon perish; nor trust in Asshur, for she will be thy direst oppressor." Such is Isaiah's strain. And by divine direction he employs various expedients to make his testimony the more impressive. He procured a large tablet (viii. 1), and with witnesses (for the purpose of attesting the fact, and displaying its especial significance) he wrote thereon in large characters suited for a public notice the words *HASTENBOOTY SPEEDSPOIL*; which tablet was no doubt to be hung up for public view, in the entrance (we may suppose) to the Temple (comp. "priest," ver. 2). And further: his wife—who, by the way, appears to have been herself possessed of prophetic gifts, for "prophetess" always has this meaning and nowhere indicates a *prophet's wife* merely—just at this time apparently gave birth to a son. Jehovah bids the prophet

give him the name *Hastenbooty Speedspoil*, adding, what Isaiah was to avow on all occasions, that before the child should be able to talk, the wealth of Damascus and the booty of Samaria should be carried away before the king of Assyria.

The people of Judah was split into political factions. The court was for Assyria, and indeed formed an alliance with Tiglathpileser; but a popular party was for the Syro-Ephraimite connexion formed to resist Assyria,—partly actuated by their fears of a confederacy from which they had already severely suffered, and partly perhaps influenced by sympathies of kindred race, drawing them to Israel, and even to Aram, in opposition to the more foreign Assyria. "Fear none but Jehovah only! fear Him, trust Him; He will be your safety." Such is the purport of the discourse viii. 5-ix. 7; in which, however, he augurs coming distress through the rejection of his counsels, but refreshes himself with the thought of the birth of the Great Deliverer.\*

The inspired advice was not accepted. Unbelief not discerning the power and faithfulness of Jehovah would argue that isolation was ruin, and accordingly involved Judah in alliances which soon brought her to almost utter destruction.

6. A Prophecy was delivered at this time against the kingdom of Israel (ix. 8-x. 4), consisting of four strophes, each ending with the terrible refrain: "for all this, His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still." It announces that all expedients for recovering the power which Israel had lately lost were nugatory; they had forsaken Jehovah, and therefore God-forsaken (x. 4) they should perish. As Isaiah's message was only to Judah, we may infer that the object of this utterance was to check the disposition shown by many in Judah to connect Judah with the policy of the sister kingdom.

7. The utterance recorded in x. 5-xii. 6, one of the most highly wrought passages in the whole book, was probably one single outpouring of inspiration. It stands wholly disconnected with the preceding in the circumstances which it presupposes; and to what period to assign it, is not easy to determine.<sup>†</sup> To ally the dread of Assyria which

\* That the birth of the Messiah is here pointed to cannot be doubted; indeed even Ewald sees this. But the exact interpretation of v. 15, 16, is hard to determine. That given above is in the main Hengstenberg's (*Christology*, vol. ii.). The great difficulty which attaches to it is that the prophet represents Christ as already appearing, reckoning from His birth at the then present time, forward to the desolation of Syria and Israel within a few years. This difficulty is, however, alleviated by the consideration that the prophet states the future as exhibited to him in "vision," and in such prophetic vision the distances between events in point of time are often unperceived by the seer, who perhaps might sometimes in his own private interpretation of the vision (comp. 1 Pet. i. 10) have misconceived the relations of time in regard to events. The very clearness with which the future event was exhibited to him might deceive him in judging of its nearness. In the N. T. we have a somewhat similar phenomenon in the estimate formed by the Apostles and others of the relation of time between Christ's coming to judge Jerusalem and His second coming at the end of the world.

<sup>†</sup> A. V. Maher-shalah hash-baz; by Luther rendered *Raubebald, Rilebente*.

\* With reference to Tiglathpileser's having re-

cently removed the population of Galilee, the prophet specifies that "as the former time brought humiliation in the direction of Zebulun and Naphtali," located on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, "so the latter time should bring these regions honour." A mysterious oracle *thems*! But made clear to us by the event (Matt. iv. 18).

<sup>†</sup> Since the great object of this discourse is to allay Judah's fear of the Assyrian (x. 1), it can hardly belong to the very early part of the reign (742 to 727) of Ahaz; for then the more immediate fear was the Syro-Ephraimite alliance. According to the principle of chronological arrangement which we suppose to have been followed by Isaiah in his compilation, it would be before the death of Ahaz (comp. xiv. 28). Ahaz had "hired" the help of Tiglathpileser by a large present (2 K. xvi.), and the Assyrian had come and fulfilled (738) the prediction of Isaiah (viii. 4) by capturing and spoliating Damascus. But already, in the time of Ahaz, Assyria began to occasion uneasiness to Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 20). Shalmaneser succeeded Tiglathpileser not later than 728, and might not care much for his predecessor's engagements—if, indeed, Tiglathpileser himself felt bound by them. At any rate, so encroaching a power, bent on conquest, must needs be formidable to the feeble kingdom of Judah, Syria being now conquered and Israel power-

now prevailed, Isaiah was in God's mercy to His people inspired to declare, that though heavy judgments would consume the bulk of the nation, yet Shinarjashub! the remnant should return (x. 20-22; comp. vii. 3), and that the Assyrian should be overthrown in the very hour of apparently certain success by agency whose precise nature is left in awful mystery (x. 33, 34). From the destruction of Judah's enemies thus representatively foreshadowed, he then takes wing to predict the happy and peaceful reign of the "Twig which was to come forth from the stump of Jesse," when the united commonwealth of Judah and Ephraim should be restored in glory, and JAH JEHOVAH should be celebrated as the proved strength of His people. Here again is set forth a great deliverance, possibly the foreshadowing of xxxvii.

8. The next eleven chapters, xiii.-xxiii., contain chiefly a collection of utterances, each of which is styled a "burden."<sup>a</sup> As they are detached pieces it is possible they have been grouped together without strict observance of their chronological order.

(a.) The first (xiii. 1-iv. 27) is against Babylon; placed first, either because it was first in point of utterance, or because Babylon in prophetic vision, particularly when Isaiah compiled his book, headed in importance all the earthly powers opposed to God's people, and therefore was to be first struck down by the shaft of prophecy. As yet, not Babylon but Nineveh was the imperial city; but Isaiah possessed not a more foreboding drawn from political sagacity, but an assured knowledge, that Babylon would be the seat of dominion and a leading antagonist to the theocratic people. Not only did he tell Hezekiah a few years later, when Nineveh was still the seat of empire, that his sons should be carried captive "to Babylon," but in this "burden" he also foretells both the towering ambition and glory of that city, and its final overthrow.<sup>b</sup> The ode of triumph (xiv. 3-23) in this burden is among the most poetical passages in all literature. It is remarkable that the overthrow of Babylon is in ver. 24, 25 associated with the blow inflicted upon the Ninevite empire in the destruc-

tion of Sennacherib's army (for here again this great miracle of divine judgment looms out into the prophet's view), which very disaster, however, probably helped on the rise of Babylon at the cost of its northern rival. The explanation seems to be that Babylon was regarded as merely another phase of Asshur's sovereignty (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 29), so that the overthrow of Sennacherib's army was a harbinger of that more complete destruction of the power of Asshur which this burden announces. This prophecy is a note of preparation for the second part of the book; for the picture which it draws of Babylon, as having Jacob in captivity, and being compelled to relinquish her prey (xiv. 1-3), is in brief the same as is more fully delineated in xvii.; while the concluding verses about Sennacherib's army (24-27) stand in somewhat the same relation to the rest of the "burden," as the full history in xxxvi. xxvii. stands to xl.-xlviii.

(b.) The short and pregnant "burden" against Philistia (xiv. 29-32) in the year that Ahaz died, was occasioned by the revolt of the Philistines from Judah, and their successful inroad recorded 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. "If Judah's rule was a serpent, that of Assyria would prove a basilisk,—a flying dragon; let their gates howl at the smoke which announced the invading army! Meanwhile Zion would repose safe under the protection of her king;"—language plainly predictive, as the compiler in giving the date evidently felt; comp. xxxvii.

(c.) The "burden of Moab" (xv. xvi.) is remarkable for the elegiac strain in which the prophet bewails the disasters of Moab, and for the dramatic character of xvi. 1-6, in which 3-5 is the petition of the Moabites to Judah, and ver. 6 Judah's answer.<sup>c</sup> For Moab's relation to Israel see MOAB.

(d.) Chapters xvii. xviii. This prophecy is headed "the burden of Damascus;" and yet after ver. 3 the attention is withdrawn from Damascus and turned to Israel, and then to Ethiopia. Israel appears as closely associated with Damascus, and indeed dependent upon her, and as having adopted her religious rites, "strange slips," ver. 10 (comp. 2 K. xvi. 10, of Ahaz), which shall not profit her.

less. Critics, who do not take sufficient account of the manner in which future events are represented in the predictions of inspiration as already taking place, have been led to unsettle the chronology by observing that Samaria is described by the boasting Assyrian as being already as Damascus, and that the invading army is already near Jerusalem. But the conquest of Samaria was already announced at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz (viii. 4) as equally certain with that of Damascus; and the imagery of x. 28-32 is probably that in which the imagination of one familiar with the passes of the country would obviously portray an invader's approach. The destruction of Sennacherib's army is the centre object of the first part of the book; and the action of predictive prophecy, and of miracle in relation to it, cannot be gainsaid without setting aside the authenticity of the narrative altogether.

<sup>a</sup> This remarkable word, נִשְׁבָּע, "lifting up," variously understood, some taking it to refer to evils to be borne by the parties threatened, others as a lifting up of the voice in a solemn utterance. A hundred years later the term had been so misused by false prophets, that Jeremiah (xxiii. 33-40) seems to forbid its use. See 1 Chr. xv. 22, where in text and margin of A. V it is rendered "song," "carriage," and "lifting up."

<sup>b</sup> Compare our remarks in p. 885. Even if this were conceded to be the production of a later prophet the

Isaiah (which there is no just cause whatever for believing), the problem which it presents to scepticism would remain as hard as ever; for whence should its author learn that the ultimate condition of Babylon would be such as is here delineated? (xiii. 19-22). In no time of Hebrew literature was there reason to anticipate this of Babylon in particular more than of other cities. In vain does scepticism quote xvii. 1; nothing is said there of the ultimate condition of Damascus; and it is obvious enough that any such blow as that (e. g.) inflicted by Tiglathpileser would make Damascus for a while appear to be "no city" compared with what it had been, and would convert many of its streets into desolation. How different the language used of Babylon! And how wonderfully verified by time! We have the parallel language and verification in reference to Idumea (xxxiv.).

<sup>c</sup> A good deal of this burden is an enlargement of Num. xxi. 27-30, from the imitation of which the colouring of its style in part arises. It in turn reappears in an enlarged edition in Jer. xlviii. The two concluding verses (Is. xvi. 13, 14), which furnish no real ground for doubting whether Isaiah wrote the whole of it, recount that of old time the purport of this denunciation has been decreed (viz. in Num. xxi. and xxiv. 17), but that within three years it should begin to be fulfilled. It was not completely fulfilled even in Jeremiah's time.

This brings us to the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic alliance; at all events Ephraim has not yet ceased to exist. Chap. xvii. 12-14, as well as xviii. 1-7, point again to the event of xxxvii. But why this here? The solution seems to be that, though Assyria would be the ruin both of Aram and of Israel, and though it would even threaten Judah ("us," ver. 14), it should not then conquer Judah (comp. turn of xiv. 31, 32). And with this last thought ch. xviii. is inseparably connected; for it is a call of congratulation to Ethiopia ("woe" in ver. 1 of A. V. should be "ho!") as lv. 1; also in ver. 2 omit "saying"), whose deputies, predictively imagined as having come to Palestine to learn the progress of the Assyrian invasion (comp. xxxvii. 9), are sent back by the prophet charged with the glad news of Asshur's overthrow described in ver. 4-6. In ver. 7 we have the conversion of Ethiopia; for "the people tall, and shorn" is itself "the present" to be brought unto Jehovah. (Comp. Acts viii. 26-40, and the present condition of Ethiopia.)

These repeated predictions of Zion's deliverance from Asshur in conjunction with Asshur's triumph over Zion's enemies, entered deeply into the essence of the prophet's public ministry; the great aim of which was to fix the dependence of his countrymen entirely upon Jehovah.

(c.) In the "burden of Egypt" (xix.) the prophet seems to be pursuing the same object. Both Israel (2 K. xvii. 4) and Judah (Is. xxxi.) were naturally disposed to look towards Egypt for succour against Assyria. Probably it was to counteract this tendency that the prophet is here directed to prophesy the utter helplessness of Egypt under God's judgments: she should be given over to Asshur (the "cruel lord" and "fierce king" of ver. 4, not Psammeticus), and should also suffer the most dreadful calamities through civil dissensions and through drought,—unless this drought is a figure founded upon the peculiar usefulness of the Nile, and the veneration with which it was regarded (1-15). But the result should be that numerous cities of Egypt should own Jehovah for their God, and be joined in brotherhood with His worshippers in Israel and in Asshur;—a reference to Messianic times.\*

(f.) In the midst of these "burdens" stands a passage which presents Isaiah in a new aspect, an aspect in which he appears in this instance only. It was not uncommon both in the O. T. and in the New (comp. Acts xxi. 11) for a prophet to add to his spoken word an action symbolising its import. Sargon, known here only, was king of Assyria, probably between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. His armies were now in the south of Palestine besieging Ashdod. It has been plausibly conjectured that Tirhakah, king of Meroë, and Sethos, the king of Egypt, were now in alliance. The more emphatically to enforce the warning already conveyed in the "burden of Egypt"—not to look thitherward for help—Isaiah was commanded to appear in the streets and temple of Jerusalem stripped of his

sackcloth mantle, and wearing his vest only, with his feet also bare. "Thus shall Egyptians and Ethiopians walk, captives before the king of Assyria." For three years was he directed (from time to time, we may suppose) thus to show himself in public view,—to make the lesson the more impressive by constant repetition.

(g.) In "the burden of the desert of the sea," a poetical designation of Babylonia (xxi. 1-10), the images in which the fall of Babylon is indicated are sketched with Aeschylean rapidity, and certainty not less than Aeschylean awfulness and grandeur. As before (xxii. 17), the Medes are the captors. It is to comfort Judah sighing under the "treacherous spoiling" (v. 2) and continual "threshing" (v. 10) of Asshur—Ninevite and Babylonian—that the Spirit of God moves the prophet to this utterance.<sup>1</sup>

(h.) "The burden of Dumah,"—in which the watchman can see nothing but night, let them ask him as often as they will—and "of Arabia" (xxi. 11-17), relate apparently to some Assyrian invasion.

(i.) In "the burden of the valley of vision" (xxii. 1-14) it is doubtless Jerusalem that is thus designated, and not without sadness, as having been so long the home of prophetic vision to so little result. The scene presented is that of Jerusalem during an invasion; in the hostile army are named Elam and Kir, nations which no doubt contributed troops both to the Ninevite and to the Babylonian armies. The latter is probably here contemplated.<sup>2</sup> The homiletic purpose of this prediction in reference to Isaiah's contemporaries, was to inculcate a pious and humble dependence upon Jehovah in place of any mere fleshly confidence.

(k.) The passage xxii. 15-25 is singular in Isaiah as a prophesying against an individual. Comp. the word of Amos (vii.) against Amaziah, and of Jeremiah (xx.) against Pashur. Shebna was probably as ungodly as they. One of the king's highest functionaries, he seems to have been leader of a party opposed to Jehovah (v. 25, "the burden that is upon it"). Himself a stranger in Jerusalem—perhaps an alien, as Ewald conjectures from the un-Hebrew form of his name—he may have been introduced by Hezekiah's predecessor Abaz; he made great parade of his rank (ver. 18; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 1), and presumed upon his elevation so far as to hew out a tomb high up in the cliffs (probably on the western or south-western side of Jerusalem where so many were excavated) as an ostentatious display of his greatness (comp. 2 Chr. xxxii. 33, *margin*). We may believe him to have been engaged with this business outside the walls when Isaiah came to him with his message. Shebna fancied his power securely rooted; but Jehovah "roll him up as a ball and toss him away into a far distant land,—disgrace that he is to his master! his stately robes of office, with his broad magnificent girdle, shall invest another, Eliakim. Ch. xxxvi. 3, seems to indicate a decline of his power, as it also shows Eliakim's promotion to

\* Comp. the close of the "burden of Tyre." The "city of destruction" (xix. 18) is supposed by many to be the Bethshemesh of Jer. xliii. 13, specified because hitherto an especial seat of idolatry. Onias's misuse of this prediction is well known. [See *Is-HA-HEER*.]

<sup>1</sup> In vers. 3 and 4 the poet dramatically represents the feelings of the Babylonians.

<sup>2</sup> That it is not Sennacherib's invasion, we infer from the unrelieved description of godlessness and recklessness (vers. 11, 12), and the threatened punish-

ment unto death (ver. 14), whereas Hezekiah's piety was conspicuous, and saved the city. (Comp. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 12, 16.) Moreover, the famine in 2 K. xxv. 3 throws light on Is. xxii. 2. That vers. 9-11 agree with 2 Chr. xxxii. 3-5 proves nothing: the same measures would be taken in any invasion (comp. Is. vii. 3). The former part of ver. 2 and vers. 12, 13, describe the state of things preceding the imagined present.

Shebna's former post. Perhaps he was disgraced and exiled by Hezekiah, after the event of xxxvii., when the sinners in Zion were overawed and great ascendancy for a while secured to the party which was true to Jehovah. If his fall was the consequence of the Assyrian overthrow, we can better understand both the denunciation against the individual and the position it occupies in the record.

(I.) The last "burden" is against Tyre (xxiii.). The only cause specified by Isaiah for the judgment upon Tyre is her pride (ver. 9; comp. Ez. xxviii. 2, 6); and we can understand how the Tyrians, proud of their material progress and its outward displays, may have looked with contempt upon the plainer habits of the theocratic people. But this was not the only ground. The contagion of her idolatry reached Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xi. 18, xxiii. 13). Otherwise also she was an injurious neighbour (Is. lxxxi. 7; Joel iii. 6; Am. i. 9). It therefore behoved Jehovah, both as avenging His own worship, and as the guardian and avenger of His peculiar people, to punish Tyre. Shalmaneser appears to have been foiled in his five years' siege; Nebuchadnezzar was more successful, capturing at least the mainland part of the city; and to this latter circumstance ver. 13 refers.\* In vers. 15-17 it seems to be intimated that when the pressure of Asshur should be removed (by the Medo-Persian conquest) Tyre should revive. Her utter destruction is not predicted by Isaiah as it afterwards was by Ezekiel. Ver. 18 probably points to Messianic times: comp. Mark vii. 26; Acts xxi. 3; Euseb. H. E. x. 4.

9. The next four chapters, xxiv.-xxvii., form one prophecy essentially connected with the preceding ten "burdens" (xiii.-xxiii.), of which it is in effect a general summary; it presents previous denunciations in one general denunciation which includes the theocratic people itself, and therewith also the promise of blessings, especially Messianic blessings, for the remnant. It no longer particularises (Moab, xxv. 10, represents all enemies of God's people, as Edom does in lxiii. 1), but speaks of judgments upon lands, cities, and oppressors in general terms, the reference of which is to be gathered from what goes before.

The elegy of xxiv. is interrupted at ver. 13 by a glimpse at the happy remnant (ver. 15, *fires* probably means *crust*), but is resumed at ver. 16, till at ver. 21 the dark night passes away altogether to usher in an inexpressibly glorious day.†

\* "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people," i. e. the Chaldeans, "was not: Asshur founded it for the inhabitants of the wilderness," assigning a location to the Chaldeans, heretofore nomadic, Job i. 17; "they," the Chaldeans, "set up their watch-towers; they demolished her (Tyre's) palaces: He made her a ruin." In the face of all external evidence, we cannot accept Ewald's ingenious conjecture of בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל for יִשְׂרָאֵל.

† Thus comp. xxiv. 13-15, xxvii. 9, with xvii. 5-8; also xxv. 2 with xlii. 19; also xxv. 3-12 with xviii. 7, xxli. 18; and xxv. 5 with xvii. 4-6.

‡ In ver. 21, "Jehovah shall visit the host of the height"—stars, symbol of rulers, as Mark xlii. 25. The "ancients" in ver. 23 represent the Church, like the elders in Rev. iv. 4.

§ In ver. 7 "the face," i. e. "the surface of the covering," is the veil itself as lying upon the earth, "of the covering." In ver. 11 we have the fruitless endeavours of Moab to escape out of the flood of God's wrath.

In xxv., after commemorating the destruction of all oppressors ("city" ver. 2, contemplates Babylon as type of all), the prophet gives us in vers. 6-9 a most glowing description of Messianic blessings, which connects itself with the N. T. by numberless links, indicating the oneness of the prophetic Spirit ("the Spirit of Christ," 1 Pet. i. 11), with that which dwells in the later revelation.‡

In xxvi., vers. 12-18 describe the new, happy state of God's people as God's work wholly (comp. 13, "by thee only"); all *their* efforts were fruitless till God graciously interposed. The new condition of Israel is figuratively a resurrection (comp. Ezekiel's vision of dry bones, Ez. xxxvii.), a fruit of omnipotent agency; as indeed the glorified state of the Church hereafter will be literally a resurrection.

In xxvii. 1, "Leviathan the fleeing serpent, and Leviathan the twisting serpent, and the dragon in the sea," are perhaps Nineveh and Babylon—two phases of the same Asshur—and Egypt (comp. ver. 13); all, however, symbolizing adverse powers of evil. The reader will observe that in this period of his ministry, Isaiah already contemplates the future deliverance of his people as a restoration from captivity, especially from Assyria, vers. 12, 13 (comp. xi. 11, 16), as he does in the second part;—Babylon being a second phase of Asshur.

10. Chs. xxviii.-xxv. The former part of this section seems to be of a fragmentary character, being as Hengstenberg with much probability conjectures, the substance of discourses not fully communicated, and spoken at different times. The latter part hangs more closely together, and may with considerable certainty be assigned to the time of Sennacherib's invasion. At such a season the spirit of prophecy would be especially awake.

xxvii. 1-6 is clearly predictive; it therefore preceded Shalmaneser's invasion, when Samaria, "the crown of pride" surmounting its beautiful hill, was destroyed. But the men of Judah also, ver. 7 (comp. ver. 14) are threatened. And here we have a picture given us of the way in which Jehovah's word was received by Isaiah's contemporaries. Priest and prophet were drunk with a spirit of infatuation,—"they erred in vision, they stumbled in judgment," and therefore only scoffed at his ministrations.†

In the lips of these false prophets, prophesying in proportion to its falsehood, would be exaggerated in the wildness and incoherency of the style. Hence

\* "The priest and the prophet." There is no reason to understand these as connected with idolatry. There were always (it would seem) a numerous party who assumed the hair-woven mantle of the prophet ("wearing a hairy garment to deceive"); and these sable-clad men perhaps even swarmed in the streets of Jerusalem. [ELIJAH, p. 525 & note.] The priests, on the other hand, were the aristocracy of Judah, and, under the king, to a great extent ruled its policy. Like the coalition of strategus and orator at Athens, so priest and prophet played into each other's hands at Jerusalem. Whatever public policy the priests advised, they would be seconded therein by prophets, "in the name of Jehovah." Isaiah's contemporary shews us in what an unprincipled manner the prophets abused their function for their own advantage (Mic. iii. 5-7, 11): "The prophets prophesied falsely, and the priests bore rule by their means" (Jer. v. 31). Hence prophets and priests are so often named together (comp. xlix. 9, 10).

the scoffing prophets and priests made it a matter of reproach against Isaiah that his style was so plain and simple,—as if he were dealing with little children, ver. 9. And in mockery they accumulate monosyllables as imitating his style (tsav la-tsav, tsav la-tsav, kav la-kav, kav la-kav, zecir sham, zecir sham, ver. 10). "Twist my words" (is Isaiah's reply) "into a mocking jabber if ye will; God shall in turn speak to you by the jabber of foreign invaders!" (comp. Deut. xviii. 49). They trusted that they had made a "vision"—a compact with death and hell (vers. 15, 18, "agreement," Hebr. *vision*), and that through the measures which they, seer and priest together, had adopted, no invasion should hurt them. But, the stone which Jehovah lays in Zion (God's own prophets) alone secures those who trust in it; *ye* shall perish (16-22), Ver. 16 is applied in the N. T. to Christ; He is now the prophet who saves those who believe in Him.—This glimpse into Hebrew life explains to us in part the cause of the failure of the prophetic ministry. The travesty of "the word of Jehovah" preoccupied men's minds, or at least confused them; while further the conflicting voices of different prophets, the false and the true, would furnish then, as in all ages it does to the worldly and the sceptical, a ground for entire disbelief.

"Cannot ye wise men apply to the conduct of your affairs in relation to God that shrewdness and wisdom, which the farmer displays in dealing with his various businesses, and which God has given alike to him and to you?" (23-29).

Ch. xxix. Jerusalem was to be visited with extreme danger and terror, and then sudden deliverance, vers. 1-8. (Sennacherib's invasion again!) But the threatening and promise seemed very enigmatical; prophets, and rulers, and scholars, could make nothing of the riddle (9-12). Alas! the people themselves will only hearken to the prophets and priests speaking out of their own heart; even their so-called piety to Jehovah is regulated, not by His true organs, but by pretended ones, ver. 13 (comp. the condition of the Jews in relation to their rabbins and to Christ, Matt. xv. 8, 9); but all their vaunted policy shall be confounded; the wild wood shall become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field a wild wood;—the humble pupils of Jehovah and these self-wise leaders shall interchange their places of dishonour and prosperity, vers. 13-24.

One instance of the false leading of these prophets and priests (xxx. 1) in opposition to the true prophets (vers. 10, 11), was the policy of courting the help of Egypt against Assyria. Against this, Isaiah is commanded to protest, which he does both in xxx. 1-17, and in xxxi. 1-3, pointing out at the same time the fruitlessness of all measures of human policy and the necessity of trusting in Jehovah alone for deliverance. In xxx. 18-33, and xxxi. 4-9, there is added to each address the prediction of the Assyrian's overthrow and its consequences, xxx. 19-24, in terms which, when read in the light of the event, seem very clear, but which no doubt appeared to the worldly and sceptical at the time mere frenzy.

As the time approaches, the spirit of prophecy

becomes more and more glowing; that marvellous deliverance from Ashur, wherein God's "Name" (xxx. 27) so gloriously came near, opens even clearer glimpses into the time when God should indeed come and reign, in the Anointed One, and when virtue and righteousness should everywhere prevail (xxxii. 1-8, 15-20); then the mighty Jehovah should be a king dwelling amongst His people (xxxiii. 17, 22); He should Himself be a sea of glory and defence encircling them, in which all hostile galleys should perish. At that glorious display of Jehovah's nearness (namely, that afforded in the Assyrian's overthrow), they who had rejected Jehovah in His servants and prophets, the sinners in Zion, should be filled with dismay, dreading lest His terrible judgment should alight upon themselves also (xxxiii. 14). With these glorious predictions are blended also descriptions of the grief and despair which should precede that hour, xxxii. 9-14 (?) and xxxiii. 7-9, and the earnest prayer then to be offered by the pious (xxxiii. 2).

In ch. xxxiv. the prediction must certainly be taken with a particular reference to Idumea (this is shown by the challenge in ver. 16, to compare the fulfilment with the prophecy); we are however led both by the placing of the prophecy and by lxiii. 2, to take it in a general sense as well as typical.<sup>1</sup>

As xxxiv. has a general sense, so xxxv. indicates in general terms the deliverance of Israel as if out of captivity, rejoicing in their secure and happy march through the wilderness. It may be doubted whether the description is meant to apply to any deliverance out of temporal captivity, closely as the imagery approaches that of the second part. It rather seems to picture the march of the spiritual Israel to her eternal Zion (Heb. xii. 22).

11. xxxvii.-xxxix. — At length the season so often, though no doubt obscurely foretold, arrived. The Assyrian was near with forces apparently irresistible. In the universal consternation which ensued, all the hope of the state centred upon Isaiah; the highest functionaries of the state, — Shebna too,—wait upon him in the name of their sovereign, confessing that they were now in the very extremity of danger, xxxvii. 3, and entreating his prayers;—a signal token this, of the approved fidelity of the prophet in the ministry which he had so long exercised. The short answer which Jehovah gave through him was, that the Assyrian king should hear intelligence which would send him back to his own land, there to perish. The event shows that the intelligence pointed to was that of the destruction of his army. Accordingly Hezekiah communicated to Sennacherib, now at Libnah, his refusal to submit, expressing his assurance of being protected by Jehovah (comp. ver. 10). This drew from the Assyrian king a letter of defiance against Jehovah Himself, as being no more able to defend Jerusalem, than other tutelary gods had been to defend the countries which he had conquered. On Hezekiah spreading this letter before Jehovah in the Temple for Him to read and answer (ver. 17), Isaiah was commissioned to send a fuller reply to the pious king (21-33), the manifest object

<sup>1</sup> In ver. 10, read "some days over a year shall ye be troubled."

<sup>2</sup> The reference to "the book of Jehovah," v. 16, as containing this prediction, deserves notice. As the prophet's spoken word was "the word of Jehovah," so his written word is here called "the book of

Jehovah." It shews Isaiah's estimate of his prophetic writings. So xxx. 8 points to an enduring record in which he was to deposit his testimony concerning Egypt. (In xxx. 9, for "That this is," &c., read "Because this is," &c.)

of which was the more completely to signalise, especially to God's own people themselves, the meaning of the coming event.<sup>1</sup> How the deliverance was to be effected, Isaiah was not commissioned to tell; but the very next night (2 K. xix. 35) brought the appalling fulfilment. A divine interposition so marvellous, so evidently miraculous, was in its magnificence worthy of being the kernel of Isaiah's whole book; it is indeed *that* without which the whole book falls to pieces, but with which it forms a well organised whole (Comp. Pa. lxxvi., xli., xlviii.).

Chs. xxxviii., xxxix. chronologically precede the two previous ones;<sup>2</sup> but there seems to be a two-fold purpose in this arrangement; one ethical, to illustrate God's discipline exercised over His most favoured servants, and the other literary, to introduce by the prediction of the Babylonian captivity the second part of the book. As the two preceding chapters look back upon the prediction of the first part, and therefore stand even before xxxviii., so xxxix. looks forward to the subsequent prophesyings, and is therefore placed immediately before them.<sup>3</sup>

12. The last 27 chapters form a prophecy, whose coherence of structure and unity of authorship are generally admitted even by those who deny that it was written by Isaiah. The point of time and situation from which the prophet here speaks, is for the most part that of the captivity in Babylon (comp., e.g., lxiv. 10, 11). But this is adopted on a principle already noted as characterising "vision," viz., that the prophet sees the future as if present. That the present with the prophet in this section was imagined and not real, is indicated by the specification of sins which are rebuked; as neglect of sacrifices (xliii. 22-24), unacceptable sacrifices (lxvi. 3), various idolatries (lvii. 3-10, lxv. 3, 4); sins belonging to a period before the exile, and not to the exile itself.<sup>4</sup> But that this imagined time and place should be maintained through so long a composition is unquestionably a remarkable phenomenon. It is, however, explained by the fact, that the prophet in these later prophesyings is a writer rather than a public speaker, writing for the edification of God's people in those future days of the approach of which Isaiah was aware. For the punishment of exile had been of old denounced in case of disobedience even by Moses himself (Lev. xxvi. 31-35), and thus contemplated by

Solomon (1 K. viii. 46-50); moreover, Isaiah had himself often realised and predicted it, with reference repeatedly to Babylon in particular (xxxix. 6, 7, xxvii. 12, 13; xxi. 2, 10, xiv. 2, 3, xi. 11, 12, vi. 11, 12); which was also done by Micah (iv. 10, vii. 12, 13). Apart therefore from the immediate suggestion of an inspiring affluatus, it was a thought already fixed in Isaiah's mind by a chain of foregoing revelations, that the Hebrews would be deported to Babylon, and that too within a generation or two. We dwell upon this, because it must be acknowledged, and we have already made the remark, that "vision" even in its most heightened form still adapted itself more or less to the previous mental condition of the seer. We can understand, therefore, how Isaiah might be led to write prophesyings, such as should serve as his ministerial bequest to his people when the hour of their captivity should have fallen upon them.

This same fact, namely, that the prophet is here, in the undisturbed retirement of his chamber, giving us a written prophecy, and not recording, as in the early part of the book, spoken discourses, goes far to explain the greater profusion of words, and the clearer, more flowing, and more complete exposition of thoughts, which generally characterise this second part; whereas the first part frequently exhibits great abruptness, and a close compression and terseness of diction, at times almost enigmatical—as an indignant man might speak among gainsayers from whom little was to be hoped. This difference of style, so far as it exists (for it has been greatly exaggerated) may be further ascribed to the difference of purpose; for here Isaiah generally appears as the tender and compassionate comforter of the pious and afflicted; whereas before he appears rather as accuser and denouncer. There exists after all sufficient similarity of diction to indicate Isaiah's hand (see Keil's *Einführung*, §72, note 7).

This second part falls into three sections, each, as it happens, consisting of nine chapters; the two first end with the refrain, "There is no peace, saith Jehovah (or "my God"), to the wicked;" and the third with the same thought amplified.

(1.) The first section (xl.-xlviii.) has for its main topic the comforting assurance of the deliverance from Babylon by Koresch (Cyrus) who is even named twice (xli. 2, 3, 25, xlv. 28, xlv. 1-4, 13, xlii. 11, xlviii. 14, 15).<sup>5</sup> This section abounds

<sup>1</sup> How like Isaiah's style the whole passage is! xxxvii. 26 refers to the numerous predictions of Assyria's conquests and overthrow found in preceding parts of the book (comp. xlv. 8; xlv. 9-11, &c.). Comp. ver. 27 with xli. 2. "Sign" in ver. 30, as in vii. 14-16;—"There must be a remnant; therefore ye shall now be delivered." For further explanation, Ewald refers to the law in Lev. xx v. 5, 11:—"Your condition this year will be like that of a Sabbath year; next year (the land being even then not quite cleared of invaders) like that of the jubilee year: as at the jubilee the Hebrew commonwealth starts afresh, restored to its proper condition, so now reformation, the fruit of affliction, shall introduce better days," (ver. 31).

<sup>2</sup> For Hezekiah's sickness was 15 years before his death, whereas the destruction of Sennacherib's army (so chronologists determine) occurred 12 or 13 years before the same date.

<sup>3</sup> Since xxxviii. 9-20 is not in 2 K., and on the other hand in 2 K. are found many touches not found in Is. (e.g. 2 K. xviii. 14-16; xx. 4, 5, 9, &c.), critics are generally agreed that neither account was

drawn from the other, but both of them from the record mentioned in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32 as "the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amos, (found) in (not, as in A. V., "and in") the book of the kings of Judah and Israel;" which record Isaiah adopted with modifications into the compilation of his prophecies.

<sup>4</sup> As it is for the benefit of God's own people that Isaiah writes, and not to affect heathen nations to whom he had no commission, the arguing against idolatry, of which we have so much in this part, is to be ascribed to idolatrous tendencies among the Hebrews themselves, which ceased at the captivity; for the deportation probably (Hengst.) affected chiefly the best disposed of the nation, especially the priests, of whom there appears to have been a disproportionate number both among those who were exiled and those who returned.

<sup>5</sup> The point has been argued for, and the evidence seems satisfactory (Hävernick, Hengst.), that Koresch, a word meaning *sun*, was commonly in the East, and particularly in Persia, a title of princes, and that it was assumed by Cyrus, whose original name was

with arguments against idolatry, founded mainly (not wholly, see the noble passage xlv. 9-20) upon the gift of prediction possessed by Jehovah's prophets, especially as shown by their predicting Cyrus, and even naming him (xli. 26, xlv. 8, 24-26, xlv. 4, 19, 21, xlv. 8-11, xlviii. 3-8, 15). Idols and heathen diviners are taunted with not being able to predict (xli. 1-7, 21-24; xlviii. 8-13, xlv. 20-21, xlv. 10-13). This power of foretelling the future, as shown in this instance, is insisted upon as the test of divinity.<sup>b</sup> It is of importance to observe, in reference to the prophet's standing-point in this second part, that in speaking both of the captivity in Babylon and of the deliverance out of it, there is (excepting Cyrus's name) no specification of particular circumstances, such as we might expect to find if the writer had written at the end of the exile; the delineation is of a general kind, borrowed frequently from the history of Moses and Joshua. Let it be observed, in particular, that the language respecting the *wilderness* (e. g. xli. 17-20), through which the redeemed were to pass, is unmistakably ideal and symbolical.

It is characteristic of sacred prophecy in general, that the "vision" of a great deliverance leads the seer to glance at the great deliverance to come through Jesus Christ. This association of ideas is found in several passages in the first part of Isaiah, in which the destruction of the Assyrian army suggests the thought of Christ (e. g. x. 24-xi. 16, xxxi. 8-xxiii. 2). This principle of association prevails in the second part taken as a whole; but in the first section, taken apart, it appears as yet imperfectly. However, xlii. 1-7 is a clear prediction of the Messiah, and that too as viewed in part in contrast with Cyrus; for the "servant" of Jehovah is meek and gentle (ver. 2, 3), and will establish the true religion in the earth (ver. 4). Nevertheless, since the prophet regards the two deliverances as referable to the same type of thought (comp. lxi. 1-3), so the announcement of one (xl. 3-5) is held by all the four Evangelists, and by John Baptist himself, as predictive of the announcement of the other.<sup>c</sup>

(2.) The second section (xlix.-lvii.) is distinguished from the first by several features. The person of Cyrus as well as his name, and the specification of Babylon (named in the first section four times) and of its gods, and of the Chaldeans (named before five times), disappear altogether. Return from exile is indeed repeatedly spoken of

Agrardates, on his ascending the throne. It stands, however, in history as his own proper name. This instance of particularising in prophecy is paralleled by the specification of Josiah's name (1 K. xiii. 2) some 350 years before his time.

<sup>b</sup> It is difficult to acquit the passages above cited of impudent and indeed suicidal mendacity, if they were not written before Cyrus appeared on the political scene.

\* For the discussion and refutation of all expositions which understand by "the servant of Jehovah" here or in the second section the Jewish people, or the pious among them, or the prophetic order, or some other object than the Messiah, comp. Hengstenberg's *Christology*, vol. II.

<sup>c</sup> In this passage Christ is called "Israel," as the concentration and consummation of the covenant-people—as He in whom its idea is to be realised.

\* That Jesus of Nazareth is the object which in "vision" the prophet saw in l. 6, and in lli. 13, llii. 12 (connecting lli. 13 with llii. 12 as one passage), will hardly be questioned amongst our-

and at length (xlix. 9-26, li. 9-lij. 12, lv. 12, 13, lvi. 14); but in such general terms as admit of being applied to the spiritual and Messianic, as well as to the literal restoration. And that the Messianic restoration (whether a spiritual restoration or not) is principally intended, is clear from the connexion of the restoration promised in xlix. 9-25 with the Messiah portrayed in xlix. 1-8;<sup>d</sup> from the description of the suffering Christ (in l. 5, 6) in the midst of the promise of deliverance (l. 1-11); from the same description in lli. 13-lij. 12, between the passages li. 1-lij. 12, and liv. 1-17; and from the exhibition of Christ in lv. 4 (connected in ver. 3 with the Messianic promise given to David), forming the foundation on which is raised the promise of lv. 3-13. Comp. also the interpretation of liv. 13 given by Christ Himself in John vi. 45, and that of lxi. 1-3 in Luke iv. 18. In fact the place of Cyrus in the first section is in this second section held by his greater Antitype.\*

(3.) In the third section (lviii.-lxvi.) as Cyrus nowhere appears, so neither does "Jehovah's servant" occur so frequently to view as in the second. The only delineation of the latter is in lxi. 1-3 and in lxii. 1-6, 9. He no longer appears as suffering, but only as saving and avenging Zion.<sup>f</sup> The section is mainly occupied with various practical exhortations founded upon the views of the future already set forth. In the second the parænesis is almost all consoling, taking in lv. 1-7 the form of advice; only in lli. and towards the close in lvi. 9-lvii. 14 is the language accusing and minatory. In this third section, on the other hand, the prophesying is very much in this last named strain (cf. lviii. 1-7, lxi. 1-8, lxi. 1-16, lxvi. 1-6, 15-17, 24); taking the form of national self-bewailment in lxi. 9-15 and lxiii. 15-lxiv. 12. Still, interpersed in this admonition, accusation, and threatening, there are glimmers, and even bright tracts, of more cheering matter; besides the conditional promises as arguments for well-doing in lviii. 8-14 and lxvi. 1, 2, we have the long passage of general and unconditional promise in lxi. 20-lxiii. 6, and the shorter ones lxi. 17-25, lxvi. 7-14, 18-23; and in some of these passages the future of Zion is depicted with brighter colouring than almost anywhere before in the whole book. But on the whole the predominant feature of this section is exhortation with the view, as it should seem, of qualifying men to receive the promised blessings. There was to be "no peace for

selves, except by those whose minds are prepossessed by the notion that predictive revelation is inconceivable. Meanwhile all will acknowledge the truth of Ewald's remark: "In the Servant of Jahve, who so vividly hovers before his view, the prophet discerns a new clear light shed abroad over all possible situations of that time; in Him he finds the balm of consolation, the cheer of everlasting hope, the weapon wherewith to combat and shame down those who understand not the time, the means of impressive exhortation. And if in this long piece (xl.-lxvi.) a multitude of very diverse weighty thoughts emerge into view, yet this is the dominant thought which binds everything together" (*Propheten*, ii. p. 407).

<sup>f</sup> Restoration from captivity is spoken of in lviii. 12, lxi. 4-7, lxii. 4, 5, 10; but for the most part in such general terms as might easily be understood as referring to spiritual restoration only; but since the literal restoration pre-required repentance, this exhortation may be taken with a reference to literal restoration as well.

the wicked," but only for those who turned from ungodliness in Jacob; and therefore the prophet in such various forms of exhortations urges the topic of repentance,—promising, advising, leading to confession (lxi. 6-12; comp. Hos. xiv. 2, 3), warning, threatening. In reference to the sins especially selected for rebuke, we find specified idolatry (lx. 3, 4, 11, lxi. 17 (as in the second section lvii. 3-10), bloodshedding, and injustice (lix. 1-15), selfishness (lxv. 5), and merely outward and ceremonial religiousness (lxvi. 1-3). If it were not for the place given to idolatry, we might suppose with Dr. Henderson that the spirit of God is already by prophetic anticipation rebuking the Judaism of the time of Jesus Christ,—so accurately in many places are its features delineated as denounced in the N. T. But the specification of idolatry leads us to seek for the immediate objects of this parousia in the prophet's own time, when indeed the Pharisæism displayed in the N. T. already existed, being in fact in all ages the natural product of an unconverted, unspiritual heart combining with the observance of a positive religion, and in all ages (comp. *e. g.* Ps. l.) antagonistic to true piety.

While we can clearly discern certain dominant thoughts and aims in each of these three sections, we must not, however, expect to find them pursued with the regularity which we look for in a modern sermon; such treatment is wholly alien from the spirit of prophecy, which always more or less is in the strict sense of the word desultory. Accordingly we find in these, as in the earlier portions of the book, the transitions sudden, and the exhortation every now and then varied by dramatic interlocution, by description, by odes of thanksgiving, by prayers.

III. Numberless attacks have been made by German critics upon the integrity of the whole book, different critics pronouncing different portions of the first part spurious, and many concurring to reject the second part altogether. A few observations, particularly on this latter point, appear therefore to be necessary.

1. The first writer who ever breathed a suspicion that Isaiah was not the author of the last twenty-seven chapters was Koppe, in remarks upon ch. I., in his German translation of Lowth's *Isaiah*, published in the years 1779-1781. This was presently after followed up by Böderlein, especially in his Latin translation and commentary in 1789; by Eichhorn who in a later period most fully developed his views on this point in his *Hebräischen Propheten*, 1816-1819; and the most fully and effectively by Justi. The majority of the German critics have given in their adhesion to these views: as Paulus (1793), Bertholdt (1812), De Wette (1817), Gesenius (1820, 1821), Hitzig (1833), Knobel (1838), Umbreit and Ewald (1841). Defenders of the integrity of the book have not, however, been wanting—particularly Jahn in his *Einführung* (1802); Möller in his *De Authentici Oraculorum Jesaiæ* (Copenhagen, 1825); Kleinert in his *Aechtheit des Jesaiæ* (1829); Hengstenberg in his *Christology*, vol. ii.; Hävernick, *Einführung*, B. iii. (1849); Stier in his *Jesaiæ nicht Pseudo-Jesaiæ* (1850); and Keil, *Einführung* (1853), in which last the reader will find a most satisfactory compendium of the controversy and of the grounds for the generally received view.

2. The catalogue of authors who gain say Isaiah's authorship of this second part is, in point of numbers, of critical ability, and of profound Hebrew

scholarship, sufficiently imposing. Nevertheless when we come to inquire into their grounds of objection, we soon cease to attach much value to this formidable array of authorities. The circumstance mainly urged by them is the unquestionable fact that the author has to a considerable view taken his standing-point at the close of the Babylonish Captivity as if that were his present, and from thence looks forward into the subsequent future. Now is it possible (they ask) that in such a manner and to such a degree a Seer should step out of his own time, and plant his foot so firmly in a later time? We must grant (they urge) that he might gaze upon a future not very distant, as if present, and represent it accordingly; but in the case before us infallible insight and prescience must be predicated of him; for this idea of an Isaiah who knows even Cyrus's name was not realised for two centuries later, and a chance hit is here out of the question. "This, however, is inconceivable. A prophet's prescience must be limited to the notion of foreboding (*Ahnung*), and to the deductions from patent facts taken in combination with real or supposed truths. Prophets were bounded like other men by the horizon of their own age; they borrowed the object of their soothsaying from their present; and excited by the relations of their present they spoke to their contemporaries of what affected other people's minds or their own, occupying themselves only with that future whose rewards or punishments were likely to reach their contemporaries. For exegesis the position is impregnable, that the prophetic writings are to be interpreted in each case out of the relations belonging to the time of the prophet; and from this follows as a corollary the critical Canon: that *that time, those time-relations*, out of which a prophetic writer is explained, are *his time, his time-relations*;—to that time he must be referred as the date of his own existence" (Hitzig, p. 463-468).

3. This is the main argument. Other grounds which are alleged are confessedly "secondary and external," and are really of no great weight. The most important of these is founded upon the difference in the complexion of style which has already been noticed; this point will come into view again presently. A number of particulars of diction said to be non-Isaianic have been accumulated; but the reasoning founded upon them has been satisfactorily met by opposing evidence of a similar kind (see Keil, *Einführung*, §72). It is not, however, on such considerations that the chief stress is laid by the impugnors of the Isaianic authorship of this portion of Scripture: the great ground of objection is, as already stated, the incompatibility of those phenomena of prediction which are noted in the writings in question, with the subjective theories of inspiration (or rather non-inspiration) which the reader has just had submitted to him. The incompatibility is confessed. But where is the solution of the difficulty to be sought? Are those theories so certainly true that all evidence must give way to them? This is not the place for combating them; but, for our own part, we are so firmly convinced that the theory is utterly discredited by the facts exhibited to us in the Bible throughout, that we are content to lack in this case the countenance of its upholders. Their judgment in the critical question before us is determined, not by their scholarship, but avowedly by the prepossessions of their unbelief.

4. For our present purpose it must suffice briefly

to indicate the following reasons as establishing the integrity of the whole book, and as vindicating the authenticity of the second part:—

(a.) *Externally.*—The unanimous testimony of Jewish and Christian tradition—Ecclesi. xlviii. 24, 25, which manifestly (in the words *παρεκλέσει τοὺς πενθούντας ἐν Σιών* and *ὁπότε*—τὰ ὀνόματα πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι αὐτῶν) refers to this second part.—The use apparently made of the second part by Jeremiah (x. 1-16, v. 25, xxv. 31, l. li.), Ezekiel (xxiii. 40, 41) and Zephaniah (ii. 15, iii. 10).—The decree of Cyrus in Ezr. i. 2-4, which plainly is founded upon Is. xlv. 28, xlv. 1, 13, accrediting Josephus's statement (*Ant.* xi. 1, §2) that the Jews showed Cyrus Isaiah's predictions of him.—The inspired testimony of the N. T. which often (Matt. iii. 3 and the parallel passages; Luke iv. 17; Acts viii. 28; Rom. x. 16, 20) quotes with specification of Isaiah's name prophecies found in the second part.

(b.) *Internally.*—The unity of design and construction which, as we have seen, connects these last twenty-seven chapters with the preceding parts of the book.—The oneness of diction which pervades the whole book.—The peculiar elevation and grandeur of style, which, as is universally acknowledged, distinguishes the whole contents of the second part as much as of the first, and which assigns their composition to the golden age of Hebrew literature.—The absence of any other name than Isaiah's claiming the authorship. At the time to which the composition is assigned, a Zechariah or a Malachi could gain a separate name and book; how was it that an author of such transcendent gifts, as "the Great Unnamed" who wrote xl.-lxvi., could gain none?—The claims which the writer makes to the foreknowledge of the deliverance by Cyrus, which claims, on the opposing view, must be regarded as a fraudulent personation of an earlier writer.—Lastly, the predictions which it contains of the character, sufferings, death, and glorification of Jesus Christ: a believer in Christ cannot fail to regard those predictions as affixing to this second part the broad seal of Divine Inspiration; whereby the chief ground of objection against its having been written by Isaiah is at once annihilated: . . .

IV. It remains to make a few observations on Isaiah's style; though in truth the abundance of the materials which offer themselves makes it a difficult matter to give anything like a just and definite view of the subject, without trespassing unduly upon the limits necessarily prescribed to us. On this point we cannot do better than introduce some of the remarks with which Ewald prefaces his translation of such parts of the book as he is disposed to acknowledge as Isaiah's (*Propheten*, i. 166-179):—

"In Isaiah we see prophetic authorship reaching its culminating point. Everything conspired to raise him to an elevation to which no prophet either before or after could as writer attain. Among the other prophets, each of the more important ones is distinguished by some one particular excellence, and some one peculiar talent: in Isaiah, all kinds of talent and all beauties of prophetic discourse meet together so as mutually to temper and qualify each other; it is not so much any single feature that distinguishes him as the symmetry and perfection of the whole. . . .

"We cannot fail to assume, as the first condition of Isaiah's peculiar historical greatness, a native

power and a vivacity of spirit, which even among prophets is seldom to be met with. It is but rarely that we see combined in one and the same spirit the three several characteristics of—first, the most profound prophetic excitement and the purest sentiment; next, the most indefatigable and successful practical activity amidst all perplexities and changes of outward life; and, thirdly, that facility and beauty in representing thought which is the prerogative of the genuine poet: but this threefold combination we find realised in Isaiah as in no other prophet; and from the traces which we can perceive of the unceasing joint-working of these three powers we must draw our conclusions as to the original greatness of his genius.—Both as prophet and as author Isaiah stands upon that calm, sunny height, which in each several branch of ancient literature one eminently favoured spirit at the right time takes possession of; which seems as it were to have been waiting for him; and which, when he has come and mounted the ascent, seems to keep and guard him to the last as its own right man. In the sentiments which he expresses, in the topics of his discourses, and in the manner of expression, Isaiah uniformly reveals himself as the Kingly Prophet.

"In reference to the last named point, it cannot be said that his manner of representing thought is elaborate and artificial: it rather shows a lofty simplicity and an unconcern about external attractiveness, abandoning itself freely to the leading and requirement of each several thought; but nevertheless it always rolls along in a full stream which overpowers all resistance, and never fails at the right place to accomplish at every turn its object without toil or effort.

"The progress and development of the discourse is always majestic, achieving much with few words, which though short are yet clear and transparent; an overflowing, swelling fulness of thought, which might readily lose itself in the vast and indefinite, but which always at the right time with tight rein collects and tempers its exuberance; to the bottom exhausting the thought and completing the utterance, and yet never too diffuse. This severe self-control is the most admirably seen in those shorter utterances, which by briefly sketched images and thoughts, give us the vague apprehension of something infinite, whilst nevertheless they stand before us complete in themselves and clearly delineated; e.g., viii. 6-ix. 6, xiv. 29-32, xviii. 1-7, xxi. 11, 12; while in the long piece, xxviii.-xxxii., if the composition here and there for a moment languishes, it is only to lift itself up again afresh with all the greater might. In this rich and thickly crowded fulness of thought and word, it is but seldom that the simile which is employed appears apart, to set forth and complete itself (xxi. 4, 5); in general, it crowds into the delineation of the object which it is meant to illustrate and is swallowed up in it,—aye, and frequently simile after simile; and yet the many threads of the discourse which for a moment appeared unravelled together soon disentangle themselves into perfect clearness;—a characteristic which belongs to this prophet alone, a freedom of language which with no one else so easily succeeds.

"The versification in like manner is always full, and yet strongly marked: while however this prophet is little concerned about anxiously weighing out to each verse its proper number of words; not unfrequently he repeats the same word in two members (xxi. 8, xxxii. 17, xi. 5, xix. 13), as if,

with so much power and beauty in the matter within, he did not so much require a painstaking finish in the outside. The structure of the strophe is always easy and beautifully rounded.

"Still the main point lies here,—that we cannot in the case of Isaiah, as in that of other prophets, specify any particular peculiarity, or any favourite colour as attaching to his general style. *He is not the especially typical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical and hortatory prophet, as we should describe a Joel, a Hosea, a Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular colour; but, just as the subject requires, he has readily at command every several kind of style and every several change of delineation; and it is precisely this that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as in general forms one of his most towering points of excellence.* His only fundamental peculiarity is the lofty, majestic calmness of his style, proceeding out of the perfect command which he feels he possesses over his subject-matter. This calmness, however, no way demands that the strain shall not, when occasion requires, be more vehemently excited and assail the hearer with mightier blows; but even the extremest excitement, which does here and there intervene, is in the main hushed still by the same spirit of calmness, and, not overstepping the limits which that spirit assigns, it soon with lofty self-control returns back to its wonted tone of equability (ii. 10-iii. 1, xviii. 11-23, xxix. 9-14). Neither does this calmness in discourse require that the subject shall always be treated only in a plain level way, without any variation of form; rather, Isaiah shows himself master in just that variety of manner which suits the relation in which his hearers stand to the matter now in hand. If he wishes to bring home to their minds a distant truth which they like not to hear, and to judge them by a sentence pronounced by their own mouth, he retreats back into a popular statement of a case drawn from ordinary life (v. 1-6, xviii. 23-29). If he will draw the attention of the over-wise to some new truth, or to some future prospect, he surprises them by a brief oracle clothed in an enigmatical dress, leaving it to their penetration to discover its solution (vii. 14-16, xxix. 1-8). When the unhappy temper of people's minds which nothing can amend leads to loud lamentation, his speech becomes for a while the strain of elegy and lament (i. 21-23, xxii. 4, 5). Do the frivolous leaders of the people mock?—he outdoes them at their own weapons, and crushes them under the fearful earnest of divine mockery (xviii. 10-13). Even a single ironical word in passing will drop from the lofty prophet (xvii. 3, *glory*). *Thus his discourse varies into every complexion: it is tender and stern, didactic and threatening, mourning and again exulting in divine joy, mocking and earnest; but ever at the right time it returns back to its original elevation and repose, and never loses the clear ground-colour of its divine seriousness.*"

In this delineation of Isaiah's style, Ewald contemplates exclusively the Isaiah of i.-xxxix., in which part of the book itself, however, there are several passages of which he will not allow Isaiah to be the author. These are the following: xii., xiii. 2-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxiv. -xxvii., xxxiv., xxxv. In reference to all these passages, with the exception of the first, the ground of objection is obvious upon a moment's observation of the con-

tents; on rationalistic views of prophecy, none of them can be ascribed to Isaiah. For the proof of their genuineness it is sufficient to refer to Drechsler's *Prophet Jesaja*, or to Keil's *Einführung*. We cannot, however, help noticing the estimate which the honesty of Ewald's æsthetic judgment forms of the style of nearly all these passages. He pronounces the magnificent denunciation of Babylon, xiii. 2-xiv. 23, to be referable to the same author as the prediction of Babylon's overthrow in xxi. 1-10, and both as alike remarkable for "the poetical facility of the words, images, and sentiments," particularising xiv. 5-20 especially as "an ode of high poetical finish," which in the last strophe (vers. 20-23) rises to "prophetic sublimity." In xxiv.-xxvii. he finds parts, particularly the "beautiful utterances" in xxv. 6-8, xxvii. 9, 12, 13, which he considers as plainly borrowed from oracles which are now lost; while lastly, in xxxiv., xxxv. (which in his 20th lecture on Hebrew poetry Bp. Lowth selects for particular comment on account of its peculiar poetical merit), he traces much that "re-echoes words of the genuine Isaiah."

If we refer to that part of Ewald's *Propheten* which treats of xl.-lxvi., which he ascribes to "the Great Unnamed," the terms in which he speaks of its style of composition do not fall far short of those which he has employed respecting the former part. "Creative as this prophet is in his views and thoughts, he is not less peculiar and new in his language, which at times is highly inspired and carries away the reader with a wonderful power.—Although, after the general manner of the later prophets, the discourse is apt to be too diffuse in delineation; yet, on the other side, it often moves confusedly and heavily, owing to the over-gushing fullness of fresh thoughts continually streaming in. But whenever it rises to a higher strain, as e. g., xl., xlii. 1-4, it then attains to such a pure luminous sublimity, and carries the hearer away with such a wonderful charm of diction, that one might be ready to fancy he was listening to another prophet altogether, if other grounds did not convince us that it is one and the same prophet speaking, only in different moods of feeling.—In no prophet does the mood in the composition of particular passages so much vary, as throughout the three several sections into which this part of the book is divided, while under vehement excitement the prophet pursues the most diverse objects. It is his business at different times, to comfort, to exhort, to shame, to chasten; to show, as out of heaven, the heavenly image of the Servant of the Lord, and, in contrast, to scourge the folly and base grovelling of image-worship; to teach what conduct the times require, and to rebuke those who linger behind the occasion, and then also to draw them along by his own example—his prayers, confessions, and thanksgivings, thus smoothing for them the approach to the exalted object of the New Time. Thus the complexion of the style, although hardly anywhere passing into the representation of visions properly so called, varies in a constant interchange; and rightly to recognise these changes is the great problem for the interpretation" (*Propheten*, vol. ii. 407-409).

For obvious reasons we have preferred citing the æsthetic judgments of so accomplished a critic as Ewald, to attempting any original criticism of our own; and this all the more willingly, because the inference to be drawn from the above cited

passages (the reader will please especially to mark the sentences which we have put into italics) is clear, that in point of style, after taking account of the considerations already stated by us, we can find no difficulty in recognising in the second part the presence of the same plastic genius as we discover in the first. And, altogether, the aesthetic criticism of all the different parts of the book brings us to the conclusion substantiated by the evidence previously accumulated; namely, that the whole of the book originated in one mind, and that mind one of the most sublime and variously gifted instruments which the Spirit of God has ever employed to pour forth Its Voice upon the world.

V. The following are the most important works on Iscah:—Vitrinus's *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Isaiae*, 2 vols. fol. 1714, a vast mine of materials; Kasemüller's *Scholia*, 1818-1820, or his somewhat briefer *Scholia in Compendium redacta*, 1831, which, though rationalistic, is sober, and valuable in particular for the full use which he makes of Jerome and the Jewish expositors; Gesenius's *Philologisch-Kritischer und Historischer Commentar*, 1821; Hitzig's *Prophet Isaiah übersetzt und ausgelegt*, 1833; and Knobel, 1843, in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alt. Testam.*, which are all three decidedly sceptical, but for lexical and historical materials are of very great value; Ewald's *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, which, though likewise sceptical, is absolutely indispensable for a just appreciation of the poetry; the second vol. of Hengstenberg's *Christology*, translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 1856; Drechsler's *Prophet Jesaja übersetzt und erklärt*, now in course of publication, and Rud. Stier's *Jesajas nicht Pseudo-Jesajas*, 1850-51, which is a commentary on the last 27 chapters. The two chief English works are Bp. Lowth's *Isaiah, a new translation, with Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory*, 1778 (whose incessant correction of the Hebrew text is constantly to be mistrusted), and Dr. Ebenezer Henderson's *Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edit., 1857. [E. H.—c.]

IS'CAH (יִסְכָּח: 'Isc̄d: *Jesca*), daughter of Haran the brother of Abram, and sister of Milcah and of Lot (Gen. xi. 29). In the Jewish traditions as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §5), Jerome (*Quaest. in Genesim*), and the Targum Pseudo-jonathan—not to mention later writers—she is identified with SARAI.

ISCARIOT. [JUDAS ISCARIOT.]

IS'DAEL (יִסְדָּאֵל: *Gaddael*),<sup>1</sup> Esd. v. 33. [GIDDEL, 2].

ISH'BA (יִשְׁבָּא: δ 'Iesbā; Alex. 'Iesbā: *Iesba*), a man in the line of Judah, commemorated as the "father of Eshtemoa" (1 Chr. iv. 17); but from whom he was immediately descended is, in the very confused state of this part of the genealogy, not to be ascertained. The most feasible conjecture is that he was one of the sons of Mered by his Egyptian wife BITHIAH. (See Bertheau, *Chronik*, ad loc.)

ISH'BAK (יִשְׁבָּק: 'Iesbák, *Soḅák*; *Jesbac*; "leaving behind," Ges.), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32), and the progenitor of a tribe of northern Arabia. The settlements of this people are very ob-

scure, and we can only suggest as possible that they may be recovered in the name of the valley

called Sabák, or, it is said, Sibák (سَبَاق), in the

داهنا (الدَّهْنَاءُ) and (Marsid, s. v.).

The Heb. root שָׁבַק corresponds to the Arabic

سَبَب in etymology and signification: therefore

identifications with names derived from the root

شَبَكَ are improbable. There are many places of

the latter derivation, as Shebek (شَبَك), Shibák

(الشُّوبَك) and Esh-Shóbak (الشُّوبَك): the last

having been supposed (as by Binsen, *Bihel erk*, i. pt. ii. 53) to preserve a trace of Ishbak. It is a fortress in Arabia Petraea; and is near the well-known fortress of the Crusaders' times called *El-Kurak*.

The Dahna, in which is situate Sabák, is a fertile and extensive tract, belonging to the Benec-Teemem, in Nejd, or the highland, of Arabia, on the north-east of it, and the borders of the great desert, reaching from the rugged tract ("hazn") of Yensoo'ah to the sands of Yebreen. It contains much pasturage, with comparatively few wells, and is greatly frequented by the Arabs when the vegetation is plentiful (*Mushtarak* and *Marsid*, s. v.). There is, however, another Dahna, nearer to the Euphrates (*ib.*), and some confusion may exist regarding the true position of Sabák; but either Dahna is suitable for the settlements of Ishbak. The first-mentioned Dahna lies in a favourable portion of the widely-stretching country known to have been peopled by the Keturahites. They extended from the borders of Palestine even to the Persian Gulf, and traces of their settlements must be looked for all along the edge of the Arabian peninsula, where the desert merges into the cultivable land, or (itself a rocky undulating plateau) rises to the wild, mountainous country of Nejd. Ishbak seems from his name to have preceded or gone before his brethren: the place suggested for his dwelling is far away towards the Persian Gulf, and penetrates also into the peninsula. On these, as well as mere etymological grounds, the identification is sufficiently probable, and every way better than that which connects the patriarch with Esh-Shóbak, &c. [E. S. P.]

ISH'BI-BE'NOB (יִשְׁבִּי בְנוֹב: *Keri*, יִשְׁבִּי; 'Iesbi; *Jesbi benob*), son of Rapha, one of the race of Philistine giants, who attacked David in battle, but was slain by Abishai (2 Sam. xxi. 16, 17). [H. W. P.]

ISH-BOSHETH (יִשְׁבֹּשֶׁת: 'Iesboshé; *Ishboseth*), the youngest of Saul's four sons, and his legitimate successor. His name appears (1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39) to have been originally *Esh-baal*, "the man of Baal." Whether this indicates that *Baal* was used as equivalent to *Jehovah*, or that the reverence for Baal still lingered in Israelitish families, is uncertain; but it can hardly be doubted that the name (Ish-bosheth, "the man of shame") by which he is commonly known, must have been substituted for the original word, with a view of removing the scandalous sound of Baal from the name of an Israelitish king, and super-

sending it by the contemptuous word (Bosheth—"shame") which was sometimes used as its equivalent in later times (Jer. iii. 24; xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). A similar process appears in the alteration of Jerubbaal (Judg. vii. 35) into Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21); Meri-baal (2 Sam. iv. 4) into Mephibosheth (1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40). The three last cases all occur in Saul's family. He was 35 years of age at the time of the battle of Gilboa, in which his father and three oldest brothers perished; and therefore, according to the law of Oriental, though not of European succession, ascended the throne, as the oldest of the royal family, rather than Mephibosheth, son of his elder brother Jonathan, who was a child of five years old. He was immediately taken under the care of Abner, his powerful kinsman, who brought him to the ancient sanctuary of Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, beyond the reach of the victorious Philistines (2 Sam. ii. 8). There was a momentary doubt even in those remote tribes whether they should not close with the offer of David to be their king (2 Sam. ii. 7, iii. 17). But this was overruled in favour of Ishbosheth by Abner (2 Sam. iii. 17), who then for five years slowly but effectually restored the dominion of the house of Saul over the Transjordanic territory, the plain of Esdraelon, the central mountains of Ephraim, the frontier tribe of Benjamin, and eventually "over all Israel" (except the tribe of Judah, 2 Sam. iii. 9). Ishbosheth was then "40 years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years" (2 Sam. iii. 10). This form of expression is used only for the accession of a fully recognised sovereign (comp. in the case of David, 2 Sam. ii. 4, and v. 4).

During these two years he reigned at Mahanaim, though only in name. The wars and negotiations with David were entirely carried on by Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12, iii. 6, 12). At length Ishbosheth accused Abner (whether rightly or wrongly does not appear) of an attempt on his father's concubine, Rizpah; which, according to Oriental usage, amounted to treason (2 Sam. iii. 7; comp. 1 K. ii. 13; 2 Sam. xvi. 21, xx. 3). Abner resented this suspicion in a burst of passion, which vented itself in a solemn vow to transfer the kingdom from the house of Saul to the house of David. Ishbosheth was too much cowed to answer; and when, shortly afterwards, through Abner's negotiation, David demanded the restoration of his former wife, Michal, he at once tore his sister from her reluctant husband, and committed her to Abner's charge (2 Sam. iii. 14, 15).

The death of Abner deprived the house of Saul of their last remaining support. When Ishbosheth heard of it, "his hands were feeble and all the Israelites were troubled" (2 Sam. iv. 1).

In this extremity of weakness he fell a victim, probably, to a revenge for a crime of his father. The guard of Ishbosheth, as of Saul, was taken from their own royal tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. xii. 29). But amongst the sons of Benjamin were reckoned the descendants of the old Canaanitish inhabitants of Beeroth, one of the cities in league with Gibeon (2 Sam. iv. 2, 3). Two of those Beerothites, Baana and Rechab, in remembrance, it has been conjectured, of Saul's slaughter of their kinsmen the Gibeonites, determined to take advantage of the helplessness of the royal house, to destroy the only representative that was left, excepting the child Mephibosheth (2 Sam. iv. 4). They were "chiefs of the marauding troops" which

used from time to time to attack the territory of Judah (comp. 2 Sam. iv. 2, iii. 22, where the same word **יָמָי** is used; Vulg. *principes latronum*). [BENJAMIN, p. 189b; GITTAIM, p. 703a.] They knew the habits of the king and court, and acted accordingly. In the stillness of an eastern noon they entered the palace, as if to carry off the wheat which was piled up near the entrance. The female slave, who, as usual in eastern houses, kept the door, and was herself sifting the wheat, had, in the heat of the day, fallen asleep at her task (2 Sam. iv. 5, 6, in LXX. and Vulg.). They stole in, and passed into the royal bedchamber, where Ishbosheth was asleep on his couch. They stabbed him in the stomach, cut off his head, made their escape, all that afternoon, all that night, down the valley of the Jordan (Arabah, A. V. "plain;" 2 Sam. iv. 7), and presented the head to David as a welcome present. They met with a stern reception. David rebuked them for the cold-blooded murder of an innocent man, and ordered them to be executed; their hands and feet were cut off, and their bodies suspended over the tank at Hebron. The head of Ishbosheth was carefully buried in the sepulchre of his great kinsman Abner, at the same place (2 Sam. iv. 9-12). [A. P. S.]

**ISHI** (יִשִּׁי; *Jeni*). 1. (Ἰσημήλ; Alex. *Ἰσεφ*). A man of the descendants of Judah, son of Appaim (1 Chr. ii. 31); one of the great house of Hezon, and therefore a near connexion of the family of Jesse (comp. 9-13). The only son here attributed to Ishi is Sheeshan.

2. (זֵלִי; Alex. *Es*). In a subsequent genealogy of Judah we find another Ishi, with a son Zoheth (1 Chr. iv. 20). There does not appear to be any connexion between the two.

3. (Ἰεσί; Alex. *Ἰεσφ*). Four men of the Bene-Ishi, of the tribe of Simeon, are named in 1 Chr. iv. 42 as having headed an expedition of 500 of their brethren, who took Mount Seir from the Amalekites, and made it their own abode.

4. (זֵלִי; Alex. *Ἰεσφ*). One of the heads of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

**ISHI** (יִשִּׁי; *δ ἀνὴρ μου*; *Vir meus*). This word has no connexion whatever with the foregoing. It occurs in Hos. ii. 16, and signifies "my man," "my husband." It is the Israelite term, in opposition to **BAALI**, the Canaanite term, with the same meaning, though with a significance of its own. See p. 146b, where the difference between the two appellations is noticed more at length.

**ISHIJAH** (יִשִּׁיָּה; *i. e.* Issiyah; *Ἰεσία*: the fifth of the five sons of Izrahiah; one of the heads of the tribe of Issachar in the time of David (1 Chr. vii. 3).

The name is identical with that elsewhere given as **ISHIAH**, **ISSIAH**, **JESIAH**.

**ISHIJAH** (יִשִּׁיָּה; *Ἰεσία*; Alex. *Ἰεσία*: *Josue*), a lay Israelite of the Bene-Harim, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 31). In Esdras the name is **ASEAS**. This name appears in the A. V. under the various forms of **ISHIAH**, **ISSIAH**, **JESIAH**.

\* In Dryden's *Assalom and Mithophel*, "foolish Ishbosheth" is ingeniously taken to represent Richard Cromwell.

ISHMA (יִשְׁמָאֵל; *Ismaʿan*; Alex. *Ἰσμάς*; *Ischemu*), a name in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The passage is very obscure, and in the case of many of the names it is difficult to know whether they are of persons or places. Ishma and his companions appear to be closely connected with Bethlehem (see ver. 4).

ISHMAEL (יִשְׁמָאֵל; *Ἰσμαήλ*; *Ismael*; "whom God hears"), the son of Abraham by Hagar, his concubine, the Egyptian; born when Abraham was fourscore and six years old (Gen. xvi. 15, 16). Ishmael was the first-born of his father: in ch. xv. we read that he was then childless, and there is no apparent interval for the birth of any other child; nor does the teaching of the narrative, besides the precise enumeration of the sons of Abraham as the father of the faithful, admit of the supposition. The saying of Sarah, also, when she gave him Hagar, supports the inference that until then he was without children. When he "added and took a wife" (A. V. "Then again Abraham took a wife," xxv. 1), Keturah, is uncertain, but it is not likely to have been until after the birth of Isaac, and perhaps the death of Sarah. The conception of Ishmael occasioned the flight of Hagar [HAGAR]; and it was during her wandering in the wilderness that the angel of the Lord appeared to her, commanding her to return to her mistress, and giving her the promise, "I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude;" and, "Behold, thou [art] with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand [will be] against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" (xvi. 10-12).

Ishmael was born in Abraham's house, when he dwelt in the plain of Mamre; and on the institution of the covenant of circumcision, was circumcised, he being then thirteen years old (xvii. 25). With the institution of the covenant, God renewed his promise respecting Ishmael. In answer to Abraham's entreaty, when he cried, "O that Ishmael might live before Thee!" God assured him of the birth of Isaac, and said, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation" (xvii. 18, 20). Before this time, Abraham seems to have regarded his first-born child as the heir of the promise, his belief in which was counted unto him for righteousness (xv. 6); and although that faith shone yet more brightly after his passing weakness when Isaac was first promised, his love for Ishmael is recorded in the narrative of Sarah's expulsion of the latter: "And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son" (xvi. 11).

Ishmael does not again appear in the narrative until the weaning of Isaac. The latter was born when Abraham was a hundred years old (xvi. 15), and as the weaning, according to Eastern usage, pro-

bably took place when the child was between two and three years old, Ishmael himself must have been then between fifteen and sixteen years old. The age of the latter at the period of his circumcision, and at that of his expulsion (which we have now reached), has given occasion for some literary speculation. A careful consideration of the passages referring to it fails, however, to show any discrepancy between them. In Gen. xvii. 25, it is stated that he was thirteen years old when he was circumcised; and in xxi. 14 (probably two or three years later) "Abraham . . . took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave [it] unto Hagar, putting [it] on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away." Here it is at least unnecessary to assume that the child was put on her shoulder, the construction of the Hebrew (mis-translated by the LXX., with whom seems to rest the origin of the question) not requiring it; and the sense of the passage renders it highly improbable: Hagar certainly carried the bottle on her shoulder, and perhaps the bread: she could hardly have also thus carried a child. Again, these passages are quite reconcilable with ver. 20 of the last quoted chap., where Ishmael is termed יִשְׁמָאֵל, A. V. "Ish" (comp., for use of this word, Gen. xxxiv. 19, xxxvii. 2, xli. 12).

At the "great feast" made in celebration of the weaning, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking," and urged Abraham to cast out him and his mother. The patriarch, comforted by God's renewed promise that of Ishmael He would make a nation, sent them both away, and they departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. Here the water being spent in the bottle, Hagar cast her son under one of the desert shrubs, and went away a little distance, "for she said, Let me not see the death of the child," and wept. "And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of the Lord called to Hagar out of heaven," renewed the promise already thrice given, "I will make him a great nation," and "opened her eyes and she saw a well of water." Thus miraculously saved from perishing by thirst, "God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness; and became an archer." It is doubtful whether the wanderers halted by the well, or at once continued their way to the "wilderness of Paran," where, we are told in the next verse to that just quoted, he dwelt, and where "his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt" (Gen. xxi. 9-21). This wife of Ishmael is not elsewhere mentioned; she was, we must infer, an Egyptian; and this second infusion of Hamitic blood into the progenitors of the Arab nation, Ishmael's sons, is a fact that has been generally overlooked. No record is made of any other wife of Ishmael, and filling such record, the Egyptian was the mother of his twelve sons, and daughter. This daughter, however, is called the "sister of Nebajoth" (Gen. xxviii. 9), and this limitation of the parentage of the brother and sister certainly seems to point to a different mother for Ishmael's other sons.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Heb. rendered "prince" in this case, is נָשִׂיא, which signifies both a "prince" and the "leader," or "captain" of a tribe, or even of a family (Gesen.). It here seems to mean the leader of a tribe, and Ishmael's twelve sons are enumerated in Gen. xxv. 16 "according to their nations," more correctly "peoples," עַמִּים.

<sup>b</sup> According to Rabbinical tradition, Ishmael put away his wife and took a second; and the Arabs, probably borrowing from the above, assert that he twice married; the first wife being an Amalekite, by whom he had no issue; and the second, a Joktanite, of the tribe of Jurhum (*Mir-ât es-Zemân*, MS., quoting a tradition of Mohammad Ibn-Is-hâk).

Of the later life of Ishmael we know little. He was present with Isaac at the burial of Abraham; and Esau contracted an alliance with him when he "took unto the wives which he had Mahalath [or BASHMEMATH or BASMATH, Gen. xxxi. 3] the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebjoth, to be his wife;" and this did Esau become the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob in obedience to their wishes had gone to Laban to obtain of his daughters a wife (xxviii. 6-9). The death of Ishmael is recorded in a previous chapter, after the enumeration of his sons, as having taken place at the age of a hundred and thirty-seven years; and it is added, "he died in the presence of all his brethren" (xxv. 17, 18). The alliance with Esau occurred before this event (although it is mentioned in a previous passage), for he "went . . . unto Ishmael;" but it cannot have been long before, if the chronological data be correctly preserved.<sup>1</sup>

It remains for us to consider, 1, the place of Ishmael's dwelling; and, 2, the names of his children, with their settlements, and the nation sprung from them.

1. From the narrative of his expulsion, we learn that Ishmael first went into the wilderness of Beersheba, and thence, but at what interval of time is uncertain, removed to that of Paran. His continuance in these or the neighbouring places seems to be proved by his having been present at the burial of Abraham; for it must be remembered that in the East, sepulture follows death after a few hours' space; and by Esau's marrying his daughter at a time when he (Esau) dwelt at Beersheba: the tenor of the narrative of both these events favouring the inference that Ishmael did not settle far from the neighbourhood of Abraham and Isaac. There are, however, other passages which must be taken into account. It is prophesied of him, that "he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," and thus too he "died in the presence of all his brethren" (xxv. 18). The meaning of these passages is confessedly obscure; but it seems only to signify that he dwelt near them. He was the first Abrahamic settler in the east country. In ch. xv. 6 it is said, "But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country." The "east country" perhaps was restricted in early times to the wildernesses of Beersheba and Paran, and it afterwards seems to have included those districts (though neither supposition necessarily follows from the above passage); or, Ishmael removed to that east country, northwards, without being distant from his father and his brethren; each case being agreeable with Gen. xxv. 6. The appellation of the "east country" became afterwards applied to the whole desert extending from the frontier of Palestine east to the Euphrates, and south probably to the borders of Egypt and the Arabian peninsula. This question is discussed in art. BENE-KEDem; and it is interwoven, though obscurely, with the next subject, that of the names and settlements of the sons of Ishmael. See also KEFURAH, &c.; for the "brethren" of Ishmael, in whose presence he dwelt and died, included the sons of Keturah.

2. The sons of Ishmael were, Nebajoth (expressly stated to be his first-born), Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah (Gen. xxv. 13-15); and he had a daughter named Mahalath (xxviii. 9), elsewhere written Bashemath (or Basmath, Gen. xxvi. 3), the sister of Nebajoth, before mentioned. The sons are enumerated with the particular statement that "these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations" or "peoples" (xxv. 16). In seeking to identify Ishmael's sons, this passage requires close attention: it bears the interpretation of their being fathers of tribes, having towns and castles called after them; and identifications of the latter become therefore more than usually satisfactory. "They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest unto Assyria" (xxv. 18), and it is certain, in accordance with this statement of their limits [see HAVILAH, SHUR], that they stretched in very early times across the desert to the Persian Gulf, peopled the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, and eventually formed the chief element of the Arab nation. Their language, which is generally acknowledged to have been the Arabic commonly so called, has been adopted with insignificant exceptions throughout Arabia. It has been said that the Bible requires the whole of that nation to be sprung from Ishmael, and the fact of a large admixture of Joktanite and even Cushite peoples in the south and southeast has been regarded as a suggestion of scepticism. Yet not only does the Bible contain no warrant for the assumption that all Arabs are Ishmaelites; but the characteristics of the Ishmaelites, strongly marked in all the more northern tribes of Arabia, and exactly fulfilling the prophecy "he will be a wild man; his hand [will be] against every man, and every man's hand against him," become weaker in the south, and can scarcely be predicated of all the peoples of Joktanite and other descent. The true Ishmaelites, however, and even tribes of very mixed race, are thoroughly "wild men," living by warlike forays and plunder; dreaded by their neighbours; dwelling in tents, with hardly any household chattels, but rich in flocks and herds, migratory, and recognising no law but the authority of the chiefs of their tribes. Even the religion of Mohammad is held in light esteem by many of the more remote tribes, among whom the ancient usages of their people obtain in almost their old simplicity, besides idolatrous practices altogether repugnant to Mohammadanism as they are to the faith of the patriarchs; practices which may be ascribed to the influence of the Canaanites, of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, with whom, by intermarriages, commerce, and war, the tribes of Ishmael must have had long and intimate relations.

The term ISHMAELITE (إِسْمَاعِيلِيّ) occurs on three occasions, Gen. xxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1, Judg. vii. 24; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. From the context of the first two instances, it seems to have been a general name for the Abrahamic peoples of the east country, the Bene-Kedem: but the second admits also of a closer meaning. In the third instance the name is applied in its strict sense to the Ishmaelites. It is also applied to Jether, the

\* Abraham at the birth of Ishmael was 86 years old, and at Isaac's about 100. Isaac took Rebekah to wife when he was 40 years old, when Ishmael would be about 54. Esau was born when his father

was 60; and Esau was more than 40 when he married Ishmael's daughter. Therefore Ishmael was then at least 114 (54+20+40=114), leaving 23 years before his death for Esau's coming to him.

father of Amasa by David's sister Abigail (1 Chr. ii. 17.) [ITHIRA; JETHER.]

The notions of the Arabs respecting Ishmael (إسماعيل) are partly derived from the Bible,

partly from the Jewish Rabbins, and partly from native traditions. The origin of many of these traditions is obscure, but a great number may be ascribed to the fact of Mohammad's having for political reasons claimed Ishmael for his ancestor, and striven to make out an impossible pedigree; while both he and his followers have, as a consequence of accepting this assumed descent, sought to exalt that ancestor. Another reason may be safely found in Ishmael's acknowledged headship of the naturalised Arabs, and this cause existed from the very period of his settlement. [ARABIA.] Yet the rivalry of the Joktanite kingdom of southern Arabia, and its intercourse with classical and mediæval Europe, the wandering and unsettled habits of the Ishmaelites, their having no literature, and as far as we know only a meagre oral tradition, all contributal, till the importance it acquired with the promulgation of El-Islâm, to render our knowledge of the Ishmaelitic portion of the people of Arabia, before Mohammad, lamentably defective. That they maintained, and still maintain, a patriarchal and primitive form of life is known to us. Their religion, at least in the period immediately preceding Mohammad, was in central Arabia chiefly the grossest fetishism, probably learnt from aboriginal inhabitants of the land; southwards it diverged to the cosmic worship of the Joktanite Himyerites (though these were far from being exempt from fetishism), and northwards (so at least in ancient times) to an approach to that true faith which Ishmael carried with him, and his descendants thus gradually lost. This last point is curiously illustrated by the numbers who, in Arabia, became either Jews (Caraites) or Christians (though of a very corrupt form of Christianity), and by the movement in search of the faith of the patriarchs which had been put forward, not long before the birth of Mohammad, by men not satisfied with Judaism or the corrupt form of Christianity with which alone they were acquainted. This movement first aroused Mohammad, and was afterwards the main cause of his success.

The Arabs believe that Ishmael was the first-born of Abraham, and the majority of their doctors (but the point is in dispute) assert that this son, and not Isaac, was offered by Abraham in sacrifice.<sup>d</sup> The scene of this sacrifice is Mount 'Arafât, near Mekkeh, the last holy place visited by pilgrims, it being necessary to the completion of pilgrimage to be present at a sermon delivered there on the 9th of the Mohammadan month Zu-l-Hejjeh, in commemoration of the offering, and to sacrifice a victim on the following evening after sunset, in the valley of Minâ. The sacrifice last mentioned is observed throughout the Muslim world, and the day on which it is made is called "The Great Festival" (Mr. Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* ch. iii.). Ishmael, say the Arabs, dwelt with his mother at Mek-

keh, and both are buried in the place called the "Hejr," on the north-west (termed by the Arabs the north) side of the Kaabeh, and inclosed by a curved wall called the "Hatem." Ishmael was visited at Mekkeh by Abraham, and they together rebuilt the temple, which had been destroyed by a flood. At Mekkeh, Ishmael married a daughter of Mudâd or El-Muddâd, chief of the Joktanite tribe Jurhum [ALMODAD; ARAHIA], and had thirteen children (*Mir-âl-ez-Zemân* MS.), thus agreeing with the Biblical number, including the daughter.

Mohammad's descent from Ishmael is totally lost, for an unknown number of generations, to 'Admîn, of the twenty-first generation before the prophet: from him downwards the latter's descent is, if we may believe the genealogists, fairly proved. But we have evidence far more trustworthily than that of the genealogists; for while most of the natives of Arabia are unable to trace up their *pedigrees*, it is scarcely possible to find one who is ignorant of his *race*, seeing that his very life often depends upon it. The law of blood-revenge necessitates his knowing the names of his ancestors for four generations, but no more; and this law extending from time immemorial has made any confusion of race almost impossible. This law, it should be remembered, is not a law of Mohammad, but an old pagan law that he endeavoured to suppress, but could not. In casting doubt on the prophet's pedigree, we must add that this cannot affect the proofs of the chief element of the Arab nation being Ishmaelite (and so too the tribe of Kureysh of whom was Mohammad). Although partly mixed with Joktanites, they are more mixed with Ketnahites, &c.; the characteristics of the Joktanites, as before remarked, are widely different from those of the Ishmaelites; and whatever theories may be adduced to the contrary, we believe that the Arabs, from physical characteristics, language, the concurrence of native traditions (*before* Mohammadianism made them untrustworthy), and the testimony of the Bible, are mainly and essentially Ishmaelite. [ISHMAEL, 1.] [R. S. P.]

2. One of the sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul through Merib-baal, or Mephibosheth (1 Chr. viii. 38, ix. 44). See the genealogy, under SAUL.

3. A man of Judah, whose son or descendant ZEBADIAH was ruler (722) of the house of Judah in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 11).

4. Another man of Judah, son of Jehohanan; one of the "captains" (שָׂרִים) of hundreds who assisted Jehoiada in restoring Joash to the throne (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

5. A priest, of the Bene-Pashur, who was forced by Ezra to relinquish his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 22). [ISHMAEL, 2.]

6. The son of Nathaniah; a perfect marvel of craft and villainy, whose treachery forms one of the chief episodes of the history of the period immediately succeeding the first fall of Jerusalem. His exploits are related in Jer. xl. 7-xli. 15, with a short summary in 2 K. xxv. 23-25, and they read almost like a page from the annals of the late Indian mutiny.

His full description is "Ishmael, the son of Nathaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal"

the seed of Molech." He gives the same meaning to the words "the King's son" applied to Maaseiah in the above passage. The question is an interesting one, and has been recently revived by Geiger (*Urschrift*, &c. p. 307), who extends it to other passages

<sup>d</sup> With this, and some other exceptions, the Muslims have adopted the chief facts of the history of Ishmael recorded in the Bible.

<sup>e</sup> רֶעֶה הַמְּלֹכָה. Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chron. xxviii. 7) interprets this expression as meaning "of

of Judah (Jer. xli. 1; 2 K. xxv. 25). Whether by this is intended that he was actually a son of Zedekiah, or one of the later kings, or, more generally, that he had royal blood in his veins—perhaps a descendant of ELIASHAMA, the son of David (2 Sam. v. 16)—we cannot tell. During the siege of the city he had, like many others of his countrymen (Jer. xl. 11), fled across the Jordan, where he found a refuge at the court of Bualis, the then king of the Bene-Ammon (Jos. Ant. x. 9, §2). Ammonite women were sometimes found in the harems of the kings of Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 1), and Ishmael may have been thus related to the Ammonite court on his mother's side. At any rate he was instigated by Bualis to the designs which he accomplished but too successfully (Jer. xl. 14; Ant. x. 9, §3). Several bodies of Jews appear to have been lying under arms in the plains on the S.E. of the Jordan, during the last days of Jerusalem, watching the progress of affairs in Western Palestine, commanded by "princes" (שָׂרִי), the chief of whom were Ishmael, and two brothers, Johanan and Jonathan, sons of Kareah. Immediately after the departure of the Chaldean army these men moved across the Jordan to pay their respects to GEDALIAH, whom the king of Babylon had left as superintendent (פָּקִיד) of the province. Gedaliah had taken up his residence at MIZPAH, a few miles north of Jerusalem, on the main road, where Jeremiah the prophet resided with him (xl. 6). The house would appear to have been isolated from the rest of the town. We can discern a high inclosed court-yard and a deep well within its precincts. The well was certainly (Jer. xli. 9; comp. 1 K. xv. 22), and the whole residence was probably, a relic of the military works of Aza king of Judah.

Ishmael made no secret of his intention to kill the superintendent, and usurp his position. Of this Gedaliah was warned in express terms by Johanan and his companions; and Johanan, in a secret interview, foreseeing how irreparable a misfortune Gedaliah's death would be at this juncture (xl. 15), offered to remove the danger by killing Ishmael. This, however, Gedaliah, a man evidently of a high and unsuspecting nature, would not hear of (xl. 16, and see the amplification in Jos. Ant. x. 9, §3). They all accordingly took leave. Thirty days after (Ant. x. 9, §4), in the seventh month (xli. 1), on the third day of the month—so says the tradition—Ishmael again appeared at Mizpah, this time accompanied by ten men, who were, according to the Hebrew text, "princes of the king" (רָבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ), though this is omitted by the LXX. and by Josephus. Gedaliah entertained them at a feast (xli. 1). According to the statement of Josephus this was a very lavish

entertainment, and Gedaliah became much intoxicated. It must have been a private one, for before its close Ishmael and his followers had murdered Gedaliah and all his attendants with such secrecy that no alarm was given outside the room. The same night he killed all Gedaliah's establishment, including some Chaldean soldiers who were there. Jeremiah appears fortunately to have been absent, and, incredible as it seems, so well had Ishmael taken his precautions that for two days the massacre remained perfectly unknown to the people of the town. On the second day Ishmael perceived from his elevated position a large party coming southward along the main road from Shechem and Samaria. He went out to meet them. They proved to be eighty devotees, who with rent clothes, and with shaven beards, mutilated bodies, and other marks of heathen devotion, and weeping<sup>h</sup> as they went, were bringing incense and offerings to the ruins of the Temple. At his invitation they turned aside to the residence of the superintendent. And here Ishmael put into practice the same stratagem, which on a larger scale was employed by Mehmet Ali in the massacre of the Mamelukes at Cairo in 1806. As the unsuspecting pilgrims passed into the court-yard<sup>i</sup> he closed the entrances behind them, and there he and his band butchered the whole number: ten only escaped by the offer of heavy ransom for their lives. The seventy corpses were then thrown into the well which, at Cawnpore, was within the precincts of the house, and which was completely filled with the bodies. It was the same thing that had been done by Jehu—a man in some respects a prototype of Ishmael, with the bodies of the forty-two relatives of Ahaziah (2 K. x. 14). This done he descended to the town, surprised and carried off the daughters of king Zedekiah, who had been sent there by Nebuchadnezzar for safety, with their eunuchs and their Chaldean guard (xli. 10, 16), and all the people of the town, and made off with his prisoners to the country of the Ammonites. Which road he took is not quite clear; the Hebrew text and LXX. say by Gibeon, that is north; but Josephus, by Hebron, round the southern end of the Dead Sea. The news of the massacre had by this time got abroad, and Ishmael was quickly pursued by Johanan and his companions. Whether north or south, they soon tracked him and his unwieldy booty, and found them reposing by some copious waters (מַיִם רַבִּים). He was attacked, two of his bravoes slain, the whole of the prey recovered, and Ishmael himself, with the remaining eight of his people, escaped to the Ammonites, and thenceforward passes into the obscurity from which it would have been well if he had never emerged.

Johanan's foreboding was fulfilled. The result of

and persons. [MOLKEN.] Jerome (as above) further says—perhaps on the strength of a tradition—that Ishmael was the son of an Egyptian slave, Gera: as a reason why the "seed royal" should bear the meaning he gives it. This the writer has not hitherto succeeded in elucidating.

<sup>f</sup> So perhaps, taking it with the express statement of xl. 11, we may interpret the words "the forces which were in the field" (Jer. xl. 7, 13), where the term rendered "the field" (שָׂדֶה) is one used to denote the pasture grounds of Moab—the modern *Belka*—often than any other district. See Gen. xxxvi. 35; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 1, and *passim*; 1 Chr. viii. 8; and Stanley's *S. & J.* App. §15. The

persistent use of the word in the semi-Moabite book of Ruth is alone enough to fix its meaning.

<sup>g</sup> It is a pity that some different word is not employed to render this Hebrew term from that used in xli. 1 to translate one totally distinct.

<sup>h</sup> This is the LXX. version of the matter—*αὐτοὶ ἐνορεύοντο καὶ ἔκλαιον*. The statement of the Hebrew Text and A. V. that Ishmael wept is unintelligible.

<sup>i</sup> The Hebrew has הָעִיר—"the city" (A. V. ver. 7). This has been read by Josephus הָעִיר—"court-yard." The alteration carries its genuineness in its face. The same change has been made by the *Masorets* (*Xeri*) in 2 K. xx. 4.

this tragically was an immediate panic. The small remnants of the Jewish commonwealth—the captains of the forces, the king's daughters, the two prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and all the men, women, and children—at once took flight into Egypt (Jer. xli. 17; xliii. 5-7); and all hopes of a settlement were for the time at an end. The remembrance of the calamity was perpetuated by a fast—the fast of the seventh month (Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19), which is to this day strictly kept by the Jews on the third of Tishri. (See Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 10; Kimchi on Zech. vii. 5.) The part taken by Baulis in this transaction apparently brought upon his nation the denunciations both of Jeremiah (xlix. 1-6), and the more distant Ezekiel (xlv. 1-7), but we have no record how these predictions were accomplished. [G.]

**ISHMA'IAH** (יִשְׁמָאִיָּהּ), *i. e.* Ishmayahu: *Σαμαίας*: *Jesumaius*), son of Obadiah: the ruler of the tribe of Zebulun in the time of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

**ISI'MEELITE** and **ISH'MEELITES** (יִשְׁמְעֵלִי and יִשְׁמְעֵלִיָּת respectively), the form—in agreement with the vowels of the Hebrew—in which the descendants of Ishmael are given in a few places in the A. V.; the former in 1 Chr. ii. 17; the latter in Gen. xxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxix. 1.

**ISH'MERAI** (יִשְׁמֶרַי): *Ἰσμεράϊ*; Alex. *Ἰεσμεράϊ*: *Jesumari*), a Benjaminite; one of the family of Eliphal, and named as a chief man in the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 18).

**ISH'OD** (יִשְׁחֹד): *i. e.* Ish-hod: δ *Ἰσοῦδ*; Alex. *Soûd*: *uirum decorum*), one of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan, son of Hammeleketh, *i. e.* the Queen, and from his near connexion with Gilead, evidently an important person (1 Chr. vii. 18).

**ISH'PAN** (יִשְׁפָּן): *Ἰεσφάν*; Alex. *Ἰεσφόν*; *Jespham*), a Benjaminite, one of the family of Shashak; named as a chief man in his tribe (1 Chr. vii. 22).

**ISH'TOB** (יִשְׁחֹב): *Ἰσθῶβ*; Jos. *Ἰσθωβος*: *Isôb*), apparently one of the small kingdoms or states which formed part of the general country of Aram, named with Zobah, Rehob, and Maacah (2 Sam. x. 6, 8). In the parallel account of 1 Chr. xiv. Ish'tob is omitted. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, §1) the name is given as that of a king. But though in the ancient versions the name is given as one word, it is probable that the real signification is “the men of Toi,” a district mentioned also in connexion with Ammon in the records of Jephthah, and again perhaps, under the shape of **TOHIE** or **TUBIEH**, in the history of the Maccabees. [G.]

**ISHU'AH** (יִשְׁחֻא): *Ἰεσσοῦα*, Alex. *Ἰεσσαί*: *Jessua*), the second son of Asher (Gen. xvi. 17). In the genealogies of Asher in 1 Chr. vii. 30 the name, though identical in the original, is in the A. V. given as **ISUAH**. In the lists of Num. xxvi., however, Ishuah is entirely omitted.

**ISH'UAI** (יִשְׁחֻי), *i. e.* Ishvi: *Ἰσουί*, Alex. *Ἰεσουί*: *Jessui*), the third son of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30), founder of a family bearing his name (Num. xxvi. 44; A. V. “Jesuites”). His descendants, however, are not mentioned in the genealogy in Chronicles. His name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as **ISUI**, **JESUI**, and (another person) **ISHUI**.

**ISH'UI** (יִשְׁחֻי), *i. e.* Ishvi: *Ἰεσσοῦ*; Alex. *Ἰσουί*; Joseph. *Ἰεσοῦς*: *Jessui*), the second son of Saul by his wife Ahinoam (1 Sam. xiv. 49, comp. 50): his place in the family was between Jonathan and Melchishua. In the list of Saul's genealogy in 1 Chr. viii. and ix., however, the name of Ishui is entirely omitted; and in the sad narrative of the battle of Gilboa his place is occupied by Abinadab (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). We can only conclude that he died young.

The same name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as **ISUI**, and **ISHUAI**. [G.]

**ISLE** (יָם; *νῆσος*). The radical sense of the Hebrew word seems to be “habitable places,” as opposed to water, and in this sense it occurs in Is. xli. 15. Hence it means secondarily any maritime district, whether belonging to a continent or to an island: thus it is used of the shore of the Mediterranean (Is. xx. 6, xxii. 2, 6), and of the coasts of Elilshah (Ez. xxvii. 7), *i. e.* of Greece and Asia Minor. In this sense it is more particularly restricted to the shores of the Mediterranean, sometimes in the fuller expression “islands of the sea” (Is. xi. 11), or “isles of the Gentiles” (Gen. x. 5; comp. Zeph. ii. 11), and sometimes simply as “isles” (Ps. lxxii. 10; Ez. xxvi. 15, 18, xxvii. 3, 35, xxix. 6; Dan. xi. 18): an exception to this, however, occurs in Ez. xxvii. 15, where the shores of the Persian gulf are intended. Occasionally the word is specifically used of an island, as of Caphtor or Cete (Jer. xlvii. 4), and Chittim or Cyprus (Ez. xxvii. 6; Jer. ii. 10), or of islands as opposed to the mainland (Esth. x. 1). But more generally it is applied to any region separated from Palestine by water, as fully described in Jer. xxv. 22, “the isles which are beyond the sea,” which were hence regarded as the most remote regions of the earth (Is. xlv. 15, xli. 10, lx. 18, compare the expression in Is. lxvi. 19, “the isles afar off”) and also as large and numerous (Is. xl. 15; Ps. xxvii. 1): the word is more particularly used by the prophets. (See J. D. Michaelis, *Syncelegium*, i. 131-142.) [W. L. B.]

**ISMACHIAH** (יִשְׁמַחִיָּהּ), *i. e.* Ismach-yahu: δ *Σαμαχία*: *Jesumachius*), a Levite who was one of the overseers (**פְּקִידִים**) of offerings, during the revival under king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

**ISMAEL**. 1. (*Ἰσμαήλ*: *Ismaël*), Jud. ii. Another form for the name **ISHMAEL**, son of Abiahaw.

2. (*Ἰσμαήλος*: *Ismaenlis*), 1 Esd. ix. 29. [**ISHMAEL**, 5.]

**ISMA'IAH** (יִשְׁמָאִיָּהּ): *Σαμαίας*: *Samaius*), a Gileonite, one of the chiefs of those warriors who relinquished the cause of Saul, the head of their tribe, and joined themselves to David, when he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4). He is described as “a hero (*Gibbor*) among the thirty and over the thirty”—*i. e.* David's body-guard: but his name does not appear in the lists of the guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. and 1 Chr. xi. Possibly he was killed in some encounter before David reached the throne.

**ISTAH** (יִשְׁתָּה), *i. e.* Ishyah: *Ἰεσθά*, Alex. *Ἰεσθά*: *Jesphā*), a Benjaminite, of the family of Beniah; one of the heads of his tribe (1 Chr. viii. 16).

**ISRAEL** (יִשְׂרָאֵל): *Ἰσραήλ*. 1. The name given (Gen. xxxii. 28) to Jacob after his wrestling with the Angel (Hos. xii. 4) at Peniel. In the

time of Jerome (*Quaest. Ilabr. in Gen.* Opp. iii. 357) the signification of the name was commonly believed to be "the man (or the mind) seeing God." But he prefers another interpretation, and paraphrases the verse after this manner, "Thy name shall not be called Jacob, *Supplanter*, but Israel, *Prince with God*. For as I am a Prince, so thou who hast been able to wrestle with Me shalt be called a Prince. But if with Me who am God (or an Angel) thou hast been able to contend, how much more [shalt thou be able to contend] with men, i. e. with Esau, whom thou oughtest not to dread?" The A. V., apparently following Jerome, translates שׂרִיט, "as a prince thou hast power;" but Rosenmüller and Gesenius give it the simpler meaning, "thou hast contended." Gesenius interprets Israel "soldier of God."

2. It became the national name of the twelve tribes collectively. They are so called in Ex. iii. 16 and afterwards.

3. It is used in a narrower sense, excluding Judah, in 1 Sam. xi. 8. It is so used in the famous cry of the rebels against David (2 Sam. xx. 1), and against his grandson (1 K. xii. 16). Thenceforth it was assumed and accepted as the name of the Northern Kingdom, in which the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Dan, and Simeon, had no share.

4. After the Babylonian captivity, the returned exiles, although they were mainly of the kingdom of Judah, resumed the name Israel as the designation of their nation; but as individuals they are almost always described as Jews in the Apocrypha and N. T. Instances occur in the Books of Chronicles of the application of the name Israel to Judah (e. g. 2 Chr. xi. 3, xii. 6); and in Esther of the name Jews to the whole people. The name Israel is also used to denote laymen, as distinguished from Priests, Levites, and other ministers (Ezr. vi. 16; ix. 1; x. 25; Neh. xi. 3, &c.). [W. T. B.]

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF. 1. The prophet Ahijah of Shiloh who was commissioned in the latter days of Solomon to announce the division of the kingdom, left one tribe (Judah) to the house of David, and assigned ten to Jeroboam (1 K. xi. 35, 31). These were probably Joseph (= Ephraim and Manasseh), Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, Gad, and Reuben; Levi being intentionally omitted. Eventually, the greater part of Benjamin, and probably the whole of Simeon and Dan were included as if by common consent in the kingdom of Judah. With respect to the conquests of David, Moab appears to have been attached to the kingdom of Israel (2 K. iii. 4); so much of Syria as remained subject to Solomon (see 1 K. xi. 24) would probably be claimed by his successor in the northern kingdom; and Ammon, though connected with Rehoboam as his mother's native land (2 Chr. xii. 13), and though afterwards tributary to Judah (2 Chr. xxvii. 5) was at one time allied (2 Chr. xx. 1), we know not how closely, or how early, with Moab. The sea-coast between Aecho and Japho remained in the possession of Israel.

2. The population of the kingdom is not ex-

pressly stated, and in drawing any inference from the numbers of fighting-men, we must bear in mind that the numbers in the Hebrew text of the O. T. are strongly suspected to have been subjected to extensive, perhaps systematic, corruption. Forty years before the disruption the census taken by direction of David gave 800,000 according to 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, or 1,100,000\* according to 1 Chr. xxi. 5, as the number of fighting-men in Israel. Jeroboam, B.C. 957, brought into the field an army of 800,000 men (2 Chr. xiii. 3). The small number of the army of Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 7) is to be attributed to his compact with Hazael; for in the next reign Israel could spare a mercenary host ten times as numerous for the wars of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 6). Ewald is scarcely correct in his remark that we know not what time of life is reckoned as the military age (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 185); for it is defined in Num. i. 3, and again 2 Chr. xxv. 5, as "twenty years old and above." If in B.C. 957 there were actually under arms 800,000 men of that age in Israel, the whole population may perhaps have amounted to at least three millions and a half.<sup>b</sup> Later observers have echoed the disappointment with which Jerome from his cell at Bethlehem contemplated the small extent of this celebrated country (*Ep.* 129, *ad Dardan.* §4). The area of Palestine, as it is laid down in Kiepert's *Bibel-Atlas* (ed. Lionnet, 1859), is calculated at 13,620 English square miles. Deducting from this 810 miles for the strip of coast S. of Japho, belonging to the Philistines, we get 12,810 miles as the area of the land occupied by the 12 tribes at the death of Solomon: the area of the two kingdoms being—Israel 9375, Judah 3435. Hence it appears that the whole area of Palestine was nearly equal to that of the kingdom of Holland (13,610 sq. m.); or rather more than that of the six northern counties of England (13,136 sq. m.). The kingdom of Judah was rather less than Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland (3683 sq. m., with 752,852 population in 1851): the kingdom of Israel was very nearly as large as Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland (9453 sq. m., with 4,023,713 population in 1851).

3. SHECHEM was the first capital of the new kingdom (1 K. xii. 25), venerable for its traditions, and beautiful in its situation. Subsequently Tirzah, whose loveliness had fixed the wandering gaze of Solomon (Cant. vi. 4), became the royal residence, if not the capital, of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. 17) and of his successors (xv. 34, xvi. 8, 17, 23). Samaria, uniting in itself the qualities of beauty and fertility, and a commanding position, was chosen by Omri (1 K. xvi. 24), and remained the capital of the kingdom until it had given the last proof of its strength by sustaining for three years the onset of the hosts of Assyria. Jezreel was probably only a royal residence of some of the Israelitish kings. It may have been in awe of the ancient holiness of Shiloh, that Jeroboam forbore to pollute the secluded site of the Tabernacle with the golden calves. He chose for the religious capitals of his kingdom Dan, the old home of northern schism, and Bethel,\* a

\* Bp. Patrick proposes to reconcile these two numbers, by adding to the former 288,000 on account of David's standing legions.

<sup>b</sup> "Mr. Rickman noticed that in 1821 and in 1831 the number of males under 20 years of age, and the number of males of 20 years of age and upwards, were nearly equal; and this proportion has been since re-

garded as invariable: or, it has been assumed that the males of the age of 20 and upwards are equal in number to a fourth part of the whole population."—*Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables, II., Ages, &c.*, p. vi.

\* On these seven places see Stanley's *S. & P.* chaps. iv. v. and xi.

Benjaminite city not far from Shiloh, and marked out by history and situation as the rival of Jerusalem.

4. The dissection of Ephraim and the northern tribes having grown in secret under the prosperous but burdensome reign of Solomon, broke out at the critical moment of that great monarch's death. It was just then that Ephraim, the centre of the movement, found in Jeroboam an instrument prepared to give expression to the rivalry of centuries, with sufficient ability and application to raise him to high station, with the stain of treason on his name, and with the bitter recollections of an exile in his mind. Judah and Joseph were rivals from the time that they occupied the two prominent places, and received the simplest promises in the blessing of the dying patriarch (Gen. xlix. 8, 22). When the twelve tribes issued from Egypt, only Judah and Joseph could muster each above 70,000 warriors. In the desert and in the conquest, Caleb and Joshua, the representatives of the two tribes, stand out side by side eminent among the leaders of the people. The blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 13) and the divine selection of Joshua inaugurated the greater prominence of Joseph for the next three centuries. Othniel, the successor of Joshua, was from Judah: the last, Samuel, was born among the Ephraimites. Within that period Ephraim supplied at Shiloh (Judg. xvi. 19) a resting-place for the ark, the centre of divine worship; and a rendezvous, or capital at Shechem (Josh. xiv. 1; Judg. ix. 2) for the whole people. Ephraim arrogantly claimed (Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1) the exclusive right of taking the lead against invaders. Royal authority was offered to one dweller in Ephraim (viii. 22), and actually exercised for three years by another (ix. 22). After a silent, perhaps sullen, acquiescence in the transfer of Samuel's authority with additional dignity to a Benjaminite, they resisted for seven years (2 Sam. ii. 9-11) its passing into the hands of the popular Jewish leader, and yielded reluctantly to the conviction that the sceptre which seemed almost within their grasp was reserved at last for Judah. Even in David's reign their jealousy did not always slumber (2 Sam. xix. 43); and though Solomon's alliance and intercourse with Tyre must have tended to increase the loyalty of the northern tribes, they took the first opportunity to emancipate themselves from the rule of his son. Doubtless the length of Solomon's reign, and the clouds that gathered round the close of it (1 K. xi. 14-25), and possibly his increasing despotism (Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 395), tended to diminish the general popularity of the house of David; and the idolatry of the king alienated the affection of religious Israelites. But none of these was the immediate cause of the disruption. No aspiration after greater liberty, political privileges, or aggrandisement at the expense of other powers, no spirit of commercial enterprise, no breaking forth of pent-up energy seems to have instigated the movement. Ephraim proudly longed for independence, without considering whether or at what cost he could maintain it. Shechem was built as a capital, and Tirzah as a residence, for an Ephraimite king, by the people who murmured under the burden imposed upon them by the royal state of Solomon. Ephraim felt no patriotic pride in a national splendour of which Judah was the centre. The dwelling-place of God when fixed in Jerusalem ceased to be so honourable to him as of old. It was ancient jealousy rather than recent provocation, the opportunity of Solomon rather than unwillingness to

incur taxation, the opportune return of a persecuted Ephraimite rather than any commanding genius for rule which Jeroboam possessed, that finally broke up the brotherhood of the children of Jacob. It was an outburst of human feeling so soon as that divine influence which restrained the spirit of disunion was withdrawn in consequence of the idolatry of Solomon, so soon as that stern prophetic Voice which had called Saul to the throne under a protest, and David to the throne in repentance, was heard in anger summoning Jeroboam to divide the kingdom.

5. Disruption where there can be no expansion, or dismemberment without growth, is fatal to a state. If England and America have prospered since 1783 it is because each found space for increase, and had vital energy to fill it. If the separation of east and west was but a step in the decline of the Roman empire, it was so because each portion was hemmed in by obstacles which it wanted vigour to surmount. The sources of life and strength begin to dry up; the state shrinks within itself, withers, and falls before some blast which once it might have braved.

The kingdom of Israel developed no new power. It was but a portion of David's kingdom deprived of many elements of strength. Its frontier was as open and as widely extended as before; but it wanted a capital for the seat of organised power. Its territory was as fertile and as tempting to the spoiler, but its people were less united and patriotic. A corrupt religion poisoned the source of national life. When less reverence attended on a new and un consecrated king, and less respect was felt for an aristocracy reduced by the retirement of the Levites, the army which David found hard to control rose up unchecked in the exercise of its wilful strength; and thus eight houses, each ushered in by a revolution, occupied the throne in quick succession. Tyre ceased to be an ally when the alliance was no longer profitable to the merchant-city. Moab and Ammon yielded tribute only while under compulsion. A powerful neighbour, Damascus, sat aimed at the gate of Israel; and, beyond Damascus, might be discerned the rising strength of the first great anarchy of the world.

These causes tended to increase the misfortunes, and to accelerate the early end of the kingdom of Israel. It lasted 254 years, from B.C. 975 to B.C. 721, about two-thirds of the duration of its more compact neighbour Judah.

But it may be doubted whether the division into two kingdoms greatly shortened the independent existence of the Hebrew race, or interfered with the purposes which, it is thought, may be traced in the establishment of David's monarchy. If among those purposes were the preservation of the true religion in the world, and the preparation of an agency adapted for the diffusion of Christianity in due season, then it must be observed—first, that as a bulwark providentially raised against the corrupting influence of idolatrous Tyre and Damascus, Israel kept back that contagion from Judah, and partly exhausted it before its arrival in the south; next, that the purity of Divine worship was not impaired by the excision of those tribes which were remote from the influence of the Temple, and by the concentration of priests and religious Israelites within the southern kingdom; and lastly, that to the worshippers at Jerusalem the early decline and fall of Israel was a solemn and impressive spectacle of judgment,—the working out of the great problem of God's toleration of idolatry. This prepared the

heart of Judah for the revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah, softened them into repentance during the captivity, and strengthened them for their absolute renunciation of idolatry, when after seventy years they returned to Palestine, to teach the world that there is a spiritual bond more efficacious than the occupancy of a certain soil for keeping up national existence, and to become the channel through which God's greatest gift was conveyed to mankind. [CAPTIVITY.]

6. The detailed history of the kingdom of Israel will be found under the names of its nineteen kings. [See also *ISRAEL*.] A summary view may be taken in four periods:—

(a.) B.C. 975-929. Jeroboam had not sufficient force of character in himself to make a lasting impression on his people. A king, but not a founder of a dynasty, he aimed at nothing beyond securing his present elevation. Without any ambition to share in the commerce of Tyre, or to compete with the growing power of Damascus, or even to complete the humiliation of the helpless monarch whom he had deprived of half a kingdom, Jeroboam acted entirely on a defensive policy. He attempted to give his subjects a centre which they wanted for their political allegiance, in Shechem or in Tizzah. He sought to change merely so much of their ritual as was inconsistent with his authority over them. But as soon as the golden calves were set up, the priests and Levites and many religious Israelites (2 Chr. xi. 16) left their country, and the disastrous emigration was not effectually checked even by the attempt of Baasha to build a fortress (2 Chr. xvi. 6) at Ramah. A new priesthood was introduced (1 K. xii. 31) absolutely dependent on the king (Am. vii. 13), not forming as under the Mosaic law a landed aristocracy, not respected by the people, and unable either to withstand the oppression or to strengthen the weakness of a king. A priesthood created and a ritual devised for secular purposes had no hold whatever on the conscience of the people. To meet their spiritual cravings a succession of prophets was raised up, great in their poverty, their purity, their austerity, their self-dependence, their moral influence, but imperfectly organised;—a rod to correct and check the civil government, not, as they might have been under happier circumstances, a staff to support it. The army soon learned its power to dictate to the isolated monarch and disunited people. Baasha in the midst of the army at Gibbethon slew the son and successor of Jeroboam; Zimri, a captain of chariots, slew the son and successor of Baasha; Omri, the captain of the host, was chosen to punish Zimri; and after a civil war of four years he prevailed over Tibni, the choice of half the people.

(b.) B.C. 929-884. For forty-five years Israel was governed by the house of Omri. That sagacious king pitched on the strong hill of Samaria as the site of his capital. Damascus, which in the days of Baasha had proved itself more than a match for Israel, now again assumed a threatening attitude. Edom and Moab showed a tendency to independence, or even aggression. Hence the princes of Omri's house cultivated an alliance with the contemporary kings of Judah, which was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, and marked by the community of names among the royal children. Ahab's Tyrian alliance strengthened him with the counsels of the masculine mind of Jezebel, but brought him no further support. The entire rejection of the God of Abraham, under the

disguise of abandoning Jeroboam's unlawful symbolism, and adopting Baal as the god of a luxurious court and subservient populace, led to a reaction in the nation, to the moral triumph of the prophets in the person of Elijah, and to the extinction of the house of Ahab in obedience to the bidding of Elisha.

(c.) B.C. 884-772. Unparalleled triumphs, but deeper humiliation, awaited the kingdom of Israel under the dynasty of Jehu. The worship of Baal was abolished by one blow; but, so long as the kingdom lasted, the people never rose superior to the debasing form of religion established by Jeroboam. Hazael, the successor of the two Benhadads, the ablest king of Damascus, reduced Jehonahaz to the condition of a vassal, and triumphed for a time over both the disunited Hebrew kingdoms. Almost the first sign of the restoration of their strength was a war between them; and Jehonah, the grandson of Jehu, entered Jerusalem as the conqueror of Amaziah. Jehonah also turned the tide of war against the Syrians; and Jeroboam II., the most powerful of all the kings of Israel, captured Damascus, and recovered the whole ancient frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. In the midst of his long and seemingly glorious reign the prophets Hosea and Amos uttered their warnings more clearly than any of their predecessors. The short-lived greatness expired with the last king of Jehu's line.

(d.) B.C. 772-721. Military violence, it would seem, broke off the hereditary succession after the obscure and probably convulsed reign of Zachariah. An unsuccessful usurper, Shallum, is followed by the cruel Menahem, who, being unable to make head against the first attack of Assyria under Pul, became the agent of that monarch for the oppressive taxation of his subjects. Yet his power at home was sufficient to insure for his son and successor Pekahiah a ten years' reign, cut short by a bold usurper, Pekah. Abandoning the northern and transjordanic regions to the encroaching power of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser, he was very near subjugating Judah, with the help of Damascus, now the coequal ally of Israel. But Assyria interposing summarily put an end to the independence of Damascus, and perhaps was the indirect cause of the assassination of the baffled Pekah. The irrevocable Hoshea, the next and last usurper, became tributary to his invader, Salmanser, betrayed the Assyrian to the rival monarchy of Egypt, and was punished by the loss of his liberty, and by the capture, after a three years' siege, of his strong capital, Samaria. Some gleamings of the ten tribes yet remained in the land after so many years of religious decline, moral debasement, national degradation, anarchy, bloodshed, and deportation. Even these were gathered up by the conqueror and carried to Assyria, never again, as a distinct people, to occupy their portion of that goodly and pleasant land which their forefathers won under Joshua from the heathen.

7. The following table shows at one view the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah. (Columns 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10 are taken from the Bible. Columns 4, 5, 6 are the computations of eminent modern chronologists: column 4 being the scheme adopted in the margin of the English Version, which is founded on the calculations of Archbishop Ussher: column 5 being the computation of Clinton (*Fasti Italicæ*, iii. App. §5); and column 6 being the computation of Winer (*Real- u. Urterbuch*).

Year of preceding King of Judah.	Duration of Reign.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	Commencement of Reign.			KINGS OF JUDAH.	Duration of Reign.	Year of preceding King of Israel.	Queen Mother in Judah.
			A. V.	Clinton.	Winer.				
	22	Jeroboam . .	975	976	975	Rehoboam . .	17		Nunmah.
			958	959	957	Abijah . . .	3	18th .	Micahiah (?).
			955	956	955	Asa . . . . .	41	20th .	Maachah (?).
2nd .	2	Nadab . . .	951	953	954				
3rd .	24	Baasha . . .	953	954	953				
26th .	2	Elah . . . .	930	930	930				
27th .	0	Zimri . . . .	929	930	928				
	13	Omri . . . .	929	930	928				
38th .	22	Ahab . . . .	918	919	918				
			914	915	914	Jehoshaphat .	25	1th .	Azubah.
17th .	2	Ahaziah . .	898	896	897				
18th .	12	Jehoram . .	896	895	896				
			892	891	889	Jehoram . . .	8	5th .	
			885	884	885	Ahaziah . . .	1	12th .	Athaliah.
	28	Jehu . . . .	884	883	881	Athaliah . . .	6		
			878	877	878	Jehoash . . .	40	7th .	Zibiah.
23rd .	17	Jehoash . . .	856	855	856				
37th .	16	Jehoshaphat .	841	839	840				
			839	837	838	Amaziah . . .	25	2nd .	Jehoaddan.
15th .	41	Jeroboam II. .	825	823	825				
			810	808	809	Uzziah or Azariah.	52	27th .	Jecholiah.
	11	Interregnum.							
38th .	0	Zachariah . .	773	771	772				
	0	Shallum . . .	772	770	771				
39th .	10	Menahem . . .	772	770	771				
50th .	2	Pekahiah . . .	761	759	760				
52nd .	20	Pekah . . . .	759	757	758				
			758	756	758	Jotham . . . .	16	2nd .	Jerusha.
			742	741	741	Ahaz . . . . .	16	17th .	
	9	2nd Interregnum.							
12th	9	Hoshea . . .	730	730	729				
			726	726	725	Heczekiah . . .	29	3rd .	Abi.
6th		Samarra taken	721	721	721				
			698	697	696	Manasseh . . .	53		Hephzibah.
			613	612	641	Amos . . . . .	2		Meshullemeth.
			641	640	639	Josiah . . . .	31		Jedidah.
			610	609	609	Jehoshaphat . .	0		Hamutal.
			610	609	609	Jehoiachin . . .	11		Zebudah.
			599	598	598	Jehoiachin or Coniah.	0		Nehushta.
			599	598	598	Zedekiah . . .	11		Hamutal.
			588	587	586	Jerusalem destroyed.			

The numerous dates given in the Bible as the limits of the duration of the king's reigns act as a continued check on each other. The apparent discrepancies between them have been unduly exaggerated by some writers. To meet such difficulties various hypotheses have been put forward,—that an interregnum occurred; that two kings (father and son) reigned conjointly; that certain reigns were dated not from their real commencement, but from some arbitrary period in that Jewish year in which they commenced; that the Hebrew copyists have transcribed the numbers incorrectly, either by accident or design; that the original writers have made mistakes in their reckoning. All these are mere suppositions, and even the most probable of them must not be insisted on as if it were a historical fact. But in truth most of the discrepancies may be accounted for by the simple fact that the Hebrew annalists reckon in round numbers, never specifying the months in addition to the years of the duration of a king's reign. Consequently some of these writers seem to set down a fragment of a year as an entire year, and others omit such fragments altogether. Hence in computing the date of the commencement of each reign, without attributing any error to the writer or transcribers, it is necessary to allow for a possible mistake amounting to something less than two years in our interpretation of the indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew writers. But there are a few statements in the Hebrew text which cannot thus be reconciled.

(a.) There are in the Second Book of Kings three statements as to the beginning of the reign of Jehoram king of Israel, which in the view of some writers involve a great error, and not a mere numerical one. His accession is dated (1) in the second year of Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. i. 17); (2) in the fifth year before Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. viii. 16); (3) in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (2 K. iii. 1). But these statements may be reconciled by the fact that Jehoram king of Judah had two accessions which are recorded in Scripture, and by the probable supposition of Archbishop Ussher that he had a third and earlier accession which is not recorded. These three accessions are, (1) when Jehoshaphat left his kingdom

to go to the battle of Ramoth-gilead, in his 17th year; (2) when Jehoshaphat (2 K. viii. 16) either retired from the administration of affairs, or made his son joint-king, in his 23rd year; (3) when Jehoshaphat died, in his 25th year. So that, if the supposition of Usher be allowed, the accession of Jehoram king of Israel in Jehoshaphat's 18th year synchronized with (1) the second year of the first accession, and (2) the fifth year before the second accession of Jehoram king of Judah.

(b.) The date of the beginning of Uzziiah's reign (2 K. xv. 1) in the 27th year of Jeroboam II. cannot be reconciled with the statement that Uzziiah's father, Amaziiah, whose whole reign was 29 years only, came to the throne in the second year of Joash (2 K. xiv. 1), and so reigned 14 years contemporaneously with Joash and 27 with Jeroboam. Usher and others suggest a reconciliation of these statements by the supposition that Jeroboam's reign had two commencements, the first not mentioned in Scripture, on his association with his father Joash, B.C. 817. But Keil, after Capellus and Grotius, supposes that יז is an error of the Hebrew copyists for יב, and that instead of 27th of Jeroboam we ought to read 15th.

(c.) The statements that Jeroboam II. reigned 41 years (2 K. xiv. 23) after the 15th year of Amaziiah, who reigned 29 years, and that Jeroboam's son Zechariah came to the throne in the 38th year of Uzziiah (2 K. xv. 8), cannot be reconciled without supposing that there was an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam and his son Zechariah. And almost all chronologists accept this as a fact, although it is not mentioned in the Bible. Some chronologists, who regard an interregnum as intrinsically improbable after the prosperous reign of Jeroboam, prefer the supposition that the number 41 in 2 K. xiv. 23 ought to be changed to 51, and that the number 27 in xv. 1 should be changed to 14, and that a few other corresponding alterations should be made.

(d.) In order to bring down the date of Pekah's murder to the date of Hoshea's accession, some chronologists propose to read 29 years for 20, in 2 K. xv. 27. Others prefer to let the dates stand as at present in the text, and suppose that an interregnum, not expressly mentioned in the Bible, occurred between those two usurpers. The words of Isaiah (ix. 20, 21) seem to indicate a time of anarchy in Israel.

The Chronology of the Kings has been minutely investigated by Abp. Usher, *Chronologia Sacra, Pars Posterior, De Annis Regum*, Works, xii. 95-144; by Lightfoot, *Order of the Texts of the O. T.*, Works, i. 77-130; by Hales, *New Analysis of Chronology*, ii. 372-447; by Clinton, *l.c.*; and by H. Browne, *Ordo Saeculorum*. [W. T. B.]

**ISSACHAR** (יִשָּׂשכָר), *i. e.* Issacar—such is the invariable spelling of the name in the Hebrew, the Samaritan Codex and Version, the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudojonathan, but the Masorets have pointed it so as to supersede the second י, יִשָּׂשכָר, Issa[s]car: יִסְאָשָׁר; Rec. Text of N. T. יִסְאָשָׁר; but Cod. C. יִסְאָשָׁר; Joseph. יִסְאָשָׁרִיס: Issachar), the ninth son of Jacob and the fifth of Leah; the firstborn to Leah after the interval which

occurred in the births of her children (Gen. xxx. 17; comp. xxix. 35). As is the case with each of the sons the name is recorded as bestowed on account of a circumstance connected with the birth. But, as may be also noticed in more than one of the others, two explanations seem to be combined in the narrative, which even then is not in exact accordance with the requirements of the name. "God hath given me my hire (שָׂכָר, *sācār*) . . . and she called his

name Issachar," is the record; but in verse 18 that "hire" is for the surrender of her maid to her husband—while in ver. 14-17 it is for the discovery and bestowal of the mandrakes. Besides, as indicated above, the name in its original form—Issacar—rebels against this interpretation, an interpretation which to be consistent requires the form subsequently imposed on the word, Is-sachar.\* The allusion is not again brought forward as it is with Dan, Asher, &c., in the blessings of Jacob and Moses. In the former only it is perhaps allowable to discern a faint echo of the sound of "Issachar" in the word *shemo*—"shoulder" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Of Issachar the individual we know nothing. In Genesis he is not mentioned after his birth, and the few verses in Chronicles devoted to the tribe contain merely a brief list of its chief men and heroes in the reign of David (1 Chr. vii. 1-5).

At the descent into Egypt four sons are ascribed to him, who founded the four chief families of the tribe (Gen. xli. 13; Num. xxvi. 23, 25; 1 Chr. vii. 1). Issachar's place during the journey to Canaan was on the east of the Tabernacle with his brothers Judah and Zebulun (Num. ii. 5), the group moving foremost in the march (x. 15), and having a common standard which, according to the Rabbinical tradition, was of the three colours of sardine, topaz, and carbuncle, inscribed with the names of the three tribes, and bearing the figure of a lion's whelp (see Targum Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3). At this time the captain of the tribe was Nethanel ben-Zuar (Num. i. 8, ii. 5, vii. 18, x. 15). He was succeeded by Igni ben-Joseph, who went as representative of his tribe among the spies (xiii. 7), and he again by Paltiel ben-Azzan, who assisted Joshua in apportioning the land of Canaan (xxxiv. 26). Issachar was one of the six tribes who were to stand on Mount Gerizim during the ceremony of blessing and cursing (Deut. xxvii. 12). He was still in company with Judah, Zebulun being opposite on Ebal. The number of the fighting men of Issachar when taken in the census at Sinai was 54,400. During the journey they seem to have steadily increased, and after the mortality at Peor they amounted to 64,300, being inferior to none but Judah and Dan—to the latter by 100 souls only. The numbers given in 1 Chr. vii. 2, 4, 5, probably the census of Joab, amount in all to 145,600.

The Promised Land once reached, the connexion between Issachar and Judah seems to have closed, to be renewed only on two brief occasions, which will be noticed in their turn. The intimate relation with Zebulun was however maintained. The two brother-tribes had their portions close together, and more than once they are mentioned in company. The allotment of Issachar lay above that of

\* The words occur again almost identically in 2 Chr. xv. 7, and Jer. xxxi. 16: יִשָּׂשכָר "there is a reward for," A. V. "shall be rewarded."

An expansion of the story of the mandrakes, with

curious details, will be found in the *Testamentum Issachar*, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* 620-623. They were ultimately deposited "in the house of the Lord," whatever that expression may mean.

Manasseh. The specification of its boundaries and contents is contained in Jo.h. xix. 17-23. But to the towns there named must be added Daberath, given in the catalogue of Levitical cities (xxi. 28: Jarmuth here is probably the Remeth of xix. 21), and five others—Beth-shean, Iblean, En-dor, Taanach, and Megiddo. These last, though the property of Manasseh, remained within the limits of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27), and they assist us materially in determining his boundary. In the words of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22), "it extended in length from Carmel to the Jordan, in breadth to Mount Tabor." In fact it exactly consisted of the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel. The south boundary we can trace by En-gannim, the modern *Jenin*, on the heights which form the southern enclosure to the Plain; and then further westward by Taanach and Megiddo, the authentic fragments of which still stand on the same heights as they trend away to the hump of Cumel. On the north the territory also ceased with the plain, which is there bounded by Tabor, the outpost of the hills of Zebulun. East of Tabor the hill-country continued so as to screen the tribe from the Sea of Galilee, but a continuous tract of level on the S.E. led to Bethshean and the upper part of the Jordan valley. West of Tabor again, a little to the south, is Chesulloth, the modern *Iskud*, close to the traditional "Mount of Precipitation;" and over this the boundary probably ran in a slanting course till it joined Mount Carmel, where the Kishon (Josh. xix. 20) worked its way below the eastern bluff of that mountain—and thus completed the triangle at its western apex. Nazareth lies among the hills, a few miles north of the so-called Mount of Precipitation, and therefore escaped being in Issachar. Almost exactly in the centre of this plain stood Jezreel, on a low swell, attended on the one hand by the eminence of Mount Gilboa, on the other by that now called *Ed Duhiy*, or "little Hermon," the latter having Shunem, Nain, and Endor on its slopes, names which recall some of the most interesting and important events in the history of Israel.

This territory was, as it still is, among the richest land in Palestine. Westward was the famous plain which derived its name, the "seed-plot of God"—such is the signification of Jezreel—from its fertility, and the very weeds of which at this day testify to its enormous powers of production (Stanley, *S. & P.* 348). [ESDRAELON; JEZREEL.] On the north is Tabor, which even under the burning sun of that climate is said to retain the glades and dells of an English wood (*ibid.* 350). On the east, behind Jezreel, is the opening which conducts to the plain of the Jordan—to that Beth-shean which was proverbially among the rabbis the gate of Paradise for its fruitfulness. It is this aspect of the territory of Issachar which appears to be alluded to in the Blessing of Jacob. The image of the "strong-boned he-ass" (חֲסִיד וְנֶאֱמָר)—the large animal used for burdens and field-work, not the lighter and swifter she-ass for riding—"couching

<sup>b</sup> The word here rendered "hedge-rows" is one which only occurs in Judg. v. 16. The sense there is evidently similar to that in this passage. But as to what that sense is all the authorities differ. See Gesenius, Ben Zev, &c. The rendering given seems to be nearer the real force than any.

<sup>c</sup> לֶמֶס עֶבֶר. By the LXX. rendered ἡνὶ ὑποπόδες. Comp. their similar rendering of עֶבֶרָה (A. V. "servants," and "husbandry") in Gen. xxvi. 14.

down between the two hedge-rows,"<sup>b</sup> chewing the cud of stolid ease and quiet—is very applicable, not only to the tendencies and habits, but to the very size and air of a rural agrarian people, while the sequel of the verse is no less suggestive of the certain result of such tendencies when unrelieved by any higher aspirations:—"He saw that rest was good and the land pleasant, and he bowed his back to bear and became a slave to tribute"—the tribute imposed on him by the various marauding tribes who were attracted to his territory by the richness of the crops. The Blessing of Moses completes the picture. He is not only "in tents"—in nomad or semi-nomad life—but "rejoicing" in them, and it is perhaps not straining a point to observe that he has by this time begun to lose his individuality. He and Zebulun are mentioned together as having joint possession in the holy mountain of Tabor, which was on the frontier line of each (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19). We pass from this to the time of Deborah: the chief struggle in the great victory over Sisera took place on the territory of Issachar, "by Taanach at the waters of Megiddo" (Judg. v. 19); but the allusion to the tribe in the song of triumph is of the most cursory nature, not consistent with its having taken any prominent part in the action.

One among the Judges of Israel was from Issachar—TOLA (Judg. x. 1)—but beyond the length of his sway we have only the fact recorded that he resided out of the limits of his own tribe—at Shamir in Mount Ephraim. By Josephus he is omitted entirely (see *Ant.* v. 7, §6). The census of the tribe taken in the reign of David has already been alluded to. It is contained in 1 Chr. vii. 1-5, and an expression occurs in it which testifies to the nomadic tendencies above noticed. Out of the whole number of the tribe no less than 36,000 were marauding mercenary troops—"bands" (בָּנִים)—a term applied to no other tribe in this enumeration, though elsewhere to Gad, and uniformly to the irregular bodies of the Bedouin nations round Israel.<sup>d</sup> This was probably at the close of David's reign. Thirty years before, when two hundred of the head men of the tribe had gone to Hebron to assist in making David king over the entire realm, different qualifications are noted in them—they "had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do . . . and all their brethren were at their commandment." To what this "understanding of the times" was we have no clue. By the later Jewish interpreters it is explained as skill in ascertaining the periods of the sun and moon, the intercalation of months, and dates of solemn feasts, and the interpretation of the signs of the heavens (Targum, *ad loc.*; Jerome, *Quæst. Heb.*). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 2, §2) gives it as "knowing the things that were to happen;" and he adds that the armed men who came with these leaders were 20,000. One of the wise men of Issachar, according to an old Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quæst. Heb.* on 2 Chr. xvii. 16), was Amasaiah

<sup>d</sup> The word "bands," which is commonly employed in the A. V. to render *Gedoodim*, as above, is unfortunately used in 1 Chr. xii. 23 for a very different term, by which the orderly assembly of the fighting men of the tribes is denoted when they visited Hebron to make David king. This term is ראשֵׁי = "heads." We may almost suspect a mere misprint, especially as the Vulgate has *principes*.

ῥύσις ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, the verb γονορρνεῖν, or the  
adj. γονορρής, &c.

of a family called after him, though in the A. V. appearing as THE JESUITES (Num. xxvi. 44). Elsewhere the name also appears as ISUIAI.

**IT'ALY** (Ἰταλία). This word is used in the N. T. in the usual sense of the period, i. e. in its true geographical sense, as denoting the whole natural peninsula between the Alps and the Straits of Messina. For the progress of the history of the word, first as applied to the extreme south of the peninsula, then as extended northwards to the right bank of the Po, see the *Dict. of Geogr.*, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76. From the time of the close of the Republic it was employed as we employ it now. In the N. T. it occurs three, or indeed, more correctly speaking, four times. In Acts x. 1, the Italian cohort at Cæsarea (ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ καλουμένη Ἰταλική, A. V. "Italian band"), consisting, as it doubtless did, of men recruited in Italy, illustrates the military relations of the imperial peninsula with the provinces. [ARMY.] In Acts xviii. 2, where we are told of the expulsion of Aquila and Priscilla with their compatriots "from Italy," we are reminded of the large Jewish population which many authorities show that it contained. Acts xxvii. 1, where the beginning of St. Paul's voyage "to Italy" is mentioned, and the whole subsequent narrative, illustrate the trade which subsisted between the peninsula and other parts of the Mediterranean. And the words in Heb. xiii. 24, "They of Italy (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας) salute you," whatever they may prove for or against this being the region in which the letter was written (and the matter has been strongly argued both ways), are interesting as a specimen of the progress of Christianity in the west. [J. S. H.]

**IT'HAI** (Ἰθαι: Aipl: Ἰθου: *Ethai*), a Benjaminite, son of Ithai of Gibeah, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 31). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given as IT'AI. But Kennicott decides that the form Ithai is the original (*Dissertation*, ad loc.).

**ITHAMAR** (Ἰθαμάρ: Ἰθαμάρ; *Ithamar*), the youngest son of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23). After the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 1), Eleazar and Ithamar, having been admonished to show no mark of sorrow for their brothers' loss, were appointed to succeed to their places in the priestly office, as they had left no children (Ex. xxviii. 1, 40, 43; Num. iii. 3, 4; 1 Chr. xxiv. 2). In the distribution of services belonging to the Tabernacle and its transport on the march of the Israelites, the Gershonites had charge of the curtains and hangings, and the Merarites of the pillars, cords, and boards, and both of these departments were placed under the superintendence of Ithamar (Ex. xxxviii. 21; Num. iv. 21-33). These services were continued under the Temple system, so far as was consistent with its stationary character, but instead of being appropriated to families, they were divided by lot; the first lot being taken by the family of Eleazar, whose descendants were more numerous than those of Ithamar (1 Chr. xiv. 4, 6). The high-priesthood passed into the family of Ithamar in the person of Eli, but for what reason we are not informed. It reverted into its original line in the person of Zadok, in consequence of Abiathar's participation in the rebellion of Adonijah. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy delivered to Samuel against Eli (1 Sam. ii. 31-35; 1 K. ii. 26, 27, 35; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 3).

A descendant of Ithamar, by name Daniel, is mentioned as returning from captivity in the time of Artaxerxes (Ezr. viii. 2). [H. W. P.]

**ITHIEL** (Ἰθιήλ: Ἰθιήλ; *Ethiel*). 1. A Benjaminite, son of Jesaiiah (Neh. xi. 7).

2. (LXX. omits; Vul. translates, *cum quo est Deus*). One of two persons—Ithiel and Ucal—to whom Agur ben-Jacub delivered his discourse (Prov. xxx. 1). [CAL.]

**ITHMAH** (Ἰθμᾶ: Ἰθμαῖ; Alex. Ἰθεμαῖ; *Jethma*), a Moabite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the enlarged list of Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 46).

**ITH'NAN** (Ἰθνή: in both MSS. of the LXX. the name is corrupted by being attached to that next to it: Ἀσροϊανᾶν, Alex. Ἰθναῖφ: *Jethnum*), one of the towns in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 23), named with Kedesh and Telem (comp. 1 Sam. xv. 4), and therefore probably on the borders of the desert, if not actually in the desert itself. No trace of its existence has yet been discovered—nor does it appear to have been known to Jerome. The village *Ithni*, which recalls the name, is between Hebron and Beit-Jibrin, and therefore much too far north. [G.]

**ITH'RA** (Ἰθρή: Ἰεθέρ, Ἰοθόρ; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, § 1, Ἰεθάρσος: *Jethra*), an Israelite (2 Sam. xvii. 25) or Ishmaelite (1 Chr. ii. 17, "Jether the Ishmaelite"); the father of Amasa by Abigail, David's sister. He was thus brother-in-law to David and uncle to Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, the three "sons of Zeruiah." There is no absolute means of settling which of these—Ishmaelite or Ishmaelite—is correct; but there can be little doubt that the latter is so; the fact of the admixture of Ishmaelite blood in David's family being a fit subject for notice in the genealogies, whereas Ithra's being an Israelite would call for no remark. [JETHER.] [G.]

**ITH'RAM** (Ἰθρήμ: 1. Ἰθράμ, Ἰεθράμ; *Jethram*, *Jethram*), a son of Dishon, a Horite (Gen. xxxv. 26; 1 Chr. i. 41); and probably a phylarch ("Duke," A. V.) of a tribe of the Horim, as was his father (Gen. xxxvi. 30); for the latter was evidently a son of Seir (vers. 21 and 30), and not a son of Aunh (ver. 25).

2. (Ἰεθράμ: *Jethram*), a descendant of Asher, in the genealogy contained in 1 Chr. vii. 30-40.

[E. S. P.]

**ITHREAM** (Ἰθρήμ: Ἰεθραῖμ, Ἰεθραῖμ; Alex. Ἰεθεραῖμ, Ἰεθράμ; Joseph. Ἰεθραῖμ; *Jethream*), a son of David, born to him in Hebron, and distinctly specified as the sixth, and as the child of "Eglah, David's wife" (2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 Chr. iii. 3). In the ancient Jewish traditions Eglah is said to have been Michal, and to have died in giving birth to Ithream.

**ITHRITE, THE** (Ἰθρήτης: ὁ Ἰθρήτης, Ἰεθρήτης, Ἰεθρή; Alex. ὁ Ἰεθρήτης, Ἰεθρήτης, Ἰεθρή; *Jethrites*, *Jethracus*), the native of a place, or descendant of a man, called Iether (according to the Hebrew mode of forming derivatives); the designation of two of the members of David's guard, Ira and Gareb (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chr. xi. 40). The Ithrite (A. V. "Ithrites") is mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 53 as among the "families of Kirjath-jarim;" but this does not give us much clue to

the derivation of the term, except that it fixes it as belonging to Judah. The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard may have come from JATTIR, in the mountains of Judah, one of the places which were the "haunt" of David and his men in their freebooting wanderings, and where he had "fiends" (1 Sam. xxx. 27; comp. 31). Ira has been supposed to be identical with "Ira the Jairite," David's priest (2 Sam. xx. 26)—the Syriac version reading "from Jair" in that place. But nothing more than conjecture can be arrived at on the point.

**IT'TAH-KAZIN** (יִתְחַזְקִין; ἐνὶ πόλει Κασίου; Alex. . . . Κασίμ; *Thucasin*), one of the landmarks of the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13), named next to Gath-hepher. Like that place (A. V. "Gittah-hepher") the name is probably Eth-kazin, with the Hebrew particle of motion (*ah*) added—i. e. "to Eth-kazin." Taken as Hebrew the name bears the interpretation "time, or people, of a judge" (Ges. *Thes.* 1083 b). It has not been identified. [G.]

**IT'TAI** (יִתְתַּי). 1. (עֹתַי, and so Josephus; Alex. *Ἐθται*; *Ethtai*) "ITTAI THE GITTITE," i. e. the native of Gath, a Philistine in the army of king David. He appears only during the revolution of Absalom. We first discern him on the morning of David's flight, while the king was standing under the olive-tree below the city, watching the army and the people defile past him. [See DAVID, p. 412a.] Last in the procession came the 600 heroes who had formed David's band during his wanderings in Judah, and had been with him at Gath (2 Sam. xv. 18; comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxvii. 2, xxx. 9, 10; and see Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, §2). Amongst these, apparently commanding them, was Ittai the Gittite (ver. 19). He caught the eye of the king, who at once addressed him and besought him as "a stranger and an exile," and as one who had but very recently joined his service, not to attach himself to a doubtful cause, but to return "with his brethren" and abide with the king\* (19, 20). But Ittai is firm; he is the king's slave (עַבְדִּי, A. V. "servant"), and wherever his master goes he will go. Accordingly he is allowed by David to proceed, and he passes over the Kedron with the king (xv. 22, LXX.), with all his men, and "all the little ones that were with him." These "little ones" (קְטַנֵּי הַבָּנִים, "all the children") must have been the families of the band, their "households" (1 Sam. xxvii. 3). They accompanied them during their wanderings in Judah, often in great risk (1 Sam. xxx. 6), and they were not likely to leave them behind in this fresh commencement of their wandering life.

When the army was numbered and organised by David at Mahanaim, Ittai again appears, now in command of a third part of the force, and (for the time at least) enjoying equal rank with Joab and Abishai (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 5, 12). But here, on the eve of the great battle, we take leave of this valiant and faithful stranger; his conduct in the fight and his subsequent fate are alike unknown to us. Nor is he mentioned in the lists of David's captains and of the heroes of his body-guard (see 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 Chr. xi.), lists which are possibly of a date previous to Ittai's arrival in Jerusalem.

\* The meaning of this is doubtful. "The king" may be Absalom, or it may be Ittai's former king, Achish. By the LXX. the words are omitted.

An interesting tradition is related by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* on 1 Chr. xx. 2). "David took the crown off the head of the image of Milcom (A. V. 'their king')." But by the law it was forbidden to any Israelite to touch either gold or silver of an idol. Wherefore they say that Ittai the Gittite, who had come to David from the Philistines, was the man who snatched the crown from the head of Milcom; for it was lawful for a Hebrew to take it from the hand of a man, though not from the head of the idol." The main difficulty to the reception of this legend lies in the fact that if Ittai was engaged in the Ammonite war, which happened several years before Absalom's revolt, the expression of David (2 Sam. xv. 20), "thou camest but yesterday" loses its force. However these words may be merely a strong metaphor.

From the expression "thy brethren" (xv. 20) we may infer that there were other Philistines besides Ittai in the six hundred; but this is uncertain. Ittai was not exclusively a Philistine name, nor does "Gittite"—as in the case of Obed-edom, who was a Levite—necessarily imply Philistine parentage. Still David's words, "stranger and exile," seem to show that he was not an Israelite.

2. (עֹשֶׂתַי; *Ethai*). Son of Ribai, from Gibeon of Benjamin; one of the thirty heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 29). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. xi. the name is given as **ITHAI**. [G.]

**ITURAEA** (Ἰτουραία), a small province on the north-western border of Palestine, lying along the base of Mount Hermon. In Luke iii. 1 it is stated that Philip was "tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis," and this is the only mention in Scripture of the district under its Greek name. But the country became historic long before the rule of the Herodian family or the advent of the Greeks. **JETUR** (יִתְרִי; *Ituri*) was a son of Ishmael, and he gave his name, like the rest of his brethren, to the little province he colonised (Gen. xxv. 15, 16). In after years, when the Israelites had settled in Canaan, a war broke out between the half-tribe of Manasseh and the Hagrites (or Ishmaelites), Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. The latter were conquered, and the children of Manasseh "dwelt in the land, and they increased from Bashan unto Bual-Hermon." They already possessed the whole of Bashan, including Gaulanitis and Trachonitis; and now they conquered and colonised the little province of Jetur, which lay between Bashan and Mount Hermon (1 Chr. v. 19-23). Subsequent history shows that the Ishmaelites were neither annihilated nor entirely dispossessed, for in the second century B.C. Aristobulus, king of the Jews, reconquered the province, then called by its Greek name Ituraea, and gave the inhabitants their choice of Judaism or banishment (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11, §3). While some submitted, many retired to their own rocky fastnesses, and to the defiles of Hermon adjoining. Strabo says that in his day the mountainous regions in the kingdom of Chalcis were inhabited partly by Ituraeans, whom he describes as *κακοῦργαι πάντες* (xvi. 518, 520). Other early writers represent them as skillful archers and daring plunderers (Cic. *Phil.* 2, 44; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 448; Lucan. *Phar.* vii. 230). Ituraeans, with the adjoining provinces, fell into the hands of a chief called Zenodorus; but, about B.C. 20, they were taken from him by the Roman emperor, and

given to Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, §1), who bequeathed them to his son Philip (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §1; Luke iii. 1; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §3).

The passages above referred to point clearly to the position of Ituraea, and show, notwithstanding the arguments of Reland and others (Reland, p. 106; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* s. v. *Ituraea*), that it was distinct from Auranitis. Pliny rightly places it north of Boshan and near Damascus (v. 23); and J. de Vitry describes it as adjoining Trachonitis, and lying along the base of Libanus between Tiberias and Damascus (*Gesta Dei*, p. 1074; comp. pp. 771, 1003). At the place indicated is situated the modern province of *Jedir* (جدير), which is just

the Arabic form of the Hebrew *Jetur* (יֶטוּר). It is bounded on the east by Trachonitis, on the south by Gaulanitis, on the west by Hermon, and on the north by the plain of Damascus. It is table-land with an undulating surface, and has little conical and cup-shaped hills at intervals. The southern section of it has a rich soil, well watered by numerous springs, and streams from Hermon. The greater part of the northern section is entirely different. The surface of the ground is covered with jagged rocks; in some places heaped up in huge piles, in others sunk into deep pits; at one place smooth and naked, at another scumel with yawning chasms in whose rugged edges rank grass and weeds spring up. The rock is all basalt, and the formation similar to that of the Lejah. [ARCON.] The molten lava seems to have issued from the earth through innumerable pores, to have spread over the plain, and then to have been rent and shattered while cooling (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 465). *Jedir* contains thirty-eight towns and villages, ten of which are now entirely desolate, and all the rest contain only a few families of poor peasants, living in wretched hovels amid heaps of ruins (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 272 sq.). [J. L. P.]

**IVAH**, or **AVA** (אִיבָּה, or אִיבָּה; *ʾAid* or *ʾAḥā*: *Arā*), which is mentioned in Scripture twice (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13; comp. Is. xxxvii. 13) in connexion with Hena and Sepharvaim, and once (2 K. xvii. 24) in connexion with Babylon and Cuthah, must be sought in Babylonia, and is probably identical with the modern *Hit*, which is the "Is of Herodotus (i. 179). This town lay on the Euphrates, between *Sippara* (Sepharvaim) and *Anah* (Hena), with which it seems to have been politically united shortly before the time of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 13). It is probably the Ahava (אֲחָוָה) of Ezra (viii. 15). The name is thought to have been originally derived from that of a Babylonian god, *Iva*, who represents the sky or Aether, and to whom the town is supposed to have been dedicated (Sir H. Rawlinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 606, note). In this case *Ivāh* (אִיבָּה) would seem to be the most proper pointing. The pointing *Aru*, or rather *Avva* (אִיבָּה), shows a corruption of articulation, which might readily pass on to Ahava (אֲחָוָה). In the Talmud the name appears as *Thā* (תָּה); and hence would be formed the Greek *ʾIs*, and the modern *Hit*, where the *t* is merely the feminine ending. Isidore of Charax seems to intend the same place by his *ʾAel-ṛoḥes* (*Mans. Parth.* p. 5). Some have thought that it occurs as *Ist* in the Egyptian Inscriptions of the

time of Thothmes III., about B.C. 1450 (Birch, in *Olia Aegyptiaca*, p. 80).

This place has always been famous for its bitumen springs. It is bitumen which is brought to Thothmes III. as tribute from *Ist*. From *Ist*, according to Herodotus, was obtained the bitumen used as cement in the walls of Babylon (*I. s. c.*). Isidore calls Aepolia, "the place where are the bitumen springs" (ἰνθα ἀσφαλτρίδες πηγαί). These springs still exist at *Hit*, and sufficiently mark the identity of that place with the Herodotean *Ist*, and therefore probably with the *Isah* of Scripture. They have been noticed by most of our Mesopotamian travellers (see, among others, Rich's *First Memoir on Babylon*, p. 64, and Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 55). [G. R.]

**IVORY** (אֵיבָּה, *shén*, in all passages, except 1 K. x. 22, and 2 Chr. ix. 21, where אֵיבָּהִים *shén-habbim*, is so rendered). The word *shén* literally signifies the "tooth" of any animal, and hence more especially denotes the substance of the projecting tusks of elephants. By some of the ancient nations these tusks were imagined to be horns (Ez. xxvii. 15; Plin. viii. 4, xviii. 1), though Diodorus Siculus (i. 55) correctly calls them teeth. As they were first acquainted with elephants through their ivory, which was an important article of commerce, the shape of the tusks, in all probability, led them into this error. It is remarkable that no word in Biblical Hebrew denotes an elephant, unless the latter portion of the compound *shén-habbim* be supposed to have this meaning. Gesenius derives it from the Sanscrit *ibhas*, "an elephant;" Keil (on 1 K. x. 22) from the Coptic *ebay*; while Sir Henry Rawlinson mentions a word *hubbā*, which he met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, and which he understands to mean "the large animal," the term being applied both to the elephant and the camel (*Journ. of As. Soc.* xii. 463). It is suggested in Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (s. v.) that the original reading may have been אֵיבָּהִים *shén-habbim*, "ivory, ebony" (cf. Ez. xxvii. 15). Hitzig (*Isaiah*, p. 643), without any authority, renders the word "nubischen Zahn." The Targum Jonathan on 1 K. x. 22 has אֵיבָּהִים *shén-habbim*, "elephant's tusk," while the Peshito gives simply "elephants." In the Targum of the Pseudo Jonathan, Gen. i. 1 is translated, "and Joseph placed his father upon a bier of אֵיבָּהִים (*shén-habbim*), which is conjectured to be a valuable species of wood, but for which Buxtorf, with great probability, suggests as another reading אֵיבָּהִים *shén-habbim*, "ivory."

The Assyrians appear to have carried on a great traffic in ivory. Their early conquests in India had made them familiar with it, and (according to one rendering of the passage) their artists supplied the luxurious Tyrians with carvings in ivory from the isles of Chittim (Ez. xxvii. 6). On the obelisk in the British Museum the captives or tribute-bearers are represented as carrying tusks. Among the merchandise of Babylon, enumerated in Rev. xviii. 12, are included "all manner vessels of ivory." The skilled workmen of Hiram, king of Tyre, fashioned the great ivory throne of Solomon, and overlaid it with pure gold (1 K. x. 18; 2 Chr. ix. 17). The ivory thus employed was supplied by the caravans of Dedan (Is. xxi. 13; Ez. xxvii. 15), or was brought with apes and peacocks by the navy of Tharshish (1 K. x. 22). The Egyptians,

at a very early period, made use of this material in decoration. The cover of a small ivory box in the Egyptian collection at the Louvre is "inscribed with the praenomen Nefer-ka-re, or Neper-cheres, adopted by a dynasty found in the upper line of the tablet of Abydos, and attributed by M. Bunsen to the fifth. . . . In the time of Thothmes III. ivory was imported in considerable quantities into Egypt, either 'in boats laden with ivory and ebony' from Ethiopia, or else in tusks and cups from the Ruten-nu. . . . The celebrated car at Florence has its linchpins tipped with ivory" (Birch, in *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit.* iii. 2nd series). The specimens of Egyptian ivory work, which are found in the principal museums of Europe, are, most of them, in the opinion of Mr. Birch, of a date anterior to the Persian invasion, and some even as old as the 18th dynasty.

The ivory used by the Egyptians was principally brought from Ethiopia (Herod. iii. 114), though their elephants were originally from Asia. The Ethnians, according to Diodorus Siculus (i. 55), brought to Sesostris "ebony and gold, and the teeth of elephants." Among the tribute paid by them to the Persian kings were "twenty large tusks of ivory" (Herod. iii. 97). In the *Periplus of the Red Sea* (c. 4), attributed to Arrian, Coloe (*Culai*) is said to be "the chief mart for ivory." It was thence carried down to Adouli (*Zulla*, or *Thulla*), a port on the Red Sea, about three days' journey from Coloe, together with the hides of hippopotami, tortoise-shell, apes, and slaves (Plin. vi. 34). The elephants and rhinoceroses, from which it was obtained, were killed further up the country, and few were taken near the sea, or in the neighbourhood of Adouli. At Ptolemais Theron was found a little ivory like that of Adouli (*Periplus*, c. 3). Ptolemy Philadelphus made this port the depot of the elephant trade (Plin. vi. 34). According to Pliny (viii. 10), ivory was so plentiful on the borders of Ethiopia that the natives made door-posts of it, and even fences and stalls for their cattle. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 16) mentions Rhapta as another station of the ivory trade, but the ivory brought down to this port is said to have been of an inferior quality, and "for the most part found in the woods, damaged by rain, or collected from animals drowned by the overflow of the rivers at the equinoxes" (Smith, *Dict. Geogr. art. Rhapta*). The Egyptian merchants traded for ivory and onyx stones to Buzyaza, the port to which was carried down the commerce of Western India from Ozeue (*Periplus*, c. 49).

In the early ages of Greece ivory was frequently employed for purposes of ornament. The trappings of horses were studded with it (Hom. *Il.* v. 584): it was used for the handles of keys (*Od.* xxi. 7), and for the bosses of shields (Hes. *Sc. Herc.* 141, 142). The "ivory house" of Ahab (1 K. xii. 39) was probably a palace; the walls of which were panelled with ivory, like the palace of Menelaus described by Homer (*Odys.* iv. 73; cf. Eur. *Iph. Aut.* 583; *ἐλεφαντοδόμοι δόμοι*). Comp. also Am. iii. 15, and Ps. xlv. 8, unless the "ivory palaces" in the latter passage were perfume boxes made of that material, as has been conjectured). Beds inlaid or veneered with ivory were in use among the Hebrews (Am. vi. 4; cf. Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 200), as also among the Egyptians (Wilkinson,

*Anc. Eg.* iii. 169). The practice of inlaying and veneering wood with ivory and tortoise-shell is described by Pliny (xvi. 84). The great ivory throne of Solomon, the work of the Tyrian craftsmen, has been already mentioned (cf. Rev. xx. 11); but it is difficult to determine whether the "tower of ivory" of Cant. vii. 4 is merely a figure of speech, or whether it had its original among the things that were. By the luxurious Phoenicians ivory was employed to ornament the boxwood rowing benches (or "hatches" according to some) of their galleys (Ez. xxvii. 6). Many specimens of Assyrian carving in ivory have been found in the excavations at Nimroud, and among the rest some tablets "richly inlaid with blue and opaque glass, lapis lazuli, &c." (Bonomi, *Nimrod and its Palaces*, p. 334; cf. Cant. v. 14). Part of an ivory staff, apparently a sceptre, and several entire elephants' tusks were discovered by Mr. Layard in the last stage of decay, and it was with extreme difficulty that these interesting relics could be restored (*Nin. & Bab.* p. 195). [W. A. W.]

**IZ'EHAR.** The form in which the name Izhar is given in the A.V. of Num. iii. 19 only. In ver. 27 the family of the same person is given as Izharites. The Hebrew word is the same as Izhar.

**IZ'HAR** (spelt Izechar in Num. iii. 19, 27, of A. V.; in Heb. always יִזְחָר; 'Iṣṣāp and 'Iṣṣāp: *Jesaa*, *Isu*), son of Kohath, grandson of Levi, uncle of Aaron and Moses, and father of Korah (Ex. vi. 18, 21; Num. iii. 19, xvi. 1; 1 Chr. vi. 2, 18). But in 1 Chr. vi. 22 *Amminadab* is substituted for *Izhar*, as the son of Kohath and father of Korah, in the line of Sanniel. This, however, must be an accidental error of the scribe, as in ver. 38, where the same genealogy is repeated, *Izhar* appears again in his right place. The Cod. Alex. in ver. 22 reads *Izhar* in place of *Amminadab*, and the Aldine and Complut. read *Amminadab* between *Izhar* and *Kore*, making another generation. But these are probably only corrections of the text. (See Burington's *Genealogies of the O. T.*) *Izhar* was the head of the family of the IZHARITES or IZEHARITES (Num. iii. 27; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23, 29), one of the four families of the Kohathites. [A. C. H.]

**IZRAH'AH** (יִזְרָאֵה; 'Iṣṣāḥ, 'Eṣṣāḥ; Alex. 'Iṣṣāḥ: *Izrahā*), a man of Issachar, one of the Bene-I'zai, and father of four, or five—which, is not clear—of the principal men in the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 3).

**IZ'RAHITE, THE** (יִזְרָחִי, i. e. "the Izrahite;" δ' Iṣṣāḥ; Alex. 'Iṣṣāḥ: *Jezarites*), the designation of Shamliuth, the captain of the fifth monthly course as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxvii. 8). In its present form the Hebrew will not bear the interpretation put on it in the A. V. Its real force is probably Zerahite, that is, from the great Judaic family of Zerah—the Zarhites.

**IZ'RI** (יִזְרִי; i. e. "the Itarite;" 'Iṣṣari; Alex. 'Iṣṣari: *Isari*), a Levite, leader of the fourth course or ward in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xxv. 11). In ver. 3 he is called ZERI.

## J

**JA'AKAN** (יָאָקָן; 'Iakm; Alex. *Ἰακείμ*: *Jacan*), the forefather of the Bene-Jaakan, round whose wells the children of Israel encamped after they left Mosera, and from which they went on to Hor-Hagidgal (Deut. x. 6). Jaakan was son of Ezer, the son of Seir the Horite (1 Chr. i. 42). The name is here given in the A. V. as JAKAN, though without any reason for the change. In Gen. xxxvi. 27 it is in the abbreviated form of AKAN. The site of the wells has not been identified. Some suggestions will be seen under BENE-JAAKAN.

[G.]

**JAAKO'BAH** (יַעֲקֹב; 'Iwkaβd; Alex. *Ἰακωβ*: *Jacoba*), one of the princes (דְּנָיִם) of the families of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 36). Excepting the termination, the name is identical with that of JACOB.

**JA'ALA** (יָאָלָא; 'Ielāh; *Jahala*). Bene-Jaala were among the descendants of "Solomon's slaves" who returned from Babylon with Zerubabel (Neh. vii. 58). The name also occurs as

**JA'ALAH** (יָאָלָה; 'Ielāh; Alex. *Ἰελδ*: *Jala*), Ezr. ii. 56; and in Esdras as JEEL:

**JA'ALAM** (יָאָלָם; "whom God hides," Ges.: 'Ielām; *Ihelon, Ihelon*), a son of Esau by his wife AHOLIBAMAH (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; cf. 1 Chr. i. 35), and a phylarch (A. V. "duke") or head of a tribe of Edom. [E. S. P.]

**JA'ANAI** (יָאָנַי; 'Iavni; Alex. *Ἰαναι*: *Janai*), a chief man in the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 12). The LXX. have connected the following name, Shaphat, to Jaanai, and rendered it as I. δ γράμμα-τεύς.

**JAARE-OR'EGIM** (יָאָרֵעִיגִים; 'Ariwrygm, in both MSS.: *Saltus polygynarius*), according to the present text of 2 Sam. xxi. 19, a Bethlehemite, and the father of Elhanan who slew Goliath (the words "the brother of," are added in the A. V.). In the parallel passage, 1 Chr. xx. 5, besides other differences, Jair is found instead of Jaare, and Oregim is omitted. Oregim is not elsewhere found as a proper name, nor is it a common word; and occurring as it does without doubt at the end of the verse (A. V. "weavers"), in a sentence exactly parallel to that in 1 Sam. xvii. 7, it is not probable that it should also occur in the middle of the same. The conclusion of Kennicott (*Dissertation*, 80) appears a just one—that in the latter place it has been interpolated from the former, and that Jair or Jaor is the correct reading instead of Jaare. [ELHANAN, p. 520.]

Still the agreement of the ancient versions with the present Hebrew text affords a certain corroboration to that text, and should not be overlooked. [JAIR.]

The Peshito, followed by the Arabic, substitutes for Jaare-Oregim the name "Malaph the weaver," to the meaning of which we have no clue. The Targum on the other hand, doubtless anxious to avoid any apparent contradiction of the narrative in 1 Sam. xvii., substitutes David for Elhanan, Jesse for Jaare, and is led by the word Oregim

to relate or possibly to invent a statement as to Jesse's calling—"And David son of Jesse, weaver of the veils of the house of the sanctuary, who was of Bethlehem, slew Goliath the Gittite." By Jerome Jaare is translated by *arlitus*, and Oregim by *polygynarius* (comp. *Quaest. Hebr.* on both passages). In Josephus's account (*Ant.* vii. 12, §2) the Israelite champion is said to have been "Nephan the kinsman of David" (Νεφάνος δ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ); the word kinsman perhaps referring to the Jewish tradition of the identity of Jair and Jesse, or simply arising from the mention of Bethlehem.

In the received Hebrew text Jaare is written with a small or suspended n, showing that in the opinion of the Masorets that letter is uncertain.

**JA'ASAU** (יָאָסָא; but the *Keri* has 'Ie, i. e. Jaasi; and so the Vulg. *Jasi*), one of the Bene-Bani who had married a foreign wife, and had to put her away (Ezr. x. 37). In the parallel list of 1 Esdras the name is not recognisable. The LXX. had a different text, —καὶ ἐποίησαν = יָעָשׂוּ.

**JAA'SIEL** (יָאָסִיֶּל; 'Iasiāh; Alex. *Ἀσιήλ*: *Jasiel*), son of the great Abner, ruler (רִבִּי) or "prince" (רֶבֶךְ) of his tribe of Benjamin, in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 21).

**JAAZAN'IAH** (יָאָזָנִיָּהּ; 'Jazaniā; 1. YAAZAN-YAHU ('*Iezovlas*: *Jezonius*), one of the "captains of the forces" who accompanied Johanan ben-Kareah to pay his respects to Gelalnah at Mizpah after the fall of Jerusalem (2 K. xxv. 23), and who appears afterwards to have assisted in recovering Ishmael's prey from his clutches (comp. Jer. xli. 11). After that he probably went to Egypt with the rest (Jer. xliii. 4, 5). He is described as the "son of the (not 'a') Muechathite." In the narrative of Jeremiah the name is slightly changed to JEZANIAH.

2. YAAZAN-YAHU ('*Iezovlas*: *Jezonius*), son of Shaphan: leader of the band of seventy of the elders of Israel, who were seen by Ezekiel worshipping before the idols on the wall of the court of the house of Jehovah (Ez. viii. 11). It is possible that he is identical with

3. YAAZAN-YAH ('*Iezovlas*: *Jezonius*), son of Azur; one of the "princes" (רִבִּי) of the people against whom Ezekiel was directed to prophesy (Ez. xi. 1).

4. YAAZAN-YAH ('*Iezovlas*: *Jezonius*), a Rechabite, son of Jeremiah. He appears to have been the sheikh of the tribe at the time of Jeremiah's interview with them (Jer. xxxv. 3). [JEHONADAB.]

**JA'AZER** and **JA'ZER**. (The form of this name is much varied both in the A. V. and the Hebrew, though the one does not follow the other. In Num. xxxii. it is twice given Jazer and once Jaazer, the Hebrew being in all three cases יָעָזֶר, i. e. Yaezer. Elsewhere in Numbers and in Josh. xiii. it is Jaazer; but in Josh. xxi., in 2 Sam. xxiv., Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jazer: the Hebrew in all these is יָעָזֶר, Yaezer. In Chronicles it is also Jazer; but here the Hebrew is in the extended form of יָעָזֶר, Yaezeir, a form which the Samar. Codex also presents in Num. xxxii. The LXX. have 'Iazēp, but once 'Eliázep, Alex. 'Eliázep—including the affixed heb. particle: Vulg. *Jazer, Jaser*). A town on the east of Jordan, in or near to Gilead (Num. xxxii. 1, 3; 1 Chr. xxvi. 31). We first hear of it in possession

of the Amorites, and as taken by Israel after Heshbon, and on their way from thence to Bashan (Num. xxi. 32).<sup>a</sup> It was rebuilt subsequently by the children of Gad (xxii. 35), and was a prominent place in their territory (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xiv. 5). It was allotted to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Chr. vi. 81), but in the time of David it would appear to have been occupied by Hebronites, i. e. descendants of Kohath (1 Chr. xxvi. 31). It seems to have given its name to a district of dependent or "daughter" towns (Num. xxi. 32, A. V. "villages;" 1 Macc. v. 8), the "land of Jazer" (Num. xxxii. 1). In the "burdens" proclaimed over Moab by Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jazer is mentioned so as to imply that there were vineyards there, and that the cultivation of the vine had extended thither from SIDMAH (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). In the latter passage, as the text at present stands, mention is made of the "Sea of Jazer" (יַם יַזְרַע). This may have been some pool or lake of water, or possibly is an ancient corruption of the text, the LXX. having a different reading—*πόλις* 'I. (See Gesenius, *Jesaja*, 550.)

Jazer was known to Eusebius and Jerome, and its position is laid down with minuteness in the *Onomasticon* as 10 (or 8, *s. voc.* "A(σ)ρ) Roman miles west of Philadelphia (*Amman*), and 15 from Heshbon, and as the source of a river which falls into the Jordan. Two sites bearing the names of *Chûrbet Szâr* and *es Szâr*, on the road westward of *Amman*, were pointed out to Seetzen in 1806 (*Reisen*, 1854, i. 397, 8). The latter of these was passed also by Burckhardt (*Syr.* 364) at 2½ hours below *Fukeis* going south. The ruins appear to have been on the left (east) of the road, and below them and the road is the source of the *Wady Szâr* (صبر), or *Mojeb es Szâr* (Seetzen), answering, though certainly but imperfectly, to the *ποταμὸς μέγας* of Eusebius. Seetzen conjectures that the sea of Jazer may have been at the source of this brook, considerable marshes or pools sometimes existing at these spots. (Comp. his earlier suggestion of the source of the *Wady Serka*, p. 393.) *Szâr*, or *Szâr*, is shown on the map of Van de Velde as 9 Roman miles W. of *Amman*, and about 12 from Heshbon. And here, until further investigation, we must be content to place Jazer. [G.]

**JAAZIAH** (יִזְחִיָּה, i. e. Yaazyahu: 'Oziā: (*Oziā*), apparently a third son, or a descendant, of Merari the Levite, and the founder of an independent house in that family (1 Chr. xxiv. 26, 27; neither he nor his descendants are mentioned elsewhere (comp. the lists in xxiii. 21-23; Ex. vi. 19, &c.). The word Beno (בֶּנֶה), which follows Jaaziah, should probably be translated "his son," i. e. the son of Merari.

**JAA'ZIEL** (יִזְחִיָּה; 'Oziā; Alex. 'Iηούλ: *Juziel*), one of the Levites of the second order who were appointed by David to perform the musical service before the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18). If AZIEL in ver. 20 is a contracted form of the same name—and there is no reason to doubt it (comp. *Jesharalah* and *Asharelah*, 1 Chr. xxv. 2, 14)—his business was to "sound the psaltery on Alamoth."

**JA'BAL** (יָבָל; 'Iabā; Alex. *Jabel*), the son of Lamech and Adah (Gen. iv. 20) and brother of

Jubal. Though descended from a dweller in a city (ver. 17), he is described as the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle. Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. ii. c. 44, near the end) points out the difference between his mode of life and Abel's. Jabal's was a migratory life, and his possessions probably included other animals besides sheep. The shepherds who were before him may have found the land on which they dwelt sufficiently productive for the constant sustenance of their flocks in the neighbourhood of their fixed abodes. [W. T. B.]

**JAB'BOK** (יַבְבֹּק; 'Iabōq; *Jaboc*), a stream which intersects the mountain-range of Gilead (comp. Josh. xii. 2, and 5), and falls into the Jordan about midway between the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. There is some difficulty in interpreting two or three passages of Scripture in which the Jabbok is spoken of as "the border of the children of Ammon." The following facts may perhaps throw some light upon them:—The Ammonites at one time possessed the whole country between the rivers Arnon and Jabbok, from the Jordan on the west to the wilderness on the east. They were driven out of it by Sihon king of the Amorites; and he was in turn expelled by the Israelites. Yet long subsequent to these events, the country was popularly called "the land of the Ammonites," and was even claimed by them (Judg. xi. 12-22). For this reason the Jabbok is still called "the border of the children of Ammon" in Deut. iii. 16, and Josh. xii. 2. Again, when the Ammonites were driven out by Sihon from their ancient territory, they took possession of the eastern plain, and of a considerable section of the eastern defiles of Gilead, around the sources and upper branches of the Jabbok. Rabbath-Ammon, their capital city (2 Sam. xi.), stood within the mountains of Gilead, and on the banks of a tributary to the Jabbok. This explains the statement in Num. xxi. 24—"Israel possessed his (Sihon's) land from Arnon unto Jabbok, unto the children of Ammon (עַמּוֹן, יַבְבֹּק), for the border of the children of Ammon was strong"—the border among the defiles of the upper Jabbok was strong. This also illustrates Deut. ii. 37, "Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not, unto every place of the torrent Jabbok (יַבְבֹּק, נַחַל יַבְבֹּק); and unto the cities in the mountains, and every place which the Lord our God forbade."

It was on the south bank of the Jabbok the interview took place between Jacob and Esau (Gen. xxxii. 22); and this river afterwards became, towards its western part, the boundary between the kingdoms of Sihon and Og (Josh. xii. 2, 5). Eusebius rightly places it between Gerasa and Philadelphia (*Onom.* s. v.); and at the present day it separates the province of *Balka* from *Jebel Ajlûn*. Its modern name is *Wady Zurka*. It rises in the plateau east of Gilead, and receives many tributaries from both north and south in the eastern declivities of the mountain-range—one of these comes from Gerasa, another from Rabbath-Ammon; but all of them are mere winter streams. The Zurka cuts through Gilead in a deep, narrow defile. Throughout the lower part of its course it is fringed with thickets of cane and oleander, and the banks above are clothed with oak-forests. Towards its mouth the stream is perennial, and in winter often impassable. [J. L. P.]

**JA'BESH** (יָבֵשׁ; 'Iabîs; Alex. 'Abels. 'Iabêls

<sup>a</sup> In Num. xxi. 24, where the present Hebrew text has יַזְרַע (A. V. "strong"), the LXX. have read 'Iabōq.

Joseph, *Ἰαβήσος*: *Jabes*). 1. Father of SHALLUM, the 15th king of Israel (2 K. xv. 10, 13, 14).

2. The short form of the name JABESH-GILEAD (1 Chr. x. 12 only).

JA BESH-GIL/EAD (*יַבֶּשׁ גִּלְעָד*), also *יַבֶּשׁ*, 1 Sam. xi. 1, 9, &c., "dry," from *יָבַשׁ*, "to be dry," *Ἰαβὲς Γαλαδ*; *Jabes Galad*, or Jabesh in the territory of Gilead. [GILEAD.] In its widest sense Gilead included the half tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr. xxvii. 21) as well as the tribes of Gad and Reuben (Num. xxvii. 1-42) east of the Jordan—and of the cities of Gilead, Jabesh was the chief. It is first mentioned in connexion with the cruel vengeance taken upon its inhabitants for not coming up to Mizpeh on the occasion of the fierce war between the children of Israel and the tribe of Benjamin. Every male of the city was put to the sword, and all virgins—to the number of 400—seized to be given in marriage to the 600 men of Benjamin that remained (Judg. xxi. 8-14). Nevertheless the city survived the loss of its males; and being attacked subsequently by Nahash the Ammonite, gave Saul an opportunity of displaying his prowess in its defence, and silencing all objections made by the children of Belial to his sovereignty (1 Sam. xi. 1-15). Neither were his exertions in behalf of this city unrequited; for when he and his three sons were slain by the Philistines in Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 8), the men of Jabesh-Gilead came by night and took down their corpses from the walls of Bethshan where they had been exposed as trophies; then burnt the bodies, and buried the bones under a tree near the city—observing a strict funeral fast for seven days (ibid. 13). David does not forget to bless them for this act of piety towards his old master, and his more than brother (2 Sam. ii. 5); though he afterwards had their remains translated to the ancestral sepulchre in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 14). As to the site of the city, it is not defined in the O. T., but Eusebius (*Onomast.* s. r.) places it beyond Jordan, 6 miles from Polla on the mountain-road to Gerasa; where its name is probably preserved in the *Wady Yabes*, which flowing from the east, enters the Jordan below Bethshan or Scythopolis. According to Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 319), the ruin *el-Deir*, on the S. side of the Wady, still marks its site. [E. S. Ff.]

JA BESH (*יַבֶּשׁ*): *Ἰαβὲς*; Alex. *Γαβήσος*: *Jabes*), apparently a place, at which the families of the scribes (*סופרים*) resided, who belonged to the families of the Kenites (1 Chr. ii. 55). It occurs among the descendants of Salma, who was of Judah, and closely connected with Bethlehem (ver. 51), possibly the father of Boaz; and also—though how is not clear—with Joab. The Targum states some curious particulars, which, however, do not much elucidate the difficulty, and which are probably a mixture of trustworthy tradition and of mere invention based on philological grounds. Rechab is there identified with Rechabiah the son of Eliezer, Moses' younger son (1 Chr. xxvi. 25), and Jabez with Othniel the Kenezite, who bore the name of Jabez "because he sounded by his counsel (*עצה*) a school (*תלמוד*) of disciples called Tirathites, Shimeathites, and Suenathites." See also the quotations from Talmud, *Temurah*, in Buxtorf's *Lex.* col. 968, where a similar derivation is given.

2. The name occurs again in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 9, 10), in a passage of remark-

able detail inserted in a genealogy again connected with Bethlehem (ver. 4). Here a different force is attached to the name. It is made to refer to the sorrow (*עֲצֵב*, *otzeb*) with which his mother bore him, and also to his prayer that evil may not grieve (*עֲצֵב*) him. Jabez was "more honourable than his brethren," though who they were is not ascertainable. It is very doubtful whether any connexion exists between this genealogy and that in ii. 50-55. Several names appear in both—Hur, Ephraiah, Bethlehem, Zerahites (in A. V. iv. 2 inaccurately "Zorathites"), Joab, Caleb; and there is much similarity between others, as Rechab and Rechab, Eshton and Eshtaulites; but any positive connexion seems undemonstrable. The Targum repeats its identification of Jabez and Othniel.

These passages in the Targums are worthy of remark, not only because they exemplify the same habit of playing on words and seeking for derivations which is found in the above and many other passages of the Bible, both early and late, but also because, as often as not, the puns do not now exist in the Rabbinical Hebrew in which these paraphrases are written, although they appear if that Rabbinical Hebrew is translated back into Biblical Hebrew. There are several cases of this in the Targum above quoted, viz. on 1 Chr. ii. 55 (see Tirathum, Suenathum, &c.), and others in the Targum on Ruth, in the additions to the genealogy at the end of that Book. One example will show what is intended. "Obed (*עֹבֵד*) was he who served the Lord of the world with a perfect heart." "Served" in Biblical Hebrew is *עָבַד*, from the same root as Obed, but in the dialect of the Targum it is *דַּפְּלָה*, so that the allusion (like that in Coleridge's famous pun) exists, as it stands, neither for the eye nor the ear. [G.]

JA BIN (*יַבִּין*, *Ἰαβίν*). 1. King of Hazor, a royal city in the north of Palestine, near the waters of Merom, who organised a confederacy of the northern princes against the Israelites (Josh. xi. 1-3). He assembled an army, which the Scripture narrative merely compares to the sands for multitude (ver. 4), but which Josephus reckons at 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 20,000 chariots. Joshua, encouraged by God, surprised this vast army of allied forces "by the waters of Merom" (ver. 7; near Kadesh, according to Josephus), utterly routed them, cut the hoof-sinews of their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire at a place which from that circumstance may have derived its name of MISKAPHOTH-MAIM (Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, p. 228). [MISKAPHOTH-MAIM.] It is probable that in consequence of this battle the confederate kings, and Jabin among them, were reduced to vassalage, for we find immediately afterwards that Jabin is safe in his capital. But during the ensuing wars (which occupied some time, Josh. xi. 18), Joshua "turned back," and perhaps on some fresh rebellion of Jabin, inflicted on him a signal and summary vengeance, making Hazor an exception to the general rule of not burning the conquered cities of Canaan (xi. 1-14; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 18; Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 328).

2. A king of Hazor, whose general Sisera was defeated by Barak, whose army is described in much the same terms as that of his predecessor (Judg. iv. 3, 13), and who suffered precisely the same fate. We have already pointed out the minute similarity of the two narratives (Josh. xi.; Judg. iv. v.), and

an attentive comparison of them with Josephus (who curiously omits the name of Jabin altogether in his mention of Joshua's victory, although his account is full of details), would easily supply further points of resemblance. [BARAK; DENORAI.] It is indeed by no means impossible that in the course of 150 years Hazor should have risen from its ashes, and even reassumed its pre-eminence under sovereigns who still bore the old dynastic name. But entirely independent considerations show that the period between Joshua and Barak could not have been 150 years, and indeed tend to prove that those two chiefs were contemporaries (Hervey, *General*, 228); and we are therefore led to regard the two accounts of the destruction of Hazor and Jabin as really applying to the same monarch, and the same event. What is to prevent us from supposing that Jabin and his confederate kings were defeated both by Joshua and by Barak, and that distinct accounts of both victories were preserved? The most casual reader of the narrative cannot but be struck by the remarkable resemblance between the two stories. There is no ground whatever to throw doubts on the historical veracity of the earlier narrative, as is done by Hasse (p. 129), Manner (*ad loc.*), Studer (*on Judges*, p. 90), and De Wette (*Einl.* p. 231), according to Keil, on *Josh.* xi. 10-15; and by Rosenmüller (*Schul.* *Jos.* xi. 11); but when the chronological arguments are taken into consideration, we do not (in spite of the difficulties which still remain) consider Hävernicks successful in removing the improbabilities which beset the common supposition that this Jabin lived long after the one which Joshua defeated. At any rate we cannot agree with Winer in denouncing any attempt to identify them with each other as the *ne plus ultra* of uncritical audacity. [F. W. F.]

**JABNEEL** (יַבְנֵי־נֶחַל). The name of two towns in Palestine.

1. (In O. T. *Ἀβνὴλ*; Alex. *Ἰαβνὴλ*; in Apoc. *Ἰαβνὴλ*: *Jebneel*, *Jubnia*, *Jumnia*). One of the points on the northern boundary of Judah, not quite at the sea, though near it" (*Josh.* xv. 11). There is no sign, however, of its ever having been occupied by Judah. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) attributes it to the Danites. There was a constant struggle going on between that tribe and the Philistines for the possession of all the places in the lowland plain [DAN], and it is not surprising that the next time we meet with Jabneel it should be in the hands of the latter (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). Uzziah dispossessed them of it, and demolished its fortifications. Here it is in the shorter form of JABNEEL. In its Greek garb, *IAMNIA*, it is frequently mentioned in the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 15, v. 58, x. 69, xv. 40), in whose time it was again a strong place. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8; §6) Gorgias was governor of it; but the text of the Maccabees (2 Macc. xii. 32) has Idumaea. At this time there was a harbour on the coast, to which, and the vessels lying there, Judas set fire, and the conflagration was seen at Jerusalem, a distance of about 25 miles (2 Macc. xii. 9). The harbour is also mentioned by Pliny, who in conse-

quence speaks of the town as double—*duas Janmes* (see the quotations in Reland, 823). Like Ascalon and Gaza the harbour bore the title of Majumas, perhaps a Coptic word, meaning the "place on the sea" (Reland, 590, &c.; Raumer, 174 note, 184 note; Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, 27, 29). At the time of the fall of Jerusalem, Jabneh was one of the most populous places of Judaea, and contained a Jewish school of great fame, whose learned doctors are often mentioned in the Talmud. The great Sanhedrim was also held here. In this holy city, according to an early Jewish tradition, was buried the great Gamaliel. His tomb was visited by Puchi in the 14th cent. (Zunz, in *Asher's Benj. of Tudea*, ii. 439, 440; also 98). In the time of Eusebius, however, it had dwindled to a small place, *παλιχον*, merely requiring casual mention (*Onomasticon*). In the 6th century, under Justinian, it became the seat of a Christian bishop (Epiphanius, *adv. Hæc.* lib. ii. 730). Under the Crusaders it bore the corrupted name of Ibelin, and gave a title to a line of Counts, one of whom, Jean d'Ibelin, about 1250, restored to efficiency the famous code of the "Assises de Jérusalem" (Gibbon, ch. 58 *ad fin.*; also the citations in Raumer, *Palästina*, 185).

The modern village of *Yebna*, or more accurately *Ibnu* (يَبْنَا), stands about 2 miles from the sea on a slight eminence just south of the *Nahr Rubia*. It is about 11 miles south of *Jaffa*, 7 from *Ramleh*, and 4 from *Akir* (Ekron). It probably occupies its ancient site, for some remains of old buildings are to be seen, possibly relics of the fortress which the Crusaders built there (Porter, *Handbook*, 274).

2. (Ἰεφθαμαλ; Alex. *Ἰαβνὴλ*; *Jebnial*). One of the landmarks on the boundary of Naphtali (*Josh.* xix. 33, only). It is named next after Adami-Nekeb, and had apparently Lakum between it and the "outgoings" of the boundary at the Jordan. But little or no clue can be got from the passage to its situation. Doubtless it is the same place which, as *Ἰαβνεία* (*Vita*, §37), and *Ἰαβνὴ* (*B. J.* ii. 20, §6), is mentioned by Josephus among the villages in Upper Galilee, which, though strong in themselves (*πετρόεις οὐρας*), were fortified by him in anticipation of the arrival of the Romans. The other villages named by him in the same connexion are Meruth, Achabare, or the rock of the Achabari, and Seph. Schwarz (181) mentions that the later name of Jabneel was *Kēfr Yamah*, the village by the sea. Taking this with the vague indications of Josephus, we should be disposed to look for its traces at the N.W. part of the Sea of Galilee, in the hill country. [G.]

**JABNEH** (יַבְנֵה): *Ἰαβνὴρ*; Alex. *Ἰαβελς*: *Jabnia*, 2 Chr. xxvi. 6. [JABNEEL.]

**JA'CHAN** (יָכִין): *Ἰαχάν*; Alex. *Ἰαχάν*: *Jachan*), one of seven chief men of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 13).

**JA'CHIN** (יָכִין): in Kings *Ἰαχούμ*, Alex. *Ἰαχούμ*; but in Chron. *Καρόθσαις* in both MSS.; Josephus *Ἰαχίν*: *Jachin*, *Jachim*), one of the two pillars which were set up "in the porch" (1 K.

\* In *Josh.* xv. 46, after the words "from Ekron," the LXX. adds *Ἰαβνὴλ*, Jabneh, instead of "even unto the sea;" probably reading יַבְנֵי־נֶחַל for the present word יַבְנֵה.

b Can the name in the Vat. LXX. (given above) be a corruption of this? It can hardly be corrupted from Jamnia or Jabneel.

vii. 21) or before the temple (2 Chr. iii. 17) of Solomon. It was the "right-hand" one of the two; by which is probably meant the south (comp. 1 K. vii. 39). However, both the position and the structure of these famous columns are full of difficulties, and they will be most suitably examined in describing the TEMPLE. Interpreted as a Hebrew word Jachin signifies firmness. ●

**JACHIN** (יָכִין: 'Axeiv, 'Iaxeiv, 'Iaxiv; Alex. 'Iaxelμ: *Jachin*). 1. Fourth son of Simeon (Gen. xlv. 10; Ex. vi. 15); founder of the family of the JACHINITES (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. Head of the 21st course of priests in the time of David. Some of the course returned from Babylon (1 Chr. ix. 10, xiv. 17; Neh. xi. 10). [JOIARIB.] Jacimus, the original name of Alcimus (1 Macc. vii. 5, &c.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. ix. §7), who was the first of his family that was high-priest, may possibly have been in Hebrew Jachin, though the κ more properly suggests Jakim.

'Axeiv, ACHIM (Matt. i. 14); seems also to be the same name. [A. C. H.]

**JACHINITES, THE** (יָכִינִיתִים: 'Iaxiv; Alex. δ 'Iaxeiv: *familia Jachiniturum*), the family founded by JACHIN, son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

**JACINTH** (δάκρυθος; *hyacinthus*), a precious stone, forming one of the foundations of the walls of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 20). It seems to be identical with the Hebrew *leshem* (לֶשֶׁם, A. V. "ligure"), which was employed in the formation of the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 19). The jacinth or hyacinth is a red variety of zircon, which is found in square prisms, of a white, grey, red, reddish-brown, yellow, or pale-green colour. Ligurite is a crystallised mineral of a yellowish-green or apple-green hue, found in Liguria, and thence deriving its name. It was reputed to possess an attractive power similar to that of amber (Theophrastus. *Cropp.* 28), and perhaps the Greek *λυγρίον*, which the LXX. gives, was suggested by an apparent reference to this quality (as it from *λελεω*, "to lick"). The expression in Rev. ix. 17, "of jacinth," applied to the breastplate, is descriptive simply of a *hyacinthine*, i. e. dark-purple colour, and has no reference to the stone. [W. L. B.]

**JACOB** (יַעֲקֹב: "supplanter;" 'Iakób: *Jacob*), the second son of Isaac and Rebekah. He was born with Esau, when Isaac was 59 and Abraham 159 years old, probably at the well Lahai-roi. His history is related in the latter half of the book of Genesis. He grew up a quiet, domestic youth, the favourite son of his mother. He bought the birthright from his brother Esau; and afterwards, at his mother's instigation, acquired the blessing intended for Esau, by practising a well-known deceit on Isaac. Hitherto the two sons shared the wanderings of Isaac in the South Country; but now Jacob in his 78th year was sent from the family home, to avoid his brother, and to seek a wife among his kindred in Padan-aram. As he passed through Bethel, God appeared to him. After the lapse of 21 years he returned from Padan-aram with two wives, two concubines, eleven sons, and a daughter, and large property. He escaped from the angry pursuit of Laban, from a rencontre with Esau, and from the vengeance of the Canaanites provoked by the murder of Shechem; and in each of those three emergencies

he was aided and strengthened by the interposition of God, and in sign of the grace won by a night of wrestling with God his name was changed at Jabok into Israel ("soldier of God"). Deborah and Rachel died before he reached Hebron; and it was at Hebron, in the 122nd year of his age, that he and Esau buried their father Isaac. Joseph, the favourite son of Jacob, was sold into Egypt eleven years before the death of Isaac; and Jacob had probably exceeded his 130th year when he went thither, being encouraged in a divine vision as he passed for the last time through Beersheba. He was presented to Pharaoh, and dwelt for seventeen years in Ramesses and Goshen. After giving his solemn blessing to Ephraim and Manasseh, and his own sons one by one, and charging the ten to complete their reconciliation with Joseph, he died in his 147th year. His body was embalmed, carried with great care and pomp into the land of Canaan, and deposited with his fathers, and his wife Leah, in the cave of Machpelah.

The example of Jacob is quoted by the first and the last of the minor prophets. Hosea, in the latter days of the kingdom, seeks (xii. 3, 4, 12) to convert the descendants of Jacob from their state of alienation from God, by recalling to their memory the repeated acts of God's favour shown to their ancestor. And Malachi (i. 2) strengthens the desponding hearts of the returned exiles by assuring them that the love which God bestowed upon Jacob was not withheld from them. Besides the frequent mention of his name in conjunction with those of the other two Patriarchs, there are distinct references to events in the life of Jacob in four books of the N. T. In Rom. ix. 11-13, St. Paul adduces the history of Jacob's birth to prove that the favour of God is independent of the order of natural descent. In Heb. xii. 16, and xi. 21, the transfer of the birthright and Jacob's dying benediction are referred to. His vision at Bethel, and his possession of land at Shechem are cited in St. John i. 51, and iv. 5, 12. And St. Stephen, in his speech (Acts vii. 12, 16), mentions the famine which was the means of restoring Jacob to his lost son in Egypt, and the burial of the patriarch in Shechem.

Such are the events of Jacob's life recorded in Scripture. Some of them require additional notice.

1. For the sale of his birthright to Jacob, Esau is branded in the N. T. as a "profane person" (Heb. xii. 16). The following sacred and important privileges have been mentioned as connected with primogeniture in patriarchal times, and as constituting the object of Jacob's desire. (a.) Superior rank in the family: see Gen. xlix. 3, 4. (b.) A double portion of the father's property; so Aben Ezra: see Deut. xxi. 17, and Gen. xlviii. 22. (c.) The priestly office in the patriarchal church: see Num. viii. 17-19. In favour of this, see *Jesus ad Evangel.* Ep. lxxiii. §6; *Jarohi in Gen.* xxv.; *Estius in Hebr.* xii.; *Shuckford's Connexion*, bk. vii.; Blunt, *Undes. Coincid.* Pt. I. 1. §2, 3; and against it; Vitringa, *Obs. Sac.*, and J. D. Michælis, *Mosaisch. Recht*, ii. §64, cited by Rosenmüller in *Gen.* xxv. (d.) A conditional promise or adumbration of the heavenly inheritance: see Cartwright in the *Crit. Sacr.* on Gen. xxv. (e.) The promise of the Seed in which all nations should be blessed, though not included in the birthright, may have been so regarded by the patriarchs as it was by their descendants, Rom. ix. 8, and Shuckford, viii.

The whole subject has been treated in separate essays by Vitringa in his *Observat. Sacr.* Pt. i. 11

§2; also by J. H. Hottinger, and by J. J. Schröder, cited by Winer.

2. With regard to Jacob's acquisition of his father's blessing, ch. xxvii., few persons will accept the excuse offered by Augustine, *Serm.* iv. §22, 23, for the deceit which he practised—that it was merely a figurative action, and that his personation of Esau was justified by his previous purchase of Esau's birthright. It is not however necessary, with the view of cherishing a Christian hatred of sin, to heap opprobrious epithets upon a fallible man whom the choice of God has rendered venerable in the eyes of believers. Waterland (iv. \*208) speaks of the conduct of Jacob in language which is neither wanting in reverence nor likely to encourage the extenuation of guilt. "I do not know whether it be justifiable in every particular: I suspect that it is not. There were several very good and laudable circumstances in what Jacob and Rebekah did; but I do not take upon me to acquit them of all blame." And Blunt (*Undes. Coinc.*) observes that none "of the patriarchs can be set up as a model of Christian morals. They lived under a code of laws that were not absolutely good, perhaps not so good as the Levitical; for as this was but a preparation for the more perfect law of Christ, so possibly was the patriarchal but a preparation for the Law of Moses." The circumstances which led to this unhappy transaction, and the retribution which fell upon all parties concerned in it, have been carefully discussed by Benson, *Hulsean Lectures* (1822) on *Scripture Difficulties*, xvi. and xvii. See also Woodgate's *Historical Sermons*, ix.; and Maurice, *Patriarchs and Languages*, v. On the fulfilment of the Prophecies concerning Esau and Jacob, and on Jacob's dying blessing, see Bp. Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, §§ iii. and iv.

3. Jacob's vision at Bethel is considered by Micgius in a treatise, *De Scatâ Jacobi* in the *Thesaurus novus Theologico-Philologicus*, i. 195. See also Augustine, *Serm.* cxxii. His stratagem with Laban's cattle is commented on by Jeome, *Quæst. in Gen.* Opp. iii. 352, and by Nitschmann, *De corrylo Jacobi* in *Thes. nov. Theol.-Phil.* i. 201.

4. Jacob's polygamy is an instance of a patriarchal practice quite repugnant to Christian morality, but to be accounted for on the ground that the time had not then come for a full expression of the will of God on this subject. The mutual rights of husband and wife were recognised in the history of the Creation; but instances of polygamy are frequent among persons mentioned in the sacred records from Lamech (Gen. iv. 19) to Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, §2). In times when frequent wars increased the number of captives and orphans, and reduced nearly all service to slavery, there may have been some reason for extending the recognition and protection of the law to concubines or half-wives as Billah and Zilpah. And in the case of Jacob, it is right to bear in mind that it was not his original intention to marry both the daughters of Laban. (See on this subject Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xii. 47-54.)

5. Jacob's wrestling with the angel at Jabbok is the subject of Augustine's *Sermo* v.; compare with it *De Civitate Dei*, xvi. 39.

In Jacob may be traced a combination of the quiet patience of his father with the acquisitiveness which seems to have marked his mother's family; and in Esau, as in Ishmael, the migratory and independent character of Abraham was developed into

the enterprising habits of a warlike hunter-chief. Jacob, whose history occupies a larger space, leaves on the reader's mind a less favourable impression than either of the other patriarchs with whom he is joined in equal honour in the N. T. (Matt. viii. 11). But in considering his character we must bear in mind that we know not what limits were set in those days to the knowledge of God and the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. A timid thoughtful boy would acquire no self-reliance in a secluded home. There was little scope for the exercise of intelligence, wide sympathy, generosity, frankness. Growing up a stranger to the great joys and great sorrows of natural life—deaths, and wedlock, and births; inured to caution and restraint in the presence of a more vigorous brother; secretly stimulated by a belief that God designed for him some superior blessing, Jacob was perhaps in a fair way to become a narrow, selfish, deceitful, disappointed man. But, after dwelling for more than half a lifetime in solitude, he is driven from home by the provoked hostility of his more powerful brother. Then in deep and bitter sorrow the outcast begins life afresh long after youth has passed, and finds himself brought first of all unexpectedly into that close personal communion with God which elevates the soul, and then into that enlarged intercourse with men which is capable of drawing out all the better feelings of human nature. An unseen world was opened. God revived and renewed to him that slumbering promise over which he had brooded for threescore years since he learned it in childhood from his mother. Angels conversed with him. Gradually he felt more and more the watchful care of an ever present spiritual Father. Face to face he wrestled with the Representative of the Almighty. And so, even though the moral consequences of his early transgressions hung about him, and saddened him with a deep knowledge of all the evil of treachery and domestic envy, and partial judgment, and filial disobedience, yet the increasing revelations of God enlightened the old age of the patriarch; and at last the timid "supplanter," the man of subtle devices, waiting for the salvation of Jehovah, dies the "soldier of God" uttering the messages of God to his remote posterity.

For reflections on various incidents in Jacob's life see Bp. Hall's *Contemplations*, Bk. iii. Many Rabbinical legends concerning him may be found in Eisenmenger's *Entd. Judenthum*, and in the *Jerusalem Targum*. In the Koran he is often mentioned in conjunction with the other two patriarchs (ch. 2, and elsewhere). [W. T. B.]

JACUBUS (Ἰακὼβος: *Accubus*), 1 Esd. ix. 48. [AKKUB, 4.]

J'ADA (יָדָא: *Yadaa*, and at ver. 32 *Adaal*; Alex. *Yeddaa*), son of Onam, and brother of Shammal, in the genealogy of the sons of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah (1 Chr. ii. 28, 32). This genealogy is very corrupt in the LXX., especially in the Vatican Codex. [A. C. H.]

J'ADAU (יָדָא: *Yadau*, and at ver. 32 *Adaal*; Alex. *Yeddaa*), one of the Bene-Nebo who had taken a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 43).

JAD'DUA (יָדְדֻא: *Yaddua*, and at ver. 32 *Adaal*; Alex. *Yeddaa*), son, and successor in the high-priesthood, of Jonathan or Johanan. He is the last of the high-priests mentioned in the O. T., and probably altogether

the latest name in the canon (Neh. xii. 11, 22), at least if 1 Chr. iii. 22-24 is admitted to be corrupt (see *Geneal. of our Lord*, 101, 107). His name marks distinctly the time when the latest additions were made to the book of Nehemiah and the canon of Scripture, and *perhaps* affords a clue to the age of Malachi the prophet. All that we learn concerning him in Scripture is the fact of his being the son of Jonathan, and high-priest. We gather also pretty certainly that he was priest in the reign of the last Persian king Darius, and that he was still high-priest after the Persian dynasty was overthrown, i. e. in the reign of Alexander the Great. For the expression "Darius the Persian" must have been used after the accession of the Grecian dynasty; and had another high-priest succeeded, his name would most likely have been mentioned. Thus far then the book of Nehemiah bears out the truth of Josephus's history, which makes Jaddua high-priest when Alexander invaded Judaea. But the story of his interview with Alexander [HIGHPRIEST, p. 811 b] does not on that account deserve credit, nor his account of the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim during Jaddua's pontificate, at the instigation of Sanballat, both of which, as well as the accompanying circumstances, are probably derived from some apocryphal book of Alexandrian growth, since lost, in which chronology and history gave way to romance and Jewish vanity. Josephus seems to place the death of Jaddua after that of Alexander (*A. J.* xi. 8, §7). Eusebius assigns 20 years to Jaddua's pontificate (*Geneal. of our Lord*, 323 sqq.; Selden, *de Succ.*; Prideaux, &c.). [A. C. H.]

**JAD'DUA** (יָדוּא: 'Eddōa; Alex. 'Eddōuk: *Jeddua*), one of the chief of the people, i. e. of the laymen, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 21).

**JA'DON** (יָדוֹן: Eddōron in both MSS.: *Jadon*), a man, who in company with the Gibeonites and the men of Mizpah assisted to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7). His title, "the Meronothite" (comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 30), and the mention of Gibeonites, would seem to point to a place Meroneth, and that in the neighbourhood of Gibeon; but no such place has yet been traced.

Jadon ('Eddōn) is the name attributed by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 8, §5) to the man of God from Judah, who withstood Jeroboam at the altar at Bethel—probably intending IDDO the seer. By Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. ix. 29) the name is given as *Jaddo*.

**JA'EL** (יָאֵל: Hex. Syr. *Anael*: 'Iachā; Joseph. 'Idāh: *Jahel*), the wife of Heber the Kenite. Heber was the chief of a nomadic Arab clan, who had separated from the rest of his tribe, and had pitched his tent under the oaks, which had in consequence received the name of "oaks of the wanderers" (A. V. plain of Zaannan, Judg. iv. 11), in the neighbourhood of Kedesh-Naphthali. [HEBER; KENITES.] The tribe of Heber had secured the quiet enjoyment of their pastures by adopting a neutral position in a troublous period. Their descent from Jethro secured them the favourable regard of the Israelites, and they were sufficiently important to conclude a formal peace with Jabin king of Hazor.

"Mantle" is here inaccurate, the word is הַמָּעֵטָה—with the definite article. But as the term is not found elsewhere, it is not possible to recognise

In the headlong route which followed the defeat of the Canaanites by Barak, Sisera, abandoning his chariot the more easily to avoid notice (comp. Hom. *Il.* v. 20), fled unattended, and in an opposite direction from that taken by his army, to the tent of the Kenite chieftainess. "The tent of Jael" is expressly mentioned either because the harem of Heber was in a separate tent (Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* iii. 22), or because the Kenite himself was absent at the time. In the sacred seclusion of this almost inviolable sanctuary, Sisera might well have felt himself absolutely secure from the incursions of the enemy (Cahnet, *Frags.* xxv.); and although he intended to take refuge among the Kenites, he would not have ventured so openly to violate all idea of Oriental propriety by entering a woman's apartments (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. Harem), had he not received Jael's express, earnest, and respectful entreaty to do so. He accepted the invitation, and she flung a mantle<sup>a</sup> over him as he lay wearily on the floor. When thirst prevented sleep, and he asked for water, she brought him butter-milk in her choicest vessel, thus ratifying with the semblance of officious zeal the sacred bond of Eastern hospitality. Wine would have been less suitable to quench his thirst, and may possibly have been eschewed by Heber's clan (*Jer.* xxv. 2). Butter-milk, according to the quotations in Harmer, is still a favourite Arab beverage, and that this is the drink intended we infer from Judges v. 25, as well as from the direct statement of Josephus (γῶμα διεσθόπος ἥδην, *Ant.* v. 5, §4), although there is no reason to suppose with Josephus and the Rabbis (D. Kimchi, Jarchi, &c.), that Jael purposely used it because of its soporific qualities (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 473). But anxiety still prevented Sisera from composing himself to rest, until he had exacted a promise from his protectress that she would faithfully preserve the secret of his concealment; till at last, with a feeling of perfect security, the weary and unfortunate general resigned himself to the deep sleep of misery and fatigue. Then it was that Jael took in her left hand one of the great wooden<sup>b</sup> pins (A. V. "nail") which fastened down the cords of the tent, and in her right hand the mallet (A. V. "a hammer") used to drive it into the ground, and creeping up to her sleeping and confiding guest, with one terrible blow dashed it through Sisera's temples deep into the earth. With one spasm of fruitless agony, with one contortion of sudden pain, "at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead" (Judg. v. 27). She then waited to meet the pursuing Barak, and led him into her tent that she might in his presence claim the glory of the deed.

Many have supposed that by this act she fulfilled the saying of Deborah, that God would sell Sisera into the hand of a woman (Judg. iv. 9; Joseph. v. 5, §4); and hence they have supposed that Jael was actuated by some divine and hidden influence. But the Bible gives no hint of such an inspiration, and it is at least equally probable that Deborah merely intended to intimate the share of the honour which would be assigned by posterity to her own exertions. If therefore we eliminate the still more monstrous supposition of the Rabbis that Sisera was slain by Jael because he attempted to offer her violence—the murder will appear in all

what the *Semical* was. Probably some part of the regular furniture of the tent.

<sup>a</sup> πᾶσσαλος, LXX.; but according to Josephus, σιδήρεον ῥάλον.

its hideous atrocity. A fugitive had asked, and received *dakhoet* (or protection) at her hands,—he was miserable, defeated, weary,—he was the ally of her husband,—he was her invited and honored guest,—he was in the sanctuary of the haram,—above all, he was confiding, defenceless, and asleep;—yet she broke her pledged faith, violated her solemn hospitality, and murdered a trustful and unprotected slumberer. Surely we require the clearest and most positive statement that Jael was instigated to such a murder by divine suggestion.

But it may be asked, "Has not the deed of Jael been praised by an inspired authority?" "Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be, blessed shall she be above women in the tent" (Judg. v. 24). Without stopping to ask when and where Deborah claims for herself any infallibility, or whether, in the passionate moment of patriotic triumph, she was likely to pause in such wild times to scrutinise the moral bearings of an act which had been so splendid a benefit to herself and her people, we may question whether any moral commendation is *directly* intended. What Deborah stated was a *fact*, viz., that the wives of the nomad Arabs would undoubtedly regard Jael as a public benefactress, and praise her as a popular heroine.

The suggestion of Gesenius (*Thes.* 608 b), Hollmann, and others, that the Jael alluded to in Judg. v. 6 is not the wife of Heber, but some unknown Israelitish Judge, appears to us extremely unlikely, especially as the name Jael must almost certainly be the name of a woman (Prov. v. 19, A. V. "ice"). At the same time it must be admitted that the phrase "in the days of Jael" is one which we should hardly have expected. [F. W. F.]

**JA'GUR (יָגוּר):** 'Ασῶρ; Alex. 'Ιαγούρ; *Jagur*), a town of Judah, one of those furthest to the south, on the frontier of Edom (Josh. xv. 21). Kabzel, one of its companions in the list, recurs subsequently; but Jagur is not again met with, nor has the name been encountered in the imperfect explorations of that dreary region. The Jagur, quoted by Schwarz (p. 99) from the Talmud as one of the boundaries of the territory of Ashkelon, must have been farther to the N.W. [G.]

**JA'HATH (יָהָת):** 'Ιῆθ. 1. Son of Libni, the son of Gershom, the son of Levi (1 Chr. vi. 20, A. V.). He was ancestor to Asaph (ver. 43).

2. Head of a later house in the family of Gershom, being the eldest son of Shimel, the son of Laadan. The house of Jahath existed in David's time (1 Chr. xiii. 10, 11). [A. C. H.]

3. ('Ιῆθ; Alex. omits.) A man in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 2), son of Reaiah ben-Shobal. His sons were Ahumai and Lahad, the families of the Zorathites. If Reaiah and Haroeh are identical, Jahath was a descendant of Caleb ben-Hur. [HAROEH.]

4. (Alex. 'Ιῆθ.) A Levite, son of Shelomoth, the representative of the Kohathite family of IZNAH in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 22).

5. A Merarite Levite in the reign of Josiah, one of the overseers of the repairs to the Temple (2 Chr. xxiv. 12).

**JAH'HAZ**, also **JAH'ZA**, **JAH'ZAH**, and **JAH'ZAH**. Under these four forms are given in the A. V. the name of a place which in the Hebrew appears as יָהָז and יָהָזִי, the ה being in some cases—as Num. and Deut.—the particle of motion,

but elsewhere an integral addition to the name. It has been uniformly so taken by the LXX., who have 'Ιασσά, and twice 'Ιασά. JAH'HAZ is found Num. xii. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20; Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 34. In the two latter only is it יָהָז, without the final ה. The Samaritan Cod. has יָהָזִי: Vulg. *Jasa*).

At Jahaz the decisive battle was fought between the children of Isaael and Sihon king of the Amorites, which ended in the overthrow of the latter and in the occupation by Israel of the whole pastoral country included between the Arnon and the Jabbok, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs (Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20). It was in the allotment of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18), though not mentioned in the catalogue of Num. xxxii.; and it was given with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 78; and Josh. xxi. 36, though here omitted in the ordinary Hebrew text).

Jahazah occurs in the denunciations of Jeremiah and Isaaiah on the inhabitants of the "plain country," i. e. the Mishor, the modern *Belka* (Jer. xlviii. 21, 34; Is. xv. 4); but beyond the fact that at this period it was in the hands of Moab we know nothing of its history.

From the terms of the narrative in Num. xxi. and Deut. ii., we should expect that Jahaz was in the extreme south part of the territory of Sihon, but yet north of the river Arnon (see Deut. ii. 24, 36; and the words in 31, "begin to possess"), and in exactly this position a site named *Jazaza* is mentioned by Schwarz (227), though by him only. But this does not agree with the statements of Eusebius (*Onom.* 'Ιασσά), who says it was existing in his day between Medeba and Δηβοῦς, by which he probably intends Dibon, which would place Jahaz considerably too far to the North. Like many others relating to the places East of the Dead Sea, this question must await further research. (See Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 266, 271.) [G.]

**JA'HAZA (יָהָזָא):** i. e. Yahtzah; *Basdu*; Alex. 'Ιασσά; *Jassa*, Josh. xiii. 18. [JAH'HAZ.]

**JA'HAZAH (יָהָזָה):** in Jer. 'Πεπάς, in both MSS.: *Jaser, Jasa*, Josh. xxi. 36 (though omitted in the Rec. Hebrew Text, and not recognizable in the LXX.), Jer. xlviii. 21. [JAH'HAZ.]

**JAH'AZIAH (יָהָזִיאָה):** i. e. Yach'zeyah; 'Ιαζίας; *Jasiah*, son of Tikvah, apparently a priest; commemorated as one of the four who originally sided with Ezra in the matter of the foreign wives (Ezr. x. 15). In Esdras the name becomes EZECHIAS.

**JAH'AZIEL (יָהָזִיאֵל):** 1. ('Ιεζιάλ; *Schoziel*.) One of the heroes of Benjamin who deserted the cause of Saul and joined David when he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

2. *Jaziel* ('Οζιάλ), a priest in the reign of David, whose office it was, in conjunction with Benaiiah, to blow the trumpet at the ministrations before the ark, when David had brought it to Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 6). [HIGH-PRIEST.]

3. ('Ιεζιάλ, 'Ιαζιάλ; and so Alex.) a Kohathite Levite, third son of Hebron. His house is mentioned in the enumeration of the Levites in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 23). [A. C. II.]

4. ('Οζιάλ; *Jahaziel*.) Son of Zechariah, a Levite of the Bene-Asaph, who was inspired by the Spirit of Jehovah to animate Jehoshaphat and the army of Judah in a moment of great danger, namely, when they were anticipating the invasion

of an enormous horde of Moabites, Ammonites, Mehunims, and other barbarians (2 Chr. xx. 14). Ps. lxxxiii. is entitled a Psalm of Asaph, and this, coupled with the mention of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and others, in hostility to Israel, has led some to connect it with the above event. [GEBAL.] But, however desirable, this is very uncertain.

5. ('Aḥā: Ezechiel). The "son of Jahaziel" was the chief of the Bene-Shecaniah who returned from Babylon with Ezra, according to the present state of the Hebrew text (Ezr. viii. 5). But according to the LXX., and the parallel passage in 1 Esd. (viii. 32), a name has escaped from the text, and it should read, "of the Bene-Zathoc (probably ZATTU), Shecaniah son of Jahaziel." In the latter place the name appears as JEZELUS.

JAH'DAI (יְהֹדַי: i. e. Yehdai: 'Aḥḏat; Alex. 'Iaḥat: Jahodai), a man who appears to be thrust abruptly into the genealogy of Caleb, as the father of six sons (1 Chr. ii. 47). Various suggestions regarding the name have been made: as that Gazez, the name preceding, should be Jahdai; that Jahdai was a concubine of Caleb, &c.: but these are mere groundless suppositions (see Bunting, i. 216; Bertheau, *ad loc.*).

JAH'DIEL (יְהֹדִיֶּל: 'Ieḏāḥ: Jediel), one of the heroes who were heads of the half-tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

JAH'DO (יְהֹדוֹ: Ieḏḏat, as if the name had originally been יְהֹדוֹ; comp. JAASAU, JADAU: Jaddo), a Gadite named in the genealogies of his tribe (1 Chr. v. 14) as the son of Buz and father of Jeshishai.

JAH'LEEL (יְהֹלֵל: 'Aḥōḥā; Alex. 'Aloḥā, 'Aloḥā: Jalelel), the third of the three sons of Zebulun (Gen. xli. 14; Num. xxvi. 26), founder of the family of the JAHLEELITES. Nothing is heard of him or of his descendants.

JAH'MAI (יְהֹמַי: 'Iaḡat; Alex. 'Iemoḥ: Jemai), a man of Issachar, one of the heads of the house of Tola (1 Chr. vii. 2).

JAH'ZAH (יְהֹצָח: 'Iaḥḏ: Jassa), 1 Chr. vi. 78. [JAHAZ.]

JAH'ZEEL (יְהֹזֵעַל: 'Asoḥā: Jasiel), the first of the four sons of Naphtali (Gen. xli. 24), founder of the family of the JAHZEELITES (יְהֹזֵעַלִי, Num. xxvi. 48). His name is once again mentioned (1 Chr. vii. 13) in the slightly different form of JAHZIEL.

JAH'ZERAH (יְהֹזְרָח: 'Ezōpās, 'Ezōpās: Jozras), a priest, of the house of Immer; ancestor of Maasiah (read Maaziah), one of the courses which returned (1 Chr. ix. 12). [ΓΕΘΟΙΑΚΗ.] In the duplicate passage in Neh. xi. 13 he is called יְהֹזָנָה, AHASAI, and all the other names are much varied. [A. C. H.]

JAH'ZIEL (יְהֹזִיעַל: 'Iaḥāḥ: Jasiel), the form in which the name of the first of Naphtali's sons, elsewhere given JAHZEEL, appears in 1 Chr. vii. 13 only.

JAIR (יָאִיר: 'Iaḥp: Jair). 1. A man who

on his father's side was descended from Judah, and on his mother's from Manasseh. His father was Segub, son of Hezron the son of Pharez, by his third wife, the daughter of the great Machir, a man so great that his name is sometimes used as equivalent to that of Manasseh (1 Chr. ii. 21, 22). Thus on both sides he was a member of the most powerful family of each tribe. By Moses he is called the "son of Manasseh" (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14), and according to the Chronicles (1 Chr. ii. 23), he was one of the "sons of Machir the father of Gilead." This designation from his mother rather than his father, perhaps arose from his having settled in the tribe of Manasseh, east of Jordan. During the conquest he performed one of the chief feats recorded. He took the whole of the tract of ARGOB (Deut. iii. 14), the naturally inaccessible Trachonitis, the modern *Lejah*—and in addition possessed himself of some nomad-villages in Gilead, which he called after his own name, HAVVOTH-JAIR (Num. xxxii. 41; 1 Chr. ii. 23).<sup>a</sup> None of his descendants are mentioned with certainty; but it is perhaps allowable to consider IRA THE JAIRITE as one of them. Possibly another was

2. "JAIR THE GILEADITE," who judged Israel for two and twenty years (Judg. x. 3-5). He had thirty sons who rode 30 asses (עֲרִיִם), and possessed 30 "cities" (עִירִים) in the land of Gilead, which, like those of their namesake, were called Havvoth-Jair. Possibly the original twenty-three formed part of these. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, §6) gives the name of Jair as 'Ιαίρη; he declares him to have been of the tribe of Manasseh, and his burial place CAMON, to have been in Gilead. [HAVOTH JAIR.]

3. (A Benjamite, son of Kish and father of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 5). In the Apocrypha his name is given as JAIRUS.

4. (יָעִיר, a totally different name from the preceding; 'Iaḥp, Alex. 'Aḥelp; *Saltus*.) The father of Elhanan, one of the heroes of David's army, who killed Lachmi the brother of Goliath (1 Chr. xx. 5). In the original Hebrew text (*Cethib*) the name is Jaor (יָעוֹר). In the parallel narrative of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 19) Jaor-Oregim is substituted for Jair. The arguments for each will be found under ELHANAN and JAAR-OREGIM.

In the N. Test., as in the Apocrypha, we encounter Jair under the Greek form of JAIRUS. [G.]

JAIRITE, THE (יְהֹרִיטָה: ὁ 'Iaḥp; Alex. ὁ 'Iaḥpēl: *Jairites*). IRA the Jairite was a priest (יְהֹרִיטָה, A. V. "chief ruler") to David (2 Sam. xx. 26). If "Priest" is to be taken here in its sacerdotal sense, IRA must have been a descendant of Aaron, in whose line however no JAIR is mentioned. But this is not imperative [see PRIEST], and he may therefore have sprung from the great JAIR of Manasseh, or some lesser person of the name.

JAIRUS. 1. ('Ιαίρος), a ruler of a synagogue, probably in some town near the western shore of the sea of Galilee. He was the father of the maiden whom Jesus restored to life (Matt. ix. 18; Mark v. 22; Luke viii. 41). The name is probably the Grecised form of the Hebrew JAIR.

2. ('Ιαῖρος) Esth. xi. 2. [JAIR, 3.] [W. T. B.]

<sup>a</sup> This verse would seem not to refer to the original conquest of these villages by Jair, as the A. V. represents, but rather to their recapture. The accurate

rendering is said to be, "And Geshur and Aran took the Havvoth-Jair from them, with Kenath and her daughter-towns, sixty cities" (Bertheau, *Chronik*, 16).

**JAK'AN** (יָאָן: 'Akv; Alex. *Obkdu: Jacan*), son of Ezer the Horite (1 Chr. i. 42). The name is identical with that more commonly expressed in the A. V. as JAAKAN. And see AKAN.

**JAK'EH** (יָאֵךְ, and in some MSS. נָךְ, which is followed by a MS. of the Targum in the Cambridge Univ. Libr., and was evidently the reading of the Vulgate where the whole clause is rendered symbolically—"Verba congregantis filii vomentis"). The A. V. of Prov. xxx. 1, following the authority of the Targum and Syriac, has represented this as the proper name of the father of Agur, whose sayings are collected in Prov. xxx., and such is the natural interpretation. But beyond this we have no clue to the existence of either Agur or Jakeh. Of course if Agur be Solomon, it follows that Jakeh was a name of David of some mystical significance. But for this there is not a shadow of support. Jarchi, punning on the two names, explains the clause, "the words of Solomon, who gathered understanding and vomited it," evidently having before him the reading נָךְ, which he derived from יָאֵךְ, "to vomit." This explanation, it needs scarcely be said, is equally characterised by elegance and truth. Others, adopting the form יָאֵךְ, and connecting it with יָאֵךְ (or as Fürst gives it, יָאֵךְ, *yikk'hah*, "obedience," apply it to Solomon in his late repentance. But these and the like are the merest conjectures. If Jakeh be the name of a person, as there is every reason to believe, we know nothing more about him; if not, there is no limit to the symbolical meanings which may be extracted from the clause in which it occurs, and which change with the ever-shifting ground of the critic's point of view. That the passage was early corrupted is clear from the rendering of the LXX., who in v. ch. xxx. 1-14 in the middle of ch. xxiv. The first clause they transcribe *τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ὑλὲ φοβήθητι, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανοεῖ*—"My son, fear my words, and having received them, repent:" a meaning which at first sight seems hard to extract from the Hebrew, and which has therefore been abandoned as hopelessly corrupt. But a slight alteration of one or two letters and the vowel-points will, if it do no more, at least show how the LXX. arrived at their extraordinary translation. They must have read *יָאֵךְ בְּנִי קָחָה בְּנִי קָחָה*, in which the letters of the last word are slightly transposed, in order to account for *μετανοεῖ*. In support of this alteration see Zech. xi. 5, where *יָאֵךְ* is rendered *μετανοεῖ*. The Targum and Syriac point to different readings also, though not where Jakeh is concerned.

Hitzig (*die Sprüche Salomo's*), unable to find any other explanation, has recourse to an alteration of the text as violent as it is unauthorised. He proposes to read *יָאֵךְ בְּנִי קָחָה*, "the son of her whose obedience is Massa"; which, to say the least of it, is a very remarkable way of indicating "the queen of Massa." But in order to arrive at this reading he first adopts the rare word *יָאֵךְ* (which only occurs in the const. state in two passages, Gen. xlix. 10, and Prov. xxx. 17), to which he attaches the unusual form of the pronominal suffix,

and ekes out his explanation by the help of an elliptical and highly poetical construction, which is strangely out of place in the bald prose heading of the chapter. Yet to this theory Bertheau yields a coy assent ("nicht ohne Zögern," *die Spr. Sal. Einl.* p. xviii.); and thus Agur and Lemuel are brothers, both sons of a queen of Massa, the former being the reigning monarch (Prov. xxxi. 1). *מַסָּא*, *massa*, "prophecy" or "burden," is considered as a proper name and identical with the region named MASSA in Arabia, occupied by the descendants of a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chr. i. 30), and mentioned in connexion with Dumah. This district Hitzig conjectures was the same which was conquered and occupied by the 500 Simeonites, whose predatory excursion in the reign of Hezekiah is narrated in 1 Chr. iv. 41-43. They are there said to have annihilated the Amalekites in Mount Seir, and to have seized their country. That this country was Massa, of which Lemuel was king, and that Agur was a descendant of the conquering Simeonites, is the opinion of Hitzig, approved by Bunsen. But the latter, retaining the received text, and considering Jakeh as a proper name, takes *מַסָּא*, *hammassa*, as if it were *מַסָּא*, *hammassa*, a gentile name, "the man of Massa," supporting this by a reference to Gen. xv. 2, where *דַּמְסֵק*, *Dammeseck*, is apparently used in the same manner (*Bibelewerk*, i. clxviii.). There is good reason, however, to suspect that the word in question in the latter passage is an interpolation, or that the verse is in some way corrupt, as the rendering of the Chaldee and Syriac is not supported by the ordinary usages of Hebrew, though it is adopted by the A. V., and by Gesenius, Knobel, and others. In any case the instances are not analogous. [W. A. W.]

**JAK'IM** (יָאִים: 'Iakim, Alex. 'Iakem: *Jacin*). 1. Head of the 12th course of priests in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 12). The Alex. LXX. gives the name Eliakin (*Ἐλιακίμ*). [JERHOIAH; JACHIN.]

2. A Benjamite, one of the Beni-Shimhi (1 Chr. viii. 19). [A. C. H.]

**JA'LON** (יָלֹן: 'Ialōn; Alex. 'Ialōn: *Jalon*), one of the sons of Ezra; a person named in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17).

**JAMBRES**. [See JANNES and JAMBRES.]

**JAMBRI**. Shortly after the death of Judas Maccabaeus (B.C. 161), "the children of Jambri" are said to have made a predatory attack on a detachment of the Maccabean forces and have suffered reprisals (1 Macc. ix. 36-41). The name does not occur elsewhere, and the variety of readings is considerable: 'Iambri, Cod. B; 'Iambri, Cod. A; alii, 'Ambri, 'Ambri; Syr. *Ambri*. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, §2) reads of *Ἀμαβριανῶν*, and it seems almost certain that the true reading is 'Amri (-ei), a form which occurs elsewhere (1 K. xvi. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 12, §5, 'Amapiro; 1 Chr. xxvii. 18, Heb. *אמרי*, Vulg. *Amri*; 1 Chr. ix. 4, 'Ambri).

It has been conjectured (Drusius, Michaelis, Grimm, 1 Macc. ix. 36) that the original text was *בְּנֵי אֲמֹרִי*, "the sons of the Amorites," and that the reference is to a family of the Amorites who had in early times occupied the town Medeba (ver. 36) on the borders of Reuben (Num. xxi. 30, 31). [B. F. W.]

\* This conjecture incidentally throws light on the LXX. of Prov. xiv. 15, *ἀφρατὰ εἰς μετανοίας*, for *יָאֵךְ בְּנִי קָחָה*, which they probably read *יָאֵךְ בְּנִי קָחָה*. *Falcit quantum.*

**JAMES** (*Ἰάκωβος*: *Jacobus*),\* the name of several persons mentioned in the N. T.

1. **JAMES THE SON OF ZEBEDEE.** This is the only one of the Apostles of whose life and death we can write with certainty. The little that we know of him we have on the authority of Scripture. All else that is reported is idle legend, with the possible exception of one tale, handed down by Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius, and by Eusebius to us. With this single exception the line of demarcation is drawn clear and sharp. There is no fear of confounding the St. James of the New Testament with the hero of Compostella.

Of St. James's early life we know nothing. We first hear of him A.D. 27, when he was called to be our Lord's disciple; and he disappears from view A.D. 44, when he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. We proceed to thread together the several pieces of information which the inspired writers have given us respecting him during these seventeen years.

I. *His history.*—In the spring or summer of the year 27, Zebedee,<sup>a</sup> a fisherman, but possessed at least of competence (Mark i. 20), was out on the Sea of Galilee, with his two sons, James and John, and some boatmen, whom either he had hired for the occasion, or who more probably were his usual attendants. He was engaged in his customary occupation of fishing, and near him was another boat belonging to Simon and Andrew, with whom he and his sons were in partnership. Finding themselves unsuccessful, the occupants of both boats came ashore, and began to wash their nets. At this time the new Teacher, who had now been ministering about six months, and with whom Simon and Andrew, and in all probability John, were already well acquainted (John i. 41), appeared upon the beach. He requested leave of Simon and Andrew to address the crowds that flocked around him from their boat, which was lying at a convenient distance from the shore. The discourse being completed, and the crowds dispersing, JESUS desired Simon to put out into the deeper water, and to try another cast for fish. Though reluctant, Simon did as he was desired, through the awe which he already entertained for One who, he thought, might possibly be the promised Messiah (John i. 41, 42), and whom even now he addressed as "Rabbi" (*ἐπιστάτα*, Luke v. 5, the word used by this Evangelist for *Παῖσι*). Astonished at the success of his draught, he beckoned

to his partners in the other boat to come and help him and his brother in landing the fish caught. The same amazement communicated itself to the sons of Zebedee, and flashed conviction on the souls of all the four fishermen. They had doubted and mused before; now they believed. At His call they left all, and became, once and for ever, His disciples, hereafter to catch men.

This is the call of St. James to the discipleship. It will be seen that we have regarded the events narrated by St. Matthew and St. Mark (Matt. iv. 18-22; Mark i. 18-20) as identical with those related by St. Luke (Luke v. 1-11), in accordance with the opinion of Hammond, Lightfoot, Maldonatus, Laidner, Trench, Wordsworth, &c.; not as distinct from them, as supposed by Alford, Greswell, &c.

For a full year we lose sight of St. James. He is then, in the spring of 28, called to the apostleship with his eleven brethren (Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13; Acts i. 13). In the list of the Apostles given us by St. Mark, and in the book of Acts, his name occurs next to that of Simon Peter: in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke it comes third. It is clear that in these lists the names are not placed at random. In all four, the names of Peter, Andrew, James, and John are placed first; and it is plain that these four Apostles were at the head of the twelve throughout. Thus we see that Peter, James, and John, alone were admitted to the miracle of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mark v. 37; Luke viii. 51). The same three Apostles alone were permitted to be present at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28). The same three alone were allowed to witness the Agony (Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33). And it is Peter, James, John, and Andrew who ask our Lord for an explanation of his dark sayings with regard to the end of the world and his second coming (Mark xiii. 3). It is worthy of notice that in all these places, with one exception (Luke ix. 28), the name of James is put before that of John, and that John is twice described as "the brother of James" (Mark v. 37; Matt. xvii. 1). This would appear to imply that at this time James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother. On the last occasion on which St. James is mentioned we find this position reversed. That the pronouncement of these three Apostles was founded on personal character (as out of every twelve persons there must be two or three

\* The name itself will perhaps repay a few moments' consideration. As borne by the Apostles and their contemporaries in the N. T., it was of course Jacob, and it is somewhat remarkable that in them it reappears for the first time since the patriarch himself. In the unchangeable East St. James is still St. Jacob—*Mar Yakoub*; but no sooner had the name left the shores of Palestine than it underwent a series of curious and interesting changes probably unparalleled in any other case. To the Greeks it became *Ἰάκωβος*, with the accent on the first syllable; to the Latins, *Jacobus*, doubtless similarly accented, since in Italian it is *Iacomo* or *Giacomo*. In Spain it assumed two forms, apparently of different origins:—*Iago*—in modern Spanish *Diego*, Portuguese, *Yago*—and *Xaymo* or *Jaymo*, pronounced *Haymo*, with a strong initial guttural. In France it became *Jacques*; but another form was *Jame*, which appears in the metrical life of St. Thomas à Becket by Garnier (A.D. 1170-74), quoted in Robertson's *Becket*, p. 139 note. From this last the transition to our James is easy. When it first

appeared in English, or through what channel, the writer has not been able to trace. Possibly it came from Scotland, where the name was a favourite one. It exists in Wycliffe's Bible (1381). In Russia, and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its original form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be no distinction between Jacob and James; which was the case even in mediæval Latin, where Jacob and Jacobus were always discriminated. Its modern dress, however, sits very lightly on the name; and we see in "Jacobite" and "Jacobin" how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form. [G.]

<sup>a</sup> An ecclesiastical tradition, of uncertain date, places the residence of Zebedee and the birth of St. James at Japhia, now *Yafa*, near Nazareth. Hence that village is commonly known to the members of the Latin Church in that district as *San Giacomo*. [JAPHIA.]

to take the lead), and that it was not an office held by them "quos Dominus, ordinis servandi causa, ceteris praeponit," as King James I. has said (*Præfat. Mon. in Apol. pro Jur. Fid.*), can scarcely be doubted (cf. Eusebius, ii. 14).

It would seem to have been at the time of the appointment of the twelve Apostles that the name of Boanerges. [BOANERGES] was given to the sons of Zebedee. It might, however, like Simon's name of Peter, have been conferred before. This name plainly was not bestowed upon them because they heard the voice like thunder from the cloud (Jerome), nor because "divina eorum prædictio magnam quandam et illustrem sonitum per terrarum orbem datura erat" (Vict. Antioch.), nor *ὡς μεταλλοκρηκας καὶ θεολογῶντας* (Theoph.), but it was, like the name given to Simon, at once descriptive and prophetic. The "Rockman" had a natural strength, which was described by his title, and he was to have a divine strength, predicted by the name title. In the same way the "Sons of Thunder" had a burning and impetuous spirit, which twice exhibits itself in its unchastened form (Luke ix. 54; Mark x. 37), and which, when moulded by the Spirit of God, taking different shapes, led St. James to be the first apostolic martyr, and St. John to become in an especial manner the Apostle of Love.

The first occasion on which this natural character manifests itself in St. James and his brother is at the commencement of our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem in the year 30. He was passing through Samaria; and now counting rather than avoiding publicity, he "sent messengers before his face" into a certain village, "to make ready for him" (Luke ix. 52), i. e. in all probability to announce him as the Messiah. The Samaritans, with their old jealousy strong upon them, refused to receive him, because he was going to Jerusalem instead of to Gerizim; and in exasperation James and John entreated their Master to follow the example of Elijah, and call down fire to consume them. The rebuke of their Lord is testified to by all the New Testament MSS. The words of the rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," rest on the authority of the *Codex Bezae*, and a few MSS. of minor value. The rest of the verse, "For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them," is an insertion without authority of MSS. (see Alford, *in loc.*).

At the end of the same journey, a similar spirit appears again. As they went up to Jerusalem our Lord declared to his Apostles the circumstances of his coming Passion, and at the same time strengthened them by the promise that they should sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. These words seem to have made a great impression upon Salome, and she may have thought her two sons quite as fit as the sons of Jonas to be the chief ministers of their Lord in the mysterious kingdom which he was about to assume. She approached therefore, and besought, perhaps with a special reference in her mind to Peter and Andrew, that her

two sons might sit on the right hand and on the left in his kingdom, i. e. according to a Jewish form of expression\* (*Joseph. Ant. vi. 11, §9*), that they might be next to the King in honour. The two brothers joined with her in the prayer (Mark x. 35). The Lord passed by their petition with a mild reproof, showing that the request had not arisen from an evil heart, but from a spirit which aimed too high. He told them that they should drink His cup and be baptised with His baptism of suffering, but turned their minds away at once from the thought of future pre-eminence: in His kingdom none of his Apostles were to be lords over the rest. The indignation felt by the ten would show that they regarded the petition of the two brothers as an attempt at infringing on their privileges as much as on those of Peter and Andrew.

From the time of the Agony in the Garden, A.D. 30, to the time of his martyrdom, A.D. 44, we know nothing of St. James, except that after the ascension he persevered in prayer with the other Apostles, and the women, and the Lord's brethren (Acts i. 13). In the year 44 Herod Agrippa I., son of Aïzobulus, was ruler of all the dominions which at the death of his grandfather, Herod the Great, had been divided between Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias. He had received from Caligula, Trachonitis in the year 37, Galilee and Perea in the year 40. On the accession of Claudius, in the year 41, he received from him Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. This sovereign was at once a supple statesman and a stern Jew (*Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6, §7, xix. 5-8*): a king with not a few grand and kingly qualities, at the same time eaten up with Jewish pride—the type of a lay Pharisee. "He was very ambitious to oblige the people with donations," and "he was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country, keeping himself entirely pure, and not allowing one day to pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice" (*Ant. xix. 7, §3*). Policy and inclination would alike lead such a monarch "to lay hands" (*not* "stretch forth his hands," A. V. Acts xii. 1) "on certain of the church;" and accordingly, when the passover of the year 44 had brought St. James and St. Peter to Jerusalem, he seized them both, considering doubtless that if he cut off the "Son of Thunder" and the "Rockman" the new sect would be more tractable or more weak under the presidency of James the Just, for whose character he probably had a lingering and sincere respect. James was apprehended first—his natural impetuosity of temper would seem to have urged him on even beyond Peter. And "Herod the king," the historian simply tells us, "killed James the brother of John with the sword" (Acts xii. 2). This is all that we know for certain of his death.<sup>d</sup> We may notice two things respecting it—first, that James is now described as the brother of John, whereas previously John had been described as the brother of James, showing that the reputation of John had increased, and that of James diminished, by the time that St. Luke wrote: and secondly, that he perished not by

\* The same form is common throughout the East. See Lane's *Arab. Nights*, vol. iii. p. 212, &c.

<sup>d</sup> The great Armenian convent at Jerusalem on the so-called Mount Zion is dedicated to "St. James the son of Zebedee." The church of the convent, or rather a small chapel on its north-east side, occupies the traditional site of his martyrdom. This, however, can hardly be the actual site (Williams, *Holy City*, ii.

558). Its most interesting possession is the chair of the Apostle, a venerable relic, the age of which is perhaps traceable as far back as the 4th century (Williams, 560). But as it would seem that it is believed to have belonged to "the first Bishop of Jerusalem," it is doubtful to which of the two Jameses the tradition would attach it.

stoning, but by the sword. The Jewish law laid down that if seducers to struge worship were few, they should be stoned; if many, that they should be beheaded. Either therefore Herod intended that James's death should be the beginning of a sanguinary persecution, or he merely followed the Roman custom of putting to death from preference (see Light-foot, *in loc.*).

The death of so prominent a champion left a huge gap in the ranks of the infant society, which was filled partly by St. James, the brother of our Lord, who now steps forth into greater prominence in Jerusalem, and partly by St. Paul, who had now been seven years a convert, and who shortly afterwards set out on his first apostolic journey.

II. *Chronological recapitulation.*—In the spring or summer of the year 27 James was called to be a disciple of Christ. In the spring of 28 he was appointed one of the Twelve Apostles, and at that time probably received, with his brother, the title of Boanerges. In the autumn of the same year he was admitted to the miraculous raising of Jairus's daughter. In the spring of the year 29 he witnessed the Transfiguration. Very early in the year 30 he urged his Lord to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritan village. About three months later in the same year, just before the final arrival in Jerusalem, he and his brother made their ambitious request through their mother Salome. On the night before the Crucifixion he was present at the Agony in the Garden. On the day of the Ascension he is mentioned as persevering with the rest of the Apostles and disciples in prayer. Shortly before the day of the Passover, in the year 44, he was put to death. Thus during fourteen out of the seventeen years that elapsed between his call and his death we do not even catch a glimpse of him.

III. *Tradition respecting him.*—Clement of Alexandria, in the seventh book of the *Hypotyposes*, relates, concerning St. James's martyrdom, that the prosecutor was so moved by witnessing his bold confession that he declared himself a Christian on the spot: accused and accuser were therefore hurried off together, and on the road the latter begged St. James to grant him forgiveness; after a moment's hesitation, the Apostle kissed him, saying, "Peace be to thee!" and they were beheaded together. This tradition is preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 6). There is no internal evidence against it, and the external evidence is sufficient to make it credible, for Clement flourished as early as A.D. 195, and he states expressly that the account was given him by those who went before him.

For legends respecting his death and his connexion with Spain, see the Roman Breviary (*in Fest. S. Jac. Ap.*), in which the healing of a paralytic and the conversion of Ilernogenes are attributed to him, and where it is asserted that he preached the Gospel in Spain, and that his remains were translated to Compostella. See also the fourth book of the Apostolical History written by Abdias, the (pseudo) first bishop of Babylon (Abdias, *Babyloniæ primi Episcopi ab Apostolis constituti, de historia certaminis Apostolici, Libri decem*, Paris, 1566); Isidore *De vitâ et obitu SS. utriusque Test. No. LXXIII.* (Hagonesae, 1529); Pope Callixtus II.'s Four Sermons on St. James the Apostle (*Bibl. Patr. Magn. xv. p. 324*); Mariana, *De adventu Jacobi Apostoli Majoris in Hispaniam* (Col. Agrippi, 1609); Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad Jul. 25, p. 325* (Antwerp, 1589); Bolliudus,

*Acta Sanctorum ad Jul. 25*, tom. vi. pp. 1-124 (Antwerp, 1729); Estius, *Comm. in Act. Ap. c. xii.*; *Annot. in difficiliora loca S. Script.* (Col. Agrippi, 1622); Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique des six premiers siècles*, tom. i. p. 899 (Brussels, 1706). As there is no shadow of foundation for any of the legends here referred to we pass them by without further notice. Even Baronius shows himself ashamed of them; Estius gives them up as hopeless; and Tillemont rejects them with as much contempt as his position would allow him to show. Epiphanius, without giving or probably having any authority for or against his statement, reports that St. James died unmarried (*S. Epiph. Adv. Hæc. ii. 4, p. 491*, Paris, 1622), and that, like his namesake, he lived the life of a Nazarite (*ibid.* iii. 2, 13, p. 1045).

2. JAMES THE SON OF ALPHAEUS. Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13.

3. JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD. Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; Gal. i. 19.

4. JAMES THE SON OF MARY, Matt. xxvii. 56; Luke xxiv. 10. Also called THE LITTLE, Mark xv. 40.

5. JAMES THE BROTHER OF JUDE. Jude 1.

6. JAMES THE BROTHER (?) OF JUDE. Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13.

7. JAMES. Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 7; Gal. ii. 9, 12.

8. JAMES THE SERVANT OF GOD AND OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST. James i. 1.

We reserve the question of the authorship of the Epistle for the present.

St. Paul identifies for us Nos. 3. and 7. (see Gal. ii. 9 and 12 compared with i. 19).

If we may translate "Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, Judas the brother, rather than the son of James, we may conclude that 5. and 6. are identical. And that we may so translate it, is proved, if proof were needed, by Wiener (*Grammar of the Idioms of the N. T.*, translated by Agnew and Ebbecke, New York, 1850, §§lxvi. and xxx.), by Hâlelein (*Handb. der Einl. in die Schriften des Neuen Test.*, Erlangen, 1809), by Arnaud (*Recherches Critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851).

We may identify 5. and 6. with 3., because we know that James the Lord's brother had a brother named Jude.

We may identify 4. with 3. because we know James the son of Mary had a brother named James, and so also had James the Lord's brother.

Thus there remain two only, James the son of Alphaeus (2.), and James the brother of the Lord (3.). Can we, or can we not, identify them? This requires a longer consideration.

1. By comparing Matt. xxvii. 56 and Mark xv. 40, with John xix. 25, we find that the Virgin Mary had a sister named like herself, Mary, who was the wife of Clopas, and who had two sons, James the Little, and James. It has been suggested that "Mary the wife of Clopas" in John xix. 25 need not be the same person as "his mother's sister" (Kitto, Lange, Davidson), but the Greek will not admit of this construction without the addition or the omission of a *kal*. By referring to Matt. xiii. 55 and Mark vi. 3 we find that a James and a James, with two other brethren called Jude and Simon, and at least three (*πᾶσαι*) sisters, were living with the Virgin Mary at Nazareth. By referring to Luke vi. 16 and Acts i. 13 we find that there were two brethren named James and Jude among the Apostles. It would certainly be natural to think

that we had here but one family of four brothers and three or more sisters, the children of Clopas and Mary, nephews and nieces of the Virgin Mary. There are difficulties, however, in the way of this conclusion. For, 1. the four brethren in Matt. xiii. 55 are described as the brothers (ἀδελφοί) of Jesus, not as His cousins; 2. they are found living as at their home with the Virgin Mary, which seems unnatural if she were their aunt, their mother being, as we know, still alive; 3. the James of Luke vi. 15 is described as the son not of Clopas, but of Alphaeus; 4. the "brethren of the Lord" (who are plainly James, Joseph, Jude, and Simon) appear to be excluded from the Apostolic band by their declared unbelief in His Messiahship (John vii. 3-5) and by being formally distinguished from the disciples by the Gospel-writers (Matt. xii. 48; Mark iii. 33; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14); 5. James and Jude are not designated as the Lord's brethren in the lists of the Apostles; 6. Mary is designated as mother of James and Joseph, whereas she would have been called mother of James and Jude, had James and Jude been Apostles, and Joseph not an Apostle (Matt. xxvii. 48).

These are the six chief objections which may be made to the hypothesis of there being but one family of brethren named James, Joseph, Jude, and Simon. The following answers may be given:—

**Objection 1.**—"They are called brethren." It is a sound rule of criticism that words are to be understood in their most simple and literal acceptance; but there is a limit to this rule. When greater difficulties are caused by adhering to the literal meaning of a word, than by interpreting it more liberally, it is the part of the critic to interpret more liberally, rather than to cling to the ordinary and literal meaning of a word. Now it is clearly not necessary to understand ἀδελφοί as "brethren" in the nearest sense of brotherhood. It need not mean more than relative (comp. LXX. Gen. xiii. 8, xiv. 14, xx. 12, xxix. 12, xxxi. 23; Lev. xxv. 48; Deut. ii. 8; Job xix. 13, xiii. 11; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 5, §47; Isocr. *Paneg.* 20; Plat. *Phaed.* 57, *Crit.* 16; see also Cic. *ad Att.* 15; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 38; Quint. Curt. vi. 10, §34; comp. Suicer and Schleussner *in voc.*). But perhaps the circumstances of the case would lead us to translate it brethren? On the contrary, such a translation appears to produce very grave difficulties. For, first, it introduces two sets of four first-cousins, bearing the same names of James, Joseph, Jude, and Simon, who appear upon the stage without anything to show which is the son of Clopas, and which his cousin; and secondly, it drives us to take our choice between three doubtful and improbable hypotheses as to the parentage of this second set of James, Joseph, Jude, and Simon. There are three such hypotheses:—(a.) The Eastern hypothesis, that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife. This notion originated in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (Orig. *in Matt.* xiii. 55, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 462, E. ed. Delarue), and was adopted by St. Epiphanius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, and handed on to the later Greek Church (Epiph. *Haer.* xxvii. *Op.* tom. iii. p. 115; Hil. *in Matt.* i., St. Ambr. *Op.* tom. ii. p. 260, Ed. Ben.). (b.) The Helvidian hypothesis, put forward at first by Bonosus, Helvidius, and Jovinian, and revived by Strauss and Herder in Germany, and by Davidson and Alford in England, that James, Joseph, Jude, Simon, and the three sisters, were children of Joseph and Mary. This notion is opposed, whether rightly or wrongly, to the general sentiment of the Chris-

tian body in all ages of the Church; like the other two hypotheses, it creates two sets of cousins with the same name: it seems to be scarcely compatible with our Lord's recommending His mother to the care of St. John at His own death (see Jerome, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 10); for if, as has been suggested, though with great improbability, her sons might at that time have been unbelievers (Blom. *Disp. Theol.* p. 67, Lygd. Bat.; Neander, *Planting*, &c., iv. 1), Jesus would have known that that unbelief was only to continue for a few days. That the *ἑτεροῦς υἱὸς* of Luke ii. 7, and the *ἑὸς ὁμοῦ* of Matt. i. 25, imply the birth of after children, is not now often urged (see Pearson, *On the Creed*, i. 304, R. 220). (c.) The Levirate hypothesis may be passed by. It was a mere attempt made in the eleventh century to reconcile the Greek and Latin traditions by supposing that Joseph and Clopas were brothers, and that Joseph raised up seed to his dead brother (Theoph. *in Matt.* xiii. 55; *Op.* tom. i. p. 71, E. ed. Venet. 1764).

**Objection 2.**—"The four brothers and their sisters are always found living and moving about with the Virgin Mary." If they were the children of Clopas, the Virgin Mary was their aunt. Her own husband would appear without doubt to have died at some time between A.D. 8 and A.D. 26. Nor have we any reason for believing Clopas to have been alive during our Lord's ministry. (We need not pause here to prove that the Cleophas of Luke xxiv. is an entirely different person and name from Clopas.) What difficulty is there in supposing that the two widowed sisters should have lived together, the more so as one of them had but one son, and he was often taken from her by his ministerial duties? And would it not be most natural that two families of first cousins thus living together should be popularly looked upon as one family, and spoken of as brothers and sisters instead of cousins? It is noticeable that St. Mary is nowhere called the mother of the four brothers.

**Objection 3.**—"James the Apostle is said to be the son of Alphaeus, not of Clopas." But Alphaeus and Clopas are the same name rendered into the Greek language in two different but ordinary and recognized ways, from the Aramaic *ܐܠܦܝܐܝܫ* or *ܐܠܦܝܐܝܫ* (See Mill, *Accounts of Our Lord's Brethren vindicated*, &c., p. 236, who compares the two forms Clovis and Aloysius; Arnaud, *Recherches*, &c.)

**Objection 4.**—Dean Alford considers John vii. 5, compared with vi. 67-70, to decide that none of the brothers of the Lord were of the number of the Twelve (*Proleg. to Ep. of James*, G. T. iv. 88, and *Comm. in loc.*). If this verse, as he states, makes "the crowning difficulty" to the hypothesis of the identity of James the son of Alphaeus, the Apostle, with James the brother of the Lord, the difficulties are not too formidable to be overcome. Many of the disciples having left Jesus, St. Peter bursts out in the name of the Twelve with a warm expression of faith and love; and after that—very likely (see Greswell's *Harmony*) full six months afterwards—the Evangelist states that "neither did His brethren believe on Him." Does it follow from hence that all His brethren disbelieved? Let us compare other passages in Scripture. St. Matthew and St. Mark state that the thieves nailed on our Lord upon the Cross. Are we therefore to disbelieve St. Luke, who says that one of the thieves was penitent, and did not rail? (Luke xxiii. 39, 40). St. Luke and St. John say that the soldiers offered vinegar. Are

we to believe that all did so? or, as St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us, that only one did it? (Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29; Mark xv. 36; Matt. xxvii. 48). St. Matthew tells us that "his disciples" had indignation when Mary poured the ointment on the Lord's head. Are we to suppose this true of all? or of Judas Iscariot, and perhaps some others, according to John xii. 4 and Mark xiv. 4? It is not at all necessary to suppose that St. John is here speaking of all the brethren. If Jesus, Simon, and the three sisters disbelieved, it would be quite sufficient ground for the statement of the Evangelist. The same may be said of Matt. xii. 47, Mark iii. 32, where it is reported to Him that His mother and His brethren, designated by St. Mark (iii. 21) as *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, were standing without. Nor does it necessarily follow that the disbelief of the brethren was of such a nature that James and Jude, Apostles though they were, and vouched for half a year before by the warm-tempered Peter, could have had no share in it. It might have been similar to that feeling of unfaithful restlessness which perhaps moved St. John Baptist to send his disciples to make their inquiry of the Lord, (see Grotius *in loc.*, and Lardner, vi. p. 497, Lond. 1788). With regard to John ii. 12, Acts i. 14, we may say that "his brethren" are no more excluded from the disciples in the first passage, and from the Apostles in the second, by being mentioned parallel with them, than "the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5), excludes Peter from the Apostolic band.

*Objection 5.*—"If the title of brethren of the Lord had belonged to James and Jude, they would have been designated by it in the list of the Apostles." The omission of a title is so slight a ground for an argument that we may pass this by.

*Objection 6.*—That Mary the wife of Clopas should be designated by the title of Mary the mother of James and Jesus, to the exclusion of Jude, if James and Jude were Apostles, appears to Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to N. T.*, iii. 295, London, 1851) and to Dean Alford (*Prolog. to Ep. of James*, G. T., iv. 90) extremely improbable. There is no improbability in it, if Jesus was, as would seem likely, an elder brother of Jude, and next in order to James.

II. We have hitherto argued that the hypothesis which most naturally accounts for the facts of Holy Scripture is that of the identity of James the Little, the Apostle, with James the Lord's brother. We have also argued that the six main objections to this view are not valid, inasmuch as they may either be altogether met, or at best throw us back on other hypotheses which create greater difficulties than that under consideration. We proceed to point out some further confirmations of our original hypothesis.

1. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, in a list of twelve persons, in which the name of James twice occurred, with its distinguishing patronymic, should describe one of the last persons on his list as brother to "James," without any further designation to distinguish him, unless he meant the James whom he had just before named. The James whom he had just before named is the son of Alphaeus; the person designated by his relationship to him is Jude. We have reason therefore for regarding Jude as the brother of the son of Alphaeus; on other grounds (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) we have reason for regarding him as the brother of the Lord: therefore we have reason for regarding the son of Alphaeus as the brother of the Lord.

2. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, after having recognized only two Jameses throughout his Gospel and down to the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and having in that chapter narrated the death of one of them (James the son of Zebedee), should go on in the same and following chapters to speak of "James," meaning thereby not the other James, with whom alone his readers are acquainted, but a different James not yet mentioned by him. Alford's example of Philip the Evangelist (*Proleg. to the Ep. of James*, p. 89) is in no manner of way to the point, except as a contrast. St. Luke introduces Philip the Evangelist, Acts vi. 5, and after recounting the death of Stephen his colleague, continues the history of the same Philip.

3. James is represented throughout the Acts as exercising great authority among, or even over, Apostles (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18); and in St. Paul's Epistles he is placed before even Cephas and John, and declared to be a pillar of the Church with them (Gal. ii. 9-12). It is more likely that an Apostle would hold such a position, than one who had not been a believer till after the Resurrection.

4. St. Paul says (Gal. i. 19), "Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother" (*Ἐτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰακώβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*). This passage, though seeming to assert distinctly that James the Lord's brother was an Apostle, and therefore identical with the son of Alphaeus, cannot be taken as a direct statement to that effect, for it is possible that *ἀπόστολος* may be used in the looser sense, though this is not agreeable with the line of defence which St. Paul is here maintaining, viz. that he had received his commission from God, and not from the Twelve (see Thorndike, i. p. 5, Oxf. 1844). And again, *εἰ μὴ πᾶσι* qualify the whole sentence, and not only the word *ἀπόστολος* (Mayerdorff, *Hist. krit. Einleit. in die Petrin. Schr.* p. 52, Hamb. 1833; Neander, Michaelis, Winer, Alford). Still this is not often, if ever, the case, when *εἰ μὴ* follows *ἕτερον* (Schneckenburger, *Adnot. ad Epist. Jac. perpet.* p. 144, Stuttg. 1832: see also Winer, *Grammatik* 5th ed., p. 647, and Meyer, *comm. in loc.*); and if St. Paul had not intended to include St. James among the Apostles, we should rather have expected the singular *ἀπόστολος* than the plural *τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Aronaud, *Recherches*, &c.). The more natural interpretation of the verse would appear to be that which includes James among the Twelve, identifying him with the son of Alphaeus. But, as we have said, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. Compare, however, this verse with Acts ix. 27, and the probability is increased by several degrees. St. Luke there asserts that Barnabas brought Paul to the Apostles, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους*. St. Paul, as we have seen, asserts that during that visit to Jerusalem he saw Peter, and none other of the Apostles, save James the Lord's brother. Peter and James, then, were the two Apostles to whom Barnabas brought Paul. Of course, it may be said here also that *ἀπόστολοι* is used in its lax sense; but it appears to be a more natural conclusion that James the Lord's brother was one of the Twelve Apostles, being identical with James the son of Alphaeus, or James the Little.

III. We must now turn for a short time from Scripture to the early testimony of uninspired writers. Here, as among modern writers, we find the same three hypotheses which we have already mentioned:—

For the identity of James the Lord's brother with James the Apostle, the son of Alphaeus, we find Papias of Hierapolis, a contemporary of the Apostles (see Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i. 16, 43, 230, Oxon, 1846) St. Clement of Alexandria (*Hypotyposeis*, Bk. vii. apud Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 1), St. Chrysostom (in Gal. i. 19).

Parallel with this opinion there existed another in favour of the hypothesis that James was the son of Joseph by a former marriage, and therefore not identical with the son of Alphaeus. This is first found in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (see Origen, in *Matt.* xiii. 55), in the Protevangelium of James, and the Pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions of the third century (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* tom. i. p. 228; *Const. Apost.* vi. 12). It is adopted by Eusebius (*Comm.* in *Evngl.* xvii. 6; *II. E.* i. 12, ii. 1). Perhaps it is Origen's opinion (see *Comm.* in *Joh.* ii. 12). St. Epiphanius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, we have already mentioned as being on the same side. So are Victorinus (Vict. Phil. in Gal. apud Mai *Script. vet. nov. coll.* Romæ, 1828) and Gregory Nyssen (*Op.* tom. ii. p. 844, D. ed. Par. 1618), and it became the recognised belief of the Greek Church.

Meantime the hypothesis maintaining the identity of the two was maintained; and being warmly defended by St. Jerome (in *Matt.* xii. 49), and supported by St. Augustine (*Contra Faust.* xxii. 35, &c.), it became the recognised belief of the Western Church.

The third hypothesis was unknown until it was put forward by Bonetus in Macedonia, and by Helvidius and Jovinian in Italy, as an opinion which seemed to them conformable with Scripture. Their followers were called Antidicomianites. The fact of their having a name given them shows that their numbers must have been considerable; they date from the latter part of the fourth century.

English theological writers have been divided between the first and second of these views, with, however, a preference on the whole for the first hypothesis. See, for example, Lardner, vi. 495, Lond. 1788; Pearson, *Minor Works*, i. 350, Oxf. 1844, and *On the Creed*, i. 308, ii. 224, Oxf. 1833; Thorneike, i. 5, Oxf. 1844; Horne's *Introd.* to *II. S.* iv. 427, Lond. 1834, &c. On the same side are Lightfoot, Witaius, Lampe, Baumgarten, Semler, Gabler, Eichhorn, Hug, Berthold, Guericke, Schneckenburger, Meier, Stöcker, Gieseler, Theile, Lange. Taylor (*Op.* tom. v. p. 20, Lond. 1849), Wilton (*Op.* tom. vi. p. 673, Oxf. 1859), Cave (*Life of St. James*) maintain the second hypothesis, with Vossius, Basnage, Valesius, &c. The third is held by Dr. Davidson (*Intr. N. T.* vol. iii.) and by Dean Alford (*Greek Test.* iv. 87).<sup>a</sup>

The chief treatises on the subject are Dr. Mill's *Accounts of our Lord's brethren vindicated*, Cambridge, 1843; Alford, as above referred to; Lange's Article in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Stuttgart, 1856; Neander's *Pflanzung und Leitung*; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttgart, 1832; Arnaud's *Recherches Critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851; Schaff's *Das Verhältniss des Jacobus Bruders des Herrn und Jacobus Alphäi*, Berlin, 1842; Gabler's *De Ji-*

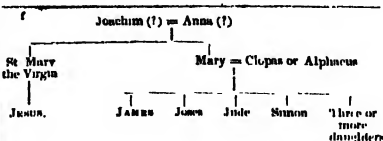
*cobo, epistolæ eidem ascriptæ auctori*, Altorf, 1787.

Had we not identified James the son of Alphaeus with the brother of the Lord we should have had little to write of him. When we had said that his name appears twice in the catalogue of the Twelve Apostles, our history of him would be complete. In like manner the early history of the Lord's brother would be confined to the fact that he lived and moved from place to place with his brothers and sisters, and with the Virgin Mary; and, except the appearance of the risen Lord to him, we should have nothing more to recount of him until after the death of James the son of Zebedee, in the year 44, or at least, till St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, in the year 40. Of James the Little, who would probably be distinct from each of the above (for an argument against the identity of the Jameses is the doubt of the identity of Alphaeus and Clopas), we should know nothing, except that he had a mother named Mary, who was the sister of the Virgin Mary and the wife of Clopas.

JAMES THE LITTLE, THE SON OF ALPHAEUS, THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.—Of James' father  $\text{ΝΕΜΗ}$ , rendered by St. Matthew and St. Mark *Alphæus* ( $\text{ΑΛΦΑΙΟΣ}$ ), and by St. John *Clopas* ( $\text{ΚΛΩΠΑΣ}$ ), we know nothing, except that he married Mary, the sister of the Virgin Mary, and had by her four sons and three or more daughters.<sup>1</sup> He appears to have died before the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and after his death it would seem that his wife and her sister, a widow like herself, and in poor circumstances, lived together in one house, generally at Nazareth (*Matt.* xiii. 55), but sometimes also at Capernaum (*John* ii. 12) and Jerusalem (*Acts* i. 14). It is probable that these consins, or, as they were usually called, brothers and sisters, of the Lord were older than Himself; as on one occasion we find them, with His mother, indignantly declaring that He was beside Himself, and going out to "lay hold on Him" and compel Him to moderate His zeal in preaching, at least sufficiently "to eat bread" (*Mark* iii. 20, 21, 31). This looks like the conduct of elders towards one younger than themselves.

Of James individually we know nothing till the spring of the year 28, when we find him, together with his younger brother Jude, called to the Apostolate. It has been noticed that in all the four lists of the Apostles James holds the same place, heading perhaps the third class, consisting of himself, Jude, Simon, and Iscariot; as Philip heads the second class, consisting of himself, Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew; and Simon Peter the first, consisting of himself, Andrew, James, and John (Alford, in *Matt.* x. 2). The fact of Jude being described by reference to James ( $\text{Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου}$ ) shows the name and reputation which he had, either at the time of the calling of the Apostles or at the time when St. Luke wrote.

It is not likely (though far from impossible) that James and Jude took part with their brothers and sisters, and the Virgin Mary, in trying "to lay hold on" Jesus in the autumn of the same year



<sup>a</sup> The author of the article on the "Brethren of our Lord" takes a different view from the one given above (see p. 231).

(Mark iii. 21); and it is likely, though not certain, that it is of the other brothers and sisters, without these two, that St. John says, "Neither did His brethren believe on Him" (John vii. 5), in the autumn of A.D. 29.

We hear no more of James till after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. At some time in the forty days that intervened between the Resurrection and the Ascension the Lord appeared to him. This is not related by the Evangelists, but it is mentioned by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7); and there never has been any doubt that it was to this James rather than to the son of Zebedee that the manifestation was vouchsafed. We may conjecture that it was for the purpose of strengthening him for the high position which he was soon to assume in Jerusalem, and of giving him the instructions on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3) which were necessary for his guidance, that the Lord thus showed Himself to James. We cannot fix the date of this appearance. It was probably only a few days before the Ascension; after which we find James, Jude, and the rest of the Apostles, together with the Virgin Mary, Simon, and Jesus, in Jerusalem, awaiting in faith and prayer the outpouring of the Pentecostal gift.

Again we lose sight of James ten years, and when he appears once more it is in a far higher position than any that he has yet held. In the year 37 occurred the conversion of Saul. Three years after his conversion he paid his first visit to Jerusalem, but the Christians recollected what they had suffered at his hands, and feared to have anything to do with him. Barnabas, at this time of far higher reputation than himself, took him by the hand, and introduced him to Peter and James (Acts ix. 27; Gal. i. 18, 19), and by their authority he was admitted into the society of the Christians, and allowed to associate freely with them during the fifteen days of his stay. Here we find James on a level with Peter, and with him deciding on the admission of St. Paul into fellowship with the Church at Jerusalem; and from henceforth we always find him equal, or in his own department superior, to the very chiefest Apostles, Peter, John, and Paul. For by this time he had been appointed (at what exact date we know not) to preside over the infant Church in its most important centre, in a position equivalent to that of Bishop. This pre-eminence is evident throughout the after history of the Apostles, whether we read it in the Acts, in the Epistles, or in Ecclesiastical writers. Thus in the year 44, when Peter is released from prison, he desires that information of his escape may be given to "James, and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17). In the year 49 he presides at the Apostolic Council, and delivers the judgment of the Assembly, with the expression *ὁ δὲ ἐξὺν κείνῳ* (Acts xv. 13, 19; see St. Chrys. *in loc.*). In the same year (or perhaps in the year 51, on his fourth visit to Jerusalem) St. Paul recognises James as one of the pillars of the Church, together with Cephas and John (Gal. ii. 9), and places his name before them both. Shortly afterwards it is "certain who came from James," that is, from the mother-church of Jerusalem, designated by the name of its Bishop, who lead Peter into conversation at Antioch. And in the year 57 Paul pays a formal visit to James in the presence of all his presbyters, after having been previously welcomed with joy the day before by the brethren in an unofficial manner (Acts xxi. 18).

Entirely accordant with these notices of Scripture is the universal testimony of Christian antiquity to the high office held by James in the Church of Jerusalem. That he was formally appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord Himself, as reported by Epiphanius (*Hæres. lxxviii.*); Chrysostom (*Hom. xi. in 1 Cor. vii.*); Proclus of Constantinople (*De Trad. Div. Liturg.*); and Photius (*Ep. 157*) is not likely. Eusebius follows this account in a passage of his history, but says elsewhere that he was appointed by the Apostles (*H. E. ii. 23*). Clement of Alexandria is the first author who speaks of his Episcopate (*Hypotyposes, Bk. vi. ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 1*), and he alludes to it as a thing of which the chief Apostles, Peter, James, and John, might well have been ambitious. The same Clement reports that the Lord, after His resurrection, delivered the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John, and Peter, who delivered it to the rest of the Apostles, and they to the Seventy. This at least shows the estimation in which James was held. But the author to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of the life and death of James is Hegesippus (*i. e. Joseph*), a Christian of Jewish origin, who lived in the middle of the second century. His narrative gives us such an insight into the position of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem that it is best to let him relate it in his own words:—

*Tradition respecting James, as given by Hegesippus.*—"With the Apostle James, the brother of the Lord, succeeds to the charge of the Church—that James, who has been called Just from the time of the Lord to our own days, for there were many of the name of James. He was holy from his mother's womb, he drank not wine or strong drink, nor did he eat animal food; a razor came not upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil; he did not use the bath. He alone might go into the holy place; for he wore no woollen clothes, but linen. And alone he used to go into the temple, and there he was commonly found upon his knees, praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew dry and thin [generally translated *hard*] like a camel's, from his constantly bending them in prayer, and entreating forgiveness for the people. On account therefore of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'Just,' and 'Oblias,' which means in Greek 'the bulwark of the people,' and 'righteousness,' as the prophets declare of him. Some of the seven sects then that I have mentioned enquired of him, 'What is the door of Jesus?' And he said that this man was the Saviour, wherefore some believed that Jesus is the Christ. Now the aforementioned sects did not believe in the Resurrection, nor in the coming of one who shall recompense every man according to his works; but all who became believers believed through James. When many therefore of the rulers believed, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and Scribes, and Pharisees, saying, 'There is a risk that the whole people will expect Jesus to be the Christ.' They came together therefore to James, and said, 'We pray thee, stop the people, for they have gone astray after Jesus as though he were the Christ. We pray thee to persuade all that come to the Passover concerning Jesus: for we all give heed to thee, for we and all the people testify to thee that thou art just, and acceptest not the person of man. Persuade the people therefore not to go astray about Jesus, for the whole people and all of us give heed to thee. Stand therefore on the gable of the temple,

that thou mayest be visible, and that thy words may be heard by all the people; for all the tribes and even the Gentiles are come together for the Passover.' Therefore the forementioned Scribes and Pharisees placed James upon the gable of the temple, and cried out to him, and said, 'O Just one, to whom we ought all to give heed, seeing that the people are going astray after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the door of Jesus?' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced and gave glory on the testimony of James, crying Hosannah to the Son of David. Whereupon the same Scribes and Pharisees said to each other, 'We have done ill in bringing forward such a witness to Jesus; but let us go up, and throw him down, that they may be terrified, and not believe on him.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! oh! even the Just is gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, for he is displeasing to us; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their deeds.' They went up therefore, and threw down the Just one, and said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned round, and knelt down, and cried, 'I beseech thee, Lord God Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And whilst they were stoning him, one of the priests, of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites to whom Jeremiah the prophet bears testimony, cried out and said, 'Stop! What are you about? The Just one is praying for you!' Then one of them, who was a fuller, took the club with which he pressed the clothes, and brought it down on the head of the Just one. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot by the temple, and the column still remains by the temple. This man was a true witness to Jews and Greeks that JESUS is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege" (Kuseb. ii. 23, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* p. 208, Oxf. 1846).

For the difficulties which occur in this extract, reference may be made to Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae* (vol. i. p. 228), and to Canon Stanley's *Apostolical Age* (p. 319, Oxf. 1847). It represents St. James to us in his life and in his death more vividly than any modern words could picture him. We see him, a married man perhaps (1 Cor. ix. 5), but in all other respects a rigid and ascetic follower after righteousness, keeping the Nazarene rule, like Anna the prophetess (Luke ii. 37), serving the Lord in the temple "with fastings and prayers night and day," regarded by the Jews themselves as one who had attained to the sanctity of the priesthood, though not of the priestly family or tribe (unless indeed we argue from this that Clopas did belong to the tribe of Levi, and draw thence another argument for the identity of James the son of Clopas and James the Lord's brother), and as the very type

of what a righteous or just man ought to be. If any man could have converted the Jews as a nation to Christianity, it would have been James.

Josephus' narrative of his death is apparently somewhat different. He says that in the interval between the death of Festus and the coming of Albinus, Ananus the high-priest assembled the Sanhedrim, and "brought before it James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, and having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned." But if we are to reconcile this statement with that of Hegesippus, we must suppose that they were not actually stoned on this occasion. The historian adds that the better part of the citizens disliked what was done, and complained of Ananus to Agrippa and Albinus, whereupon Albinus threatened to punish him for having assembled the Sanhedrim without his consent, and Agrippa deprived him of the high-priesthood (*Ant.* xx. 9). The words "brother of him who is called Christ," are judged by Le Clerc, Lardner, &c., to be spurious.

Epiphanius gives the same account that Hegesippus does in somewhat different words, having evidently copied it for the most part from him. He adds a few particulars which are probably mere assertions or conclusions of his own (*Haer.* xlix. 4, and lxxviii. 13). He considers James to have been the son of Joseph by a former wife, and calculates that he must have been 96 years old at the time of his death; and adds, on the authority, as he says, of Eusebius, Clement, and others, that he wore the *πέταλον* on his forehead, in which he probably confounds him with St. John (Polycr. apud Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. But see Cotin, *De lum. pont. App. Joan. Jac. et Marci*, Tub. 1755).

Gregory of Tours reports that he was buried, not where he fell, but on the Mount of Olives, in a tomb in which he had already buried Zacharias and Simeon (*De glor. Mart.* i. 27). Eusebius tells us that his chair was preserved down to his time; on which see Heinichen's *Excursus* (*Exc. xi. ad Euseb. H. E.* vii. 19, vol. iv. p. 957, ed. Burton).

We must add a strange Talmudic legend, which appears to relate to James. It is found in the Midrash Koheleth, or Commentary on Ecclesiastes, and also in the Tract Abodah Zarah of the Jerusalem Talmud. It is as follows: "R. Eliezer, the son of Dama, was bitten by a serpent; and there came to him Jacob, a man of Caphar Secama, to heal him by the name of Jesu the son of Pandera; but R. Ismael suffered him not, saying, 'That is not allowed thee, son of Dama.' He answered, 'Suffer me, and I will produce an authority against thee that it is lawful; but he could not produce the authority before he expired. And what was the authority?—This: 'Which if a man do, he shall live in them' (Lev. xviii. 5). But it is not said that he shall die in them.' The son of Pandera is the name that the Jews have always given to our Lord, when representing Him as a magician. The same name is given in Epiphanius (*Haer.*

§ The monument—part excavation, part edifice—which is now commonly known as the "Tomb of St. James," is on the east side of the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat, and therefore at a considerable distance from the spot on which the Apostle was killed, which the narrative of Hegesippus would seem to fix as somewhere under the south-east corner of the wall of the *Harem*, or perhaps further down the slope nearer the "Fountain of the Virgin." [EN-ROGEL.] It cannot at any rate be said to stand "by the Temple." The

tradition about the monument in question is that St. James took refuge there after the capture of Christ, and remained, eating and drinking nothing, until our Lord appeared to him on the day of His Resurrection (See Quaresmius, &c., quoted in Tobler, *Siloah*, &c., 299.) The legend of his death there seems to be first mentioned by Maundeville (A.D. 1320: see *Early Trav.* 176). By the old travellers it is often called the "Church of St. James."

lxxviii.) to the grandfather of Joseph, and by John Damascene (*De Fide Orth.* iv. 15) to the grandfather of Jonchim, the supposed father of the Virgin Mary. For the identification of James of Secama (a place in Upper Galilee) with James the Just, see Mill (*Historic. Criticism of the Gospel*, p. 318, Camb. 1840). The passage quoted by Origen and Eusebius from Josephus, in which the latter speaks of the death of James as being one of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, seems to be spurious (*Orig. in Matt.* xiii. 55; *Euseb. H. E.* ii. 23).

It is possible that there may be a reference to James in Heb. xiii. 7 (see Theodoret *in loc.*), which would fix his death at some time previous to the writing of that Epistle. His apprehension by Annas was probably about the year 62 or 63 (Lardner, Pearson, Mill, Whitby, Le Clerc, Tillamont). There is nothing to fix the date of his martyrdom as narrated by Hegesippus, except that it must have been shortly before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. We may conjecture that he was between 70 and 80 years old. [F. M.]

### JAMES, THE GENERAL, EPISTLE OF.

I. *Its Genuineness and Canonicity.*—In the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius makes his well-known division of the books, or pretended books, of the New Testament into four classes. Under the head of *δοκολογούμενα* he places the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the First Epistle of St. John, and the First Epistle of St. Peter. In the class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα* he places the Epistle of St. James, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude. Amongst the *πύθα* he enumerates the Acts of St. Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of St. Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Gospel to the Hebrews. The *αποκρυφά* consist of the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others, the Acts of Andrew, John, and others. The *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, amongst which he places the Epistle of St. James, are, he says, *γνώριμα ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς*, whether the expression means that they were acknowledged by, or merely that they were known to, the majority (*H. E.* iii. 25). Elsewhere he refers the Epistle to the class of *πύθα*, for this is the meaning of *ποθεύεται μὲν*, which was apparently misunderstood by St. Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.*); but he bears witness that it was publicly read in most churches as genuine (*H. E.* ii. 23), and as such accepts it himself. This then was the state of the question in the time of Eusebius; the Epistle was accepted as canonical, and as the writing of James, the brother of the Lord, by the majority, but not universally. Origen bears the same testimony as Eusebius (tom. iv. p. 306), and probably like him, himself accepted the Epistle as genuine (tom. iv. p. 535, &c.). It is found in the Syriac version, and appears to be referred to by Clement of Rome (*ad Cor. x.*), Hermas (lib. ii, Mand. xii. 5), Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.* 16, 2), and is quoted by almost all the Fathers of the 4th century, *e. g.* Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom (see Davidson, *Intr. to N. T.* iii. p. 338). In 397 the Council of Carthage accepted it as canonical, and from that time there has been no further question of its genuineness on the score of external testimony. But at the time of the Reformation the question of its authenticity was again

raised, and now upon the ground of internal evidence. Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan in the Church of Rome, Cyril Lucar in the Greek Church, Luther and the Magdeburg Centurionators among Protestants, all objected to it. Luther seems to have withdrawn his expression that it was "a right strawy Epistle," compared with the Gospel of St. John and the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, after that expression had been two years before the world. The chief objection on internal grounds is a supposed opposition between St. Paul and St. James, on the doctrine of Justification, concerning which we shall presently make some remarks. At present we need only say that it is easy to account for the non-universal reception of the Epistle in the Early Church, by the fact that it was meant only for Jewish believers, and was not likely therefore to circulate widely among Gentile Christians, for whose spiritual necessities it was primarily not adapted; and that the objection on internal grounds proves nothing except against the objectors, for it really rests on a mistake.

II. *Its Author.*—The author of the Epistle must be either James the son of Zebedee, according to the subscription of the Syriac version; or James the son of Alphaeus, according to Dr. Davidson's view (*Intr. to N. T.* iii. p. 312); or James the brother of the Lord, which is the general opinion (see *Euseb. H. E.* ii. 23; *Alford, G. T.* iv. p. 28); or an unknown James (Luther). The likelihood of this last hypothesis fails to the ground when the canonical character of the Epistle is admitted. James the son of Zebedee could not have written it, because the date of his death, only seven years after the martyrdom of Stephen, does not give time for the growth of a sufficient number of Jewish Christians, *ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ*. Internal evidence (see Stanley, *Apost. Apc.* p. 292) points unmistakably to James the Just as the writer, and we have already identified James the Just with the son of Alphaeus.

The Jewish Christians, whether residing at Jerusalem or living scattered among the Gentiles, and only visiting that city from time to time, were the especial charge of James. To them he addressed this Epistle; not to the unbelieving Jews (Lardner, Macknight, Hug, &c.), but only to believers in Christ, as is undoubtedly proved by i. 1, ii. 1, ii. 7, v. 7. The rich men of v. 1, may be the unbelieving Jews (Stanley, p. 299), but it does not follow that the Epistle was written to them. It is usual for an orator to denounce in the second person. It was written from Jerusalem, which St. James does not seem to have ever left. The time at which he wrote it has been fixed as late as 62, and as early as 45. Those who see in its writer a desire to counteract the effects of a misconstruction of St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by faith, in ii. 14-26 (Wiesinger), and those who see a reference to the immediate destruction of Jerusalem in v. 1 (Macknight), and an allusion to the name Christians in ii. 7 (De Wette), argue in favour of the later date. The earlier date is advocated by Schneckenburger, Neander, Thiersch, Davidson, Stanley, and Alford; chiefly on the ground that the Epistle could not have been written by St. James after the Council in Jerusalem, without some allusion to what was there decided, and because the Gentile Christian does not yet appear to be recognised.

<sup>a</sup> It is almost unnecessary to say that the Jacobite churches of the East—consisting of the Armenians, the Copts, and other Monophysite or Eutychian bodies

—do not derive their title from St. James, but from a later person of the same name, Jacob Baradaeus, who died Bishop of Edessa in 588.

III. *Its object*.—The main object of the Epistle is not to teach doctrine but to improve morality. St. James is the moral teacher of the N. T.; not in such sense a moral teacher as not to be at the same time a maintainer and teacher of Christian doctrine, but yet mainly in this Epistle a moral teacher. There are two ways of explaining this characteristic of the Epistle. Some commentators and writers see in St. James a man who had not realised the essential principles and peculiarities of Christianity, but was in a transition state, half-Jew and half-Christian. Schneckenburger thinks that Christianity had not penetrated his spiritual life. Neander is of much the same opinion (*Pflanzung und Leitung*, p. 579). And the same notion may perhaps be traced in Prof. Stanley and Dean Alford. But there is another and much more natural way of accounting for the fact. St. James was writing for a special class of persons, and knew what that class especially needed; and therefore, under the guidance of God's Spirit, he adapted his instructions to their capacities and wants. Those for whom he wrote were, as we have said, the Jewish Christians whether in Jerusalem or abroad. St. James, living in the centre of Judaism, saw what were the chief sins and vices of his countrymen; and, fearing that his flock might share in them, he lifted up his voice to warn them against the contagion from which they not only might, but did in part, suffer. This was his main object; but there is another closely connected with it. As Christians, his readers were exposed to trials which they did not bear with the patience and faith that would have become them. Here then are the two objects of the Epistle—1. to warn against the sins to which as Jews they were most liable; 2. to console and exhort them under the sufferings to which as Christians they were most exposed. The warnings and consolations are mixed together, for the writer does not seem to have set himself down to compose an essay or a letter of which he had previously arranged the heads; but, like one of the old prophets, to have poured out what was uppermost in his thoughts, or closest to his heart, without waiting to connect his matter, or to throw bridges across from subject to subject. While, in the purity of his Greek and the vigour of his thoughts, we mark a man of education, in the abruptness of his transitions and the unpolished roughness of his style we may trace one of the family of the Davidæus, who disarmed Domitian by the simplicity of their minds and by exhibiting their hands hard with toil (Hegesipp. *apud Euseb.* iii. 20).

The Jewish vices against which he warns them are—Formalism, which made the service (*θρησκεία*) of God consist in washings and outward ceremonies, whereas he reminds them (i. 27) that it consists rather in Active Love and Purity (see Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, Aph. 23; note also Active Love = Bp. Butler's "Benevolence," and Purity = Bp. Butler's "Temperance"); Fanaticism, which under the cloak of religious zeal was tearing Jerusalem to pieces (i. 20); Fatalism, which threw its sins on God (i. 13); Meanness, which crouched before the rich (i. 2); Falsehood, which had made words and oaths playthings (iii. 2-12); Partisanship (iii. 14); Evil-speaking (iv. 11); Boasting (iv. 16); Oppression (v. 4). The great lesson which he teaches them, as Christians, is Patience—Patience in trial (i. 2); Patience in good works (i. 22-25); Patience under provocations (iii. 17); Patience under oppression (v. 7); Patience under persecution (v.

10); and the ground of their Patience is, that the Coming of the Lord draweth nigh, which is to right all wrongs (v. 8).

IV. There are two points in the Epistle which demand a somewhat more lengthened notice. These are (a.) ii. 14-26, which has been represented as a formal opposition to St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith, and (b.) v. 14, 15, which is quoted as the authority for the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

(a) Justification being an act not of man but of GOD, both the phrases "Justification by Faith" and "Justification by Works" are inexact. Justification must either be by Grace, or of Reward. Therefore our question is, Did or did not St. James hold Justification by Grace? If he did, there is no contradiction between the Apostles. Now there is not one word in St. James to the effect that a man can *earn* his justification by works; and this would be necessary in order to prove that he held Justification of Reward. Still St. Paul does use the expression "Justified by faith" (Rom. v. 1), and St. James the expression, "Justified by works, not by faith only." And here is an apparent opposition. But, if we consider the meaning of the two Apostles, we see at once that there is no contradiction either intended or possible. St. Paul was opposing the Judaizing party, which claimed to earn acceptance by good works, whether the works of the Mosaic law, or works of piety done by themselves. In opposition to these, St. Paul lays down the great truth that acceptance cannot be earned by man at all, but is the free gift of GOD to the Christian man, for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ, appropriated by each individual, and made his own by the instrumentality of faith.—St. James, on the other hand, was opposing the old Jewish tenet that to be a child of Abraham was all in all; that godliness was not necessary, so that the belief was correct. This presumptuous confidence had transferred itself, with perhaps double force, to the Christianized Jews. They had said, "Lord, Lord," and that was enough, without doing His Father's will. They had recognised the Messiah: what more was wanted? They had *faith*: what more was required of them? It is plain that their "faith" was a totally different thing from the "faith" of St. Paul. St. Paul tells us again and again that his "faith" is a "faith that worketh by love;" but the very characteristic of the "faith" which St. James is attacking, and the very reason why he attacked it, was that it did not work by love, but was a bare assent of the head, not influencing the heart, a faith such as devils can have, and tremble. St. James tells us that "*fides informis*" is not sufficient on the part of man for Justification; St. Paul tells us that "*fides formata*" is sufficient: and the reason why *fides informis* will not justify us is, according to St. James, because it lacks that special quality, the addition of which constitutes it *fides formata*. See on this subject Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica et Examen Censurae*; Taylor's *Sermon on "Faith working by Love,"* vol. viii. p. 284, Lond. 1850; and, as a corrective of Bull's view, Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, iv. v. vi.

(b) With respect to v. 14, 15, it is enough to say that the ceremony of Extreme Unction and the ceremony described by St. James differ both in their subject and in their object. The subject of Extreme Unction is a sick man who is about to die; and its object is not his cure. The subject of the ceremony described by St. James is a sick man

who is not about to die; and its object is his cure, together with the spiritual benefit of absolution. St. James is plainly giving directions with respect to the manner of administering one of those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit with which the Church was endowed only in the Apostolic age and the age immediately succeeding the Apostles.

The following editions, &c., of St. James' Epistle may be mentioned as worthy of notice. The edition of Benson and Michaelis, *Halae Magdeburgicæ*, 1746; Semler's *Paraphrasis*, Halae, 1781; Mori *Praelectiones in Jacobi et Petri Epistolas*, Lipsiae, 1794; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttg. 1832; Davidson's *Introduction to the New Test.* vol. iii. p. 296, seq., Lond. 1851; Alford's *Greek Test.* vol. iv. p. 274, Lond. 1859.

The following spurious works have been attributed to St. James:—1. *The Protevangelium*. 2. *Historia de Nativitate Mariae*. 3. *De miraculis infantiae Domini nostri*, &c. Of these, the *Protevangelium* is worth a passing notice, not for its contents, which are a mere parody on the early chapters of St. Luke, transferring the events which occurred at our Lord's Birth to the birth of St. Mary his mother, but because it appears to have been known so early in the Church. It is possible that Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 78), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. viii.) refer to it. Origen speaks of it (*in Matt.* xiii. 55); Gregory Nyssen (*Op.* p. 346, ed. Paris), Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxix.), John Damascene (*Orat.* i. ii. *in Nativ. Mariae*), Photinus (*Orat. in Nativ. Mariae*), and others allude to it. It was first published in Latin in 1552, in Greek in 1564. The oldest MS. of it now existing is of the 10th century. (See Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, tom. i. pp. 45, 108, 159, 337, Lips. 1852. [F. M.]

**JAM'IN** (יָמִין: 'Iamēlū, 'Iamēlū, 'Iamēlū: *Jamin*).

1. Second son of Simeon (Gen. xlv. 10; Ex. vi. 15; 1 Chr. iv. 24), founder of the family (*mişpach*) of the Jaminites (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. (Alex. 'Iaβēlū). A man of Judah, of the great house of Hebron; second son of Ram the Jerahmeelite (1 Chr. ii. 27).

3. One of the Levites who under Ezra and Nehemiah read and expounded the law to the people (Neh. viii. 7). By the LXX. the greater part of the names in this passage are omitted.

**JAM'INITES, THE** (יְמִינִי: δ 'Iamini: *familia Jachinitarum*), the descendants of JAMIN the son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

**JAM'LECH** (יָמֵלֵךְ: 'Iemolēch; Alex. 'Αμαλῆκ: *Jemlech*), one of the chief men (אֲנָשֵׁי) A. V. "princes") of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 34), probably in the time of Hezekiah (see ver. 41).

**JAM'NIA** ('Iamniā, 'Iāmneia; and so Josephus: *Jamnia*), 1 Macc. iv. 15; v. 58; x. 69; xv. 40. [JAMNEEL.]

**JAM'NITES, THE** (οἱ ἐν 'Iamniā, οἱ 'Iamnitai: *Jamnitae*), 2 Macc. xii. 8, 9, 40. [JAMNEEL.]

**JAN'NA** ('Iannā, son of Joseph, and father of Melchi, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 24). It is perhaps only a variation of Joannas or John. [A. C. H.]

**JAN'NES** and **JAM'BRES** ('Ιαννης, 'Ιαμβρης), the names of two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. St. Paul alone of the sacred writers mentions them by name, and says no more than that they "withstood Moses," and that their folly in doing so became manifest (2 Tim. iii. 8, 9). It appears from the Jewish commentators that these names were held to be those of the magicians who opposed Moses and Aaron, spoken of in Exodus (or perhaps their leaders), of whom we there read that they first imitated the wonders wrought by Moses and Aaron, but, afterwards failing, confessed that the power of God was with those whom they had withstood (chap. vii. 11, where the Targum of Jonathan inserts these names, 22, viii. 18, 19). With this St. Paul's words perfectly agree.

Jambres is written in some codices Μαμβρης: both forms, the latter being slightly varied, are found in the Jewish commentaries (מַמְרֵס מִבְּרֵס): the former appears to be the earlier form. We have been unable to discover an Egyptian name resembling Jambres or Mambres. The termination is like that of many Egyptian compounds ending with RA, "the sun;" as Men-kau-ra, Μενχάρης (Manetho, ivth Dyn.).

Jannes appears to be a transcription of the Egyptian name Ἰαν, probably pronounced Ian. It was the nomen of two kings: one of the xith Dynasty, the father or ancestor of Sesertesen I. of the xiith; the other, according to our arrangement, fourth or fifth king of the xvth Dyn., called by Manetho 'Ιαννης or 'Ιαντας (Jov. or Σαδν (Afr.). See *Horae Aegyptiacae*, pp. 174, 5. There is also a king bearing the name Annu, whom we assign to the find Dyn. (*Hor. Aeg.* p. 101). The signification of Ἰαν is doubtful: the cognate word Ἰαντ means a valley or plain. The earlier king Ἰαν may be assigned to the twenty-first century B.C.: the later one we hold to be probably the second predecessor of Joseph's Pharaoh. This shows that a name which may be reasonably supposed to be the original of Jannes, was in use at or near the period of the sojourn in Egypt. The names of the ancient Egyptians were extremely numerous and very fluctuating in use: generally the most prevalent at any time were those of kings then reigning or not long dead.

Our result as to the name of Jannes throws light upon a curious question raised by the supposition that St. Paul took the names of the magicians from a prevalent tradition of the Jews. This conjecture is as old as the time of Theodoret, who makes the supposed tradition oral. (Τὰ μέντοι τούτων ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμύθηται δ' εὐθείας ἀπὸστολος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν 'Ιουδαίων διδασκαλίας: *ad loc.*). This opinion would be of little importance were it not for the circumstance that these names were known to the Greeks and Romans at too early a period for us to suppose that their information was derived from St. Paul's mention (see I'lin. *H. N.* xxx. 1; Apul. *Apol.* p. 24, Bipont.; Numenius ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* ix. 8). It has therefore been generally supposed that St. Paul took these names from Jewish tradition. It seems, however, inconsistent with the character of an inspired record for a baseless or incorrect current tradition to be cited; it is therefore satisfactory to find there is good reason for thinking these names to be authentic. Whether Jannes and Jambres were mentioned in some long-lost book relating to the early history of the Israelites, or whether there were a veritable oral tradition respecting their cau-

not now be determined. The former is the more probable supposition—if, as we believe, the names are correct—since oral tradition is rarely exact in minute particulars.

The conjecture of Majus (*Observ. Sacr.* ii. 42, *seqq.*, ap. Wiener, *Realwört.* s. v.) that Jaanes and Jaambres are merely meaningless words put for lost proper names is scarcely worth refuting. The words are not sufficiently similar to give a colour to the idea, and there is no known instance of the kind in the Bible.

The Rabbins state that Jannes and Jambres were sons of Balaam, and among various forms of their names give Johannes and Ambrosius. There was an apocryphal work called *Jannes and Mambres*, condemned by Pope Gelasius.

The Arabs mention the names of several magicians who opposed Moses; among them is none resembling Jaanes and Jambres (D'Herbelot, art. Moussa Ben Amran).

There are several dissertations on this subject (J. Grotius, *Diss. de Janne et Jambre*, Hafn. 1707; J. G. Michmelis, *Id.* Hal. 1747; Zentgrav, *Id.* Argent, 1869; Lightfoot, *Sermon on Jannes and Jambres*, &c.).

There is a question of considerable interest as to these Egyptian magicians which we cannot here discuss:—Is their temporary success attributable to pure imposture? The passages relating to them in the Bible would lead us to reply affirmatively, as we have already said in speaking of ancient Egyptian magic. [EGYPT.] [R. S. P.]

**JANO'AH** (יָנוֹחַ: ה' אֲנוּחַ; Alex. Ἰανώχ; *Janoos*), a place apparently in the north of Galilee, or the "land of Naphtali"—one of those taken by Tiglath-Pileser in his first incursion into Palestine (2 K. xv. 29). No trace of it appears elsewhere. By Kusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Janon"), and even by Reland (*Pal.* 826), it is confounded with Janolab, in the centre of the country. [G.]

**JANOHAN** (יָנוּחַ), i. e. Yanochah: *'Ianoth*, but in next verse *Mayoth*; Alex. *'Ianoth*: *Janoth*, a place on the boundary of Ephraim (possibly that between it and Manasseh). It is named between Tanath-Shiloh and Ataroth, the enumeration proceeding from west to east (Josh. xvi. 6, 7). Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, "Janu") gives it as twelve miles east of Nopolis. A little less than that distance from *Nablis*, and about S.E. in direction, two miles from *Akrabeh*, is the village of *Yanán*, doubtless identical with the ancient Janohah. It seems to have been first visited in modern times by Van de Velde (ii. 303, May 8, 1853; see also Rob. iii. 297). It is in a valley descending sharply eastward towards the Jordan. The modern village is very small, but the ancient ruins "extensive and interesting." "I have not seen," says V., "any of Israel's ancient cities in such a condition: entire houses and walls exist, covered with immense heaps of earth." But there are also ruins on the hill N.E. of *Yanán*, called *Khbrét Y.*, which may be the site of the original place (Rob. 297). [G.]

**JA'NUM** (דַּנִּי), following the *Keri* of the Masorets, but in the original text, *Cetib*, it is דַּיִן, Janin: *Isaiah*; Alex. Ἀνοβί: *Janum*, a town of Judah in the mountain district, apparently not far from Hebron, and named between Eshean and Beth-tappuah (Josh. xv. 53). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (see *Onomast.* "Janun").

nor does it appear to have been yet met with by any modern investigator. [G.]

**JAPHETH** (יֶפֶת; 'Ιάφεθ; *Japheth*), one of the three sons of Noah. From the order in which their names invariably occur (*Gen.* v. 32, vi. 10) we should naturally infer that Japheth was the youngest, but we learn from ix. 24 that Ham held that position, and the precedence of Japheth before this one of the three is indicated in the order of the names in x. 2, 6. It has been generally supposed from x. 21 that Japheth was the eldest; but it should be observed that the word *gaddil* in that passage is better connected with "brother," as in the Vulg., "*fratre Japhet majore*." Not only does the usage of the Hebrew language discountenance the other construction, but the sense of the passage requires that the age of Shem rather than of Japheth should be there specified. We infer therefore that Japheth was the second son of Noah. The origin of the name is referred by the sacred writer to the root *pathak* (פָּתַח), "to extend," as predictive of the wide spread of his descendants over the northern and western regions of the world (*Gen.* ix. 27). The name has also been referred to the root *yaphak* (יָפַץ), "to be fair," as significant of the light complexion of the Japhetic races (*Gesenius, Thes.* p. 1138; Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 22). From the resemblance of the name to the mythological *Iapetus*, some writers have sought to establish a connexion between them. Iapetus was regarded by the Greeks as the ancestor of the human race. The descendants of Japheth occupied the "isles of the Gentiles" (*Gen.* x. 5), i. e. the coast-lands of the Mediterranean Sea in Europe and Asia Minor, whence they spread northwards over the whole continent of Europe and a considerable portion of Asia.

[W. L. B.]

**JAPHIA** (יָפְיָה: *Ἰαφία*; Alex. *Ἰαφαγαί*: *Japhie*). The boundary of Zebulun ascended from Daberath to Japhia, and thence passed to Gath-hepher (Josh. xix. 12). Daberath appears to be on the slopes of Mount Tabor, and Gath-hepher may possibly be *el-Meshhad*, 2 miles N. of Nazareth. Six miles W. of the former, and 2 miles S. of Nazareth, is *Yafa*,\* which is not unlikely to be identical with Japhia (Rob. ii. 343-4); at least this is much more probable than Chafa (Sycaminopolis) in the bay of Akka—the suggestion of Eusebius (*Onomast.* “Iapheth”), and endorsed by Reland (*Pal.* 826)—an identification which is neither etymologically nor topographically admissible. *Yafa* may also be the same with the *Ἰαφά* which was occupied by Josephus during his struggle with the Romans—“a very large village of Lower Galilee, fortified with walls and full of people” (*Vita*, §45; comp. 37, and *B. J.* ii. 20, 66), of whom 15,000 were killed and 2130 taken prisoners by the Romans (*B. J.* iii. 7, §31); though if *Jesit* be *Jotapata* this can hardly be, as the two are more than ten miles apart, and he expressly says that they were neighbours to each other.

A tradition, which first appears in Sir John Maundeville, makes *Yafa* the birthplace of Zebedee and of the Apostles James and John, his sons. Hence it is called by the Latin monks of

\* It should be remarked that *Yāsa*, **יָאָסָא**, is the modern representative of both **יָוֵסָא**, i. e. Joppa, and **יָאִישָׁא**, Japhia, two names originally very distinct.

Nazareth "San Giacomo." See Quaresmius, *Ethiopicum*, ii. 843; and *Early Trav.* 186: Maundeville calls it the "Castle of Saffra." So too Von Harff, A.D. 1498:—"Saffia, eyn casteel van wylcheme Alpheus und Sebedeus geboren waren" (*Pilgerfahrt*, 195). [G.]

**JAPHIA** (יָפִיָּא): 'Iefōā; Alex. 'Iafīē: *Japhia*. 1. King of Lachish at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites (Josh. x. 3); one of the five "kings of the Amorites" who entered into a confederacy against Joshua, and who were defeated at Beth-horon, and lost their lives at Makkedah. The king of Lachish is mentioned more than once in this narrative (ver. 5, 23), but his name occurs only as above.

2. ('Iefīē, 'Iafīē; Alex. 'Afiē: *Japhia*). One of the sons of David, tenth of the fourteen born to him by his wives after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chr. iii. 7, xiv. 6). In the Hebrew form of this name there are no variations. The Peshito has Nephia, and, in 1 Chr. iii., Nepheg. In the list given by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, §3) it is not recognizable; it may be 'Hnnaḥān, or it may be 'Iesaf. There do not appear to be any traditions concerning Japhia. The genealogy is given under DAVID, p. 409. [G.]

**JAPHLET** (יָפִלֶּט): 'Iafalēt; Alex. 'Iafalāt: *Jephlet*, a descendant of Asher through Beriah, his youngest son; named as the father of three Bene-Japhlet (1 Chr. vii. 32, 33).

**JAPHLETI** (יָפִלֶּטִי) = "the Japhletite." 'Ατταλμ; Alex. τοῦ 'Ιεφαλθί: *Jephleti*. The "boundary of the Japhletite" is one of the landmarks on the south boundary-line of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3), west of Beth-horon the lower, and between it and Ataroth. Who "the Japhletite" was who is thus perpetuated we cannot ascertain. Possibly the name preserves the memory of some ancient tribe who at a remote age dwelt on these hills, just as the former presence of other tribes in the neighbourhood may be inferred from the names of Zemaïm, Ophni (the Ophnite), Cephar ha-Ammoni, and others. [BENJAMIN, p. 188 note.] We can hardly suppose any connexion with JAPHLET of the remote Asher. No trace of the name has yet been discovered in the district. [G.]

**JAPHO** (יָפוֹ): 'Iōpōh: *Joppe*. This word occurs in the A. V. but once, Josh. xix. 46. It is the accurate representation of the Hebrew word which on its other occurrences is rendered in the better known form of JOPPA (2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezr. iii. 7; Jon. i. 3). In its modern garb it is *Yāfa* (يَافَا), which is also the Arabic name of JAPHIA, a very different word in Hebrew. [JOPPA; JOPPE.]

**JA'RAH** (יָרָח): and in some MSS. יָרָח: 'Iarā: *Jara*, a man among the descendants of Saul; son of Micah, and great-grandson of Merib-baal, or Mephishosheth (1 Chr. ix. 42, comp. 40). In the parallel list of ch. viii. the name is materially altered to JEHOADAH.

**JA'REB** (יָרֵב): 'Iarēb, as if יָרֵב, in both Hos. v. 13 and x. 6; though Theodoret gives 'Iarēb in the former passage, and 'Iarēb in the latter; and Jerome has *Jarib* for the Greek equivalent of the

LXX.) is either to be explained as the proper name of a country or person, as a noun in apposition, or as a verb from a root יָרָב, *rāb*, "to contend, plead." All these senses are represented in the A. V. and the marginal readings, and, as has been not unfrequently the case, the least preferable has been inserted in the text. Had Jareb been the proper name of the king of Assyria, as it would be if this rendering were correct, the word preceding יָרֵב, *melec*, "king") would have required the article. K. D. Kimchi saw this difficulty, and therefore explained Jareb as the name of some city of Assyria, or as another name of the country itself. The

Syriac gives יָרֵב, *yōrōb*, as the name of a country, which is applied by Ephrem Syrus to Egypt, reference being made to Hoshea king of Israel, who had sent to So the king of Egypt for assistance in his conspiracy against Shalmanezzer (2 K. xvii. 4). So also the 'Iarēb or 'Iarēb of Theodoret is Egypt. The clause in which it occurs is supposed by many to refer to Judah, in order to make the parallelism complete; and with this in view Jarchi interprets it of Ahaz, who sent to Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xvi. 8) to aid him against the combined forces of Syria and Israel. But there is no reason to suppose that the two clauses do not both refer to Ephraim, and the allusion would then be, as explained by Jerome, to Pul, who was subsidized by Menahem (2 K. xv. 19), and Judah would be indirectly included. The rendering of the Vulgate, "avenger" ("ad regem ultorem"), which follows Symmachus, as well as those of Aquila (δικαδμενον) and Theodotion, "judge," are justified by Jerome by a reference to Jerubbaal, the name of Gideon, which he renders "ulciscatur se Baal," or "judicet eum Baal," "let Baal avenge himself," or "let Baal judge him." The Targumist evidently looked upon it as a verb, the apocopated future *Hiphil* of יָרָב, *rāb*, and translated the clause, "and sent to the king that he might come to avenge them." If it be a Hebrew word, it is most probably a noun formed from the above-mentioned root, like יָרֵב, *yārīb* (Is. xlix. 25; Ps. xxxv. 1), and is applied to the land of Assyria, or to its king, not in the sense in which it is understood in the Targum, but as indicating their determined hostility to Israel, and their generally aggressive character. Cocceius had this idea before him when he translated "rex adversarius." Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.*), dissatisfied with the usual explanations, looked for the true meaning of Jareb

in the Syriac root יָרֵב, *reb*, "to be great,"

and for "king Jareb" substituted "the great king," a title frequently applied to the kings of Assyria. If it were the proper name of a place, he says it would denote that of a castle or palace in which the kings of Assyria resided. But of this there can be no proof, the name has not descended to us, and it is better to take it in a symbolical sense as indicating the hostile character of Assyria. That it is rather to be applied to the country than to the king may be inferred from its standing in parallelism with Asshur. Such is the opinion of Fürst (*Handb. s. v.*), who illustrates the symbolical usage by a comparison with Rahab as applied to

\* An instance of the contrary, see Ναβωδ for Nimrod.

<sup>b</sup> In another place he gives "Jarib; dijudeans, vel ulciscens" (*de nom. Hebr.*).

Egypt. At the same time he hazards a conjecture that it may have been an old Assyrian word, adopted into the Hebrew language, and so modified as to express an intelligible idea, while retaining something of its original form. Hitzig (*die 12 kl. Proph.*) goes further, and finds in a mixed dialect, akin to the Assyrian, a verb *jarbum*, which denotes "to struggle or fight," and *jarbach*, the Aethiopic for "a hero or bold warrior;" but it would be desirable to have more evidence on the point.

Two mystical interpretations, alluded to by Jerome as current among commentators in his time, are remarkable for the singularly opposite conclusions at which they arrived; the one referring the word to the devil, the other to Christ. Rivetus (quoted by Glassius, *Philol. Sacr.* iv. tr. 3) was of opinion that the title Jareb or "avenger" was assumed by the powerful king of Assyria, as that of "Defender of the Faith" by our own monarchs. [W. A. W.]

**JAR'ED** (יָרֵד) *i. e.* Jered, as the name is given in A. V. of Chron., but in pause יָרֵד, from which the present form may have been derived, though more probably from the Vulgate: 'Iapeð, Alex. also 'Iapep; N. T. 'Iapeð and 'Iapep; Joseph. 'Iapeðs; Jured), one of the antediluvian patriarchs, the fifth from Adam; son of Mahalalel, and father of Enoch (Gen. v. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20; Luke iii. 37). In the lists of Chronicles the name is given in the A. V. JERED.

**JARESI'AH** (יְרֵשִׁי'אֵה: 'Iapasia: Jersia), a Benjamite, one of the Bene-Jerothan; a chief man of his tribe, but of whom nothing is recorded (1 Chr. viii. 27).

**JAR'HA** (יָרְחָא: 'Iaxhá: Jeraa), the Egyptian servant of Sheshan, about the time of Eli, to whom his master gave his daughter and heir in marriage, and who thus became the founder of a chief house of the Jerahmeelites, which continued at least to the time of king Hezekiah, and from which spring several illustrious persons\* such as Zabab in the reign of David, and Azariah in the reign of Joash (1 Chr. ii. 31, *sqq.*). [AZARIAH 13; ZABAB.] It is a matter of somewhat curious inquiry what was the name of Jarha's wife. In ver. 31 we read "the children of Sheshan, Ahlai," and in ver. 34, "Sheshan had no sons but daughters." In ver. 35, Sheshan's daughter "bare him Attai," whose grandson was Zabab; and in ch. xi. 41, "Zabab the son of Ahlai." Hence some have imagined that Jarha on his marriage with Sheshan's daughter had the name of Ahlai (interpreted a "brother-to-me") given him by Sheshan, to signify his adoption into Israel. Others that Ahlai and Attai are merely clerical variations of the same name. Others that Ahlai was a son of Sheshan, born after the marriage of his daughter. But the view which the A. V. adopts, as appears by their rendering יְרֵחָא in ver. 31, the children of Sheshan, instead of sons, is undoubtedly the right one, viz. that Ahlai is the name of Sheshan's daughter. Her descendants were called after her, just as Joab, and Abishai, and Asabel, were always called "the sons of Zeruah," and as Abigail stands at the head of Amasa's pedigree, 1 Chr. ii. 17. It may be no-

ticed as an undesigned coincidence that Jarha the Egyptian was living with Sheshan, a Jerahmeelite, and that the Jerahmeelites had their possessions on the side of Judah nearest to Egypt, 1 Sam. xvii. 10; comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 21; Josh. xv. 21; 1 Chr. iv. 18. [JERAHMEEL; JEHUDIAH.] The etymology of Jarha's name is quite unknown (Gesen. *Thes.*; Fürst, *Concord.* &c.; Burdington's *Geneal.*; Beeston, *Geneal.*; Hervey's *Geneal.*, p. 34; Bertheau, on 1 Chr. ii. 24, &c.). [A. C. H.]

**JARIB** (יָרִיב: 'Iapib; Alex. 'Iapeib: Jarib).

1. Named in the list of 1 Chr. iv. 24 only, as a son of Simeon. He occupies the same place as JACHIN in the parallel lists of Gen. xvi., Ex. vi., and Num. xxvi., and the name is possibly a corruption from that (see Burdington, i. 55).

2. One of the "chief men" (רָאשֵׁי הָעָם, "heads") who accompanied Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 16), whether Levite or layman is not clear. In 1 Esdras the name is given as JORIBAS.

3. A priest of the house of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to put her away (Ezr. x. 18). In 1 Esdras the name is JORIBUS.

4. ('Iapib; Alex. 'Iapib; 1 Macc. xiv. 29). A contraction or corruption of the name JOARIB, which occurs correctly in ch. ii. 1.

**JARIMOTH** (יָרִימוֹת: Larimoth), 1 Ewl. ix. 28. [JEREMOTH.]

**JARMUTH** (יָרְמוֹת: Jarimuth). 1. ('Iepimoth; Alex. 'Iepimoth.) A town in the Shefelah or low country of Judah, named with Adullam, Socoh, and others (Josh. xv. 35). Its king, PIRAM, was one of the five who conspired to punish Gibeon for having made alliance with Israel (Josh. x. 3, 5), and who were routed at Bethhoron and put to death by Joshua at Makkedah (23). In this narrative, and also in the catalogue of the "royal cities" destroyed by Joshua, Jarmuth is named next to Hebron, which, however, was quite in the mountains. In Nch. xi. 29 it is named as having been the residence of some of the children of Judah after the return from captivity. Eusebius and Jerome either knew two places of this name, or an error has crept into the text of the *Onomasticon*; for under "Jarimuth" they state it to be near Eshtaal, 4 miles from Eleutheropolis; while under "Jirmus" they give it as 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road going up to Jerusalem. A site named Yarmuk, with a contiguous eminence called Tell-Ermul, was visited by Robinson (ii. 17), and Van de Velde (ii. 193; *Memoir*, 324). It is about 1½ mile from Beit-netif, which again is some 8 miles from Beit-gibrin, on the left of the road to Jerusalem. Shuweikeh (the ancient Socoh) lies in a neighbouring hill. We have yet to discover the principles on which the topographical divisions of the ancient Hebrews were made. Was the Shefelah—the "low country"—a district which took its designation from the plain which formed its major portion, but which extended over some of the hill-country? In the hill-country Jarmuth is undoubtedly situated, though specified as in the plain. Yarmuk has been last visited by Tobler (*Stie Wandern*, 120, 462, 3).

2. ('Iepimoth; Alex. 'Iepimoth.) A city of Issachar, allotted with its suburbs to the Gershonites (Josh. xxi. 29). In the specification of the

\* Bertheau's remark, that none of the persons named in this long genealogy recur elsewhere, is singularly misplaced.

boundaries of Issachar, no mention is made of Jarmuth (see Josh. xix. 17-23), but a REMETH is mentioned there (20); and in the duplicate list of Levitical cities (1 Chr. vi. 73) RAMOTH occupies the place of Jarmuth. The two names are modifications of the same root, and might without difficulty be interchanged. This Jarmuth does not appear to have been yet identified. [RAMOTH.] [G.]

JAR'O'AH (יָרֹאחַ: 'Idat; Alex. 'Aḏat: Jara), a chief man of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 14).

JA'SAEL ('Ιασαήλος; Alex. 'Ασαήλος: Azabius), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [SHEAL.]

JA'SHEN (יָשֵׁן: 'Asû: Jasen). Bene-Jashen—"sons of Jashen"—are named in the catalogue of the heroes of David's guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. 32. In the Hebrew, as accented by the Masorets, the words have no necessary connexion with the names preceding or following them; but in the A. V. they are attached to the latter—"of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan." The passage has every appearance of being imperfect, and accordingly, in the parallel list in Chronicles, it stands, "the sons of Hashem the Gizonite" (1 Chr. xi. 34). Kennicott has examined it at length (*Dissertation*, 198-203), and, on grounds which cannot here be stated, has shown good cause for believing that a name has escaped, and that the genuine text was, "of the Bene-Hashem, Gouni; Jonathan ben-Shamha." In the list given by Jerome in his *Quaestiones Hebraicae*, Jashen and Jonathan are both omitted.

JA'SHER, BOOK OF (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר), or, as the margin of the A. V. gives it, "the book of the upright," a record alluded to in two passages only of the O. T. (Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18), and consequently the subject of much dispute. The former passage is omitted in the LXX., while in the latter, the expression is rendered *βιβλίον τοῦ εὐθούς*: the Vulgate has *liber justorum* in both instances. The Peshito Syriac in Josh. has "the book of praises or hymns," reading הַשִּׁיר לַיָּשָׁר, and a similar transposition will account for the rendering of the same version in Sam., "the book of Ashûr." The Targum interprets it "the book of the law," and this is followed by Jarchi, who gives, as the passage alluded to in Joshua, the prophecy of Jacob with regard to the future greatness of Ephraim (Gen. xlviii. 19), which was fulfilled when the sun stood still at Joshua's bidding. The same Rabbi, in his commentary on Samuel, refers to Genesis "the book of the upright, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," to explain the allusion to the book of Jasher; and Jerome, while discussing the etymology of Israel, which he interprets as "rectus Dei," incidentally mentions the fact that Genesis was called "the book of the just" (*liber Genesis appellatur eubéous, id est, justorum*), from its containing the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel (*Comm. in Jes. xiv. 2*). The Talmudists attribute this tradition to R. Johanan. R. Eliezer thought that by the book of Jasher was signified the book of Deuteronomy from the expressions in Deut. vi. 18, xxxiii. 7, the latter being quoted in proof of the skill of the Hebrews in archery. In the opinion of R. Samuel ben Nachman, the book of Judges was alluded to as the book of Jasher (*Aboda*

*Zara*, c. ii.); and that it was the book of the twelve minor prophets was held by some Hebrew writers, quoted without name by Sixtus Senensis (*Bibl. Sanct. lib. ii.*). R. Levi ben Gershom recognises, though he does not follow, the tradition given by Jarchi, while Kimchi and Abarbanel adopt the rendering of the Targum. This diversity of opinions proves, if it prove nothing more, that no book was known to have survived which could lay claim to the title of the book of Jasher.

Josephus, in relating the miracle narrated in Joshua x., appeals for confirmation of his account to certain documents deposited in the Temple (*Ant. v. 1, §17*), and his words are supposed to contain a covert allusion to the book of Jasher as the source of his authority. But in his treatise against Apion (*B. I.*) he says the Jews did not possess myriads of books, discordant and contradictory, but twenty-two only; from which Abicht concludes that the books of Scripture were the sacred books hinted at in the former passage, while Masius understood by the same the Annals which were written by the prophets or by the royal scribes. Theodoret (*Quaest. xiv. in Jesum Nave*) explains the words in Josh. x. 13, which he quotes as τὸ βιβλίον τὸ εὐθεῖον (prob. an error for *εὐθέος*, as he has in *Quaest. iv. in 2 Reg.*), as referring to the ancient record from which the compiler of the book of Joshua derived the materials of his history, and applies the passage in 2 Sam. ii. 18 to prove that other documents, written by the prophets, were made use of in the composition of the historical books. Jerome, or rather the author of the *Quaestiones Hebraicae*, understood by the book of Jasher the books of Samuel themselves, inasmuch as they contained the history of the just prophets, Samuel, Gad, and Nathan. Another opinion, quoted by Sixtus Senensis, but on no authority, that it was the book of eternal predestination, is scarcely worth more than the bare mention.

That the book of Jasher was one of the writings which perished in the captivity was held by R. Levi ben Gershom, though he gives the traditional explanation above mentioned. His opinion has been adopted by Junius, Hottinger (*Theol. Phil. ii. 2, §2*), and many other modern writers (*Wolfii Bibl. Heb. ii. 223*). What the nature of the book may have been can only be inferred from the two passages in which it is mentioned and their context, and, this being the case, there is clearly wide room for conjecture. The theory of Masius (quoted by Abicht) was, that in ancient times whatever was worthy of being recorded for the instruction of posterity, was written in the form of Annals by learned men, and that among these Annals or records was the book of Jasher, so called from the trustworthiness and methodical arrangement of the narrative, or because it contained the relation of the deeds of the people of Israel, who are elsewhere spoken of under the symbolical name Jeshurun. Of the later hypothesis Fürst approves (*Handb. s. v.*). Sanctius (*Comm. ad 2 Reg. i.*) conjectured that it was a collection of pious hymns written by different authors and sung on various occasions, and that from this collection the Psalter was compiled. That it was written in verse may reasonably be inferred from the only specimens extant, which exhibit unmistakable signs of metrical rhythm, but that it took its name from this circumstance is not supported by etymology. Lowth, indeed (*Prael. pp.*

\* Dr. Donaldson had overlooked this passage when he asserted that his own analysis of the word "Israel"

had hitherto escaped the notice of all commentators (*Jasher*, p. 23).

306, 307), imagined that it was a collection of national songs, so called because it probably commenced with *יָשָׁר׃ יִשְׂרָאֵל, dz yashir*, "then sang, &c.," like the song of Moses in Ex. xv. 1; his view of the question was that of the Syriac and Arabic translators, and was adopted by Herder. But, granting that the form of the book was poetical, a difficulty still remains as to its subject. That the book of Jasher contained the deeds of national heroes of all ages embalmed in verse, among which David's lament over Saul and Jonathan had an appropriate place, was the opinion of Calovius. A fragment of a similar kind is thought to appear in Num. xxi. 14. Gesenius conjectured that it was an anthology of ancient songs, which acquired its name, "the book of the just or upright," from being written in praise of upright men. He quotes, but does not approve, the theory of Illgen that, like the *Hamasa* of the Arabs, it celebrated the achievements of illustrious warriors, and from this derived the title of "the book of valour." But the idea of warlike valour is entirely foreign to the root *yashur*. Dupin contended from 2 Sam. i. 18, that the contents of the book were of a military nature; but Montanus, regarding rather the etymology, considered it a collection of political and moral precepts. Abicht, taking the lament of David as a sample of the whole, maintained that the fragment quoted in the book of Joshua was part of a funeral ode composed upon the death of that hero, and narrating his achievements. At the same time he does not conceive it necessary to suppose that one book only is alluded to in both instances. It must be admitted, however, that there is very slight ground for any conclusion beyond that which affects the form, and that nothing can be confidently asserted with regard to the contents. But, though conjecture might almost be thought to have exhausted itself on a subject so barren of premises, a scholar of our own day has not despaired of being able, not only to decide what the book of Jasher was in itself, but of reconstructing it from the fragments which, according to his theory, he traces throughout the several books of the O. T. In the preface to his *Jasher, or Fragments Archætypæ Carnânum Hebræicorum in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tessellata*, Dr. Donaldson advances a scheme for the restoration of this ancient record, in accordance with his own idea of its scope and contents. Assuming that, during the tranquil and prosperous reign of Solomon, an unwonted impulse was given to Hebrew literature, and that the worshippers of Jehovah were desirous of possessing something on which their faith might rest, the book of "Jasher," or "uprightness," he asserts, was written, or rather compiled, to meet this want. Its object was to show that in the beginning man was upright, but had by carnal wisdom forsaken the spiritual law; that the Israelites had been chosen to preserve and transmit this law of uprightness; that David had been made king for his religious integrity, leaving the kingdom to his son Solomon, in whose reign, after the dedication of the Temple, the prosperity of the chosen people reached its culminating point. The compiler of the book was probably Nathan the prophet, assisted perhaps by Gad the seer. It was thus "the first offspring of the prophetic schools, and ministered spiritual food to the greater prophets." Rejecting, therefore, the authority of the Masoretic text, as founded entirely on tradition, and adhering to his

own theory of the origin and subject of the book of Jasher, Dr. Donaldson proceeds to show that it contains the religious marrow of Holy Scripture. In such a case, of course, absolute proof is not to be looked for, and it would be impossible here to discuss what measure of probability should be assigned to a scheme elaborated with considerable ingenuity. Whatever ancient fragments in the sacred books of the Hebrews exhibit the nature of uprightness, celebrate the victories of the true Israelites, predict their prosperity, or promise future blessedness, have, according to this theory, a claim to be considered among the relics of the book of Jasher. Following such a principle of selection, the fragments fall into seven groups. The first part, the object of which is to show that man was created upright (*יָשָׁר, yashar*), but fell into sin by carnal wisdom, contains two fragments, an Elohist and a Jehovistic, both poetical, the latter being the more full. The first of these includes Gen. i. 27, 28, vi. 1, 2, 4, 5, viii. 21, vi. 6, 3; the other is made up of Gen. ii. 7-9, 15-18, 25, iii. 1-19, 21, 23, 24. The second part, consisting of four fragments, shows how the descendants of Abraham, as being upright (*יָשָׁר, yesharim*), were adopted by God, while the neighbouring nations were rejected. Fragment (1) Gen. ix. 18-27; fragment (2) Gen. iv. 2-8, 8-16; fragment (3) Gen. xvi. 1-4, 15, 16, xvii. 9-16, 18-26, xxi. 1-14, 20, 21; fragment (4) Gen. xxv. 20-34, xxvii. 1-10, 14, 18-20, 25-40, iv. 18, 19, xxvi. 34, xxxvi. 2, iv. 23, 24, xxxvi. 8, xxviii. 9, xxvi. 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1-4, 11-19, xxix. 1, &c., 24, 29, xxxv. 22-26, xxiv. 25-29, xxxv. 9-14, 15, xxiii. 31. In the third part is related under the figure of the deluge how the Israelites escaped from Egypt, wandered forty years in the wilderness, and finally, in the reign of Solomon, built a temple to Jehovah. The passages in which this is found are Gen. vi. 5-14, vii. 6, 11, 12, viii. 6, 7, viii. 8, 12, v. 29, viii. 4; 1 K. vi. viii. 43; Deut. vi. 18; Ps. v. 8. The three fragments of the fourth part contain the divine laws to be observed by the upright people, and are found (1) Deut. v. 1-22; (2) vi. 1-5; Lev. xix. 18; Deut. x. 12-21, xi. 1-5, 7-9; (3) viii. 1-3, vi. 6-18, 20-25. The blessings of the upright and their admonitions are the subject of the fifth part, which contains the songs of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), Balaam (Num. xxiii. xxiv.), and Moses (Deut. xxxii. xxxiii.). The wonderful victories and deliverances of Israel are celebrated in the sixth part, in the triumphal songs of Moses and Miriam (Ex. xv. 1-19), of Joshua (Josh. x. 12-13), and of Deborah (Judg. v. 1-20). The seventh is a collection of various hymns composed in the reigns of David and Solomon, and contains David's song of triumph over Goliath (1 Sam. ii. 1-10); his lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19-27), and for Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34); his psalm of thanksgiving (Ps. xxviii.; 2 Sam. xxii.); his triumphal ode on the conquest of the Edomites (Ps. lx.), and his prophecy of Messiah's kingdom (2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7), together with Solomon's epithalamium (Ps. xlv.), and the hymn sung at the dedication of the Temple (Ps. lxxvii.).

Among the many strange results of this arrangement, Shem, Ham, and Japhet are no longer the sons of Noah, who is Israel under a figure, but of Adam; and the circumstances of Noah's life related in Gen. ix. 18-27 are transferred to the latter. Cain and Abel are the sons of Shem, Abraham is

the son of Abel, and Esau becomes Lamech the son of Methuselah.

There are also extant under the title of "the Book of Jasher," two Rabbinical works, one a moral treatise, written in A.D. 1394 by R. Shabbatai Carmuz Levita, of which a copy in MS. exists in the Vatican Library; the other, by R. Tham, treats of the laws of the Jews in eighteen chapters, and was printed in Italy in 1544, and at Cracow in 1586. An anonymous work, printed at Venice and Prague in 1625, and said to have made its first appearance at Naples, was believed by some Jews to be the record alluded to in Joshua. It contains the historical narratives of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, with many fabulous additions. R. Jacob translated it into German, and printed his version at Frankfurt on the Maine in 1674. It is said in the preface to the 1st ed. to have been discovered at the destruction of Jerusalem, by Sidrus, one of the officers of Titus, who, while searching a house for the purpose of plunder, found in a secret chamber a vessel containing the books of the Law, the Prophets, and Hagiographa, with many others, which a venerable man was reading. Sidrus took the old man under his protection and built for him a house at Seville, where the books were safely deposited. The book in question is probably the production of a Spanish Jew of the 13th century (Abicht, *De libr. Reuti*, in *Thes. Nov. Theol. Phil.* i. 525-534). A clumsy forgery in English, which first appeared in 1751 under the title of "the Book of Jasher," deserves notice solely for the unmerited success with which it was palmed off upon the public. It professed to be a translation from the Hebrew into English by Aleuin of Britain, who discovered it in Persia during his pilgrimage. It was reprinted at Bristol in 1827, and was again published in 1833, in each case accompanied by a fictitious commendatory note by Wicliffe. [W. A. W.]

**JASHOBE'AM** (יֶשְׁבַּע־אֵם; יֶשׁוּבָאֵם; *Jes-baum*). Possibly one and the same follower of David, bearing this name, is described as a Hachmonite (1 Chr. xi. 11), a Korhite (1 Chr. xii. 6), and son of Zoliel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2). He came to David at Ziklag. His distinguishing exploit was that he slew 300 (or 800, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8) men at one time. He is named first among the chief of the mighty men of David (1 Chr. xi. 11); and he was set over the first of the twelve monthly courses of 24,000 men who served the king (xxvii. 2). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, his name seems to be erroneously transcribed, יֶשְׁבַח (*A. V.* "that sat in the seat,"), instead of יֶשְׁבַע־אֵם; and in the same place "Adino the Ezrite" are possibly a corruption either of עוֹרֵר אֶת־הַנִּיחִי, "he lift up his spear" (1 Chr. xi. 11), or, as Gesenius conjectures, of עֲצֹנֵי הַעֲצָנָה, which he translates, "he shook it, *even* his spear." [EZRITE.] [W. T. B.]

**JASHUB** (יָשׁוּב; in the *Cotib* of 1 Chr. vii. 1 it is יָשׁוּב; in the Samaritan Cod. of Num. xxvi. יוֹשֵׁב; יֶאֱסוּב; *Jasub*). 1. The third son of Issachar, and founder of the family of the Jashubites (Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Chr. vii. 1). In the list of Gen. xlv. the name is given (possibly in a contracted or erroneous form, Gesen. *Thes.* 583) as JOB; but in the Samaritan Codex—followed by the LXX.—Jashub.

2. One of the sons of Bani, a layman in the time

of Ezra who had to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 29). In Esdras the name is JANUBUS.

**JASHU'BI-LE'HEM** (יֶשְׁבִּי־לֶחֶם) in some copies יֶשְׁבִּי; *kal ἀπέρσεν αὐτοὺς*, in both MSS.: *et qui reversi sunt in Lahem*, a person or a place named among the descendants of Shelah, the son of Judah by Bath-shua the Canaanitess (1 Chr. iv. 22). The name does not occur again. It is probably a place, and we should infer from its connexion with Maresha and Chozeba—if Chozeba be Chezib or Achzib—that it lay on the western side of the tribe, in or near the Shefelah. The Jewish explanations of this and the following verse are very curious. They may be seen in Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.* on this passage, and, in a slightly different form, in the Targum on the Chronicles (ed. Wilkins, 29, 30). The mention of Moab gives the key to the whole. Chozeba is Elimelech; Joash and Sarnph are Mahlon and Chilion, who "had the dominion in Moab" from marrying the two Moabite damsels: Jashubi-Lehem is Naomi and Ruth, who returned (Jashubi, from יָשָׁב, "to return") to bread, or to Beth-lehem, after the famine: and the "ancient words" point to the book of Ruth as the source of the whole. [G.]

**JASHUBITES, THE** (הַיֶּשְׁבִּי; Samaritan, הַיֶּשְׁבִּי; δ' Ἰασουβί; *familia Jashubitarum*). The family founded by Jashub the son of Issachar (Num. xvi. 24). [JASHUB, 1.]

**JAS'EL** (יֶשְׁאֵל; Ἰεσσαήλ; Alex. Ἰεσσαήλ; *Jasiel*), the last named on the increased list of David's heroes in 1 Chr. xi. 47. He is described as the MESOBAITE. Nothing more is known of him.

**JA'SON** (Ἰάσον), a common Greek name which was frequently adopted by Hellenizing Jews as the equivalent of *Jesus*, *Joshua* (Ἰησοῦς; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1),\* probably with some reference to its supposed connexion with ἰάσθαι (*i. e.* the *Healer*). A parallel change occurs in Alcimus (Blakim); while *Nicolaus*, *Dositheus*, *Menelaus*, &c., were direct translations of Hebrew names.

1. JASON THE SON OF ELEAZER (cf. Eccles. i. 27, Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σιράχ' Ἐλεάζαρ, Cod. A.) was one of the commissioners sent by Judas Maccabaeus to conclude a treaty with the Romans B.C. 161 (1 Macc. viii. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, §6).

2. JASON THE FATHER OF ANTIPATER, who was an envoy to Rome at a later period (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22), is probably the same person as No. 1.

3. JASON OF CYRENE, a Jewish historian who wrote "in five books" a history of the Jewish war of liberation, which supplied the chief materials for the second book of the Maccabees. [2 MACCABEES.] His name and the place of his residence seem to mark Jason as a Hellenistic Jew, and it is probable on internal grounds that his history was written in Greek. This narrative included the wars under Antiochus Eupator, and he must therefore have written after B.C. 162; but nothing more is known of him than can be gathered from 2 Macc. ii. 19-23.

4. JASON THE HIGH-PRIEST, the second son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III., who succeeded in obtaining the high-priesthood from Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 175 B.C.) to the exclusion of

\* Jason and Jesus occur together as Jewish names in the history of Aristæus (Boley, *De tert.* p. vii.).

his elder brother (2 Macc. iv. 7-28, 4 Macc. iv. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). He laboured in every way to introduce Greek customs among the people, and that with great success (2 Macc. iv.; Joseph. *l. c.*). In order to give permanence to the changes which he designed, he established a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and even the priests neglected their sacred functions to take part in the games (2 Macc. iv. 9, 14), and at last he went so far as to send a deputation to the Tyrian games in honour of Hercules. [HERCULES.] After three years (cir. n.c. 172) he was in turn supplanted in the king's favour by his own emissary Menelaus [MENELAUS], who obtained the office of High-priest from Antiochus by the offer of a larger bribe, and was forced to take refuge among the Ammonites (2 Macc. iv. 26). On a report of the death of Antiochus (c. 170 B.C.) he made a violent attempt to recover his power (2 Macc. v. 5-7), but was repulsed, and again fled to the Ammonites. Afterwards he was compelled to retire to Egypt, and thence to Sparta, whither he went in the hope of receiving protection "in virtue of his being connected with them by race" (2 Macc. v. 9; comp. 1 Macc. xii. 7; Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 456), and there "perished in a strange land" (2 Macc. l. c.; cf. Dan. xii. 30 ff.; 1 Macc. i. 12 ff.). [B. F. W.]

5. JASON THE THESSALONIAN, who entertained Paul and Silas, and was in consequence attacked by the Jewish mob (Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7, 9). He is probably the same as the Jason mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, as a companion of the apostle, and one of his kinsmen or fellow-tribesmen. Lightfoot conjectured that Jason and Secundus (Acts xx. 4) were the same. [W. A. W.]

JASPER (ἰάσπις; *iaspis*; *jaspis*), a precious stone frequently noticed in Scripture. It was the last of the twelve inserted in the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 20, xxxix. 13), and the first of the twelve used in the foundations of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 19): the difference in the order seems to show that no emblematical importance was attached to that feature. It was the stone employed in the superstructure (ἐνδομήσις) of the wall of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 18). It further appears among the stones which adorned the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). Lastly, it is the emblematical image of the glory of the Divine Being (Rev. iv. 3). The characteristics of the stone, as far as they are specified in Scripture (Rev. xxi. 11), are that it was "most precious," and "like crystal" (κρυσταλλῶν; not exactly "clear as crystal," as in A. V., but of a crystal hue; the term is applied to it in this sense by Dioscorides (v. 160; *λίθος ἰάσπις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ἑστίς σμαραγδῖος, ὁ δὲ κρυσταλλῶν*); we may also infer from Rev. iv. 3, that it was a stone of brilliant and transparent light. The stone which we name "jasper" does not accord with this description: it is an opaque species of quartz, of a red, yellow, green, or mixed brownish-yellow hue, sometimes striped and sometimes spotted, in no respect presenting the characteristics of the crystal. The only feature in the stone which at all accords with the Scriptural account is that it admits of a high polish, and this appears to be indicated in the Hebrew name. With regard to the Hebrew term, the LXX. and Vulg. render it by the "onyx" and "beryl" respectively, and represent the jasper by the term *yachalom* (A. V. "emerald"). There can be no doubt that the *diamond* would more adequately answer to the

description in the book of Revelation, and unless that beautiful and valuable stone is represented by the Hebrew *yashpheh* and the Greek *iaspis*, it does not appear at all in the passages quoted; for the term rendered "diamond" in Ex. xxviii. 18 really refers to the emerald. We are disposed to think, therefore, that though the names *yashpheh*, *iaspis*, and *jasper* are identical, the stones may have been different, and that the *diamond* is meant. [W. L. B.]

JASUBŪS (Ἰασούβος; *Jasub*), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [JASHUB, 2.]

JA'TAL (Ἰάτᾱλ, both MSS.: *Azer*), 1 Esd. v. 28; but whence was the form in A. V. adopted? [ATER, 1.]

JATH'NIEL (Ἰαθάνιηλ; *Iethanai*; Alex. *Na θανά*: *Jathanaël*), a Korhite Levite, and a door keeper (A. V. "porter") to the house of Jehovah, i. e. the tabernacle; the fourth of the family of Meshemiah (1 Chr. xxvi. 2).

JAT'TIR (Ἰάττιρ, in Josh. xv. 48; elsewhere Ἰάττιρ; *Iethp*, Ἀλάωμ, Γεθόρ, *Iethp*; Alex. *Iethp*, *Eieθp*: *Jether*), a town of Judah in the mountain district (Josh. xv. 48), one of the group containing Socho, Eshtemoa, &c.; it was among the nine cities which with their suburbs were allotted out of Judah to the priests (xii. 14; 1 Chr. vi. 57), and was one of the places in the south in which David used to haunt in his freebooting days, and to his friends in which, he sent gifts from the spoil of the enemies of Jehovah (1 Sam. xxx. 27). By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, *Jether*) it is spoken of as a very large place in the middle of Paroma, near Malatha, and 20 miles from Eleutheropolis. It is named by Hap-Parchi, the Jewish traveller; but the passage is defective, and little can be gathered from it (Zunz in Asher's *Benj. Tudea*, ii. 442). By Robinson (i. 494, 5) it is identified with *Attir*, 6 miles N. of Molada, and 10 miles S. of Hebron, and having the probable sites of Socho, Eshtemoa, and other southern towns within short distances. This identification may be accepted, notwithstanding the discrepancy in the distance of *Attir* from Eleutheropolis (if *Beit-Jibrin* be Eleutheropolis)—which is by road near 30 than 20 Roman miles. We may suspect an error in the text of the *Onomast.*, often very corrupt; or Eusebius may have confounded *Attir* with *Jutta*, which does lie exactly 20 miles from B. Jibrin. And it is by no means absolutely proved that B. Jibrin is Eleutheropolis. Robinson notices that it is not usual for the *Jod* with which *Jattir* commences to change into the *Ain* of *Attir* (*Bib. Res.* i. 494 note).

The two Ithite heroes of David's guard were probably from *Jattir*, living memorials to him of his early difficulties. [G.]

JAV'AN (Ἰάβαν; *Iabav*; *Javan*). 1. A son of Japheth, and the father of Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanin (Gen. x. 2, 4). The name appears in Is. lvi. 19, where it is coupled with Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, and more particularly with Tubal and the "isles afar off," as representatives of the Gentile world: again in Ez. xxvii. 13, where it is coupled with Tubal and Meshech, as carrying on considerable commerce with the Tyrians, who imported from these countries slaves and brazen vessels: in Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2, in reference to the Macedonian empire; and lastly in Zech. ix.

13, in reference to the Græco-Syrian empire. From a comparison of these various passages there can be no doubt that Javan was regarded as the representative of the Greek race: the similarity of the name to that branch of the Hellenic family with which the Orientals were best acquainted, viz. the Ionians, particularly in the older form in which their name appears ('*Idaw*'), is too close to be regarded as accidental: and the occurrence of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions of the time of Sargon (about B.C. 709), in the form of *Yarnan* or *Yunam*, as descriptive of the isle of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first came in contact with the power of the Greeks, further shows that its use was not confined to the Hebrews, but was widely spread throughout the East. The name was probably introduced into Asia by the Phœnicians, to whom the Ionians were naturally better known than any other of the Hellenic races; on account of their commercial activity and the high prosperity of their towns on the western coast of Asia Minor. The extension of the name westward to the general body of the Greeks, as they became known to the Hebrews through the Phœnicians, was but a natural process, analogous to that which we have already had to notice in the case of Chittim. It can hardly be imagined that the early Hebrews themselves had any actual acquaintance with the Greeks: it is, however, worth mentioning as illustrative of the communication which existed between the Greeks and the East, that among the artists who contributed to the ornamentation of Esarhaddon's palaces the names of several Greek artists appear in one of the inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 483). At a later period the Hebrews must have gained considerable knowledge of the Greeks through the Egyptians. Psammeticus (B.C. 664-610) employed Ionians and Carians as mercenaries, and showed them so much favour that the war-caste of Egypt forsook him in a body: the Greeks were settled near Bubastis, in a part of the country with which the Jews were familiar (*Herod.* ii. 154). The same policy was followed by the succeeding monarchs, especially Amasis (571-525), who gave the Greeks Naucratis as a commercial emporium. It is tolerably certain that any information which the Hebrews acquired in relation to the Greeks must have been through the indirect means to which we have adverted: the Greeks themselves were very slightly acquainted with the southern coast of Syria until the invasion of Alexander the Great. The earliest notices of Palestine occur in the works of Hecataeus (B.C. 549-486), who mentions only the two towns Canytis and Candytus; the next are in Herodotus, who describes the country as Syria Palaestina, and notices incidentally the towns Ascalon, Azotus, Ecobana (*Batanea*?), and Canytis, the same as the Canytis of Hecataeus, probably Gaza. These towns were on the border of Egypt, with the exception of the uncertain Ecobana; and it is therefore highly probable that no Greek had, down to this late period, travelled through Palestine.

2. A town in the southern part of Arabia (*Yemen*), whither the Phœnicians traded (*Ez.* xxvii. 19): the connexion with *Uzal* decides in favour of this place rather than Greece, as in the Vulg. The same place may be noticed in Joel iii. 6: the parallelism to the Sabæans in ver. 8, and the fact that the Phœnicians *bought* instead of selling slaves to the Greeks (*Ez.* xxvii. 13), are in favour of this view.

[W. L. B.]

JAVELIN. [ARMS.]

JAZ'AR (יָאָר; Alex. *Ἰαζήν*: *Gazer*), 1 Macc. v. 8. [JAAZER.]

JAZ'ER (Num. xxxii. 1, 3; Josh. xxi. 39; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; 1 Chr. vi. 81, xxvi. 31; Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). [JAAZER.]

JAZ'IZ (יָאִיז; Alex. *Ἰωσιζ*: *Jaziz*), a Hagarite who had charge of the "flocks," i. e. the sheep and goats (יֵצִיז), of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 31), which were probably pastured on the east of Jordan, in the nomad country where the forefathers of Jaziz had for ages roamed (comp. v. 19-22).

JEARIM, MOUNT (יְרֵמֹה; πῶλις *Iaplin*; Alex. *Iapla*: *Mons Jearim*), a place named in specifying the northern boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 10). The boundary ran from Mount Seir to the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Cesalon—"that is, Cesalon was the landmark on the mountain. *Kesla* stands, 7 miles due west of Jerusalem, "on a high point on the north slope of the lofty ridge between *Wady Ghurab* and *W. Ismail*. The latter of these is the south-western continuation of *W. Beit Hanina*, and the former runs parallel to and northward of it, and they are separated by this ridge, which is probably Mount Jearim" (*Rob.* iii. 154). If Jearim be taken as Hebrew it signifies "forests." Forests in our sense of the word there are none: but we have the testimony of the latest traveller that "such thorough woods, both for loneliness and obscurity, he had not seen since he left Germany" (*Tobler, Wanderung*, 1857, p. 178). Kirjath-Jearim (if that be *Kwriet el-Enab*) is only 2½ miles off to the northward, separated by the deep and wide hollow of *Wady Ghurab*. [CESALON.]

JEA'TERAI (יְאֵתַרַי; *Iethrai*), a Gershonite Levite, son of Zerah (1 Chr. vi. 21); apparently the head of his family at the time that the service of the Tabernacle was instituted by David (comp. ver. 31). In the reversed genealogy of the descendants of Gershon, Zerah's son is stated as ETHNI (אֶתְנִי, ver. 41). The two names have quite similarity enough to allow of the one being a corruption of the other, though the fact is not ascertainable.

JEBERECHIAH (יְבֶרְכִיָּה; with the final *h*: *Bapaxtas*: *Burachias*), father of a certain Zechariah, in the reign of Ahaz, mentioned Is. vii. 2. As this form occurs nowhere else, and both the LXX. and Vulgate have *Berechiah*, it is probably only an accidental corruption. Possibly a *h* was in some copy by mistake attached to the preceding יָ, so as to make it plural, and thence was transferred to the following word, *Berechiah*. *Berechiah* and *Zechariah* are both common names among the priests (*Zech.* i. 1). These are not the Zacharias and Baruchus mentioned as father and son, Matt. xxiii. 35, as it is certain that *Zechariah*, the son of Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, is there meant. They may however be of the same family; and if *Berechiah* was the father of the house, not of the individuals, the same person might be meant in Is. vii. 2 and Matt. xxiii. 35. It is singular that Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 5, §4) mentions another Zacharias, son of Baruch, who was slain by the Jews in the Temple shortly before the last siege of Jerusalem began. (See Whiston's note, *ad loc.*) [A. C. H.]

**JEBUS** (יְבוּס: 'IeBoûs: *Jebus*), one of the names of Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, also called JEBUSI. It occurs only twice: first in connexion with the journey of the Levite and his unhappy concubine from Bethlehem to Gibeah (Judg. xix. 10, 11); and secondly, in the narrative of the capture of the place by David in 1 Chr. xi. 4, 5. In 2 Sam. v. 6-9 the name Jerusalem is employed. By Gesenius (*Thes.* 189, יְבוּס) and Fürst (*Handb.* 477) Jebus is interpreted to mean a place dry or down-trodden like a threshing-floor; an interpretation which by Ewald (iii. 155) and Stanley (*S. & P.* 177) is taken to prove that Jebus must have been the south-western hill, the "dry rock" of the modern Zion, and "not the Mount Moriah, the city of Solomon, in whose centre arose the perennial spring." But in the great uncertainty which attends these ancient names, this is, to say the least, very doubtful. Jebus was the city of the Jebusites. Either the name of the town is derived from the name of the tribe, or the reverse. If the former, then the interpretation just quoted falls to the ground. If the latter, then the origin of the name of Jebus is thrown back to the very beginning of the Canaanite race—so far at any rate as to make its connexion with a Hebrew root extremely uncertain. [G.]

**JEBUSI** (יְבוּסִי="the Jebusite:" 'IeBousai, 'IeBoûs: *Jebusæus*), the name employed for the city of JEBUS, only in the ancient document describing the landmarks and the towns of the allotment of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, 28). In the first and last place the explanatory words, "which is Jerusalem," are added. In the first, however, our translators have given it as "the Jebusite."

A parallel to this mode of designating the town by its inhabitants is found in this very list in Zemaraim (xviii. 23), Avim (23), Ophni (24), and Japhletite (xvi. 3), &c. [G.]

**JEBUSITE, JEBUSITES, THE.** Although these two forms are indiscriminately employed in the A. V., yet in the original the name, whether applied to individuals or to the nation, is never found in the plural; always singular. The usual form is יְבוּסִי; but in a few places—viz., 2 Sam. v. 6, xxiv. 16, 18; 1 Chr. xxi. 18 only—it is יְבוּסִי. Without the article, יְבוּסִי, it occurs in 2 Sam. v. 8; 1 Chr. xi. 6; Zech. ix. 7. In the two first of these the force is much increased by removing the article introduced in the A. V., and reading "and smiteth a Jebusite." We do not hear of a progenitor to the tribe, but the name which would have been his had he existed has attached itself to the city in which we meet with the Jebusites in historic times. [JEBUS.] The LXX. give the name 'IeBousaios: Vulg. *Jebusæus*.

1. According to the table in Genesis x. "the Jebusite" is the third son of Canaan. His place in the list is between Heth and the Amorites (Gen. x. 16; 1 Chr. i. 14), a position which the tribe maintained long after (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3); and the same connexion is traceable in the

words of Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45), who addresses Jerusalem as the fruit of the union of an Amorite with a Hittite. But in the formula, by which the Promised Land is so often designated, the Jebusites are uniformly placed last, which may have arisen from their small number, or their quiet disposition. See Gen. xv. 21; Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11; 1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. viii. 7; Ezr. ix. 1; Neh. ix. 8.

2. Our first glimpse of the actual people is in the invaluable report of the spies—"the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain" (Num. xiii. 29). This was forty years before the entrance into Palestine, but no change in their *habitat* had been made in the interval; for when Jabin organised his rising against Joshua he sent amongst others "to the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountain" (Josh. xi. 3).<sup>a</sup> A mountain-tribe they were, and a mountain-tribe they remained. "Jebus, which is Jerusalem," lost its king in the slaughter of Bethhoron (Josh. x. 1, 5, 26; comp. xii. 10)—was sacked and burnt by the men of Judah (Judg. i. 21), and its citadel finally scaled and occupied by David (2 Sam. v. 6); but still the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem, the "inhabitants of the land," could not be expelled from their mountain-seat, but continued to dwell with the children of Judah and Benjamin to a very late date (Josh. xv. 8, 63; Judg. i. 21, xix. 11). This obstinacy is characteristic of mountaineers, and the few traits we possess of the Jebusites show them as a warlike people. Before the expedition under Jabin, Adoni-Zedek, the king of Jerusalem, had himself headed the attack on the Gibeonites, which ended in the slaughter of Bethhoron, and cost him his life on that eventful evening under the trees at Makkedah.<sup>b</sup> That they were established in the strongest natural fortress of the country in itself says much for their courage and power, and when they lost it, it was through bravado rather than from any cowardice on their part. [JERUSALEM.]

After this they emerge from the darkness but once, in the person of Araunah<sup>b</sup> the Jebusite, "Araunah the king" (אַרְנָה הַיְבוּסִי), who appears before us in true kingly dignity in his well-known transaction with David (2 Sam. xxiv. 23; 1 Chr. xix. 23). The picture presented us in these well-known passages is a very interesting one. We see the fallen Jebusite king and his four sons on their threshing-floor on the bald top of Moriah, treading out their wheat (שֹׂרֵף: A. V. "threshing") by driving the oxen with the heavy sledges (סֹרֵפִים, A. V. "threshing instruments") over the corn, round the central heap. We see Araunah on the approach of David fall on his face on the ground, and we hear him ask, "Why is my lord the king come to his slave?" followed by his willing surrender of all his property. But this reveals no traits peculiar to the Jebusites, or characteristic of them more than of their contemporaries in Israel, or in the other nations of Canaan. The early judges and kings of Israel threshed wheat in the wine-

<sup>a</sup> In ver. 5 the king of Jerusalem is styled one of the "five kings of the Amorites." But the LXX. (both MSS.) have יְבוּסִי 'IeBousaios of the Jebusites.

<sup>b</sup> By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 13, §9) Araunah is said to have been one of David's chief friends (ἐν τοῖς μέγιστοις φίλοις), and to have been expressly spared by

him when the citadel was taken. If there is any truth in this, David no doubt made his friendship during his wanderings, when he also acquired that of Uriah the Hittite, Ahimelech, Sibbechai, and others of his associates who belonged to the old nations.

press (Judg. vi. 11), followed the herd out of the field (1 Sam. xi. 5), and were taken from the sheep-cotes (2 Sam. vii. 8), and the pressing courtesy of Araunah is closely paralleled by that of Ephron the Hittite in his negotiation with Abraham.

We are not favoured with further traits of the Jebusites, nor with any clue to their religion or rites.

Two names of individual Jebusites are preserved. In ADONIZEDEK the only remarkable thing is its Hebrew form, in which it means "Lord of justice."

That of ARAUNAH is much more uncertain—so much so as to lead to the belief that we possess it more nearly in its original shape. In the short narrative of Samuel alone it is given in three forms—"the Avarnah" (ver. 16); Araneah (18); Aravnah, or Araunah (20, 21). In Chronicles it is Arnan, while by the LXX. it is 'Oρνᾶ, and by Josephus 'Ορνᾶ. [ARAUNAH; ORNAN.]

In the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles the ashes of Barnabas, after his martyrdom in Cyprus, are said to have been buried in a cave, where the race of the Jebusites formerly dwelt; and previously to this is mentioned the arrival in the island of a pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero (*Act. Apost. Apocr.* pp. 72, 73, ed. Tisch.). [G.]

**JECAMIAH** (יְכַמְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Jekamiah, as the name is elsewhere given: 'Iεκεμῖα, Alex. 'Iεκεμῖα: *Jecemio*), one of a batch of seven, including Salathiel and Pedaiah, who were introduced into the royal line, on the failure of it in the person of Jehoiahiu (1 Chr. iii. 18). They were all apparently sons of Neri, of the line of Nathan, since Salathiel certainly was so (Luke iii. 27). [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, p. 675a.] [A. C. H.]

**JECHOLIAH** (יְכֹלִיָּהוּ, with the final *ū*: 'Iεχολῖα, Alex. 'Iεχεμα; Joseph. 'Αχιόλας: *Jochelia*), wife of Amaziah king of Judah, and mother of Azariah or Uzziah his successor (2 K. xv. 2). Both this queen and Jehoaddan, the mother of her husband, are specified as "of Jerusalem." In the A. V. of Chronicles her name is given as JECOLIAH.

**JECHONIAS** ('Iεχωνίας: *Jechonias*). 1. The Greek form of the name of king JECHONIAH, followed by our translators in the books rendered from the Greek, viz., Esth. xi. 4; Bar. i. 3, 9; Matt. i. 11, 12.

2. 1 Esd. viii. 92. [SHECHANIAH.]

**JECOLIAH** (יְכֹלִיָּהוּ: 'Iεχολῖα: *Jochelia*) 2 Chr. xxvi. 3. In the original the name differs from its form in the parallel passage in Kings, only in not having the final *ū*. [JECHOLIAH.]

**JECHONIAS** (יְכֹנִיָּהוּ: excepting once, יְכֹנִיָּהוּ, with the final *ū*, Jer. xxiv. 1; and once in *Cetib*, יְכֹנִיָּהוּ, Jer. xxvii. 20: 'Iεχωνίας: *Jechonias*), an altered form of the name of JEHOIACHIN, last but one of the kings of Judah, which is found in the following passages:—1 Chr. iii. 16, 17; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 1; Esth. ii. 6. It is still further abbreviated to CONIAH. See also JECHONIAS and JOACIM.

**JECONTAS** ('Iεχωνίας: *Jechonias*), 1 Esd. i. 9. [CONANIAH.]

**JEDATIAH** (יְדַתְיָהוּ: 'Iēdāt, 'Iēdōt, 'Iadād *Jadaia, Jedai*). 1. Head of the second course of

priests, as they were divided in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). Some of them survived to return to Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity, as appears from Ezr. ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39—"the children of Jedaiiah, of the house of Jeshua, 973." The addition "of the house of Jeshua" indicates that there were two priestly families of the name of Jedaiiah, which it appears from Neh. xii. 6, 7, 19, 21, was actually the case. If these sons of Jedaiiah had for their head JESHUA, the high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel, as the Jewish tradition says they had (Lewis's *Orig. Heb.* bk. ii. ch. vii.), this may be the reason why, in 1 Chr. ix. 10, and Neh. xi. 10, the course of Jedaiiah is named before that of Joiarib, though Joiarib's was the first course. But perhaps Jeshua was another priest descended from Jedaiiah, from whom this branch sprung. It is certainly a corrupt reading in Neh. xi. 10 which makes Jedaiiah son of Joiarib. 1 Chr. ix. 10 preserves the true text. In Esdras the name is JEDDU.

2. A priest in the time of Jeshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 10, 14). [A. C. H.]

**JEDATIAH** (יְדַתְיָהוּ: 'Iēdāt; Alex. 'Eδιδ, 'Iēdātā *Idaia, Jedaia*). This is a different name from the last, though the two are identical in the A. V.

1. A man named in the genealogies of Simeon as a forefather of Ziza, one of the chiefs of the tribe, apparently in the time of king Hezekiah (1 Chr. iv. 37).

2. Son of Harumaph; a man who did his part in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

**JED'DU** ('Iēddōt: *Jeddu*), 1 Esd. v. 24. [JEDAHIAH, 1.]

**JEDUTUS** ('Iēdūtōs: *Jedutōs*), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [ADATHAN, 5.]

**JEDIAEL** (יְדִיֵּאֵל: 'Iēdiḥāl; *Jadial*). 1. A chief patriarch of the tribe of Benjamin, from whom sprung many Benjamite houses of fathers, numbering 17,200 mighty men of valour, in the days of David (1 Chr. vii. 6, 11). It is usually assumed that Jedial is the same as Ashbel (Gen. xli. 21; Num. xxvi. 38; 1 Chr. viii. 1). But though this may be so, it cannot be affirmed with certainty. [BECHER; BEIA.] Jedial might be a later descendant of Benjamin not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but who, from the fruitfulness of his house and the decadence of elder branches, rose to the first rank.

2. Second son of Meshemiah, a Levite, of the sons of Ebiasaph the son of Korah. One of the doorkeepers of the temple in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 1, 2). [A. C. H.]

3. Son of Shimri; one of the heroes of David's guard in the enlarged catalogue of Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 45). In the absence of further information, we cannot decide whether or not he is the same person as

4. ('Pwēdiḥāl; Alex. 'Iēdiḥāl), one of the chiefs (lit. "heads") of the thousands of Manasseh who joined David on his march from Aphek to Ziklag when he left the Philistine army on the eve of Gilboa, and helped him in his revenge on the marauding Amalekites (1 Chr. xii. 20; comp. 1 Sam. xxix., xxx.).

**JEDIDAH** (יְדִידָה: "darling;" 'Iēdiā; Alex. 'Eδιδ: *Idida*), queen of Amon, and mother of the

good king Josiah (2 K. xxii. 1). She was a native of Bozath near Lachish, the daughter of a certain Adaiah. By Josephus (*Ant. x. 4, §1*) her name is given as 'Iēdis.

**JEDIDIAH** (יְדִידְיָה), "darling of Jehovah:" 'Iēdis; Alex. 'Eieδιδιά: *Anabilis Domino*), the name bestowed, through Nathan the prophet, on David's son Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25).

Bathsheba's first child had died—"Jehovah struck it" (ver. 15). A second son was born, and David—whether in allusion to the state of his external affairs, or to his own restored peace of mind—called his name Shelomōh ("Peaceful"); and Jehovah loved the child, i. e. allowed him to live. And David sent by the hand of Nathan, to obtain through him some oracle or token of the Divine favour on the babe, and the babe's name was called JEDIDIAH. It is then added that this was done "because of Jehovah." The clue to the meaning of these last words, and indeed of the whole circumstance, seems to reside in the fact that "Jedid" and "David" are both derived from the same root, or from two very closely related (see Gesen. *Thes.* 565a—"דָּדָה, idem quod דָּוִד"). To us these plays on words have little or no significance; but to the old Hebrews, as to the modern Orientals, they were full of meaning. To David himself, the "darling" of his family and his people, no more happy omen, no more precious seal of his restoration to the Divine favour after his late fall, could have been afforded, than this announcement by the prophet, that the name of his child was to combine his own name with that of Jehovah—JEDIDIAH, "darling of Jehovah."

The practice of bestowing a second name on children, in addition to that given immediately on birth—such second name having a religious bearing, as Noor-ed-Din, Saleh-ed-Din (Saladin), &c.—still exists in the East. [G.]

**JEDUTHUN** (יְדֻתָּן), except in 1 Chr. xvi. 38; Neh. xi. 17; Ps. xix. title; and lxxvii. title, where it is יְדֻתָּי, i. e. Jeduthun; Ἰδουθῶν and Ἰδουθῶν, or -ῶν; *Idithum*, a Levite, of the family of Merari, who was associated with Heman the Kohathite, and Asaph the Gershonite, in the conduct of the musical service of the tabernacle, in the time of David; according to what is said 1 Chr. xxiii. 6, that David divided the Levites "into courses among the sons of Levi, namely, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari." The proof of his being a Merarite depends upon his identification with Ethan in 1 Chr. xv. 17, who, we learn from that passage as well as from the genealogy in vi. 44 (A. V.), was a Merarite [HEMAN]. But it may be added that the very circumstance of Ethan being a Merarite, which Jeduthun must have been (since the only reason of there being three musical chiefs was to have one for each division of the Levites), is a strong additional proof of this identity. Another proof may be found in the mention of Hosah (xvi. 38, 42), as a son of Jeduthun and a gatekeeper, compared with xxi. 10, where we read that Hosah was of the children of Merari. Assuming then that, as regards 1 Chr. vi. 44, xv. 17, 19, יְדֻתָּי is a mere clerical variation for יְדִידְיָה—which a comparison of xv. 17, 19 with xvi. 41, 42, xxv. 1, 3, 6,

2 Chr. xxxv. 15, makes almost certain—we have Jeduthun's descent as son of Kishi, or Kushaiah, from Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi, being the fourteenth generation from Levi included. His office was generally to preside over the music of the temple service, consisting of the *nebel*, or nablum, the *cinnor*, or harp, and the cymbals, together with the human voice (the trumpets being confined to the priests). But his peculiar part, as well as that of his two colleagues Heman and Asaph, was "to sound with cymbals of brass," while the others played on the nablum and the harp. This appointment to the office was, by election of the chiefs of the Levites (לְזָרִי) at David's command, each of the three divisions probably choosing one. The first occasion of Jeduthun's ministering was when David brought up the ark to Jerusalem. He then took his place in the procession, and played on the cymbals. But when the division of the Levitical services took place, owing to the tabernacle being at Gibeon and the ark at Jerusalem, while Asaph and his brethren were appointed to minister before the ark, it fell to Jeduthun and Heman to be located with Zadok the priest, to give thanks "before the tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was at Gibeon," still by playing the cymbals in accompaniment to the other musical instruments (comp. Ps. cl. 5). In the account of Josiah's Passover in 2 Chr. xxxv. reference is made to the singing as conducted in accordance with the arrangements made by David, and by Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun *the king's seer* (חֹזֶן הַכֹּהֵן). [HEMAN.] Perhaps the phrase rather means the king's adviser in matters connected with the musical service. The sons of Jeduthun were employed (1 Chr. xxv.) partly in music, viz. six of them, who prophesied with the harp—Gedliah, head of the 2nd ward, Zerl, or Izri, of the 4th, Jeshaiiah of the 8th, Shimei of the 10th, Hashabiah of the 12th, and Mattithiah of the 14th; and partly as gatekeepers (A. V. "porters") (xvi. 42), viz. Obed-Edom and Hosah (v. 38), which last had thirteen sons and brothers (xxvi. 11). The triple division of the Levitical musicians seems to have lasted as long as the temple, and each to have been called after their respective leaders. At the dedication of Solomon's temple "the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun" performed their proper part. In the reign of Hezekiah, again, we find the sons of Asaph, the sons of Heman, and the sons of Jeduthun, taking their part in purifying the temple (2 Chr. xxix. 13, 14); they are mentioned, we have seen, in Josiah's reign, and so late as in Nehemiah's time we still find descendants of Jeduthun employed about the singing (Neh. xi. 17; 1 Chr. ix. 16). His name stands at the head of the 39th, 62nd, and 77th Psalms, indicating probably that they were to be sung by his choir. [A. C. H.]

**JEE'LI** (Ἰερμλί; Alex. 'IerMl; Celi), 1 Eod. v. 33. [JAALAH.]

**JEE'LOS** (Ἰεήλος; Alex. 'Ieēl; Celi); Alex. 'Ieēl; *Jehelus*, 1 Eod. viii. 92. [JEHEL.]

\* The reason why "son of Jeduthun" is especially attached to the name of Obed-Edom in this verse, is to distinguish him from the other Obed-Edom the Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10 mentioned in the

same verse, who was probably a Kohathite (Josh. xxi. 24).

<sup>b</sup> Omitted in ver. 3, but necessary to make up the 6 sons.

**JEEZER** (יֵזֶר: 'Αχιέζερ: *Hizer*), the form assumed in the list in Numbers (xxvi. 30) by the name of a descendant of Manasseh, eldest son of Gilead, and founder of one of the chief families of the tribe. [JEEZERITES.] The parallel lists the name is given as ABI-EZER, and the family as the ABIEZERITES—the house of Gideon. Whether this change has arisen from the accidental addition or omission of a letter, or is an intentional variation, akin to that in the case of Abiel and Jehiel, cannot be ascertained. The LXX. perhaps read יֵזֶר.

**JEEZERITES, THE** (יֵזֶרִיתִים: 'Αχιεζερι: *familia Hizeriturum*), the family of the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30).

**JEGAR SAHADU'THA** (הַיְזָרָה: יֵזֶר, "heap of testimony": *βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας: tumulus testis*), the Aramaean name given by Laban the Syrian to the heap of stones which he erected as a memorial of the compact between Jacob and himself, while Jacob commemorated the same by setting up a pillar (Gen. xxxi. 47), as was his custom on several other occasions. Galed, a witness heap," which is given as the Hebrew equivalent, does not exactly represent Jegar-sahadutha. The LXX. have preserved the distinction accurately in rendering the latter by *βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας*, and the former by *β. μαρτύς*. The Vulgate, oddly enough, has transposed the two, and translated Galed by "acervus testimonii," and Jegar Sahadutha by "tumulus testis." But in the mind of the writer they were evidently all but identical, and the manner in which he has adapted the name to the circumstances narrated, and to the locality which was the scene of the transaction, is a curious instance of a tendency on the part of the Hebrews, of which there are many examples in the O. T.,\* so to modify an already existing name that it might convey to a Hebrew an intelligible idea, and at the same time preserve essentially its original form. There is every reason to believe that the name Gilead is derived from a root which points to the natural features of the region to which it is applied, and to which it was in all probability attached before the meeting of Jacob and Laban, or at any rate before the time at which the historian was writing. In fact it is so used in verses 23 and 25 of this chapter. The memorial heap erected by Laban marked a crisis in Jacob's life which severed him from all further intercourse with his Syrian kindred, and henceforth his wanderings were mainly confined to the land which his descendants were to inherit. Such a crisis, so commemorated, was thought by the historian of sufficient importance to have left its impress upon the whole region, and in Galed, "the witness heap," was found the original name of the mountainous district Gilead.

A similar etymology is given for MIZPEH in the parenthetical clause consisting of the latter part of vers. 48 and 49, which is not unlikely to have been suggested, though it is not so stated—by the similarity between מִצְפֶּה, *mizpeh*, and מַצֵּבֶה, *matsebeah*, the "standing stone" or "statue" which Jacob set up to be his memorial of the transaction, as the heap of stones was Laban's. On this pillar or standing stone he swore by Jehovah, the "fear of

his father Isaac," as Laban over his heap invoked the God of Abraham, and Nahor, the God of their father Terah; each marking, by the most solemn form of adjuration he could employ, his own sense of the grave nature of the compact. [W. A. W.]

**JEHAL/ELEEL** (יְהִיאלֵל: 'Αλεήλ; Alex. 'Ιαλλήλ; *Jaleel*). Four men of the Bene-Jehalleel are introduced abruptly into the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 16). The name is identical with that rendered in the A. V. JEHALELEL. Neither form is however quite correct.

**JEHAL/ELEL** (יְהִיאלֵל: 'Ιαελλήλ; Alex. 'Ιαλλήλ; *Jalelel*), a Merarite Levite, whose son Azariah took part in the restoration of the temple in Hezekiah's time (2 Chr. xxix. 12).

**JEHDETAH** (יְהִידֵתָא: i. e. Yechde-yahu). 1. ('Iedā; Alex. 'Iadala, *Apadela: Jededia*). The representative of the Bene-Shubael, —descendants of Gershom, son of Moses—in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 20). But in xxvi. 24, a man of the name of Shebuel or Shubael, is recorded as the head of the house; unless in this passage the family itself, and not an individual, be intended.

2. ('Iadlas: *Jadías*.) A Meronothite who had charge of the she-uses—the riding and breeding stock—of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 30).

**JEHEZ'EKEL** (יְהִיזְכָּרִי: δ'Εζεκήλ: *Jezecel*), a priest to whom was given by David the charge of the twentieth of the twenty-four courses in the service of the house of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxiv. 16).

The name in the original is almost exactly similar to EZEKIEL.

**JEHIAH** (יְהִיָּה: 'Iefā; Alex. 'Iedā: *Jehias*). He and Obed-edom were "doorkeepers for the ark" (דְּוָרֵי שַׁעַר, the word elsewhere expressed by "porters") at the time of its establishment in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 24). The name does not recur, but it is possible it may be exchanged for the similar JEHIEL or JEEL in xvi. 5.

**JEHIEL** (יְהִיֵּל: *Jahiel*). 1. ('Iēhā.) One of the Levites appointed by David to assist in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20; xvi. 4).

2. One of the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, who was put to death by his brother Jehoram shortly after his becoming king (2 Chr. xxi. 2).

3. ('Iēhā.) One of the rulers of the house of God at the time of the reforms of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 8). [SYLUS.]

4. ('Iēhā.) A Gershonite Levite, head of the Bene-Laadan in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 8), who had charge of the treasures (xxix. 8). His family—JEHIEL, i. e. Jehielite, or as we should say now Jehielites—is mentioned, xxvi. 21.

5. ('Iēhā, Alex. 'Iepēhā.) Son of Hachmoni, or of a Hachmonite, named in the list of David's officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 32) as "with (דְּוָרֵי) the king's sons," whatever that may mean. The mention of Ahithophel (33) seems to fix the date of this list as before the revolt. In Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae* on this passage, Jehiel is said to be David's son Chileab or Daniel; and "Achamoni," interpreted

such. This tendency is not peculiar to the Hebrews. It exists in every language, but has not yet been recognised in the case of Hebrew.

\* The double account of the origin of Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 31, xxvi. 33), the explanation of Zoar (Gen. xix. 20, 23) and of the name of Moses (Ex. ii. 10), are illustrations of this; and there are many

as *Superciliosus*, is taken as an *alias* of David himself.

6. (In the original text, **יְהוֹאָהָל**, Jehuel—the A. V. follows the alteration of the Keri: **יְהִיָּהָל**.) A Levite of the Bene-Heman, who took part in the restorations of king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 14).

7. Another Levite at the same period (2 Chr. xxxi. 13), one of the "overseers" (**דִּירְיָבִים**) of the articles offered to Jehovah. His parentage is not mentioned.

8. (**יְהִיָּהָל**, Alex. **יְהִיָּהָל**.) Father of Obadiah, who headed 218 men of the Bene-Joab in the return from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 9). In Esdras the name is JEZELUS, and the number of his clan is stated at 212.

9. (**יְהִיָּהָל**, Alex. **יְהִיָּהָל**: *Jehiel*.) One of the Bene-Elam, father of Shechaniah, who encouraged Ezra to put away the foreign wives of the people (Ezr. x. 2). In Esdras it is JEZELUS.

10. (**יְהִיָּהָל**, Alex. **יְהִיָּהָל**: *Jehiel*.) A member of the same family, who had himself to part with his wife (Ezr. x. 26). [HIEREELUS.]

11. (**יְהִיָּהָל**, Alex. **יְהִיָּהָל**: *Jehiel*.) A priest, one of the Bene-Harim, who also had to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 21). [HIEREEL.]

**JEHIEL**,\* a perfectly distinct name from the last, though the same in the A. V. 1. (**יְהִיָּהָל**; so the Keri, but the *Cetib* has **יְהוֹאָהָל**, i. e. Jehu: **יְהִיָּהָל**: Alex. **יְהִיָּהָל**: *Jehiel*), a man described as Abi-Gibeon—father of Gibeon; a forefather of king Saul (1 Chr. ix. 35). In viii. 29 the name is omitted. The presence of the stubborn letter *Ain* in Jehiel forbids our identifying it with Abiel in 1 Sam. ix. 1, as some have been tempted to do.

2. (Here the name is as given in No. 1). One of the sons of Hotham the Aroerite; a member of the guard of David, included in the extended list of 1 Chr. xi. 44.

**JEHIELI** (**יְהִיָּהָלִי**: **יְהִיָּהָלִי**; Alex. **יְהִיָּהָלִי**: *Jehieli*), according to the A. V. a Gershonite Levite of the family of LAADAN. The Bene-Jehieli had charge of the treasures of the house of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxvi. 21, 22). In other lists it is given as JEHIEL. The name appears to be strictly a patronymic—Jehielite.

**JEHIZKIAH** (**יְהִיָּזְכִּיָּה**, i. e. Yehizki-yahu; same name as Hezekiah: **יְהִיָּזְכִּיָּה**: *Ezechias*), son of Shallum, one of the heads of the tribe of Ephraim in the time of Ahaz, who at the instance of Oded the prophet, nobly withstood the attempt to bring into Samaria a large number of captives and much booty, which the Israelite army under king Pekah had taken in the campaign against Judah. By the exactions of Jehizkiah and his fellows the captives were clothed, fed, and tended, and returned to Jericho en route for Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 12; comp. 8, 13, 15).

**JEHO'ADAH** (**יְהוֹאָדָה**, i. e. Jehoaddah's **יְהוֹאָדָה**; Alex. **יְהוֹאָדָה**: *Joadah*), one of the descendants of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 36); great grandson to Meribbaal, i. e. Mephibosheth. In the duplicate genealogy (ix. 42) the name is changed to JARAH.

**JEHOAD'DAN** (**יְהוֹאָדָן**; but in Kings the original text has **יְהוֹאָדָן**; and so the LXX. **יְהוֹאָדָן**;

**יְהוֹאָדָן**; Alex. **יְהוֹאָדָן**, **יְהוֹאָדָן**: *Joadan, Joudan*). "Jehoddan of Jerusalem" was queen to king Joash, and mother of Amaziah of Judah (2 K. xiv. 2; 2 Chr. xxv. 1).

**JEHO'AHAB** (**יְהוֹאָחָב**: **יְהוֹאָחָב**). 1. The son and successor of Jehu, reigned 17 years B.C. 856–840 over Israel in Samaria. His inglorious history is given in 2 K. xiii. 1–9. Throughout his reign (ver. 22) he was kept in subjection by Hazael king of Damascus, who, following up the successes which he had previously achieved against Jehu, compelled Jehoahaz to reduce his army to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 infantry. Jehoahaz maintained the idolatry of Jeroboam; but in the extremity of his humiliation he besought Jehovah; and Jehovah gave Israel a deliverer—probably either Jehoash (vv. 23 and 25), or Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 24, 25) (see Keil, *Commentary on Kings*). The prophet Elisha survived Jehoahaz; and Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 557) is disposed to place in his reign the incursions of the Syrians mentioned in 2 K. v. 2, vi. 8, and of the Ammonites mentioned in Amos i. 13.

2. Jehoahaz, otherwise called SHALUM, the fourth (acc. to 1 Chr. iii. 15), or third, if Zedekiah's age be correctly stated (2 Chr. xxxvi. 11), son of Josiah, whom he succeeded as king of Judah. He was chosen by the people in preference to his elder (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 31 and 36) brother, B.C. 610, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. His anointing (ver. 30) was probably some additional ceremony, or it is mentioned with peculiar emphasis, as if to make up for his want of the ordinary title to the throne. He is described by his contemporaries as an evil-doer (2 K. xxiii. 32) and an oppressor (Ez. xix. 3), and such is his traditional character in Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, §2); but his deposition seems to have been lamented by the people (Jer. xxii. 10, and Ez. xix. 1). Pharaoh-necho on his return from Charchemish, perhaps resenting the election of Jehoahaz, sent to Jerusalem to depose him, and to fetch him to Riblah. There he was cast into chains, and from thence he was taken into Egypt, where he died (see Prideaux, *Connection*, anno 610; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 719; Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Jerem.* xxii. 11).

3. The name given (2 Chr. xxi. 17, where, however, the LXX. has **ΟΧΟΛΑΣ**) during his father's lifetime (Bertheau) to the youngest son of Jehoram king of Judah. As king he is known by the name of AHAZIAH, which is written Azariah in the present Hebrew text of 2 Chr. xxii. 6, perhaps through a transcriber's error. [W. T. B.]

**JEHO'ASH** (**יְהוֹאָשׁ**: **יְהוֹאָשׁ**: *Joas*), the original uncontracted form of the name which is more commonly found compressed into JOASH. The two forms appear to be used quite indiscriminately; sometimes both occur in one verse (e. g. 2 K. xiii. 10, xiv. 17).

1. The eighth king of Judah; son of AHAZIAH (2 K. xi. 21, xii. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 18, xiv. 13). [JOASH, 1.]

2. The twelfth king of Israel; son of JEHOAHAB (2 K. xiii. 10, 25, xiv. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17). [JOASH, 2.]

**JEHOHA'NAN** (**יְהוֹחָנָן** = "Jehovah's gift," answering to Theodore: **יְהוֹחָנָן**: *Johanna*), a name much in use, both in this form and in the contracted shape of JOHANAN, in the later periods

\* Here our translators represent *Ain* by H, unless they simply follow the Vulgate. Comp. JAHUBAL, MEHUNIM.

of Jewish history. It has come down to us as JOHN, and indeed is rendered by Josephus *Ἰωάννης* (Ant. viii. 15, §2).

1. (*Ἰωάναν*; Alex. *Ἰωάνν*). A Levite, one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") to the house of Jehovah, i. e. the Tabernacle, according to the appointment of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 3; comp. xxv. 1). He was the sixth of the seven sons of Meshelemiah; a Korhite, that is descended from Korah, the founder of that great Kohathite house. He is also said (ver. 1) to have been of the Bene-Asaph; but Asaph is a contraction for Ebiasaph, as is seen from the genealogy in ix. 19. The well known Asaph too was not a Kohathite but a Gershonite.

2. One of the principal men of Judah, under king Jehoshaphat; he commanded 280,000 men, apparently in and about Jerusalem (2 Chr. xvii. 15; comp. i. 3 and 19). He is named second on the list, and is entitled *קִנְיָן*, "the captain," a title also given to Adnah in the preceding verse, though there rendered "the chief." He is probably the same person as

3. Father of Ishmael, one of the "captains" (*קִנְיָן*, as before) of hundreds"—evidently residing in or near Jerusalem—whom Jehoiada the priest took into his confidence about the restoration of the line of Judah (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

4. One of the Bene-Belai, a lay Israelite who was forced by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 28). In *Esdra* the name is JOHANNES.

5. A priest (Neh. xii. 13); the representative of the house of Amariah (comp. 2), during the high-priesthood of Joiakim (ver. 12), that is to say in the generation after the first return from captivity.

6. (Vat. LXX. omits.) A priest who took part in the musical service of thanksgiving, at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42). In two other cases this name is given in the A. V. as JOHANAN.

**JEHOIACHIN** (*יְהוֹיָכִן*) = "appointed of Jehovah"; once only, Ezr. i. 2, contracted to *יִיכִן*: in Kings *Ἰωαχίμ*, Chron. *Ἰεχοῖας*, Jer. and Ezr. *Ἰωακίμ*; Alex. *Ἰωακίμ* throughout; Joseph. *Ἰωακίμος* (*Jochin*). Elsewhere the name is altered to JECONIAH, and CONIAH. See also JECONIAS, JOIAKIM, and JOACIM.

Son of Jehoiakim and Nehushta, and for three months and ten days king of Judah, after the death of his father, being the nineteenth king from David, or twentieth, counting Jéhoahaz. According to 2 K. xiv. 8, Jehoiachin was eighteen years old at his accession; but 2 Chr. xxvi. 9, as well as 1 Esdr. i. 41, has the far more probable reading eight years,\* which fixes his birth to the time of his father's captivity, according to Matt. i. 11.

Jehoiachin came to the throne at a time when Egypt was still prostrate in consequence of the victory at Carchemish, and when the Jews had been for three or four years harassed and distressed by the inroads of the armed bands of Chaldeans, Ammonites, and Moabites, sent against them by Nebuchadnezzar in consequence of Jehoiakim's rebellion. [JEHOIAKIM.] Jerusalem at this time, therefore, was quite defenceless, and unable to offer any resistance to the regular army which Nebu-

chadnezzar sent to besiege it in the 8th year of his reign, and which he seems to have joined in person after the siege was commenced (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). In a very short time, apparently, and without any losses from famine or fighting which would indicate a serious resistance, Jehoiachin surrendered at discretion; and he, and the queen-mother, and all his servants, captains, and officers, came out and gave themselves up to Nebuchadnezzar, who carried them, with the harem and the eunuchs, to Babylon (Jer. xxix. 2; Ezek. xvii. 12, xix. 9). All the king's treasures, and all the treasure of the temple, were seized, and the golden vessels of the temple, which the king of Babylon had left when he pillaged it in the fourth of Jehoiakim, were now either cut up or carried away to Babylon, with all the nobles, and men of war, and skilled artisans, none but the poorest and weakest being left behind (2 K. xxiv. 13; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 19). According to 2 K. xxiv. 14, 16, the number taken at this time into captivity was 10,000, viz. 7000 soldiers, 1000 craftsmen and smiths, and 2000 whose calling is not specified. But, according to Jer. lii. 28 (a passage which is omitted in the LXX.), the number carried away captive at this time (called the seventh of Nebuchadnezzar, instead of the eighth, as in 2 K. xxiv. 12) was 3023. Whether this difference arises from any corruption of the numerals, or whether only a portion of those originally taken captive were actually carried to Babylon, the others being left with Zedekiah upon his swearing allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, cannot perhaps be decided. The numbers in Jeremiah are certainly very small, only 4600 in all, whereas the numbers who returned from captivity, as given in Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. were 42,360. However, Jehoiachin was himself let away captive to Babylon, and there he remained a prisoner, actually in prison (*בֵּית כְּלָא*), and wearing prison garments,

for thirty-six years, viz. till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, when Evil-Merodach succeeding to the throne of Babylon, treated him with much kindness, brought him out of prison, changed his garments, raised him above the other subject or captive kings, and made him sit at his own table. Whether Jehoiachin outlived the two years of Evil-Merodach's reign or not does not appear, nor have we any particulars of his life at Babylon. The general description of him in 2 K. xxiv. 9, "He did evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his father had done," seems to apply to his character at the time he was king, and but a child; and so does the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxii. 24-30; Ezek. xix. 5-9). We also learn from Jer. xxviii. 4, that four years after Jehoiachin had gone to Babylon, there was a great expectation at Jerusalem of his return, but it does not appear whether Jehoiachin himself shared this hope at Babylon. [JANANIAH, 4.] The tenor of Jeremiah's letter to the elders of the captivity (xxix.) would, however, indicate that there was a party among the captivity, encouraged by false prophets, who were at this time looking forward to Nebuchadnezzar's overthrow and Jehoiachin's return; and perhaps the fearful death of Ahab the son of Koliah (ib. v. 22), and the close confinement of Jehoiachin through Nebuchadnezzar's reign, may have been

\* Such is the text of the Vat. LXX.; the A. V. follows the Alex. and Vulgate in reading "eighteen." The words *יָשָׁר* and *יָרָר*, applied to Jehoiachin in

Jer. xxii. 28, 30, imply sex rather than age, and are both actually, used of infants. See Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.

the result of some disposition to conspire against Nebuchadnezzar on the part of a portion of the captivity. But neither Daniel nor Ezekiel, who were Jehoiachin's fellow-captives, make any further allusion to him, except that Ezekiel dates his prophecies by the year "of King Jehoiachin's captivity" (i. 2, viii. 1, xxiv. 1, &c.); the latest date being "the twenty-seventh year" (xxix. 17, xl. 1). We also learn from Esth. ii. 6, that Kiah, the ancestor of Mordecai, was Jehoiachin's fellow-captive. But the apocryphal books are more communicative. Thus the author of the book of Baruch (i. 3) introduces "Jechonias the son of Jehoiachin king of Judah" into his narrative, and represents Baruch as reading his prophecy in his ears, and in the ears of the king's sons, and the nobles, and elders, and people, at Babylon. At the hearing of Baruch's words, it is added, they wept, and fasted, and prayed, and sent a collection of silver to Jerusalem, to Joiakim, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum the high-priest, with which to purchase burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and incense, bidding them pray for the prosperity of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar his son. The history of Susanna and the Elders also apparently makes Jehoiachin an important personage; for, according to the author, the husband of Susanna was Joiakim, a man of great wealth, and the chief person among the captives, to whose house all the people resorted for judgment, a description which suits Jehoiachin. Africanus (*Ep. ad Orig.*; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 113) expressly calls Susanna's husband king, and says that the king of Babylon had made him his royal companion (*σύντροφος*). He is also mentioned 1 Esdr. v. 5, but the text seems to be corrupt. It probably should be "Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Joacim," i. e. Jehoiachin. It does not appear certainly from Scripture, whether Jehoiachin was married or had any children. That Zedekiah, who in 1 Chr. iii. 16 is called "his son," is the same as Zedekiah his uncle (called "his brother," 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10), who was his successor on the throne, seems certain. But it is not impossible that Assir (אֲסִיר = captive), who is reckoned among the "sons of Jeconiah" in 1 Chr. iii. 17, may have been so really, and either have died young or been made an eunuch (Is. xxxix. 7). This is quite in accordance with the term "childless," יָרֵי, applied to Jeconiah by Jeremiah (xxii. 30). [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, p. 675.]

Jehoiachin was the last of Solomon's line, and on its failure in his person, the right to the succession passed to the line of Nathan, whose descendant Shealtiel, or Salathiel, the son of Neri, was consequently inscribed in the genealogy as of "the sons of Jehoiachin." Hence his place in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 11, 12). For the variations in the Hebrew forms of Jeconiah's name see HANANIAH, 8; and for the confusion in Greek and Latin writers between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, *Ἰωακίμ* and *Ἰωαχίμ*, see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, and Hervey's *Genealogy*, p. 71-73.

N.B. The compiler of 1 Esdr. gives the name of Jechonias to Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, who reigned three months after Josiah's death, and was deposed and carried to Egypt by Pharaoh-Necho (1 Esdr. i. 34; 2 K. xxiii. 30). He is followed in this blunder by Epiphanius (vol. i. p. 21), who says "Josiah begat Jechoniah, who is also called Shallum. This Jechoniah begat Jechoniah, who is called Zedekiah and Joakim." It has its

origin doubtless in the confusion of the names when written in Greek by writers ignorant of Hebrew. [A. C. H.]

### JEHOIADA (יְהוֹיָדָא = "known of Jehovah":

*Yehôadâ*; Alex. *Yehôadâ*, *Yehôadâ*, *Yehôadâ*, and also as Vat.; Joseph. *Yehôadâ*: *Joiada*). In the later books the name is contracted to JOIADA.

1. Father of BENAIAH, David's well known warrior (2 Sam. viii. 18, 1 K. i. and ii. *passim*, 1 Chr. xviii. 17, &c.). From 1 Chr. xxvii. 5, we learn that Benaiah's father was the chief priest, and he is therefore doubtless identical with

2. (*Yehôadâ*) Leader (יָדָא) of the Aaronites (accurately "of Aaron") i. e. the priests; who joined David at Hebron, bringing with him 3700 priests (1 Chr. xii. 27).

3. According to 1 Chr. xxvii. 34, son of Benaiah, and one of David's chief counsellors, apparently having succeeded Ahithophel in that office. But in all probability Benaiah the son of Jehoiada is meant, by a confusion similar to that which has arisen with regard to Ahimelech and Abiathar, 1 Chr. xiii. 16, 2 Sam. viii. 17.

4. High-priest at the time of Athaliah's usurpation of the throne of Judah (B.C. 884-878), and during the greater portion of the 40 years' reign of Joash. It does not appear when he first became high-priest, but it may have been as early as the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign. Any how, he probably succeeded Amariah. [HIGH-PRIEST.] He married JEHOSHBEA, or Jehoshabeath, daughter of king Jehoram, and sister of king Ahaziah (2 Chr. xii. 11); and when Athaliah slew all the seed royal of Judah after Ahaziah had been put to death by Jehu, he and his wife stole Joash from among the king's sons, and hid him for six years in the Temple, and eventually replaced him on the throne of his ancestors. [JOASH; ATHALIAH.] In effecting this happy revolution, by which both the throne of David and the worship of the true God according to the law of Moses were rescued from imminent danger of destruction, Jehoiada displayed great ability and prudence. Waiting patiently till the tyranny of Athaliah, and we may presume, her foreign practices and preferences, had produced disgust in the land, he at length, in the 7th year of her reign, entered into secret alliance with all the chief partisans of the house of David and of the true religion. He also collected at Jerusalem the Levites from the different cities of Judah and Israel, probably under cover of providing for the Temple services, and then concentrated a large and concealed force in the Temple, by the expedient of not dismissing the old courses of priests and Levites when their successors came to relieve them on the Sabbath. By means of the consecrated shields and spears which David had taken in his wars, and which were preserved in the treasury of the Temple (comp. 1 Chr. xviii. 7-11, xvi. 20-28, 1 K. xiv. 26, 27), he supplied the captains of hundreds with arms for their men. Having then divided the priests and Levites into three bands, which were posted at the principal entrances, and filled the courts with people favourable to the cause, he produced the young king before the whole assembly, and crowned and anointed him, and presented to him a copy of the Law according to Deut. xvii. 18-20. [HILKIAH.] The excitement of the moment did not make him forget the sanctity of God's house. None but the priests and ministering Levites were permitted by him to enter the

Temple; and he gave strict orders that Athaliah should be carried without its precincts before she was put to death. In the same spirit he inaugurated the new reign by a solemn covenant between himself, as high-priest, and the people and the king, to renounce the Baal-worship which had been introduced by the house of Ahab, and to serve Jehovah. This was followed up by the immediate destruction of the altar and temple of Baal, and the death of Mattan his priest. He then took order for the due celebration of the Temple service, and at the same time for the perfect re-establishment of the monarchy; all which seems to have been effected with great vigour and success, and without any cruelty or violence. The young king himself, under this wise and virtuous counsellor, ruled his kingdom well and prosperously, and was forward in works of piety during the lifetime of Jehoiada. The reparation of the Temple in the 23rd year of his reign, of which a full and interesting account is given 2 K. xii. and 2 Chr. xxiv., was one of the most important works at this period. At length, however, Jehoiada died, B.C. 834, and though far advanced in years, too soon for the welfare of his country, and the weak unstable character of Josiah. The text of 2 Chr. xxiv. 15, supported by the LXX. and Josephus, makes him 130 years old when he died. But supposing him to have lived to the 35th year of Josiah (which only leaves 5 years for all the subsequent events of the reign), he would in that case have been 95 at the time of the insurrection against Athaliah; and 15 years before, when Jehoram, whose daughter was his wife, was only 32 years old, he would have been 80: than which nothing can be more improbable. There must therefore be some early corruption of the numeral. Perhaps we ought to read **שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשֵׁשׁ** (83), instead of **שְׁמֹנֶה וְעֶשְׂרִים**. Even 103 (as suggested, *Genes. of our Lord*, p. 304) would leave an improbable age at the two above-named epochs. If 83 at his death, he would have been 33 years old at Joram's accession. For his signal services to his God, his king, and his country, which have earned him a place among the very foremost well-doers in Israel, he had the unique honour of burial among the kings of Judah in the city of David. He was probably succeeded by his son Zechariah. In Josephus' list (*A. J.* xviii. §6) the name of **ΙΩΔΕΑΣ** by an easy corruption is transformed into **ΙΩΔΕΑΣ**, and in the *Seder Olam* into Iphada.

In Matt. xxiii. 35, Zechariah the son of Jehoiada is mentioned as the "son of Barachias," i.e. Berechiah. This is omitted in Luke (xi. 51), and has probably been inserted from a confusion between this Zechariah and 2, the prophet, who was son of Berechiah; or with the son of Jeberechiah (*Is.* viii. 2).

5. Second priest, or sagan, to Seraiah the high-priest. He was deposed at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, probably for adhering to the prophet Jeremiah; when Zephaniah was appointed sagan in his room\* (*Jer.* xxix. 25-29; 2 K. xxv. 18). This is a clear instance of the title "the priest" being applied to the second priest. The passage in Jeremiah shows the nature of the sagan's authority at this time, when he was doubtless "ruler of the

house of Jehovah" (**נָגִיד בֵּית יְהוָה**). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Winer (*Realw.*) has quite misunderstood the passage, and makes Jehoiada the same as the high-priest in the reign of Josiah.

6. (**יֹדָד**), i.e. Joida; **Ἰωδᾶ**, Alex. **Ἰωιδᾶ**; *Jofada*, son of Paseach, who assisted to repair the "old gate" of Jerusalem (*Neh.* iii. 6). [A. C. H.]

**JEHOIAKIM** (**יְהוֹאֲכִים**; **Ἰωακίμ**, or **-εῖμ**; Joseph. **Ἰωακίμος**: *Joakim*), 18th (or, counting Jehoahaz, 19th) king of Judah from David inclusive—25 years old at his accession, and originally called **ELIAKIM**. He was the son of Josiah and Zebudah, daughter of Pedaiah of Rimnah, possibly identical with Arumah of *Judg.* ix. 41 (where the Vulg. has *Rumah*), and in that case in the tribe of Manasseh. His younger brother Jehoahaz, or Shallum, as he is called *Jer.* xxii. 11, was in the first instance made king by the people of the land on the death of his father Josiah, probably with the intention of following up Josiah's policy, which was to side with Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, being, as Prideaux thinks, bound by oath to the kings of Babylon (i. 50). Pharaoh-Necho, therefore, having borne down all resistance with his victorious army, immediately deposed Jehoahaz, and had him brought in chains to Riblah, where, it seems, he was on his way to Carchemish (2 K. xxiii. 33, 34; *Jer.* xxii. 10-12). He then set Eliakim, his elder brother, upon the throne—changed his name to Jehoiakim—and having charged him with the task of collecting a tribute of 100 talents of silver, and 1 talent of gold = nearly 40,000*l.*, in which he mulcted the land for the part Josiah had taken in the war with Babylon, he eventually returned to Egypt taking Jehoahaz with him, who died there in captivity (2 K. xxiii. 34; *Jer.* xxii. 10-12; *Ezek.* xix. 4).<sup>a</sup> Pharaoh-Necho also himself returned no more to Jerusalem, for after his great defeat at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim he lost all his Syrian possessions (2 K. xxiv. 7; *Jer.* xli. 2), and his successor Psammis (*Herod.* ii. clxi.) made no attempt to recover them. Egypt, therefore, played no part in Jewish politics during the seven or eight years of Jehoiakim's reign. After the battle of Carchemish Nebuchadnezzar came into Palestine as one of the Egyptian tributary kingdoms, the capture of which was the natural fruit of his victory over Necho. He found Jehoiakim quite defenceless. After a short siege he entered Jerusalem, took the king prisoner, bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon, and took also some of the precious vessels of the temple and carried them to the land of Shinar to the temple of Bel his god. It was at this time, in the fourth, or, as Daniel reckons, in the third year of his reign, that Daniel, and Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were taken captives to Babylon; but Nebuchadnezzar seems to have changed his purpose as regarded Jehoiakim, and to have accepted his submission, and reinstated him on the throne, perhaps in remembrance of the fidelity of his father Josiah. What is certain is, that Jehoiakim became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar after his invasion of Judah, and continued so for three years, but at the end of that time broke his oath of alle-

giance by a campaign on the Euphrates intervened.

\* It is however possible that Jehoiada vacated the office by death.

<sup>a</sup> It does not appear from the narrative in 2 K. xxiii. (which is the fullest) whether Necho went straight to Egypt from Jerusalem, or whether the

calamitous campaign on the Euphrates intervened.  
<sup>a</sup> It is possible that this diversity of reckoning may be caused by some reckoning a year for Jehoahaz's reign, while some omitted it.

giance and rebelled against him (2 K. xxiv. 1). What moved or encouraged Jehoiakim to this rebellion it is difficult to say, unless it were the restless turbulence of his own bad disposition and the dislike of paying the tribute to the king of Babylon, which he would have rather lavished upon his own luxury and pride (Jer. xxii. 13-17), for there is nothing to bear out Winer's conjecture, or Josephus's assertion, that there was anything in the attitude of Egypt at this time to account for such a step. It seems more probable that seeing Egypt entirely severed from the affairs of Syria since the battle of Carchemish, and the king of Babylon wholly occupied with distant wars, he hoped to make himself independent. But whatever was the motive of this foolish and wicked proceeding, which was contrary to the repeated warnings of the prophet Jeremiah, it is certain that it brought misery and ruin upon the king and his country. Though Nebuchadnezzar was not able at that time to come in person to chastise his rebellious vassal he sent against him numerous bands of Chaldeans, with Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who were all now subject to Babylon (2 K. xxiv. 7), and who cruelly harassed the whole country. It was perhaps at this time that the great drought occurred described in Jer. xiv. (comp. Jer. xv. 4 with 2 K. xxiv. 2, 3). The closing years of this reign must have been a time of extreme misery. The Ammonites appear to have overrun the land of Gad (Jer. xlix. 1), and the other neighbouring nations to have taken advantage of the helplessness of Israel to ravage their land to the utmost (Ez. xxv.). There was no rest or safety out of the walled cities. We are not acquainted with the details of the close of the reign. Probably as the time approached for Nebuchadnezzar himself to come against Judea the desultory attacks and invasions of his troops became more concentrated. Either in an engagement with some of these forces, or else by the hand of his own oppressed subjects, who thought to conciliate the Babylonians by the murder of their king, Jehoiakim came to a violent end in the 11th year of his reign. His body was cast out ignominiously on the ground; perhaps thrown over the walls to convince the enemy that he was dead; and then, after being left exposed for some time, was dragged away and buried "with the burial of an ass," without pomp or lamentation, "beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (Jer. xxii. 18, 19, xxxvi. 30). Within three months of his death Nebuchadnezzar arrived, and put an end to his dynasty by carrying Jehoiachin off to Babylon. [JEHOIACHIN.] All the accounts we have of Jehoiakim concur in ascribing to him a vicious and irreligious character. The writer of 2 K. xxiii. 37, tells us that "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah," a statement which is repeated xxiv. 9, and 2 Chr. xxxvi. 5. The latter writer

uses the yet stronger expression, "the acts of Jehoiakim, and the abominations which he did" (v. 8). But it is in the writings of Jeremiah that we have the fullest portraiture of him. If, as is probable, the 19th chapter of Jeremiah belongs to this reign, we have a detail of the abominations of idolatry practised at Jerusalem under the king's sanction, with which Ezekiel's vision of what was going on six years later, within the very precincts of the temple, exactly agrees; incense offered up to "abominable beasts;" "women weeping for Thammuz," and men in the inner court of the temple "with their backs towards the temple of the Lord" worshipping "the sun towards the east" (Ez. viii.). The vindictive pursuit and murder of Urijah the son of Shemaiah, and the indignities offered to his corpse by the king's command, in revenge for his faithful prophesying of evil against Jerusalem and Judah, are samples of his irreligion and tyranny combined. Jeremiah only narrowly escaped the same fate (Jer. xxvi. 20-24). The curious notice of him in 1 Esdr. i. 38, that he put his nobles in chains and caught Zambes his brother in Egypt<sup>d</sup> and brought him up thence (to Jerusalem) also points to his cruelty. His daring impiety in cutting up and burning the roll containing Jeremiah's prophecy, at the very moment when the national fast was being celebrated, is another specimen of his character, and drew down upon him the sentence, "He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (Jer. xxxvi.). His oppression, injustice, covetousness, luxury, and tyranny, are most severely rebuked (xxii. 13-17), and it has been frequently observed, as indicating his thorough selfishness and indifference to the sufferings of his people, that at a time when the land was so impoverished by the heavy tributes laid upon it by Egypt and Babylon in turn, he should have squandered large sums in building luxurious palaces for himself (xxii. 14, 15). Josephus's history of Jehoiakim's reign is consistent neither with Scripture nor with itself. His account of Jehoiakim's death and Jehoiachin's accession appears to be only his own inference from the Scripture narrative. According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6) Nebuchadnezzar came against Judea in the 8th year of Jehoiakim's reign, and compelled him to pay tribute, which he did for three years, and then revolted in the 11th year, on hearing that the king of Babylon was gone to invade Egypt.<sup>e</sup> He then inserts the account of Jehoiakim's burning Jeremiah's prophecy in his 5th year, and concludes by saying, that a little time afterwards the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who admitted Nebuchadnezzar into the city upon certain conditions, which Nebuchadnezzar immediately broke; that he slew Jehoiakim and the flower of the citizens, and sent 3000 captives to Babylon, and set up Jehoiachin for king, but almost imme-

<sup>d</sup> The passage seems to be corrupt. The words *τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ* seem to be repeated from the preceding line but one, and *Σαρδάν* is a corruption of *Θύριαν*. *συλλαβὴν ἀντὶ τῆς* is a paraphrase of the Alexandrian Codex of Jer. xxxiii. 23 (xxvi. 23, A. V.), *συλλαβὴσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξήγαγον*.

<sup>e</sup> Nothing can be more improbable than an invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar at this time. All the Syrian possessions of Egypt fell into the power of Babylon soon after the victory at Carchemish, and the king of Egypt retired thenceforth into his own country. His Asiatic wars seem to have engrossed Nebuchadnezzar's attention for the next 7 years; and in like

manner the king of Egypt seems to have confined himself to Ethiopian wars. The first hint we have of Egypt aiming at recovering her lost influence in Syria is at the accession of Pharaoh-Hophra, in the 4th of Zedekiah. [HAXANIAN, 4.] He made several abortive attempts against Nebuchadnezzar in Zedekiah's reign, and detached the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Tyrians, and Zidonians from the Babylonian alliance (Jer. xxxvii.). In consequence, Nebuchadnezzar, after thoroughly subduing these nations, and devoting 13 years to the siege of Tyre, at length invaded and subdued Egypt in the 35th year of his reign (Ez. xxix. 17).

diately afterwards was seized with fear lest the young king should avenge his father's death, and so sent back his army to besiege Jerusalem; that Jehoiachin, being a man of just and gentle disposition, did not like to expose the city to danger on his own account, and therefore surrendered himself, his mother, and kindred, to the king of Babylon's officers on condition of the city suffering no harm; but that Nebuchadnezzar, in direct violation of the conditions, took 10,832 prisoners, and made Zedekiah king in the room of Jehoiachin, whom he kept in custody—a statement the principal portion of which seems to have no foundation whatever in facts. The account given above is derived from the various statements in Scripture, and seems to agree perfectly with the probabilities of Nebuchadnezzar's movements and with what the most recent discoveries have brought to light concerning him. [NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] The reign of Jehoiachim extends from B.C. 609 to B.C. 598, or as some reckon 599.

The name of Jehoiachim appears in a contracted form in JQIAKIM, a high-priest. [A. C. H.]

### JEHOIARIB (יְהוֹיָרִיב) 1 Chr. ix. 10, xxiv.

7, only; elsewhere, both in Hebrew and A. V., the name is abbreviated to JOIARIB: *Ἰωάρβ*; Alex. *Ἰωαρίβ* and *Ἰαρίβ*: *Joiarib*), head of the first of the 24 courses of priests, according to the arrangement of king David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). Some of his descendants returned from the Babylonian captivity, as we learn from 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10. [JEDATH.] Their chief in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua was Mattenai (Neh. xii. 6, 19). They were probably of the house of Eleazar. To the course of Jehoiairib belonged the Asmonean family (1 Macc. ii. 1), and Josephus, as he informs us (*Ant.* xii. 6. §1, and *Life*, §1). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Prideaux indeed (*Connection*, i. 129), following the Jewish tradition, affirms that only 4 of the courses returned from Babylon, Jedaniah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim—for which last, however, the Babylonian Talmud has Joiarib—because these 4 only are enumerated in Ezr. ii. 36-39, Neh. vii. 39-42. And he accounts for the mention of other courses, as of Joiarib (1 Macc. ii. 1), and Abiah (Luke i. 5), by saying that those 4 courses were subdivided into 8 each, so as to keep up the old number of 24, which took the names of the original courses, though not really descended from them. But this is probably an invention of the Jews, to account for the mention of only these 4 families of priests in the list of Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. And however difficult it may be to say with certainty why only those 4 courses are mentioned in that particular list, we have the positive authority of 1 Chr. ix. 10, and Neh. xi. 10, for asserting that Joiarib did return; and we have two other lists of courses, one of the time of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2-8), the other of Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 1-7); the former enumerating 21, the latter 22 courses; and the latter naming Joiarib as one of them,\* and adding, at v. 19, the name of the chief of the course of Joiarib in the days of Joiakim. So that there can be no reasonable doubt that Joiarib did return. The notion of the Jews does not receive any con-

firmation from the statement in the Latin version of Josephus (*Cont. Apion.* ii. §8), that there were 4 courses of priests, as it is a manifest corruption of the text for 24, as Whiston and others have shown (note to *Life of Josephus*, §1). The subjoined table gives the three lists of courses which returned, with the original list in David's time to compare them by:—

COURSES OF PRIESTS.

In David's time, 1 Chr. xxiv.	In list in Ezr. ii., Neh. vii.	In Nehemiah's time, Neh. x.	In Zerubbabel's time, Neh. xii.
1. Jehoiairib, 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10.	—	—	Joiarib.
2. Jedaniah.	Children of Jedaniah, Children of Harim.	—	Jedaniah.
3. Harim.	Children of Harim.	Harim.	Rehum, (Harim, v. 15).
4. Seerim.	Children of Pashur, 1 Chr. ix. 18.	Malchijah.	—
5. Malchijah.	—	—	—
6. Mijamin.	—	Mijamin.	Mijamin (Mijamin, v. 17)
7. Hakkoz.	—	Moremoth, son of Hakkoz, Neh. ix. 4.	Moremoth.
8. Abijah.	—	Abijah.	Abijah.
9. Jeshuaah.	House of Jedon (?) Ezr. ii. 40, Neh. vii. 40	—	—
10. Shecaniah.	—	Shecaniah.	Shecaniah, (Shecaniah, ver. 14).
11. Fimelub.	—	—	—
12. Jakin.	—	—	—
13. Huppah.	—	—	—
14. Jedabab.	—	—	—
15. Bilgah.	—	Bilgah.	Bilgah.
16. Immer.	Children of Immer.	Amariel.	Amariel.
17. Hezir.	—	—	—
18. Aphas.	—	—	—
19. Petahiah.	—	—	—
20. Jolezerkel.	—	—	—
21. Joabiah.	—	—	—
22. Gaiul.	—	—	—
23. Jedaiel.	—	—	—
24. Maaziah.	—	Maaziah.	Maaziah (Maaziah, v. 17)

The courses which cannot be identified with the original ones, but which are enumerated as existing after the return, are as follows:—

Neh. x.	Neh. xii.	Neh. xii., 1 Chr. ix.
Seralah.	Seralah.	Seralah (?)
Azariah.	Ezra.	Azariah.
Jereniah.	Jereniah.	—
Pashur.	—	—
Hattush.	Hattush.	—
Maltuch.	Maltuch.	—
Obadiah.	Iddo.	Adalah (?)
Daniel.	—	—
Gimethon.	Gimetho.	—
Baruch.	—	—
Meshullam.	—	—
Shemalah.	Shemalah.	—
	Salu.	—
	Amok.	—
	Hilkiah.	—
	Jedalah (2).	—

For some account of the courses, see Lewis's *Orig. Hebr.* bk. ii. ch. vii.

In Esdras the name is given JOARIB. [A. C. H.]

JEHO'NADAB, and JO'NADAB (the longer form, יְהוֹנָדָב), is employed in 2 K. x. and Jer. xxv.

\* It is, however, very singular that the names after Shemalah in Neh. xii. 6, including Joiarib and Jedalah, have the appearance of being added on to the previously existing list, which ended with Shemalah, as does that in Neh. x. 2-8. For Joiarib's is introduced with the copula "and;" it is quite out of its right

order as the first course; and, moreover, these names are entirely omitted in the LXX. till we come to the times of Joiakim at ver. 12-21. Still the utmost that could be concluded from this is, that Joiarib returned later than the time of Zerubbabel.

8, 14, 16, 18; the shorter one, יִינָדָב, in Jer. xxxv. 6, 10, 19: *Iovadab*), the son of Rechab, founder of the Rechabites. It appears from 1 Chr. ii. 55, that his father or ancestor Rechab ("the rider") belonged to a branch of the Kenites; the Arabian tribe which entered Palestine with the Israelites. One settlement of them was to be found in the extreme north, under the chieftainship of Heber (Judg. iv. 11), retaining their Bedouin customs under the oak which derived its name from their nomadic habits. The main settlement was in the south. Of these, one branch had nestled in the cliffs of Engedi (Judg. i. 16; Num. xxiv. 21). Another had returned to the frontier of their native wilderness on the south of Judah (Judg. i. 16). A third was established, under a fourfold division, at or near the town of Jabez in Judah (1 Chr. ii. 55). To these last belonged Rechab and his son Jehonadab. The Bedouin habits, which were kept up by the other branches of the Kenite tribe, were inculcated by Jehonadab with the utmost minuteness on his descendants; the more so, perhaps, from their being brought into closer connexion with the inhabitants of the settled districts. The vow or rule which he prescribed to them is preserved to us: "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build houses, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye are strangers" (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7). This life, partly monastic, partly Bedouin, was observed with the tenacity with which from generation to generation such customs are continued in Arab tribes; and when, many years after the death of Jehonadab, the Rechabites (as they were called from his father) were forced to take refuge from the Chaldaean invasion within the walls of Jerusalem, nothing would induce them to transgress the rule of their ancestor; and in consequence a blessing was pronounced upon him and them by the prophet Jeremiah (xxxv. 19): "Joadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever." [RECHABITES.]

Bearing in mind this general character of Jehonadab as an Arab chief, and the founder of a half-religious sect, perhaps in connexion with the austere Elijah, and the Nazarites mentioned in Amos ii. 11 (see Ewald, *Altenthümer*, 92, 93), we are the better able to understand the single occasion on which he appears before us in the historical narrative.

Jehu was advancing, after the slaughter of Beth-eked, on the city of Samaria, when he suddenly met the austere Bedouin coming towards him (2 K. x. 15). It seems that they were already known to each other (Jos. Ant. ix. 6, §6). The king was in his chariot; the Arab was on foot. It is not clear, from the present state of the text, which was the first to speak. The Hebrew text—followed by the A. V.—implies that the king blessed (A. V. "saluted") Jehonadab. The LXX. and Josephus (Ant. ix. 6, §6) imply that Jehonadab blessed the king. Each would have its peculiar appropriateness. The king then proposed their close union. "Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?" The answer of Jehonadab is slightly varied. In the Hebrew text he vehemently replies, "It is, it is: give me thine hand." In the LXX., and in the A. V.—he replies simply "It is;" and Jehu then rejoins, "If it is, give me thine hand." The hand, whether of Jehonadab or Jehu, was offered and grasped. The king lifted him up to the edge of the chariot, apparently that he might whisper his

secret into his ear, and said, "Come with me, and see my zeal for Jehovah." It was the first indication of Jehu's design upon the worship of Baal, for which he perceived that the stern zealot would be a fit coadjutor. Having entrusted him with the secret, he (LXX.) or his attendants (Heb. and A. V.) caused Jehonadab to proceed with him to Samaria in the royal chariot.

So completely had the worship of Baal become the national religion, that even Jehonadab was able to conceal his purpose under the mask of conformity. No doubt he acted in concert with Jehu throughout; but the only occasion on which he is expressly mentioned is when (probably from his previous knowledge of the secret worshippers of Jehovah) he went with Jehu through the temple of Baal to turn out any that there might happen to be in the mass of Pagan worshippers (2 K. x. 23). [Jehu.] This is the last we hear of him. [A. P. S.]

**JEHON'ATHAN** (יְהוֹנָתָן; *Iovd'as*: *Jonathan*): the more accurate rendering of the Hebrew name, which is most frequently given in the A. V. as JONATHAN. It is ascribed to three persons:—

1. Son of Uzziah; superintendent of certain of king David's storehouses (אֲצִירֹת) the word rendered "treasures" earlier in the verse, and in 27, 28 "cellars"); 1 Chr. xxvii. 25.

2. One of the Levites who were sent by Jehoshaphat through the cities of Judah, with a book of the Law, to teach the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

3. A priest (Neh. xii. 18); the representative of the family of Shemaiah (ver. 6), when Jolaim was high-priest, that is in the next generation after the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

**JEHO'RAM** (יְהוֹרָם = "exalted by Jehovah":

*Iovd'm*; Joseph. *Ἰωράμος*: *Joram*). The name is more often found in the contracted form of JORAM. 1. Son of Ahab king of Israel, who succeeded his brother Ahaziah (who had no son) upon the throne at Samaria, B.C. 896, and died B.C. 884. During the first four years of his reign his contemporary on the throne of Judah was Jehoshaphat, and for the next seven years and upwards Joram the son of Jehoshaphat, and for the last year, or portion of a year, Ahaziah the son of Joram, who was killed the same day that he was (2 K. ix. 27). The alliance between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, commenced by his father and Jehoshaphat, was very close throughout his reign. We first find him associated with Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom, at that time a tributary of the kingdom of Judah, in a war against the Moabites. Meshah, their king, on the death of Ahab, had revolted from Israel, and refused to pay the customary tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. Joram asked and obtained Jehoshaphat's help to reduce him to his obedience, and accordingly the three kings, of Israel, Judah, and Edom, marched through the wilderness of Edom to attack him. The three armies were in the utmost danger of perishing for want of water. The piety of Jehoshaphat suggested an inquiry of some prophet of Jehovah, and Elisha the son of Shaphat, at that time and since the latter part of Ahab's reign Elijah's attendant (2 K. iii. 11; 1 K. xix. 19-21), was found with the host. [ELISHA, p. 537.] From him Jehoram received a severe rebuke, and was bid to inquire of the prophets of his father and mother, the

prophets of Baal. Nevertheless for Jehoshaphat's sake Elisha inquired of Jehovah, and received the promise of an abundant supply of water, and of a great victory over the Moabites: a promise which was immediately fulfilled. The same water which, filling the valley, and the trenches dug by the Israelites, supplied the whole army and all their cattle with drink, appeared to the Moabites, who were advancing, like blood, when the morning sun shone upon it. Concluding that the allies had fallen out and slain each other, they marched incautiously to the attack, and were put to the rout. The allies pursued them with great slaughter into their own land, which they utterly ravaged and destroyed with all its cities. Kir-harasteth alone remained, and there the king of Moab made his last stand. An attempt to break through the besieging army having failed, he resorted to the desperate expedient of offering up his eldest son, the heir to his throne, as a burnt-offering, upon the wall of the city, in the sight of the enemy. Upon this the Israelites retired and returned to their own land (2 K. iii.). It was perhaps in consequence of Elisha's rebuke, and of the above remarkable deliverance granted to the allied armies according to his word, that Jehoram, on his return to Samaria, put away the image of Baal which Ahab his father had made (2 K. iii. 2). For in 2 K. iv. we have an evidence of Elisha's being on friendly terms with Jehoram, in the offer made by him to speak to the king in favour of the Shunammite. The impression on the king's mind was probably strengthened by the subsequent incident of Naaman's cure, and the temporary cessation of the inroads of the Syrians, which doubtless resulted from it (2 K. v.). Accordingly when, a little later, war broke out between Syria and Israel, we find Elisha befriending Jehoram. The king was made acquainted by the prophet with the secret counsels of the king of Syria, and was thus enabled to defeat them; and on the other hand, when Elisha had led a large band of Syrian-soldiers whom God had blinded, into the midst of Samaria, Jehoram reverentially asked him, "My father, shall I smite them?" and, at the prophet's bidding, not only forbore to kill them, but made a feast for them, and then sent them home unhurt. This procured another cessation from the Syrian invasions for the Israelites (2 K. vi. 23). What happened after this to change the relations between the king and the prophet we can only conjecture. But putting together the general bad character given of Jehoram (2 K. iii. 2, 3) with the fact of the prevalence of Baal-worship at the end of his reign (2 K. x. 21-28), it seems probable that when the Syrian inroads ceased, and he felt less dependent upon the aid of the prophet, he relapsed into idolatry, and was rebuked by Elisha, and threatened with a return of the calamities from which he had escaped. Refusing to repent, a fresh invasion by the Syrians, and a close siege of Samaria, actually came to pass, according, probably to the word of the prophet. Hence, when the terrible incident arose, in consequence of the famine, of a woman boiling and eating her own child, the king immediately attributed the evil to Elisha the son of Shaphat, and determined to take away his life. The message which he sent by the messenger whom he com-

missioned to cut off the prophet's head, "Behold this evil is from Jehovah, why should I wait for Jehovah any longer?" coupled with the fact of his having on sackcloth at the time (2 K. vi. 30, 33), also indicates that many remonstrances and warnings, similar to those given by Jeremiah to the kings of his day, had passed between the prophet and the weak and unstable son of Ahab. The providential interposition by which both Elisha's life was saved and the city delivered, is narrated 2 K. vii., and Jehoram appears to have returned to friendly feelings towards Elisha (2 K. viii. 4). His life, however, was now drawing near to its close. It was very soon after the above events that Elisha went to Damascus, and predicted the revolt of Hazael, and his accession to the throne of Syria in the room of Ben-hadad; and it was during Elisha's absence, probably, that the conversation between Jehoram and Gehazi, and the return of the Shunammite from the land of the Philistines, recorded in 2 K. viii., took place. Jehoram seems to have thought the revolution in Syria, which immediately followed Elisha's prediction, a good opportunity to pursue his father's favourite project of recovering Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. He accordingly made an alliance with his nephew Ahaziah, who had just succeeded Joram on the throne of Judah, and the two kings proceeded to occupy Ramoth-Gilead by force. The expedition was an unfortunate one. Jehoram was wounded in battle, and obliged to return to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds (2 K. viii. 29, ix. 14, 15), leaving his army under Jehu to hold Ramoth-Gilead against Hazael. Jehu, however, and the army under his command, revolted from their allegiance to Jehoram (2 K. ix.), and, hastily marching to Jezreel, surprised Jehoram, wounded and defenceless as he was. Jehoram, going out to meet him, fell pierced by an arrow from Jehu's bow on the very plat of ground which Ahab had wrested from Naboth the Jezreelite; thus fulfilling to the letter the prophecy of Elijah (1 K. xxi. 21-29). With the life of Jehoram ended the dynasty of Omri.

Jehoram's reign was rendered very remarkable by the two eminent prophets who lived in it, Elijah and Elisha. The former seems to have survived till the sixth year of his reign; the latter to have begun to be conspicuous quite in the beginning of it. For the famine which Elisha foretold to the Shunammite\* (2 K. viii. 1), and which seems to be the same as that alluded to iv. 38, must have begun in the sixth year of Jehoram's reign, since it lasted seven years, and ended in the twelfth year. In that case his acquaintance with the Shunammite must have begun not less than five or at least four years sooner, as the child must have been as much as three years old when it died; which brings us back at latest to the beginning of the second year of Jehoram's reign. Elisha's appearance in the camp of the three kings (2 K. iii.) was probably as early as the first year of Jehoram. With reference to the very entangled chronology of this reign, it is important to remark that there is no evidence whatever to show that Elijah the prophet was translated at the time of Elisha's first prophetic ministrations. The history in 2 K., at this part of it, having much the nature of memoirs of Elisha, and the active ministrations

\* The "then" of the A. V. of 2 K. viii. 1 is a thorough misrepresentation of the order of the events. The narrative goes back seven years, merely

to introduce the woman's return at this time. The king's conversation with Gehazi was doubtless caused by the providential utterance related in ch. vii.

of Elijah having closed with the death of Ahaziah, it was very natural to complete Elijah's personal history with the narrative of his translation in ch. ii. before beginning the series of Elisha's miracles. But it by no means follows that ch. ii. is really prior in order of time to ch. iii., or that, though the raising from the dead of the Shunammite's son was subsequent, as it probably was, to Elijah's translation, therefore all the preliminary circumstances related in ch. iv. were so likewise. Neither again does the expression (2 K. iii. 11), "Here is Elisha, which poured water on the hands of Elijah,"<sup>b</sup> imply that this ministration had at that time ceased, and still less that Elijah was removed from the earth. We learn, on the contrary, from 2 Chr. xxi. 12, that he was still on earth in the reign of Joram son of Jehoshaphat, who did not begin to reign till the fifth of Jehoram (2 K. viii. 16); and it seems highly probable that the note of time in 2 K. i. 17, "in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat," which is obviously and certainly out of its place where it now is, properly belongs to the narrative in ch. ii. With regard to the other discordant dates at this epoch, it must suffice to remark that all attempts to reconcile them are vain. That which is based upon the supposition of Joram having been associated with his father in the kingdom for three or seven years, is of all perhaps the most unfortunate, as being utterly inconsistent with the history, annihilating his independent reign, and after all failing to produce even a verbal consistency. The table given below is framed on the supposition that Jehoshaphat's reign really lasted only 22 years, and Ahab's only 19, as appears from the texts cited; that the statement that Jehoshaphat reigned 25 years is caused by the probable circumstance of his having taken part in the government during the three last years of Aza's reign, when his father was incapacitated by the disease in his feet (2 Chr. xvi. 12); and that three years were then added to Ahab's reign, to make the whole number of the years of the kings of Israel agree with the whole number of those of the kings of Judah, thus unduly lengthened by an addition of three years to Jehoshaphat's reign. This arrangement, it is believed, reconciles the greatest number of existing texts, agrees best with history, and especially coincides with what is the most certain of all the elements of the chronology of this time, viz. that the twelve years' reign of Jehoram son of Ahab, and the few months' reign of Ahaziah, the successor of Joram son of Jehoshaphat, ended simultaneously at the accession of Jehu.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.	KINGS OF JUDAH.
Ahab (reigned 19 yrs.) 1st yr. =	Asa (reigned 41 yrs.) 88th,
1 K. xvi. 30.	1 K. xvi. 30.
Ahab . . . . . 4th yr. =	Jehoshaphat (reigned 22 yrs.) 1st,
1 K. xxi. 41.	1 K. xxi. 41.
Ahab . . . . . last and 10th yr. =	Jehoshaphat . . . 10th, 1b. 51.
Ahaziah (reigned 1 yr.) 1st yr. =	Jehoshaphat, 17th, 1 K. xxi. 51.
Ahaziah . . . . . 2nd yr. =	Jehoshaphat, 18th, 2 K. iii. 1.
Jehoram (reigned 12 yrs.) 1st yr. =	Jehoshaphat last and 22nd,
Jehoram . . . . . 5th yr. =	and . . . . . (viii. 16,
Jehoram . . . . . 6th yr. =	Joram (reigned 8 yrs.) 1st, 2 K.
Jehoram . . . . . 7th yr. =	Joram, 2nd, 2 K. i. 17, 11; 2
Kings carried up to heaven =	2 Chr. xii. 12.
Jehoram . . . . . 8th yr. =	Joram, 8th, 2 K. viii. 17,
Jehoram . . . . . 12 =	and . . . . . (2 K. vii. 26,
	Ahaziah (reigned 1 yr.) 1st.

2. Eldest son of Jehoshaphat, succeeded his father

on the throne of Judah at the age of 32, and reigned eight years, from B.C. 893-2 to 885-4. [JEHOSHAPHAT, 1.] Jehoshaphat's daughter was wife to the high-priest Jehoiada. The ill effects of his marriage with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab, and the influence of that second Jezebel upon him were immediately apparent. As soon as he was fixed on the throne, he put his six brothers to death, with many of the chief nobles of the land. He then proceeded to establish the worship of Baal and other abominations, and to enforce the practice of idolatry by persecution. A prophetic writing from the aged prophet Elijah (2 Chr. xxi. 12), the last recorded act of his life, reproving him for his crimes and his impiety, and foretelling the most grievous judgments upon his person and his kingdom, failed to produce any good effect upon him. This was in the first or second year of his reign. The remainder of it was a series of calamities. First the Edomites, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat, revolted from his dominion, and established their permanent independence. It was as much as Jehoram could do by a night-attack with all his forces, to extricate himself from their army, which had surrounded him. Next Libnah, one of the strongest fortified cities in Judah (2 K. xix. 8), and perhaps one of those "fenced cities" (2 Chr. xxi. 3) which Jehoshaphat had given to his other sons, indignant at his cruelties, and abhorring his apostasy, rebelled against him. Then followed invasions of armed bands of Philistines and of Arabians (the same who paid tribute to Jehoshaphat, 2 Chr. xvii. 11), who burst into Judea, stormed the king's palace, put his wives and all his children, except his youngest son Ahaziah, to death (2 Chr. xxii. 1), or carried them into captivity, and plundered all his treasures. And, to crown all, a terrible and incurable disease in his bowels fell upon him, of which he died, after two years of misery, unregretted; and went down to a dishonoured grave in the prime of life, without either private or public mourning, and without even a resting-place in the sepulchre of his fathers (2 Chr. xxi. 19, 20). He died early in the twelfth year of his brother-in-law Jehoram's reign over Israel. [A. C. II.]

**JEHOSHAPHATH** (יהושפט): *Iwsofeth*; Alex. *Iwsofeth*: *Josabeth*): the form in which the name of JEHOSEHERA is given in 2 Chr. xxi. 11. We are here informed, what is not told us in Kings, that she was the wife of Jehoiada the high-priest.

**JEHOSHAPHAT** (יהושפט): *Iwsofaph*: *Josaphat*). 1. The son of Asa and Azubah, succeeded to the throne B.C. 914, when he was 35 years old, and reigned 25 years. His history is to be found among the events recorded in 1 K. xv. 24; 2 K. viii. 16, or in a continuous narrative in 2 Chr. xvii. 1-xxi. 3. He was contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram. At first he strengthened himself against Israel by fortifying and garrisoning the cities of Judah and the Ephraimite conquests of Asa. But soon afterwards the two Hebrew kings, perhaps appreciating their common danger from Damascus and the tribes on their eastern frontier, came to an understanding. Israel and Judah drew together for the first time since they parted at Schechem sixty years previously. Jehoshaphat's eldest son Jehoram married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. It does not appear how far Jehoshaphat encouraged that ill-starred union.

<sup>b</sup> The use of the perfect tense in Hebrew often implies the habit or the repetition of an action, as e. g. Ps. i. 1, ii. 1, &c.

The closeness of the alliance between the two kings is shown by many circumstances:—Elijah's reluctance when in exile to set foot within the territory of Judah (Blunt, *Und. Coinc.* ii. §19, p. 199); the identity of names given to the children of the two royal families; the admission of names compounded with the name of Jehovah into the family of Jezebel, the zealous worshipper of Baal; and the extreme animosity with which Jehoshaphat afterwards accompanied Ahab to the field of battle.

But in his own kingdom Jehoshaphat ever showed himself a zealous follower of the commandments of God: he tried, it would seem not quite successfully, to put down the high places and the groves in which the people of Judah burnt incense. In his third year, apprehending perhaps the evil example of Israelitish idolatry, and considering that the Levites were not fulfilling satisfactorily their function of teaching the people, Jehoshaphat sent out a commission of certain princes, priests, and Levites, to go through the cities of Judah, teaching the people out of the Book of the Law. He made separate provision for each of his sons as they grew up, perhaps with a foreboding of their melancholy end (2 Chr. xxi. 4). Riches and honours increased around him. He received tribute from the Philistines and Arabians; and kept up a large standing army in Jerusalem.

It was probably about the 16th year of his reign (B.C. 898) when he went to Samaria to visit Ahab and to become his ally in the great battle of Ramoth-gilead—not very decisive in its result, though fatal to Ahab. From thence Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem in peace; and, after receiving a rebuke from the prophet Jehu, went himself through the people “from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim,” reclaiming them to the law of God. He also took measures for the better administration of justice throughout his dominions; on which see Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. cap. 8, §4. Turning his attention to foreign commerce, he built at Ezion-geber, with the help of Ahaziah, a navy designed to go to Tarshish: but, in accordance with a prediction of a prophet Eliezer, it was wrecked at Ezion-geber; and Jehoshaphat resisted Ahaziah's proposal to renew their joint attempt.

Before the close of his reign he was engaged in two<sup>a</sup> additional wars. He was miraculously delivered from a threatened attack of the people of Ammon, Moab, and Seir; the result of which is thought by some critics to be celebrated in Ps. 48 and 92, and to be alluded to by the prophet Joel, iii. 2, 12. After this, perhaps, must be dated the war which Jehoshaphat, in conjunction with Jehoram king of Israel and the king of Edom, carried on against the rebellious king of Moab (2 K. iii.). After this the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet. In his declining years the administration of affairs was placed (probably B.C. 891) in the hands of his son Jehoram; to whom, as Usher conjectures, the same charge had been temporarily committed during Jehoshaphat's absence at Ramoth-gilead.

Like the prophets with whom he was brought in contact, we cannot describe the character of this good king without a mixture of blame. Eminently pious, gentle, just, devoted to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects, active in mind

and body, he was wanting in firmness and consistency. His character has been carefully sketched in a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Hessey, *Biographies of the Kings of Judah*, ii.

2. Son of Ahithud, who filled the office of recorder or annalist in the court of David (2 Sam. viii. 16, &c.), and afterwards of Solomon (1 K. iv. 3). Such officers are found not only in the courts of the Hebrew kings, but also in those of ancient and modern Persia, of the Eastern Roman Empire (Gesenius), of China, &c. (Keil). An instance of the use made of their writings is given in Esth. vi. 1.

3. One of the priests who, in the time of David (1 Chr. xv. 24), were appointed to blow trumpets before the ark in its transit from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem.

4. Son of Paruah; one of the twelve purveyors of king Solomon (1 K. iv. 17). His district was Issachar, from whence, at a stated season of the year, he collected such taxes as were paid in kind, and sent them to the king's court.

5. Son of Nimshi, and father of king Jehu (2 K. ix. 2, 14). [W. T. B.]

**JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF** (פֶּתַח יְהוֹשָׁפָט: *Koils Josaphat*: *Vallis Josaphat*), a valley mentioned by the prophet Joel only, as the spot in which, after the return of Judah and Jerusalem from captivity, Jehovah would gather all the heathen (Joel iii. 2; hebr. iv. 2), and would there sit to judge them for their misdeeds to Israel (iii. 12; hebr. v. 4). The passage is one of great boldness, abounding in the verbal turns in which Hebrew poetry so much delights, and in particular there is a play between the name given to the spot—Jehoshaphat, i. e. “Jehovah's judgment,”—and the “judgment” there to be pronounced. The Hebrew prophets often refer to the ancient glories of their nation: thus Isaiah speaks of the “day of Midian,” and of the triumphs of David and of Joshua in “Mount Perazim,” and in the “Valley of Gibeon;” and in like manner Joel, in announcing the vengeance to be taken on the strangers who were annoying his country (iii. 14), seems to have glanced back to that triumphant day when king Jehoshaphat, the greatest king the nation had seen since Solomon, and the greatest champion of Jehovah, led out his people to a valley in the wilderness of Tekoah, and was there blessed with such a victory over the hordes of his enemies as was without a parallel in the national records (2 Chr. xx.).

But though such a reference to Jehoshaphat is both natural and characteristic, it is not certain that it is intended. The name may be only an imaginary one conferred on a spot which existed nowhere but in the vision of the prophet. Such was the view of some of the ancient translators. Thus Theodotion renders it *χώρα κρίσεως*; and so the Targum of Jonathan—“the plain of the division of judgment.” Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelernte*, Remarks on Joel) takes a similar view, and considers the passage to be a prediction of the Maccabean victories. By others, however, the prophet has been supposed to have had the end of the world in view. And not only this, but the scene of “Jehovah's judgment” has been localised, and the name has come down to us

<sup>a</sup> Gesenius and Professor Newman are of opinion that the two narratives in 2 K. iii. and 2 Chr. xx. relate to one event. Their view has been successfully

opposed by Keil and Movers in Germany, and by the Rev. H. Browne, *Ordo Saeculorum*, 235.

attached to the deep ravine which separates Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, through which at one time the Kedron forced its stream. At what period the name was first applied to this spot is not known. There is no trace of it in the Bible or in Josephus. In both the only name used for this gorge is KIDRON (N. T. CEDRON). We first encounter its new title in the middle of the 4th century in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome (Art. *Coelus*), and in the Commentary of the latter Father on Joel. Since that time the name has been recognised and adopted by travellers of all ages and all faiths. It is used by Christians—as Arculf in 700 (*Early Trav.* i. 4), the author of the *Citez de Jerusalem*, in 1187 (Rob. ii. 562), and Maundrell, in 1697 (*E. Trav.* 469); and by Jews—as Benjamin of Tudela about 1170 (Asher, i. 71; and see Reland, *Pal.* 356). By the Moslems it is still said to be called *Wady Jushafat* (Seetzen, ii. 23, 26), or *Shafat*, though the name usually given to the Valley is *Wady Sitti-Maryam*. Both Moslems and Jews believe that the last judgment is to take place there. To find a grave there is the dearest wish of the latter (Briggs, *Heathen and Holy Lands*, 29), and the former show—as they have shown for certainly two centuries—the place on which Mahomet is to be seated at the Last Judgment, a stone jutting out from the east wall of the Haram area near the south corner, one of the pillars which once adorned the churches of Helena or Justinian, and of which multitudes are now embedded in the rude masonry of the more modern walls of Jerusalem. The steep sides of the ravine, wherever a level strip affords the opportunity, are crowded—in places almost paved—by the sepulchres of the Moslems, or the simpler slabs of the Jewish tombs, alike awaiting the assembly of the Last Judgment.

So narrow and precipitous a glen is quite unsuited for such an event; but this inconsistency does not appear to have disturbed those who framed or those who hold the tradition. It is however implied in the Hebrew terms employed in the two cases. That by Joel is *Emek* (עמק), a word applied to spacious valleys such as those of Esdraelon or Gibeon (Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §1). On the other hand the ravine of the Kidron is invariably designated by *Nachal* (נחל), answering to the modern Arabic *Wady*. There is no instance in the O. T. of these two terms being convertible, and this fact alone would warrant the inference that the tradition of the identity of the Emek of Jehoshaphat and the Nachal Kedron, did not arise until Hebrew had begun to become a dead language.\* The grounds on which it did arise were probably two:—1. The frequent mention throughout this passage of Joel of Mount Zion, Jerusalem, and the

Temple (ii. 32, iii. 1, 6, 16, 17, 18), may have led to the belief that the locality of the great judgment would be in their immediate neighbourhood. This would be assisted by the mention of the Mount of Olives in the somewhat similar passage in Zechariah (xiv. 3, 4).

2. The belief that Christ would reappear in judgment on the Mount of Olives, from which He had ascended. This was at one time a received article of Christian belief, and was grounded on the words of the Angels, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven."† (Adrichomius, *Theatr. Tir. Sanctae, Jerusalem*, §192; Corn. a Lapide, on Acts i.).

3. There is the alternative that the valley of Jehoshaphat was really an ancient name of the Valley of the Kedron, and that from the name, the connexion with Joel's prophecy, and the belief in its being the scene of Jehovah's last judgment have followed. This may be so; but then we should expect to find some trace of the existence of the name before the 4th century after Christ. It was certainly used as a burying place as early as the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 6), but no inference can fairly be drawn from this.

But whatever originated the tradition, it has held its ground most firmly. In the valley itself, one of the four remarkable monuments which exist at the foot of Olivet was at a very early date connected with Jehoshaphat. At Arculf's visit (about 700) the name appears to have been borne by that now called "Abulom's tomb," but then the "tower of Jehoshaphat" (*E. Trav.* 4). In the time of Maundrell the "tomb of Jehoshaphat" was, what it still is, an excavation, with an architectural front, in the face of the rock behind "Abulom's tomb." A tolerable view of this is given in plate 33 of Munk's *Palestine*; and a photograph by Salzmann, with a description in the *Teale* (p. 31) to the same. The name may, as already observed, really point to Jehoshaphat himself, though not to his tomb, as he was buried like the other kings in the city of David (2 K. xxi. 1). (b.) One of the gates of the city in the east wall, opening on the valley, bore the same name. This is plain from the *Citez de Jerusalem*, where the *Porte de Josafas* is said to have been a "postern" close to the golden gateway (*Portes Oiris*), and to the south of that gate (*pars devers nudi*; §iv., near the end, Rob. ii. 559). It was therefore at or near the small walled-up doorway, to which M. de Sauley has restored the name of the *Pôrtene de Josaphat*, and which is but a few feet to the south of the golden gateway. However this may be, this "postern" is evidently of later date than the wall in which it occurs, as some of the enormous stones of the wall have been cut through to admit it: and in so far,

\* This pillar is said to be called *et-Tarik*, "the road" (De Sauley, *Voyage*, ii. 199). From it will spring the Bridge of *As-Sirat*, the crossing of which is to test the true believers. Those who cannot stand the test will drop off into the abyss of Gehenna in the depths of the valley (Ali Bey, 224, 5: Mejr ed Dhi, in Rob. i. 269).

† St. Cyril (of Alexandria) either did not know the spot, or has another Valley in his eye; probably the former. He describes it as not many stadia from Jerusalem; and says he is told (φωτο) that it is "bare and apt for horses" (ψαδὸν καὶ ἱππῶναρον). Comm. on Joel, quoted by Reland, 355). Perhaps this indicates that the tradition was not at that time quite fixed.

• It appears in the Targum on Cant. viii. 1.

† In Sir John Maundeville a different reason is given for the same. "Very near this"—the place where Christ wept over Jerusalem—"is the stone on which our Lord sat when He preached; and on that same stone shall He sit on the day of doom, right as He said Himself." Bernard the Wise, in the 8th century, speaks of the church of St. Leon, in the Valley, "where our Lord will come to judgment" (*Early Trav.* 28).

• To this fact the writer can testify from recent observation. It is evident enough in Salzmann's photograph, though not in De Sauley's sketch (*Atlas*, pl. 24).

therefore, it is a witness to the date of the tradition being subsequent to the time of Herod, by whom this wall was built. It is probably the "little gate" leading down by steps to the valley," of which Arculf speaks (*E. Trav.*). Benjamin of Tudela (1163) also mentions the gate of Jehoshaphat, but without any nearer indication of its position than that it led to the valley and the monuments (Asher, i. 71). (c.) Lastly, leading to this gate was a street called the street of Jehoshaphat (*Cité de J.* §vii., Rob. ii. 561).

The name would seem to be generally confined by travellers to the upper part of the glen, from about the "Tomb of the Virgin" to the south-east corner of the wall of Jerusalem. [TOMBS.] [G.]

**JEHOSI'EBĀ** (יְהוֹשִׁעַבָּה: LXX. *Ἰωσαβέη*; Joseph. *Ἰωσαβέθ*), daughter of Joram king of Israel, and wife of Jehoiada the high-priest (2 K. xi. 2). Her name in the Chronicles is given JEHOSSABATH. It thus exactly resembles the name of the only two other wives of Jewish priests who are known to us, viz., ELISHEBA (LXX. and N. T. *Ἐλισαβέτ*, whence our *Elisabeth*), the wife of Aaron, Ex. vi. 23, and the wife of Zechariah, Luke i. 7. In the former case the word signifies "Jehovah's oath;" in the second "God's oath."

As she is called, 2 K. xi. 2, "the daughter of Joram, sister of Ahaziah," it has been conjectured that she was the daughter, not of Athaliah, but of Joram, by another wife; and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7, §1) calls her *Ὁχοῖα ἀδελφῆς ἀδελφῆς*. This may be; but it is also possible that the omission of Athaliah's name may have been occasioned by the detestation in which it was held,—in the same way as modern commentators have, for the same reason, eagerly embraced this hypothesis. That it is not absolutely needed is shown by the fact that the worship of Jehovah was tolerated under the reigns both of Joram and Athaliah—and that the name of Jehovah was incorporated into both of their names.

She is the only recorded instance of the marriage of a princess of the royal house with a high-priest. On this occasion it was a providential circumstance ("for she was the sister of Ahaziah," 2 Chr. xxii. 11), as inducing and probably enabling her to rescue the infant Josiah from the massacre of his brothers. By her, he and his nurse were concealed in the palace, and afterwards in the temple (2 K. xi. 2, 3; 2 Chr. xxii. 11), where he was brought up probably with her sons (2 Chr. xxiii. 11), who assisted at his coronation. One of these was Zechariah, who succeeded her husband in his office, and was afterwards murdered (2 Chr. xxiv. 20). [A. P. S.]

**JEHOSH'UA** (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ: *Ἰησοῦς*: *Josue*). In this form—contracted in the Hebrew, but fuller than usual in the A. V.—is given the name of Joshua in Num. xiii. 16, on the occasion of its bestowal by Moses. The addition of the name of Jehovah probably marks the recognition by Moses of the important part taken in the affair of the spies by him, who till this time had been Hoshua, "help," but was henceforward to be Jehoshua, "help of Jehovah" (*Ewald*, ii. 306). Once more only the name appears in its full form in the A. V.—this time with a redundant letter—as

**JEHOSHUAH** (the Heb. is as above: *Ἰησοῦς*, in both MSS.: *Josue*), in the genealogy of Ephraim

(1 Chr. vii. 27). We should be thankful to the translators of the A. V. for giving the first syllables of this great name their full form, if only in these two cases; though why in these only it is difficult to understand. Nor is it easier to see whence they got the final *h* in the latter of the two. [G.]

**JEHOVAH** (יְהוָה), usually with the vowel points of יְהוֹה; but when the two occur together, the former is pointed יְהוֹהִי, that is with the vowels of יְהוֹהִי, as in Obad. i. 1, Hab. iii. 19: the LXX. generally render it by *Kópios*, the Vulgate by *Dominus*; and in this respect they have been followed by the A. V., where it is translated "The Lord". The true pronunciation of this name, by which God was known to the Hebrews, has been entirely lost, the Jews themselves scrupulously avoiding every mention of it, and substituting in its stead one or other of the words with whose proper vowel-points it may happen to be written. This custom, which had its origin in reverence, and has almost degenerated into a superstition, was founded upon an erroneous rendering of Lev. xxiv. 16, from which it was inferred that the mere utterance of the name constituted a capital offence. The Rabbinical writings it is distinguished by various euphemistic expressions; as simply "the name," or "the name of four letters" (the Greek *tetragrammaton*); "the great and terrible name," "the peculiar name," i. e. appropriated to God alone; "the separate name," i. e. either the name which is separated or removed from human knowledge, or, as some render, "the name which has been interpreted or revealed" (שֵׁם הַמְּפֹרָשׁ, *shém hammepórash*). The Samaritans followed the same custom, and in reading the Pentateuch substituted for Jehovah (יְהוָה, *shémá*) "the name," at the same time perpetuating the practice in their alphabetical poems and later writings (Geiger, *Urschrift*, &c., p. 262). According to Jewish tradition, it was pronounced but once a year by the high-priest on the Day of Atonement when he entered the Holy of Holies; but on this point there is some doubt, Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61) asserting that the use of the word was confined to the blessings of the priests, and restricted to the sanctuary, without limiting it still further to the high-priest alone. On the same authority we learn that it ceased with Simeon the Just (*Yad. Chaz.* c. 14, §10), having lasted through two generations, that of the men of the Great Synagogue and the age of Shemed, while others include the generation of Zedekiah among those who possessed the use of the *shém hammepórash* (Midrash on Ps. xxxvi. 11, quoted by Buxtorf in *Reland's Decas Exerçit.*). But even after the destruction of the second temple we meet with instances of individuals who were in possession of the mysterious secret. A certain Bar Kamzur is mentioned in the Mishna (*Yoma* iii. §11) who was able to write this name of God; but even on such evidence we may conclude, that after the siege of Jerusalem the true pronunciation almost if not entirely disappeared, the probability being that it had been lost long before. Josephus, himself a priest, confesses that on this point he was not permitted to speak (*Ant.* ii. 12, §4); and Philo states (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. p. 519) that for those alone whose ears and tongue were purged by wisdom was it lawful to hear or utter this awful

<sup>1</sup> Next to the above "little gate," Arculf names the gate "Theoutis." Can this strange name con-

tain an allusion to *Thecoa*, the valley in which Jehoshaphat's great victory was gained?

name. It is evident therefore that no reference to ancient writers can be expected to throw any light upon the question, and any quotation of them will only render the darkness in which it is involved more palatable. At the same time the discussion, though barren of actual results, may on other accounts be interesting; and as it is one in which great names are ranged on both sides, it would for this reason alone be impertinent to dismiss it with a cursory notice. In the decade of dissertations collected by Reland, Fuller, Gataker, and Leusden do battle for the pronunciation Jehovah, against such formidable antagonists as Crusius, Amama, Cappellus, Buxtorf, and Altingius, who, it is scarcely necessary to say, fairly beat their opponents out of the field; the only argument, in fact, of any weight, which is employed by the advocates of the pronunciation of the word as it is written being that derived from the form in which it appears in proper names, such as Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, &c. Their antagonists make a strong point of the fact that, as has been noticed above, two different sets of vowels are applied to the same consonants under certain circumstances. To this Leusden, of all the champions on his side, but feebly replies. The same may be said of the argument derived from the fact that the letters **יְהוָה**, when prefixed to **יְהוּה**, take, not the vowels which they would regularly receive were the present punctuation true, but those with which they would be written if **יְהוָה**, *dhōdāi*, were the reading; and that the letters ordinarily taking *dagesh lene* when following **יְהוּה** would, according to the rules of the Hebrew points, be written without *dagesh*, whereas it is uniformly inserted. Whatever, therefore, be the true pronunciation of the word, there can be little doubt that it is not *Jehovich*.

In Greek writers it appears under the several forms of *Ἰαώ* (Diod. Sic. i. 94; Irenæus, i. 4, §1). *Ἰεωβ* (Porphyry in Eusebius, *Præp. Evæ.* i. 9, §21), *Ἰαοβ* (Clenr. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 686), and in a catena to the Pentateuch in a MS. at Turin *Ἰά οὐβ*; both Theodoret (*Quæst.* 15 in *Exod.*) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 20) give *Ἰαβέ*, the former distinguishing it as the pronunciation of the Samaritans, while *Ἰαῖ* represented that of the Jews. But even if these writers were entitled to speak with authority, their evidence only tends to show in how many different ways the four letters of the word **יְהוָה** could be represented in Greek characters, and throws no light either upon its real pronunciation or its punctuation. In like manner Jerome (on Ps. viii.), who acknowledges that the Jews considered it an ineffable name, at the same time says it may be read *Jaho*,—of course, supposing the passage in question to be genuine, which is open to doubt. In the absence, therefore, of anything satisfactory from these sources, there is plainly left a wide field for conjecture. What has been done in this field the following pages will show. It will be better perhaps to ascend from the most improbable hypotheses to those which carry with them more show of reason, and thus prepare the way for the considerations which will follow.

1. Von Bohlen, at once most sceptical and most credulous, whose hasty conclusions are only paralleled by the rashness of his assumptions, unhesitatingly asserts that beyond all doubt the word Jehovah is not Semitic in its origin. Pinning his faith upon the Abrazas gens, in which he finds it in the form *Jao*, he connects it with the Sanscrit *devas*, *devo*,

the Greek *Διός*, and Latin *Jovis* or *Diavis*. But, apart from the consideration that his authority is at least questionable, he omits to explain the striking phenomenon that the older form which has the *d* should be preserved in the younger languages, the Greek and ancient Latin, while not a trace of it appears in the Hebrew. It would be desirable also that, before a philological argument of this nature can be admitted, the relation between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages should be more clearly established. In the absence of this, any inferences which may be drawn from apparent resemblances (the resemblance in the present case not being even apparent) will lead to certain error. That the Hebrews learned the word from the Egyptians is a theory which has found some advocates. The foundations for this theory are sufficiently slight. As has been mentioned above, Diodorus (i. 94) gives the Greek from *Ἰαώ*; and from this it has been inferred that *Ἰαώ* was a deity of the Egyptians, whereas nothing can be clearer from the context than that the historian is speaking especially of the God of the Jews. Again, in Macrobius (*Sat.* i. c. 18), a line is quoted from an oracular response of Apollo Clarius,

φράσας τὸν πάντων ὑπατον θεὸν ἑμμεν' Ἰαώ,

which has been made use of for the same purpose. But Jablonsky (*Panth. Aeg.* ii. §5) has proved uncontestedly that the author of the verses from which the above is quoted, was one of the Judaizing Gnostics, who were in the habit of making the names *Ἰαώ* and *Σεβασθ* the subjects of mystical speculations. The Ophites, who were Egyptians, are known to have given the name *Ἰαώ* to the Moon (Neander, *Gnost.* 252), but this, as Tholuck suggests, may have arisen from the fact that in Coptic the Moon is called *ioh* (Verm. *Schriften.* th. i. 385). Movers (*Phoen.* i. 540), while defending the genuineness of the passage of Macrobius, connects *Ἰαώ*, which denotes the Sun or Dionysus, with the root **יָה**, so that it signifies "the life-giver." In any case, the fact that the name *Ἰαώ* is found among the Greeks and Egyptians, or among the Orientals of Further Asia, in the 2nd or 3rd century, cannot be made use of as an argument that the Hebrews derived their knowledge of the word from any one of these nations. On the contrary, there can be but little doubt that the process in reality was reversed, and that in this case the Hebrews were, not the borrowers, but the lenders. We have indisputable evidence that it existed among them, whatever may have been its origin, many centuries before it is found in other records; of the contrary we have no evidence whatever. Of the singular manner in which the word has been introduced into other languages, we have a remarkable instance in a passage quoted by M. Rémusat, from one of the works of the Chinese philosopher Lao-tseu, who flourished, according to Chinese chronology, about the 6th or 7th century B.C., and held the opinions commonly attributed to Pythagoras, Plato, and others of the Greeks. This passage M. Rémusat translates as follows:—"Celui que vous regardez et que vous ne voyez pas, se nomme *j*; celui que vous écoutez et que vous n'entendez pas, se nomme *hi*; celui que votre main cherche et qu'elle ne peut pas saisir, se nomme *wei*. Ce sont trois êtres qu'on ne peut comprendre, et qui, confondus, n'en font qu'un." In these three letters *J H V* Rémusat thinks that he recognizes the name Jehovah of the Hebrews, which might have been

learned by the philosopher himself or some of his pupils in the course of his travels; or it might have been brought into China by some exiled Jews or Gnostics. The Chinese interpreter of the passage maintains that these mystical letters signify "the void," so that in his time every trace of the origin of the word had in all probability been lost. And not only does it appear, though perhaps in a questionable form, in the literature of the Chinese. In a letter from the missionary Plaisant to the Vicar Apostolic Boucho, dated 18th Feb. 1847, there is mention made of a tradition which existed among a tribe in the jungles of Burmah, that the divine being was called *Jova* or *Kara-Jova*, and that the peculiarities of the Jehovah of the Old Testament were attributed to him (Reinke, *Beiträge*, iii. 65). But all this is very vague and more curious than convincing. The inscription in front of the temple of Isis at Saïs quoted by Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* §9), "I am all that hath been, and that is, and that shall be," which has been employed as an argument to prove that the name Jehovah was known among the Egyptians, is mentioned neither by Herodotus, Diodorus nor Strabo; and Proclus, who does allude to it, says it was in the adytum of the temple. But, even if it be genuine, its authority is worthless for the purpose for which it is adduced. For, supposing that Jehovah is the name to which such meaning is attached, it follows rather that the Egyptians borrowed it and learned its significance from the Jews, unless it can be proved that both in Egyptian and Hebrew the same combination of letters conveyed the same idea. Without, however, having recourse to any hypothesis of this kind, the peculiarity of the inscription is sufficiently explained by the place which, as is well known, Isis holds in the Egyptian mythology as the universal mother. The advocates of the Egyptian origin of the word have shown no lack of ingenuity in summoning to their aid authorities the most unpromising. A passage from a treatise on interpretation (*περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, §71), written by one Demetrius, in which it is said that the Egyptians hymned their gods by means of the seven vowels, has been tortured to give evidence on the point. Scaliger was in doubt whether it referred to Serapis, called by Hesychius "Serapis of seven letters" (*τὸ ἑπταγράμματος Σαρᾶπις*), or to the exclamation יהוה יהוה, *hū yehōcāh*, "He is Jehovah." Of the latter there can be but little doubt. Gesner took the seven Greek vowels, and arranging them in the order ΙΕΗΩΟΤΑ, found therein Jehovah. But he was triumphantly refuted by Didymus, who maintained that the vowels were merely used for musical notes, and in this very probable conjecture he is supported by the Milesian inscription elucidated by Barthelemy and others. In this the invocation of God is denoted by the seven vowels five times repeated in different arrangements, ΑΗΙΟΥΩ, ΕΗΙΟΥΩΑ, ΗΙΟΥΩΑΕ, ΙΟΥΩΑΕΗ, ΟΥΩΑΕΗ: each group of vowels precedes a "holy" (*ἅγιος*), and the whole concludes with the following: "the city of the Milesians and all the inhabitants are guarded by archangels." Müller, with much probability, concludes that the seven vowels represented the seven notes of the octave. One more argument for the Egyptian origin of Jehovah remains to be noticed. It is found in the circumstance that Pharaoh changed the name of Eliakim to Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 34), which it is asserted is not in accordance with the practice of conquerors to-

wards the conquered, unless the Egyptian king imposed upon the king of Judah the name of one of his own gods. But the same reasoning would prove that the origin of the word was Babylonian, for the king of Babylon changed the name of Mataniah to Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 17).

But many, abandoning as untenable the theory of an Egyptian origin, have sought to trace the name among the Phœnicians and Canaanitish tribes. In support of this, Hartmann brings forward a passage from a pretended fragment of Sanchoniatho quoted by Philo-Byblius, a writer of the age of Nero. But it is now generally admitted that the so called fragments of Sanchoniatho, the ancient Phœnician chronicler, are most impudent forgeries concocted by Philo-Byblius himself. Besides, the passage to which Hartmann refers is not found in Philo Byblius, but is quoted from Porphyry by Eusebius (*Præp. Evæ.* i. 9, §21), and, genuine or not, evidently alludes to the Jehovah of the Jews. It is there stated that the most trustworthy authority in matters connected with the Jews was Sanchoniatho of Beyrout, who received his information from Hierombalos (*Jerubbaal*) the priest of the god 'Ievô. From the occurrence of Jehovah as a compound in the proper names of many who were not Hebrews, Hamaker (*Misc. Phœn.* p. 174, &c.) contends that it must have been known among heathen people. But such knowledge, if it existed, was no more than might have been obtained by their necessary contact with the Hebrews. The names of *Urish* the Hittite, of *Araunah* or *Aranjah* the Jebusite, of *Tobiah* the Ammonite, and of the Canaanitish town *Bizjothjah*, may be all explained without having recourse to Hamaker's hypothesis. Of as little value is his appeal to 1 K. v. 7, where we find the name Jehovah in the mouth of Hiram, king of Tyre. Apart from the consideration that Hiram would necessarily be acquainted with the name as that of the Hebrews' national god, its occurrence is sufficiently explained by the tenor of Solomon's message (1 K. v. 3-5). Another point on which Hamaker relies for support is the name 'Αββαῖος, which occurs as that of a Tyrian suite in Menander (*Jos. c. Apion.* i. 21), and which he identifies with Obadiah (עֲבַדְיָהוּ). But both Fuust and Hengstenberg represent it in Hebrew characters by עֲבַדַי, 'abdai, which even Hamaker thinks more probable.

II. Such are the principal hypotheses which have been constructed in order to account for a non-Hebraic origin of Jehovah. To attribute much value to them requires a large share of faith. It remains now to examine the theories on the opposite side; for on this point authorities are by no means agreed, and have frequently gone to the contrary extreme. S. D. Luzzatto (*Anim. in Jes. Vat.* in Rosenmüller's *Compend.* xxiv.) advances with singular naïveté the extraordinary statement that Jehovah, or rather יהוה divested of points, is compounded of two interjections, הו, *hā*, of pain, and יהי, *yehi*, of joy, and denotes the author of good and evil. Such an etymology, from one who is unquestionably among the first of modern Jewish scholars, is a remarkable phenomenon. Ewald, referring to Gen. xix. 24, suggests as the origin of

Jehovah, the Arab. هَوَا, which signifies "height, heaven;" a conjecture, the honour of which no one

will desire to rob him. But most have taken for the basis of their explanations, and the different methods of punctuation which they propose, the passage in Ex. iii. 14, to which we must naturally look for a solution of the question. When Moses received his commission to be the deliverer of Israel, the Almighty, who appeared in the burning bush, communicated to him the name which he should give as the credentials of his mission: "And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM (**אֲנִי הָאֵל**, *ehyeh āsher ehyeh*); and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." That this passage is intended to indicate the etymology of Jehovah, as understood by the Hebrews, no one has ventured to doubt: it is in fact the key to the whole mystery. But, though it certainly supplies the etymology, the interpretation must be determined from other considerations. According to this view then, **יְהוָה** must be the 3rd sing. masc. fut. of the substantive verb **הָיָה**, the older form of which was **הוּוה**, still found in the Chaldee **הוּוה**, and Syriac **ܗܘܘܐ**, a

fact which will be referred to hereafter in discussing the antiquity of the name. If this etymology be correct, and there seems little reason to call it in question, one step towards the true punctuation and pronunciation is already gained. Many learned men, and among them Grotius, Galatinus, Crusius, and Jesuden, in an age when such fancies were rife, imagined that, reading the name with the vowel points usually attached to it, they discovered an indication of the eternity of God in the fact that the name by which He revealed Himself to the Hebrews was compounded of the Present Participle, and the Future and Praetere tense of the substantive verb. The idea may have been suggested by the expression in Rev. iv. 8 (**כַּל עֵשׂ כַּל עֵשׂ** *kal ēś kal ēś* *ἐρχόμενος*), and received apparent confirmation from the Targ. Jon. on Deut. xxxii. 39, and Targ. Jer. on Ex. iii. 14. These passages, however, throw no light upon the composition of the name, and merely assert that in its significance it embraces past, present, and future. But having agreed to reject the present punctuation, it is useless to discuss any theories which may be based upon it, had they even greater probability in their favour than the one just mentioned. As one of the forms in which Jehovah appears in Greek characters is **Ἰαὼ**, it has been proposed by Cappellus to punctuate it **יְהוָה**, *yahveh*, which is clearly contrary to the analogy of **לִי** verbs. Gussetius suggested **יְהוֹה**, *yehveh*, or **יְהוּה**, *yühveh*, in the former of which he is supported by the authority of Fürst; and Mercer and Corn. a Lapide read it **יְהוּה**, *yahveh*: but on all these suppositions we should have **יְהוּה** in the terminations of compound proper names. The suffrages of others are divided between **יְהוֹה** or **יְהוּה**, supposed to be represented by the **Ἰαβέ** of Epiphanius above mentioned, and **יְהוֹה** or **יְהוּה**, which Fürst holds to be the **Ἰεὺς** of Porphyry, or the **Ἰαὼς** of Clemens Alexandrinus. Caspari (*Micha*, p. 5, &c.) decides in favour of the former on the ground that this form only would give rise to the contraction **יְהוּה** in proper names, and opposes both Fürst's punctuation **יְהוֹה** or **יְהוּה**, as well as that of **יְהוֹה** or **יְהוּה**, which would be contracted

into **יְהוּה**. Gesenius punctuates the word **יְהוֹה**, from which, or from **יְהוֹה**, are derived the abbreviated form **יְהִי**, *yäh*, used in poetry, and the form **יְהוּ** = **יְהוֹ** = **יְהִי** (so **יְהִי** becomes **יְהִי**), which occurs at the commencement of compound proper names (Hit-zig, *Jesaja*, p. 4). Delitzsch maintains that, whichever punctuation be adopted, the quiescent sheva under **ה** is ungrammatical, and Chateph Pathach is the proper vowel. He therefore writes it **יְהוֹה**, *yahdrah*, to which he says the **Ἰδ** of Theodoret corresponds; the last vowel being Kametz instead of Segol, according to the analogy of proper names derived from **לִי** verbs (e. g. **יְמִינִי**, *ymānī*, and others). In his opinion the form **יְהִי** is not an abbreviation, but a concentration of the Tetragrammaton (*Comm. über den Psalter*, einl.). There remains to be noticed the suggestion of Gesenius that the form **יְהוֹה**, which he adopted, might be the Hiph. fut. of the substantive verb. Of the same opinion was Kena. Others again would make it Piel, and read **יְהוֹה**. Fürst (*Handb.* s. v.) mentions some other etymologies which affect the meaning rather than the punctuation of the name; such, for instance, as that it is derived from a root **הוּוה**, "to overthrow," and signifies "the destroyer or storm-sender;" or that it denotes "the light or heaven" from a root **הוּוה** = **הוּוה**, "to be bright," or "the life-giver," from the same root = **הוּוה**, "to live." We have therefore to decide between **יְהוֹה** or **יְהוּה**, and accept the former, i. e. *Yahdreh*, as the more probable punctuation, continuing at the same time for the sake of convenience to adopt the form "Jehovah" in what follows, on account of its familiarity to English readers.

III. The next point for consideration is of vastly more importance: what is the meaning of Jehovah, and what does it express of the being and nature of God, more than or in distinction from the other names applied to the deity in the O. T.? That there was some distinction in these different appellations was early perceived, and various explanations were employed to account for it. Tertullian (*adv. Hermog.* c. 3) observed that God was not called Lord (**κύριος**) till after the Creation, and in consequence of it; while Augustine found in it an indication of the absolute dependence of man upon God (*de Gen. ad lit.* viii. 2). Chrysostom (*Hom. xlv. in Gen.*) considered the two names, Lord and God, as equivalent, and the alternate use of them arbitrary. But all their arguments proceed upon the supposition that the **κύριος** of the LXX. is the true rendering of the original, whereas it is merely the translation of **אֱלֹהִים**, *ēlōhīm*, whose points it bears. With regard to **אֱלֹהִים**, *ēlōhīm*, the other chief name by which the Deity is designated in the O. T., it has been held by many, and the opinion does not even now want supporters, that in the plural form of the word was shadowed forth the plurality of persons in the godhead, and the mystery of the Trinity was inferred therefrom. Such, according to Peter Lombard, was the true significance of **ēlōhīm**. But Calvin, Mercer, Drusius, and Bellarmine have given the weight of their authority against an explanation so fanciful and arbitrary. Among the Jewish writers of the middle ages the question much more nearly approached its solution. R. Jehuda Hallevi (12th cent.), the author of the book *Cozri*, found in the

usage of Elohim a protest against idolaters, who call each personified power **אלֹהִים**, *Elôah*, and all collectively Elohim. He interpreted it as the most general name of the Deity, distinguishing Him as manifested in the exhibition of His power, without reference to His personality or moral qualities, or to any special relation which He bears to man. Jehovah, on the contrary, is the revealed and known God. While the meaning of the former could be evolved by reasoning, the true significance of the latter could only be apprehended "by that prophetic vision by which a man is, as it were, separated and withdrawn from his own kind, and approaches to the angelic, and another spirit enters into him." In like manner Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61, Buxt.) saw in Jehovah the name which teaches of the substance of the Creator, and Alarhaniel (quoted by Buxtorf, *de Nom. Dei*, §39) distinguishes Jehovah, as denoting God according to what He is in Himself, from Elohim which conveys the idea of the impression made by His power. In the opinion of Astuc, a Belgian physician, with whom the documentary hypothesis originated, the alternate use of the two names was arbitrary, and determined by no essential difference. Hase (*Entdeckungen*) considered them as historical names, and Sack (*de usu nom. dei*, &c.) regarded Elohim as a vague term denoting "a certain infinite, omnipotent, incomprehensible existence, from which things finite and visible have derived their origin," while to God, as revealing himself, the more definite title of Jehovah was applied. Ewald, in his tract on the composition of Genesis (written when he was nineteen), maintained that Elohim denoted the Deity in general, and is the common or lower name, while Jehovah was the national god of the Israelites. But in order to carry out his theory he was compelled in many places to alter the text, and was afterwards induced to modify his statements, which were opposed by Gramberg and Stahlm. Doubtless Elohim is used in many cases of the gods of the heathen, who included in the same title the God of the Hebrews, and denoted generally the Deity when spoken of as a supernatural being, and when no national feeling influenced the speaker. It was Elohim who, in the eyes of the heathen, delivered the Israelites from Egypt (1 Sam. iv. 8), and the Egyptian had adjured David by Elohim, rather than by Jehovah, of whom he would have no knowledge (1 Sam. xxx. 15). So Ehud announces to the Moabitish king a message from Elohim (Judg. iii. 20); to the Syrians the Jehovah of the Hebrews was only their national God, one of the Elohim (1 K. xx. 23, 28), and in the mouth of a heathen the name Jehovah would convey no more intelligible meaning than this. It is to be observed also that when a Hebrew speaks with a heathen he uses the more general term Elohim. Joseph, in addressing Pharaoh (Gen. xii. 16), and David, in appealing to the king of Moab to protect his family (1 Sam. xxii. 3), designate the Deity by the less specific title; and on the other hand the same rule is generally followed when the heathen are the speakers, as in the case of Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 23), the Hittites (Gen. xxiii. 6), the Midianite (Judg. vii. 14), and Joseph in his assumed character as an Egyptian (Gen. xlii. 18). But, although this distinction between Elohim, as the general appellation of Deity, and Jehovah, the national God of the Israelites, contains some superficial truth, the real nature of their difference must be sought for far

deeper, and as a foundation for the arguments which will be adduced recourse must again be had to etymology.

IV. With regard to the derivation of **אלֹהִים**, *elôhim*, the pl. of **אֱלֹהִים**, etymologists are divided in their opinions; some connecting it with **אֵל**, *el*, and the unused root **אָל**, *âl*, "to be strong," while others refer it to the Arabic **أَلِىَ**, *aliha*, "to be astonished,"

and hence **אָלַח**, *alaha*, "to worship, adore," Elohim thus denoting the Supreme Being who was worthy of all worship and adoration, the dread and awful One. But Fürst, with much greater probability, takes the noun in this case as the primitive from which is derived the idea of worship contained in the verb, and gives as the true root **אָלַח** = **אָל**, "to be strong." Delitzsch would prefer a root, **אָלַח** = **אָלַח** = **אָל** (*Synb. ad Psalm. illustr.* p. 29).

From whatever root, however, the word may be derived, most are of opinion that the primary idea contained in it is that of strength, power; so that Elohim is the proper appellation of the Deity, as manifested in His creative and universally sustaining agency, and in the general divine guidance and government of the world. Hengstenberg, who adheres to the derivation above-mentioned from the Arab, *alaha* and *alaha*, deduces from this etymology his theory that Elohim indicates a lower, and Jehovah a higher stage of the knowledge of God, on the ground that "the feeling of fear is the lowest which can exist in reference to God, and merely in respect of this feeling is God marked by this designation." But the same inference might also be drawn on the supposition that the idea of simple power or strength is the most prominent in the word; and it is more natural that the divine Being should be conceived of as strong before He became the object of fear and adoration. To this view Gesenius accedes, when he says that the notion of worshipping and fearing is rather derived from the power of the Deity which is expressed in his name. The question now arises. What is the meaning to be attached to the plural form of the word? As has been already mentioned, some have discovered therein the mystery of the Trinity, while others maintain that it points to polytheism. The Rabbis generally explain it as the plural of majesty; Rabbi Bechal, as signifying the lord of all powers. Abarhanel and Kimchi consider it a title of honour, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, of which examples will be found in Is. liv. 5, Job xxxv. 10, Gen. xxxix. 20, xlii. 30. In Prov. ix. 1, the plural **חֵכֶם**, *châcmôth*, "wisdoms," is used for wisdom in the abstract, as including all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Hence it is probable that the plural form Elohim, instead of pointing to polytheism, is applied to God as comprehending in Himself the fullness of all power, and uniting in a perfect degree all that which the name signifies, and all the attributes which the heathen ascribe to the several divinities of their pantheon. The singular **אֱלֹהִים**, *elôah*, with few exceptions (Neh. ix. 17; 2 Chr. xxxii. 15), occurs only in poetry. It will be found, upon examination of the passages in which Elohim occurs, that it is chiefly in places where God is exhibited only in the plenitude of His power, and where no especial re-

ference is made to his unity, personality, or holiness, or to his relation to Israel and the theocracy. (See Ps. xvi. 1, xix. 1, 7, 8.) Hengstenberg's etymology of the word is disputed by Delitzsch (*Symb. ad Ps. illustr.* p. 29n.), who refers it, as has been mentioned above, to a root indicating power or might, and sees in it an expression not of what men think of God, but of what He is in Himself, in so far as He has life omnipotent in Himself, and according as He is the beginning and end of all life. For the true explanation of the name he refers to the revelation of the mystery of the Trinity. But it is at least extremely doubtful whether to the ancient Israelites any idea of this nature was conveyed by Elohim; and in making use of the more advanced knowledge supplied by the New Testament, there is some danger of discovering more meaning and a more subtle significance than was ever intended to be expressed.

V. But while Elohim exhibits God displayed in his power as the creator and governor of the physical universe, the name Jehovah designates his nature as He stands in relation to man, as the only, almighty, true, personal, holy Being, a spirit, and "the father of spirits" (Num. xvi. 22; comp. John iv. 24), who revealed himself to his people, made a covenant with them, and became their lawgiver, and to whom all honour and worship are due. If the etymology above given be accepted, and the name be derived from the future tense of the substantive verb, it would denote, in accordance with the general analogy of proper names of a similar form, "He that is," "the Being," whose chief attribute is eternal existence. Jehovah is represented as eternal (Gen. xvi. 33; comp. 1 Tim. vi. 16), unchangeable (Ex. xii. 14; Mal. iii. 6), the only being (Josh. xxii. 22; Ps. l. 1), Creator and lord of all things (Ex. xx. 11; comp. Num. xvi. 22 with xxvii. 16; Is. xlii. 5). It is Jehovah who made the covenant with his people (Gen. xv. 18; Num. x. 33, &c.). In this connexion Elohim occurs but once (Ps. lxxviii. 10), and even with the article, Ha-Elohim, which expresses more personality than Elohim alone, is found but seldom (Judg. xx. 27; 1 Sam. iv. 4). The Israelites were enjoined to observe the commandments of Jehovah (Lev. iv. 27, &c.), to keep His law, and to worship Him alone. Hence the phrase "to serve Jehovah" (Ex. x. 7, 8, &c.) is applied to denote true worship, whereas "to serve Ha-Elohim" is used but once in this sense (Ex. iii. 12), and Elohim occurs in the same association only when the worship of idols is spoken of (Deut. iv. 28; Judg. iii. 6). As Jehovah, the only true God, is the only object of true worship, to him belong the sabbaths and festivals, and all the ordinances connected with the religious services of the Israelites (Ex. x. 9, xii. 11; Lev. xxiii. 2). His are the altars on which offerings are made to the true God; the priests and ministers are His (1 Sam. ii. 11, xiv. 3), and so exclusively that a priest of Elohim is always associated with idolatrous worship. To Jehovah alone are offerings made (Ex. viii. 8), and if Elohim is ever used in this connexion, it is always qualified by pronominal suffixes, or some word in construction with it so as to indicate the true God; in all other cases it refers to idols (Ex. xxii. 20, xxxiv. 15). It follows naturally that the temple and tabernacle are Jehovah's, and if they are attributed to Elohim, the latter is in some manner restricted as before. The prophets are the prophets of Jehovah, and their announcements proceed from him, seldom from Elohim.

The Israelites are the people of Jehovah (Ex. xxxvi. 20), the congregation of Jehovah (Num. xvi. 3), as the Moabites are the people of Chemosh (Jer. dlviii. 46). Their king is the anointed of Jehovah; their wars are the wars of Jehovah (Ex. xiv. 25; 1 Sam. xviii. 17); their enemies are the enemies of Jehovah (2 Sam. xii. 14); it is the hand of Jehovah that delivers them up to their foes (Judg. vi. 1, xiii. 1, &c.), and He it is who raises up for them deliverers and judges, and on whom they call in times of peril (Judg. ii. 18, iii. 9, 15; Josh. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xvii. 37). In fine, Jehovah is the theocratic king of his people (Judg. viii. 23), by him their kings reign and achieve success against the national enemies (1 Sam. xi. 13, xiv. 23). Their heroes are inspired by His Spirit (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34), and their hand steels against their foes (2 Sam. vii. 23); the watchword of Gideon was "The Sword of Jehovah, and of Gideon!" (Judg. vii. 20). The day on which God executes judgment on the wicked is the day of Jehovah (Is. ii. 12, xxxiv. 8; comp. Rev. xvi. 14). As the Israelites were in a remarkable manner distinguished as the people of Jehovah, who became their lawgiver and supreme ruler, it is not strange that He should be put in strong contrast with Chemosh (Judg. xi. 24), Ashtaroath (Judg. x. 6) and the Baalim (Judg. iii. 7), the national deities of the surrounding nations, and thus be pre-eminently distinguished as the tutelary deity of the Hebrews in one aspect of his character. Such and no more was He to the heathen (1 K. xx. 23); but all this and much more to the Israelites, to whom Jehovah was a distinct personal subsistence,—the living God, who reveals himself to man by word and deed, helps, guides, saves, and delivers, and is to the Old what Christ is to the New Testament. Jehovah was no abstract name, but thoroughly practical, and stood in intimate connexion with the religious life of the people. While Elohim represents God only in his most outward relation to man, and distinguishes him as recognised in his omnipotence, Jehovah describes him according to his innermost being. In Jehovah the moral attributes are presented as constituting the essence of his nature; whereas in Elohim there is no reference to personality or moral character. The relation of Elohim to Jehovah has been variously explained. The former, in Hengstenberg's opinion, indicates a lower, and the latter a higher, stage of consciousness of God; Elohim becoming Jehovah by an historical process, and to show how He became so, being the main object of the sacred history. Kuntz considers the two names as related to each other as power and evolution; Elohim the God of the beginning, Jehovah of the development; Elohim the Creator, Jehovah the mediator. Elohim is God of the beginning and end, the creator and the judge; Jehovah the God of the middle, of the development which lies between the beginning and end (*Die Einheit der Gen.*). That Jehovah is identical with Elohim, and not a separate being, is indicated by the joint use of the names Jehovah-Elohim.

VI. The antiquity of the name Jehovah among the Hebrews has formed the subject of much discussion. That it was not known before the age of Moses has been inferred from Ex. vi. 3; while Von Bohlen assigns to it a much more recent date, and contends that we have "no conclusive proof of the worship of Jehovah anterior to the ancient hymns of David" (*Int. to Gen.* i. 150, Eng. tr.). But, on the other hand, we should be inclined to infer from the ety-

mology of the word that it originated in an age long prior to that of Moses, in whose time the root יהוה = יהי was already antiquated. From the Aramaic form in which it appears (comp. Chald. יהוה, Syr. ܝܫܘܐ), Jahn refers to the earliest times of Abraham for its date, and to Mesopotamia or Ur of the Chaldees for its birthplace. Its usage in Genesis cannot be explained, as Le Clerc suggests, by supposing it to be employed by anticipation, for it is introduced where the persons to whom the history relates are speaking, and not only where the narrator adopts terms familiar to himself; and the same difficulty remains whatever hypothesis be assumed with regard to the original documents which formed the basis of the history. At the same time it is distinctly stated in Ex. vi. 3, that to the patriarchs God was not known by the name Jehovah. If, therefore, this passage has reference to the first revelation of Jehovah simply as a name and title of God, there is clearly a discrepancy which requires to be explained. In renewing his promise of deliverance from Egypt, "God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am Jehovah; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by (the name of) God Almighty (*El Shaddai*, אֱלֹהֵי שַׁדַּי), but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them." It follows then that, if the reference were merely to the name as a name, the passage in question would prove equally that before this time Elohim was unknown as an appellation of the Deity, and God would appear uniformly as *El Shaddai* in the patriarchal history. But although it was held by Theodoret (*Quæst.* 15 in *Ex.*) and many of the Fathers, who have been followed by a long list of moderns, that the name was first made known by God to Moses, and then introduced by him among the Israelites, the contrary was maintained by Cajetan, Lyrannus, Calvin, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and others, who deny that the passage in Ex. vi. alludes to the introduction of the name. Calvin saw at once that the knowledge there spoken of could not refer to the syllables and letters, but to the recognition of God's glory and majesty. It was not the name, but the true depth of its significance which was unknown to and uncomprehended by the patriarchs. They had known God as the omnipotent, *El Shaddai* (Gen. xvii. 1, xviii. 3), the ruler of the physical universe, and of man as one of his creatures; as a God eternal, immutable, and true to his promises he was yet to be revealed. In the character expressed by the name Jehovah he had not hitherto been fully known; his true attributes had not been recognised (comp. Jarchi on Ex. vi. 3) in his working and acts for Israel. Aben Ezra explained the occurrence of the name in Genesis as simply indicating the knowledge of it as a proper name, not as a qualificative expressing the attributes and qualities of God. Referring to other passages in which the phrase "the name of God" occurs, it is clear that something more is intended by it than a mere appellation, and that the proclamation of the name of God is a revelation of his moral attributes, and of his true character as Jehovah (Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 6, 7) the God of the covenant. Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 64, ed. Buxtorf) explains the name of God as signifying his essence and his truth, and Olshausen (on Matt. xviii. 30) interprets "name" (ὄνομα) as denoting "personality and essential being, and that not as it is incomprehensible or

unknown, but in its manifestation." The name of a thing represents the thing itself so far as it can be expressed in words. That Jehovah was not a new name Hävernick concludes from Ex. iii. 14, where "the name of God Jehovah is evidently pre-supposed as already in use, and is only explained, interpreted, and applied. . . It is certainly not a new name that is introduced; on the contrary, the יהוה אֱשֶׁר אֲדֹנָי (I am that I am) would be unintelligible, if the name itself were not presupposed as already known. The old name of antiquity, whose precious significance had been forgotten and neglected by the children of Israel, here as it were rises again to life, and is again brought home to the consciousness of the people" (*Introduct. to the Pent.* p. 61). The same passage supplies an argument to prove that by "name" we are not to understand merely letters and syllables, for Jehovah appears at first in another form, *ehyeh* (אֲנִי־הָיֵה). The correct collective view of Ex. vi. 3, Hengstenberg conceives to be the following:—"Hitherto that Being, who in one aspect was Jehovah, in another had always been Elohim. The great crisis now drew nigh in which Jehovah Elohim would be changed into Jehovah. In prospect of this event God solemnly announced himself as Jehovah."

Great stress has been laid, by those who deny the antiquity of the name Jehovah, upon the fact that proper names compounded with it occur but seldom before the age of Samuel and David. It is undoubtedly true that, after the revival of the true faith among the Israelites, proper names so compounded did become more frequent, but if it can be shown that prior to the time of Moses any such names existed, it will be sufficient to prove that the name Jehovah was not entirely unknown. Among those which have been quoted for this purpose are Jochebed the mother of Moses, and daughter of Levi, and Moriah, the mountain on which Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac. Against the former it is urged that Moses might have changed her name to Jochebed after the name Jehovah had been communicated by God; but this is very improbable, as he was at this time eighty years old, and his mother in all probability dead. If this only be admitted as a genuine instance of a name compounded with Jehovah, it takes us at once back into the patriarchal age, and proves that a word which was employed in forming the proper name of Jacob's granddaughter could not have been unknown to that patriarch himself. The name Moriah (מֹרְיָה) is of more importance, for in one passage in which it occurs it is accompanied by an etymology intended to indicate what was then understood by it (2 Chr. iii. 1). Hengstenberg regards it as a compound of מֹרְיָה, the Hoph. Part. of מָרָה, and מֵי, the abbreviated form of יְהוָה; so that, according to this etymology, it would signify "shown by Jehovah." Gesenius, adopting the meaning of מֹרָה in Gen. xxii. 8, renders it "chosen by Jehovah," but suggests at the same time what he considers a more probable derivation, according to which Jehovah does not form a part of the compound word. But there is reason to believe from various allusions in Gen. xxii. that the former was regarded as the true etymology.

Having thus considered the origin, significance, and antiquity of the name Jehovah, the reader will be in a position to judge how much of truth there is in the assertion of Schwind (quoted by Hefinke,

*Beitr.* iii. 135, n. 10) that the terms *Elohim*, *Jehovah Elohim*, and then *Jehovah* alone applied to God, show "to the philosophic inquirer the progress of the human mind from a plurality of gods to a superior god, and from this to a single Almighty Creator and ruler of the world."

The principal authorities which have been made use of in this article are Hengstenberg, *On the Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, i. 213-307, Eng. trans.; Reinke, *Phil. histor. Abhandlung über den Gottesnamen Jehova*, *Beiträge*, vol. iii.; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, th. i. 377-405; Kurtz, *Die Einheit der Genesis* xliii.-liii.; Keil, *Ueber die Gottesnamen im Pentateuch* in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*; Ewald, *Die Composition der Genesis*; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, and Reland, *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*, besides those already quoted. [W. A. W.]

**JEHOVAH-JIREH** (יהוה יִרְיָה: *Kúpios εἶδεν*: *Dominus videt*), i. e. "Jehovah will see," or provide, the name given by Abraham to the place on which he had been commanded to offer Isaac, to commemorate the interposition of the angel of Jehovah, who appeared to prevent the sacrifice (*Gen.* xxi. 14) and provided another victim. The immediate allusion is to the expression in the 8th verse, "God will look out for Himself a lamb for a burnt offering," but it is not unlikely that there is at the same time a covert reference to Moriah, the scene of the whole occurrence. The play upon words is followed up in the latter clause of ver. 14, which appears in the form of a popular proverb: "as it is said this day, In the mountain of Jehovah, He will be seen," or "provision shall be made." Such must be the rendering if the received punctuation be accepted, but on this point there is a division of opinion. The text from which the LXX. made their translation must have been יהוה יִרְיָה בְּהָרֵי יְהוָה, *ἐν τῇ ὄρει Κύριος ὁφθῆναι*, "on the mountain Jehovah appeared," and the same, with the exception of יהוה for the last word, must have been the reading of the Vulgate and Syriac. The Targum of Onkelos is obscure. [W. A. W.]

**JEHOVAH-NIS'SI** (יהוה נִסִּי: *Kúpios καταφυγή μου*: *Dominus exaltatio mea*), i. e. "Jehovah my banner," the name given by Moses to the altar which he built in commemoration of the discomfiture of the Amalekites by Joshua and his chosen warriors at Rephidim (*Ex.* xvii. 15). It was erected either upon the hill overlooking the battle-field, upon which Moses sat with the staff of God in his hand, or upon the battle-field itself. According to Aben Ezra it was on the Horeb. The Targum of Onkelos paraphrases the verse thus:—"Moses built an altar and worshipped upon it before Jehovah, who had wrought for him miracles (נִסִּים, *nisim*)." Such too is Jarchi's explanation of the name, referring to the miraculous interposition of God in the defeat of the Amalekites. The LXX. in their translation, "the Lord my refuge," evidently supposed *nisai* to be derived from the root נָס, *nas*, "to flee," and the Vulgate traced it to נָשָׂא, "to lift up." The significance of the name is probably contained in the allusion to the staff which Moses held in his hand as a banner during the engagement, and the raising or lowering of which turned the fortune of battle in

favour of the Israelites or their enemies. God is thus recognised in the memorial altar as the deliverer of his people, who leads them to victory, and is their rallying point in time of peril. On the figurative use of "banner," see *Ps.* lx. 4; *I.* xi. 10. [W. A. W.]

**JEHOVAH-SHA'LOM** (יהוה שָׁלוֹם: *εἰρήνη* *Kuplov*: *Domini pax*), i. e. "Jehovah (is) peace," or, with the ellipsis of שָׁלוֹם, "Jehovah, the God of peace", the altar erected by Gideon in Ophrah was so called in memory of the salutation addressed to him by the angel of Jehovah, "Peace be unto thee" (*Judg.* vi. 24). Piscator, however, following the Hebrew accentuation, which he says requires a different translation, renders the whole passage, without introducing the proper name, "when Jehovah had proclaimed peace to him;" but his alteration is harsh and unnecessary. The LXX. and Vulg. appear to have inserted the words as they stand in the present Hebrew text, and to have read שָׁלוֹם יְהוָה, but they are supported by no MS. authority. [W. A. W.]

**JEHOZABAD** (יהוזבָד: *Ἰωζαβὰδ-βὰδ-βὰδ*: *Jozabad*). 1. A Korachite (Levite, second son of Obed-edom, and one of the porters of the south gate of the temple, and of the storehouse there (*בֵּית הָאֲכָפִים*) in the time of David (*1 Chr.* xxvi. 4, 15, compared with *Neh.* xii. 25).

2. (*Joseph.* *Ἰωζαβάρος*.) A Benjamite, captain of 180,000 armed men, in the days of king Jehoshaphat (*2 Chr.* xvii. 18).

3. Son of Shomer or Shimrith, a Moabitish woman, and possibly a descendant of the preceding, who with another conspired against king Joash and slew him in his bed (*2 K.* xii. 21; *2 Chr.* xxiv. 26). [*JOASHU.*] The similarity in the names of both conspirators and their parents is worth notice.

This name is commonly abbreviated in the Hebrew to JOZABAD. [A. C. H.]

**JEHOZADAK** (יהוזָדָק: *Ἰωζαδάκ*; *Alex.* *Ἰωζαδάκ*: *Jozadac*), son of the high-priest SERATAH (*1 Chr.* vi. 14, 15) in the reign of Zedekiah. When his father was slain at Riblah by order of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 11th of Zedekiah (*2 K.* xxv. 18, 21), Jehozadak was led away captive to Babylon (*1 Chr.* vi. 15), where he doubtless spent the remainder of his days. He himself never attained the high-priesthood, the Temple being burnt to the ground, and so continuing, and he himself being a captive all his life. But he was the father of JESHAUA the high-priest—who with Zerubabel headed the return from Captivity—and of all his successors till the pontificate of Alcimus (*Ezr.* iii. 2; *Neh.* xii. 26, &c. [*HIGH-PRIEST.*]) Nothing more is known about him. It is perhaps worth remarking that his name is compounded of the same elements, and has exactly the same meaning, as that of the contemporary king Zedekiah—"God is righteous;" and that the righteousness of God was signally displayed in the simultaneous suspension of the throne of David and the priesthood of Aaron, on account of the sins of Judah. This remark perhaps acquires weight from the fact of his successor Jeshua, who restored the priesthood and rebuilt the Temple, having the same name as Joshua, who brought the nation into the land of promise, and *Jesus*, a name significant of salvation.

In Haggai and Zechariah, though the name in

the original is exactly as above, yet our translators have chosen to follow the Greek form, and present it as JOSEPHUS.

In Ezra and Nehemiah it is abbreviated, both in Hebrew and A. V., to JOZADAK. [A. C. II.]

JEHU. 1. (יהוא) = "JEHOVAH is He;" יֹהֵוָה; Alex. Ἰηοῦ; Joseph. Ἰηοῦς). The founder of the fifth dynasty of the kingdom of Israel. His history was told in the lost "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. x. 34). His father's name was Jehoshaphat (2 K. ix. 2); his grandfather's (which, as being better known, was sometimes affixed to his own—2 K. ix.) was Nimshi. In his youth he had been one of the guards of Ahab. His first appearance in history is when, with a comrade in arms, Bidkar, or Bar-Dakar (Ephrem Syr. *Opp.* iv. 540), he rode<sup>a</sup> behind Ahab on the fatal journey from Samaria to Jezreel, and heard, and laid up in his heart, the warning of Elijah against the murderer of Naboth (2 K. ix. 25). But he had already, as it would seem, been known to Elijah as a youth of promise, and, accordingly, in the vision at Horeb he is mentioned as the future king of Israel, whom Elijah is to anoint as the minister of vengeance on Israel (1 K. xix. 16, 17). This injunction, for reasons unknown to us, Elijah never fulfilled. It was reserved long afterwards for his successor Elisha.

Jehu meantime, in the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, had risen to importance. The same activity and vehemence which had fitted him for his earlier distinctions still continued, and he was known far and wide as a charioteer whose rapid driving, as if of a madman<sup>b</sup> (2 K. ix. 21), could be distinguished even from a distance. He was, under the last-named king, captain of the host in the siege of Ramoth-Gilead. According to Ephraim Syrus (who omits the words "saith the Lord" in 2 K. ix. 26, and makes "I" refer to Jehu) he had, in a dream the night before, seen the blood of Naboth and his sons (8. Ephr. Syr. *Opp.* iv. 540). Whilst in the midst of the officers of the besieging army a youth suddenly entered, of wild appearance (2 K. ix. 11), and insisted on a private interview with Jehu. They retired into a secret chamber. The youth uncovered a vial of the sacred oil (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6, 1) which he had brought with him, poured it over Jehu's head, and after announcing to him the message from Elisha, that he was appointed to be king of Israel and destroyer of the house of Ahab, rushed out of the house and disappeared.

Jehu's countenance, as he re-entered the assembly of officers, showed that some strange tidings had reached him. He tried at first to evade their questions, but then revealed the situation in which he found himself placed by the prophetic call. In a moment the enthusiasm of the army took fire. They threw their garments—the large square *Be-*

<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew word is יָסַד; usually employed for the coupling together of oxen. This the LXX. understands as though the two soldiers rode in separate chariots—ἐπιβεθηκότες ἐπὶ ζύγῳ (2 K. ix. 25). Josephus *Ant.* ix. 6, §3) as though they sat in the same chariot with the king (καθεζομένουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀχαβίου).

<sup>b</sup> This is the force of the Hebrew word, which, as in 2 K. ix. 11, the LXX. translate ἐν παραλλήλῳ Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, §3) αἰσὶν σχολαίερον τε καὶ μὲν ὀνείδας ὤδοντες.

<sup>c</sup> The expression translated "on the top of the stairs" is one the clue to which is lost. The word

*ged*, similar to a wrapper or plaid—under his feet: so as to form a rough carpet of state, placed him on the top of the stairs,<sup>c</sup> as on an extempore throne, blew the royal salute on their trumpets, and thus ordained him king. He then cut off all communication between Ramoth-Gilead and Jezreel, and set off, full speed, with his ancient comrade Bidkar, whom he had made captain of the host in his place, and a band of horsemen. From the tower of Jezreel a watchman saw the cloud of dust (נֶחֱמָה, *nechmah*; Alex. *nechmah*; A. V. "company") and announced his coming (2 K. ix. 17). The messengers that were sent out to him he detained, on the same principle of secrecy which had guided all his movements. It was not till he had almost reached the city, and was identified by the watchman, that alarm was taken. But even then it seems as if the two kings in Jezreel anticipated news from the Syrian war rather than a revolution at home. It was not till, in answer to Jehoram's question, "Is it peace, Jehu?" that Jehu's fierce denunciation of Jezebel at once revealed the danger. Jehu seized his opportunity, and taking full aim at Jehoram, with the bow which, as captain of the host, was always with him, shot him through the heart (ix. 24). The body was thrown out on the fatal field, and whilst his soldiers pursued and killed the king of Judah at Beth-gan (A. V. "the garden-house"), probably Engannim, Jehu himself advanced to the gates of Jezreel and fulfilled the divine warning on Jezebel as already on Jehoram. [JEZEKEL.] He then entered on a work of extermination hitherto unparalleled in the history of the Jewish monarchy. All the descendants of Ahab that remained in Jezreel, together with the officers of the court, and hierarchy of Astarte, were swept away. His next step was to secure Samaria. Every stage of his progress was marked with blood. At the gates of Jezreel he found the heads of seventy princes of the house of Ahab, ranged in two heaps, sent to him as a propitiation by their guardians in Samaria, whom he had defied to withstand him, and on whom he thus threw the responsibility of destroying their own royal charge. Next, at "the shearing-house" (or Bethel) between Jezreel and Samaria he encountered forty-two sons or nephews (2 Chr. xx. 8) of the late king of Judah, and therefore connected by marriage with Ahab, on a visit of compliment to their relatives, of whose fall, seemingly, they had not heard. These also were put to the sword at the fatal well, as, in the later history, of Mizpah, and, in our own days, of Cawnpore (2 K. x. 14). [ISHMAEL, 6.] As he drove on he encountered a strange figure, such as might have reminded him of the great Elijah. It was Jehonadab, the austere Arabian sectary, the son of Rechab. In him his keen eye discovered a ready ally. He took him into his chariot, and they con-

is *gerem*, גֶּרֶם, i. e. a bone, and the meaning appears to be that they placed Jehu on the very stairs themselves—*עַל הַמַּעְבָּדִים* as stairs—without any seat or chair below him. The stairs doubtless ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the house, as they do still, for instance, in the ruin called the house of Zachariah at Jericho, and Jehu sat where they joined the flat platform which formed the top or roof of the house. Thus he was conspicuous against the sky, while the captains were below him in the open quadrangle. The old Versions throw little or no light on the passage: the LXX. simply repeat the Hebrew word, ἐπὶ τῷ γὰρ μὲν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν. By Josephus it is avoided.

coated their schemes as they entered Samaria (x. 15, 16). [JEHONADAB.]

Some stragglers of the house of Ahab in that city still remained to be destroyed. But the great stroke was yet to come; and it was conceived and executed with that union of intrepid daring and profound secrecy which marks the whole career of Jehu. Up to this moment there was nothing which showed anything beyond a determination to exterminate in all its branches the personal adherents of Ahab. He might still have been at heart, as he seems up to this time to have been in name, disposed to tolerate, if not to join in, the Phœnician worship. "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much." There was to be a new inauguration of the worship of Baal. A solemn assembly, sacred vestments, innumerable victims, were ready. The vast temple at Samaria raised by Ahab (1 K. xvi. 32; Jos. Ant. x. 7, §6) was crowded from end to end. The chief sacrifice was offered, as if in the excess of his zeal, by Jehu himself. Jehonadab joined in the deception. There was some apprehension lest worshippers of Jehovah might be found in the temple; such, it seems, had been the intermixture of the two religions. As soon, however, as it was ascertained that all, and none but, the idolaters were there, the signal was given to eighty trusted guards, and a sweeping massacre removed at one blow the whole heathen population of the kingdom of Israel. The innermost sanctuary of the temple (translated in the A. V. "the city of the house of Baal") was torn down, the great stone statue of Baal was demolished, the wooden figures of the inferior divinities sitting round him were torn from their places and burnt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 526), and the site of the sanctuary itself became the public resort of the inhabitants of the city for the basest uses. This is the last public act recorded of Jehu. The remaining twenty-seven years of his long reign are passed over in a few words, in which two points only are material:—He did not destroy the calf-worship of Jeroboam:—The Trans-jordanic tribes suffered much from the ravages of Hazael (2 K. x. 29-33). He was buried in state in Samaria, and was succeeded by his son JEHOHAZ (2 K. x. 35). His name is the first of the Israelite kings which appears in the Assyrian monuments. It is found on the black obelisk discovered at Nimroud (Layard, *Ninereh*, i. 396), and now in the British Museum, amongst the names of kings who are bringing tribute (in this case gold and silver, and articles manufactured in gold) to Shalmaneser I. His name is given as "Jehu" (or "Yahua") "the son of Khumi" (Omri). This substitution of the name of Omri for that of his own father may be accounted for, either by the importance which Omri had assumed as the second founder of the northern kingdom, or by the name of "Beth-Khumi," only given to Samaria in these monuments as "the House or Capital of Omri" (Layard, *Ninereh and Babylon*, 643; Rawlinson's *Herodot.* i. 465).

The character of Jehu is not difficult to understand, if we take it as a whole, and judge it from a general point of view.

He must be regarded, like many others in history, as an instrument for accomplishing great purposes rather than as great or good in himself. In the long period, during which his destiny—though known to others and perhaps to himself, lay dormant—in the suddenness of his rise to

power; in the ruthlessness with which he carried out his purposes; in the union of profound silence and dissimulation with a stern, fanatic, wayward zeal,—he has not been without his likenesses in modern times. The Scripture narrative, although it fixes our attention on the services which he rendered to the cause of religion by the extermination of a worthless dynasty and a degrading worship, yet on the whole leaves the sense that it was a reign barren in great results. His dynasty, indeed, was firmly seated on the throne longer than any other royal house of Israel (2 K. x.), and under Jeroboam II. it acquired a high name amongst the Oriental nations. But Elisha, who had raised him to power, as far as we know, never saw him. In other respects it was a failure; the original sin of Jeroboam's worship continued; and in the Prophet Hosea there seems to be a retribution exacted for the bloodshed by which he had mounted the throne: "I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos. i. 4), as in the similar condemnation of Baasha (1 K. xvi. 2). See a striking poem to this effect on the character of Jehu in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

2. Jehu, son of Hanani; a prophet of Judah, but whose ministrations were chiefly directed to Israel. His father was probably the seer who attacked Asa (2 Chr. xvi. 7). He must have begun his career as a prophet when very young. He first denounced Baasha, both for his imitation of the dynasty of Jeroboam, and also (as it would seem) for his cruelty in destroying it (1 K. xvi. 1, 7), and then, after an interval of thirty years, reappears to denounce Jehoshaphat for his alliance with Ahab (2 Chr. xix. 2, 3). He survived Jehoshaphat and wrote his life (xx. 34). From an obscurity in the text of 1 K. xvi. 7 the Vulgate has represented him as killed by Baasha. But this is not required by the words, and (except on the improbable hypothesis of two Jehus, both sons of Hanani) is contradicted by the later appearance of this prophet.

3. (Ἰηού; *Jehu, Jew*.) A man of Judah of the house of Hezion (1 Chr. ii. 38). He was the son of a certain Obed, descended from the union of an Egyptian, JARHA, with the daughter of Sheshan, whose slave Jarha was (comp. 34).

4. (Ἰηού.) A Simeonite, son of Josiabiah (1 Chr. iv. 35). He was one of the chief men of the tribe, apparently in the reign of Hezekiah (comp. 41).

5. (Ἰηούλ.) Jehu the Antiochite, i. e. native of Anathoth, was one of the chief of the heroes of Benjamin, who forsook the cause of Saul for that of David when the latter was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 3). He does not reappear in any of the later lists. [A. P. S.]

JEHUB'BAH (יהובב): 'Iaβá; Alex. 'Oβá; *Jubá*, a man of Asher; son of Shamer or Shomer, of the house of Beriah (1 Chr. vii. 34).

JEHUCAL (יהואל): δ' Iωδχαλ; Alex. 'Iωα-χάς; *Juchal*, son of Shelemiah; one of two persons sent by king Zedekiah to Jeremiah, to entreat his prayers and advice (Jer. xxxvii. 3). His name is also given as JUCAL, and he appears to have been one of the "princes of the king" (comp. xxxviii. 1, 4).

JEHUD (יהוד): 'Aζάφ; Alex. 'Iούθ; *Jud*, one of the towns of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 45), united between Baalath and Bene-berak. Neither of these two places, however, have been identified.

By Eusebius and Jerome Jehud is not named. Dr. Robinson (ii. 242) mentions that a place called *el-Yehudiyeh* exists in the neighbourhood of *Lydda*, but he did not visit it. It is, however, inserted on Van de Velde's map at 7 miles east of *Jaffa* and 5 north of *Lydda*. This agrees with the statement of Schwarz (141) that "Jehud is the village Jehudie, 7½ miles S.E. of Jaffa," except as to the direction, which is nearer E. than S.E. [G.]

**JEHUDI** (יְהוּדִי = "Jew"; δ *Ioudaios*; Alex. *Ioudæi*: *Judi*), son of Nethaniah, a man employed by the princes of Jehoiakim's court to fetch Baruch to read Jeremiah's denunciation (Jer. xxxvi. 14), and then by the king to fetch the volume itself and read it to him (21, 23).

**JEHUDIJAH** (יְהוּדִיָּה: *Adia*; Alex. *Ibia*: *Judaia*). There is really no such name in the Heb. Bible as that which our A. V. exhibits at 1 Chr. iv. 18. If it is a proper name at all it is Ha-jehudijah, like Ham-melech, Hak-koz, &c.; and it seems to be rather an appellative, "the Jewess." As far as an opinion can be formed of so obscure and apparently corrupt a passage, Mered, a descendant of Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and whose towns, Gedor, Socho, and Eshtemoa, lay in the south of Judah, married two wives—one a Jewess, the other an Egyptian, a daughter of Pharaoh. The Jewess was sister of Nahama, the father of the cities of Kellah and Eshtemoa. The descendants of Mered by his two wives are given in vers. 18, 19, and perhaps in the latter part of ver. 17. Hodijah in ver. 19 is doubtless a corruption of Ha-jehudijah, "the Jewess," the letters יוּדִי having fallen out from the end of מֵרֶדֶד and the beginning of the following word; and the full stop at the end of ver. 18 should be removed, so as to read as a recapitulation of what precedes:—"These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took (for his wife), and the sons of his wife, the Jewess, the sister of Nahama (which Nahama was) the father of Kellah, whose inhabitants are Gurnites, and of Eshtemoa, whose inhabitants are Maachathites;" the last being named possibly from Maachah, Caleb's concubine, as the Ephrathites were from Ephrata. Bertheau (*Chronik*) arrives at the same general result, by proposing to place the closing words of ver. 18, before the words "And she bore Miriam," &c., in ver. 17. See also Vatablus. [A. C. H.]

**JEHUSH** (יְהוּשׁ: *Ida*; Alex. *Iaias*: *Us*), son of Eshek, a remote descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 39). The parallel genealogy in ch. ix. stops short of this man.

For the representation of *Ain* by *II*, see **JEHIEL**, **MEHUNIM**, &c.

**JETEL** (יֶזְעָל: *Jehiel*). 1. (יֶזְעָל.) A chief man among the Reubenites, one of the house of Joel (1 Chr. v. 7).

2. (יֶזְעָל; Alex. once *Iothal*.) A Merarite Levite, one of the gate-keepers (דִּי־שַׁעַר; A. V. "porters," and "doorkeepers") to the sacred tent, at the first establishment of the Ark in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 18). His duty was also to play the harp (ver. 21), or the psaltery and harp (xvi. 5), in the service before the Ark.

3. (יֶזְעָל, Alex. *Eaeal*.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Asaph, forefather of **JAHAZIEL** in the time of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xx. 14).

4. (יְעֻמֶּלֶךְ, i. e. *Jeuel*, but the A. V. follows the correction of the *Keri*: יֶעֱזָאֵל.) The Scribe (סֹפֵר) who kept the account of the numbers of king Uzziah's irregular predatory warriors (יְהוּדִיָּה, A. V. "bands," 2 Chr. xxvi. 11).

5. (Jeuel, as in the preceding; but the A. V. again follows the *Keri*: יֶעֱזָאֵל: *Jehiel*.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Elizaphan, who assisted in the restoration of the house of Jehovah under king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 13).

6. (יֶעֱזָאֵל, Alex. *Ieial*.) One of the chiefs (רָאשֵׁי) of the Levites in the time of Josiah, and an assistant in the rites at his great Passover (2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

7. (Jeuel as above, but in *Keri* and A. V. *Jeiel*: יֶעֱזָאֵל, Alex. *Ieial*.) One of the Bene-Adonikam who formed part of the caravan of Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 13). In Esdras the name is *JEUELE*.

8. (יֶעֱזָאֵל, Alex. *Ieial*.) A layman, of the Bene Nebo, who had taken a foreign wife and had to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 43). In Esdras it is omitted from the Greek and A. V., though the Vulgate has *Idelus*.

**JEKABZEEL** (יְכָבְזֵאל: Vat. omits; Alex. *Kabzeal*: *Cabzeel*), a fuller form of the name of **KABZEEL**, the most remote city of Judah on the southern frontier. This form occurs only in the list of the places reoccupied after the captivity (Neh. xi. 25). [G.]

**JEKAME'AM** (יְכָמֵאֵם: *Iekemias*, *Iekemai*; Alex. *Iekemai*: *Jecamaam*, *Jecamanan*), a Levite in the time of King David: fourth of the sons of Hebron, the son of Kohath (1 Chr. xlii. 19, xiv. 23).

**JEKAMIAH** (יְכָמִיָּה: *Iexemias*; Alex. *Iexomias*: *Icamitis*), son of Shallum, in the line of Ahlai, about contemporary with king Abaz. In another passage the same name, borne by a different person, is given **JECAMIAH** (1 Chr. ii. 41). [**JAHIA**]. [A. C. H.]

**JEKUTHIEL** (יְכֻתִּיֵּאל: δ *Κετιήλ*; Alex. *Iekuthal*: *Ienthiel*), a man recorded in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 18) as the son of a certain Ezrah by his Jewish wife (A. V. *Jehudijah*), and in his turn the father, or founder, of the town of Zanoah. This passage in the Targum is not without a certain interest. Jered is interpreted to mean Moses, and each of the names following are taken as titles borne by him. Jekuthiel—"trust in God"—is so applied "because in his days the Israelites trusted in the God of heaven for forty years in the wilderness."

In a remarkable prayer used by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the concluding service of the Sabbath, Elijah is invoked as having had "tidings of peace delivered to him by the hand of Jekuthiel." This is explained to refer to some transaction in the life of Phineas, with whom Elijah is, in the traditions of the Jews, believed to be identical (see the quotations in *Modern Judaism*, 229).

**JEMIMA** (יְמִימָה: *Hemra*: *Dies*, as if from דִּי, "a day"), the eldest of the three daughters born to Job after the restoration of his prosperity (Job xlii. 14). Rosenmüller compares the name to the classical *Diana*; but Griesenius identifies it with an Arabic word signifying "dove." The

Rev. C. Forster (*Historical Geography of Arabia*, ii. 67), in tracing the posterity of Job in Arabia, considers that the name of Jemima survives in Jemama, the name of the central province of the Arabian peninsula, which, according to an Arabian tradition (see Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. §26), was called after Jemama, an ancient Queen of the Arabians. [W. T. B.]

JEM'NAAN (Ἰεμνάδν: Vulg. omits), mentioned among the places on the sea-coast of Palestine to which the panic of the incursion of Holofernes extended (Jud. ii. 28). No doubt Jabneel—generally called Jamnia by the Greek writers—is intended. The omission of Joppa however is remarkable. [G.]

JEMU'EL (Ἰεμουήλ: *Jemuel*, *Jumuel*), the eldest son of Simeon (Gen. xlii. 10; Ex. vi. 15). In the lists of Num. xvi. and 1 Chr. iv. the name is given as NEMU'EL, which Gesenius decides to be the corrupted form.

JEPHTHA'E (Ἰεφθαί: *Iepthe*, *Jephte*), Heb. xi. 32. The Greek form of the name JEPHTHAH.

JEPHTHAH (Ἰεφθά: i. e. *Yipthah*: *Ἰεφθαί: Jephthe*), a judge, about B. C. 1143-1137. His history is contained in Judg. xi. 1—xii. 7. He was a Gileadite, the son of Gilead and a concubine. Driven by the legitimate sons from his father's inheritance, he went to Tob, and became the head of a company of freebooters in a debatable land probably belonging to Ammon (2 Sam. x. 6). The idoltrous Ismaelites in Gilead were at that time smarting under the oppression of an Ammonitish king; and Jephthah was led, as well by the unsettled character of the age as by his own family circumstances, to adopt a kind of life unrestrained, adventurous, and insecure as that of a Scottish border-chieftain in the middle ages. It was not unlike the life which David afterwards led at Ziklag, with this exception, that Jephthah had no friend among the heathen in whose land he lived. His fame as a bold and successful captain was carried back to his native Gilead; and when the time was ripe for throwing off the yoke of Ammon, the Gileadite elders sought in vain for any leader, who in an equal degree with the law-born outcast could command the confidence of his countrymen. Jephthah consented to become their captain, on the condition—solemnly ratified before the Lord in Mizpeh—that in the event of his success against Ammon he should still remain as their acknowledged head. Messages, urging their respective claims to occupy the trans-Jordanic region, were exchanged between the Ammonitish king and Jephthah. Then the Spirit of the Lord (i. e. "force of mind for great undertakings, and bodily strength," Tauchum: comp. Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiv. 6, xv. 14) came upon Jephthah. He collected warriors throughout Gilead and Manasseh, the provinces which acknowledged his authority. And then he vowed his vow unto the Lord, "whatsoever cometh forth [i. e. first] of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be Jehovah's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." The Ammonites were routed with great slaughter. Twenty cities, from Aroer on the Arnon to Minnith and to Abel Kerimim, were taken from them. But as the conqueror returned to Mizpeh there came out to meet him a procession of damsels with dances and timbrels, and among them—the

first person from his own house—his daughter and only child. "Alas! my daughter, thou hast brought me very low," was the greeting of the heart-stricken father. But the high-minded maiden is ready for any personal suffering in the hour of her father's triumph. Only she asks for a respite of two months to withdraw to her native mountains, and in their recesses to weep with her virgin-friends over the early disappointment of her life. When that time was ended she returned to her father; and "he did unto her his vow."

But Jephthah had not long leisure, even if he were disposed, for the indulgence of domestic grief. The proud tribe of Ephraim challenged his right to go to war, as he had done without their concurrence, against Ammon; and they proceeded to vindicate the absurd claim by invading Jephthah in Gilead. They did but add to his triumph which they envied. He first defeated them, then intercepted the fugitives at the fords of Jordan, and there, having insultingly identified them as Ephraimites by their peculiar pronunciation, he put forty-two thousand men to the sword.

The eminent office for which Jephthah had stipulated as the reward of his exertions, and the glory which he had won, did not long abide with him. He judged Israel six years and died.

It is generally conjectured that his jurisdiction was limited to the trans-Jordanic region.

The peculiar expression, xi. 34, faithfully translated in the margin of the A. V., has been interpreted as signifying that Jephthah had step-children.

That the daughter of Jephthah was really offered up to God in sacrifice, slain by the hand of her father and then burned—is a horrible conclusion; but one which it seems impossible to avoid. This was understood to be the meaning of the text by Jonathan the paraphrast, and Rashi, by Josephus, *Ant. v. 7, §10*, and by perhaps all the early Christian Fathers, as Origen, in *Joannem*, tom. vi. cap. 36; Chrysostom, *Hom. ad pop. Antioch.* xiv. 3; *Opp. ii. 145*; Theodoret, *Quaest. in Jud. xx.*; Jerome, *Ep. ad Jul. 118*; *Opp. i. 791, &c.*; Augustine, *Quaest. in Jud. viii. §49*; *Opp. i. 1, p. 610*. For the first eleven centuries of the Christian era this was the current, perhaps the universal opinion of Jews and Christians. Yet none of them extenuates the act of Jephthah. Josephus calls it neither lawful nor pleasing to God. Jewish writers say that he ought to have referred it to the high-priest; but either he failed to do so, or the high-priest culpably omitted to prevent the rash act. Origen strictly confines his praise to the heroism of Jephthah's daughter.

Another interpretation was suggested by Joseph Kimchi. He supposed that, instead of being sacrificed, she was shut up in a house which her father built for the purpose, and that she was there visited by the daughters of Israel four days in each year so long as she lived. This interpretation has been adopted by many eminent men, as by Levi ben Gerson and Bechai among the Jews, and by Drusus, Grotius, Estius, de Dieu, Bishop Hall, Waterland, Dr. Hales, and others. More names of the same period, and of not less authority, might however be adduced on the other side. Lightfoot once thought (*Erubbin*, §16) that Jephthah did not slay his daughter; but upon more mature reflection he came to the opposite conclusion (*Harmony*, &c.; Judg. xi., *Works*, i. 51).

Each of these two opinions is supported by argu-

ments grounded on the original text and on the customs of the Jews. (1.) In Judg. xi. 31, the word translated in the A. V. "whosoever" knows no distinction of gender, and may as correctly be translated "whosoever;" and in favour of the latter version it is urged that Jephthah could not have expected to be met by an ox or other animal fit for sacrifice, coming forth from the door of his house; and that it was obviously his intention to signalize his thanksgiving for victory by devoting some human being to destruction, to that end perverting the statute, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29 (given with another purpose, on which see Jahn, *Archaeologia*, § 294, or Ewald, *Altenthümer*, 89), to the taking of a life which was not forfeit to the law. (2.) To J. Kimchi's proposal to translate "and I will offer," verse 31, "or I will offer," it has been replied that this sense of the conjunction is rare, that it is not intended in two vows couched in parallel phraseology, Gen. xxviii. 21, 22, and 1 Sam. i. 11, and that it creates two alternatives between which there is no opposition, (3.) The word rendered in A. V. "to lament," or "to talk with," verse 40, is translated by later scholars, as in Judg. v. 11, "to celebrate." (4.) It has been said that if Jephthah put his daughter to death, according to verse 39, it is unnecessary to add that she "knew no man;" but on the other hand it is urged that this circumstance is added as setting in a stronger light the rashness of Jephthah and the heroism of his daughter. (5.) It has been argued that human sacrifices were opposed to the principles of the Jewish law, and therefore a Jew could not have intended to make a thank-offering of that sort; but it is replied that a Gileadite born in a lawless age, living as a freebooter in the midst of rude and idolatrous people who practised such sacrifices, was not likely to be unusually acquainted with or to pay unusual respect to the pure and humane laws of Israel. (6.) Lastly, it has been argued that a life of religious celibacy is without injunction or example to favour it in the O. T.

Some persons, mindful of the enrolment of Jephthah among the heroes of faith in Heb. xi. 32, as well as of the expression "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," Judg. xi. 29, have therefore scrupled to believe that he could be guilty of such a sin as the murder of his child. But it must be remembered also that deep sins of several other faithful men are recorded in Scripture, sometimes without comment; and as Jephthah had time afterwards, so he may have had grace to repent of his vow and his fulfilment of it. At least we know that he felt remorse, which is often the foreshadow of retribution or the harbinger of repentance.

Doubtless theological opinions have sometimes had the effect of leading men to prefer one view of Jephthah's vow to the other. Seiden mentions that Genebrard was told by a Jew that Kimchi's interpretation was devised in order to prevent Christians quoting the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter as a type of the sacrifice of the Son of God. And Christians, who desire or fear an example alleged in favour of celibate vows or of the fallibility of inspired men, may become partial judges of the question.

The subject is discussed at length in Augustine, *l. c. Opp.* iii. 1, p. 610; a Treatise by L. Capellus inserted in *Crit. Sacr.* on Judg. xi.; Bp. Hall's *Contemplations on O. T.*, bk. x.; Selden, *De jure naturali et gentium*, iv. § 11; Lightfoot, *Sermon* on Judg. xi. 39, in *Works*, ii. 1215; Pfeiffer,

*De voto Jephthae*, Opp. 591; Dr. Hales' *Analysis of Chronology*, ii. 288; and in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*. [W. T. R.]

JEPHUN'NE (Ἰεφουνή: *Jephone*), Ecclus. xvi. 7. [JEPHUNNEH.]

JEPHUN'NEH (יִפְחֻנְנִי: *Jephone*). 1. (Ἰεφουνή): father of Caleb the spy, who is usually designated as "Caleb the son of Jephunneh." He appears to have belonged to an Edomitic tribe called Keuzites, from Keuz their founder; but his father or other ancestors are not named. [CALEB, 2; KE-NAZ.] (See Num. xiii. 6, &c., xxxii. 12, &c.; Josh. xiv. 14, &c.; 1 Chr. iv. 15.) 2. (Ἰεφυνά in both MSS.) A descendant of Asher, eldest of the three sons of Jether (1 Chr. vii. 38). [A. C. H.]

JERAH (יֶרַח: *Yareh*), the fourth in order of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Chr. i. 20), and the progenitor of a tribe of southern Arabia. He has not been satisfactorily identified with the name of any Arabian place or tribe, though a fortress (and probably an old town, like the numerous fortified places in the Yemen, of the old Himyarite

kingdom) named Yerākh (يَرَاخ = יֶרַח) is mentioned as belonging to the district of the Nijūd (*Murāsīd*, s. r. Yerākh), which is in Mahreh, at the extremity of the Yemen (*Kānoos*, in article نجد; cf. ARABIA). The similarity of name, however, and the other indications, we are not disposed to lay much stress on.

A very different identification has been proposed by Bochart (*Phaley*, ii. 19). He translates Jerah = "the moon" into Arabic, and finds the descendants of Jerah in the Alilaei, a people dwelling near the Red Sea (Agatharch. ap. Diol. Sic. iii. 45), on the strength of a passage in Herodotus (iii. 8), in which he says of the Arabs, "Baechus they call in their language Ortol; and Urania, Alilat." He further suggests that these Alilaei are the Bene-

Hilal of more modern times, Hilāl (هلال) meaning,

in Arabic, "the moon when, being near the sun, it shows a narrow rim of light." Gesenius does not object to this theory, which he quotes; but says that the opinion of Michaelis (*Spicileg.* ii. 60) is more probable; the latter scholar finding Jerah in the "coast of the moon" (correctly, "low land

of the moon," غيب القمر), or in the "mountain of the moon" (جبل القمر)—in each case the

moon being "kamar," not "hilāl." The former is "a place between Zafarī and Esh-Shihr" (*Kāmoos*); the latter in the same part, but more inland; both being, as Gesen. remarks, near to Hadramāwt, next to which, in the order of the names, is Jerah in the record in Genesis; and the same argument may be adduced in favour of our own possible identification with the fortress of Yerākh, named at the commencement of this article. Whatever may be said in support of translating Jerah, as both Bochart and Michaelis have done, the former's theory involves some grave difficulties, which must be stated.

The statement of Herodotus above quoted (cf. i. 131, "the Arabians call Venus Alitta"), that Alilat signifies Urania, cannot be accepted without further

evidence than we at present possess. Alilat was almost doubtless the same as the object of worship called by the Arabs "El-Lât," and any new information respecting the latter is therefore important. It would require too much space in this work to state the various opinions of the Arabs respecting El-Lât, its etymology, &c., as collected in the great MS. Lexicon entitled the "Mohkun," a work little known in Europe; from which (articles **لَت** and **لوى**) we give the following particulars. "El-Lât" is [generally] said to be originally "El-Lâth," the name of an object of worship, so called by the appellation of a man who used to moisten meal of parched barley (sawweek) with clarified butter or the like, at the place thereof, for the pilgrims: "El-Lât" signifying "the person who performs that operation." The object of worship itself is said to have been a mass of rock [upon which he moistened the meal; and which was more properly called "the Rock of El-Lât"] : after the death of the man above mentioned this rock was worshipped. But some say that "El-Lât" is originally "El-

Ilâhch" (**الالهة**), meaning [not "the Goddess,"

but] "the Serpent." To this we may add from El-Beydâwee (*Kur-ân*, liii, 19 and 20), El-Lât was an idol of Thakeef, at Et-Tâif, or of Kureysh, at

Nakhleh; and was so called from **لوى**, because they used to go round about it: or it was called "El-Lât," because it was the image of a man who used to moisten meal of parched barley with clarified butter, and to feed the pilgrims.—Our own opinion is that it may be a contraction of "El-Lâth" ("the Serpent," or perhaps "the Goddess"), pronounced according to the dialect of Himyer, with "t" instead of "h" in the case of a pause. (See

the *Sihâh*, MS., art. **وثب**.) It is said in the Lexicon entitled the *Tuhfat* (MS., art. **لَت**), that El-Kisâ'ee used to pronounce it, in the case of a pause, "El-Lâh;" and that those who worshipped it compared its name with that of "Allah."

Pococke has some remarks on the subject of El-Lât, which the reader may consult (*Spec. Hist. Arab.* p. 90); and also Sir G. Wilkinson, in his notes to Herodotus (ed. Rawlinson, ii. 402, foot-note, and Essay i. to Bk. iii.): he seems to be wrong, however, in saying that the Arabic "awel," "first" [correctly, "awwal"] is "related to" **أل**, or Allah, &c.; and that Alitta and Mylitta are Semitic names derived from "*welad, walada*," "to bear children" (*Essay* i. p. 537). The comparison of Alitta and Mylitta is also extremely doubtful; and probably Herodotus assimilated the former name to the latter.

It is necessary to observe, in endeavouring to elucidate the ancient religion of the Ishmaelite Arabs, that fetishism was largely developed among them; and that their idols were generally absurdly rude and primitive. Beyond that relic of primeval revelation which is found in most beliefs—a recognition of one universal and supreme God—the practices of fetishism obtained more or less throughout Arabia; on the north giving place to the faith of the patriarchs; on the south merging into the cosmic worship of the Himyerites.

That the Alilâi were worshippers of Alilat is an

assumption unsupported by facts; but whatever may be said in its favour, the people in question are not the Benee-Hilâl, who take their name from a kinsman of Mohammad, in the fifth generation before him, of the well-known stock of Keys. (Cassin, *Essai*, Tab. X A; Abu-l-Fida, *Hist. antisl.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 194.) [E. S. P.]

**JERAHMEEL** (**יְרַחְמֵאל**): **Ἰεραχμῆλ**, **Ἰεραμῆλ**; *Jerameel*. 1. First-born son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 9, 25-27, 33, 42). His descendants are given at length in the same chap. [AZARIAH, 13; ZABAD.] They inhabited the southern border of Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, comp. 8; xxx. 29).

2. A Merarite Levite; the representative, at the time of the organisation of the Divine service by king David, of the family of Kish, the son of Mahli (1 Chr. xxiv. 29; comp. xxiii. 21).

3. Son of Hammelech, or, as the LXX. render it, "the king," who was employed by Jehoiakim to make Jeremiah and Baruch prisoners, after he had burnt the roll of Jeremiah's prophecy (Jer. xxxv. 26). [A. C. H.]

**JERAHMEELITES**, **THE** (**יְרַחְמֵאֵלִיתַי**): **Ἰεραμῆλ, ὁ Ἰεραμῆλ**; Alex. **Ἰεραμῆλ, Ἰεραμῆλ**; *Jerameel*. The tribe descended from the list of the foregoing persons (1 Sam. xxvii. 10). Their cities are also named amongst those to which David sent presents from his Amalekite booty (xxx. 29), although to Jewish he had represented that he had attacked them.

**JER'ECHUS** (**Ἰέρεχος**: *Ericus*), 1 Esd. v. 22. [JERICHO.]

**JER'ED** (**יָרֵד**: **Ἰάρεδ**: *Jared, Jaret*). 1. One of the patriarchs before the flood, son of Mahaleel and father of Enoch (1 Chr. i. 2). In Genesis the name is given as **JAREH**.

2. One of the descendants of Judah signified as the "father—i. e. the founder—of Gedor" (1 Chr. iv. 18). He was one of the sons of Ezrah by his wife Ha-Jehudijah, i. e. the Jewess. The Jews, however, give an allegorical interpretation to the passage, and treat this and other names therein as titles of Moses.—Jered because he caused the mauna to descend. Here—as noticed under Jabez—the pun, though obvious in biblical Hebrew, where *Jarad* (the root of *Jordan*) means "to descend," is concealed in the rabbinical paraphrase, which has **יָרֵד**, a word with the same meaning, but without any relation to *Jered*, either for eye or ear. [G.]

**JEREMAI** (**יֵרֵמִי**): **Ἰεραμῖ**; Alex. **Ἰεραμῖ**: *Jermai*, a layman; one of the Bene-Hashum, who was compelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 33). In the lists of Esdras it is omitted.

**JEREMIAH** (**יֵרֵמְיָהוּ**), as the more usual form, or **יֵרֵמְיָה**, ch. xxxvi.-xxxviii.; **Ἰερεμίας**: *Jeremias*, Vulg.; *Hieremias*, Hieron. et al.). The name has been variously explained: by Jerome and Simonia (*Onomast.* p. 535), as "the exalted of the Lord;" by Gesenius (s. v.), as "appointed of the Lord;" by Carpov (*Introd. ad lib. V. T.* p. iii. c. 3), followed by Hengstenberg (*Christologie des A. B.* vol. i.), as "the Lord throws"—the latter seeing in the name a prophetic reference to the work described in i. 10.

I. *Life*.—It will be convenient to arrange what is known as to the life and work of this Prophet in sections corresponding to its chief periods. The materials for such an account are to be found almost exclusively in the book which bears his name. Whatever interest may attach to Jewish or Christian traditions connected with his name, they have no claim to be regarded as historical, and we are left to form what picture we can of the man and of his times from the narratives and prophecies which he himself has left. Fortunately, these have come down to us, though in some disorder, with unusual fullness; and there is no one in the "goodly fellowship of the prophets" of whom, in his work, feelings, sufferings, we have so distinct a knowledge. He is for us the great example of the prophetic life, the representative of the prophetic order. It is not to be wondered at that he should have seemed to the Christian feeling of the Early Church a type of Him in whom that life received its highest completion (Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.* xxiii. 9; Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* i. and viii.; Aug. *de Praes. Dei*, c. xxxvii.), or that recent writers should have identified him with the "Servant of the Lord" in the later chapters of Isaiah (Bunsen, *Gott in Geschichte*, i. p. 425-447; Nägelsbach, *art. Jerem. in Herzog's Realencyclop.*).

(1.) Under Josiah, B.C. 638-608.—In the 13th year of the reign of Josiah, the Prophet speaks of himself as still "a child" (יָלֵד, i. 6). We cannot rely indeed on this word as a chronological datum. It may have been used simply as the expression of conscious weakness, and as a word of age it extends from merest infancy (Ex. ii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 21) to adult manhood (1 Sam. xxx. 17; 1 K. iii. 7). We may at least infer, however, as we can trace his life in full activity for upwards of forty years from this period, that at the commencement of that reign he could not have passed out of actual childhood. He is described as "the son of Hilkiah of the priests that were in Anathoth" (i. 1). Were we able, with some earlier (Clem. *Al. Strom.* i. p. 142; Jerome, *Opp.* tom. iv. § 116, D.) and some later writers (Eichhorn, Calovius, Maldonatus, von Bohlen, Umbreit) to identify this Hilkiah with the high-priest who bore so large a share in Josiah's work of reformation, it would be interesting to think of the king and the prophet, so nearly of the same age (2 Chr. xxxiv. 1), as growing up together under the same training, subject to the same influences. Against this hypothesis, however, there have been urged the facts (Carpov, Keil, Ewald, and others)—(1.) that the name is too common to be a ground of identification; (2.) that the manner in which this Hilkiah is mentioned is inconsistent with the notion of his having been the High-priest of Israel; (3.) that neither Jeremiah himself, nor his opponents, allude to this parentage; (4.) that the priests who lived at Anathoth were of the House of Ithamar (1 K. ii. 26; 1 Chr. xxiv. 3), while the high-priests from Zadok downwards were of the line of Eleazar (Carpov, *Introd. in lib. V. T. Jerem.*). The occurrence of the same name may be looked on, however, in this as in many other instances in the O. T., as a probable indication of affinity or friendship; and this, together with the coincidences—(1.) that the uncle of Jeremiah (xxii. 7) bears the same name as the husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 K. xxii. 14), and (2.) that Ahikam the son of Shaphan, the great sup-

porter of Hilkiah and Huldah in their work (2 Chr. xxxiv. 20) was also, throughout, the great protector of the prophet (Jer. xxvi. 24), may help to throw some light on the education by which he was prepared for that work to which he was taught he had been "sanctified from his mother's womb." The strange Rabbinic tradition (Carpov, *l. c.*), that eight of the persons most conspicuous in the religious history of this period (Jeremiah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Hilkiah, Hanameel, Huldah, Shallum) were all descended from the harlot Rahab, may possibly have been a distortion of the fact that they were connected, in some way or other, as members of a family. If this were so, we can form a tolerably distinct notion of the influences that were at work on Jeremiah's youth. The boy would hear among the priests of his native town, not three miles distant from Jerusalem [ANATHOTH], of the idolatries and cruelties of Manasseh and his son Amon. He would be trained in the traditional precepts and ordinances of the Law. He would become acquainted with the names and writings of older prophets, such as Micah and Isaiah. As he grew up towards manhood, he would hear also of the work which the king and his counsellors were carrying on, and of the teaching of the woman, who alone, or nearly so, in the midst of that religious revival, was looked upon as speaking from direct prophetic inspiration. In all likelihood, as we have seen, he came into actual contact with them. Possibly, too, to this period of his life we may trace the commencement of that friendship with the family of Neriah which was afterwards so fruitful in results. The two brothers Baruch and Seraiah both appear as the disciples of the Prophet (xxxvi. 4, li. 59); both were the sons of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah (*l. c.*); and Maaseiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8) was governor of Jerusalem, acting with Hilkiah and Shaphan in the religious reforms of Josiah. As the result of all these influences we find in him all the conspicuous features of the devout ascetic character: intense consciousness of his own weakness, great susceptibility to varying emotions, a spirit easily bowed down. But there were also, we may believe (assuming only, that the prophetic character is the development, purified and exalted, of the natural, not its contradiction), the strong national feelings of an Israelite, the desire to see his nation becoming in reality what it had been called to be, anxious doubts whether this were possible, for a people that had sunk so low (cf. Maurice, *Prophecy and Kings of the O. T.*, Sermon. xxii.-xxiv.; Ewald, *Propheten*, li. p. 6-8). Left to himself, he might have borne his part among the reforming priests of Josiah's reign, free from their formalism and hypocrisy. But "the word of Jehovah came to him" (i. 2); and by that divine voice the secret of his future life was revealed to him, at the very time when the work of reformation was going on with fresh vigour (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3), when he himself was beginning to have the thoughts and feelings of a man.<sup>a</sup> He was to lay aside all self-distrust, all natural fear and trembling (i. 7, 8), and to accept his calling as a prophet of Jehovah "set over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant" (i. 10). A life-long martyrdom was set before him, a struggle against kings and priests and people (i.

<sup>a</sup> Carpov (*l. c.*) fixes twenty as the probable age of Jeremiah at the time of his call.

18). When was this wonderful mission developed into action? What effect did it have on the inward and outward life of the man who received it? For a time, it would seem he held aloof from the work which was going on throughout the nation. His name is nowhere mentioned in the history of the memorable eighteenth year of Josiah. Though five years had passed since he had entered on the work of a prophet, it is from Huldah, not from him, that the king and his princes seek for counsel. The discovery of the Book of the Law, however (we need not now inquire whether it were the Pentateuch as a whole, or a lost portion of it, or a compilation altogether new), could not fail to exercise an influence on a mind like Jeremiah's: his later writings show abundant traces of it (cf. *inf.*); and the result apparently was, that he could not shake the hopes which others cherished. To them the reformation seemed more thorough than that

unpublished by Hezekiah. They might think that fasts, and sacrifices, and the punishment of idolaters, might avert the penalties of which they heard in the book so strangely found (Deut. xxvii., xxviii., xxxii.), and might look forward to a time of prosperity and peace, of godliness and security (vii. 4). He saw that the reformation was but a surface one. Israel had gone into captivity, and Judah was worse than Israel (iii. 11). It was as hard for him, as it had been for Isaiah, to find among the princes and people who worshipped in the Temple, one just, truth-seeking man (v. 1, 28). His own work, as a priest and prophet, led him to discern the falsehood and lust of rule which were at work under the form of zeal (v. 31). The spoken or written prophecies of his contemporaries, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Urijah, Huldah, may have served to deepen his convictions that the sentence of condemnation was already passed, and that there was no escape from it. The strange visions which had followed upon his call (i. 11-16) taught him that Jehovah would "hasten" the performance of His word; and if the Scythian inroads of the later years of Josiah's reign seemed in part to correspond to the "destruction coming from the North" (Ewald, *Propheten, in loc.*), they could hardly be looked upon as exhausting the words that spoke of it. Hence, though we have hardly any mention of special incidents in the life of Jeremiah during the eighteen years between his call and Josiah's death, the main features of his life come distinctly enough before us. He had even then his experience of the bitterness of the lot to which God had called him. The duties of the priest, even if he continued to discharge them, were merged in those of the new and special office. Strange as it was for a priest to remain unmarried, his lot was to be one of solitude (xvi. 2).<sup>b</sup> It was not for him to enter into the house of feasting, or even into that of mourning (xvi. 5, 8). From time to time he appeared, clad probably in the "rough garment" of a prophet (Zech. xiii. 4), in Anathoth and Jerusalem. He was heard warning and protesting, "rising early and speaking" (xxv. 3), and as the result of this there came "reproach and derision daily" (xx. 8). He was betrayed by his own kindred (xii. 6), persecuted with murderous hate by his own townsmen (xi. 21), mocked with the taunt-

ing question, Where is the word of Jehovah? (xvii. 15). And there were inner spiritual trials as well as these outward ones. He too, like the writers of Job and Ps. lxxiii., was haunted by perplexities rising out of the disorders of the world (xii. 1, 2); on him there came the bitter feeling, that he was "a man of contention to the whole earth;" (xv. 10), the doubt whether his whole work was not a delusion and a lie (xx. 7), tempting him at times to fall back into silence, until the fire again burnt within him, and he was weary of forbearing (xx. 9). Whether the passages that have been referred to belong, all of them, to this period or a later one, they represent that which was inseparable from the prophet's life at all times, and which, in a character like Jeremiah's, was developed in its strongest form. Towards the close of the reign, however, he appears to have taken some part in the great national questions then at issue. The overthrow of the Assyrian monarchy to which Manasseh had become tributary led the old Egyptian party among the princes of Judah to revive their plans, and to urge an alliance with Pharaoh-Necho as the only means of safety. Jeremiah, following in the footsteps of Isaiah (Is. xxx. 1-7), warned them that it would lead only to confusion (li. 18, 36). The policy of Josiah was determined, probably, by this counsel. He chose to attach himself to the new Chaldean kingdom, and lost his life in the vain attempt to stop the progress of the Egyptian king. We may think of this as one of the first great sorrows of Jeremiah's life. His lamentations for the king (2 Chr. xxxv. 25),<sup>c</sup> may have been those of personal friendship. They were certainly those of a man who, with nothing before him but the prospect of confusion and wrong, looks back upon a reign of righteousness and truth (xxii. 3, 16).

(2.) Under Jehonahaz (= Shallum), B.C. 608.—The short reign of this prince—chosen by the people on hearing of Josiah's death, and after three months deposed by Pharaoh-Necho—gave little scope for direct prophetic action. The fact of his deposition, however, shows that he had been set up against Egypt, and therefore as representing the policy of which Jeremiah had been the advocate; and this may account for the tenderness and pity with which he speaks of him in his Egyptian exile (xxii. 11, 12).

(3.) Under Jehoiakim, B.C. 607-597.—In the weakness and disorder which characterised this reign, the work of Jeremiah became daily more prominent. The king had come to the throne as the vassal of Egypt, and for a time the Egyptian party was dominant in Jerusalem. It numbered among its members many of the princes of Judah, many priests and prophets, the Pashus and the Hananians. Others, however, remained faithful to the policy of Josiah, and held that the only way of safety lay in accepting the supremacy of the Chaldeans. Jeremiah appeared as the chief representative of this party. He had learnt to discern the signs of the times; the evils of the nation were not to be cured by any half-measures of reform, or by foreign alliances. The king of Babylon was God's servant (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6) doing His work, and was for a time to prevail over all resistance.

<sup>b</sup> This is clearly the natural inference from the words, and patristic writers take the fact for granted. In later times it has been supposed to have some bearing on the question of the celibacy of the clergy, and has been denied by Protestant, and

re-asserted by Romish critics accordingly (cf. Carpov, *l. c.*).

<sup>c</sup> The hypothesis which ascribes these lamentations to Jeremiah of Libnah, Josiah's father-in-law, is hardly worth refuting.

Hard as it was for one who sympathised so deeply with all the sufferings of his country, this was the conviction to which he had to bring himself. He had to expose himself to the suspicion of treachery by declaring it. Men claiming to be prophets had their "word of Jehovah" to set against his (xiv. 13, xviii. 7), and all that he could do was to commit his cause to God, and wait for the result. Some of the most striking scenes in this conflict are brought before us with great vividness. Soon after the accession of Jehoiakim, on one of the solemn feast-days—when the courts of the Temple were filled with worshippers from all the cities of Judah—the prophet appeared, to utter the message that Jerusalem should become a curse, that the Temple should share the fate of the tabernacle of Shiloh (xxvi. 6). Then it was that the great struggle of his life began: priests and prophets, and people joined in the demand for his death (xxvi. 8). The princes of Judah, among whom were still many of the counsellors of Josiah, or their sons, endeavoured to protect him (xxvi. 16). His friends appealed to the precedent of Micah the Morasthite, who in the reign of Hezekiah had uttered a like prophecy with impunity, and so for a time he escaped. The fate of one who was stirred up to prophecy in the same strain showed, however, what he might expect from the weak and cruel king. If Jeremiah was not at once hunted to death, like Urijah (xxvi. 23), it was only because his friend Ahikam was powerful enough to protect him. The fourth year of Jehoiakim was yet more memorable. The battle of Carchemish overthrew the hopes of the Egyptian party (xvi. 2), and the armies of Nebuchadnezzar drove those who had no defended cities to take refuge in Jerusalem (xxv. 11). As one of the consequences of this, we have the interesting episode of the Rechabites. The mind of the prophet, ascetic in his habits, shrieking from the common forms of social life, was naturally enough drawn towards the tribe which was at once conspicuous for its abstinence from wine and its traditional hatred of idolatry (2 K. x. 15). The occurrence of the name of Jeremiah among them, and their ready reception into the Temple, may point, perhaps, to a previous intimacy with him and his brother priests. Now they and their mode of life had a new significance for him. They, with their reverence for the precepts of the founder of their tribe, were as a living protest against the disobedience of the men of Judah to a higher law (xxv. 18). In this year too came another solemn message to the king: prophecies which had been uttered, here and there at intervals, were now to be gathered together, written in a book, and read as a whole in the hearing of the people. Baruch, already known as the Prophet's disciple, acted as scribe; and in the following year, when a solemn fast-day called the whole people together in the Temple (xxxvi. 1-9), Jeremiah—hindered himself, we know not how—sent him to proclaim them. The result was as it had been before: the princes of Judah connived at the escape of the Prophet and his scribe (xxxvi. 19). The king vented his impotent rage upon the scroll which Jeremiah had written. Jeremiah and Baruch, in their retirement, re-wrote it with many added prophecies; among them, probably, the special prediction that the king should die by the sword, and be cast out unburied and dishonoured (xxii. 30). In ch. xiv., which belongs to this period, we have a glimpse into the relations which existed between the master and the scholar, and into

what at that time were the thoughts of each of them. Baruch, younger and more eager, had expected a change for the better. To play a prominent part in the impending crisis, to be the hero of a national revival, to gain the favour of the conqueror whose coming he announced—this, or something like this, had been the vision that had come before him, and when this passed away he sunk into despair at the seeming fruitlessness of his efforts. Jeremiah had passed through that phase of trial and could sympathise with it, and knew how to meet it. To the mind of his disciple, as once to his own, the future was revealed in all its dreariness. He was not to seek "great things" for himself in the midst of his country's ruin: his life, and that only, was to be given him "for a prey." As the danger drew nearer, there was given to the Prophet a clearer insight into the purposes of God for His people. He might have thought before, as others did, that the chastisement would be but for a short time, that repentance would lead to strength, and that the yoke of the Chaldeans might soon be shaken off: now he learnt that it would last for seventy years (xxv. 12), till he and all that generation had passed away. Nor was it on Judah only that the king of Babylon was to execute the judgments of Jehovah: all nations that were within the prophet's ken were to drink as fully as she did of "the wine-cup of His fury" (xxv. 15-38). In the absence of special dates for other events in the reign of Jehoiakim, we may bring together into one picture some of the most striking features of this period of Jeremiah's life. As the danger from the Chaldeans became more threatening, the persecution against him grew hotter, his own thoughts were more bitter and desponding (xviii.). The people sought his life: his voice rose up in the prayer that God would deliver and avenge him. Common facts became significant to him of new and wonderful truths; the work of the potter aiming at the production of a perfect form, rejecting the vessels which did not attain to it, became a parable of God's dealings with Israel and with the world (xviii. 1-6; comp. Maurice, *Proph. and Kings*, l. c.). That thought he soon reproduced in act as well as word. Standing in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, he broke the earthen vessel he carried in his hands, and prophesied to the people that the whole city should be defiled with the dead, as that valley had been, within their memory, by Josiah (ix. 10-13). The boldness of the speech and act drew upon him immediate punishment. The priest Pashur smote and put him "in the stocks" (xx. 2); and then there came upon him, as in all seasons of suffering, the sense of failure and weakness. The work of God's messengers seemed to him too terrible to be borne: he would fain have withdrawn from it (xx. 9). He used for himself the cry of wailing that had belonged to the extremest agony of Job (xx. 14-18). The years that followed brought no change for the better. Famine and drought were added to the miseries of the people (xiv. 1), but false prophets still deceived them with assurances of plenty; and Jeremiah was looked on with dislike, as "a prophet of evil," and "every one cursed" him (xv. 10). He was set, however, "as a fenced brazen wall" (xv. 20), and went on with his work, reproving king and nobles and people; as for other sins, so also especially for their desecration of the Sabbath (xvii. 19-27), for their blind reverence for the Temple, and yet blinder trust in it, even while they were worship-

ping the Queen of Heaven in the very streets of Jerusalem (vii. 14, 18). Now too, as before, his work extended to other nations: they were not to exult in the downfall of Judah, but to share it. All were to be swallowed up in the empire of the Chaldeans (xlviii.-xlix.). If there had been nothing beyond this, no hope for Israel or this world but that of a universal monarchy resting on brute strength, the prospect would have been altogether overwhelming; but through this darkness there gleamed the dawning of a glorious hope. When the seventy years were over, there was to be a restoration as wonderful as that from Egypt had been (xxiii. 7). In the far off future there was the vision of a renewed kingdom; of a "righteous branch" of the house of David, "executing judgment and justice," of Israel and Judah dwelling safely, once more united, under "the Lord our Righteousness" (xxiii. 5, 6).

It is doubtful how far we can deal with the strange narrative of ch. xlii. as a fact in Jeremiah's life. Ewald (*Propheten des A. B.*, in loc.) rejects the reading "Euphrates" altogether; Illitzig, following Bochart, conjectures Ephratah. Most other modern commentators look on the narrative as merely symbolic. Assuming, however (with Calmet and Henderson, and the consensus of patristic expositors), that here, as in xix. 1, 10, xxvii. 2; Is. xx. 2, the symbols, however strange they might seem, were acts and not visions, it is open to us to conjecture that in this visit to the land of the Chaldeans may have originated his acquaintance with the princes and commanders who afterwards befriended him. The special commands given in his favour by Nebuchadnezzar (xxix. 11) seem at any rate to imply some previous knowledge.

(4.) Under Jehoiachin (= Jeconiah), B.C. 597.—The danger, which Jeremiah had so long foretold, at last came near. First Jehoiakim, and afterwards his successor, were carried into exile, and with them all that constituted the worth and strength of the nation,—princes, warriors, artisans (2 K. xxiv.). Among them too were some of the false prophets who had encouraged the people with the hope of a speedy deliverance, and could not yet abandon their blind confidence. Of the work of the prophet in this short reign we have but the fragmentary record of xxii. 24-30. We may infer, however, from the language of his later prophecies, that he looked with sympathy and sorrow on the fate of the exiles in Babylon; and that the fulfilment of all that he had been told to utter made him stronger than ever in his resistance to all schemes of independence and revolt.

(5.) Under Zedekiah, B.C. 597-586.—In this prince (probably, as having been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar), we do not find the same obstinate resistance to the prophet's counsels as in Jehoiakim. He respects him, fears him, seeks his counsel; but he is a mere shadow of a king, powerless even against his own counsellors, and in his reign, accordingly, the sufferings of Jeremiah were sharper than they had been before. The struggle with the false prophets went on: the more desperate the condition of their country, the more daring were their predictions of immediate deliverance. Between such men, living in the present, and the true prophet, walking by faith in the unseen future of a righteous kingdom (xxiii. 5, 6), there could not but be an internecine enmity. He saw too plainly that nothing but the most worthless remnant of the nation had been left in Judah (xxiv. 5-8), and

denounced the falsehood of those who came with lying messages of peace. His counsel to the exiles (conveyed in a letter which, of all portions of the O. T., comes nearest in form and character to the Epistles of the N. T.) was that they should submit to their lot, prepare for a long captivity, and wait quietly for the ultimate restoration. In this hope he found comfort for himself which made his sleep "sweet" unto him, even in the midst of all his weariness and strife (xxxi. 26). Even at Babylon, however, there were false prophets opposing him, speaking of him as a "madman" (xxix. 26), urging the priests of Jerusalem to more active persecution. The trial soon followed. The king at first seemed willing to be guided by him, and sent to ask for his intercession (xxxvii. 3), but the apparent revival of the power of Egypt under Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra) created false hopes, and drew him and the princes of the neighbouring nations into projects of revolt. The clearness with which Jeremiah had foretold the ultimate overthrow of Babylon, in a letter sent to the exiles in that city by his disciple, Baucuh's brother Jeremiah (assuming the genuineness of I. and li.), made him all the more certain that the time of that overthrow had not yet arrived, and that it was not to come from the hand of Egypt. He appears in the streets of the city with bonds and yokes upon his neck (xxvii. 2), announcing that they were meant for Judah and its allies. The false prophet Hananiah—who broke the offensive symbol (xxviii. 10), and predicted the destruction of the Chaldeans within two years (xxviii. 3)—learnt that "a yoke of iron" was upon the neck of all the nations, and died himself while it was still pressing heavily on Judah (xxviii. 16, 17). The approach of an Egyptian army, however, and the consequent departure of the Chaldeans, made the position of Jeremiah full of danger; and he sought to effect his escape from a city in which, it seemed, he could no longer do good, and to take refuge in his own town of Anathoth or its neighbourhood (xxvii. 12). The discovery of this plan led, not unnaturally perhaps, to the charge of desertion: it was thought that he too was "falling away to the Chaldeans," as others were doing (xxviii. 18), and, in spite of his denial, he was thrown into a dungeon (xxxvii. 16). The interposition of the king, who still respected and consulted him, led to some mitigation of the rigour of his confinement (xxxvii. 21); but, as this did not hinder him from speaking to the people, the princes of Judah—bent on an alliance with Egypt, and calculating on the king's being unable to resist them (xxviii. 5)—threw him into the prison-pit, to die there. From this horrible fate he was again delivered, by the friendship of the Ethiopian Eubuch, Ebed-Melech, and the king's regard for him; and was restored to the milder custody in which he had been kept previously, where we find (xxvii. 16) he had the companionship of Baruch. In the impotence of his perplexity, Zedekiah once again secretly consulted him (xxviii. 14), but only to hear the certainty of failure, if he continued to resist the authority of the Chaldeans. The same counsel was repeated more openly when the king sent Pashur (not the one already mentioned) and Zephaniah—before friendly, it appears, to Jeremiah, or at least neutral (xxix. 29)—to ask for his advice. Fruitless as it was, we may yet trace, in the softened language of xxiv. 5, one consequence of the king's kindness: though exile was inevitable, he was yet to "die in peace." The return of the Chaldeans

army filled both king and people with dismay (xxii. 1); and the risk now was that they would pass from their presumptuous confidence to the opposite extreme and sink down in despair, with no faith in God and no hope for the future. The prophet was taught how to meet that danger also. In his prison, while the Chaldeans were ravaging the country, he bought, with all requisite formalities, the field at Anathoth, which his kinsman Hanameel wished to get rid of (xxii. 6-9). His faith in the promises of God did not fail him. With a confidence in his country's future, which has been compared (Nägelsbach, *l. c.*) to that of the Roman who bought at its full value the very ground on which the forces of Hannibal were encamped (Liv. xxvi. 11), he believed not only that "houses and fields and vineyards should again be possessed in the land" (xxii. 15), but that the voice of gladness should still be heard there (xxiii. 11), that, under "the Lord our Righteousness," the house of David and the priests the Levites should never be without representatives (xxiii. 15-18). At last the blow came. The solemn renewal of the national covenant (xxiv. 19), the offer of freedom to all who had been brought into slavery, were of no avail. The selfishness of the nobles was stronger even than their fears, and the prophet, who had before rebuked them for their desecration of the sabbath, now had to protest against their disregard of the sabbatic year (xxiv. 14). The city was taken, the temple burnt. The king and his princes shared the fate of Jehoiachin. The prophet gave utterance to his sorrow in the LAMENTATIONS.

(6.) After the capture of Jerusalem, B.C. 586- (?) The Chaldean party in Judah had now the prospect of better things. Nebuchadnezzar could not fail to reward those who, in the midst of hardships of all kinds, had served him so faithfully. We find accordingly a special charge given to Nebuzaradan (xxxix. 11) to protect the person of Jeremiah; and, after being carried as far as Ramah with the crowd of captives (xl. 1), he was set free, and Gedaliah, the son of his steadfast friend Ahikam, made governor over the cities of Judah. The feeling of the Chaldeans towards him was shown yet more strongly in the offer made him by Nebuzaradan (xl. 4, 5). It was left to him to decide whether he would go to Babylon, with the prospect of living there under the patronage of the king, or remain in his own land with Gedaliah and the remnant over whom he ruled. Whatever may have been his motive—sympathy with the sufferings of the people, attachment to his native land, or the desire to help his friend—the prophet chose the latter, and the Chaldean commander "gave him a reward," and set him free. For a short time there was an interval of peace (xl. 9-12), soon broken, however, by the murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael and his associates. We are left to conjecture in what way the prophet escaped from a massacre which was apparently intended to include all the adherents of Gedaliah. The fulness with which the history of the massacre is narrated in chap. xli., makes it however probable that he was among the prisoners whom Ishmael was carrying off to the Ammonites, and who were released by the arrival of Johanan. One of Jeremiah's friends was thus cut off, but Baruch still remained with him; and the people, under Johanan, who had taken the command on the death of Gedaliah, turned to him for counsel. "The governor appointed by the Chaldeans had been assassinated. Would not their vengeance fall on the whole

people? Was there any safety but in escaping to Egypt while they could?" They came accordingly to Jeremiah with a foregone conclusion. With the vision of peace and plenty in that land of fleshpots (xlii. 14), his warnings and assurances were in vain and did but draw on him and Baruch the old charge of treachery (xliii. 3). The people followed their own counsel, and—lest the two whom they suspected should betray or counteract it—took them also by force to Egypt. There, in the city of Tahpanhes, we have the last clear glimpses of the prophet's life. His words are sharper and stronger than ever. He does not shrink, even there, from speaking of the Chaldean king once more as the "servant of Jehovah" (xliii. 10). He declares that they should see the throne of the conqueror set up in the very place which they had chosen as the securest refuge. He utters a final protest (xliv.) against the idolatries of which they and their fathers had been guilty, and which they were even then renewing. After this all is uncertain. If we could assume that lii. 31 was written by Jeremiah himself, it would show that he reached an extreme old age, but this is so doubtful that we are left to other sources. On the one hand there is the Christian tradition, resting doubtless on some earlier belief (Tertull. *adv. Gnost.* c. 8; Pseudo-Epiphani. *Opp.* iii. 239; Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* ii. 37) that the long tragedy of his life ended in actual martyrdom, and that the Jews at Tahpanhes, irritated by his rebukes, at last stoned him to death. Most commentators on the N. T. find an allusion to this in Heb. xi. 37. An Alexandrian tradition reported that his bones had been brought to that city by Alexander the Great (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 156, ed. Dindorf, quoted by Carpzov and Nägelsbach). In the beginning of the last century travellers were told, though no one knew the precise spot, that he had been buried at Ghizeh (Lucas, *Travels in the Levant*, p. 28). On the other side there is the Jewish statement that on the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, he, with Baruch, made his escape to Babylon (Seder Olam Rabbah, c. 26; Genebrand, *Chronol. Heb.* 1608) or Judea (R. Solomon Jarchi, on Jer. xliv. 14), and died in peace. Josephus is altogether silent as to his fate, but states generally that the Jews who took refuge in Egypt were finally carried to Babylon as captives (*Ant.* x. 9). It is not impossible, however, that both the Jewish tradition and the silence of Josephus originated in the desire to gloss over a great crime, and that the offer of Nebuzaradan (xl. 4) suggested the conjecture that afterwards grew into an assertion. As it is, the darkness and doubt that brood over the last days of the prophet's life are more significant than either of the issues which presented themselves to men's imaginations as the winding-up of his career. He did not need a death by violence to make him a true martyr. To die, with none to record the time or manner of his death, was the right end for one who had spoken all along, not to win the praise of men, but because the word of the Lord was in him as a "burning fire" (xx. 9). May we not even conjecture that this silence was due to the prophet himself? If we believe (cf. *inf.*) that Baruch, who was with Jeremiah in Egypt, survived him, and had any share in collecting and editing his prophecies, it is hard to account for the omission of a fact of so much interest, except on the hypothesis that his lips were sealed by the injunctions of the master who thus taught him, by example as well as

by precept, that he was not to seek "great things" for himself.

Other traditions connected with the name of Jeremiah, though they throw no light on his history, are interesting, as showing the impression left by his work and life on the minds of later generations. As the captivity dragged on, the prophecy of the Seventy Years, which had at first been so full of terror, came to be a ground of hope (Dan. ix. 2; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21; Ezer. i. 1). On the return from Babylon, his prophecies were collected and received into the canon, as those of the second of the Great Prophets of Israel. In the arrangement followed by the Babylonian Talmudic writers (*Baba Bathr.* § 14 b; quoted by Lightfoot on *Matt.* xxvii. 9), and perpetuated among some of the mediæval Jewish transcribers (Wolff, *Bibl. Hebr.* ii. 148), he, and not Isaiah, occupies the first place. The Jewish saying that "the spirit of Jeremiah dwelt afterwards in Zechariah" (Grotius in *Matt.* xxvii. 9) indicates how greatly the mind of the one was believed to have been influenced by the teaching of the other. The fulfilment of his predictions of a restored nationality led men to think of him, not as a prophet of evil only, but as watching over his countrymen, interceding for them. More than any other of the prophets, he occupies the position of the patron-saint of Judaea. He had concealed the tabernacle and the ark, the great treasures of the Temple, in one of the caves of Sinai, there to remain unknown till the day of restoration (2 Macc. ii. 1-8). He appears "a man with grey hairs and exceeding glorious," "the lover of the brethren, who prayed much for the holy city," in the vision of Judas Maccabæus; and from him the hero receives his golden sword, as a gift of God (2 Macc. xv. 13-16). His whole vocation as a prophet is distinctly recognised (*Eccles.* xlix. 7). The authority of his name is claimed for long didactic declamations against the idolatry of Babylon (*Is.* vi.). At a later period it was attached as that of the representative prophet to quotations from other books in the same volume (Lightfoot, *l. c.*) or to prophecies, apocryphal, or genuine, whose real author was forgotten (*Hieron. in Matt.* xxvii. 9; *Fabricius, Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T.* i. 1103; *Grot. in Eph.* v. 14). Even in the time of our Lord's ministry there prevailed the belief (resting, in part perhaps, in this case as in that of Elijah, on the mystery which shrouded the time and manner of his death) that his work was not yet over. Some said of Jesus that he was "Jeremias, or one of the prophets" (*Matt.* xvi. 14). According to many commentators he was "the prophet" whom all the people were expecting (*John* i. 21). The belief that he was the fulfilment of Deut. xviii. 18 has been held by later Jewish interpreters (*Alharbanel in Carpoz, l. c.*). The tradition connected with him lingered on even in the Christian church, and appeared in the notion that he had never really died, but would return one day from Paradise as one of the "two witnesses" of the Apocalypse (*Victorinus, Comm. in Apoc.* xi. 13). Egyptian legends assumed yet wilder and more fantastic forms. He it was who foretold to the priests of Egypt that their idols should one day fall to the ground in the presence of the virgin born (*Epiphanius de vit. Proph.* Opp. ii. p. 239). Playing the part of a St. Patrick, he had delivered one district on the shores of the Nile from crocodiles and asps, and even in the 4th century of the Christian era the dust of that region was looked on

as a specific against their bites (*ibid.*). According to another tradition, he had returned from Egypt to Jerusalem, and lived there for 300 years (*D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient.* p. 499). The O. T. narrative of his sufferings was dressed out with the incidents of a Christian martyrdom (*Eusebius, Polyhist. in Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. 39).

II. *Character and style.*—It will have been seen from this narrative that there fell to the lot of Jeremiah sharper suffering than any previous prophet had experienced. It was not merely that the misery which others had seen afar off was actually pressing on him and on his country, nor that he had to endure a life of persecution, while they had intervals of repose, in which they were honoured and their counsel sought. In addition to all differences of outward circumstances, there was that of individual character, influenced by them, reacting on them. In every page of his prophecies we recognise the temperament which, while it does not lend the man who has it to shrink from doing God's work, however painful, makes the pain of doing it infinitely more acute, and gives to the whole character the impress of a deeper and more lasting melancholy. He is pre-eminently "the man that hath seen afflictions" (*Lam.* iii. 1). There is no sorrow like unto his sorrow (*Lam.* i. 12). He witnesses the departure, one by one, of all his hopes of national reformation and deliverance. He has to appear, Cassandra-like, as a prophet of evil, dashing to the ground the false hopes with which the people are buoying themselves up. Other prophets, Samuel, Elisha, Isaiah, had been sent to rouse the people to resistance. He (like Phocion in the parallel crisis of Athenian history) has been brought to the conclusion, bitter as it is, that the only safety for his countrymen lies in their accepting that against which they are contending as the worst of evils; and this brings on him the charge of treachery and desertion. If it were not for his trust in the God of Israel, for his hope of a better future to be brought out of all this chaos and darkness, his heart would fail within him. But that vision is clear and bright, and it gives to him, almost as fully as to Isaiah, the character of a prophet of the Gospel. He is not merely an Israelite looking forward to a national restoration. In the midst of all the woes which he utters against neighbouring nations he has hopes and promises for them also (*xlviii.* 47, *xlix.* 6, 39). In that stormy sunset of prophecy he beholds, in spirit, the dawn of a brighter and eternal day. He sees that, if there is any hope of salvation for his people, it cannot be by a return to the old system and the old ordinances, divine though they once had been (*xxxi.* 31). There must be a New Covenant. That word, destined to be so full of power for all after-ages, appears first in his prophecies. The relations between the people and the Lord of Israel, between mankind and God, must rest, not on an outward law, with its requirements of obedience, but on that of an inward fellowship with Him, and the consciousness of entire dependence. For all this he saw clearly there must be a personal centre. The kingdom of God could not be manifested but through a perfectly righteous man, ruling over men on earth. The prophet's hopes are not merely vague visions of a better future. They gather round the person of a Christ, and are essentially Messianic.

In much of all this—in their personal character, in their sufferings, in the view they took of the great questions of their time—there is a resemblance,

at once significant and interesting, between the prophet of Anathoth and the poet of the *Divina Commedia*. What Egypt and Babylon were to the kingdom of Judah, France and the Empire were to the Florentine republic. In each case the struggle between the two great powers reproduced itself in the bitterness of contending factions. Dante, like Jeremiah, saw himself surrounded by evils against which he could only bear an unavailing protest. The worst agents in producing those evils were the authorised teachers of his religion. His hopes of better things connected themselves with the supremacy of a power which the majority of his countrymen looked on with repugnance. For him also there was the long weariness of exile, brightened at times by the sympathy of faithful friends. In him, as in the prophet, we find—united, it is true, with greater strength and sternness—that intense susceptibility to the sense of wrong which shows itself sometimes in passionate complaint, sometimes in bitter words of invective and reproach. In both we find the habit of mind which selects an image, not for its elegance or sublimity, but for what it means; not shrinking even from what seems grotesque and trivial, sometimes veiling its meaning in allusions more or less dark and enigmatic. Both are sustained through all their sufferings by their strong faith in the Unseen, by their belief in an eternal righteousness which shall one day manifest itself and be victorious.<sup>d</sup>

A yet higher parallel, however, presents itself. In a deeper sense than that of the patristic divines, the life of the prophet was a type of that of Christ. In both there is the same early manifestation of the consciousness of a Divine mission (Luke ii. 49). The persecution which drove the prophet from Anathoth has its counterpart in that of the men of Nazareth (Luke iv. 29). His protests against the priests and prophets are the forerunners of the woes against the scribes and pharisees (Matt. xxiii.). His lamentations over the coming miseries of his country, answer to the tears that were shed over the Holy City by the Son of Man. His sufferings come nearest, of those of the whole army of martyrs, to those of the Teacher against whom princes and priests and elders and people were gathered together. He saw more clearly than others that New Covenant, with all its gifts of spiritual life and power, which was proclaimed and ratified in the death upon the cross. On the assumption that Jeremiah, not David, was the author of the 22nd Psalm (Hitzig, *in loc.*, followed in this instance by Nägelsbach, *l. c.*), the words uttered in the agony of the crucifixion would point to a still deeper and more pervading analogy.

The character of the man impressed itself with more or less force upon the language of the writer. Criticisms on the "style" of a prophet are, indeed for the most part, whether they take the form of praise or blame, wanting both in reverence and discernment. We do not gain much by knowing that to one writer he appears at once "sermo quidem . . . quibundam aliis prophetis rusticior" (Hieron. *Proef. in Jerem.*), and yet "majestate sensum profundissimus" (*Proem. in c. L.*); that another compares him to Simonides (Louth, *Proef. xxi.*) a third to Cicero (Seb. Schmidt); that bolder critics find in him a great want of originality (Knobel

*Prophetismus*); "symbolical images of an inferior order, and symbolical actions unskillfully contrived" (Davidson, *Introd. to O. T. c. xix.*). Leaving these judgments, however, and asking in what way the outward form of his writings answers to his life, we find some striking characteristics that help us to understand both. As might be expected in one who lived in the last days of the kingdom, and had heretofore the works of the earlier prophets to look back upon, we find in him reminiscences and reproductions of what they had written, which indicate the way in which his own spirit had been educated (comp. Is. xl. 19, 20, with x. 3-5; Ps. cxxxv. 7 with x. 13; Ps. lxxix. 6 with x. 25; Is. xlii. 16 with xxxi. 9; Is. iv. 2, xi. 1, with xxxiii. 15; s. xv. with xlviii.; Is. xii. and xlvii. with i., li.: see also Küper, *Jerem. librorum sac. interpretet et index*). Traces of the influence of the newly-discovered Book of the Law, and in particular of Deuteronomy, appear repeatedly in his, as in other writings of the same period (Deut. xxvii. 26, iv. 20, vii. 12, with xi. 3-5; Dent. xv. 12 with xxxiv. 14; Ex. xx. 6 with xxxii. 18; Ex. vi. 6 with xxxii. 21). It will be noticed that the parallelisms in these and other instances are far the most part, not those that rise out of direct quotation, but such as are natural in one whose language and modes of thought have been fashioned by the constant study of books which came before him with a divine authority. Along with this, there is the tendency, natural to one who speaks out of the fulness of his heart, to reproduce himself—to repeat in nearly the same words the great truths on which his own heart rested, and to which he was seeking to lead others (comp. marginal references *passim*, and list in Keil, *Einkl.* §74). Throughout, too, there are the tokens of his individual temperament: a greater prominence of the subjective, elegiac element than in other prophets, a less sustained energy, a less orderly and completed rhythm (De Wette, *Einkl.* §217; Ewald, *Propheten*, ii. 1-11). A careful examination of the several parts of his prophecy has led to the conviction that we may trace an increase of these characteristics corresponding to the accumulating trials of his life (Ewald, *l. c.*). The earlier writings are calmer, loftier, more uniform in tone; the later show marks of age and weariness and sorrow, and are more strongly imbued with the language of individual suffering. Living at a time when the purity of the older Hebrew was giving way under continual contact with other kindred dialects, his language came under the influence which was acting on all the writers of his time, abounds in Aramaic forms, loses sight of the finer grammatical distinctions of the earlier Hebrew, includes many words not to be found in its vocabulary (Eichhorn, *Einkl. in das A. T.* iii. 121). It is in part distinctive of the man as well as of the time, that single words should have appeared full of a strange significance (i. 11), that whole predictions should have been embodied in names coined for the purpose (xix. 6, xx. 3), and that the real analogies which presented themselves should have been drawn not from the region of the great and terrible, but from the most homely and familiar incidents (xiii. 1-11, xviii. 1-10). Still more startling is his use of a kind of cipher (the *Atbash*; comp. Hitzig and Ewald

<sup>d</sup> The fact that Jer. v. 6 suggested the imagery of the opening Canto of the *Inferno* is not without significance, as bearing on this parallelism.

\* The system of secret writing which bears this name forms part of the Kabbala of the later Jews. The plan adopted is that of using the letters of the

on xxv. 26), concealing, except from the initiated, the meaning of his predictions.

To associate the name of Jeremiah with any other portion of the O. T. is to pass from the field of history into that of conjecture; but the fact that Hitzig (*Comm. über die Psalms*), followed in part by Rödiger (*Ersch und Grüber, Encycl. art. Jerem.*), assigns not less than thirty psalms (sc. v., vi., xiv., xii., xli., lii., lv., lxix., lxxi.) to his authorship is, at least, so far instructive that it indicates what were the hymns, belonging to that or to an earlier period, with which his own spirit had most affinity, and to which he and other like sufferers might have turned as the fit expression of their feelings.

III. *Arrangement.*—The absence of any chronological order in the present structure of the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies is obvious at the first glance; and this has led some writers (Blayney, *Pref. to Jeremiah*) to the belief that as the book now stands there is nothing but the wildest confusion—"a preposterous jumbling together" of prophecies of different dates. Attempts to reconstruct the book on a chronological basis have been made by almost all commentators on it since the revival of criticism (Simonis, Vitringa, Cornelius à Lapide, among the earliest; cf. De Wette, *Einleit.* §220); and the result of the labours of the more recent critics has been to modify the somewhat hasty judgment of the English divine. Whatever points of difference there may be in the hypotheses of Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Bunsen, Nägelsbach, and others, they agree in admitting traces of an order in the midst of the seeming irregularity, and endeavour to account, more or less satisfactorily, for the apparent anomalies. The conclusion of the three last-named is that we have the book substantially in the same state as that in which it left the hands of the prophet, or his disciple Baruch. (Confining ourselves, for the present, to the Hebrew order (reproduced in the A. V.) we have two great divisions:—

- (1.) Ch. i., xlv. Prophecies delivered at various times, directed mainly to Judah, or connected with Jeremiah's personal history.
- (2.) Ch. xli., li. Prophecies connected with other nations.

Ch. lii., taken largely, though not entirely, from 2 K. xxv., may be taken either as a supplement to the prophecy, or (with Grotius and Lowth) as an introduction to the Lamentations.

Looking more closely into each of these divisions,

Hebrew alphabet in an inverted order, so that מ stands for K, שׁ for J, and so on, and the word is formed out of the first four letters which are thus interchanged (שׁמכמ). In the passage referred to (xxv. 26), the otherwise unintelligible word Sheshach becomes, on applying this key, the equivalent of Babel. The position of the same word in li. 41 confirms this interpretation; and all other explanations of the word are conjectural and far-fetched. The application of the Athash to these passages rests historically on the authority of Jerome (*Comm. in Jerem.* in loc.), who refers to the consensus of the Jewish expositors of his own time. There is, of course, something startling in the appearance of one or two solitary instances of a technical notation like this so long before it became conspicuous as a system; and this has led commentators to attempt other explanations of the mysterious word (comp. J. D. Michaelis, *in loc.*). On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the age of alphabetic Psalms, such as Ps. cxix., was one in which we might expect to find the minds of men occupied with

we have the following sections. The narrative of xxvi. 32 serves to explain the growth of the book in its present shape, and accounts for some, at least, of its anomalies. Up to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, it would appear, no prophecies had been committed to writing, or, if written, they had not been collected and preserved. Then the more memorable among the messages which the word of the Lord had from time to time brought to him were written down at the dictation of the prophet himself. When that roll was destroyed, a second was written out, and other prophecies or narratives added as they came. We may believe that this MS. was the groundwork of our present text; but it is easy to understand how, in transcribing such a document, or collection of documents, the desire to introduce what seemed to the transcriber a better order might lead to many modifications. As it is, we recognise—adopting Bunsen's classification (*Gott in Geschichte*, i. 113), as being the most natural, and agreeing substantially with Ewald's—the following groups of prophecies, the sections in each being indicated by the recurrence of the formula, "The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah," in fuller or abbreviated forms.

1. Ch. i.—xxi. Containing probably the substance of the book of xxvi. 32, and including prophecies from the 13th year of Josiah to the 4th of Jehoiakim; i. 3, however, indicates a later revision, and the whole of ch. i. may possibly have been added on the prophet's retrospect of his whole work from this its first beginning. Ch. xxi. belongs to a later period, but has probably found its place here as connected, by the recurrence of the name Pashur, with ch. xx.

2. Ch. xxii.—xv. Shorter prophecies, delivered at different times, against the kings of Judah and the false prophets. xxv. 13, 14, evidently marks the conclusion of a series of prophecies; and that which follows, xxv. 15-38, the germ of the fuller predictions in xlii.—xlix., has been placed here as a kind of completion to the prophecy of the Seventy Years and the subsequent fall of Babylon.

3. Ch. xxvi.—xxviii. The two great prophecies of the fall of Jerusalem, and the history connected with them. Ch. xxvi. belongs to the earlier, ch. xxvii. and xxviii. to the later period of the prophet's work. Jehoiakim in xxvii. 1 is evidently (comp. ver. 3) a mistake for Zedekiah.

4. Ch. xxix.—xxxi. The message of comfort for the exiles in Babylon.

the changes and combinations to which the letters of the Hebrew alphabet might be subjected, and in which therefore such a system of cipher-writing was likely to suggest itself. The fact that Jeremiah himself adopted a complicated alphabetic structure for his great dirge over the fall of Jerusalem (comp. LAMENTATIONS), indicates a special tendency in him to carry to its highest point this characteristic of the literature of his time. Nor is this the only instance. Hitzig finds another example of the Athash in li. 1. The words לִבִּי שָׁמַר (qui cor suum leuauerunt, Vulg.; "in the midst of them that rise up against me," A. V.), for which the LXX. substitutes Καταδωκεν, becomes, on applying the above notation, the equivalent of פִּשְׁחִי. It should be added, however, that the LXX. omits the entire passage in xxv. 26, and the word Sheshach in li. 41; and that Ewald rejects it accordingly as a later interpolation, conjecturing that the word first came into use among the Jews who lived in exile at Babylon.

5. Ch. xxxii.-xliv. The history of the last two years before the capture of Jerusalem, and of Jeremiah's work in them and in the period that followed. Ch. xxxv. and xxxvi. are remarkable as interrupting the chronological order, which otherwise would have been followed here more closely than in any other part. The position of ch. xlv., unconnected with anything before or after it, may be accounted for on the hypothesis that Baruch desired to place on record so memorable a passage in his own life, and inserted it where the direct narrative of his master's life ended. The same explanation applies in part to ch. xxxvi., which was evidently at one time the conclusion of one of the divisions.

6. Ch. xlv.-li. The prophecies against foreign nations; ending with the great prediction against Babylon.

7. The supplementary narrative of ch. lii.

IV. *Text*.—The translation of the LXX. presents many remarkable variations, not only in details indicating that the translator found or substituted readings differing widely from those now extant in Hebrew codices (Keil, *Einleit.* §76), but in the order of the several parts. Whether we suppose him to have had a different recension of the text, or to have endeavoured to introduce an order according to his own notions into the seeming confusion of the Hebrew, the result is, that in no other book of the O. T. is there so great a diversity of arrangement. It is noticeable, as illustrating the classification given above, that the two agree as far as xxv. 13. From that point all is different, and the following table indicates the extent of the divergence. It will be seen that here there was the attempt to collect the prophecies according to their subject-matter. The thought of a consistently chronological arrangement did not present itself in one case more than the other.

LXX.	HEBREW.
xxv. 14-18	= xlix. 34-39.
xxvi.	= xlv.
xxvii.-xxviii.	= l.-li.
xxix. 1-7	= xlvii. 1-7.
7-22	= xlix. 7-22.
xxv. 1-5	= xlix. 1-6.
6-11	= 28-33.
12-16	= 23-27.
xxxi.	= xlviii.
xxxii.	= xxv. 15-39.
xxxiii.-li.	= xxvi.-xlv.
lii.	= lii.

The difference in the arrangement of the two texts was noticed by the critical writers of the Early Church (Origen, *Ep. ad African.* Hieron. *Praef. in Jerem.*). For fuller details tending to a conclusion unfavourable to the trustworthiness of the Greek translation, see Keil, *Einleit.* (l.c.), and the authors there referred to.

*Supposed Interpolations*.—The genuineness of some portions of this book has been called in question, partly on the hypothesis that the version of the LXX. presents a purer text, partly on internal and more conjectural grounds. The following tables indicate the chief passages affected by each class of objections.

1. *As omitted in the LXX.*

- (1.) x. 6, 7, 8, 10.
- (2.) xxvii. 7.
- (3.) xxvii. 16-21 [not omitted, but with many variations].
- (4.) xxxiii. 14-26.
- (5.) xxxix. 4-13.

2. *On other grounds.*

- (1.) x. 1-16. As being altogether the work of a later writer, probably the so-called Pseudo-Isaiah. The Aramaic of ver. 11 is urged as confirming this view.
- (2.) xxv. 11-14.
- (3.) xxvii. 7.
- (4.) xxxiii. 14-26.
- (5.) xxxix. 1, 2, 4-13.
- (6.) xxvii.-xxix. As showing, in the shortened form of the prophet's name (יְרֵמְיָהּ), and the addition of the epithet "Jeremiah the prophet," the revision of a later writer.
- (7.) xxx.-xxxiii. As partaking of the character of the later prophesies of Isaiah.
- (8.) xlviii. As betraying in language and statements the interpolations either of the later prophesies of Isaiah or of a still later writer.
- (9.) l. li. As being a *vaticinium ex eventu*, inserted, probably by the writer of Is. xxvii., and foreign in language and thought to the general character of Jeremiah's prophecies.
- (10.) lii. As being a supplementary addition to the book, compiled from 2 K. xxv. and other sources.

In these, as in other questions connected with the Hebrew text of the O. T. the impugnors of the authenticity of the above passages are for the most part—De Wette, Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel: Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Küper, Keil, Umbreit, are among the chief defenders. (Comp. Keil, *Einleit.* § 76; and for a special defence of l. and li. the Monograph of Nägelsbach, *Jeremias und Babylon*.)

V. *Literature.*

Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.*

Theodoret, *Schol. in Jerem.*, *Opp.* ii. p. 143.

Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.*, c. l.-xxxii.

*Commentaries* by Oecolampadius (1530); Calvin (1563); Piscator (1614); Sanctius (1618); Venema (1765); Michaelis (1793); Blayney (1784); Umbreit (1842); Neumann (1856); Dahler (1825); Henderson.

The following treatises may also be consulted:—Schnurrer, C. F., *Observationes ad vaticin. Jerem.*, 1793.

Gnab, *Erklärung schwerer Stellen in d. Weissag. Jerem.*, 1824.

Hensler, *Bemerkh. über Stellen in Jerem. Weissag.*, 1805.

Spohn, *Jerem. Vates e vers. Jud. Alex.*, 1794. Küper, *Jerem. librorum Sacrorum interpres et vindex*, 1837.

Movers, *De utriusque recensionis vaticin. Jerem. indole et origine*, 1837.

Wichthalhaus, *De Jerem. versione Alex.*, 1847. Hengstenberg, *Christologie des A. T.* (Section on Jeremiah). [M. H. P.]

**JEREMIAH.** Seven other persons bearing the same name as the prophet are mentioned in the O. T.

(1.) Jeremiah of Libnah, father of Hamutal wife of Josiah, 2 K. xxiii. 31.

(2.) (3.) (4.) Three warriors—two of the tribe of Gad—in David's army, 1 Chr. xii. 4, 10, 13.

(5.) One of the "mighty men of valour" of the trans-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh, 1 Chr. v. 24.

(6.) A priest of high rank, head of the second or third of the 24 courses which are apparently enumerated in Neh. x. 2-8. He is mentioned again, i. e. the course which was called after him is, in

Neh. xii. 1; and we are told at v. 12 that the personal name of the head of this course in the days of Joiakim was HANANIAH. This course, or its chief, took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 34).

(7.) The father of Jaazaniah the Rechabite, Jer. xxxv. 3.

**JEREMIAS** (Ἰερემίας: *Jeremias, Hieremias*).

1. The Greek form of the name of Jeremiah the prophet, used in the A. V. of Ecclus. xlix. 6; 2 Macc. xv. 14; Matt. xvi. 14. [JEREMIAH; JEREMY.]

2. 1 Esd. ix. 34. [JEREMAI.]

**JEREMY** (Ἰερემίας: *Jeremias, Hieremias*), the prophet Jeremiah. 1 Esd. i. 28, 32, 47, 57; ii. 1; 2 Esd. ii. 18; 2 Macc. ii. 1, 5, 7; Matt. ii. 17; xxvii. 9. [JEREMIAH; JEREMIAS.] These abbreviated forms were much in favour about the time that the A. V. was translated. Elsewhere we find *ESAY* for Isaiah; and in the Homilies such abbreviations as Zachary, Toby, &c., are frequent.

**JERIBAI** (יְרִיבַי: *Ἰαριβί*; Alex. *Ἰαριβί*: *Jeribu*), one of the Bene-Elnaam, named among the heroes of David's guard in the supplemental list of 1 Chronicles (xi. 46).

**JERICHO** (יְרִיחוֹ, *J'richo*, Num. xxii. 1; also יְרִיחוֹ, *J'richo*, Josh. ii. 1, 2, 3; and יְרִיחוֹ, *J'richoh*, 1 K. xvi. 34; יְרִיחוֹ, *Ertha*, "place of fragrance," from יָרַח, *Ruach*, "to breathe," הָרִיחַ, "to smell;" older commentators derive it from יָרַח, *Jaraach*, "the moon;" also from יָרַח, *Ruvach*, "to be broad," as in a wide plain; Ἰεριχώ; Strabo and Josephus, Ἰεριχώ, a city of high antiquity, and, for those days, of considerable importance, situated in a plain traversed by the Jordan, and exactly over against where that river was crossed by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. iii. 16). Such was either its vicinity, or the extent of its territory, that Gilgal, which formed their primary encampment, stood in its east border (iv. 19). That it had a king is a very secondary consideration, for almost every small town had one (xii. 9-24); in fact monarchy was the only form of government known to those primitive times—the government of the people of God presenting a marked exception to prevailing usage. But Jericho was further enclosed by walls—a fenced city—its walls were so considerable that at least one person (Rahab) had a house upon them (ii. 15), and its gates were shut, as throughout the East still, "when it was dark" (v. 5). Again, the spoil that was found in it betokened its affluence—Ai, Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and even Hazor, evidently contained nothing worth mentioning in comparison—besides sheep, oxen, and asses, we hear of vessels of brass and iron. These possibly may have been the first-fruits of those brass foundries "in the plain of Jordan" of which Solomon afterwards so largely availed himself (2 Chr. iv. 17). Silver and gold was found in such abundance that one man (Achan) could appropriate stealthily 200 shekels (100 oz. avoid., see Lewis, *Heb. Rep.* vi. 57) of the former, and "a wedge of gold of 50 shekels (25 oz.) weight;" "a goodly

Babylonish garment," purloined in the same dishonesty, may be adduced as evidence of a then existing commerce between Jericho and the far East (Josh. vi. 24, vii. 21). In fact its situation alone—in so noble a plain and contiguous to so prolific a river—would bespeak its importance in a country where these natural advantages have been always so highly prized, and in an age when people depended so much more upon the indigenous resources of nature than they are compelled to do now. But for the curse of Joshua (vi. 26) doubtless Jericho might have proved a more formidable counter-cham to the city of David than even Samaria.

Jericho is first mentioned as the city to which the two spies were sent by Joshua from Shittim: they were lodged in the house of Rahab the harlot upon the wall, and departed, having first promised to save her and all that were found in her house from destruction (ii. 1-21). In the annihilation of the city that ensued this promise was religiously observed. Her house was recognised by the scarlet line bound in the window from which the spies were let down, and she and her relatives were taken out of it, and "lodged without the camp;" but it is nowhere said or implied that her house escaped the general conflagration. That she "dwelt in Israel" for the future; that she married Salmon son of Naasson, "prince of the children of Judah," and had by him Boaz, the husband of Ruth and progenitor of David and of our Lord; and lastly, that she is the first and only Gentile name that appears in the list of the faithful of the O. T. given by St. Paul (Josh. vi. 25; 1 Chr. ii. 10; Matt. i. 5; Heb. xi. 31), all these facts amply indicate that she did not continue to inhabit the accursed site; and, if so, and in absence of all direct evidence from Scripture, how could it ever have been inferred that her house was left standing?

Such as it had been left by Joshua, such it was bestowed by him upon the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xvii. 21), and from this time a long interval elapses before Jericho appears again upon the scene. It is only incidentally mentioned in the life of David in connexion with his embassy to the Ammonite king (2 Sam. x. 5). And the solemn manner in which its second foundation under Hiel the Bethelite is recorded—upon whom the curse of Joshua is said to have descended in full force (1 K. xvi. 34)—would certainly seem to imply that up to that time its site had been uninhabited. It is true that mention is made of "a city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16, and iii. 13) in existence apparently at the time when spoken of; and that Jericho is twice—once before its first overthrow, and once after its second foundation—designated by that name (see Deut. xxiv. 3, and 2 Chr. xxvii. 15). But it would be difficult to prove the identity of the city mentioned in the book of Judges, and as in the territory of Judah, with Jericho. However, once actually rebuilt, Jericho rose again slowly into consequence. In its immediate vicinity the sons of the prophets sought retirement from the world: Elisha "healed the spring of the waters;" and over and against it, beyond Jordan, Elijah "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 K. ii. 1-22). In its plains Zedekiah fell into the hands of the Chaldeans (2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5). By what may be called a retrospective account of it, we may

\* In which case it would probably be a remnant of the old Canaanitish worship of the heavenly bodies, which has left its traces in such names as Chesil,

Bethshemesh, and others (see IDOLATRY, p. 861b), which may have been the head-quarters of the worship indicated in the names they bear.

infer that Hiel's restoration had not utterly failed; for in the return under Zerubbabel the "children of Jericho," 345 in number, are comprised (Ez. iii. 34; Neh. vii. 36); and it is even implied that they removed thither again,\* for the *men of Jericho* assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding that part of the wall of Jerusalem that was next to the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 2). We now enter upon its more modern phase. The Jericho of the days of Josephus was distant 150 stadia from Jerusalem, and 50 from the Jordan. It lay in a plain, overhung by a barren mountain whose roots ran northwards towards Scythopolis, and southwards in the direction of Sodom and the Dead Sea. These formed the western boundaries of the plain. Eastwards, its barriers were the mountains of Moab, which ran parallel to the former. In the midst of the plain—the great plain as it was called—flowed the Jordan, and at the top and bottom of it were two lakes: Tiberias, proverbial for its sweetness, and Asphalites for its bitterness. Away from the Jordan it was parched and unhealthy during summer; but during winter, even when it snowed at Jerusalem, the inhabitants here wore linen garments. Hard by Jericho—bursting forth close to the site of the old city, which Joshua took on his entrance into Canaan—was a most exuberant fountain, whose waters, before noted for their contrary properties, had received, proceeds Josephus, through Elisha's prayers, their then wonderfully salutary and prolific efficacy. Within its range—70 stadia (Strabo says 100) by 20—the fertility of the soil was unexampled; palms of various names and properties, some that produced honey scarce inferior to that of the neighbourhood—opobalsamum, the choicest of indigenous fruits—cyprus (Ar. "el-henna") and myrobalaum ("Zukkum") thrived there beautifully, and thickly dotted about in pleasure-grounds (*B. J.* iv. 8, §3). Wisdom herself did not disdain comparison with "the rose-plants of Jericho" (*Eccles.* xiv. 14). Well might Strabo (*Geogr.* xvi. 2, §41, ed. Müller) conclude that its revenues were considerable. By the Romans Jericho was first visited under Pompey: he encamped there for a single night; and subsequently destroyed two forts, Threx and Taurus, that commanded its approaches (Strabo, *ibid.* §40). Gabinius, in his re-settlement of Judæa, made it one of the five seats of assembly (*Joseph. B. J.* i. 8, §5). With Herod the Great it rose to still greater prominence; it had been found full of treasure of all kinds, as in the time of Joshua, so by his Roman allies who sacked it (*ibid.* i. 15, §6); and its revenues were eagerly sought, and tented by the wily tyrant from Cleopatra, to whom Antony had assigned them (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2). Not long afterwards he built a fort there, which he called "Cyprus" in honour of his mother (*ibid.* xvi. 5); a tower, which he called in honour of his brother "Phasaelus;" and a number of new palaces—superior in their construction to those which had existed there previously—which he named after his friends. He even founded a new town, higher up the plain, which he called, like the tower, Phasaelis (*B. J.* i. 21, §9). If he did not make Jericho his habitual residence, he at least retired thither to die—and to be mourned, if he could have got his plan carried out—and it was in the amphitheatre of Jericho that the news of his death was announced to the assembled soldiers and people by Salome (*B. J.* i. 38, §8). Soon afterwards the palace was burnt, and the town plundered by one Simon, a revolutionary that had been

slave to Herod (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §6); but Archelaus rebuilt the former sumptuously—founded a new town in the plain, that bore his own name—and, most important of all, diverted water from a village called Naera, to irrigate the plain which he had planted with palms (*Ant.* xvii. 13, §1). Thus Jericho was once more "a city of palms," when our Lord visited it; such as Herod the Great and Archelaus had left it, such He saw it. As the city that had so exceptionally contributed to His own ancestry—as the city which had been the first to fall—amidst so much ceremony—before "the captain of the Lord's host, and His servant Joshua"—we may well suppose that His eyes surveyed it with unwonted interest. It is supposed to have been on the rocky heights overhanging it (hence called by tradition the Quarentana), that He was assailed by the Tempter; and over against it, according to tradition likewise, He had been previously baptized in the Jordan. Here He restored sight to the blind (two certainly, perhaps three, *St. Matt.* xx. 30; *St. Mark* x. 46: this was in *leaving Jericho*. *St. Luke* says "as He was *come nigh unto Jericho*," &c., xviii. 35). Here the descendant of Rahab did not disdain the hospitality of Zacchæus the publican—an office which was likely to be lucrative enough in so rich a city. Finally, between Jerusalem and Jericho was laid the scene of His story of the good Samaritan, which, if it is not to be regarded as a real occurrence throughout, at least derives interest from the fact, that robbers have ever been the terror of that precipitous road; and so formidable had they proved only just before the Christian era, that Pompey had been induced to undertake the destruction of their strongholds (Strabo, as before, xvi. 2, §40; comp. *Joseph. Ant.* xx. 6, §1, et seq.). Dagon, or Docus (1 *Macc.* xvi. 15; comp. ix. 50), where Ptolemy assassinated his father-in-law, Simon the Maccabee, may have been one of these.

Posterior to the Gospels the chronicle of Jericho may be briefly told. Vespasian found it one of the toparchies of Judæa (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, §5), but deserted by its inhabitants in a great measure when he encamped there (*ibid.* iv. 8, §2). He left a garrison on his departure—not necessarily the 10th legion, which is only stated to have marched *through Jericho*—which was still there when Titus advanced upon Jerusalem. Is it asked how Jericho was destroyed? Evidently by Vespasian; for Josephus, rightly understood, is not so silent as Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 566, 2nd ed.) thinks. The city pillaged and burnt in *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, §1, was clearly Jericho with its adjacent villages, and not Gema, as may be seen at once by comparing the language there with that of c. 8, §2, and the agent was Vespasian. Eusebius and St. Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v.) say that it was destroyed when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. They further add that it was afterwards rebuilt—they do not say by whom—and still existed in their day; nor had the ruins of the two preceding cities been obliterated. Could Hadrian possibly have planted a colony there when he passed through Judæa and founded Aelia? (*Dion Cass. Hist.* lxx. c. 11, ed. Sturz.; more at large *Chron. Paschal.* 254, ed. Du Fresnoy.) The discovery which Origen made there of a version of the O. T. (the 5th in his Hexapla), together with sundry MSS., Greek and Hebrew, suggests that it could not have been wholly without inhabitants (*Euseb. E. H.* vi. 16; S. Epiphani. *Lib. de Pond. et Mensur.* circa med.); or again, as is perhaps

more probable, did a Christian settlement arise there under Constantine, when baptisms in the Jordan began to be the rage? That Jericho became an episcopal see about that time under Jerusalem appears from more than one ancient Notitia (*Geograph. S.* a Carolo Paulo, 306, and the *Parergon* appended to it; comp. William of Tyre, *Hist.* lib. xxiii. ad f.). Its bishops subscribed to various councils in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries (*ibid.* and Le Quien's *Oriens Christian.* iii. 654). Justinian, we are told, restored a hospice there, and likewise a church dedicated to the Virgin (Procop. *De Aedif.* v. 9). As early as A.D. 337, when the Bourdeaux pilgrim (ed. Wesseling) visited it, a house existed there which was pointed out, after the manner of those days, as the house of Rahab. This was rootless when Arculfus saw it; and not only so, but the third city was likewise in ruins (Adamn. *de Locis S.* ap Migne, *Patrolog.* C. lxxxviii. 799). Had Jericho been visited by an earthquake, as Antoninus reports (ap. Ugol. *The-saur.* vii. p. mccciii., and note to c. 3), and as Syria certainly was, in the 27th year of Justinian, A.D. 553? If so, we can well understand the restorations already referred to; and when Antoninus adds that the house of Rahab had now become a hospice and oratory, we might almost pronounce that this was the very hospice which had been restored by that emperor. Again, it may be asked, did Christian Jericho receive no injury from the Persian Romizan, the ferocious general of Chosroes II. A.D. 614? (Bar-Hebraei, *Chron.* 99, Lat. v. ed. Kirsch). It would rather seem that there were more religious edifices in the 7th than in the 6th century round about it. According to Arculfus one church marked the site of Gilgal; another the spot where our Lord was supposed to have deposited His garments previously to His baptism; a third within the precincts of a vast monastery dedicated to St. John, situated upon some rising ground overlooking the Jordan. (See as before.) Jericho meanwhile had disappeared as a town to rise no more. Churches and monasteries sprang up around it on all sides, but only to moulder away in their turn. The anchorite caves in the rocky flanks of the Quarantana are the most striking memorial that remains of early or mediæval enthusiasm. Arculfus speaks of a diminutive race—Canaanites he calls them—that inhabited the plain in great numbers in his day. They have retained possession of those fairy meadow-lands ever since, and have made their head-quarters for some centuries round the "square tower or castle" first mentioned by Willebrand (ap. Leon. Allat. *Συμμετρ.* p. 151) in A.D. 1211, when it was inhabited by the Saracens, whose work it may be supposed to have been, though it has since been dignified by the name of the house of Zaccacheus. Their village is by Brocardus (ap. Canis. *The-saur.* iv. 16) A.D. 1230, styled "a vile place;" by Sir J. Maundeville, in A.D. 1322, "a little village;" and by Henry Maundrell, in A.D. 1697, "a poor nasty village;" in which verdict all modern travellers that have ever visited *Rihā* must concur (See *Early Travels in P.* by Wright, pp. 177 and 451). They are looked upon by the Arabs as debased race; and are probably nothing more or less than veritable Gipsies, who are still to be met with in the neighbourhood of the Frank mountain near Jerusalem, and on the heights round the village and convent of St. John in the desert, and are still called "*Σκομνικαί*" by the native Chris-

tians—one of the names applied to them when they first attracted notice in Europe in the 15th century (*i. e.* from feigning themselves "penitents" and under censure of the Pope. See Hoyland's *Histor. Survey of the G.* p. 18; also the *G.* a poem by A. P. Stanley).

Jericho does not seem to have been ever re-erected as a town by the crusaders; but its plains had not ceased to be prolific, and were extensively cultivated and laid out in vineyards and gardens by the monks (Phocas ap. Leon. Allat. *Συμμετρ.* c. 20), p. 31). They seem to have been included in the domains of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and as such were bestowed by Arnulf upon his niece as a dowry (Wm. of Tyre, *Hist.* xi. 15). Twenty-five years afterwards we find Melisendis, wife of king Fulco, assigning them to the convent of Bethany, which she had founded A.D. 1137.

The site of ancient (the first) Jericho is with reason placed by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 552-68) in the immediate neighbourhood of the fountain of Elisha; and that of the second (the city of the N.T. and of Josephus) at the opening of the Wady Kelt (Cherith), half an hour from the mountain. These are precisely the sites that one would infer from Josephus. On the other hand we are much more inclined to refer the ruined aqueducts round Jericho to the irrigations of Archelaus (see above) than to any hypothetical "culture or preparation of sugar by the Saracens." Jacob of Vitry says but generally, that the plains of the Jordan produced canes yielding sugar in abundance—from Lebanon to the Dead Sea—and when he speaks of the mode in which sugar was obtained from them, he is rather describing what was done in Syria than any where near Jericho (*Hist. Hierosol.* c. 93). Besides, it may fairly be questioned whether the same sugar-yielding reeds or canes there spoken of are not still as plentiful as ever they were within range of the Jordan (see Lynch's *Narrative*, events of April 16, also p. 266-7). Almost every reed in these regions distils a sugary juice, and almost every herb breathes fragrance. Palms have indeed disappeared (there was a solitary one remaining not long since) from the neighbourhood of the "city of palms;" yet there were groves of them in the days of Arculfus, and palm-branches could still be cut there when Fulcherius reversed the Jordan, A.D. 1100 (ap. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. i. part 1, p. 402). The fig-mulberry or "tree-fig" of Zaccacheus—which all modern travellers confound with our *Acer pseudoplatanus*, or common sycamore (see *Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* tom. xliiii. p. 218, and Cruden's *Concord.* s. v.)—mentioned by the Bourdeaux pilgrim and by Antoninus, no longer exists. The *opobalsamum* has become extinct both in Egypt—whither Cleopatra is said to have transplanted it—and in its favourite vale, Jericho. The *myrobalsamum* (*Zukhum* of the Arabs) alone survives, and from its nut oil is still extracted. Honey may be still found here and there, in the nest of the wild bee. Fig-trees, maize, and cucumbers, may be said to comprise all that is now cultivated in the plain; but wild flowers of brightest and most varied hue bespangle the rich herbage on all sides.

Lastly, the bright yellow apples of Sodom are still to be met with round Jericho; though Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 84) and others (Havercamp, ad *Tertull. Apol.* c. 40, and Jacob of Vitry, as above) make their locality rather the shores of the Dead Sea; and some modern travellers assert that



but his mother, who had been a person of loose character (LXX.), lived in her widowhood, trusting apparently to her son for support. Her name is variously given as ZERUAH (Heb.), or Sarira (LXX.), and the place of their abode on the mountains of Ephraim is given either as ZEREDA, or (LXX.) as Sarira: in the latter case, indicating that there was some connexion between the wife of Nebat and her residence.

At the time when Solomon was constructing the fortifications of Millo underneath the citadel of Zion, his sagacious eye discovered the strength and activity of a young Ephraimite who was employed on the works, and he raised him to the rank of superintendant (*יָסַד*, A. V. "ruler") over the taxes and labours exacted from the tribe of Ephraim (1 K. xi. 28). This was Jeroboam. He made the most of his position. He completed the fortifications, and was long afterwards known as the man who had "enclosed the city of David" (1 K. xi. 24; LXX.). He then aspired to royal state. Like Absalom before him, in like circumstances, though now on a grander scale, in proportion to the enlargement of the royal establishment itself, he kept 300 chariots and horses (LXX.), and at last was perceived by Solomon to be aiming at the monarchy.

These ambitious designs were probably fostered by the sight of the growing disaffection of the great tribe over which he presided, as well as by the alienation of the Prophetic order from the house of Solomon. According to the version of the story in the Hebrew text (*Jos. Ant.* vii. 7, §7), this alienation was made evident to Jeroboam very early in his career. He was leaving Jerusalem, and he encountered on one of the black-paved roads which ran out of the city, Ahijah, "the prophet" of the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh. Ahijah drew him aside from the road into the field (LXX.), and, as soon as they found themselves alone, the Prophet, who was dressed in a new outer garment, stripped it off, and tore it into 12 shreds; 10 of which he gave to Jeroboam, with the assurance that on condition of his obedience to His laws, God would establish for him a kingdom and dynasty equal to that of David (1 K. xi. 29-40).

The attempts of Solomon to cut short Jeroboam's designs occasioned his flight into Egypt. There he remained during the rest of Solomon's reign—in the court of Shishak (LXX.), who is here first named in the sacred narrative. On Solomon's death, he demanded Shishak's permission to return. The Egyptian king seems, in his reluctance, to have offered any gift which Jeroboam chose, as a reason for his remaining, and the consequence was the marriage with Anō, the elder sister of the Egyptian queen, Tahpenes (LXX. *Thekemina*), and of another princess (LXX.) who had married the Edomite chief, Hadad. A year elapsed, and a son, Abijah (or Abijam), was born. Then Jeroboam again requested permission to depart, which was granted; and he returned with his wife and child to his native place, Sarira, or Zereda, which he fortified, and which in consequence became a centre for his fellow tribesmen (1 K. xi. 41, xii. 24, LXX.). Still there was no open act of insurrection, and it was in this period of suspense (according to the LXX.) that a pathetic incident darkened his domestic history. His infant son fell sick. The anxious

father sent his wife to inquire of God concerning him. Jerusalem would have been the obvious place to visit for this purpose. But no doubt political reasons forbade. The ancient sanctuary of Shiloh was nearer at hand; and it so happened that a prophet was now residing there, of the highest repute. It was Ahijah—the same who, according to the common version of the story, had already been in communication with Jeroboam, but who, according to the authority we are now following, appears for the first time on this occasion. He was 80 years of age—but was prematurely old, and his eyesight had already failed him. He was living, as it would seem, in poverty, with a boy who waited on him, and with his own little children. For him and for them, the wife of Jeroboam brought such gifts as were thought likely to be acceptable; ten loaves, and two rolls for the children (LXX.), a bunch of raisins (LXX.), and a jar of honey. She had disguised herself, to avoid recognition; and perhaps these humble gifts were part of the plan. But the blind prophet, at her first approach, knew who was coming; and bade his boy go out to meet her, and invite her to his house without delay. There he warned her of the uselessness of her gifts. There was a doom on the house of Jeroboam, not to be averted; those who grew up in it and died in the city would become the prey of the hungry dogs; they who died in the country would be devoured by the vultures. This child alone would die before the calamities of the house arrived; "They shall mourn for the child, Woe, O Lord, for in him there is found a good word regarding the Lord,"—or according to the other version, "all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward Jehovah the God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam" (1 K. xiv. 13, LXX. xii.). The mother returned. As she re-entered the town of Saira (Heb. *Tirzah*, 1 K. xiv. 17), the child died. The loud wail of her attendant damsels greeted her on the threshold (LXX.). The child was buried, as Ahijah had foretold, with all the state of the child of a royal house. "All Israel mourned for him" (1 K. xiv. 18). This incident, if it really occurred at this time, seems to have been the turning point in Jeroboam's career. It drove him from his ancestral home, and it gathered the sympathies of the tribe of Ephraim round him. He left Sarira and came to Shechem. The Hebrew text describes that he was sent for. The LXX. speaks of it as his own act. However that may be, he was thus at the head of the northern tribes, when Rehoboam, after he had been on the throne for somewhat more than a year, came up to be inaugurated in that ancient capital. Then (if we may take the account already given of Ahijah's interview as something separate from this), for the second time—and in a like manner, the Divine intimation of his future greatness is conveyed to him. The prophet Shemaiah, the Enlomite (?) (*δ' Ἐνλαμί*, LXX.) addressed to him the same acted parable, in the ten shreds of a new unwashed garment (LXX.). Then took place the conference with Rehoboam (Jeroboam appearing in it, in the Hebrew text, but not in the LXX.), and the final revolt; which ended (expressly in the Hebrew text, in the LXX. by

<sup>b</sup> This omission is however borne out by the Hebrew text, 1 K. xii. 20, "when all Israel heard that J. was come again."

<sup>c</sup> The cry of revolt, 1 K. xii. 16, is the same as that in 2 Sam. xx. i.

implication) in the elevation of Jeroboam to the throne of the northern kingdom. Shemaiah remained on the spot and deterred Rehoboam from an attack. Jeroboam entered at once on the duties of his new situation, and fortified Shechem as his capital on the west, and Penuel (close by the old Transjordanic capital of Mahanaim) on the east.

II. Up to this point there had been nothing to disturb the anticipations of the Prophetic Order and of the mass of Israel as to the glory of Jeroboam's future. But from this moment one fatal error crept, not unnaturally, into his policy, which undermined his dynasty and tarnished his name as the first king of Israel. The political disruption of the kingdom was complete; but its religious unity was as yet unimpaired. He feared that the yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem would undo all the work which he effected, and he took the bold step of rending it asunder. Two sanctuaries of venerable antiquity existed already—one at the southern, the other at the northern extremity of his dominions. These he elevated into seats of the national worship, which should rival the newly established Temple at Jerusalem. As Abderrahman, caliph of Spain, arrested the movement of his subjects to Mecca, by the erection of the holy place of the Zecca at Cordova, so Jeroboam trusted to the erection of his shrines at Dan and Bethel. But he was not satisfied without another deviation from the Mosaic idea of the national unity. His long stay in Egypt had familiarised him with the outward forms under which the Divinity was there represented; and now for the first time since the Exodus, was an Egyptian element introduced into the national worship of Palestine. A golden figure of Mnevis, the sacred calf of Heliopolis, was set up at each sanctuary, with the address, "Behold thy God ('Elohim'—comp. Neh. ix. 18) which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The sanctuary at DAN, as the most remote from Jerusalem, was established first (1 K. xii. 30) with priests from the distant tribes, whom he consecrated instead of the Levites (xii. 31; xiii. 33). The more important one, as nearer the capital and in the heart of the kingdom, was BETHEL. The worship and the sanctuary continued till the end of the northern kingdom. The priests were supplied by a peculiar form of consecration—any one from the non-Levitical tribes could procure the office on sacrificing a young bullock and seven rams (1 K. xiii. 33; 2 Chr. xiii. 9). For the dedication of this he copied the precedent of Solomon in choosing the feast of Tabernacles as the occasion; but postponing it for a month, probably in order to meet the vintage of the most northern parts. On the fifteenth day of this month (the 8th), he went up in state to offer incense on the altar which was before the calf. It was at this solemn and critical moment that a prophet from Judah suddenly appeared, whom Josephus with great probability identifies with Iddo the Seer (he calls him Iadon, *Ant.* viii. 8, §5; and see Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. x. 4), who denounced the altar, and foretold its desecration by Josiah, and violent overthrow. It is not clear from the account, whether it is intended that the overthrow took place then, or in the earthquake described by Amos (ix. 1). Another sign is described as taking place instantly. The king stretching out his hand to arrest the prophet, felt it withered and paralyzed, and only at the prophet's

prayer saw it restored, and acknowledged his divine mission. Josephus adds, but probably only in conjecture from the sacred narrative, that the prophet who seduced Iddo on his return, did so in order to prevent his obtaining too much influence over Jeroboam, and endeavoured to explain away the miracles to the king, by representing that the altar fell because it was new, and that his hand was paralyzed from the fatigue of sacrificing. A further allusion is made to this incident in the narrative of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §4), where Zedekiah is represented as contrasting the potency of Iddo in withering the hand of Jeroboam with the powerlessness of Micaiah to wither the hand of Zedekiah. The visit of Anō to Ahijah, which the common Hebrew text places after this event, and with darker intimations in Ahijah's warning only suitable to a later period, has already been described.

Jeroboam was at constant war with the house of Judah, but the only act distinctly recorded is a battle with Abijah, son of Rehoboam; in which in spite of a skilful ambush made by Jeroboam, and of much superior force, he was defeated, and for the time lost three important cities, Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephraim.<sup>4</sup> The calamity was severely felt; he never recovered the blow, and soon after died, in the 22nd year of his reign (2 Chr. xiii. 20), and was buried in his ancestral sepulchre (1 K. xiv. 20). His son Nadab, or (LXX.) Nebat (named after the grandfather), succeeded, and in him the dynasty was closed. The name of Jeroboam long remained under a cloud as the king who "had caused Israel to sin." At the time of the Reformation, it was a common practice of Roman Catholic writers to institute comparisons between his separation from the sanctuary of Judah, and that of Henry VIII. from the see of Rome.

2. JEROBOAM II., the son of Joash, the 4th of the dynasty of Jehu. The most prosperous of the kings of Israel. The contemporary accounts of his reign are, (1.) in the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. xiv. 28), which are lost, but of which the substance is given in 2 K. xiv. 23-29. (2.) In the contemporary prophets Hosea and Amos, and (perhaps) in the fragments found in Is. xv., xvi. It had been foretold in the reign of Jehonahaz that a great deliverer should come, to rescue Israel from the Syrian yoke (comp. 2 K. xiii. 4, xiv. 26, 27), and this had been expanded into a distinct prediction of Jonah, that there should be a restoration of the widest dominion of Solomon (xiv. 25). This "saviour" and "restorer" was Jeroboam. He not only repelled the Syrian invaders, but took their capital city Damascus (2 K. xiv. 28; Am. i. 3-5), and recovered the whole of the ancient dominion from Hamath to the Dead Sea (xiv. 25; Am. vi. 14). Ammon and Moab were reconquered (Am. i. 13, ii. 1-3); the Transjordanic tribes were restored to their territory (2 K. xiii. 5; 1 Chr. v. 17-22).

But it was merely an outward restoration. The sanctuary at Bethel was kept up in royal state (Am. vii. 13), but drunkenness, licentiousness, and oppression, prevailed in the country (Am. ii. 6-8, iv. 1, vi. 6; Hos. iv. 12-14, i. 2), and idolatry was united with the worship of Jehovah (Hos. iv. 13, xiii. 6).

Amos prophesied the destruction of Jeroboam and his house by the sword (Am. vii. 9, 17), and

<sup>4</sup> The Targum on Ruth iv. 20, mentions Jeroboam's having stationed guards on the roads, which guards had been slain by the people of Netophah;

but what is here alluded to, or when it took place, we have at present no clue to.

Amazin, the high-priest of Bethel, complained to the king (Am. vii. 10-13). The effect does not appear. Hosea (Hos. i. 1) also denounced the crimes of the nation. The prediction of Amos was not fulfilled as regarded the king himself. He was buried with his ancestors in state (2 K. xiv. 29).

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 361 *note*) supposes that Jeroham was the subject of Ps. xlv. [A. P. S.]

**JEROHAM** (יֵרוֹחַם: *Jeroham*). 1. (Ἰεροβόδμ, both MSS. at 1 Chr. vi. 27; but Alex. Ἰερὸδμ at ver. 34), father of Elkanah, the father of Samuel, of the house of Kohath. His father is called Eliab at 1 Chr. vi. 27, Eliel at ver. 34, and Elihu at 1 Sam. i. 1. Jeroham must have been about the same age as Eli. [A. C. H.]

2. (Ἰροδμ, Alex. Ἰερὸδμ.) A Benjamite, and the founder of a family of Bene-Jeroham (1 Chr. viii. 27). They were among the leaders of that part of the tribe which lived in Jerusalem, and which is here distinguished from the part which inhabited Gibeon. Probably the same person is intended in

3. (Ἰεροβόδμ.) Father (or progenitor) of Ibneiah, one of the leading Benjamites of Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 8; comp. 3 and 9).

4. (Ἰραδμ, Alex. Ἰερὰδμ.) A descendant of Aaron, of the house of Immer, the leader of the sixteenth course of priests; son of Pashur and father of Adiah (1 Chr. ix. 12). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 12 (a record curiously and puzzlingly parallel to that of 1 Chr. ix., though with some striking differences), though there he is stated to belong to the house of Malchiah, who was leader of the fifth course (and comp. Neh. xi. 14).

5. (Ἰροδμ.) Jeroham of Gedor (יְרוֹחַם הַגִּדּוֹר), some of whose "sons" joined David when he was taking refuge from Saul at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7). The list purports to be of Benjamites (see ver. 2, where the word "even" is interpolated, and the last five words belong to ver. 3). But then how can the presence of Korhites (ver. 7), the descendants of Korah the Levite, be accounted for?

6. (Ἰροδβ, Alex. Ἰερὰδμ.) A Danite, whose son or descendant Azareel was head of his tribe in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 22).

7. (Ἰερὰδμ.) Father of Azariah, one of the "captains of hundreds" in the time of Athaliah; one of those to whom Jehoiada the priest confided his scheme for the restoration of Joash (2 Chr. xxiii. 1). [G.]

**JERUB'BAAL** (יֵרֻבְעָאֵל: Ἰεροββαλ; Alex. δικοστήριον τοῦ Βαάλ, Judg. vi. 32, Ἰροββαλ in vii. 1: *Jerobaal*), the surname of Gideon which he acquired in consequence of destroying the altar of Baal, when his father defended him from the vengeance of the Abi-ezrites. The A. V. of Judg. vi. 32, which has "therefore on that day he called him Jerubbaal," implying that the surname was given by Joash, should rather be, in accordance with a well-known Hebrew idiom, "one called him," i. e. he was called by the men of his city.

\* ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβάσεως, λεγομένης δ' ἑξοχῆς, Jos. Ant. ix. 1, § 2.

\* Other names borne by Jerusalem are as follows: 1. *Αἰνία*, the "Iion of God," or according to another interpretation, the "hearth of God" (Is. xxix. 1, 2, 7; comp. Es. xliii. 16). For the former significance compare Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2 (Stanley, *S. & P.* 171). 2. ἡ ἁγία πόλις, "the holy city," Matt. iv. 5 and xxvii. 53 only. Both these passages would seem to refer to Zion—the sacred portion of the place, in which the Temple was situated. It also occurs—ἡ π. ἡ ἁγ.—

The LXX. in the same passage have ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν, "he called it," i. e. the altar mentioned in the preceding verse; but as in all other passages they recognise Jerubbaal as the name of Gideon, the reading should probably be αὐτὸν. In Judg. viii. 35 the Vulg. strictly follows the Heb., *Jerobaal Gedeon*. The Alex. version omits the name altogether from Judg. ix. 57. Besides the passages quoted it is found in Judg. vii. 1, viii. 29, ix. 1, 5, 16, 19, 24, 28, and 1 Sam. xii. 11. In a fragment of Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* i. 9, § 21), Gideon appears as Hierombalos (Ἰερομβάλλος), the priest of the God Ἰεῦδ, or Jehovah, from whom the Phœnician chronicler, Sanchoniatho of Beyrouth, received his information with regard to the affairs of the Jews. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus omits all mention both of the change of name and of the event it commemorates. [GIDEON.] [W. A. W.]

**JERUB'BESHEETH** (יֵרֻבְשֶׁתַּי: LXX., followed by the Vulgate, reads Ἰεροββαλ, or Cod. Alex. Ἰεροββαμ), a name of Gideon (2 Sam. xi. 21). A later generation probably abstained from pronouncing the name (Ec. xxiii. 13) of a false god, and therefore changed Gideon's name (Judg. vi. 32) of Jerubbaal—"with whom Baal contends," into Jerubbeseth—"with whom the idol contends." Comp. similar changes (1 Chr. viii. 32, 34) of Eshtaal for Ishbeseth, and Meibbaal for Mephioseth. [W. T. B.]

**JERU'EI, THE WILDERNESS OF** (יְרֻעִי: ἡ ἐρήμος Ἰεριήλ: *Seruel*), the place in which Jehoshaphat was informed by Jahaziel the Levite that he should encounter the hordes of Ammon, Moab, and the Mehinims, who were swarming round the south end of the Dead Sea to the attack of Jerusalem: "Ye shall find them at the end of the wady, facing the wilderness of Jeruel" (2 Chr. xx. 16). The "wilderness" contained a watch-tower (ver. 24), from which many a similar incursion had probably been desisted. It was a well-known spot, for it has the definite article. Or the word (יְרֻעִי) may mean a commanding ridge, below which the "wilderness" lay open to view. The name has not been met with, but may yet be found in the neighbourhood of Tekoa and Bernchah (perhaps *Bereikut*), east of the road between *Urtas* and Hebron. [G.]

**JERUSALEM** (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, i. e. Yerushala'im; or, in the more extended form, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, in 1 Chr. iii. 5, 2 Chr. xxv. 1, xxxii. 9, Esth. ii. 6, Jer. xxvi. 18, only; in the Chaldee passages of Ezra and Daniel, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, i. e. Yerushlem: LXX. Ἱερουσαλήμ; N. T. apparently indifferently Ἱερουσαλήμ and Ἱεροσόλυμα: Vulg. Cod. Amiat. *Hierusalem* and *Hierosolyma*, but in other old copies *Jerusalem*, *Jerosolyma*. In the A. V. of 1611 it is "Jerusalem," in O. T. and Apoc.; but in N. T. "*Hierusalem*."\*)

Rev. xi. 2. 3. Aelia Capitolina, the name bestowed by the emperor Hadrian (Aelius Hadrianus) on the city as rebuilt by him, a.d. 135, 136. These two names of the Emperor are inscribed on the well-known stone in the south-wall of the Akas, one of the few Roman relics about which there can be no dispute. This name is usually employed by Eusebius (*Αἰκία*) and Jerome, in their *Onomasticon*. By Ptolemy it is given as *Καρωαλίδας* (Reland, *Pal.* 462). 4. The Arabic names are *el-Khuda*, "the holy," or *Beit el-Makdis*, "the holy house," "the sanctuary." The former is that in

On the derivation and significance of the name considerable difference exists among the authorities. The Rabbis state that the name Shalem was bestowed on it by Shem (identical in their traditions with Melchizedek), and the name Jireh by Abraham, after the deliverance of Isaac on Mount Moriah,<sup>3</sup> and that the two were afterwards combined, lest displeasure should be felt by either of the two Saints at the exclusive use of one (Heresh, Rab. in Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v., also Lightfoot). Others, quoted by Reland (833), would make it mean "fear of Salem," or "sight of peace." The suggestion of Reland himself, adopted by Simonis (*Onom.* 467), and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 155 note) is שְׁלָמָה, "inheritance of peace," but this is questioned by Gesenius (*Thes.* 828 b) and Fürst (*Handb.* 547 b), who prefer שְׁלֵמָה, "the foundation of peace."

Another derivation, proposed by the fertile Hitzig (*Jesaja*, p. 2), is named by the two last great scholars only to condemn it. Others again, looking to the name of the Canaanite tribe who possessed the place at the time of the conquest, would propose Jebus-salem (Reland, 834), or even Jebus-Solomon, as the name conferred on the city by that monarch when he began his reign of tranquillity.

Another controversy relates to the termination of the name—Jerushalaim—the Hebrew dual; and which, by Simonis and Ewald, is unhesitatingly referred to the double formation of the city, while reasons are shown against it by Reland and Gesenius. It is certain that on the two occasions where the latter portion of the name appears to be given for the whole (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 2) it is Shalem, and not Shalaim; also that the five places, where the vowel points of the Masorets are supported by the letters of the original text, are of a late date, when the idea of the double city, and its reflection in the name, would have become familiar to the Jews. In this conflict of authorities the suggestion will perhaps occur to a bystander that the original formation of the name may have been anterior to the entrance of the Israelites on Canaan, and that Jerushalaim may be the attempt to give an intelligible Hebrew form to the original archaic name, just as centuries afterwards, when Hebrews in their turn gave way to Greeks, attempts were made to twist Jerushalaim itself into a shape which should be intelligible to Greek ears.<sup>4</sup> *Ἱεροσόλυμα*, "the holy Solyma" (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 10), *Ἱερὸν Σολομώντος*, "the holy place of Solomon" (Eupolemus, in Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* ix. 34), or, on the other hand, the curious fancy quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* i. 34, 35) from Lysimachus—*Ἱερσούλα*, "spoilers of temples"—

ordinary use at present. The latter is found in Arabic chronicles. The name *ash-Sherif*, "the venerable," or "the noble," is also quoted by Schultens in his *Indes Geogr. in Fit. Salad.* 5. The corrupt form of *Aurushlim* is found in Edrisi (Jaubert, i. 346), possibly quoting a Christian writer.

<sup>3</sup> The question of the identity of MORIAH with Jerusalem will be examined under that head.

<sup>4</sup> Such mystical interpretations as those of Origen, *τὸ πνεῦμα χάριτος αὐτῶν* (from מן ה' and שְׁלָמָה), or *ἱερὸν εἰρήνης*, where half the name is interpreted as Greek and half as Hebrew, curious as they are, cannot be examined here. (See the catalogues preserved by Jerome.)

<sup>5</sup> Other instances of similar Greek forms given to Hebrew names are *Ἱερὶχώ* and *Ἱερουδέξ*.

are perhaps not more violent adaptations, or more wide of the real meaning of "Jerusalem," than that was of the original name of the city.

The subject of Jerusalem naturally divides itself into three heads:—

I. The place itself: its origin, position, and physical characteristics.

II. The annals of the city.

III. The topography of the town; the relative localities of its various parts; the sites of the "Holy Places" ancient and modern, &c.

#### I. THE PLACE ITSELF.

The arguments—if arguments they can be called—for and against the identity of the "Salem" of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) with Jerusalem—the "Salem" of a late Psalmist (Ps. lxxvi. 2)—are almost equally balanced. In favour of it are the unhesitating statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, 2; vii. 3, 2; *B. J.* vi. 10<sup>5</sup>) and Eusebius (*Onom.* *Ἱερουσόλυμα*), the recurrence of the name Salem in the Psalm just quoted, where it undoubtedly means Jerusalem,<sup>6</sup> and the general consent in the identification. On the other hand is the no less positive statement of Jerome, grounded on more reason than he often vouchsafes for his statements<sup>7</sup> (*Ep. ad Evangelum*, §7), that "Salem was not Jerusalem, as Josephus and all Christians (*nostri omnes*) believe it to be, but a town near Scythopolis, which to this day is called Salem, where the magnificent ruins of the palace of Melchizedek are still seen, and of which mention is made in a subsequent passage of Genesis—'Jacob came to Salem, a city of Shechem' (Gen. xxxiii. 18)." Elsewhere (*Onomasticon*, "Salem") Eusebius and he identify it with Shechem itself. This question will be discussed under the head of SALEM. Here it is sufficient to say (1) that Jerusalem suits the circumstances of the narrative rather better than any place further north, or more in the heart of the country. It would be quite as much in Abram's road from the sources of Jordan to his home under the oaks of Hebron, and it would be more suitable for the visit of the king of Sodom. In fact we know that, in later times at least, the usual route from Damascus avoided the central highlands of the country and the neighbourhood of Shechem, where *Salim* is now shown. (See Pompey's route in Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, §4; 4, §1.) (2) It is perhaps some confirmation of the identity, at any rate it is a remarkable coincidence, that the king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua should bear the title Adoni-zedek—almost precisely the same as that of Melchizedek.

The question of the identity of Jerusalem with "Cadytis, a large city of Syria," "almost as large

<sup>5</sup> Philo carries this a step further, and, bearing in view only the sanctity of the place, he discards the Semitic member of the name, and calls it *Ἱερουσία*. It is exactly the complement of *πόλις Σολύμα* (Pausanias, viii. 16).

<sup>6</sup> In this passage he even goes so far as to say that Melchizedek, "the first priest of God," built there the first temple, and changed the name of the city from Solima to Hierosolima.

<sup>7</sup> A contraction analogous to others with which we are familiar in our own poetry; *s. gr.* Edin, or Edina, for Edinburgh.

<sup>8</sup> Winer is wrong in stating (*Realb.* ii. 79) that Jerome bases this statement on a Rabbinical tradition. The tradition that he quotes, in §5 of the same Ep., is as to the identity of Melchizedek with Shem.

as Sardis," which is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159, iii. 5) as having been taken by Pharaoh-Necho, need not be investigated in this place. It is interesting, and, if decided in the affirmative, so far important as confirming the Scripture narrative; but does not in any way add to our knowledge of the history of the city. The reader will find it fully examined in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 246; Blakesley's *Herod.—Excursions on Bk. iii. ch. 5* (both against the identification); and in Kenrick's *Egypt*, ii. 406, and *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 17 (both for it).

Nor need we do more than refer to the traditions—if traditions they are, and not mere individual speculations—of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2.) and Plutarch (*Is. et Osr.* ch. 31) of the foundation of the city by a certain Hierosolymus, a son of the Typhon (see Winer's note, i. 545). All the certain information to be gathered as to the early history of Jerusalem, must be gathered from the books of the Jewish historians alone.

It is during the conquest of the country that Jerusalem first appears in definite form on the scene in which it was destined to occupy so prominent a position. The earliest notice is probably that in Josh. xv. 8 and xviii. 16, 28, describing the landmarks of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin. Here it is styled Ha-Jebusi, i.e. "the Jebusite" (A. V. Jebusi), after the name of its occupiers, just as is the case with other places in these lists. [JEBUSI.] Next, we find the form JEBUS (*Judg.* xix. 10, 11)—"Jebus, which is Jerusalem . . . the city of the Jebusites;" and lastly, in documents which profess to be of the same age as the foregoing—we have Jerusalem (*Josh.* x. 1, &c., xii. 10; *Judg.* i. 7, &c.). To this we have a parallel in Hebron, the other great city of Southern Palestine, which bears the alternative title of Kirjath-Arba in these very same documents.

It is one of the obvious peculiarities of Jerusalem—but to which Professor Stanley appears to have been the first to call attention—that it did not become the capital till a comparatively late date in the career of the nation. Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, had their beginnings in the earliest periods of national life—but Jerusalem was not only not a chief city, it was not even possessed by the Israelites till they had gone through one complete stage of their life in Palestine, and the second—the monarchy—had been fairly entered on. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 169.)

The explanation of this is no doubt in some measure to be found in the fact that the seats of the government and the religion of the nation were originally fixed farther north—first at Shechem and Shiloh; then at Gibeah, Nob, and Gibeon; but it is also no doubt partly due to the natural strength of Jerusalem. The heroes of Joshua's army who traced the boundary-line which was to separate the possessions of Judah and Benjamin, when, after passing the spring of En-rogel, they

went along the "ravine of the son of Hinnom," and looked up to the "southern shoulder of the Jebusite" (*Josh.* xv. 7, 8) must have felt that to scale heights so great and so steep would have fully tasked even their tried prowess. We shall see when we glance through the annals of the city that it did effectually resist the tribes of Judah and Simeon not many years later. But when, after the death of Ishbosheth, David became king of a united and powerful people, it was necessary for him to leave the remote Hebron and approach nearer to the bulk of his dominions. At the same time it was impossible to desert the great tribe to which he belonged, and over whom he had been reigning for seven years. Out of this difficulty Jerusalem was the natural escape, and accordingly at Jerusalem David fixed the seat of his throne and the future sanctuary of his nation.

The boundary between Judah and Benjamin, the north boundary of the former and the south of the latter, ran at the foot of the hill on which the city stands, so that the city itself was actually in Benjamin, while by crossing the narrow ravine of Hinnom you set foot on the territory of Judah.<sup>1</sup> That it was not far enough to the north to command the continued allegiance of the tribe of Ephraim, and the others which lay above him, is obvious from the fact of the separation which at last took place. It is enough for the vindication of David in having chosen it to remember that that separation did not take place during the reigns of himself or his son, and was at last precipitated by misgovernment combined with feeble shortsightedness. And if not actually in the centre of Palestine it was yet virtually so. "It was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge of the back-bone of the complicated hills which extend through the whole country from the Plain of Esdraelon to the Desert. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller who has trod the central route of Palestine from N. to S. must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the water-shed between the streams, or rather the torrent-beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan, and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean (Stanley, *S. & P.* 176)."

This central position, as expressed in the words of Ezekiel (v. 5), "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries round about her," led in later ages to a definite belief that the city was actually in the centre of the earth—in the words of Jerome, "umbilicus terre," the central boss or navel of the world.<sup>2</sup> (See the quotations in Reland, *Pal.* 52 and 838; *Jos. B. J.* iii. 3, §5; also Stanley, *S. & P.* 116.)

At the same time it should not be overlooked that, while thus central to the people of the country, it had the advantage of being remote from the great high road of the nations which so frequently passed by Palestine, and therefore enjoyed a certain immunity from disturbance. The only

<sup>1</sup> This appears from an examination of the two corresponding documents, *Josh.* xv. 7, 8, and xviii. 16, 17. The line was drawn from En-shemesh—probably *Ain Haud*, below Bethany—to En-rogel—either *Ain Ayub* or the Fountain of the Virgin; thence it went by the ravine of Hinnom and the southern shoulder of the Jebusite—the steep slope of the modern Zion; climbed the heights on the west—the ravine, and struck off to the spring at Neptaot, probably *Litfa*. The other view, which is made the most of by Blunt in one of his ingenious "coin-

cidences" (*Pl. H.* 17), and is also favoured by Stanley (*S. & P.* 176), is derived from a Jewish tradition, quoted by Lightfoot (*Prospect of the Temple*, ch. 1), to the effect that the altars and sanctuary were in Benjamin, the courts of the Temple were in Judah.

<sup>2</sup> This is prettily expressed in a rabbinical figure quoted by Otho (*Lex.* 266):—"The world is like to an eye; the white of the eye is the ocean surrounding the world; the black is the world itself; the pupil is Jerusalem, and the image in the pupil, the Temple."

practicable route for a great army, with baggage, siege-trains, &c., moving between Egypt and Assyria was by the low plain which bordered the sea-coast from Tyre to Pelusium. From that plain the central table-land on which Jerusalem stood was approached by valleys and passes generally too intricate and precipitous for the passage of large bodies. One road there was less rugged than the rest—that from Jaffa and Lydda up the pass of the Beth-horons to Gibeon, and thence, over the hills, to the north side of Jerusalem; and by this route, with few if any exceptions, armies seem to have approached the city. But, on the other hand, we shall find, in tracing the annals of Jerusalem, that great forces frequently passed between Egypt and Assyria, and battles were fought in the plain by large armies, nay, that sieges of the towns on the Mediterranean coast were conducted, lasting for years, without apparently affecting Jerusalem in the least.

Jerusalem stands in latitude  $31^{\circ} 46' 35''$  North, and longitude  $35^{\circ} 18' 30''$  East of Greenwich.<sup>k</sup> It is 32 miles distant from the sea, and 18 from the Jordan; 20 from Hebron, and 36 from Samaria. "In several respects," says Professor Stanley, "its situation is singular among the cities of Palestine. Its elevation is remarkable; occasioned not from its being on the summit of one of the numerous hills of Judea, like most of the towns and villages, but because it is on the edge of one of the highest table-lands of the country. Hebron indeed is higher still by some hundred feet, and from the south, accordingly (even from Bethlehem), the approach to Jerusalem is by a slight descent. But from any other side the ascent is perpetual; and to the traveller approaching the city from the E. or W. it must always have presented the appearance beyond any other capital of the then known world—we may say beyond any important city that has ever existed on the earth—of a mountain city; breathing, as compared with the sultry plains of Jordan, a mountain air; enthroned, as compared with Jericho or Damascus, Gaza or Tyre, on a mountain fastness" (*S. & P.* 170, 1).

The elevation of Jerusalem is a subject of constant reference and exultation by the Jewish writers. Their fervid poetry abounds with allusions to its height,<sup>m</sup> to the ascent thither of the tribes from all parts of the country. It was the habitation of Jehovah, from which "He looked upon all the inhabitants of the world" (*Ps.* xxxiii. 14); its kings were "higher than the kings of the earth" (*Ps.* lxxxix. 27). In the later Jewish literature of narrative and description this poetry is reduced to prose, and in the most exaggerated form. Jerusalem was so high that the flames of Jamnia were visible from it (2 Macc. xii. 9). From the tower of Psephinus, outside the walls, could be discerned on the one hand the Mediterranean Sea, on the other the country of Arabia (*Jos. B. J.* v. 4, §3). Hebron could be seen from the roof of the Temple (*Light-foot, Chor. Cent.* xlix.). The same thing can be traced in Josephus's account of the environs of the city, in which he has exaggerated what is in truth a remarkable ravine, to a depth so enormous that the head swam and the eyes failed in gazing into its recesses (*Ant.* xv. i1, §5).

<sup>k</sup> Such is the result of the latest observations possessed by the Lords of the Admiralty, and officially communicated to the Consul of Jerusalem in 1852 (*Rob.* iii. 183). To what part of the town the ob-

In exemplification of these remarks it may be said that the general elevation of the western ridge of the city, which forms its highest point, is about 2600 feet above the level of the sea. The Mount of Olives rises slightly above this—2724 feet. Beyond the Mount of Olives, however, the descent is remarkable; Jericho—13 miles off—being no less than 3624 feet below, viz., 900 feet under the Mediterranean. On the north, Bethel, at a distance of 11 miles, is 419 feet below Jerusalem. On the west Ramleh—25 miles—is 2274 feet below. Only to the south, as already remarked, are the heights slightly superior;—Bethlehem, 2704; Hebron, 3029. A table of the heights of the various parts of the city and environs is given further on.

<sup>m</sup> The situation of the city in reference to the rest of Palestine, has been described by Dr. Robinson in a well-known passage, which is so complete and graphic a statement of the case, that we take the liberty of giving it entire.

"Jerusalem lies near the summit of a broad mountain ridge. This ridge or mountainous tract extends, without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the south end of the Dead Sea and the S. E. corner of the Mediterranean; or more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far south as to *Jebel 'Arâif* in the desert; where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau. This tract, which is every where not less than from twenty to twenty-five geographical miles in breadth, is in fact high uneven table-land. It every where forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; while towards the west it sinks down by an offset into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is moreover cut up by deep valleys which run east or west on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these valleys,—a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season,—follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge; yet not so but that the heads of the valleys, which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan often has its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other valleys which run to the western sea.

"From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the south, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until in the vicinity of Hebron it attains an elevation of nearly 3000 Paris feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further north, on a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea towards the true west, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2500 Paris feet; and here, close upon the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem.

"Six or seven miles N. and N.W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about *el-Jib* (Gibeon), extending also towards *el-Bireh* (Beeroth); the waters of which flow off at its S.E.

servations apply is not stated. Other results, only slightly differing, will be found in Van de Velde's *Memoir.* 64, and in *Rob.* i. 259.

<sup>n</sup> See the passages quoted by Stanley (*S. & P.* 171)

part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs *Wady Beit Hanina*; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the Valley of Turpentine, or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah. This great valley passes along in a S.W. direction an hour or more west of Jerusalem; and finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of six or eight hours S.W. from the city, under the name of *Wady es-Sūrār*. The traveller, on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of *Kildnieh* on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the south and east; and sees before him, at the distance of a mile and a half, the walls and domes of the Holy City, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives.

"The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground, having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Upon the broad and elevated promontory within the fork of these two valleys, lies the Holy City. All around are higher hills; on the east, the Mount of Olives; on the south, the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the west, the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wady; while on the north, a band of the ridge connected with the Mount of Olives bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S.W. the view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim, already described, commencing just at the southern brink of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S.W., where it runs to the western sea. In the N.W., too, the eye reaches up along the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and from many points, can discern the mosque of *Nebv Samuil*, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wady, at the distance of two hours" (Robinson's *Bibl. Researches*, i. 258-260).

So much for the local and political relation of Jerusalem to the country in general. To convey an idea of its individual position, we may say roughly, and with reference to the accompanying Plan, that the city occupies the southern termination of a table-land, which is cut off from the country round it on its west, south, and east sides, by ravines more than usually deep and precipitous. These ravines leave the level of the table-land, the one on the west and the other on the north-east of the city, and fall rapidly until they form a junction below its south-east corner. The eastern one—the valley of the Kedron, commonly called the Valley of Jehoshaphat, runs nearly straight from north to south. But the western one—the Valley of Hinnom—runs south for a time and then takes a sudden bend to the east until it meets the Valley of Jehoshaphat, after which the two rush off as one to the Dead Sea. How sudden is their descent may be gathered from the fact, that the level at the point of junction—about a mile and a quarter from the

starting point of each—is more than 600 feet below that of the upper plateau from which they commenced their descent. Thus, while on the north there is no material difference between the general level of the country outside the walls, and that of the highest parts of the city; on the other three sides, so steep is the fall of the ravines, so trench-like their character, and so close do they keep to the promontory, at whose feet they run, as to leave on the beholder almost the impression of the ditch at the foot of a fortress, rather than of valleys formed by nature.

The promontory thus encircled is itself divided, by a longitudinal ravine running up it from south to north, rising gradually from the south like the external ones, till at last it arrives at the level of the upper plateau, and dividing the central mass into two unequal portions. Of these two, that on the west—the "Upper City" of the Jews,—the Mount Zion of modern tradition—is the higher and more massive; that on the east—Mount Moriah, the "Akra" or "lower city" of Josephus, now occupied by the great Mohammedan sanctuary with its mosques and domes—is at once considerably lower and smaller, so that, to a spectator from the south, the city appears to slope sharply towards the east.<sup>a</sup> This central valley, at about halfway up its length, threw out a subordinate on its left or west side, which apparently quitted it at about right angles, and made its way up to the general level of the ground at the present Jaffa or Bethlehem gate. We say apparently, because covered as the ground now is, it is difficult to ascertain the point exactly. Opinions differ as to whether the straight valley north and south, or its southern half, with the branch just spoken of, was the "Tyropoeon valley" of Josephus. The question will be examined in Section III. under the head of the Topography of the Ancient City.

One more valley must be noted. It was on the north of Moriah, and separated it from a hill on which, in the time of Josephus, stood a suburb or part of the city called Bezetha, or the New-town. Part of this depression is still preserved in the large reservoir with two arches, usually called the Pool of Bethesda, near the St. Stephen's gate. It also will be more explicitly spoken of in the examination of the ancient topography.

This rough sketch of the *terrain* of Jerusalem, will enable the reader to appreciate the two great advantages of its position. On the one hand the ravines which entrench it on the west, south, and east—out of which, as has been said, the rocky slopes of the city rise almost like the walls of a fortress out of its ditches, must have rendered it impregnable on those quarters to the warfare of the old world. On the other hand, its junction with the more level ground on its north and north-west sides, afforded an opportunity of expansion, of which we know advantage was taken, and which gave it remarkable superiority over other cities of Palestine, and especially of Judah, which, though secure on their hill-tops, were unable to expand beyond them (Stanley, *N. & P.*, 174, 5).

The heights of the principal points in and round the city, above the Mediterranean Sea, as given, by Lt. Van de Velde, in the *Memoir*\* accompanying his Map, 1858, are as follow:—

<sup>a</sup> The character of the ravines and the eastward slope of the site are very well and very truthfully shown in a view in Bartlett's *Walks*, entitled "Mount Zion, Jerusalem, from the Hill of Evil Counsel."

\* A table of levels, differing somewhat from those of Lt. Van de Velde, will be found in Barclay's *City*, 103, 4.

	Feet.
N.W. corner of the city ( <i>Kasr Salud</i> ) . . . .	2610
Mount Zion ( <i>Cocnaculum</i> ) . . . . .	2537
Mount Moriah ( <i>Haram esh Sherif</i> ) . . . .	2429
Bridge over the Kedron, near Gethsemane . . .	2281
Pool of Siloam . . . . .	2114
<i>Bir-ayub</i> , at the confluence of Hinnom and Kedron	1096
Mount of Olives, Church of Ascension on summit .	2724

From these figures it will be seen that the ridge on which the western half of the city is built, is tolerably level from north to south; that the eastern hill is more than a hundred feet lower; and that from the latter the descent to the floor of the valley at its feet—the *Bir-ayub*—is a drop of nearly 450 feet.

The Mount of Olives overtops even the highest part of the city by rather more than 100 feet, and the Temple-hill by no less than 300. Its northern and southern outliers—the Viri Galilaei, Scopus, and Mount of Offence—bend round slightly towards the city, and give the effect of “standing round about Jerusalem.” Especially would this be the case to a worshipper in the Temple. “It is true,” says Professor Stanley, “that this image is not realised, as most persons familiar with European scenery would wish, and expect it to be realised. . . . Any one facing Jerusalem westward, northward, or southward will always see the city itself on an elevation higher than the hills in its immediate neighbourhood, its towers and walls standing out against the sky, and not against any high background, such as that which incloses the mountain towns and villages of our own Cumbrian or Westmoreland valleys. Nor again is the plain on which it stands inclosed by a continuous, though distant, circle of mountains like Athens or Innspruck. The mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem are of unequal height, and only in two or three instances—*Nebv-Samwil*, *Er-Ram*, and *Tuleil el-Ful*—rising to any considerable elevation. Still they act as a shelter; they must be surmounted before the traveller can see, or the invader attack, the Holy City; and the distant line of Meab would always seem to rise as a wall against invaders from the remote east. It is these mountains, expressly including those beyond the Jordan, which are mentioned as “standing round about Jerusalem” in another and more terrible sense, when, on the night of the assault of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, they “echoed back” the screams of the inhabitants of the captured city, and the victorious shouts of the soldiers of Titus. The situation of Jerusalem was thus not unlike, on a small scale, to that of Rome, saving the great difference that Rome was in a well-watered plain, leading direct to the sea, whereas Jerusalem was on a bare table-land, in the heart of the country. But each was situated on its own cluster of steep hills; each had room for future expansion in the surrounding level; each, too, had its nearer and its more remote barriers of protecting hills—Rome its Janiculum hard by, and its Apennine and Alban mountains in the distance; Jerusalem its Olivet hard by, and on the outposts of its plain, Mizpeh, Gibeon, and Ramah, and the ridge which divides it from Bethlehem (*S. & P.* 174, 5).

**Roads.**—There appear to have been but two main approaches to the city. 1. From the Jordan valley by Jericho and the Mount of Olives. This was the route commonly taken from the north and east of the country—as from Galilee by our Lord (Luke xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xix. 1, 29, 45, &c.), from Damascus by Pompey (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, §4;

4, §1), to Mahanaim by David (2 Sam. xv. xvi.). It was also the route from places in the central districts of the country, as Samaria (2 Chr. xxviii. 15). The latter part of the approach, over the Mount of Olives, as generally followed at the present day, is identical with what it was, at least in one memorable instance, in the time of Christ. A path there is over the crown of the hill, but the common route still runs more to the south, round the shoulder of the principal summit (see *S. & P.* 193). In the later times of Jerusalem this road crossed the valley of the Kedron by a bridge or viaduct on a double series of arches, and entered the Temple by the gate Susan. (See the quotations from the Talmud in Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 265; and Barclay, 102, 282.) The insecure state of the Jordan valley has thrown this route very much into disuse, and has diverted the traffic from the north to a road along the central ridge of the country. 2. From the great maritime plain of Philistia and Sharon. This road led by the two Bethhorus up to the high ground at Gibeon, whence it turned south, and came to Jerusalem by Ramah and Gibeon, and over the ridge north of the city. This is still the route by which the heavy traffic is carried, though a shorter but more precipitous road is usually taken by travellers between Jerusalem and Jaffa. In tracing the annals we shall find that it was the route by which large bodies, such as armies, always approached the city, whether from Gaza on the south, or from Caesarea and Ptolemais on the north. 3. The communication with the mountainous districts of the south is less distinct. Even Hebron, after the establishment of the monarchy at Jerusalem, was hardly of importance enough to maintain any considerable amount of communication, and only in the wars of the Maccabees do we hear of any military operations in that region.

The roads out of Jerusalem were a special subject of Solomon's care. He paved them with black stone—probably the basalt of the Transjordanic districts (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, §4).

**Gates.**—The situation of the various gates of the city is examined in Section III. It may, however, be desirable to supply here a complete list of those which are named in the Bible and Josephus, with the references to their occurrences:—

1. Gate of Ephraim. 2 Chr. xxv. 23; Neh. viii. 16, xii. 39. This is probably the same as the
2. Gate of Benjamin. Jer. xx. 2, xxxvii. 13; Zech. xiv. 10. If so, it was 400 cubits distant from the
3. Corner gate. 2 Chr. xxv. 23, xxvi. 9; Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10.
4. Gate of Joshua, governor of the city. 2 K. xxiii. 8.
5. Gate between the two walls. 2 K. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4.
6. Horse gate. Neh. iii. 38; 2 Chr. xxiii. 15; Jer. xxxi. 40.
7. Ravine gate (*i. e.* opening on ravine of Hinnom). 2 Chr. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13.
8. Fish gate. 1 Chr. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 1, Zeph. i. 16.
9. Dung gate. Neh. ii. 13, iii. 13.
10. Sheep gate. Neh. iii. 1, 32, xii. 39.
11. East gate. Neh. iii. 29.
12. Miphkad. Neh. iii. 31.
13. Fountain gate (Siloam?). Neh. xii. 37.
14. Water gate. Neh. xii. 37.
15. Old gate. Neh. xii. 39.
16. Prison gate. Neh. xii. 39.

17. Gate Harsith (perhaps the Sun; A. V. East gate). Jer. xix. 2.

18. First gate. Zech. xiv. 10.

19. Gate Gennath (gardens). Joseph. *B. J. v.* 4, §4.

20. Essences' gate. Jos. *B. J. 4*, §2.

To these should be added the following gates of the Temple:—

Gate Sur. 2 K. xi. 6. Called also

Gate of foundation. 2 Chr. xxiii. 5.

Gate of the guard, or behind the guard. 2 K. xi. 6, 19. Called the

High gate. 2 Chr. xxiii. 20, xxvii. 3; 2 K. xv. 35.

Gate Shallecheth. 1 Chr. xxvi. 16.

*Burial-grounds.*—The main cemetery of the city seems from an early date to have been where it is still—on the steep slopes of the valley of the Kidron. Here it was that the fragments of the idol abominations, destroyed by Josiah, were cast on the "graves of the children of the people" (2 K. xxiii. 6), and the valley was always the receptacle for impurities of all kinds. There Maachah's idol was burnt by Asa (1 K. xv. 13); there, according to Josephus, Athaliah was executed; and there the "filthiness" accumulated in the sanctuary, by the false-worship of Ahaz, was discharged (2 Chr. xxix. 5, 16). But in addition to this, and, although there is only a slight allusion in the Bible to the fact (Jer. vii. 32), many of the tombs now existing in the face of the ravine of Hinnom, on the south of the city, must be as old as Biblical times—and if so, show that this was also used as a cemetery. The monument of Ananus the high-priest (Joseph. *B. J. v.* 12, §3) would seem to have been in this direction.

The tombs of the kings were in the city of David, that is, Mount Zion, which, as will be shown in the concluding section of this article, was an eminence on the northern part of Mount Moriah. The royal sepulchres were probably chambers containing separate recesses for the successive kings. [TOMBS.] Of some of the kings it is recorded that, not being thought worthy of a resting-place there, they were buried in separate or private tombs in Mount Zion (2 Chr. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25; 2 K. xv. 7). Ahaz was not admitted to Zion at all, but was buried in Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). Other spots also were used for burial. Somewhere to the north of the Temple, and not far from the wall, was the monument of king Alexander (Jos. *B. J. v.* 7, §3). Near the north-west corner of the city was the monument of John the high-priest (Jos. v. 6, §2, &c.), and to the north-east the "monument of the Fuller" (Jos. *B. J. v.* 4, §2). On the north, too, were the monuments of Herod (v. 3, §2) and of queen Helena (v. 2, §2, 3, §3), the former close to the "Serpent's Pool."

*Wood; Gardens.*—We have very little evidence as to the amount of wood and of cultivation that existed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The king's gardens of David and Solomon seem to have been in the bottom formed by the confluence of the Kedron and Hinnom (Neh. iii. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14, §4, ix. 10, §4). The Mount of Olives, as its name and those of various places upon it seem to imply, was a fruitful spot. At its foot was situated the Garden of Gethsemane. At the time of the final siege the space north of the wall of Agrippa was covered with gardens, groves, and plantations of fruit-trees, inclosed by hedges and walls; and to level these was one of Titus's first operations (*B. J. v.* 3, §2). We know that the gate Gennath (i.e. "of gardens") opened on this

side of the city (*B. J. v.* 4, §2). The valley of Hinnom was in Jerome's time "a pleasant and woolly spot, full of delightful gardens watered from the fountain of Siloah" (*Comm. in Jer.* vii. 30). In the Talmud mention is made of a certain rose-garden outside the city, which was of great fame, but no clue is given to its situation (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 266). [GARDENS.] The sieges of Jerusalem were too frequent during its later history to admit of any considerable growth of wood near it, even if the thin soil, which covers the rocky substratum, would allow of it. And the scarcity of earth again necessitated the cutting down of all the trees that could be found for the banks and mounds, with which the ancient sieges were conducted. This is expressly said in the accounts of the sieges of Pompey and Titus. In the latter case the country was swept of its timber for a distance of eight or nine miles from the city (*B. J. vi.* 8, §1, &c.).

*Water.*—How the gardens just mentioned on the north of the city were watered it is difficult to understand, since at present no water exists in that direction. At the time of the siege (Jos. *B. J. v.* 3, §2) there was a reservoir in that neighbourhood called the Serpent's Pool; but it has not been discovered in modern times. The subject of the waters is more particularly discussed in the third section, and reasons are shown for believing that at one time a very copious source existed somewhere north of the town, the outflow of which was stopped—possibly by Hezekiah, and the water led underground to reservoirs in the city and below the Temple. From these reservoirs the overflow escaped to the so called Fount of the Virgin, and thence to Siloam, and possibly to the *Bir-ayub*, or "Well of Nehemiah." This source would seem to have been, and to be still the only spring in the city—but it was always provided with private and public cisterns. Some of the latter still remain. Outside the walls the two on the west side (*Birket Mamilla*, and *Birket es-Sultân*), generally known as the upper and lower reservoirs of Gihon, the small "pool of Siloam," with the larger *B. el-Hamma* close adjoining, and the *B. Hammam Sitti Maryam*, close to the St. Stephen's Gate. Inside are the so-called Pool of Hezekiah (*B. el-Batrah*), near the Jaffa gate, which receives the surplus water of the *Birket Mamilla*; and the *B. Israil* on the opposite side of the city, close to the St. Stephen's Gate, commonly known as the Pool of Bethesda. These two reservoirs are probably the Pools of Amygdalon and Struthius of Josephus, respectively. Dr. Barclay has discovered another reservoir below the *Mekaneh* in the low part of the city—the Tyropoeon valley—west of the *Haram*, supplied by the aqueduct from Bethlehem and "Solomon's Pools." It is impossible within the limits of the present article to enter more at length into the subject of the waters. The reader is referred to the chapters on the subject in Barclay's *City of the Great King*, (x. and xviii.) and Williams's *Holy City*; also to the articles KIDRON; SILOAM; POOL.

*Streets, Houses, &c.*—Of the nature of these in the ancient city we have only the most scattered notices. The "East street" (2 Chr. xxix. 4); the "street of the city"—i.e. the city of David (xxvii. 6); the "street facing the water gate" (Neh. viii. 1, 3)—or, according to the parallel account in 1 Eadr. ix. 38, the "broad place (*εὐρυχωρὰ*) of the Temple towards the East;" the street of the house of God (Ezr. x. 9); the street of the gate of Ephraim" (Neh. viii. 16);

and the "open place of the first gate towards the East" must have been not "streets" in our sense of the word, so much as the open spaces found in eastern towns round the inside of the gates. This is evident, not only from the word used, *Rechob*, which has the force of breadth or room, but also from the nature of the occurrences related in each case. The same places are intended in Zech. viii.

Streets, properly so called (*Chutzoth*), there were (Jer. v. 1; xi. 13, &c.), but the name of only one, "the bakers' street" (Jer. xxxvii. 21), is preserved to us. This is conjectured, from the names, to have been near the tower of ovens (Neh. xii. 38; "furnaces" is incorrect). A notice of streets of this kind in the 3rd century B.C. is preserved by Aristæus (see p. 999a). At the time of the destruction by Titus the low part of the city was filled with narrow lanes, containing the bazaars of the town, and when the breach was made in the second wall it was at the spot where the cloth, brass, and wool bazaars abutted on the wall.

To the houses we have even less clue, but there is no reason to suppose that in either houses or streets the ancient Jerusalem differed very materially from the modern. No doubt the ancient city did not exhibit that air of mouldering dilapidation which is now so prominent there—that sooty look which gives its houses the appearance of "having been burnt down many centuries ago" (Richardson, in *S. & P.* 183), and which, as it is characteristic of so many Eastern towns, must be ascribed to Turkish neglect. In another respect too the modern city must present a different aspect from the ancient—the dull monotony of colour which, at least during a part of the year,<sup>p</sup> pervades the slopes of the hills and ravines outside the walls. Not only is this the case on the west, where the city does not relieve the view, but also on the south. A dull leaden ashy hue overspreads all. No doubt this is due, wholly or in part, to the enormous quantities of *débris* of stone and mortar which have been shot over the precipices after the numerous demolitions of the city. The whole of the slopes south of the Haram area (the ancient Ophel), and the modern Zion, and the west side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, especially near the St. Stephen's gate, are covered with these *débris*, lying as soft and loose as the day they were poured over, and presenting the appearance of gigantic mounds of rubbish.

In this point at least the ancient city stood in favourable contrast with the modern, but in many others the resemblance must have been strong. The nature of the site compels the walls in many places to retain their old positions. The southern part of the summit of the Upper city and the slopes of Ophel are now bare, where previous to the final siege they were covered with houses, and the North wall has retired very much south of where it then stood; but, on the other hand, the West and East, and the western corner of the North, wall, are what they always were. And the look of the walls and gates, especially the Jaffa-gate, with the "Citadel" adjoining, and the Damascus-gate, is probably hardly changed from what it was. True, the minarets, domes, and spires, which give such a variety to the modern town, must have been absent; but their place was supplied by the four great towers at the north-west part of the wall; by the upper stories

and turrets of Herod's palace, the palace of the Asmoneans, and the other public buildings; while the lofty fortress of Antonia, towering far above every building within the city,<sup>q</sup> and itself surmounted by the keep on its south-east corner, must have formed a feature in the view not altogether unlike (though more prominent than) the "citadel" of the modern town. The flat roofs and the absence of windows, which give an Eastern city so startling an appearance to a Western traveller, must have existed then as now.

But the greatest resemblance must have been on the south-east side, towards the Mount of Olives. Though there can be no doubt (see below, Section III. p. 1019, 20) that the enclosure is now much larger than it was, yet the precinct of the *Haram es Sherif*, with its domes and sacred buildings, some of them clinging to the very spot formerly occupied by the Temple, must preserve what we may call the personal identity of this quarter of the city, but little changed in its general features from what it was when the Temple stood there. Nay, more: in the substructions of the enclosure, those massive and venerable walls, which once to see is never to forget, is the very masonry itself, its lower courses undisturbed, which was laid there by Herod the Great, and by Agrippa, possibly even by still older builders.

*Enviroms of the City.*—The various spots in the neighbourhood of the city will be described at length under their own names, and to them the reader is accordingly referred. See EN-ROGEL; HINNOM; KEDRON; OLIVES, MOUNT OF, &c. &c.

## II. THE ANNALS OF THE CITY.

In considering the annals of the city of Jerusalem, nothing strikes one so forcibly as the number and severity of the sieges which it underwent. We catch our earliest glimpse of it in the brief notice of the 1st chapter of Judges, which describes how the "children of Judah smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire;" and almost the latest mention of it in the New Testament is contained in the solemn warnings in which Christ foretold how Jerusalem should be "compassed with armies" (Luke xxi. 20), and the abomination of desolation be seen standing in the Holy Place (Matt. xxiv. 15). In the fifteen centuries which elapsed between those two points the city was besieged no fewer than seventeen times; twice it was razed to the ground; and on two other occasions its walls were levelled. In this respect it stands without a parallel in any city ancient or modern. The fact is one of great significance. The number of the sieges testifies to the importance of the town as a key to the whole country, and as the depositary of the accumulated treasures of the Temple, no less forcibly than do the severity of the contests and their protracted length to the difficulties of the position, and the obstinate enthusiasm of the Jewish people. At the same time the details of these operations, scanty as they are, throw considerable light on the difficult topography of the place; and on the whole they are in every way so characteristic, that it has seemed not unfit to use them as far as possible as a frame-work for the following rapid sketch of the history of the city.

The first siege appears to have taken place almost immediately after the death of Joshua (cir.

<sup>p</sup> The writer was there in September, and the aspect above described left an ineffaceable impression on him.

<sup>q</sup> "Conspicuo fastigio turris Antonia" (Tac. *Hist.* v. 11).

1400 B.C.). Judah and Simeon had been ordered by the divine oracle at Shiloh or Shechem to commence the task of actual possession of the portions distributed by Joshua. As they traversed the region south of these they encountered a large force of Canaanites at Bezek. These they dispersed, took prisoner Adoni-bezek, a ferocious petty chieftain, who was the terror of the country, and swept on their southward road. Jerusalem was soon reached.<sup>1</sup> It was evidently too important, and also too near the actual limits of Judah, to be passed by. "They fought against it and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire" (Judg. i. 8). To this brief notice Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, §2) makes a material addition. He tells us that the siege lasted some time (*ὀν χρόνον*); that the part which was taken at last, and in which the slaughter was made, was the lower city; but that the upper city was so strong, "by reason of its walls and also of the nature of the place," that they relinquished the attempt and moved off to Hebron (*Ant.* v. 2, §23). These few valuable words of the old Jewish historian reveal one of those topographical peculiarities of the place—the possession of an upper as well as a lower city—which differentiated it so remarkably from the other towns of Palestine—which enabled it to survive so many sieges and partial destructions, and which in the former section we have endeavoured to explain. It is not to be wondered at that these characteristics, which must have been impressed with peculiar force on the mind of Josephus during the destruction of Jerusalem, of which he had only lately been a witness, should have recurred to him when writing the account of the earlier sieges.<sup>2</sup>

As long as the upper city remained in the hands of the Jebusites they practically had possession of the whole—and a Jebusite city in fact it remained for a long period after this. The Benjamites followed the men of Judah to Jerusalem, but with no better result—"They could not drive out the Jebusites, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day" (Judg. i. 21). At the time of the sad story of the Levite (Judg. xix.)—which the mention of P'inchus (xx. 28) fixes as early in the period of the Judges—

Benjamin can hardly have had even so much footing as the passage just quoted would indicate; for the Levite refuses to enter it, not because it was hostile, but because it was "the city of a stranger, and not of Israel." And this lasted during the whole period of the Judges, the reign of Saul, and the reign of David at Hebron.<sup>3</sup> Owing to several circumstances—the residence of the Ark at Shiloh—Saul's connexion with Gibeah, and David's with Ziklag and Hebron—the disunion of Benjamin and Judah, symbolised by Saul's persecution of David—the tide of affairs was drawn northwards and southwards, and Jerusalem, with the places adjacent, was left in possession of the Jebusites. But as soon as a man was found to assume the rule over all Israel both north and south, so soon was it necessary that the seat of government should be moved from the remote Hebron nearer to the centre of the country, and the choice of David at once fell on the city of the Jebusites.

David advanced to the siege at the head of the men-of-war of all the tribes who had come to Hebron "to turn the kingdom of Saul to him." They are stated as 280,000 men, choice warriors of the flower of Israel (1 Chr. xii. 23-39). No doubt they approached the city from the south. The ravine of the Kedron, the valley of Hinnom, the hills south and south-east of the town, the uplands on the west must have swarmed with these hardy warriors. As before, the lower city was immediately taken—and as before, the citadel held out (Josh. *Ant.* vii. 3, §1). The undaunted Jebusites, believing in the impregnability of their fortress, manned the battlements "with lame and blind."<sup>4</sup> But they little understood the temper of the king or of those he commanded. David's anger was thoroughly roused by the insult (*ὀργισθεῖς*, Joseph.), and he at once proclaimed to his host that the first man who would scale the rocky side of the fortress and kill a Jebusite should be made chief captain of the host. A crowd of warriors (*πάντες*, Joseph.) rushed forward to the attempt, but Joab's superior agility gained him the day, and the citadel, the fastness of Zion, was taken (cir. 1046 B.C.). It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history.

<sup>1</sup> According to Josephus, they did not attack Jerusalem till after they had taken many other towns—*πλείστον τε λαβόντες, ἐπολιόρκουν* I.

<sup>2</sup> See this noticed and contrasted with the situation of the villages in other parts by Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* 161, 377, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> About half way through the period of the Judges—i. e. cir. B.C. 1320—occurred an invasion of the territory of the Hittites (Khatti) by Sethe I. king of Egypt, and the capture of the capital city, Ketesh, in the land of Amar. This would not have been noticed here, had not Ketesh been by some writers identified with Jerusalem (Osborn, *Egypt, her Testimony*, &c.; also Williams in *Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 23, 4). The grounds of the identification are (1) the apparent affinity of the name (which they read Chadaash) with the Greek *Κάδυσ*, the modern Arabic *el-Kuda*, and the Syriac *Kadatha*; (2) the affinity of Amar with Amorites; (3) a likeness between the form and situation of the city, as shown in a rude sketch in the Egyptian records, and that of Jerusalem. But on closer examination these correspondences vanish. Egyptian scholars are now agreed that Jerusalem is much too far south to suit the requirements of the rest of the campaign, and that Ketesh survives in *Kedes*, a name discovered by Robinson attached to a lake and island on the Orontes between *Bidleh* and

*Hums*, and still showing traces of extensive artificial works. Nor does the agreement between the representation in the records and the site of Jerusalem fare better. For the stream, which was supposed to represent the ravines of Jerusalem—the nearest point of the resemblance—contained at Ketesh water enough to drown several persons (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschrift*, ii. 21, &c.).

<sup>4</sup> The passage which forms the latter clause of 2 Sam. v. 8 is generally taken to mean that the blind and the lame were excluded from the Temple. But where is the proof that this was the fact? On one occasion at least we know that "the blind and the lame" came to Christ in the Temple, and He healed them (Matt. xxi. 14). And indeed what had the Temple, which was not founded till long after this, to do with the matter? The explanation—which is in accordance with the accentuation of the Masorets, and for which the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne—would seem to be that it was a proverb used in future with regard to any impregnable fortress—"The blind and the lame are there; let him enter the place if he can."

<sup>5</sup> A romantic legend is preserved in the *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. xviii. 29, of the stratagem by which Joab succeeded in reaching the top of the wall. (See it quoted in Eisenmenger, i. 476, 7.)

David at once proceeded to secure himself in his new acquisition. He inclosed the whole of the city with a wall, and connected it with the citadel. In the latter he took up his own quarters, and the Zion of the Jebusites became "the city of David."<sup>\*</sup> [ZION; MILLO.] The rest of the town was left to the more immediate care of the new captain of the host.

The sensation caused by the fall of this impregnable fortress must have been enormous. It reached even to the distant Tyre, and before long an embassy arrived from Hiram, the king of Phœnicia, with the characteristic offerings of artificers and materials to erect a palace for David in his new abode. The palace was built, and occupied by the fresh establishment of wives and concubines which David acquired. Two attempts were made—the one by the Philistines alone (2 Sam. v. 17-21; 1 Chr. xiv. 8-12), the other by the Philistines, with all Syria and Phœnicia (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, §1; 2 Sam. v. 22-25) to attack David in his new situation, but they did not affect the city, and the actions were fought in the "Valley of Giants," apparently north of Jerusalem, near Gibeath or Gibeon. The arrival of the Ark, however, was an event of great importance. The old Tabernacle of Bezaleel and Aholiab being now pitched on the height of Gibeon, a new tent had been spread by David in the fortress for the reception of the Ark; and here, "in its place," it was deposited with the most impressive ceremonies; and Zion became at once the great sanctuary of the nation. It now perhaps acquired the name of Beth ha-har, the "house of the mount," of which we catch a glimpse in the LXX. addition to 2 Sam. xv. 24. In this tent the Ark remained, except for its short flight to the foot of the Mount of Olives with David (xv. 24-29), until it was removed to its permanent resting-place in the temple of Solomon.

In the fortress of Zion, too, was the sepulchre of David, which became also that of most of his successors.

The only works of ornament which we can ascribe to David are the "royal gardens," as they are called by Josephus, which appear to have been formed by him in the level space south-east of the city, formed by the confluence of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, screened from the sun during part of the day by the shoulders of the inclosing mountains, and irrigated by the well *Ain Ayub*, which still appears to retain the name of Joab (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14, §4; ix. 10, §4).

Until the time of Solomon we hear of no additions to the city. His three great works were the Temple, with its east wall and cloister (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, §1), his own Palace, and the Wall of Jerusalem. The two former will be best described elsewhere. [PALACE; SOLOMON; TEMPLE.] Of the last there is an interesting notice in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, §1; 6, §1), from which it appears that David's wall was a mere rampart without towers, and only of moderate strength and height. One of the first acts of the new king was to make the walls larger—probably extend them round some outlying parts of the city—and strengthen them (1 K. iii. 1, with the explanation of Josephus, viii. 2, §1). But on the completion

of the Temple he again turned his attention to the walls, and both increased their height, and constructed very large towers along them (ix. 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, §1). Another work of his in Jerusalem was the repair or fortification of Millo, whatever that strange term may signify (1 K. ix. 15, 24). It was in the works at Millo and the city of David—it is uncertain whether the latter consisted of stopping breaches (as in A. V.) or filling a ditch round the fortress (the Vulg. and others)—that Jeroboam first came under the notice of Solomon (1 K. xi. 27). Another was a palace for his Egyptian queen—of the situation of which all we know is that it was not in the city of David (1 K. vii. 8, ix. 24, with the addition in 2 Chr. viii. 11). But there must have been much besides these to fill up the measure of "all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem" (2 Chr. viii. 6)—the vast Harem for his 700 wives and 300 concubines, and their establishment—the colleges for the priests of the various religions of these women—the stables for the 1400 chariots and 12,000 riding horses. Outside the city, probably on the Mount of Olives, there remained, down to the latest times of the monarchy (2 K. xxiii. 13), the fane which he had erected for the worship of foreign gods (1 K. xi. 7), and which have still left their name clinging to the "Mount of Offence."

His care of the roads leading to the city is the subject of a special panegyric from Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, §4). They were, as before observed, paved with black stone, probably the hard basalt from the region of Argob, on the east of Jordan, where he had a special resident officer.

As long as Solomon lived, the visits of foreign powers to Jerusalem were those of courtesy and amity; but with his death this was changed. A city, in the palaces of which all the vessels were of pure gold, where spices, precious stones, rare woods, curious animals were accumulated in the greatest profusion; where silver was no more valued than the stones of the street, and considered too mean a material for the commonest of the royal purposes—such a city, governed by such a *faubaint* prince as Rehoboam, was too tempting a prey for the surrounding kings. He had only been on the throne four years (c. 970 B.C.) before Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judah with an enormous host, took the fortified places and advanced to the capital. Jerusalem was crowded with the chief men of the realm who had taken refuge there (2 Chr. xii. 5), but Rehoboam did not attempt resistance. He opened his gates apparently on a promise from Shishak that he would not pillage (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 10, §3). However the promise was not kept, the treasures of the Temple and palace were carried off, and special mention is made of the golden bucklers (שָׁלִשִׁים), which were hung

by Solomon in the house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. xiv. 25; 2 Chr. xii. 9; comp. 1 K. x. 17).<sup>†</sup>

Jerusalem was again threatened in the reign of Asa (grandson of Rehoboam), when Zerah the Cushite, or king of Ethiopia (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, §1), probably incited by the success of Shishak, invaded the country with an enormous horde of fol-

<sup>\*</sup> In the N. T. "the city of David" means Beth-lehem.

<sup>†</sup> According to Josephus he also carried off the arms which David had taken from the king of Zobah;

but these were afterwards in the Temple, and did service at the proclamation of king Joash. [AKMS, Shelet, p. 112 a.]

lowers (2 Chr. xiv. 9). He came by the road through the low country of Philistia, where his chariots could find level ground. But Asa was more faithful and more valiant than Rehoboam had been. He did not remain to be blockaded in Jerusalem, but went forth and met the enemy at Mareshah, and repulsed him with great slaughter (cir. 940). The consequence of this victory was a great reformation extending throughout the kingdom, but most demonstrative at Jerusalem. A vast assembly of the men of Judah and Benjamin, of Simeon, even of Ephraim and Manasseh — now “strangers” (אֲרָמִי) — was

gathered at Jerusalem. Enormous sacrifices were offered; a prodigious enthusiasm seized the crowded city, and amidst the clamour of trumpets and shouting, oaths of loyalty to Jehovah were exchanged, and threats of instant death denounced on all who should forsake His service. The altar of Jehovah in front of the porch of the Temple, which had fallen into decay, was rebuilt; the horrid idol of the queen-mother — the mysterious Asherah, doubtless an abomination of the Syrian worship of her grandmother — was torn down, ground to powder, and burnt in the ravine of the Kedron. At the same time the vessels of the Temple, which had been plundered by Shishak, were replaced from the spoil taken by Abijah from Ephraim, and by Asa himself from the Cushites (2 Chr. xv. 8-19; 1 K. xv. 12-15). This prosperity lasted for more than ten years, but at the end of that interval the Temple was once more despoiled, and the treasures so lately dedicated to Jehovah were sent by Asa, who had himself dedicated them, as bribes to Benhadad at Damascus, where they probably enriched the temple of Rimmon (2 Chr. xvi. 2, 3; 1 K. xv. 18). Asa was buried in a tomb excavated by himself in the royal sepulchres in the citadel.

The reign of his son Jehoshaphat, though of great prosperity and splendour, is not remarkable as regards the city of Jerusalem. We hear of a “new court” to the Temple, but have no clue to its situation or its builder (2 Chr. xx. 5). An important addition to the government of the city was made by Jehoshaphat in the establishment of courts for the decision of causes both ecclesiastical and civil (2 Chr. xix. 8-11).

Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram was a prince of a different temper. He began his reign (cir. 887) by a massacre of his brethren and of the chief men of the kingdom. Instigated no doubt by his wife Athaliah, he reintroduced the prodigiously licentious worship of Ashtaroth and the high places (2 Chr. xxi. 11), and built a temple for Baal (2 Chr. xxiii. 17; comp. Jos. *Ant.* ix. 7, §4). Though a man of great vigour and courage he was overcome by an invasion of one of those huge hordes which were now almost periodical. The Philistines and Arabians attacked Jerusalem, broke into the palace, spoiled it of all its treasures, sacked the royal harem, killed or carried off the king's wives, and all his sons but one. This was the fourth siege. Two years

after it the king died, universally detested, and so strong was the feeling against him that he was denied a resting-place in the sepulchres of the kings, but was buried without ceremony in a private tomb on Zion (2 Chr. xxi. 20).

The next events in Jerusalem were the massacre of the royal children by Joram's widow Athaliah, and the six years' reign of that queen. During her sway the worship of Baal was prevalent and that of Jehovah proportionately depressed. The Temple was not only suffered to go without repair, but was even mutilated by the sons of Athaliah, and its treasures removed to the temple of Baal (2 Chr. xxiv. 7). But with the increasing years of Josiah, the spirit of the adherents of Jehovah returned, and the confederacy of Jehoiada the priest with the chief men of Judah resulted in the restoration of the true line. The king was crowned and proclaimed in the Temple. Athaliah herself was hurried out to execution from the sacred precincts into the valley of the Kedron (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 7, §3) between the Temple and Olivet, through the horse gate.\* The temple of Baal was demolished; his altars and images destroyed, his priests put to death, and the religion of Jehovah was once more the national religion. But the restoration of the Temple advanced but slowly, and it was not till three and twenty years had elapsed, that through the personal interference of the king the ravages of the Baal worshippers were repaired (2 K. xii. 6-16), and the necessary vessels and utensils furnished for the service of the Temple (2 Chr. xxiv. 14. But see 2 K. xii. 13; Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8, §2). But this zeal for Jehovah soon expired. The solemn ceremonial of the burial of the good priest in the royal tombs, among the kings, can hardly have been forgotten before a general relapse into idolatry took place, and his son Zechariah was stoned with his family\* in the very court of the Temple for protesting.

The retribution invoked by the dying martyr quickly followed. Before the end of the year (cir. 838), Hazael king of Syria, after possessing himself of Gath, marched against the much richer prize of Jerusalem. The visit was averted by a timely offering of treasure from the Temple and the royal palace (2 K. xii. 18; 2 Chr. xxiv. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 8, §4), but not before an action had been fought, in which a large army of the Israelites was routed by a very inferior force of Syrians, with the loss of a great number of the principal people and of a vast booty. Nor was this all. These reverses so distressed the king as to bring on a dangerous illness, in the midst of which he was assassinated by two of his own servants, sons of two of the foreign women who were common in the royal harems. He was buried on Mount Zion, though, like Jehoram, denied a resting place in the royal tombs (2 Chr. xxiv. 25). The predicted danger to the city was however only postponed. Amaziah began his reign (B.C. 837) with a promise of good; his first act showed that while he knew how to avenge the murder of his father, he could also restrain his wrath within the bounds prescribed by

\* The horse-gate is mentioned again in connexion with Kidron by Jeremiah (xxi. 40). Possibly the name was perpetuated in the gate Susan (*Sus* = horse) of the second Temple, the only gate on the east side of the outer wall (Lightfoot, *Prosp. of Temple*, iii.).

\* From the expression in xxiv. 25, “sons of Jehoiada,” we are perhaps warranted in believing that Zechariah's brethren or his sons were put to death with him. The LXX. and Vulg. have the word in

the singular number, “son;” but, on the other hand, the Syr. and Arabic and the Targum all agree with the Hebrew text, and it is specially mentioned in Jerome's *Qu. Hebr.* It is perhaps supported by the special notice taken of the exception made by Amaziah in the case of the murderers of his father (2 K. xiv. 6; 2 Chr. xxv. 4). The case of Naboth is a parallel. [See ELIJAH, p. 529 a.]

the law of Jehovah. But with success came deterioration. He returned from his victories over the Edomites, and the massacre at Petra, with fresh idols to add to those which already defiled Jerusalem—the images of the children of Seir, or of the Amalekites (Josephus), which were erected and worshipped by the king. His next act was a challenge to Joash the king of Israel, and now the danger so narrowly escaped from Hazael was actually encountered. The battle took place at Bethshemesh of Judah, at the opening of the hills, about 12 miles west of Jerusalem. It ended in a total rout. Amaziah, forsaken by his people, was taken prisoner by Joash, who at once proceeded to Jerusalem and threatened to put his captive to death before the walls, if he and his army were not admitted. The gates were thrown open, the treasures of the Temple—still in the charge of the same family to whom they had been committed by David—and the king's private treasures, were pillored, and for the first time the walls of the city were injured. A clear breach was made in them of 400 cubits in length "from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate," and through this Joash drove in triumph, with his captive in the chariot, into the city.<sup>5</sup> This must have been on the north side, and probably at the present north-west corner of the walls. If so, it is the first recorded attempt at that spot, afterwards the favourite point for the attack of the upper city.

The long reign of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 1-7; 2 Chr. xxvi.) brought about a material improvement in the fortunes of Jerusalem. He was a wise and good prince (Joseph. ix. 10, §3), very warlike, and a great builder. After some campaigns against foreign enemies, he devoted himself to the care of Jerusalem for the whole of his life (Joseph.). The walls were thoroughly repaired, the portion broken down by Joash was rebuilt and fortified with towers at the corner gate; and other parts which had been allowed to go to ruin—as the gate opening on the Valley of Hinnom,<sup>4</sup> a spot called the "turning" (see Neh. iii. 19, 20, 24), and others, were renewed and fortified, and furnished for the first time with machines, then expressly invented for shooting stones and arrows against besiegers. Later in this reign happened the great earthquake, which, although unmentioned in the historical books of the Bible, is described by Josephus (ix. 10, §4), and alluded to by the Prophets as a kind of era (see Stanley, *S. & P.* 184, 125).<sup>1</sup> A serious breach was made in the Temple itself, and below the city a large fragment was detached from the hill\* at En-rogel, and rolling down the slope, overwhelmed the king's gardens at the junction of the Valleys of Hinnom and Kedron, and rested against the bottom of the slope of Olivet. After the leprosy of Uzziah, he left the sacred precincts, in which the palace would therefore seem to have been situated, and resided in the hospital or leazar-house till his death.<sup>2</sup> He was buried on Zion, with the kings (2 K. xv. 7); not

<sup>1</sup> This is an addition by Josephus (ix. 9, §9). If it really happened, the chariot must have been sent round by a flatter road than that which at present would be the direct road from *Ain-Shems*. Since the time of Solomon, chariots would seem to have become unknown in Jerusalem. At any rate we should infer, from the notice in 2 K. xiv. 20, that the royal establishment could not at that time boast of one.

<sup>2</sup> The story of his leprosy at any rate shows his zeal for Jehovah.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chr. xxvi. 18. The word rendered "the valley"

in the sepulchre itself, but in a garden or field attached to the spot.

Jotham (cir. 756) inherited his father's sagacity, as well as his tastes for architecture and warfare. His works in Jerusalem were building the upper gateway to the Temple—apparently a gate communicating with the palace (2 Chr. xxiii. 20)—and also porticoes leading to the same (*Ant.* ix. 11, §2). He also built much on Ophel—probably on the south of Moriah (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Chr. xxvii. 3), repaired the walls wherever they were dilapidated, and strengthened them by very large and strong towers (Jos.). Before the death of Jotham (B.C. 740) the clouds of the Syrian invasion began to gather. They broke on the head of Ahaz his successor; Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel joined their armies and invested Jerusalem (2 K. xvi. 5). The fortifications of the two previous kings enabled the city to hold out during a siege of great length (*ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον*, Jos.). During its progress Rezin made an expedition against the distant town of Elath on the Red Sea, from which he expelled the Jews, and handed it over to the Edomites (2 K. xvi. 6; *Ant.* ix. 12, §1). [*AHAZ.*] Finding on his return that the place still held out, Rezin ravaged Judaea and returned to Damascus with a multitude of captives, leaving Pekah to continue the blockade.

Ahaz, thinking himself a match for the Israelite army, opened his gates and came forth. A tremendous conflict ensued, in which the three chiefs of the government next to the king, and a hundred and twenty thousand of the able warriors of the army of Judah, are stated to have been killed, and Pekah returned to Samaria with a crowd of captives, and a great quantity of spoil collected from the Benjamite towns north of Jerusalem (Joseph.). Ahaz himself escaped, and there is no mention in any of the records, of the city having been plundered. The captives and the spoil were however sent back by the people of Samaria—a fact which, as it has no bearing on the history of the city, need here only be referred to, because from the narrative we learn that the nearest or most convenient route from Samaria to Jerusalem at that time was, not, as now, along the plateau of the country, but by the depths of the Jordan valley, and through Jericho (2 K. xvi. 5; 2 Chr. xxviii. 5-15; Jos. *Ant.* ix. 12, §2).

To oppose the confederacy, which had so injured him, Ahaz had recourse to Assyria. He appears first to have sent an embassy to Tiglath Pileser with presents of silver and gold taken from the treasures of the Temple and the palace (2 K. xvi. 8), which had been recruited during the last two reigns, and with a promise of more if the king would overrun Syria and Israel (*Ant.* ix. 12, §3). This Tiglath Pileser did. He marched to Damascus, took the city, and killed Rezin. While there, Ahaz visited him, probably to make his formal submission of vassalage,<sup>5</sup> and gave him the further presents. To collect these he went so far as to lay hands on part of the permanent works of the

is *הַיְיָ*, always employed for the valley on the West and South of the town, as *נָחַל* is for that on the East.

<sup>5</sup> This will be the so-called Mount of Evil Counsel, or the hill below Moriah, according as En-rogel is taken to be the "Well of Joab" or the "Fount of the Virgin."

<sup>6</sup> *בֵּית הַחִמְכִּי*. The interpretation given above is that of Kimchi, adopted by Gesenius, Fürst, and Bertheau. Keil (on 2 K. xv. 5) and Hengstenberg, however, contend for a different meaning.

<sup>7</sup> This follows from the words of 2 K. xviii. 7.

Temple—the original constructions of Solomon, which none of his predecessors had been bold enough or needy enough to touch. He cut off the richly chased panels which ornamented the brass bases of the cisterns, dismounted the large tank or “sea” from the brazen bulls, and supported it on a pedestal of stone, and removed the “cover for the sabbath,” and the ornamental stand on which the kings were accustomed to sit in the Temple (2 K. xvi. 17, 18).

Whether the application to Assyria relieved Ahaz from one or both of his enemies, is not clear. From one passage it would seem that Tiglath Pileser actually came to Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxviii. 20). At any rate the intercourse resulted in fresh idolatries, and fresh insults to the Temple. A new brazen altar was made after the profane fashion of one he had seen at Damascus, and was set up in the centre of the court of the Temple, to occupy the place and perform the functions of the original altar of Solomon, now removed to a less prominent position (see 2 K. xvi. 12-15, with the expl. of Keil); the very sanctuary itself (הֵיכָל, and הַמִּזְבֵּחַ) was polluted by idol-worship of some kind or other (2 Chr. xxix. 5, 16). Horses dedicated to the sun, were stabled at the entrance to the court, with their chariots (2 K. xxiii. 11). Altars for sacrifice to the moon and stars were erected on the flat roofs of the Temple (ibid. 12). Such consecrated vessels as remained in the house of Jehovah were taken thence, and either transferred to the service of the idols (2 Chr. xxix. 19) or cut up and re-manufactured; the lamps of the sanctuary were extinguished<sup>h</sup> (xxix. 7), and for the first time the doors of the Temple were closed to the worshippers (xxviii. 24), and their offerings seized for the idols (Jos. Ant. ix. 12, §3). The famous sun-dial was erected at this time, probably in the Temple.<sup>i</sup> When Ahaz at last died, it is not wonderful that a meaner fate was awarded him than that of even the leprous Uzziah. He was excluded not only from the royal sepulchres, but from the precincts of Zion, and was buried “in the city—in Jerusalem.”<sup>j</sup> The very first act of Hezekiah (B.C. 724) was to restore what his father had desecrated (2 Chr. xxix. 3; and see 36, “suddenly”). The Levites were collected and inspirited; the Temple freed from its impurities both actual and ceremonial; the accumulated abominations being discharged into the valley of the Kedron. The full musical service of the Temple was re-organised, with the instruments and the hymns ordained by David and Asaph; and after a solemn sin-offering for the late transgressions had been offered in the presence of the king and princes, the public were allowed to testify their acquiescence in the change by bringing their own thank-offerings (2 Chr. xxix. 1-36). This was done on the 17th of the first month of his reign. The re-

gular time for celebrating the Passover was therefore gone by. But there was a law (Num. ix. 10, 11) which allowed the feast to be postponed for a month on special occasions, and of this law Hezekiah took advantage, in his anxiety to obtain from the whole of his people a national testimony to their allegiance to Jehovah and His laws (2 Chr. xxx. 2, 8). Accordingly at the special invitation of the king a vast multitude, not only from his own dominions, but from the northern kingdom, even from the remote Asher and Zebulun, assembled at the capital. Their first act was to uproot and efface all traces of the idolatry of the preceding and former reigns. High-places, altars, the mysterious and obscene symbols of Baal and Asherah, the venerable brazen serpent of Moses itself, were torn down, broken to pieces, and the fragments cast into the valley of the Kedron<sup>k</sup> (2 Chr. xxx. 14; 2 K. xviii. 4). This done, the feast was kept for two weeks, and the vast concourse dispersed. The permanent service of the Temple was next thoroughly organised, the subsistence of the officiating ministers arranged, and provision made for storing the supplies (2 Chr. xxxi. 2-21). It was probably at this time that the decorations of the Temple were renewed, and the gold or other precious plating<sup>l</sup> which had been removed by former kings, re-applied to the doors and pillars (2 K. xviii. 16).

And now approached the greatest crisis which had yet occurred in the history of the city: the dreaded Assyrian army was to appear under its walls. Hezekiah had in some way intimated that he did not intend to continue as a dependent—and the great king was now (in the 14th year of Hezekiah, cir. 711 B.C.) on his way to chastise him. The Assyrian army had been for some time in Phenicia and on the sea-coast of Philistia (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 476), and Hezekiah had therefore had warning of his approach. The delay was taken advantage of to prepare for the siege. As before, Hezekiah made the movement a national one. A great concourse came together. The springs round Jerusalem were stopped—that is, their outflow was prevented, and the water diverted underground to the interior of the city (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 4). This was particularly the case with the spring which formed the source of the stream of the Kedron,<sup>m</sup> elsewhere called the “upper springhead of Gihon” (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; A. V. most incorrectly “water-course”). It was led down by a subterraneous channel “through the harl rock” (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; Eccles. xlviii. 17), to the west side of the city of David (2 K. xx. 20), that is, into the valley which separated the Mount Moriah and Zion from the Upper City, and where traces of its presence appear to this day (Barclay, 310, 538). This done, he carefully repaired the walls of the city, furnished them with additional towers, and built a

<sup>h</sup> In the old Jewish Calendar the 18th of Ab was kept as a fast, to commemorate the putting out the western light of the great candlestick by Ahaz.

<sup>i</sup> There is an *a priori* probability that the dial would be placed in a sacred precinct; but may we not infer, from comparing 2 K. xx. 4 with 9, that it was in the “middle court,” and that the sight of it there as he passed through had suggested to Isaiah the “sign” which was to accompany the king’s recovery?

<sup>j</sup> Such is the express statement of 2 Chr. xxviii. 27. The book of Kings repeats its regular formula. Josephus omits all notice of the burial.

<sup>k</sup> And yet it would seem, from the account of Josiah’s reforms (2 K. xxiii. 11, 12), that many of Ahaz’s intrusions survived even the zeal of Hezekiah.

<sup>l</sup> The word “gold” is supplied by our translators: but the word “overlaid” (הִכְסֵּה) shows that some metallic coating is intended.

<sup>m</sup> The authority for this is the use here of the word *Nachal*, which is uniformly applied to the valley east of the city, as *Ge* is to that west and south. There are other grounds which are stated in the concluding section of this article. Similar measures were taken by the Moslems on the approach of the Crusaders (Will. of Tyre, vii. 7, quoted by Robinson, i. 346 *note*).

second wall (2 Chr. xxiii. 5; Is. xii. 10). The water of the reservoir, called the "lower pool," or the "old pool," was diverted to a new tank in the city between the two walls\* (Is. xii. 11). Nor was this all: as the struggle would certainly be one for life and death he strengthened the fortifications of the citadel (2 Chr. xxxii. 5, "Millo;" Is. xxii. 9), and prepared abundance of ammunition. He also organized the people, and officered them, gathered them together in the open place at the gate, and inspired them with confidence in Jehovah (xxxii. 6).

The details of the Assyrian invasion or invasions will be found under the separate heads of SENNACHERIB and HEZEKIAH. It is possible that Jerusalem was once regularly invested by the Assyrian army. It is certain that the army encamped there on another occasion; that the generals—the Tartan, the chief Cup-bearer, and the chief Eunuch—held a conversation with Hezekiah's chief officers outside the walls, most probably at or about the present *Kasr Jalud* at the N. W. corner of the city, while the wall above was crowded with the anxious inhabitants. At the time of Titus's siege the name of "the Assyrian Camp" was still attached to a spot north of the city in remembrance either of this or the subsequent visit of Nebuchadnezzar (Jos. B. J. v. 12, §2). But though untaken—though the citadel was still the "virgin-daughter of Zion"—yet Jerusalem did not escape unharmed. Hezekiah's treasures had to be emptied, and the costly ornaments he had added to the Temple were stripped off to make up the tribute. This, however, he had recovered by the time of the subsequent visit of the ambassadors from Babylon, as we see from the account in 2 K. xx. 12; and 2 Chr. xxxii. 27-29. The death of this good and great king was indeed a national calamity, and so it was considered. He was buried in one of the chief of the royal sepulchres, and a vast concourse from the country, as well as of the citizens of Jerusalem, assembled to join in the wallings at the funeral (2 Chr. xxxii. 33).

The reign of Manasseh (B.C. 696) must have been an eventful one in the annals of Jerusalem, though only meagre indications of its events are to be found in the documents. He began by plunging into all the idoltries of his grandfather—restoring all that Hezekiah had destroyed, and desecrating the Temple and the city with even more offensive idolatries than those of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxxiii. 2-9; 2 K. xxi. 2-9). In this career of wickedness he was stopped by an invasion of the Assyrian army, by whom he was taken prisoner and carried to Babylon, where he remained for some time. The rest of his long reign was occupied in attempting to remedy his former misdoings, and in the repair and conservation of the city (Josh. Ant. x. 3, §2). He built a fresh wall to the citadel, "from the west side of Gihon-in-the-valley to the fish-gate," i. e. apparently along the east side of the central valley, which parts the upper and lower cities from S. to N. He also continued the works which had been begun by Jotham at Ophel, and raised that fortress or struc-

ture to a great height. On his death he was buried in a private tomb in the garden attached to his palace, called also the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20). Here also was interred his son Amon after his violent death, following an uneventful but idolatrous reign of two years (2 Chr. xxxiii. 21-25; 2 K. xxi. 18-26).

The reign of Josiah (B.C. 639) was marked by a more strenuous zeal for Jehovah than even that of Hezekiah had been. He began his reign at eight years of age, and by his 20th year (12th of his reign—2 Chr. xxiv. 3) commenced a thorough removal of the idolatrous abuses of Manasseh and Amon, and even some of Ahaz, which must have escaped the purgations of Hezekiah<sup>2</sup> (2 K. xxviii. 12). As on former occasions these abominations were broken up small and carried down to the bed of the Kidron—which seems to have served almost the purpose of a common sewer, and there calcined and dispersed. The cemetery, which still paves the sides of that valley, had already begun to exist, and the fragments of the broken altars and statues were scattered on the graves that they might be effectually defiled, and thus prevented from further use. On the opposite side of the valley, somewhere on the Mount of Olives, were the erections which Solomon had put up for the deities of his foreign wives. Not one of these was spared; they were all annihilated, and dead bones scattered over the places where they had stood. These things occupied six years, at the expiration of which, in the first month of the 18th year of his reign (2 Chr. xxxv. 1; 2 K. xxiii. 23), a solemn passover was held, emphatically recorded to have been the greatest since the time of Samuel (2 Chr. xxxv. 18). This seems to have been the crowning ceremony of the purification of the Temple; and it was at once followed by a thorough renovation of the fabric (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8; 2 K. xxii. 3). The cost was met by offerings collected at the doors (2 K. xxii. 4), and also throughout the country (Jos. Ant. x. 4, §1), not only of Judah and Benjamin, but also of Ephraim and the other northern tribes (2 Chr. xxxiv. 9). It was during these repairs that the book of the Law was found; and shortly after all the people were convened to Jerusalem to hear it read, and to renew the national covenant with Jehovah.<sup>3</sup> The mention of Huldah the prophetess (2 Chr. xxxiv. 22; 2 K. xxii. 14) introduces us to the lower city under the name of "the Mishneh" (מִשְׁנֶה, A. V. "college," "school," or "second part").<sup>4</sup> The name also survives in the book of Zephaniah, a prophet of this reign (i. 10), who seems to recognize "the fish-gate," and "the lower city," and "the hills," as the three main divisions of the city.

Josiah's death took place at a distance from Jerusalem; but he was brought there for his burial, and was placed in "his own sepulchre" (2 K. xxiii. 30), or "in the sepulchre of his fathers" (2 Chr. xxxv. 24), probably that already tenanted by Manasseh and Amon. (See 1 Esd. i. 31.)

\* The reservoir between the Jaffa gate and the Church of the Sepulchre, now usually called the Pool of Hezekiah, cannot be either of the works alluded to above. If an ancient construction it is probably the Almond Pool of Josephus. (For the reasons, see Williams, *Holy City*, 35-8, 488.)

<sup>2</sup> The narrative in Kings appears to place the destruction of the images after the king's solemn covenant in the Temple, i. e. after the completion of the repairs. But, on the other hand, there are the dates

given in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8, xxxv. 1, 19, which fix the Passover to the 14th of the 1st month of his 18th year, too early in the year for the repair which was begun in the same year to have preceded it.

<sup>3</sup> This narrative has some interesting correspondences with that of Josiah's coronation (2 K. xi.). Amongst these is the singular expression the king stood "on the pillar." In the present case Josephus understands this as an official spot—ἐν τοῦ βήματος.

<sup>4</sup> See Keil on 2 K. xxii. 14.

Josiah's rash opposition to Pharaoh-Necho cost him his life, his son his throne, and Jerusalem much suffering. Before Jehoahaz (B.C. 608) had been reigning three months, the Egyptian king found opportunity to send to Jerusalem,\* from Riblah where he was then encamped, a force sufficient to depose and take him prisoner, to put his brother Eliakim on the throne, and to exact a heavy fine from the city and country, which was paid in advance by the new king, and afterwards extorted by taxation (2 K. xxiii. 33, 35).

The fall of the city was now rapidly approaching. During the reign of Jehoiakim—such was the new name which at Necho's order Eliakim had assumed—Jerusalem was visited by Nebuchadnezzar, with the Babylonian army lately victorious over the Egyptians at Carchemish. The visit was possibly repeated once, or even twice.<sup>1</sup> A siege there must have been; but of this we have no account. We may infer how severe was the pressure on the surrounding country, from the fact that the very Bedouins were driven within the walls by "the fear of the Chaldeans and of the Syrians" (Jer. xxxv. 11). We may also infer that the Temple was entered, since Nebuchadnezzar carried off some of the vessels therefrom for his temple at Babylon (2 Chr. xxxvi. 7), and that Jehoiakim was treated with great indignity (ib. 6). In the latter part of this reign we discern the country harassed and pillaged by marauding bands from the east of Jordan (2 K. xxiv. 2).

Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (B.C. 597). Hardly had his short reign begun before the terrible army of Babylon re-appeared before the city, again commanded by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). Jehoiachin's disposition appears to have made him shrink from inflicting on the city the horrors of a long siege (B. J. vi. 2, §1), and he therefore surrendered in the third month of his reign. The treasures of the palace and Temple were pillaged, certain golden articles of Solomon's original establishment, which had escaped the plunder and desecrations of the previous reigns, were cut up (2 K. xxiv. 13), and the more desirable objects out of the Temple carried off (Jer. xxvii. 19). The first deportation that we hear of from the city now took place. The king, his wives, and the queen mother, with their eunuchs and whole establishment, the princes, 7000 warriors, and 1000 officers—in all 10,000 souls, were carried off to Babylon (ibid. 14-16). The uncle of Jehoiachin was made king in his stead, by the name of Zedekiah, under a solemn oath ("by God") of allegiance (2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; Ezek. xvii. 13, 14, 18). Had he been content to remain quiet under the rule of Babylon, the city might have stood many years longer; but he was not. He appears to have been tempted with the chance of relief afforded by the accession of Pharaoh Hophra, and to have applied to him for assistance (Ezek. xvii. 15). Upon this Nebuchadnezzar

marched in person to Jerusalem, arriving in the ninth year of Zedekiah, on the 10th day of the 10th month<sup>2</sup> (B.C. 588), and at once began a regular siege, at the same time wasting the country far and near (Jer. xxxiv. 7). The siege was conducted by erecting forts on lofty mounds round the city, from which on the usual Assyrian plan,<sup>3</sup> missiles were discharged into the town, and the walls and houses in them battered by rams (Jer. xxxii. 24, xxxiii. 4, lii. 4; Ezek. xxi. 22; Jos. Ant. x. 8, §1). The city was also surrounded with troops (Jer. lii. 7). The siege was once abandoned, owing to the approach of the Egyptian army (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11), and during the interval the gates of the city were re-opened (ibid. 13). But the relief was only temporary, and in the 11th of Zedekiah (B.C. 586), on the 9th day of the 4th month (Jer. lii. 6), being just a year and a half from the first investment, the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar had in the meantime retired from Jerusalem to Riblah to watch the more important siege of Tyre, then in the last year of its progress. The besieged seem to have suffered severely both from hunger and disease (Jer. xxxii. 24), but chiefly from the former (2 K. xxv. 3; Jer. lii. 6; Lam. v. 10). But they would perhaps have held out longer had not a breach in the wall been effected on the day named. It was at midnight (Joseph.). The whole city was wrapt in the pitchy darkness<sup>4</sup> characteristic of an eastern town, and nothing was known by the Jews of what had happened till the generals of the army entered the Temple (Joseph.) and took their seats in the middle court<sup>5</sup> (Jer. xxxix. 3; Jos. Ant. x. 8, §2). Then the alarm was given to Zedekiah, and collecting his remaining warriors, they stole out of the city by a gate at the south side, somewhere near the present *Bab el-Mughharibeh*, crossed the Kedron above the royal gardens and made their way over the Mount of Olives to the Jordan valley. At break of day information of the flight was brought to the Chaldeans by some deserters. A rapid pursuit was made: Zedekiah was overtaken near Jericho, his people were dispersed, and he himself captured and reserved for a miserable fate at Riblah. Meantime the wretched inhabitants suffered all the horrors of assault and sack: the men were slaughtered, old and young, prince and peasant; the women violated in Mount Zion itself (Lam. ii. 4; v. 11, 12).

On the seventh day of the following month (2 K. xxv. 8), Nebuzaradan, the commander of the king's body-guard, who seems to have been charged with Nebuchadnezzar's instructions as to what should be done with the city, arrived. Two days were passed, probably in collecting the captives and booty; and on the tenth (Jer. lii. 12) the Temple, the royal palace, and all the more important buildings of the city, were set on fire, and the walls thrown down and left as heaps of disordered rubbish on the ground (Neh. iv. 2). The spoil of the city consisted appa-

\* This event would surely be more emphatically related in the Bible, if Jerusalem were the Cadytis which Necho is recorded by Herodotus to have destroyed after the battle at Megiddo. The Bible records pass over in total silence, or notice only in a casual way, events which occurred close to the Israelite territory, when those events do not affect the Israelites themselves; instance the 29-years' siege of Ashdod by Phammetichus, Necho's predecessor; the destruction of Gomer by a former Pharaoh (1 K. ix. 16), &c. But when events do affect them, they are mentioned with more or less detail. The question of Cadytis is discussed by Sir G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 248, note; also by Kenrick, *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 406.

<sup>1</sup> It seems impossible to reconcile the accounts of this period in Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, with Josephus and the other sources. For one view see JEHOIAKIM. For an opposite one see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 509-514.

<sup>2</sup> According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, §4), this date was the commencement of the final portion of the siege. But there is nothing in the Bible records to support this.

<sup>3</sup> For the sieges see Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 366, &c. The moon being but nine days old, there can have been little or no moonlight at this hour.

<sup>4</sup> This was the regular Assyrian custom at the conclusion of a siege (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 375).

rently of little more than the furniture of the Temple. A few small vessels in gold<sup>a</sup> and silver, and some other things in brass were carried away whole—the former under the special eye of Nebuzaradan himself (2 K. xiv. 15; comp. Jer. xxvii. 19). But the larger objects, Solomon's huge brazen basin or sea with its twelve bulls, the ten bases, the two magnificent pillars, Jachin and Boaz, too heavy and too cumbersome for transport, were broken up. The pillars were almost the only parts of Solomon's original construction which had by the sacrilegious hands of some Baal-worshipping monarch or other, and there is quite a touch of pathos in the way in which the chronicler lingers over his recollections of their height, their size, and their ornaments—capitals, wreathen work, and pomegranates, "all of brass."

The previous deportations, and the sufferings endured in the siege, must to a great extent have drained the place of its able-bodied people, and thus the captives, on this occasion, were but few and unimportant. The high-priest, and four other officers of the Temple, the commanders of the fighting men, five<sup>b</sup> people of the court, the mustering officer of the army, and sixty selected private persons, were reserved to be submitted to the king at Riblah. The daughters of Zedekiah, with their children and establishment (Jer. xli. 10, 16; comp. Ant. x. 9, §4), and Jeremiah the prophet (ibid. xl. 5), were placed by Nebuzaradan at Mizpah under the charge of Gedaliah ben-Ahikam, who had been appointed as superintendent of the few poor labouring people left to carry on the necessary husbandry and vine-dressing. In addition to these were some small bodies of men in arms, who had perhaps escaped from the city before the blockade, or in the interval of the siege, and who were hovering on the outskirts of the country watching what might turn up (Jer. xli. 7, 8). [ISHMAEL, 6.] The remainder of the population—numbering, with the 72 abovenamed, 832 souls (Jer. liii. 29), were marched off to Babylon. About two months after this Gedaliah was murdered by Ishmael, and then the few people of consideration left with Jeremiah, went into Egypt. Thus the land was practically deserted of all but the very poorest class. Even these were not allowed to remain in quiet. Five years afterwards—the 23rd of Nebuchadnezzar's reign—the insatiable Nebuzaradan, on his way to Egypt (Jos. Ant. x. 9, §7), again visited the ruins, and swept off 745 more of the wretched peasants (Jer. liii. 30).

Thus Jerusalem at last had fallen, and the Temple, set up under such fair auspices, was a heap of blackened ruins.<sup>c</sup> The spot, however, was none the less sacred because the edifice was destroyed, and it was still the resort of devotees, sometimes from great distances, who brought their offerings—in strange heathenish guise indeed, but still with a true feeling—to weep and wail over the holy place (Jer. xli. 5). It was still the centre of hope to the

people in captivity, and the time soon arrived for their return to it. The decree of Cyrus authorizing the rebuilding of the "house of Jehovah, God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem," was issued B.C. 536. In consequence thereof a very large caravan of Jews arrived in the country. The expedition comprised all classes—the royal family, priests, Levites, inferior ministers, lay people belonging to various towns and families—and numbered 42,360<sup>d</sup> in all. They were well provided with treasure for the necessary outlay; and—a more precious burden still—they bore the vessels of the old Temple which had been preserved at Babylon, and were now destined again to find a home at Jerusalem (Ezr. v. 14, vi. 5).

A short time was occupied in settling in their former cities, but on the first day of the 7th month (Ezr. iii. 6) a general assembly was called together at Jerusalem in "the open place of the first gate towards the east" (1 Esd. v. 47); the altar was set up, and the daily morning and evening sacrifices commenced.<sup>e</sup> Other festivals were re-instituted, and we have a record of the celebration of at least one anniversary of the day of the first assembly at Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 1, &c.). Arrangements were made for stone and timber for the fabric, and in the 2nd year after their return (B.C. 534), on the 1st day of the 2nd month (1 Esd. v. 57), the foundation of the Temple was laid amidst the songs and music of the priests and Levites (according to the old rites of David), the tears of the old men and the shouts of the young. But the work was destined to suffer material interruptions. The chiefs of the people by whom Samaria had been colonised, finding that the Jews refused their offers of assistance (Ezr. iv. 2), annoyed and hindered them in every possible way; and by this and some natural drawbacks—such as violent storms of wind by which some of the work had been blown down (Hag. i. 9), drought, and consequent failure of crops, and mortality amongst both animals and men—the work was protracted through the rest of the reign of Cyrus, and that of Ahasuerus, till the accession of Artaxerxes (Darius I.) to the throne of Persia (B.C. 522). The Samaritans then sent to the court at Babylon a formal memorial (a measure already tried without success in the preceding reign), representing that the inevitable consequence of the restoration of the city would be its revolt from the empire. This produced its effect, and the building entirely ceased for a time. In the meantime houses of some pretension began to spring up—"ceiled houses" (Hag. i. 4),—and the enthusiasm of the builders of the Temple cooled (ibid. 9). But after two years the delay became intolerable to the leaders, and the work was recommenced at all hazards, amidst the encouragements and rebukes of the two prophets, Zechariah and Haggai, on the 24th day of the 6th month of Darius' 2nd year. Another attempt at interruption was made by the Persian governor of the dis-

<sup>a</sup> Josephus (x. 8, §5) says the candlestick and the golden table of shewbread were taken now; but these were doubtless carried off on the previous occasion.

<sup>b</sup> Jeremiah (liii. 25) says "seven."

<sup>c</sup> The events of this period are kept in memory by the Jews of the present day by various commemorative fasts, which were instituted immediately after the occurrences themselves. These are:—the 10th Tebeth (Jan. 6), the day of the investment of the city by Nebuchadnezzar; the 10th Ab (July 29), destruction of the Temple by Nebuzaradan, and subsequently by Titus; the 3rd Tishri (Sept. 19), murder of Gedaliah; 9th Tebeth, when Ezekiel and the other captives at

Babylon received the news of the destruction of the Temple. The entrance of the Chaldees into the city is commemorated on the 17th Tamuz (July 8), the day of the breach of the Antonia by Titus. The modern dates here given are the days on which the fasts are kept in the present year, 1860.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus says 42,462.

<sup>e</sup> The feast of tabernacles is also said to have been celebrated at this time (iii. 4; Jos. Ant. xi. 4, §1); but this is in direct opposition to Neh. viii. 17, which states that it was first celebrated when Ezra was present (comp. 13), which he was not on the former occasion.

strict west of the Euphrates' (Ezr. v. 3), but the result was only a confirmation by Darius of the privileges granted by his predecessor (vi. 6-13), and an order to render all possible assistance. The work now went on apace, and the Temple was finished and dedicated<sup>5</sup> in the 6th year of Darius (B.C. 516), on the 3rd (or 23rd, 1 Esdr. vii. 5) of Adar—the last month, and on the 14th day of the new year the first Passover was celebrated. The new Temple was 60 cubits less in altitude than that of Solomon (Jos. Ant. xv. 11, §1); but its dimensions and form—of which there are only scanty notices—will be best considered elsewhere. [TEMPLE.] All this time the walls of the city remained as the Assyrians had left them (Neh. ii. 12, &c.). A period of 58 years now passed of which no accounts are preserved to us; but at the end of that time, in the year 457, Ezra arrived from Babylon with a caravan of Priests, Levites, Nethinims, and lay people, among the latter some members of the royal family, in all 1777 persons (Ezr. vii. viii.), and with valuable offerings from the Persian king and his court, as well as from the Jews who still remained in Babylonia (ib. vii. 14, viii. 25). He left Babylon on the 1st day of the year and reached Jerusalem on the 1st of the 5th month (Ezr. vii. 9, viii. 32).

Ezra at once set himself to correct some irregularities into which the community had fallen. The chief of them was the practice of marrying the native women of the old Canaanite nations. The people were assembled at three days' notice, and harangued by Ezra—so urgent was the case—in the midst of a pouring rain, and in very cold weather, in the open space in front of the main entrance to the Temple (Ezr. x. 9; 1 Esdr. ix. 6). His exhortations were at once acceded to, a form of trespass-offering was arranged, and no less than 17 priests, 10 Levites, and 86 laymen, renounced their foreign wives, and gave up an intercourse which had been to their fathers the cause and the accompaniment of almost all their misfortunes. The matter took three months to carry out, and was completed on the 1st day of the new year: but the practice was not wholly eradicated (Neh. xiii. 23), though it never was pursued as before the Captivity.

We now pass another period of eleven years until the arrival of Nehemiah, about B.C. 445. He had been moved to come to Jerusalem by the accounts given him of the wretchedness of the community, and of the state of ruin in which the walls of the city continued (Neh. i. 3). Arrived there he kept his intentions quiet for three days, but on the night of the third he went out by himself, and, as the ruins would allow, made the circuit of the city (ii. 11-16). On the following day he collected the chief people and proposed the immediate rebuilding of the walls. One spirit seized them. Priests, rulers, Levites, private persons, citizens of distant towns,<sup>6</sup> as well as those dwelling on the spot, all put their hand vigorously to the work. And not-

withstanding the taunts and threats of Sanballat, the ruler of the Samaritans, and Tobiah the Ammonite, in consequence of which one-half of the people had to remain armed while the other half built, the work was completed in 52 days, on the 25th of Elul. The wall thus rebuilt was that of the city of Jerusalem as well as the city of David or Zion, as will be shown in the next section, where the account of the rebuilding is examined in detail (Section III. p. 1027). At this time the city must have presented a forlorn appearance; but few houses were built, and large spaces remained unoccupied, or occupied but with the ruins of the Assyrian destructions (Neh. vii. 4). In this respect it was not unlike much of the modern city. The solemn dedication of the wall, recorded in Neh. xii. 27-43, probably took place at a later period, when the works had been completely finished.

Whether Ezra was here at this time is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> [EZRA, p. 605b]. But we meet him during the government of Nehemiah, especially on one interesting occasion—the anniversary, it would appear, of the first return of Zerubbabel's caravan—on the 1st of the 7th month (Neh. viii. 1). He there appears as the venerable and venerated instructor of the people in the forgotten law of Moses, amongst other reforms reconstituting the feast of Tabernacles, which we incidentally learn had not been celebratal since the time that the Israelites originally entered on the land (viii. 17).

Nehemiah remained in the city for twelve years (v. 14, xiii. 6), during which time he held the office and maintained the state of governor of the province (v. 14) from his own private resources (v. 15). He was indefatigable in his regulation and maintenance of the order and dignity both of the city (vii. 3, xi. 1, xiii. 15, &c.) and Temple (x. 32, 39, xii. 44); abolished the excessive rates of usury by which the richer citizens had grievously oppressed the poor (v. 6-12); kept up the genealogical registers, at once so characteristic of, and important to, the Jewish nation (vii. 5, xi. xii.); and in various other ways showed himself an able and active governor, and possessing a complete ascendancy over his fellow-citizens. At the end of this time he returned to Babylon; but it does not appear that his absence was more than a short one,<sup>2</sup> and he was soon again at his post, as vigilant and energetic as ever (xiii. 7). Of his death we have no record.

The foreign tendencies of the high-priest Eliashib and his family had already given Nehemiah some concern (xiii. 4, 28), and when the checks exercised by his vigilance and good sense were removed, they quickly led to serious disorders, unfortunately the only occurrences which have come down to us during the next epoch. Eliashib's son Joiada, who succeeded him in the high-priesthood (apparently a few years before the death of Nehemiah), had two sons, the one Jonathan (Neh. xii. 11) or Johanan (Neh. xii. 22; Jos. Ant. xi. 7, §1), the other Joshua (Jos. *ibid.*). Joshua had made interest with

<sup>1</sup> עבר נהר = beyond the river, but by our translators rendered "on this side," as if speaking from Jerusalem. (See Ewald, iv. 110 note.)

<sup>2</sup> Psalm xxx. by its title purports to have been used on this occasion (Ewald, *Dichter*, i. 210, 223). Ewald also suggests that Ps. lxxviii. was finally used for this festival (*Geach.* iv. 137 note).

<sup>3</sup> Among these we find Jericho and the Jordan valley (A. V. "plain"), Bethsur, near Hebron, Gibeon, Bethhoron, perhaps Samaria, and the other

side of Jordan (see iv. 12, referring to those who lived near Sanballat and Tobiah).

<sup>4</sup> The name occurs among those who assisted in the dedication of the wall (xii. 38); but so as to make us believe that it was some inferior person of the same name.

<sup>5</sup> Prideaux says five years; but his reasons are not satisfactory, and would apply to ten as well as to five.

the general of the Persian army that he should displace his brother in the priesthood: the two quarrelled, and Joshua was killed by Johanan in the Temple (B.C. cir. 386): a horrible occurrence, and even aggravated by its consequences; for the Persian general made it the excuse not only to pollute the sanctuary (*vadás*) by entering it, on the ground that he was certainly less unclean than the body of the murdered man—but also to extort a tribute of 50 darics on every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice for the next seven years (Jos. *Ant.* *ibid.*).

Johanan in his turn had two sons, Jaddua (Neh. xii. 11, 22) and Manasseh (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, §2). Manasseh married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite,<sup>m</sup> and eventually became the first priest of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §2, 4). But at first he seems to have been associated in the priesthood of Jerusalem with his brother (Jos. *μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχιερασύνης*), and to have relinquished it only on being forced to do so on account of his connexion with Sanballat. The foreign marriages against which Ezra and Nehemiah had acted so energetically had again become common among both the priests and laymen. A movement was made by a reforming party against the practice; but either it had obtained a firmer hold than before, or there was nothing to replace the personal influence of Nehemiah, for the movement only resulted in a large number going over with Manasseh to the Samaritans (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §2, 4). During the high-priesthood of Jaddua occurred the famous visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. Alexander had invaded the north of Syria, beaten Darius's army at the Granicus, and again at Issus, and then, having besieged Tyre, sent a letter to Jaddua inviting his allegiance, and desiring assistance in men and provisions. The answer of the high-priest was, that to Darius his allegiance had been given, and that to Darius he should remain faithful while he lived. Tyre was taken in July B.C. 331 (Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 431), and then the Macedonians moved along the flat strip of the coast of Palestine to Gaza, which in its turn was taken in October. The road to Egypt being thus secured Alexander had leisure to visit Jerusalem, and deal in person with the people who had ventured to oppose him. This he did apparently by the same route which Isaiah (x. 28-32) describes Sennacherib as taking. The "Sapha" at which he was met by the high-priest must be Mizpeh—Scopus—the high ridge to the north of the city, the Nob of Isaiah, which is crossed by the northern road, and from which the first view—and

that a full one—of the city and Temple is procured. The result to the Jews of the visit was an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year: a privilege which they retained for long.<sup>n</sup>

We hear nothing more of Jerusalem until it was taken by Ptolemy Soter, about B.C. 320, during his incursion into Syria. The account given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1; *Apion*, i. §22), partly from Agatharchides, and partly from some other source, is extremely meagre, nor is it quite consistent with itself. But we can discern one point to which more than one parallel is found in the later history—that the city fell into the hands of Ptolemy because the Jews would not fight on the Sabbath. Great hardships seem to have been experienced by the Jews after this conquest, and a large number were transported to Egypt and to Northern Africa.

A stormy period succeeded—that of the struggles between Antigonus and Ptolemy for the possession of Syria, which lasted until the defeat of the former at Ipsus (B.C. 301), after which the country came into the possession of Ptolemy. The contention however was confined to the maritime region of Palestine,<sup>o</sup> and Jerusalem appears to have escaped. Scanty as is the information we possess concerning the city, it yet indicates a state of prosperity; the only outward mark of dependence being an annual tax of twenty talents of silver payable by the high-priests. Simon the Just, who followed his father Onias in the high-priesthood (cir. B.C. 300), is one of the favourite heroes of the Jews. Under his care the sanctuary (*vadás*) was repaired, and some foundations of great depth added round the Temple, possibly to gain a larger surface on the top of the hill (Eclus. i. 1, 2). The large cistern or "sea" of the principal court of the Temple, which hitherto would seem to have been but temporarily or roughly constructed, was sheathed in brass<sup>p</sup> (*ibid.* 3); the walls of the city were more strongly fortified to guard against such attacks as those of Ptolemy (*ib.* 4); and the Temple service was maintained with great pomp and ceremonial (*ib.* 11-21). His death was marked by evil omens of various kinds presaging disasters<sup>q</sup> (*Otho, Læc. Rab.* "Messias"). Simon's brother Eleazar succeeded him as high-priest (B.C. 291), and Antigonus of Socho as president of the Sanhedrim<sup>r</sup> (Prideaux). The disasters preaged did not immediately arrive, at least in the grosser forms anticipated. The intercourse with Greeks was fast eradicating the national character, but it was at any rate a peaceful intercourse during the reigns of the Ptolemies who succeeded Soter, viz., Philadelphus (B.C. 285),

<sup>m</sup> According to Neh. xiii. 28, the man who married Sanballat's daughter was "son of Joiada;" but this is in direct contradiction to the circumstantial statements of Josephus, followed in the text; and the word "son" is often used in Hebrew for "grandson," or even a more remote descendant (see, e.g. CAEMI, 281 a).

<sup>n</sup> The details of this story, and the arguments for and against its authenticity, are given under ALEXANDER (p. 43 b); see also HIGH-PRIEST (811 b). It should be observed that the part of the Temple which Alexander entered, and where he sacrificed to God, was not the *vadás*, into which Bagoas had forced himself after the murder of Joshua, but the *tepev*—the court only (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §5). The Jewish tradition is that he was induced to put off his shoes before treading the sacred ground of the court, by being told that they would slip on the polished marble (*Meq. taamêh*, in Reland, *Antiq.* i. 8, 5).

<sup>o</sup> Diod. Sic. xix; Hecataeus in Jos. *Apion*. i. 22.

<sup>p</sup> So the A. V., apparently following a different text from either LXX. or Vulgate, which state that the reservoir was made smaller. But the passage is probably corrupt.

<sup>q</sup> One of the chief of these was that the scapegoat was not, as formerly, dashed in pieces by his fall from the rock, but got off alive into the desert, *whence he was eaten by the Saracens*.

<sup>r</sup> Simon the Just was the last of the illustrious men who formed "the Great Synagogue." Antigonus was the first of the *Tannaim*, or expounders of the written law, whose *dicta* are embodied in the Mishna. From Sadoc, one of Antigonus's scholars, is said to have sprung the sect of the Sadducees (Prideaux, ii. 2; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 313). It is remarkable that Antigonus is the first Jew we meet with bearing a Greek name.

and *Euergetes* (B.C. 247). It was Philadelphus, who, according to the story preserved by Josephus, had the translation of the Septuagint<sup>a</sup> made, in connexion with which he sent Aristas to Jerusalem during the priesthood of Eleazar. He also bestowed on the Temple very rich gifts, consisting of a table for the shewbread, of wonderful workmanship, basins, bowls, phials, &c., and other articles both for the private and public use of the priests (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 2, §5—10, 15). A description of Jerusalem at this period under the name of Aristas still survives,<sup>b</sup> which supplies a lively picture of both Temple and city. The Temple was "enclosed with three walls 70 cubits high, and of proportionate thickness. . . . The spacious courts were paved with marble, and beneath them lay immense reservoirs of water, which by mechanical contrivance was made to rush forth, and thus wash away the blood of the sacrifices." The city occupied the summit and the eastern slopes of the opposite hill—the modern Zion. The main streets appear to have run north and south; some "along the brow . . . others lower down but parallel, following the course of the valley, with cross streets connecting them." They were "furnished with raised pavements," either due to the slope of the ground, or possibly adopted for the reason given by Aristas, viz. to enable the passengers to avoid contact with persons or things ceremonially unclean. The bazaars were then, as now, a prominent feature of the city. There were to be found gold, precious stones, and spices brought by caravans from the East, and other articles imported from the West by way of Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais, which served as its commodious harbour. It is not impossible that among these Phœnician importations from the West may have figured the dyes and the tin of the remote Britain.

Eleazar was succeeded (cir. B.C. 276) by his uncle Manassch, brother to Onias I.; and he again (cir. 250) by Onias II., Onias was a son of the great Simon the Just; but he inherited none of his father's virtues, and his ill-timed avarice at length endangered the prosperity of Jerusalem. For the payment of the annual tax to the court of Egypt having been for several years evaded, Ptolemy Euergetes, about 226, sent a commissioner to Jerusalem to enforce the arrears (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 4, §1: Prieux). Onias, now in his second childhood (*Ant.* xii. 4, §3), was easily prevailed on by his nephew Joseph to allow him to return with the commissioner to Alexandria, to endeavour to arrange the matter with the king. Joseph, a man evidently of great ability,<sup>c</sup> not only procured the remission of the tax in question,<sup>d</sup> but also persuaded Ptolemy to grant him the lucrative privilege of farming the whole revenue of Judæa, Samaria, Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia—a privilege which he retained till the province was taken from the Ptolemies by Antiochus the Great. Hitherto the family of the high-priest had been the most powerful

in the country; but Joseph had now founded one able to compete with it, and the contention and rivalry between the two—manifesting itself at one time in enormous bribes to the court, at another in fierce quarrels at home—at last led to the interference of the chief power with the affairs of a city, which, if wisely and quietly governed, might never have been molested.

Onias II. died about 217, and was succeeded by Simon II. In 221 Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Euergetes on the throne of Egypt. He had only been king three years when Antiochus the Great attempted to take Syria from him. Antiochus partly succeeded, but in a battle at Raphia, south of Gaza, fought in the year 217 (the same as that of Hannibal at Thrasymene), he was completely routed and forced to fly to Antioch. Ptolemy shortly after visited Jerusalem. He offered sacrifice in the court of the Temple, and would have entered the sanctuary, had he not been prevented by the firmness of the high-priest Simon, and also by a supernatural terror which struck him and stretched him paralyzed on the pavement of the court (3 Macc. ii. 22).<sup>e</sup> This repulse Ptolemy never forgave, and the Jews of Alexandria suffered severely in consequence.

Like the rest of Palestine, Jerusalem now became alternately a prey to each of the contending parties (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 3, §3). In 203 it was taken by Antiochus. In 199 it was retaken by Scopas the Alexandrian general, who left a garrison in the citadel. In the following year Antiochus again beat the Egyptians, and then the Jews, who had suffered most from the latter, gladly opened their gates to his army, and assisted them in reducing the Egyptian garrison. This service Antiochus requited by large presents of money and articles for sacrifice, by an order to Ptolemy to furnish cedar and other materials for cloisters and other additions to the Temple, and by material relief from taxation. He also published a decree affirming the sacredness of the Temple from the intrusion of strangers, and forbidding any infractions of the Jewish law (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 3, §3, 4).

Simon was followed in 195 by Onias III. In 187 Antiochus the Great died, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus Soter (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 4, §10). Jerusalem was now in much apparent prosperity. Onias was greatly respected, and governed with a firm hand; and the decree of the late king was so far observed, that the whole expenditure of the sacrifices was borne by Seleucus (2 Macc. iii. 1-3). But the city soon began to be much disturbed by the disputes between Hyrcanus, the illegitimate son of Joseph the collector, and his elder and legitimate brothers, on the subject of the division of the property left by their father. The high-priest, Onias, after some hesitation, seems to have taken the part of Hyrcanus, whose wealth—after the suicide of Hyrcanus (about B.C. 180)—he secured in the treasury of the Temple. The office of governor

<sup>a</sup> The legend of the translation by 72 interpreters is no longer believed; but it probably rests on some foundation of fact. The sculpture of the table and bowls (lilies and vines, without any figures) seems to have been founded on the descriptions in the Law. In 5 Macc. ii. 14, &c., it is said to have had also a map of Egypt upon it.

<sup>b</sup> It is to be found in the Appendix to Havercamp's *Josephus*, and in Gallandii *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* ii. 805. An extract is given in article "Jerusalem" (*Dict. of*

*Geogr.* ii. 25, 26).

<sup>c</sup> The story of the stratagem by which he made his fortune is told in Prieux (anno 226), and in Millman's *Hist. of the Jews* (ii. 34).

<sup>d</sup> At least we hear nothing of it afterwards.

<sup>e</sup> The third book of the Maccabees, though so called, has no reference to the Maccabean heroes, but is taken up with the relation of this visit of Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and its consequences to the Jews.

(ἡγεμόνης) of the Temple was now held by one Simon, who is supposed to have been one of the legitimate brothers of Hyrcanus. By this man Seleucus was induced to send Heliodorus to Jerusalem to get possession of the treasure of Hyrcanus. How the attempt failed, and the money was for the time preserved from pillage, may be seen in 2 Macc. iii. 24-30, and in the well-known picture of Raffaele Sanzio.

In 175 Seleucus Soter died, and the kingdom of Syria came to his brother, the infamous Antiochus Epiphanes. His first act towards Jerusalem was to sell the office of high-priest—still filled by the good Onias III.—to Onias' brother Joshua (2 Macc. iv. 7; *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). Greek manners had made many a step at Jerusalem, and the new high-priest was not likely to discourage their further progress. His first act was to Grecise his own name, and to become "Jason;" his next to set up a gymnasium—that is a place where the young men of the town were trained naked—to introduce the Greek dress, Greek sports, and Greek appellations. Now (1 Macc. i. 13, &c.; 2 Macc. iv. 9, 12) for the first time we hear of an attempt to efface the distinguishing mark of a Jew—again to "become uncircumcised." The priests quickly followed the example of their chief (2 Macc. iv. 14), and the Temple service was neglected. A special deputation of the youth of Jerusalem—"Antiochians" they were now called—was sent with offerings from the Temple of Jehovah to the festival of Hercules at Tyre. In 172 Jerusalem was visited by Antiochus. He entered the city at night by torch-light and amid the acclamations of Jason and his party, and after a short stay returned<sup>7</sup> (2 Macc. iv. 22). And now the treachery of Jason was to be requited to him. His brother Onias, who had assumed the Greek name of Menelaus, in his turn bought the high-priesthood from Antiochus, and drove Jason out to the other side of the Jordan (2 Macc. iv. 26). To pay the price of the office, Menelaus had laid hands on the consecrated plate of the Temple. This became known, and a riot was the consequence (2 Macc. iv. 32, 39, 40).

During the absence of Antiochus in Egypt, Jason suddenly appeared before Jerusalem with a thousand men, and whether by the fury of his attack, or from his having friends in the city, he entered the walls, drove Menelaus into the citadel, and slaughtered the citizens without mercy. Jason seems to have failed to obtain any of the valuables of the Temple, and shortly after retreated beyond Jordan, where he miserably perished (2 Macc. v. 7-10). But the news of these tumults reaching Antiochus on his way from Egypt brought him again to Jerusalem (B.C. 170). He appears to have entered the city without much difficulty.<sup>8</sup> An indiscriminate massacre of the adherents of Ptolemy followed, and then a general pillage of the contents of the Temple. Under the guidance of Menelaus, Antiochus went into the Sanctuary, and took from thence the golden altar, the candlestick, the magnificent table of shewbread, and all the vessels and utensils, with 1800 talents out of the treasury. These things occupied three days. He

then quitted for Antioch, carrying off, besides his booty, a large train of captives; and leaving, as governor of the city, a Phrygian named Philip, a man of a more savage disposition than himself (1 Macc. i. 20-24; 2 Macc. v. 11-21; *Jos. Ant.* xii. 5, §3; *B. J.* i. 1, §1). But something worse was reserved for Jerusalem than pillage, death, and slavery, worse than even the pollution of the presence of this monster in the holy place of Jehovah. Nothing less than the total extermination of the Jews was resolved on, and in two years (B.C. 168) an army was sent under Apollonius to carry the resolve into effect. He waited till the sabbath, and then for the second time the entry was made while the people were engaged in their devotions. Another great slaughter took place, the city was now in its turn pillaged and burnt, and the walls destroyed.

The foreign garrison took up its quarters in what had from the earliest times been the strongest part of the place—the ancient city of David (1 Macc. i. 33, vii. 32), the famous hill of Zion, described as being on an eminence adjoining<sup>a</sup> the North wall of the Temple, and so high as to overlook it (*Ant.* xii. 5, §4). This hill was now fortified with a very strong wall with towers, and within it the garrison secured their booty, cattle, and other provisions, the women of their prisoners, and a certain number of the inhabitants of the city friendly to them.

Antiochus next issued an edict to compel heathen worship in all his dominions, and one Athenaeus was sent to Jerusalem to enforce compliance. As a first step, the Temple was reconsecrated to Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2). The worship of idols (1 Macc. i. 47), with its loose and obscene accompaniments (2 Macc. vi. 4), was introduced there—an altar to Zeus was set up on the brazen altar of Jehovah, pig's-flesh offered thereon, and the broth or liquor sprinkled about the Temple (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 8, §2). And while the Jews were compelled not only to tolerate but to take an active part in these foreign abominations, the observance of their own rites and ceremonies—sacrifice, the sabbath, circumcision—was absolutely forbidden. Many no doubt complied (*Ant.* xii. 5, §4); but many also resisted, and the torments inflicted, and the heroism displayed in the streets of Jerusalem at this time, almost surpass belief. But though a severe, it was a wholesome discipline, and under its rough teaching the old spirit of the people began to revive.

The battles of the Maccabees were fought on the outskirts of the country, and it was not till the defeat of Lysias at Bethzur that they thought it safe to venture into the recesses of the central hills. Then they immediately turned their steps to Jerusalem. On ascending the Mount Moriah, and entering the quadrangle of the Temple, a sight met their eyes, which proved at once how complete had been the desecration, and how short-lived the triumph of the idolaters; for while the altar still stood there with its abominable burden, the gates in ashes, the priests' chambers in ruins, and, as they reached the inner court, the very sanctuary itself open and empty—yet the place had been so long disused that the whole precincts were full of vegetation, "the

of 1 Macc., 2 Macc., and Josephus.

<sup>7</sup> This visit is omitted in 1 Macc. Josephus mentions it, but says that it was marked by a great slaughter of the Jewish party and by plunder (*Ant.* xii. 5, §3). This however does not agree with the festal character given to it in the 2 Macc., and followed above.

<sup>8</sup> There is a great discrepancy between the accounts

<sup>a</sup> This may be inferred from many of the expressions concerning this citadel; but Josephus expressly uses the word *ἐκείνο* (*Ant.* xii. 9, §3), and says it was on an eminence in the lower city, i. e. the Eastern hill, as contradistinguished from the Western hill or upper city.

shrubs grew in the quadrangle like a forest." The precincts were at once cleansed, the polluted altar put aside, a new one constructed, and the holy vessels of the sanctuary replaced, and on the third anniversary of the desecration—the 25th of the month Chisleu, in the year B.C. 165, the Temple was dedicated with a feast which lasted for eight days.<sup>b</sup> After this the outer wall of the Temple<sup>c</sup> was very much strengthened (1 Macc. iv. 60), and it was in fact converted into a fortress (comp. vi. 26, 61, 62), and occupied by a garrison (iv. 61). The Acra was still held by the soldiers of Antiochus. One of the first acts of Judas on entering the Temple had been to detach a party to watch them, and two years later (B.C. 163) so frequent had their sallies and annoyances become—particularly an attempt on one occasion to confine the worshippers within the Temple inclosure<sup>d</sup> (1 Macc. vi. 18)—that Judas collected his people to take it, and began a siege with banks and engines. In the meantime Antiochus had died (B.C. 164), and was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, a youth. The garrison in the Acra, finding themselves pressed by Judas, managed to communicate with the king, who brought an army from Antioch and attacked Bethzur, one of the key-positions of the Maccabees. This obliged Judas to give up the siege of the Acra, and to march southwards against the intruder (1 Macc. vi. 32; Jos. Ant. xii. 9, §4). Antiochus's army proved too much for his little force, his brother Eleazar was killed, and he was compelled to fall back on Jerusalem and shut himself up in the Temple. Thither Lysias, Antiochus's general—and later, Antiochus himself—followed him (vi. 48, 51, 57, 62) and commenced an active siege. How long it lasted we are not informed, but the provisions of the besieged were rapidly becoming exhausted, and famine had driven many to make their escape (54), when news of an insurrection elsewhere induced Lysias to advise Antiochus to offer terms to Judas (vi. 55-58). The terms, which were accepted by him, were liberty to live after their own laws, and immunity to their persons and their fortress. On inspection, however, Antiochus found the place so strong that he refused to keep this part of the agreement, and before he left, the walls were pulled down (vi. 62; Ant. xii. 9, §7). Judas apparently remained in Jerusalem for the next twelve months. During this time Antiochus and Lysias had been killed and the throne seized by Demetrius (B.C. 162), and the new king had dispatched Bacchides and Alcimus, the then high-priest—a man of Grecian principles—with a large force, to Jerusalem. Judas was again within the walls of the Temple, which in the interval he must have rebuilt. He could not be tempted forth, but sixty of the Assideans were treacherously murdered by the Syrians, who then moved off, first to a short distance from the city, and finally back to Antioch<sup>e</sup> (1 Macc. vii. 1-25; Ant. xii. 10, §1-3). Demetrius then sent another army under Nicanor, but with no better success. An action was fought at Caphar-salama, an unknown place not far from the city. Judas was victorious, and Nicanor

escaped and took refuge in the Acra at Jerusalem. Shortly after Nicanor came down from the fortress and paid a visit to the Temple, where he insulted the priests (1 Macc. vii. 33, 4; 2 Macc. xiv. 31-33). He also caused the death of Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a man greatly esteemed, who killed himself in the most horrible manner, rather than fall into his hands (2 Macc. xiv. 37-46). He then procured some reinforcements, met Judas at Adasa, probably not far from Ramleh, was killed, and his army thoroughly beaten. Nicanor's head and right arm were brought to Jerusalem. The head was nailed on the wall of the Acra, and the hand and arm on a conspicuous spot facing the Temple (2 Macc. xv. 30-35), where their memory was perhaps perpetuated in the name of the gate Nicanor, the eastern entrance to the Great Court (Reland, *Antiq.* i. 9, 4).

The death of Judas took place in 161. After it Bacchides and Alcimus again established themselves at Jerusalem in the Acra (Jos. Ant. xiii. 1, §3), and in the intervals of their contests with Jonathan and Simon, aided much to its fortifications, furnished it with provisions, and confined there the children of the chief people of Judaea as hostages for their good behaviour (1 Macc. ix. 50-53). In the second month (May) of 160 the high-priest Alcimus began to make some alterations in the Temple, apparently doing away with the inclosure between one court and another, and in particular demolishing some wall or building, to which peculiar sanctity was attached as "the work of the prophets" (1 Macc. ix. 54). The object of these alterations was doubtless to lessen the distinction between Jew and Gentile. But they had hardly been commenced before he was taken suddenly ill and died.

Bacchides now returned to Antioch, and Jerusalem remained without molestation for a period of seven years. It does not appear that the Maccabees resided there; part of the time they were at Michmash, in the entangled country seven or eight miles north of Jerusalem, and part of the time fighting with Bacchides at Beth-basi in the Jordan-valley near Jericho. All this time the Acra was held by the Macedonian garrison (Ant. xiii. 4, §92) and the malcontent Jews, who still held the hostages taken from the other part of the community (1 Macc. x. 6). In the year 153 Alexander Balas, the real or pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, having landed at Ptolemais, Demetrius sent a communication to Jonathan with the view of keeping him attached to his cause (1 Macc. x. 1, &c.; Ant. xiii. 2, §1). Upon this Jonathan moved up to Jerusalem, rescued the hostages from the Acra, and began to repair the city. The destructions of the last few years were remedied, the walls round Mount Zion particularly being rebuilt in the most substantial manner, as a regular fortification (x. 11). From this time forward Jonathan received privileges and professions of confidence from both sides. First, Alexander authorized him to assume the office of high-priest, which had not been filled up since the death of Alcimus (comp. Ant. xx. 10, §1). This he took at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn of the year 153,

<sup>b</sup> This feast is alluded to in John x. 22. Chisleu was the mid-winter month. The feast of the Dedication falls this year—1860—on the 9th Dec.

<sup>c</sup> In 1 Macc. iv. 60 it is said that they build up "Mount Sion;" but in the parallel passage, vi. 7, 26, the word used is "sanctuary," or rather "holy

places," *ἁγίασμα*. The meaning probably is the entire enclosure. Josephus (Ant. xii. 7, 7) says "the city."

<sup>d</sup> *συγκλείουσιν τὸν ἱερὸν ἐνὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ*. The A. V. "shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary," does not here give the sense, which seems to be as above.

and at the same time collected soldiers and ammunition (1 Macc. x. 21). Next, Demetrius, amongst other immunities granted to the country, recognized Jerusalem and its environs as again "holy and free," relinquished all right to the Acra—which was henceforward to be subject to the high-priest (x. 31, 32), and added the Temple with the revenues of Ptolemais, and also with 15,000 shekels of silver charged in other places, and ordered not only the payment of the same sum, in regard to former years, but the release of an annual tax of 5000 shekels hitherto exacted from the priests. Lastly, he authorized the repairs of the holy place, and the building and fortifying of the walls of Jerusalem to be charged to the royal accounts, and gave the privilege of sanctuary to all persons, even mere debtors, taking refuge in the Temple or in its precincts (1 Macc. x. 31, 32, 39-45).

The contentions between Alexander and Demetrius, in which he was actively engaged, prevented Jonathan from taking advantage of these grants till the year 145. He then began to invest the Acra (xi. 20; *Ant.* xiii. 4, §9), but, owing partly to the strength of the place, and partly to the constant dissensions abroad, the siege made little progress during fully two years. It was obvious that no progress could be made as long as the inmates of the Acra could get into the city or the country, and there buy provisions (xiii. 49), as hitherto was the case; and, therefore, at the first opportunity, Jonathan built a wall or bank round the base of the citadel-hill, cutting off all communication both with the city on the west and the country on the east (xii. 36; comp. xiii. 49), and thus completing the circle of investment, of which the Temple wall formed the south and remaining side. At the same time the wall of the Temple was repaired and strengthened, especially on the east side, towards the valley of Kedron. In the meantime Jonathan was killed at Ptolemais, and Simon succeeded him both as chief and as high priest (xiii. 8, 42). The investment of the Acra proved successful, but three years still elapsed before this enormously strong place could be reduced, and at last the garrison capitulated only from famine (xiii. 49; comp. 21). Simon entered it on the 23rd of the 2nd month B.C. 142. The fortress was then entirely demolished, and the eminence on which it had stood lowered, until it was reduced below the height of the Temple hill beside it. The last operation occupied three years (*Ant.* xiii. 6, §7). The valley north of Moriah was probably filled up at this time (*B. J.* v. 5, §1). A fort was then built on the north side of the temple hill, apparently against the wall, so as directly to command the site of the Acra, and here Simon and his immediate followers resided (xiii. 52). This was the Baris—so called after the Hebrew word *Birah*—which, under the name of Antonia, became subsequently so prominent a feature of the city. Simon's other achievements, and his alliance with the Romans, must be reserved for another place. We hear of no further occurrences at Jerusalem during his life except the placing of two brass tablets, commemorating his exploits on Mount Zion, in the precinct of the sanctuary (xiv. 27, 48). In 135 Simon was murdered at Dôk near Jericho, and then all was again confusion in Jerusalem.

One of the first steps of his son John Hyrcanus was to secure both the city and the Temple (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 7, §4). The people were favourable to him, and repulsed Ptolemy, Simon's murderer, when he

attempted to enter (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 7, §4; *B. J.* i. 2, §3). Hyrcanus was made high-priest. Shortly after this, Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, brought an army into southern Palestine, ravaged and burnt the country, and attacked Jerusalem. To invest the city, and cut off all chance of escape, it was encircled by a girdle of seven camps. The active operations of the siege were carried on as usual at the north, where the level ground comes up to the walls. Here a hundred towers of attack were erected, each of three stories, from which projectiles were cast into the city, and a double ditch, broad and deep, was excavated before them to protect them from the sudden sallies which the besieged were constantly making. On one occasion the wall of the city was undermined, its timber foundations burnt, and thus a temporary breach effected (5 Macc. xxi. 5). For the first and last time we hear of a want of water inside the city, but from this a seasonable rain relieved them. In other respects the besieged seem to have been well off. Hyrcanus however, with more prudence than humanity, anticipating a long siege, turned out of the city all the infirm and non-fighting people. The Feast of Tabernacles had now arrived, and, at the request of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, with a moderation which gained him the title of "the Pious," agreed to a truce. This led to further negotiations, which ended in the siege being relinquished. Antiochus wished to place a garrison in the city, but this the late experience of the Jews forbade, and hostages and a payment were substituted. The money for this subsidy was obtained by Hyrcanus from the sepulchre of David, the outer chamber of which he is said to have opened, and to have taken 3000 talents of the treasure which had been buried with David, and had hitherto escaped undiscovered (*Ant.* vii. 15, §3; xiii. 8, §4; *B. J.* i. 2, §5). After Antiochus's departure Hyrcanus carefully repaired the damage done to the walls (5 Macc. xxi. 18); and it may have been at this time that he enlarged the Baris or fortress adjoining the north-west wall of the Temple inclosure, which had been founded by his father; and which he used for his own residence and for the custody of his sacred vestments worn as high-priest (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, §3).

During the rest of his long and successful reign John Hyrcanus resided at Jerusalem, ably administering the government from thence, and regularly fulfilling the duties of the high-priest (see 5 Macc. xxiii. 3; *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 10, §3). The great sects of Pharisees and Sadducees first appear in prominence at this period. Hyrcanus, as a Maccabee, had belonged to the Pharisees, but an occurrence which happened near the end of his reign caused him to desert them and join the Sadducees, and even to persecute his former friends (see the story in *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 10, §5; 5 Macc. xv. 7-11; *Milman*, ii. 73). He died in peace and honour (*Ant.* xiii. 10, §7). There is no mention of his burial, but it is nearly certain that the "monument of John the high-priest" which stood near the north-west corner of the city and is so frequently referred to in the account of the final siege, was his tomb; at least no other high-priest of the name of John is mentioned. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 813.]

Hyrcanus was succeeded (B.C. 107) by his son Aristobulus.\* Like his predecessors he was high-

\* The adoption of Greek names by the family of the Maccabees, originally the great opponents of everything Greek, shows how much and how unconsciously

priest; but unlike them he assumed the title as well as the power of a king (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 11, §1; 5 *Macc.* xxvii. 1). Aristobulus resided in the Baris (*Ant.* xiii. 11, §2). A passage, dark and subterraneous (*B. J.* i. 3, §3), led from the Baris to the Temple; one part of this passage was called "Strato's tower," and here Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus, was murdered by his order.<sup>a</sup> Aristobulus died very tragically immediately after, having reigned but one year. His brother Alexander Janneus (B.C. 105), who succeeded him, was mainly engaged in wars at a distance from Jerusalem, returning thither however in the intervals (*Ant.* xiii. 12, §3, *ad fin.*). About the year 95 the animosities of the Pharisees and Sadducees came to an alarming explosion. Like his father, Alexander belonged to the Sadducees. The Pharisees had never forgiven Hyrcanus for having deserted them, and at the feast of Tabernacles, as the king was officiating, they invited the people to pelt him with the citrons which they carried in the feast (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 13, §5; comp. 10, §5; *Reland, Ant.* iv. 5, §9). Alexander retaliated, and six thousand persons were at that time killed by his orders. But the dissensions lasted for six years, and no fewer than 50,000 are said to have lost their lives (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §5; 5 *Macc.* xxix. 2). These severities made him extremely unpopular with both parties, and led to their inviting the aid of Demetrius Eucraeus king of Syria, against him. The actions between them were fought at a distance from Jerusalem; but the city did not escape a share in the horrors of war; for when, after some fluctuations, Alexander returned successful, he crucified publicly 800 of his opponents, and had their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he and his concubines feasted in sight of the whole scene (*Ant.* xiii. 14, §2). Such an iron sway as this was enough to crush all opposition, and Alexander reigned till the year 79 without further disturbances. He died while besieging a fortress called Iagaba, somewhere beyond Jordan. He is commemorated as having at the time of his disputes with the people, erected a wooden screen round the altar and the sanctuary (*vads*), as far as the parapet of the priests' court, to prevent access to him as he was ministering (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §5). The "monument of king Alexander" was doubtless his tomb. It stood somewhere near, but outside, the north wall of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 7, §3), probably not far from the situation of the tombs of the old kings (see section III. p. 1031). In spite of opposition the Pharisees were now by far the most powerful party in Jerusalem, and Alexander had therefore before his death instructed his queen, Alexandra—whom he left to succeed him with two sons—to commit herself to them. She did so, and the consequence was that though the feuds between the two great parties continued at their height, yet the government, being supported by the strongest, was always secure. The elder of the two sons, Hyrcanus, was made high-priest, and Aristobulus had the command of the army. The queen lived till the year 70. On her death, Hyrcanus attempted to take the crown, but was opposed by his brother, to the Jews were now departing from their ancient standards.

<sup>a</sup> For the story of his death, and the accomplishment of the prediction that he should die in Strato's Tower—i. e. Caesarea—compare the well-known story of the death of Henry IV. in Jerusalem, i. e. the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

whom in three months he yielded its possession, Aristobulus becoming king in the year 69. Before Alexandra's death she had imprisoned the family of Aristobulus in the Baris (*B. J.* i. 5, §4). There too Hyrcanus took refuge during the negotiations with his brother about the kingdom, and from thence had attacked and vanquished his opponents who were collected in the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 1, §2). Josephus here first speaks of it as the Acropolis,<sup>b</sup> and as being above the Temple (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*). After the reconciliation Aristobulus took possession of the royal palace (*τὰ βασιλεια*). This can hardly be other than the "palace of the Asmoneans," of which Josephus gives some notices at a subsequent part of the history (*Ant.* xx. 8, §11; *B. J.* ii. 16, §3). From these it appears that it was situated west of the Temple, on the extreme highest point of the upper city (the modern Zion) immediately facing the south-west angle of the Temple inclosure, and at the west end of the bridge which led from the Temple to the Xystus.

The brothers soon quarrelled again, when Hyrcanus called to his assistance Aretas, king of Damascus. Before this new enemy Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem and took refuge within the fortifications of the Temple. And now was witnessed the strange anomaly of the high-priest in alliance with a heathen king besieging the priests in the Temple. Suddenly a new actor appears on the scene; the siege is interrupted and eventually raised by the interference of Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, to whom Aristobulus paid 400 talents for the relief. This was in the year 65. Shortly after Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Both the brothers came before him in person (*Ant.* xiv. 3, §2), and were received with moderation and civility. Aristobulus could not make up his mind to submit, and after a good deal of shuffling betook himself to Jerusalem and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced by way of Jericho. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided for effectual resistance, met him and offered a large sum of money and surrender. Pompey sent forward Gabinus to take possession of the place; but the bolder party among the adherents of Aristobulus had meantime gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed. Pompey on this threw the king into chains and advanced on Jerusalem. Hyrcanus was in possession of the city and received the invader with open arms. The Temple on the other hand was held by the party of Aristobulus, which included the priests (xiv. 4, §3). They cut off the bridges and causeways which connected the Temple with the town on the west and north, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Pompey put a garrison into the palace of the Asmoneans, and into other positions in the upper city, and fortified the houses adjacent to the Temple. The north side was the most practicable, and there he commenced his attack. But even there the hill was entrenched by an artificial ditch in addition to the very deep natural valley, and was defended by lofty towers on the wall of the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §2; *B. J.* i. 7, §1).

Pompey appears to have stationed some part of

<sup>b</sup> Josephus's words are not very clear:—*δρυφάκτον ἔλαιον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θρησκῶς*, eis ὃν μόνος ἔστιν τοῖς ἱεροῦσιν εἰσόδος.

<sup>c</sup> He also here applies to it the term *φρούριον* (*Ant.* xiii. 16, §5; *B. J.* i. 5, §4), which he commonly uses for smaller fortresses.

his force on the high ground west of the city (*Jos. B. J. v. 12, §2*), but he himself commanded in person at the north. The first efforts of his soldiers were devoted to filling up the ditch<sup>1</sup> and the valley, and to constructing the banks on which to place the military engines, for which purpose they cut down all the timber in the environs. These had in the meantime been sent for from Tyre, and as soon as the banks were sufficiently raised the ballistae were set to work to throw stones over the wall into the crowded courts of the Temple; and lofty towers were erected, from which to discharge arrows and other missiles. But these operations were not carried on without great difficulty, for the wall of the Temple was thronged with slingers, who most seriously interfered with the progress of the Romans. Pompey, however, remarked that on the seventh day the Jews regularly desisted from fighting (*Ant. xiv. 4, §2*; *Strab. xvi. p. 763*), and this afforded the Romans a great advantage, for it gave them the opportunity of moving the engines and towers nearer the walls, filling up the trenches, adding to the banks, and in other ways making good the damage of the past six days without the slightest molestation. In fact Josephus gives it as his opinion, that but for the opportunity thus afforded, the necessary works never could have been completed. In the Temple itself, however fierce the attack, the daily sacrifices and other ceremonies, down to the minutest detail, were never interrupted, and the priests pursued their duties undisturbed, even when men were struck down near them by the stones and arrows of the besiegers. At the end of three months the besiegers had approached so close to the wall that the battering-rams could be worked, and a breach was effected in the largest of the towers, through which the Romans entered, and after an obstinate resistance and loss of life, remained masters of the Temple. Many Jews were killed by their countrymen of Hyrcanus's party who had entered with the Romans; some in their confusion set fire to the houses which abutted on a portion of the Temple walls, and perished in the flames, while others threw themselves over the precipices (*B. J. i. 7, §4*). The whole number slain is reported by Josephus at 12,000 (*Ant. xiv. 4, §4*). During the assault the priests maintained the same calm demeanour which they had displayed during the siege, and were actually slain at their duties while pouring their drink-offerings and burning their incense (*B. J. i. 7, §4*). It should be observed that in the account of this siege the Baris is not once mentioned; the attack was on the Temple alone, instead of on the fortress, as in Titus's siege. The inference is that at this time it was a small and unimportant adjunct to the main fortifications of the Temple.

Pompey and many of his people explored the recesses of the Temple, and the distress of the Jews was greatly aggravated by their holy places being thus exposed to intrusion and profanation (*B. J. i. 7, §6*). In the sanctuary were found the great golden vessels—the table of shew-bread, the candlestick, the censers, and other articles proper to that place. But what most astonished the intruders, on passing beyond the sanctuary, and exploring the total darkness of the Holy of Holies, was to find in the adytum neither image nor shrine. It evidently caused much

remark ("inde vulgatum"), and was the one fact regarding the Temple which the historian thought worthy of preservation—"nulla intus deum effigie; vacuum sedem et inania arcana" (*Tacitus, Hist. v. 9*). Pompey's conduct on this occasion does him great credit. He left the treasures thus exposed to his view—even the spices and the money in the treasury—untouched, and his examination over, he ordered the Temple to be cleansed and purified from the bodies of the slain, and the daily worship to be resumed. Hyrcanus was continued in his high-priesthood, but without the title of king (*Ant. xx. 10*); a tribute was laid upon the city, the walls were entirely demolished (*καταρσάσαι . . . τὰ τείχη πόλεως*, *Strabo, xvi. p. 763*), and Pompey took his departure for Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, his sons Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters. The Temple was taken in the year 63, in the 3rd month (Sivan), on the day of a great fast (*Ant. xiv. 4, §3*); probably that for Jeroboam, which was held on the 23rd of that month.

During the next few years nothing occurred to affect Jerusalem, the struggles which desolated the unhappy Palestine during that time having taken place away from its vicinity. In 56 it was made the seat of one of the five senates or Sanhedrim, to which under the constitution of Gabinus the civil power of the country was for a time committed. Two years afterwards (B.C. 54) the rapacious Crassus visited the city on his way to Parthia, and plundered it not only of the money which Pompey had spared, but of a considerable treasure accumulated from the contributions of Jews throughout the world, in all a sum of 10,000 talents, or about 2,000,000*l.* sterling. The pillage was aggravated by the fact of his having first received from the priest in charge of the treasure a most costly beam of solid gold, on condition that everything else should be spared (*Ant. xiv. 7, §1*).

During this time Hyrcanus remained at Jerusalem, acting under the advice of Antipater the Idumean, his chief minister. The assistance which they rendered to Mithridates, the ally of Julius Caesar, in the Egyptian campaign of 48-47, induced Caesar to confirm Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and to restore him to the civil government under the title of Ethnarch (*Ant. xiv. 10*). At the same time he rewarded Antipater with the procuratorship of Judaea (*Ant. xiv. 8, §5*), and allowed the walls of the city to be rebuilt (*Ant. xiv. 10, §4*). The year 47 is also memorable for the first appearance of Antipater's son Herod in Jerusalem, when, a youth of fifteen (or more probably<sup>2</sup> 25), he characteristically overruled the assembled Sanhedrim. In 43 Antipater was murdered in the palace of Hyrcanus by one Malichus, who was very soon after himself slain by Herod (*Ant. xiv. 11, §4, 6*). The tumults and revolts consequent on these murders kept Jerusalem in commotion for some time (*B. J. i. 12*). But a more serious danger was at hand. Antigonus, the younger and now the only surviving son of Aristobulus, suddenly appeared in the country supported by a Parthian army. Many of the Jews of the district about Carmel and Joppa<sup>3</sup> flocked to him, and he instantly made for Jerusalem, giving out that his only object was to pay a visit of devotion to the Temple (5 *Macc.*,

<sup>1</sup> The size of the ditch is given by Strabo as 60 feet deep and 250 wide (*xvi. p. 763*).

<sup>2</sup> See the reasons urged by Prieux, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> At that time, and even as late as the Crusades, called the Woodland or the Forest country (*Ἀρμυλ, Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, §8*).

xliv. 5). So sudden was his approach, that he got into the city and reached the palace in the upper market-place—the modern Zion—without resistance. Here however he was met by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus (Herod's brother) with a strong party of soldiers. A fight ensued, which ended in Antigonus being driven over the bridge into the Temple, where he was constantly harassed and annoyed by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus from the city. Pentecost arrived, and the city, and the suburbs between it and the Temple, were crowded with peasants and others who had come up to keep the feast. Herod too arrived, and with a small party had taken charge of the palace. Phasaelus kept the wall; Antigonus' people seem (though the account is very obscure) to have got out through the Baris into the part north of the Temple. Here Herod and Phasaelus attacked, dispersed, and cut them up. Pavorus, the Parthian general, was lying outside the walls, and at the earnest request of Antigonus, he and 500 horse were admitted, ostensibly to mediate. The result was, that Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were outwitted, and Herod overpowered, and the Parthians got possession of the place. Antigonus was made king, and as Hyrcanus knelt a suppliant before him, the new king—with all the wrongs which his father and himself had suffered full in his mind—bit off the ears of his uncle, so as effectually to incapacitate him from ever again taking the high-priesthood. Phasaelus killed himself in prison. Herod alone escaped (*Ant.* xiv. 13).

Thus did Jerusalem (B.C. 40) find itself in the hands of the Parthians.

In three months Herod returned from Rome king of Judaea, and in the beginning of 39 appeared before Jerusalem with a force of Romans, commanded by Silo, and pitched his camp on the west side of the city (*B. J.* i. 15, §5). Other occurrences, however, called him away from the siege at this time, and for more than two years he was occupied elsewhere. In the mean time Antigonus held the city, and had dismissed his Parthian allies. In 37 Herod appeared again, now driven to fury by the death of his favourite brother Joseph, whose dead body Antigonus had shamefully mutilated (*B. J.* i. 17, §2). He came, as Pompey had done, from Jericho, and, like Pompey, he pitched his camp and made his attack on the north side of the Temple. The general circumstances of the siege seem also very much to have resembled the former, except that there were now two walls north of the Temple, and that the driving of mines was a great feature in the siege operations (*B. J.* i. 18, §1; *Ant.* xiv. 16, §2). The Jews distinguished themselves by the same reckless courage as before; and although it is not expressly said that the services of the Temple were carried on with such minute regularity as when they excited the astonishment of Pompey, yet we may infer it from the fact that, during the hottest of the operations, the besieged desired a short truce in which to bring in animals for sacrifice (*Ant.* xiv. 16, §2). In one respect—the fictions which raged among the besieged—this siege somewhat foreshadows that of Titus.

For a short time after the commencement of the operations Herod absented himself for his marriage

at Samaria with Mariamne. On his return he was joined by Sosius, the Roman governor of Syria, with a force of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and the siege was then resumed in earnest (*Ant.* xiv. 16).

The first of the two walls was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more.<sup>m</sup> Then the outer court of the Temple, and the lower city—lying in the hollow between the Temple and the modern Zion—was taken, and the Jews were driven into the inner parts of the Temple and to the upper market-place, which communicated therewith by the bridge. At this point some delay seems to have arisen, as the siege is distinctly said to have occupied in all five months (*B. J.* i. 18, §2; see also *Ant.* xiv. 16, §2). At last, losing patience, Herod allowed the place to be stormed; and an indiscriminate massacre ensued, especially in the narrow streets of the lower city, which was only terminated at his urgent and repeated solicitations.<sup>n</sup> Herod and his men entered first, and in his anxiety to prevent any plunder and desecration of the Temple, he himself hastened to the entrance of the sanctuary, and there standing with a drawn sword in his hand, threatened to cut down any of the Roman soldiers who attempted to enter.

Through all this time the Baris had remained impregnable: there Antigonus had taken refuge, and thence, when the whole of the city was in the power of the conquerors, he descended, and in an abject manner craved his life from Sosius. It was granted, but only to be taken from him later at the order of Antony.

Antigonus was thus disposed of, but the Asimonæan party was still strong both in numbers and influence. Herod's first care was to put it down. The chiefs of the party, including the whole of the Sanhedrim but two,<sup>o</sup> were put to death, and their property, with that of others whose lives were spared, was seized. The appointment of the high-priest was the next consideration. Hyrcanus returned from Parthia soon after the conclusion of the siege; but even if his mutilation had not incapacitated him for the office, it would have been unwise to appoint a member of the popular family. Herod therefore bestowed the office (B.C. 36) on one Ananel, a former adherent of his and a Babylonian Jew (*Ant.* xv. 3, §1), a man without interest or influence in the politics of Jerusalem (xv. 2, §4). Ananel was soon displaced through the machinations of Alexandra, mother of Herod's wife Mariamne, who prevailed on him to appoint her son Aristobulus, a youth of sixteen. But the young Asimonæan was too warmly received by the people (*B. J.* i. 22, §2) for Herod to allow him to remain. Hardly had he celebrated his first feast before he was murdered at Jericho, and then Ananel resumed the office (*Ant.* xv. 3, §3).

The intrigues and tragedies of the next thirty years are too complicated and too long to be treated of here. A general sketch of the events of Herod's life will be found under his name, and other opportunities will occur for noticing them. Moreover, a great part of these occurrences have no special connexion with Jerusalem, and therefore have no place in a brief notice like the present of those things which more immediately concern the city.

<sup>m</sup> These periods probably date from the return of Herod with Sosius, and the resumption of more active hostilities.

<sup>n</sup> True he was one of the same race who at a former sack of Jerusalem had cried "Down with it, down

with it even to the ground!" But times had altered since then.

<sup>o</sup> These two were Hillel and Shammai, renowned in the Jewish literature as the founders of the two great rival schools of doctrine and practice.

In many respects this period was a repetition of that of the Maccabees and Antiochus Epiphanes. True, Herod was more politic, and more prudent, and also probably had more sympathy with the Jewish character than Antiochus. But the spirit of stern resistance to innovation and of devotion to the law of Jehovah burnt no less fiercely in the breasts of the people than it had done before; and it is curious to remark how every attempt on Herod's part to introduce foreign customs was met by outbreak, and how futile were all the benefits which he conferred both on the temporal and ecclesiastical welfare of the people when these obnoxious intrusions were in question.<sup>p</sup>

In the year 34 the city was visited by Cleopatra, who, having accompanied Antony to the Euphrates, was now returning to Egypt through her estates at Jericho (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2).

In the spring of 31, the year of the battle of Actium, Judaea was visited by an earthquake, the effects of which appear to have been indeed tremendous: 10,000 (*Ant.* xv. 5, §2) or, according to another account (*B. J.* i. 19, §3), 20,000 persons were killed by the fall of buildings, and an immense quantity of cattle. The panic at Jerusalem was very severe; but it was calmed by the arguments of Herod, then departing to a campaign on the east of Jordan for the interests of Cleopatra.

The following year was distinguished by the death of Hyrcanus, who, though more than 80 years old, was killed by Herod, ostensibly for a reasonable correspondence with the Arabians, but really to remove the last remnant of the Asmonean race, who, in the fluctuations of the times, and in Herod's absence from his kingdom, might have been dangerous to him. He appears to have resided at Jerusalem since his return; and his accusation was brought before the Sanhedrim (*Ant.* xv. 6, §1-3).

Mariamne was put to death in the year 29, whether in Jerusalem or in the Alexandrieon, in which she had been placed with her mother when Herod left for his interview with Octavius, is not certain. But Alexandra was now in Jerusalem again; and in Herod's absence, ill, at Samaria (Sebaste), she began to plot for possession of the Baris, and of another fortress situated in the city. The attempt, however, cost her her life. The same year saw the execution of Costobaras, husband of Herod's sister Salomé, and of several other persons of distinction (*Ant.* xv. 7, §8-10).

Herod now began to encourage foreign practices and usages, probably with the view of "counterbalancing by a strong Grecian party the turbulent and exclusive spirit of the Jews." Amongst his acts of this description was the building of a theatre<sup>q</sup> at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xv. 8, §1). Of its situation no information is given, nor have any indications yet been discovered. It was ornamented with the names of the victories of Octavius, and with trophies of arms conquered in the wars of Herod. Quinquennial games in honour of Caesar were

instituted on the most magnificent scale, with racing, boxing, musical contests, fights of gladiators and wild beasts. The zealous Jews took fire at these innovations, but their wrath was specially excited by the trophies round the theatre at Jerusalem, which they believed to contain figures of men. Even when shown that their suspicions were groundless, they remained discontented. The spirit of the old Maccabees was still alive, and Herod only narrowly escaped assassination, while his would-be assassins endured torments and death with the greatest heroism. At this time he occupied the old palace of the Asmoneans, which crowned the eastern face of the upper city, and stood adjoining the Xystus at the end of the bridge which formed the communication between the south part of the Temple and the upper city (xv. 8, §5; comp. xx. 8, §11, and *B. J.* ii. 16, §3). This palace was not yet so magnificent as he afterwards made it, but it was already most richly furnished (xv. 9, §2). Herod had now also completed the improvements of the Baris—the fortress built by John Hyrcanus on the foundations of Simon Maccabaeus—which he had enlarged and strengthened at great expense, and named Antouia—after his friend Mark Antony. A description of this celebrated fortress will be given in treating of the Temple, of which, as reconstructed by Herod, it formed an intimate part. It stood at the west end of the north wall of the Temple, and was inaccessible on all sides but that. See section III. p. 1023.

The year 25—the next after the attempt on Herod's life in the theatre—was one of great misfortunes. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved Judaea in famine, and its usual consequence, a dreadful pestilence (*Ant.* xv. 9, §1). Herod took a noble and at the same time a most politic course. He sent to Egypt for corn, sacrificing for the purchase the costly decorations of his palace and his silver and gold plate. He was thus able to make regular distribution of corn and clothing, on an enormous scale, for the present necessities of the people, as well as to supply seed for the next year's crop (*Ant.* xv. 9, §2). The result of this was to remove to a great degree the animosity occasioned by his proceedings in the previous year.

In this year or the next Herod took another wife, the daughter of an obscure priest of Jerusalem named Simon. Shortly before the marriage Simon was made high-priest in the room of Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Phaneus, who appears to have succeeded Annæus, and was now deposed to make way for Herod's future father-in-law (*Ant.* xv. 9, §3). It was probably on the occasion of this marriage that he built a new and extensive palace<sup>r</sup> immediately adjoining the old wall, at the north-west corner of the upper city (*B. J.* v. 4, §4), about the spot now occupied by the Latin convent, in which, as memorials of his connexion with Caesar and Agrippa, a large apartment—superior in size to the Sanctuary of the Temple—was named after each

<sup>p</sup> The principles and results of the whole of this later period are ably summed up in Merivale's *Romans*, iii., chap. 29.

<sup>q</sup> The amphitheatre "in the plain" mentioned in this passage is commonly supposed to have been also at Jerusalem (Barclay, *City of Great King*, 174, and others); but this is not a necessary inference. The word *teatrum* is generally used of the plain of the Jordan near Jericho, where we know there was an amphitheatre (*B. J.* i. 33, §8). From another passage

(*B. J.* i. 21, 8) it appears there was one at Caesarea. Still the *teatrum* at Jerusalem is mentioned in *B. J.* ii. 1, §3.).

<sup>r</sup> The name was probably not bestowed later than a.c. 34 or 33—the date of Herod's closest relations with Antony; and we may therefore infer that the alterations to the fortress had been at least 7 or 8 years in progress.

<sup>s</sup> The old palace of the Asmoneans continued to be known as "the royal palace," *τὸ βασιλικόν* (*Ant.* xx. 8, §11).

(*Ant. ibid.*; *B. J. i. 21, §1*). This palace was very strongly fortified; it communicated with the three great towers on the wall erected shortly after, and it became the citadel, the special fortress (*ἱερὸν φρούριον*, *B. J. v. 5, §8*), of the upper city. A road led to it from one of the gates—naturally the northern—in the west wall of the Temple inclosure (*Ant. xv. 14, §5*). But all Herod's works in Jerusalem were eclipsed by the rebuilding of the Temple in more than its former extent and magnificence. He announced his intention in the year 19, probably when the people were collected in Jerusalem at the Passover. At first it met with some opposition from the fear that what he had begun he would not be able to finish, and the consequent risk involved in demolishing the old Temple. This he overcame by engaging to make all the necessary preparations before pulling down any part of the existing buildings. Two years appear to have been occupied in these preparations—among which Josephus mentions the teaching of some of the priests and Levites to work as masons and carpenters—and then the work began (*xv. 11, §2*). Both Sanctuary and Cloisters—the latter double in extent and far larger and loftier than before—were built from the very foundations (*B. J. i. 21, §1*; *Ant. xv. 11, §3*). [TEMPLE.] The holy house itself (*vads*), i. e. the Porch, Sanctuary, and Holy of Holies—was finished in a year and a half (*xv. 11, §6*). Its completion on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, B.C. 16, was celebrated by lavish sacrifices and a great feast. Immediately after this Herod made a journey to Rome to fetch home his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus—with whom he returned to Jerusalem, apparently in the spring of 15 (*Ant. xvi. 1, §2*). In the autumn of this year he was visited by his friend Marcus Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus. Agrippa was well received by the people of Jerusalem, whom he propitiated by a sacrifice of a hundred oxen and by a magnificent entertainment (*Ant. xvi. 2, §1*). Herod left again in the beginning of 14 to join Agrippa in the Black Sea. On his return, in the autumn or winter of the same year, he addressed the people assembled at Jerusalem—for the Feast of Tabernacles—and remitted them a fourth of the annual tax (*xv. 2, §4*). Another journey was followed by a similar assembly in the year 11, at which time Herod announced Antipater as his immediate successor (*xvi. 4, §6*; *B. J. i. 23, §4*).

About B.C. 9—eight years from the commencement—the court and cloisters of the Temple were finished (*Ant. xv. 11, §5*), and the bridge between the south cloister and the upper city—demolished by Pompey—was doubtless now rebuilt with that massive masonry of which some remains still survive (see the woodcut, p. 1019). At this time equally magnificent works were being carried on in another part of the city, viz., in the old wall at the north-west corner, contiguous to the palace, where three towers of great size and magnificence were erected on the wall, and one as an outwork at a small distance to the north. The latter was called Psephus (*B. J. v. 4, §2, 3, 4*), the three former were Hippicus, after one of his friends—Phasaelus, after his brother—and Mariamne, after his queen (*Ant. xvi. 5, 2*; *B. J. v. 4, §3*). For their positions see section III. p. 1021. Phasaelus appears to have been erected first of the three (*Ant. xvii. 10, §2*), though it cannot have been begun at the time of Phasaelus's death, as that took place some years before Jerusalem came into Herod's hands.

About this time occurred—if it occurred at all, which seems more than doubtful (Prideaux, *Anno 134*)—Herod's unsuccessful attempt to plunder the sepulchre of David of the remainder of the treasures left there by Hyrcanus (*Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, §1*).

In or about the year 7 occurred the affair of the Golden Eagle, a parallel to that of the theatre, and, like that, important, as showing how strongly the Maccabean spirit of resistance to innovations on the Jewish law still existed, and how vain were any concessions in the other direction in the presence of such innovations. Herod had fixed a large golden eagle, the symbol of the Roman empire, of which Judaea was now a province, over the entrance to the Sanctuary, probably at the same time that he inscribed the name of Agrippa on the gate (*B. J. i. 21, §8*). As a breach of the 2nd commandment—not as a badge of dependence—this had excited the indignation of the Jews, and especially of two of the chief rabbis, who instigated their disciples to tear it down. A false report of the king's death was made the occasion of doing this in open day, and in the presence of a large number of people. Being taken before Herod the rabbis defended their conduct and were burnt alive. The high-priest Matthias was deposed, and Joazar took his place.

This was the state of things in Jerusalem when Herod died, in the year 4 B.C. of the common chronology (Dionysian era), but really a few months after the birth of Christ (see p. 1072).

The government of Judaea, and therefore of Jerusalem, had by the will of Herod been bequeathed to Archelaus. He lost no time after the burial of his father in presenting himself in the Temple, and addressing the people on the affairs of the kingdom—a display of confidence and moderation, strongly in contrast to the demeanour of the late king. It produced an instant effect on the excited minds of the Jews, still smarting from the failure of the affair of the eagle, and from the chastisement it had brought upon them; and Archelaus was besieged with clamours for the liberation of the numerous persons imprisoned by the late king, and for remission of the taxes. As the people collected for the evening sacrifice the matter became more serious, and assumed the form of a public demonstration, of lamentation for the two martyrs, Judas and Matthias, and indignation against the intruded high-priest. So loud and shrill were the cries of lament that they were heard over the whole city. Archelaus meanwhile temporised and promised redress when his government should be confirmed by Rome. The Passover was close at hand, and the city was fast filling with the multitudes of rustics and of pilgrims (*ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροπίας*), who crowded to the great Feast (*B. J. ii. 1, §3*; *Ant. xvii. 9, §3*). These strangers not being able or willing to find admittance into the houses, pitched their tents (*τοὺς ἀρούθι ἐκχυμένους*) on the open ground around the Temple (*Ant. ibid.*). Meanwhile the tumult in the Temple itself was maintained and increased daily; a multitude of fanatics never left the courts, but continued there, incessantly clamouring and imprecating.

Longer delay in dealing with such a state of things would have been madness; a small party of soldiers had already been roughly handled by the mob (*B. J. ii. 1, §3*), and Archelaus at last did what his father would have done at first. He despatched the whole garrison, horse and foot, the foot-soldiers by way of the city to clear the Temple, the horse-soldiers by a detour round the level

ground north of the town, to surprise the pilgrims on the eastern slopes of Moriah, and prevent their rushing to the succour of the fanatics in the Temple. The movement succeeded: 3000 were cut up and the whole concourse dispersed over the country.

During Archelaus' absence at Rome, Jerusalem was in charge of Sabinus, the Roman procurator of the province, and the tumults—ostensibly on the occasion of some exactions of Sabinus, but doubtless with the same real ground as before—were renewed with worse results. At the next feast, Pentecost, the throng of strangers was enormous. They formed regular encampments round the Temple, and on the western hill of the upper city, and besieged Sabinus and his legion, who appear to have been in the Antonia.<sup>4</sup> At last the Romans made a sally and cut their way into the Temple. The struggle was desperate, a great many Jews were killed, the cloisters of the outer court burnt down, and the sacred treasury plundered of immense sums. But no reverses could quell the fury of the insurgents, and matters were not appeased till Varus, the prefect of the province, arrived from the north with a large force and dispersed the strangers. On this quiet was restored.

In the year 3 B.C. Archelaus returned from Rome ethnarch of the southern province. He immediately displaced Joazar, whom his father had made high-priest after the affair of the Eagle, and put Joazar's brother Eleazar in his stead. This is the only event affecting Jerusalem that is recorded in the 10 years between the return of Archelaus and his summary departure to trial at Rome (A.D. 6).

Judaea was now reduced to an ordinary Roman province; the procurator of which resided, not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea on the coast (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 3, §1). The first appointed was Coponius, who accompanied Quirinus to the country immediately on the disgrace of Archelaus. Quirinus (the CŒRNIUS of the N. T.)—now for the second time prefect of Syria—was charged with the unpopular measure of the enrolment or assessment of the inhabitants of Judaea. Notwithstanding the riots which took place elsewhere, at Jerusalem the enrolment was allowed to proceed without resistance, owing to the prudence of Joazar (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1), again high-priest for a short time. One of the first acts of the new governor had been to take formal possession of the state vestments of the high-priest, worn on the three Festivals and on the Day of Atonement. Since the building of the Baris by the Maccabees these robes had always been kept there, a custom continued since its reconstruction by Herod. But henceforward they were to be put up after use in an underground stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and in charge of the captain of the guard. Seven days before use they were brought out, to be consigned again to the chamber after the ceremony was over (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, §3).

<sup>4</sup> The determination of the locality of the legion during this affair is most puzzling. On the one hand the position of the insurgents, who lay completely round the Temple, South, East, North, and West, and who are expressly said thus to have hemmed in the Romans on all sides (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §2), and also the expression used about the sally of the legion, namely, that they "leaped out" into the Temple, seem to point inevitably to the Antonia. On the other hand, Sabinus gave the signal for the attack from the tower Phasaelus (*Ant.* *ibid.*). But Phasaelus was on the old wall, close to Herod's palace, fully half a mile, as the crow flies, from the Temple—a strange distance for a Roman commander, to be off from his troops! The only suggestion that occurs to the writer

Two incidents at once most opposite in their character, and in their significance to that age and to ourselves, occurred during the procuratorship of Coponius. First, in the year 8, the finding of Christ in the Temple. Annas had been made high-priest about a year before. The second occurrence must have been a most distressing one to the Jews, unless they had become inured to such things. But of this we cannot so exactly fix the date. It was nothing less than the pollution of the Temple by some Samaritans, who secretly brought human bones and strewed them about the cloisters during the night of the Passover.<sup>5</sup> Up to this time the Samaritans had been admitted to the Temple; they were henceforth excluded.

In or about A.D. 10, Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, and he by Annus Rufus. In 14 Augustus died, and with Tiberius came a new procurator—Val. Gratus, who held office till 26, when he was replaced by Pontius Pilate. During this period the high-priests had been numerous,<sup>7</sup> but it is only necessary here to say that when Pilate arrived at his government the office was held by Joseph Caiaphas, who had been appointed but a few months before. The freedom from disturbance which marks the preceding 20 years at Jerusalem, was probably due to the absence of the Roman troops, who were quartered at Caesarea out of the way of the fierce fanatics of the Temple. But Pilate transferred the winter quarters of the army to Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §1), and the very first day there was a collision. The offence was given by the Roman standards—the images of the emperor and of the eagle—which by former commanders had been kept out of the city. A representation was made to Pilate; and so obstinate was the temper of the Jews on the point, that he yielded, and the standards were withdrawn (*Ant.* *ibid.*). He afterwards, as if to try how far he might go, consecrated some gilt shields—not containing figures, but inscribed simply with the name of the deity and of the donor—and hung them in the palace at Jerusalem. This act again aroused the resistance of the Jews; and on appeal to Tiberius they were removed (*Philo, apud Galos, Mangey, ii. 589*).

Another riot was caused by his appropriation of the Corban—a sacred revenue arising from the redemption of vows—to the cost of an aqueduct which he constructed for bringing water to the city from a distance of 200 (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §2) or 400 (*B. J.* ii. 9, §4) stadia. This aqueduct has been supposed to be that leading from "Solomon's Pools" at Ur-tas to the Temple hill (Krafft, in Ritter, *Erdkunde, Pal.* 276), but the distance of Urtas is against the identification.

A.D. 29. At the Passover of this year our Lord made His first recorded visit to the city since His boyhood (*John* ii. 13).

Is that Phasaelus was the name not only of the tower on the wall, but of the south-east corner turret of Antonia. We know to have been 20 cubits higher than the other three (*B. J.* v. 5, §8). This would agree with all the circumstances of the narrative, and with the account that Sabinus was "in the highest tower of the fortress;" the very position occupied by Titus during the assault on the Temple from Antonia. But this suggestion is quite unsupported by any direct evidence.

<sup>5</sup> The mode of pollution adopted by Josiah towards the idolatrous shrines (see p. 994 b).

<sup>7</sup> Their names and succession will be found under HIGH-PRIEST, p. 813. See also ANNAS.

A.D. 33. At the Passover of this year, occurred His crucifixion and resurrection.

In A.D. 37, Pilate having been recalled to Rome, Jerusalem was visited by Vitellius, the prefect of Syria, at the time of the Passover. Vitellius conferred two great benefits on the city. He remitted the duties levied on produce, and he allowed the Jews again to have the free custody of the high-priest's vestments. He removed Caiaphas from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jonathan son of Annas. He then departed, apparently leaving a Roman officer (*προτοπαρχος*) in charge of the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §3). Vitellius was again at Jerusalem this year, probably in the autumn, with Herod the tetrarch (xviii. 5, §3); while there he again changed the high-priest, substituting for Jonathan, Theophilus his brother. The news of the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula reached Jerusalem at this time. Marcellus was appointed procurator by the new emperor. In the following year Stephen was stoned. The Christians were greatly persecuted, and all, except the Apostles, driven out of Jerusalem (*Acts* viii. 1, xi. 19).

In A.D. 40 Vitellius was superseded by P. Petronius, who arrived in Palestine with an order to place in the Temple a statue of Caligula. This order was ultimately, by the intercession of Agrippa, countermanded, but not until it had roused the whole people as one man (*Ant.* xviii. 8, §2-9; and see the admirable narrative of Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, bk. x.).

With the accession of Claudius in 41 came an edict of toleration to the Jews. Agrippa arrived in Palestine to take possession of his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice and dedicated the golden chain which the late emperor had presented him after his release from captivity. It was hung over the Treasury (*Ant.* xix. 8, §1). Simon was made high-priest; the house-tax was remitted.

Agrippa resided very much at Jerusalem, and added materially to its prosperity and convenience. The city had for some time been extending itself towards the north, and a large suburb had come into existence on the high ground north of the Temple, and outside of the "second wall" which enclosed the northern part of the great central valley of the city. Hitherto the outer portion of this suburb—which was called Bezetha, or "New town," and had grown up very rapidly—was unprotected by any formal wall, and practically lay open to attack.\* This defenceless condition attracted the attention of Agrippa, who, like the first Herod, was a great builder, and he commenced enclosing it in so substantial and magnificent a manner as to excite the suspicions of the Prefect, at whose instance it was stopped by Claudius (*Ant.* *ibid.*; *B. J.* ii. 11, §6; v. 4, §2). Subsequently the Jews seem to have purchased permission to complete the work (*Tacit.* *Hist.* v. 12; *Jos. B. J.* v. 4, §2 *ad fin.*). This new wall, the outermost of the three which enclosed the city on the north, started from the old wall at the Tower Ippicus, near the N.W. corner of the city. It ran northward, bending by a large circuit to the east, and at last returning southward along the western brink of the valley of Kedron till it joined the southern wall of the Temple. Thus it enclosed not only the new suburb, but also the

district immediately north and north-east of the Temple on the brow of the Kedron valley, which up to the present date had lain open to the country. The huge stones which still lie—many of them undisturbed—in the east and south walls of the Haram area, especially the south-east corner under the "Bath and Cradle of Jesus," are parts of this wall.

The year 43 is memorable as that of St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. The year 44 began with the murder of St. James by Agrippa (*Acts* xii. 1), followed at the Passover by the imprisonment and escape of St. Peter. Shortly after Agrippa himself died. Cuspius Fadus arrived from Rome as procurator, and Longinus as prefect of Syria. An attempt was made by the Romans to regain possession of the pontifical robes; but on reference to the emperor the attempt was abandoned. In 45 commenced a severe famine which lasted two years (*Ewald, Gesch.* vi. 409, note). To the people of Jerusalem it was alleviated by the presence of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to the Jewish faith, who visited the city in 46 and imported corn and dried fruit, which she distributed to the poor (*Ant.* xx. 2, §5; 5, §2). During her stay Helena constructed, at a distance of three stadia from the city, a tomb, marked by three pyramids, to which her remains, with those of her son, were afterwards brought (*Ant.* xx. 4, §3). It was situated to the north, and formed one of the points in the course of the new wall (*B. J.* v. 4, §2). At the end of this year St. Paul arrived in Jerusalem for the second time.

A.D. 48. Fadus was succeeded by Ventidius Cumanus. A frightful tumult happened at the Passover of this year, caused, as on former occasions, by the presence of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia and in the courts and cloisters of the Temple during the festival. Ten, or, according to another account, twenty, thousand, are said to have met their deaths, not by the sword, but trodden to death in the crush through the narrow lanes which led from the Temple down into the city (*Ant.* xx. 5, §3; *B. J.* ii. 12, §1). Cumanus was recalled, and FELIX appointed in his room (*Ant.* xx. 7, §1; *B. J.* ii. 12, §8), partly at the instance of Jonathan, the then high-priest (*Ant.* xx. 8, §5). A set of ferocious fanatics, whom Josephus calls *Sicarii*, had lately begun to make their appearance in the city, whose creed it was to rob and murder all whom they judged hostile to Jewish interests. Felix, weary of the remonstrances of Jonathan on his vicious life, employed some of these wretches to assassinate him. He was killed in the Temple, while sacrificing. The murder was never inquired into, and, emboldened by this, the *Sicarii* repeated their horrid act, thus adding, in the eyes of the Jews, the awful crime of sacrilege to that of murder (*B. J.* ii. 13, §3; *Ant.* *ibid.*). The city, too, was filled with impostors pretending to inspiration, but inspired only with hatred to all government and order. Nor was the disorder confined to the lower classes: the chief people of the city, the very high-priests themselves, robbed the threshing-floors of the tithes common to all the priests, and led parties of rioters to open tumult and fighting in the streets (*Ant.* xx. 8, §8). In fact, not only Jerusalem, but the whole country far and wide, was in the most frightful confusion and insecurity.

\* The statements of Josephus are not quite reconcilable. In one passage he says distinctly that Bezetha lay quite naked (*B. J.* v. 4, §2), in another that it had some kind of wall (*Ant.* xix. 7, §2).

zetha lay quite naked (*B. J.* v. 4, §2), in another that it had some kind of wall (*Ant.* xix. 7, §2).

At length a riot at Caesarea of the most serious description caused the recall of Felix, and in the end of 60 or the beginning of 61, PORCIUS FESTUS succeeded him as procurator. Festus was an able and upright officer (*B. J.* ii. 14, §1), and at the same time conciliatory towards the Jews (*Acts* xxv. 9). In the brief period of his administration he kept down the robbers with a strong hand, and gave the province a short breathing time. His interview with St. Paul (*Acts* xxv., xxvi.) took place, not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea. On one occasion both Festus and Agrippa came into collision with the Jews at Jerusalem. Agrippa—who had been appointed king by Nero in 52—had added an apartment to the old Asmonean palace on the eastern brow of the upper city, which commanded a full view into the interior of the courts of the Temple. This view the Jews intercepted by building a wall on the west side of the inner quadrangle.<sup>7</sup> But the wall not only intercepted Agrippa, it also interfered with the view from the outer cloisters in which the Roman guard was stationed during the festivals. Both Agrippa and Festus interfered, and required it to be pulled down; but the Jews pleaded that once built it was a part of the Temple, and entreated to be allowed to appeal to Nero. Nero allowed their plea, but retained as hostages the high-priest and treasurer, who had headed the deputation. Agrippa appointed Joseph, called Cabi, to the vacant priesthood. In 62 (probably) Festus died, and was succeeded by Albinus; and he again very shortly after by Annas or Ananias, son of the Annas before whom Our Lord was taken. In the interval a persecution was commenced against the Christians at the instance of the new high-priest, a rigid Sadducee, and St. James and others were arraigned before the Sanhedrim (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 9, §1). They were “delivered to be stoned,” but St. James at any rate appears not to have been killed till a few years later. The act gave great offence to all, and cost Annas his office after he had held it but three months. Jesus (Joshua), the son of Damneus, succeeded him. Albinus began his rule by endeavouring to keep down the Sicarii and other disturbers of the peace; and indeed he preserved throughout a show of justice and vigour (*Ant.* xx. 11, §1), though in secret greedy and rapacious. But before his recall he pursued his end more openly, and priests, people, and governors alike seem to have been bent on rapine and bloodshed: rival high-priests headed bodies of rioters, and stoned each other, and in the words of Josephus, “all things grew from worse to worse” (*Ant.* xx. 9, §4). The evils were aggravated by two occurrences—first, the release by Albinus, before his departure, of all the smaller criminals in the prisons (*Ant.* xx. 9, §5); and secondly, the sudden discharge of an immense body of workmen, on the completion of the repairs to the Temple (*xx. 9, §7*). An endeavour was made to remedy the latter by inducing Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloister; but he refused to undertake a work of such magnitude, though he consented to pave the city with marble. The repairs of a part of the sanctuary that had fallen down, and the renewal of the foundations of

some portions were deferred for the present, but the materials were collected and stored in one of the courts (*B. J.* v. 1, §5).

Bad as Albinus had been, Gessius Florus, who succeeded him in 65, was worse. In fact, even Tacitus admits that the endurance of the oppressed Jews could last no longer—*duravit patientia Judaeis usque ad Gessium Florum* (*Hist.* v. 10). So great was his rapacity, that whole cities and districts were desolated, and the robbers openly allowed to purchase immunity in plunder. At the Passover, probably in 66, when Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, visited Jerusalem, the whole assembled people<sup>8</sup> besought him for redress; but without effect. Florus' next attempt was to obtain some of the treasure from the Temple. He demanded 17 talents in the name of the emperor. The demand produced a frantic disturbance, in the midst of which he approached the city with both cavalry and foot-soldiers. That night Florus took up his quarters in the royal palace—that of Herod at the N.W. corner of the city. On the following morning he took his seat on the Bema, and the high-priest and other principal people being brought before him, he demanded that the leaders of the late riot should be given up. On their refusal he ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper city. This order was but too faithfully carried out; every house was entered and pillaged, and the Jews driven out. In their attempt to get through the narrow streets which lay in the valley between the upper city and the Temple, many were caught and slain, others were brought before Florus, scourged, and then crucified. No grade or class was exempt. Jews who bore the Roman equestrian order were among the victims treated with most indignity. Queen Bernice herself (*B. J.* ii. 15, §1)—residing at that time in the Asmonean palace in the very midst of the slaughter—was so affected by the scene, as to intercede in person and barefoot before Florus, but without avail, and in returning she was herself nearly killed, and only escaped by taking refuge in her palace and calling her guards about her. The further details of this dreadful tumult must be passed over.<sup>9</sup> Florus was foiled in his attempt to press through the old city up into the Antonia—whence he would have had nearer access to the treasures—and finding that the Jews had broken down the north and west cloisters where they joined the fortress, so as to cut off the communication, he relinquished the attempt and withdrew to Caesarea (*B. J.* ii. 15, §6).

Cestius Gallus, the prefect, now found it necessary for him to visit the city in person. He sent one of his lieutenants to announce him, but before he himself arrived events had become past remedy. Agrippa had shortly before returned from Alexandria, and had done much to calm the people. At his instance they rebuilt the part of the cloisters which had been demolished, and collected the tribute in arrear, but the mere suggestion from him that they should obey Florus until he was replaced, produced such a storm that he was obliged to leave the city (*B. J.* ii. 16, §5; 17, §1). The seditious party in the Temple led by young Eleazar, son of Ananias, rejected

<sup>7</sup> No one in Jerusalem might build so high that his house could overlook the Temple. It was the subject of a distinct prohibition by the Doctors. See Maimonides, quoted by Otho, *Iez. Rab.* 266. Probably this furnished one reason for so hostile a step to so friendly a person as Agrippa.

<sup>8</sup> Josephus says three millions in number! Three millions is very little under the population of London with all its suburbs.

<sup>9</sup> The whole tragic story is most forcibly told by Milman (*il.* 219-224).

the offerings of the Roman emperor, which since the time of Julius Caesar had been regularly made. This, as a direct renunciation of allegiance, was the true beginning of the war with Rome (*B. J.* ii. 17, §2). Such acts were not done without resistance from the older and wiser people. But remonstrance was unavailing, the innovators would listen to no representations. The peace party, therefore, despatched some of their number to Florus and to Agrippa, and the latter sent 3000 horse-soldiers to assist in keeping order.

Hostilities at once began. The peace party, headed by the high-priest, and fortified by Agrippa's soldiers, threw themselves into the upper city. The insurgents held the Temple and the lower city. In the Antonia was a small Roman garrison. Fierce contests lasted for seven days, each side endeavouring to take possession of the part held by the other. At last the insurgents, who behaved with the greatest ferocity, and were reinforced by a number of Sicarii, were triumphant. They gained the upper city, driving all before them—the high-priest and other leaders into vaults and sewers, the soldiers into Herod's palace. The Asmonean palace, the high-priest's house, and the repository of the Archives—in Josephus's language, "the nerves of the city" (*B. J.* ii. 17, §6)—were set on fire. Antonia was next attacked, and in two days they had effected an entrance, sabred the garrison, and burnt the fortress. The ballistæ and catapults found there were preserved for future use (v. 6, §3). The soldiers in Herod's palace were next besieged; but so strong were the walls, and so stout the resistance, that it was three weeks before an entrance could be effected. The soldiers were at last forced from the palace into the three great towers on the adjoining wall with great loss; and ultimately were all murdered in the most treacherous manner. The high-priest and his brother were discovered hidden in the aqueduct of the palace; they were instantly put to death. Thus the insurgents were now completely masters of both city and temple. But they were not to remain so long. After the defeat of Cestius Gallus at Bethoron dissensions began to arise, and it soon became known that there was still a large moderate party; and Cestius took advantage of this to advance from Scopus on the city. He made his way through Bezetha, the new suburb north of the Temple,<sup>b</sup> and through the wood-market, burning everything as he went (*B. J.* v. 7, §2), and at last encamped opposite the palace at the foot of the second wall. The Jews retired to the upper city and to the Temple. For five days Cestius assaulted the wall without success; on the sixth he resolved to make one more attempt, this time at a different spot—the north wall of the Temple, east of, and behind, the Antonia. The Jews, however, fought with such fury from the top of the cloisters, that he could effect nothing, and when night came he drew off to his camp at Scopus. Thither the insurgents followed him, and in three days gave him one of the most complete defeats that a Roman army had ever undergone. His catapults and ballistæ were taken from him, and reserved by the Jews for the final siege (v. 6, §3).

<sup>b</sup> It is remarkable that nothing is said of any resistance to his passage through the great wall of Agrippa, which encircled Bezetha.

<sup>c</sup> Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, Bks. xiv., xv., xvi.; and Merivale's *History of the Romans*, vi. ch. 59. To both of these works the writer begs leave to express his obligations throughout the above meagre sketch of

This occurred on the 8th of Marchesvan (beginning of November), 66.

The war with Rome was now inevitable, and it was evident that the siege of Jerusalem was only a question of time. Ananus, the high-priest, a moderate and prudent man, took the lead; the walls were repaired, arms and warlike instruments and machines of all kinds fabricated, and other preparations made. In this attitude of expectation—with occasional diversions, such as the expedition to Ascalon (*B. J.* iii. 2, §1, 2), and the skirmishes with Simon Bar-Gioras (ii. 22, §2)—the city remained while Vespasian was reducing the north of the country, and till the fall of Giscala (Oct. or Nov. 67), when John, the son of Levi, escaped thence to Jerusalem, to become one of the most prominent persons in the future conflict.

From the arrival of John, two years and a half elapsed till Titus appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The whole of that time was occupied in contests between the moderate party, whose desire was to take such a course as might yet preserve the nationality of the Jews and the existence of the city, and the Zealots or fanatics, the assertors of national independence, who scouted the idea of compromise, and resolved to regain their freedom or perish. The Zealots, being utterly unscrupulous, and resorting to massacre on the least resistance, soon triumphed, and at last reigned paramount, with no resistance but such as sprang from their own internal factions. For the repulsive details of this frightful period of contention and outrage the reader must be referred to other works.<sup>c</sup> It will be sufficient to say that at the beginning of 70, when Titus made his appearance, the Zealots themselves were divided into two parties—that of John of Giscala and Eleazar, who held the Temple and its courts and the Antonia—8400 men; that of Simon Bar-Gioras, whose head-quarters were in the tower Phasaelus (v. 4, §3), and who held the upper city, from the present Coenaculum to the Latin Convent, the lower city in the valley, and the district where the old Acra had formerly stood, north of the Temple—10,000 men, and 5000 Idumeans (*B. J.* v. 6, §1), in all a force of between 23,000 and 24,000 soldiers trained in the civil encounters of the last two years to great skill and thorough recklessness.<sup>d</sup> The numbers of the other inhabitants, swelled, as they were, by the strangers and pilgrims who flocked from the country to the Passover, is it extremely difficult to decide. Tacitus, doubtless from some Roman source, gives the whole at 600,000. Josephus states that 1,100,000 perished during the siege (*B. J.* vi. 9, §3; comp. v. 13, 7), and that more than 40,000 were allowed to depart into the country (vi. 8, §2), in addition to an "immense number" sold to the army, and who of course form a proportion of the 97,000 "carried captive during the whole war" (vi. 9, §3). We may therefore take Josephus's computation of the numbers at about 1,200,000. Reasons are given in the third section of this article for believing that even the smaller of these numbers is very greatly in excess, and that it cannot have exceeded 60,000 or 70,000 (see p. 1025).

"the most soul-stirring struggle of all ancient history." Of course the materials for all modern accounts are in Josephus only, excepting the few touches—strong, but not always accurate—in the 5th book of Tacitus' *Histories*.

<sup>d</sup> These are the numbers given by Josephus; but it is probable that they are exaggerated.

Titus's force consisted of four legions, and some auxiliaries—at the outside 30,000 men (*B. J.* v. 1, §6). These were disposed on their first arrival in three camps—the 12th and 15th legions on the ridge of Scopus, about a mile north of the city; the 5th a little in the rear; and the 10th on the top of the Mount of Olives (v. 2, §3, 5), to guard the road to the Jordan valley, and to shell the place (if the expression may be allowed) from that commanding position. The army was well furnished with artillery and machines of the latest and most approved invention—"cuncta expugnandis urbibus, reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingenis," says Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13). The first operation was to clear the ground between Scopus and the north wall of the city—fell the timber, destroy the fences of the gardens which fringed the wall, and level the rocky protuberances. This occupied four days. After it was done the three legions were marched forward from Scopus, and encamped off the north-west corner of the walls, stretching from the Tower Psephius to opposite Hippicus. The first step was to get possession of the outer wall. The point of attack chosen was in Simon's portion of the city, at a low and comparatively weak place near the monument of John Hyrcanus (v. 6, §2), close to the junction of the three walls, and where the upper city came to a level with the surrounding ground. Round this spot the three legions erected banks, from which they opened batteries, pushing up the rams and other engines of attack to the foot of the wall. One of the rams, more powerful than the rest, went among the Jews by the soubriquet of Nikōn,\* the conqueror. Three large towers, 75 feet high, were also erected, overtopping the wall. Meantime from their camp on the Mount of Olives the 10th legion opened fire on the Temple and the east side of the city. They had the heaviest balistae, and did great damage. Simon and his men did not suffer these works to go on without molestation. The catapults, both those taken from Cestius, and those found in the Antonia, were set up on the wall, and constant desperate sallies were made. At last the Jews began to tire of their fruitless assaults. They saw that the wall must fall, and, as they had done during Nebuchadnezzar's siege, they left their posts at night, and went home. A breach was made by the redoubtable Nikōn on the 7th Artemisius (cir. April 15); and here the Romans entered, driving the Jews before them to the second wall. A great length of the wall was then broken down; such parts of Bezetha as had escaped destruction by Cestius were levelled, and a new camp was formed, on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians, and still known as the "Assyrian camp."

This was a great step in advance. Titus now lay with the second wall of the city close to him on his right, while before him at no considerable distance rose Antonia and the Temple, with no obstacle in the interval to his attack. Still, however, he preferred, before advancing, to get possession of the second wall, and the neighbourhood of John's monument was again chosen. Simon was no less reckless in assault, and no less feible in stratagem, than before; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, in five days a breach was again effected. The district into which the Romans

had now penetrated was the great Valley which lay between the two main hills of the city, occupied then, as it is still, by an intricate mass of narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets of the city—no doubt very like the present bazars. Titus's breach was where the wool, cloth, and brass bazars came up to the wall (v. 8, §1). This district was held by the Jews with the greatest tenacity. Knowing, as they did, every turn of the lanes and alleys, they had an immense advantage over the Romans, and it was only after four days' incessant fighting, much loss, and one thorough repulse, that the Romans were able to make good their position. However, at last, Simon was obliged to retreat, and then Titus demolished the wall. This was the second step in the siege.

Meantime some shots had been interchanged in the direction of the Antonia, but no serious attack was made. Before beginning there in earnest Titus resolved to give his troops a few days' rest, and the Jews a short opportunity for reflection. He therefore called in the 10th legion from the Mount of Olives, and held an inspection of the whole army on the ground north of the Temple—full in view of both the Temple and the upper city, every wall and house in which were crowded with spectators (*B. J.* v. 9, §1). But the opportunity was thrown away upon the Jews, and after four days orders were given to recommence the attack. Hitherto the assault had been almost entirely on the city: it was now to be simultaneous on city and Temple. Accordingly two pairs of large batteries were constructed, the one pair in front of Antonia; the other at the old point of attack—the monument of John Hyrcanus. The first pair was erected by the 5th and 12th legions, and was near the pool Stuthius—probably the present *Birket Israel*, by the St. Stephen's gate; the second by the 10th and 15th, at the pool called the Almond pool—possibly that now known as the pool of Hezekiah—and near the high-priest's monument (v. 11, §4). These tanks seem to have been constructed of timber and fascines, to which the Romans must have been driven by the scarcity of earth. They absorbed the incessant labour of seventeen days, and were completed on the 29th Artemisius (cir. May 7). John in the meantime had not been idle; he had employed the seventeen days' respite in diving mines, through the solid limestone of the hill, from within the fortress (v. xi. §4; vi. 1, §3) to below the banks. The mines were formed with timber roofs and supports. When the banks were quite complete, and the engines placed upon them, the timber of the galleries was fired, the superincumbent ground gave way, and the labour of the Romans was totally destroyed. At the other point Simon had maintained a resistance with all his former intrepidity, and more than his former success. He had now greatly increased the number of his machines, and his people were much more expert in handling them than before, so that he was able to impede materially the progress of the works. And when they were completed, and the battering rams had begun to make a sensible impression on the wall, he made a furious assault on them, and succeeded in firing the rams seriously damaging the other engines, and destroying the banks (v. 11, §5, 6).

It now became plain to Titus that some other

\* ὁ Νίκων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ Νίκτα νικᾶν (*B. J.* v. 7, §2). A curious question is raised by the occurrence of this and other Greek names in Josephus; so stated as to lead to the inference that Greek was familiarly used

by the Jews indiscriminately with Hebrew. See the catalogues of names in *B. J.* v. 4, §2.

† Compare Mahaneh-Dan, "camp of Dan" (*Judg.* xviii. 12).

measures for the reduction of the place must be adopted. It would appear that hitherto the southern and western parts of the city had not been invested, and on that side a certain amount of communication was kept up with the country, which, unless stopped, might prolong the siege indefinitely (*B. J.* v. 12, §1; 10, §3; 11, §1; 12, §3). The number who thus escaped is stated by Josephus at more than 500 a day (v. 11, §1). A council of war was therefore held, and it was resolved to encompass the whole place with a wall, and then recommence the assault. The wall began at the Roman camp—a spot probably outside the modern north wall, between the Damascus gate and the N.E. corner. From thence it went to the lower part of Bezetha—about St. Stephen's gate; then across Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence south, by a rock called the "Pigeon's rock,"—possibly the modern "Tombs of the Prophets"—to the Mount of Offence. It then turned to the west; again dipped into the Kedron, ascended the Mount of Evil Counsel, and so kept on the upper side of the ravine to a village called Beth-Erebinthi, whence it ran outside of Herod's monument to its starting point at the camp. Its entire length was 39 furlongs,—very near 5 miles; and it contained 13 stations or guard-houses. The whole strength of the army was employed on the work, and it was completed in the short space of three days. The siege was then vigorously pressed. The north attack was relinquished, and the whole force concentrated on the Antonia (12, §4). Four new banks of greater size than before were constructed, and as all the timber in the neighbourhood had been already cut down, the materials had to be procured from a distance of eleven miles (vi. 1, §1). Twenty-one days were occupied in completing the banks. Their position is not specified, but it is evident, from some of the expressions of Josephus, that they were at a considerable distance from the fortress (vi. 1, §3). At length on the 1st Panemus or Tamuz (cir. June 7), the fire from the banks commenced, under cover of which the rams were set to work, and that night a part of the wall fell at a spot where the foundations had been weakened by the mines employed against the former attacks. Still this was but an outwork, and between it and the fortress itself a new wall was discovered, which John had taken the precaution to build. At length, after two desperate attempts, this wall and that of the inner fortress were scaled by a bold surprise, and on the 5th Panemus (June 11) the Antonia was in the hands of the Romans (vi. 1, §7). Another week was occupied in breaking down the outer walls of the fortress for the passage of the machines, and a further delay took place in erecting new banks, on the fresh level, for the bombardment and battery of the Temple. During the whole of this time—the miseries of which are commemorated in the traditional name of *yomin dešeka*, "days of wretchedness," applied by the Jews to the period between the 17th Tamuz and the 9th Ab—the most desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, some in the passages from the Antonia to the cloisters, some in the cloisters themselves, the Romans endeavouring to force their way in, the Jews preventing them. But the Romans gradually gained ground. First the western, and then the whole of the northern external cloister was burnt

(27th and 28th Pan.), and then the wall enclosing the court of Israel and the holy house itself. In the interval, on the 17th Panemus, the daily sacrifice had failed, owing to the want of officiating priests; a circumstance which had greatly distressed the people, and was taken advantage of by Titus to make a further though fruitless invitation to surrender. At length, on the tenth day of Lous or Ab (July 15), by the wanton act of a soldier, contrary to the intention of Titus, and in spite of every exertion he could make to stop it, the sanctuary itself was fired (vi. 4, §5-7). It was, by one of those rare coincidences that sometimes occur, the very same month and day of the month that the first temple had been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar (vi. 4, §8). John, and such of his party as escaped the flames and the carnage, made their way by the bridge on the south to the upper city. The whole of the cloisters that had hitherto escaped, including the magnificent triple colonnade of Herod on the south of the Temple, the treasury chambers, and the rooms round the outer courts, were now all burnt and demolished. Only the edifice of the sanctuary itself still remained. On its solid masonry the fire had had comparatively little effect, and there were still hidden in its recesses a few faithful priests who had contrived to rescue the most valuable of the utensils, vessels, and spices of the sanctuary (vi. 6, §1; 8, §3).

The Temple was at last gained; but it seemed as if half the work remained to be done. The upper city, higher than Moriah, enclosed by the original wall of David and Solomon, and on all sides precipitous except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken. Titus first tried a parley—he standing on the east end of the bridge between the Temple and the upper city, and John and Simon on the west end. His terms, however, were rejected, and no alternative was left him but to force on the siege. The whole of the low part of the town—the crowded lanes of which we have so often heard—was burnt, in the teeth of a frantic resistance from the Zealots (vi. 7, §1), together with the council-house, the repository of the records (doubtless occupied by Simon since its former destruction), and the palace of Helena, which were situated in this quarter—the suburb of Ophel under the south wall of the Temple, and the houses as far as Siloam on the lower slopes of the Temple mount.

It took 18 days to erect the necessary works for the siege; the four legions were once more stationed at the west or north-west corner where Herod's palace abutted on the wall, and where the three magnificent and impregnable towers of Hippicus, Phaselus, and Mariamne rose conspicuous (vi. 8, §1, and §4 *ad fin.*) This was the main attack. Opposite the Temple, the precipitous nature of the slopes of the upper city rendered it unlikely that any serious attempt would be made by the Jews, and this part accordingly, between the bridge and the Xystus, was left to the auxiliaries. The attack was commenced on the 7th of Gorpineus (cir. Sept. 11), and by the next day a breach was made in the wall, and the Romans at last entered the city. During the attack John and Simon appear to have stationed themselves in the towers just alluded to; and had they remained there they would probably have been

\* Josephus contradicts himself about this date, since in vi. 2, §1 he says that the 17th Panemus was the "very day" that Antonia was entered. The date

given in the text agrees best with the narrative. But on the other hand the 17th is the day commemorated in the Jewish Calendar.

able to make terms, as the towers were considered impregnable (vi. 8, §4). But on the first signs of the breach, they took flight, and, traversing the city, descended into the valley of Hinnom below Siloam, and endeavoured to force the wall of circumvallation and so make their escape. On being repulsed there, they took refuge apart in some of the subterranean caverns or sewers of the city. John shortly after surrendered himself; but Simon held out for several weeks, and did not make his appearance until after Titus had quitted the city. They were both reserved for the Triumph at Rome.

The city being taken, such parts as had escaped the former conflagrations were burned, and the whole of both city and Temple was ordered to be demolished, excepting the west wall of the upper city, and Herod's three great towers at the north-west corner, which were left standing as memorials of the massive nature of the fortifications.

Of the Jews, the aged and infirm were killed; the children under seventeen were sold as slaves; the rest were sent, some to the Egyptian mines, some to the provincial amphitheatres, and some to grace the Triumph of the Conqueror.<sup>a</sup> Titus then departed, leaving the tenth legion under the command of Terentius Rutilus to carry out the work of demolition. Of this Josephus assures us that "the whole<sup>1</sup> was so thoroughly levelled and dug up that no one visiting it would believe it had ever been inhabited" (*B. J.* vii. 1, §1). [G.]

*From its destruction by Titus to the present time.*

—For more than fifty years after its destruction by Titus Jerusalem disappears from history. During the revuls of the Jews in Cyrenica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, which disturbed the latter years of Trajan, the recovery of their city was never attempted. There is indeed reason to believe that Lucius, the head of the insurgents in Egypt, fed his followers into Palestine, where they were defeated by the Roman general Turbo, but Jerusalem is not once mentioned as the scene of their operations. Of its annals during this period we know nothing. Three towers and part of the western wall alone remained of its strong fortifications to protect the cohorts who occupied the conquered city, and the soldiers' huts were long the only buildings on its site. But in the reign of Hadrian it again emerged from its obscurity, and became the centre of an insurrection, which the best blood of Rome was shed to subdue. In despair of keeping the Jews in subjection by other means, the Emperor had formed a design to restore Jerusalem, and thus prevent it from ever becoming a rallying point for this turbulent race. In furtherance of his plan he had sent thither a colony of veterans, in numbers sufficient for the defence of a position so strong by nature against the then known modes of attack. To this measure Dion Cassius (lxxix. 12) attributes a renewal of the insurrection, while Eusebius asserts that it was not carried into execution till the outbreak was quelled. Be this as it may, the embers of revolt, long smouldering, burst into a flame soon after Hadrian's departure

from the East in A.D. 132. The contemptuous indifference of the Romans, or the secrecy of their own plans, enabled the Jews to organise a widespread conspiracy. Bar Cocheba, their leader, the third, according to Rabbinical writers, of a dynasty of the same name, princes of the captivity, was crowned king at Bethar by the Jews who thronged to him, and by the populace was regarded as the Messiah. His armour-bearer, R. Akiba, claimed descent from Siera, and hated the Romans with the fierce rancour of his adopted nation. All the Jews in Palestine flocked to his standard. At an early period in the revolt they became masters of Jerusalem, and attempted to rebuild the Temple. The exact date of this attempt is uncertain, but the fact is inferred from allusions in Chrysostom (*Or. 3 in Judaeos*), Nicephorus (*H. E.* lii. 24), and George Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* 249), and the collateral evidence of a coin of the period. Hadrian, alarmed at the rapid spread of the insurrection, and the ineffectual efforts of his troops to repress it, summoned from Britain Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time, to take the command of the army of Judaea. Two years were spent in a fierce guerilla warfare before Jerusalem was taken, after a desperate defence in which Bar Cocheba perished. The courage of the defenders was shaken by the falling in of the vaults on Mount Zion, and the Romans became masters of the position (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 122). But the war did not end with the capture of the city. The Jews in great force had occupied the fortress of Bethar, and there maintained a struggle with all the tenacity of despair against the repeated onsets of the Romans. At length, worn out by famine and disease, they yielded on the 9th of the month Ab, A.D. 135, and the grandson of Bar Cocheba was among the slain. The slaughter was frightful. The Romans, say the Rabbinical historians, waded to their horse-bridles in blood, which flowed with the fury of a mountain torrent. The corpses of the slain, according to the same veracious authorities, extended for more than thirteen miles, and remained unburied till the reign of Antoninus. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, while the number of victims to the attendant calamities of war was countless. On the side of the Romans the loss was enormous, and so dearly bought was their victory, that Hadrian, in his letter to the Senate, announcing the conclusion of the war, did not adopt the usual congratulatory phrase. Bar Cocheba has left traces of his occupation of Jerusalem in coins which were struck during the first two years of the war. Four silver coins, three of them undoubtedly belonging to Trajan, have been discovered, restamped with Samaritan characters. But the rebel-leader, amply supplied with the precious metals by the contributions of his followers, afterwards coined his own money. The mint was probably during the first two years of the war at Jerusalem; the coins struck during that period bearing the inscription, "to the freedom of Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the holy." They are mentioned in both Talmuds.

<sup>a</sup> The prisoners were collected for this final partition in the Court of the Women. Josephus states that during the process eleven thousand died! It is a good instance of the exaggeration in which he indulges on those matters; for taking the largest estimate of the Court of the Women (Lightfoot's), it contained 35,000 square feet, *i. e.* little more than 3 square feet for each of those who died not to speak of the living.

<sup>1</sup> The word used by Josephus—*περίβολος τῆς πόλεως*—may mean either the whole place, or the inclosing walls, or the precinct of the Temple. The statements of the Talmud perhaps imply that the foundations of the Temple only were dug up (see the quotations in Schwarz, 385); and even these seem to have been in existence in the time of Chrysostom (*Ad Judaeos*, iii. 431).

Hadrian's first policy, after the suppression of the revolt, was to obliterate the existence of Jerusalem as a city. The ruins which Titus had left were razed to the ground, and the plough passed over the foundations of the Temple. A colony of Roman citizens occupied the new city which rose from the ashes of Jerusalem, and their number was afterwards augmented by the Emperor's veteran legionaries. A temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was erected on the site of the sacred edifice of the Jews, and among the ornaments of the new city were a theatre, two market places (*ἀγοραῖα*), a building called *τερεννυμφον*, and another called *κόδρα*. It was divided into seven quarters, each of which had its own warden. Mount Zion lay without the walls (Jerome, *Mic.* iii. 12; *Itin. Hieros.* p. 592, ed. Wesseling). That the northern wall inclosed the so-called sacred places, though asserted by Deyling, is regarded by Münter as a fable of a later date. A temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterwards identified with the Sepulchre, appears on coins, with four columns and the inscription C. A. C., *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, but it is more than doubtful whether it was erected at this time. The worship of Serapis was introduced from Egypt. A statue of the Emperor was raised on the site of the Holy of Holies (Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 24); and it must have been near the same spot that the Bourdeaux pilgrim saw two statues of Hadrian, not far from the "lapis pertusius" which the Jews of his day yearly visited and anointed with oil (*Itin. Hieros.* p. 591).

It was not, however, till the following year, A.D. 136, that Hadrian, on celebrating his Vicennalia, bestowed upon the new city the name of Aelia Capitolina, combining with his own family title the name of Jupiter of the Capitol, the guardian deity of the colony. Christians and pagans alone were allowed to reside. Jews were forbidden to enter on pain of death, and this prohibition remained in force in the time of Tertullian. But the conqueror, though stern, did not descend to wanton mockery. The swine, sculptured by the Emperor's command over the gate leading to Bethlehem (Euseb. *Chron. Hadr. Ann.* xx.), was not intended as an insult to the conquered race to bar their entrance to the city of their fathers, but was one of the *signa militaria* of the Roman army. About the middle of the 4th century the Jews were allowed to visit the neighbourhood, and afterwards, once a year, to enter the city itself, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Jerome (on *Zeph.* i. 15) drawn a vivid picture of the wretched crowds of Jews who in his day assembled at the wailing-place by the west wall of the Temple to bemoan the loss of their ancestral greatness. On the ninth of the month Ab might be seen the aged and decrepit of both sexes, with tattered garments and dishevelled hair, who met to weep over the downfall of Jerusalem, and purchased permission of the soldiery to prolong their lamentations ("et miles mercedem postulat ut illis fletus plus liceat").

So completely were all traces of the ancient city obliterated that its very name was in process of time forgotten. It was not till after Constantine built the *Martyrion* on the site of the crucifixion, that its ancient appellation was revived. In the 7th canon of the Council of Nicaea the bishop of Aelia is mentioned; but Macarius, in subscribing to the canons, designated himself bishop of Jerusalem. The name Aelia occurs as late as Adamnanus (A.D. 697), and is even found in Edrisi and Mejr ed-Din about 1495.

After the inauguration of the new colony of Aelia the annals of the city again relapse into an obscurity which is only represented in history by a list of twenty-three Christian bishops, who filled up the interval between the election of Marcus, the first of the series, and Macarius in the reign of Constantine. Already in the third century the Holy Places had become objects of enthusiasm, and the pilgrimage of Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia, and afterwards of Jerusalem, is matter of history. In the following century such pilgrimages became more common. The aged Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, visited Palestine in A.D. 326, and, according to tradition, erected magnificent churches at Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives. Her son, fired with the same zeal, swept away the shrine of Astarte, which occupied the site of the resurrection, and founded in its stead a chapel or oratory. On the east of this was a large court, the eastern side being formed by the *Basilica*, erected on the spot where the cross was said to have been found. The latter of these buildings is that known as the *Martyrion*; the former was the church of the *Anastasis*, or Resurrection: their locality will be considered in the following section (p. 1029, &c.). The *Martyrion* was completed A.D. 335, and its dedication celebrated by a great council of bishops, first at Tyre, and afterwards at Jerusalem, at which Eusebius was present. In the reign of Julian (A.D. 362) the Jews, with the permission and at the instigation of the Emperor, made an abortive attempt to lay the foundations of a temple. From whatever motive, Julian had formed the design of restoring the Jewish worship on Mount Moriah to its pristine splendour, and during his absence in the East the execution of his project was entrusted to his favourite, Alypius of Antioch. Materials of every kind were provided at the emperor's expense, and so great was the enthusiasm of the Jews that their women took part in the work, and in the laps of their garments carried off the earth which covered the ruins of the Temple. But a sudden whirlwind and earthquake shattered the stones of the former foundations; the workmen fled for shelter to one of the neighbouring churches (*ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀχαιοῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 111), the doors of which were closed against them by an invisible hand, and a fire issuing from the Temple-mount raged the whole day and consumed their tools. Numbers perished in the flames. Some who escaped took refuge in a portico near at hand, which fell at night and crushed them as they slept (Theodor. *H. E.* iii. 15; *Sozomen*, v. 21; see also Ambros. *Epist. ad Theodosium*, lib. ii. ep. 17). Whatever may have been the colouring which this story received as it passed through the hands of the ecclesiastical historians, the impartial narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 1), the friend and companion in arms of the emperor, leaves no reasonable doubt of the truth of the main facts that the work was interrupted by fire, which all attributed to supernatural agency. In the time of Chrysostom the foundations of the Temple still remained, to which the orator could appeal (*ad Judaeos*, iii. 431; Paris, 1836). The event was regarded as a judgment of God upon the impious attempt of Julian to falsify the predictions of Christ: a position which Bishop Warburton defends with great skill in his treatise on the subject.

During the fourth and fifth centuries Jerusalem became the centre of attraction for pilgrims from all regions, and its bishops contended with those of

Caesarea for the supremacy; but it was not till after the council of Chalcedon (451-453) that it was made an independent patriarchate. In the theological controversies which followed the decision of that council with regard to the two natures of Christ, Jerusalem bore its share with other Oriental churches, and two of its bishops were deposed by Monophysite fanatics. The synod of Jerusalem in A.D. 536 confirmed the decree of the synod of Constantinople against the Monophysites.

In 529 the Emperor Justinian founded at Jerusalem a splendid church in honour of the Virgin, which has been identified by most writers with the building known in modern times as the Mosque el-Aksa, but of which probably no remains now exist (see p. 1033b). Procopius, the historian, ascribes to the same Emperor the erection of ten or eleven monasteries in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and Jericho. Eutychius adds that he built a hospital for strangers in Jerusalem, and that the church above-mentioned was begun by the patriarch Elias, and completed by Justinian. Later in the same century Gregory the Great (590-604) sent the abbot Probus to Jerusalem with a large sum of money, and endowed a hospital for pilgrims, which Robinson suggests is the same as that now used by the Muslims for the like purpose, and called by the Arabs *et-Tidtyeh*.

For nearly five centuries the city had been free from the horrors of war. The merchants of the Mediterranean sent their ships to the coasts of Syria, and Jerusalem became a centre of trade, as well as of devotion. But this rest was roughly broken by the invading Persian army under Chosroes II., who swept through Syria, drove the imperial troops before them, and, after the capture of Antioch and Damascus, marched upon Jerusalem. A multitude of Jews from Tiberias and Galilee followed in their train. The city was invested, and taken by assault in June, 614; thousands of the monks and clergy were slain; the suburbs were burnt, churches demolished, and that of the Holy Sepulchre injured, if not consumed, by fire. The invading army in their retreat carried with them the patriarch Zacharias, and the wood of the true cross, besides multitudes of captives. During the exile of the patriarch, his vicar Modestus, supplied with money and workmen by the munificent John Eleemon, patriarch of Alexandria, restored the churches of the Resurrection and Calvary, and also that of the Assumption. After a struggle of fourteen years the imperial arms were again victorious, and in 628 Heraclius entered Jerusalem on foot, at the head of a triumphal procession, bearing the true cross on his shoulder. The restoration of the churches is, with greater probability, attributed by William of Tyre to the liberality of the emperor (*Hist.* i. 1).

The dominion of the Christians in the Holy City was now rapidly drawing to a close. After an obstinate defence of four months, in the depth of winter, against the impetuous attacks of the Arabs, the patriarch Sophronius surrendered to the Khalif Omar in person A.D. 637. The valour of the besieged extorted unwilling admiration from the victors, and obtained for them terms unequalled for leniency in the history of Arab conquest. The Khalif, after ratifying the terms of capitulation, which secured to the Christians liberty of worship in the churches which they had, but prohibited the erection of more, entered the city, and was met at the gates by the patriarch. Sophronius received him with the un courteous exclamation, "Verily this is the

abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place" and the chronicler does not forget to record the ragged dress and "satanic hypocrisy" of the hardy khalif (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 426). Omar then, in company with the patriarch, visited the Church of the Resurrection, and at the Muslim time of prayer knelt down on the eastern steps of the Basilica, refusing to pray within the buildings, in order that the possession of them might be secured to the Christians. Tradition relates that he requested a site whereon to erect a mosque for the Mohammedan worship, and that the patriarch assigned him the spot occupied by the reputed stone of Jacob's vision: over this he is said to have built the mosque afterwards known by his name (*Eutychii Chron.* ii. 285; Ockley, *Hist. of Sar.* 205-214, Bohn), and which still exists in the S.E. corner of the Aksa. Henceforth Jerusalem became for Muslims, as well as Christians, a sacred place, and the Mosque of Omar shared the honours of pilgrimage with the renowned Kaaba of Mecca.

In the reign of Charlemagne (771-814) ambassadors were sent by the Emperor of the West to distribute alms in the Holy City, and on their return were accompanied by envoys from the enlightened Khalif Hārūn er-Rashid, bearing to Charlemagne the keys of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. But these amenities were not of long continuance. The dissensions which ensued upon the death of the khalif spread to Jerusalem, and churches and convents suffered in the general anarchy. About the same period the feud between the Jektanite and Ishmaelite Arabs assumed an alarming aspect. The former, after devastating the neighbouring region, made an attempt upon Jerusalem, but were repulsed by the signal valour of its garrison. In the reign of the Khalif El Motasem it was held for a time by the rebel chief Tamūn Abu-Hareb.

With the fall of the Abassides the Holy City passed into the hands of the Fatimite conqueror Muezz, who fixed the seat of his empire at Musr el-Kāhirah, the modern Cairo (A.D. 969). Under the Fatimite dynasty the sufferings of the Christians in Jerusalem reached their height, when El-Hakem, the third of his line, ascended the throne (A.D. 996). The church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been twice dismantled and burnt within the previous seventy years (*Eutych. Ann.* ii. 529, 530; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 661), was again demolished (*Ademari Chron.* A.D. 1010), and its successor was not completed till A.D. 1048. A small chapel ("oratoria valde modica," Will. Tyr. viii. 3) supplied the place of the magnificent Basilica on Golgotha.

The pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the 11th century became a source of revenue to the Muslims, who exacted a tax of a byzant from every visitor to the Holy Sepulchre. Among the most remarkable pilgrimages of this century were those of Robert of Normandy (1035), Liebet of Cambray (1054), and the German bishops (1055).

In 1077 Jerusalem was pillaged by Afsis the Kharismanian, commander of the army sent by Melek Shah against the Syrian dominions of the khalif. About the year 1084 it was bestowed by Tutush, the brother of Melek Shah, upon Ortok, chief of a Turkman horde under his command. From this time till 1091 Ortok was emir of the city, and on his death it was held as a kind of fief by his sons Ilghāzy and Sukmān, whose severity

to the Christians became the proximate cause of the Crusades. Rudhwan, son of Tutuah, made an ineffectual attack upon Jerusalem in 1096. The city was ultimately taken, after a siege of forty days, by Afdal, vizir of the khalf of Egypt, and for eleven months had been governed by the Emir Iltikar ed-Dauleh, when, on the 7th of June, 1099, the crusading army appeared before the walls. After the fall of Antioch in the preceding year the remains of their numerous host marched along between Lebanon and the sea, passing Byblos, Beyrouth, and Tyre on their road, and so through Lydda, Ramleh, and the ancient Emmaus, to Jerusalem. The crusaders, 40,000 in number, but with little more than 20,000 effective troops, reconnoitred the city, and determined to attack it on the north. Their camp extended from the gate of St. Stephen to that beneath the tower of David. Godfrey of Lorraine occupied the extreme left (East); next him was Count Robert of Flanders; Robert of Normandy held the third place; and Tancred was posted at the N.W. corner tower, afterwards called by his name. Raymond of Toulouse originally encamped against the west gate, but afterwards withdrew half his force to the part between the city and the church of Zion. At the tidings of their approach the khalf of Egypt gave orders for the repair of the towers and walls; the fountains and wells for five or six miles round (Will. Tyr. vii. 23), with the exception of Siloam, were stopped, as in the days of Hezekiah, when the city was invested by Sennacherib's host of Assyrians. On the fifth day after their arrival the crusaders attacked the city and drove the Saracens from the outworks, but were compelled to suspend their operations till the arrival of the Genoese engineers. Another month was consumed in constructing engines to attack the walls, and meanwhile the besiegers suffered all the horrors of thirst in a burning sun. At length the engines were completed and the day fixed for the assault. On the night of the 13th of July Godfrey had changed his plan of attack, and removed his engines to a weaker part of the wall between the gate of St. Stephen and the corner tower overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat on the north. At break of day the city was assaulted in three points at once. Tancred and Raymond of Toulouse attacked the walls opposite their own positions. Night only separated the combatants, and was spent by both armies in preparations for the morrow's contest. Next day, after seven hours' hard fighting, the drawbridge from Godfrey's tower was let down. Godfrey was first upon the wall, followed by the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Normandy; the northern gate was thrown open, and at three o'clock on Friday the 15th of July Jerusalem was in the hands of the crusaders. Raymond of Toulouse entered without opposition by the Zion gate. The carnage was terrible: 10,000 Muslims fell within the sacred enclosure. Order was gradually restored, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected king (Will. Tyr. viii.). Churches were established, and for eighty-eight years Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Christians. In 1187 it was retaken by Saladin after a siege of several weeks. Five years afterwards (1192), in anticipation of an attack by Richard of England, the fortifications were strengthened and new walls built, and the supply of water again cut off (Barhebr. *Chron.* p. 421). During the winter of 1191-2 the work was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. Fifty skilled masons, sent by Alaeddin of Mosul,

rendered able assistance, and two thousand Christian captives were pressed into the service. The Sultan rode round the fortifications each day encouraging the workmen, and even brought them stones on his horse's saddle. His sons, his brother Malek al-Adel, and the Emirs ably seconded his efforts, and within six months the works were completed, solid and durable as a rock (Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, iv. 457, 458). The walls and towers were demolished by order of the Sultan Melek el Mu'adhdhem of Damascus in 1219, and in this defenceless condition the city was ceded to the Christians by virtue of the treaty with the Emperor Frederick II. An attempt to rebuild the walls in 1239 was frustrated by an assault by David of Kerak, who dismantled the city anew. In 1243 it again came into the hands of the Christians, and in the following year sustained a siege by the wild Kharismanian hordes, who slaughtered the priests and monks who had taken refuge in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and after plundering the city withdrew to Gaza. After their departure Jerusalem again reverted to the Mohammedans, in whose hands it still remains. The defeat of the Christians at Gaza was followed by the occupation of the Holy City by the forces of the Sultan of Egypt.

In 1277 Jerusalem was nominally annexed to the kingdom of Sicily. In 1517 it passed under the sway of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I., whose successor Suliman built the present walls of the city in 1542. Mohammed Aly, the Pasha of Egypt, took possession of it in 1832. In 1834 it was seized and held for a time by the Fellahin during the insurrection, and in 1840, after the bombardment of Acre, was again restored to the Sultan.

Such in brief is a sketch of the chequered fortunes of the Holy City since its destruction by Titus. The details will be found in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; Prof. Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* i. 365-407; the Rev. G. Williams' *Holy City*, vol. i.; Wilken's *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*; Deyling's *Diss. de Aelias Capitolinas orig. et historia*; and Bp. Münster's *History of the Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, translated in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 393-455. [W. A. W.]

### III. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY.

There is perhaps no city in the ancient world the topography of which ought to be so easily determined as that of Jerusalem. In the first place, the city always was small, and is surrounded by deep valleys, while the form of the ground within its limits is so strongly marked that there never could apparently be any great difficulty in ascertaining its general extent, or in fixing its more prominent features; and on the other hand we have in the works of Josephus a more full and complete topographical description of this city than of almost any other in the ancient world. It is certain that he was intimately acquainted with the localities he describes, and as his copious descriptions can be tested by comparing them with the details of the siege by Titus which he afterwards narrates, there ought to be no difficulty in settling at least all the main points. Nor would there ever have been any, but for the circumstance that for a long period after the destruction of the city by Titus, the place was practically deserted by its original inhabitants, and the continuity of tradition consequently broken in upon; and after this, when it again appears in history, it is as a sacred city, and at a period the most uncritical of any known in

the modern history of the world. During at least ten centuries of what are called most properly the dark ages, it was thought necessary to find a locality for every event mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures which had taken place within or near its walls. These were in most instances fixed arbitrarily, there being no constant tradition to guide the topographer, so that the confusion which has arisen has become perplexing, to a degree that can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to unravel the tangled thread; and now that long centuries of constant tradition have added sanctity to the localities, it is extremely difficult to shake oneself free from its influence, and to investigate the subject in that critical spirit which is necessary to elicit the truth so long buried in obscurity.

It is only by taking up the thread of the narrative from the very beginning, and admitting nothing which cannot be proved, either by direct testimony or by local indications, that we can hope to clear up the mystery; but, with the ample materials that still exist, it only requires that this should be done in order to arrive at a correct determination of at least all the principal points of the topography of this sacred city.

So little has this been done hitherto, that there are at present before the public three distinct views of the topography of Jerusalem, so discrepant from one another in their most essential features, that a disinterested person might fairly feel himself justified in assuming that there existed no real data for the determination of the points at issue, and that the disputed questions must for ever remain in the same unsatisfactory state as at present.

1. The first of these theories is the most obvious, and has at all events the great merit of simplicity. It consists in the belief that all the sacred localities were correctly ascertained in the early ages of Christianity; and, what is still more important, that none have been changed during the dark ages that followed, or in the numerous revolutions to which the city has been exposed. Consequently, inferring that all which the traditions of the middle ages have handed down to us may be implicitly relied upon. The advantages of this theory are so manifest, that it is little wonder that it should be so popular and find so many advocates.

The first person who ventured publicly to express his dissent from this view was Korte, a German printer, who travelled in Palestine about the year 1728. On visiting Jerusalem he was struck with the apparent impossibility of reconciling the site of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre with the exigencies of the Bible narrative, and on his return home published a work denying the authenticity of the so-called sacred localities. His heresies excited very little attention at the time, or for long afterwards; but the spirit of enquiry which has sprung up during the present century has revived the controversy which has so long been dormant, and many pious and earnest men, both Protestant and Catholic, have expressed with more or less distinctness the difficulties they feel in reconciling the assumed localities with the indications in the Bible. The arguments in favour of the present localities being the correct ones, are well summed up by the Rev. George Williams in his work on the Holy City, and with the assistance of Professor Willis all has been said that can be urged in favour of their authenticity. Nothing can exceed the ingenuity of the various hypotheses that are brought forward to explain away the admitted difficulties of the case;

but we look in vain for any new facts to counter-balance the significance of those so often urged on the other side, while the continued appeals to faith and to personal arguments, do not inspire confidence in the soundness of the data brought forward.

2. Professor Robinson, on the other hand, in his elaborate works on Palestine, has brought together all the arguments which from the time of Korte have been accumulating against the authenticity of the mediæval sites and traditions. He has done this with a power of logic which would probably have been conclusive had he been able to carry the argument to its legitimate conclusion. His want of knowledge of architecture and of the principles of architectural criticism, however, prevented him from perceiving that the present church of the Holy Sepulchre was wholly of an age subsequent to that of the Crusades, and without a trace of the style of Constantine. Nor was he, from the same causes, able to correct in a single instance the erroneous ascriptions given to many other buildings in Jerusalem, whose dates might have afforded a clue to the mystery. When, in consequence, he announced as the result of his researches the melancholy conclusion, that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was now, and must in all probability for ever remain a mystery, the effect was, that those who were opposed to his views clung all the more firmly to those they before entertained, preferring a site and a sepulchre which had been hallowed by the tradition of ages rather than launch forth on the shoreless sea of speculation which Dr. Robinson's negative conclusion opened out before them.

3. The third theory is that put forward by the author of this article in his "Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem." It agrees generally with the views urged by all those from Korte to Robinson, who doubt the authenticity of the present site of the sepulchre; but instead of acquiescing in the desponding view taken by the latter, it goes on to assert, for reasons which will be given hereafter, that the building now known to Christians as the Mosque of Omar, but by Moslems called the Dome of the Rock, is the identical church which Constantine erected over the Rock which contained the Tomb of Christ.

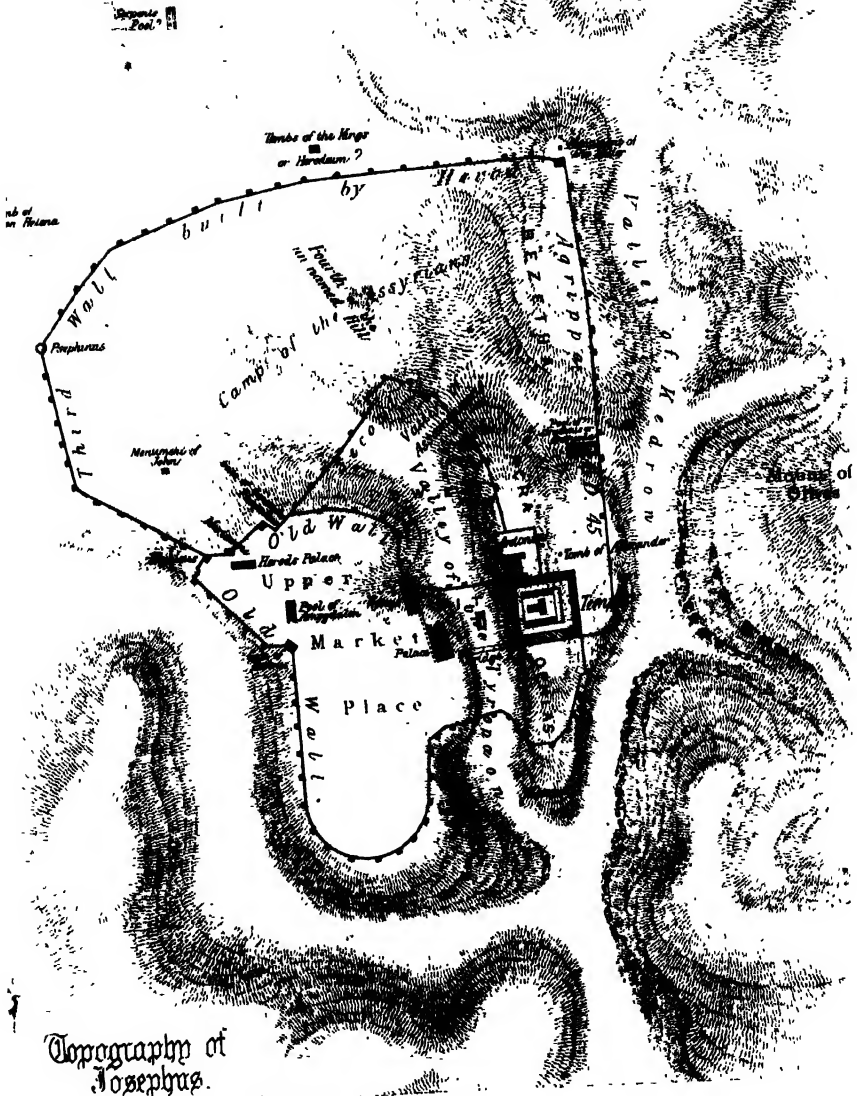
If this view of the topography can be maintained, it at once sets to rest all questions that can possibly arise as to the accordance of the sacred sites with the Bible narrative; for there is no doubt but that at the time of the crucifixion this locality was outside the walls, "near the judgment-seat," and "towards the country;" and it agrees in every respect with the minutest indication of the Scriptures.

It confirms all that was said by Eusebius, and all Christian and Mohammedan writers before the time of the Crusades, regarding the sacred localities, and brings the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan topography into order, and explains all that before was so puzzling.

It substitutes a building which no one doubts was built long before the time of the Crusades, for one which was undoubtedly was erected after that event; and one that now possesses in its centre a mass of living rock with one cave in it exactly as described by Eusebius, for one with only a small tabernacle of marble, where no rock ever was seen by human eyes; and it groups together buildings undoubtedly of the age of Constantine, whose juxta-position it is otherwise impossible to account for.

A theory offering such advantages as these ought either to be welcomed by all Christian men,

## Scopus





or assailed by earnest reasoning, and not rejected without good and solid objections being brought against it. For it never can be unimportant even to the best established creeds to deprive scoffers of every opportunity for a sneer, and it is always wise to offer to the wavering every testimony which may tend to confirm them in their faith.

The most satisfactory way of investigating the subject will probably be to commence at the time of the greatest prosperity of Jerusalem, immediately before its downfall, which also happens to be the period when we have the greatest amount of knowledge regarding its features. If we can determine what was then its extent, and fix the more important localities at that period, there will be no great difficulty in ascertaining the proper sites for the events which may have happened either before or after. All that now remains of the ancient city of course existed then; and the descriptions of Josephus, in so far as they are to be trusted, apply to the city as he then saw it; so that the evidence is at that period more complete and satisfactory than at any other time, and the city itself being then at its greatest extent, it necessarily included all that existed either before or afterwards.

It will not be necessary here to dwell upon the much disputed point of the veracity of the historian on whose testimony we must principally rely on this matter. It will be sufficient to remark that every new discovery, every improved plan that has been made, has served more and more to confirm the testimony of Josephus, and to give a higher idea of the minute accuracy of his local knowledge. In no one instance has he yet been convicted of any material error in describing localities in *plan*. Many difficulties which were thought at one time to be insuperable have disappeared with a more careful investigation of the data; and now that the city has been carefully mapped and explored, there seems every probability of our being able to reconcile all his descriptions with the appearance of the existing localities. So much indeed is this the case that one cannot help suspecting that the Roman army was provided with surveyors who could map out the localities with very tolerable precision; and that, though writing at Rome, Josephus had before him data which checked and guided him in all he said as to horizontal dimensions. This becomes more probable when we consider how moderate all these are, and how consistent with existing remains, and compare them with his strangely exaggerated statements whenever he speaks of heights or describes the arrangement of buildings which had been destroyed in the siege, and of which it may be supposed no record or correct description then existed. He seems to have felt himself at liberty to indulge his national vanity in respect to these, but to have been checked when speaking of what still existed, and could never be falsified. The consequence is, that in almost all instances we may implicitly rely on anything he says with regard to the *plan* of Jerusalem, and as to anything that existed or could be tested at the time he wrote, but must receive with the greatest caution any assertion with regard to what did not then remain, or respecting which no accurate evidence could be adduced to refute his statement.

In attempting to follow the description of Josephus there are two points which it is necessary should be fixed in order to understand what follows.

The first of these is the position and dimensions

of the Temple; the second the position of the Tower Hippicus.

Thanks to modern investigation there now seems to be little difficulty in determining the first, with all the accuracy requisite to our present purposes. The position of the Tower Hippicus cannot be determined with the same absolute certainty, but can be fixed within such limits as to allow no reasonable doubts as to its locality.

I. *Site of the Temple.*—Without any exception, all topographers are now agreed that the Temple stood within the limits of the great area now known as the Haram, though few are agreed as to the portion of that space which it covered; and at least one author places it in the centre, and not at the southern extremity of the enclosure. With this exception all topographers are agreed that the south-western angle of the Haram area was one of the angles of the ancient Jewish Temple. In the first place it is admitted that the Temple was a rectangle, and this happens to be the only right angle of the whole enclosure. In the next place, in his description of the great Stoa Basilica of the Temple, Josephus distinctly states that it stood on the southern wall and overhung the valley (*Ant.* xv. 16, §5). Again, the discovery of the remains of the arch of a bridge, commencing about 40 feet from the S.W. angle in the western wall,

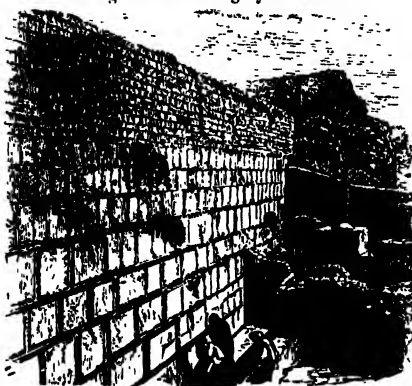


No. 1.—Remains of Arch of Bridge. (S.W. angle of Haram.)

and consequently coinciding with the centre of the great Stoa (as will be shown under the head TEMPLE), so exactly corresponds with the description of Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §2; *B. J.* i. 2, §5, 2, ii. 16, §3, vi. 6, §2, vi. 7, §1) as in itself to be sufficient to decide the question. The size of the stones and the general character of the masonry at the Jews' Wailing-place (woodcut No. 2) in the western wall near its southern extremity have been considered by almost all topographers as a proof that the wall there formed part of the substructures of the Temple; and lastly, the discovery of one of the old gateways which Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 6, §2) mentions as leading from the Temple to Parbar, on this side, mentioned by Ali Bey, ii. 226, and Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 490), besides minor indications, make up such a chain of proof as to leave scarcely a doubt on this point.

The extent of the Temple northwards and eastwards from this point is a question on which there is much less agreement than with regard to the fixation of its south-western angle, though the evidence, both written and local, points inevitably to

the conclusion that Josephus was literally correct when he said that the Temple was an exact square of a stadium, or 600 Greek feet, on each side (*Ant.* xv. 11, §3). This assertion he repeats when describing the great Stoa Basilica, which occupied the whole of the southern side (xv. 11, §9); and again, in describing Solomon's, or the eastern, portico, he says it was 400 cubits, or 600 feet, in extent (xx. 10, §7); and lastly, in narrating the building of the Temple of Solomon (viii. 3, §9), he says he elevated the ground to 400 cubits, meaning, as the context explains, on each side. In fact there is no point on which Josephus repeats himself so often, and is throughout so thoroughly consistent.



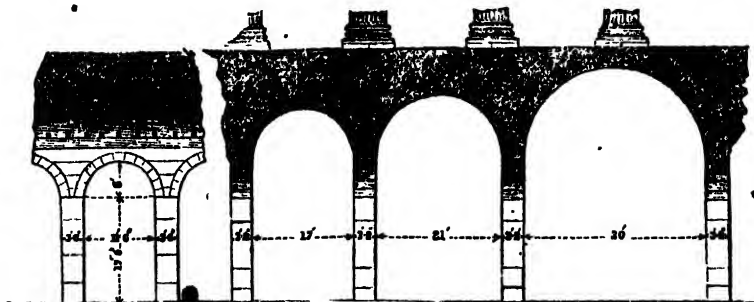
No. 2.—Jews' walling place.

There is no other written authority on this subject except the Talmud, which asserts that the Temple was a square of 500 cubits each side (*Mishna*, v. 334); but the Rabbis, as if aware that this assertion did not coincide with the localities, immediately correct themselves by explaining that it was the cubit of 15 inches which was meant, which would make the side 625 feet. Their authority, however, is so questionable that it is of the least possible consequence what they said or meant.

The *instantia crucis*, however, is the existing remains, and these confirm the description of Josephus to the fullest possible extent. Proceeding eastward along the southern wall from the south-western angle we find the whole Haram area filled up perfectly solid, with the exception of the great tunnel-like entrance under the mosque El Aksa, until, at the distance of 600 feet from the angle, we arrive at a wall running northwards at right

angles to the southern wall, and bounding the solid space. Beyond this point the Haram area is filled up with a series of light arches supported on square piers (shown in the annexed woodcut, No. 3), the whole being of so slight a construction that it may be affirmed with absolute certainty that neither the Stoa Basilica, nor any of the larger buildings of the Temple, ever stood on them. The proof of this is not difficult. Taking Josephus' account of the great Stoa as we find it, he states that it consisted of four rows of Corinthian pillars, 40 in each row. If they extended along the whole length of the present southern wall they must have been spaced between 23 and 24 feet apart, and this, from our knowledge of the works of the ancients, we may assert to be architecturally impossible. But, far more than this, the piers that support the vaults in question are only about 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches square, while the pillars which it is assumed they supported were between 5 and 6 feet in diameter (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5), so that, if this were so, the foundations must have been practically about half the area of the columns they supported. Even this is not all: the piers in the vaults are so irregularly spaced, some 17, some 20 or 21, and one even 30 feet apart, that the pillars of the Stoa must have stood in most instances on the crown or sides of the arches, and these are so weak (as may be seen from the roots of the trees above having struck through them), that they could not for one hour have supported the weight. In fact there can be no doubt whatever that the buildings of the Temple never stood on this frail prop, and also that no more solid foundations ever existed here; for the bare rock is everywhere visible, and if ever more solidly built upon, the remains of such constructions could not have disappeared. In so far therefore as the southern wall is concerned, we may rest perfectly satisfied with Josephus' description that the Temple extended east and west 600 feet.

The position of the northern wall is as easily fixed. If the Temple was square it must have commenced at a point 600 feet from the south-west angle, and in fact the southern wall of the platform which now surrounds the so-called Mosque of Omar runs parallel to the southern wall of the inclosure, at a distance of exactly 600 feet, while westward it is continued in a causeway which crosses the valley just 600 feet from the south-western angle. It may also be mentioned that from this point the western wall of the Haram area no longer follows the same direction, but inclines slightly to the westward, indicating a difference (though perhaps not of much value) in the purpose to which it was applied.



No. 2.—Section of vaults in S.E. angle of Haram.

Moreover the south wall of what is now the platform of the Dome of the Rock runs eastward from the western wall for just 600 feet; which again gives the same dimension for the north wall of the Temple as was found for the southern wall by the limitation of the solid space before the commencement of the vaults. All these points will be now clear by reference to the Plan on the next page (woodcut No. 4), where the dimensions are stated in English feet, according to the best available authorities, not in Greek feet, which alone are used in the text.

The only point in Josephus's description which seems to have misled topographers with regard to these dimensions is his assertion that the Temple extended from one valley to the other (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5). If he had named the valley or identified it in any way with the valley of Kedon this might have been a difficulty; but as it is only a valley it is of less importance, especially as the manner in which the vaults extend northwards immediately beyond the eastern wall of the Temple is sufficient to show that such a depression once existed here as to justify his expression. But, whatever importance may be attached to these indefinite words, they never can be allowed to outweigh the written dimensions and the local indications, which show that the Temple never could have extended more than 600 feet from the western wall.

It has been objected to this conclusion that if the Temple were only 600 feet square, it would be impossible to find space within its walls for all the courts and buildings mentioned by Josephus and in the Talmud. This difficulty, however, has no real foundation in fact, and the mode in which the interior may have been arranged, so as to meet all the exigencies of the case, will be explained in treating of the Temple. But in the meanwhile it seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that the square space indicated by shading in the plan (woodcut No. 4) was the exact area occupied by the Jewish Temple as rebuilt by Herod, and as described by Josephus.

II. *Hippicus*.—Of all the towers that once adorned the city of Jerusalem only one now exists in anything like a state of perfection. Being in the centre of the citadel, on one of the most elevated points of the city, it strikes the traveller's eye whichever way he turns; and from its prominence now, and the importance which Josephus ascribes to the tower Hippicus, it has been somewhat hastily assumed that the two are identical. The reasons, however, against this assumption are too cogent to allow of the identity being admitted. Josephus gives the dimensions of the Hippicus as 25 cubits, or 37½ feet square, whereas the tower in the citadel is 56 feet 6 inches by 70 feet 3 inches (*Rob. B. R.* 1st ed. i. 456), and, as Josephus never diminishes the size of anything Jewish, this alone should make us pause. Even if we are to assume that it is one of the three great towers built by Herod, as far as its architecture is concerned, it may as well be Phasælus or Mariamne as Hippicus. Indeed its dimensions accord with the first named of these far better than with the last. But the great test is the locality, and unfortunately the tower in the citadel hardly agrees in this respect in one point with the description of Josephus. In the first place he makes it a corner tower, whereas at the time he wrote, the tower in the citadel must have been in a re-entering angle of the wall, as it is now. In the next he says it was "over against Psephinus" (*B. J. v. 4, §3*), which never could be said of this

tower. Again, in the same passage, he describes the three towers as standing on the north side of the wall. If this were so, the two others must have been in his time in the centre of the city, where Herod never would have placed them. They also are said to have stood on a height, whereas eastward of the citadel the ground falls rapidly. Add to the fact that the position of the army of Titus when he sat down before Jerusalem is in itself almost sufficient to settle the point. After despatching the 10th Legion to the Mount of Olives he located himself with the principal division of his army opposite the Tower Psephinus, but his right wing "fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant in like manner about two stadia from the city" (*B. J. v. 3, §5*). It is almost impossible to apply this passage to the tower in the citadel, against which no attack ever was made or intended. Indeed at no period of the siege did Titus attempt to storm the walls situated on the heights. His attack was made from the northern plateau, and it was there that his troops were encamped, and consequently it must have been opposite the angle now occupied by the remains called the *Kasr Jahud* that they were placed. From the context it seems almost impossible that they could have been encamped in the valley opposite the present citadel.

These, and other objections which will be noticed in the sequel, seem fatal to the idea of the tower in the citadel being the one Josephus alludes to. But at the north-western angle of the present city there are the remains of an ancient building of bevelled masonry and large stones, like those of the foundations of the temple (*Rob. B. R.* i. 471; Schultz, 95; Kraft, 37, &c.), whose position answers so completely every point of the locality of Hippicus as described by Josephus, as to leave no reasonable doubt that it marks the site of this celebrated edifice. It stood and stands "on the northern side of the old wall"—"on a height," the very highest point in the town—"over against Psephinus"—"is a corner tower," and just such a one as would naturally be taken as the starting point for the description of the walls. Indeed, if it had happened that the *Kasr Jahud* were as well preserved as the tower in the citadel, or that the latter had retained only two or three courses of its masonry, it is more than probable that no one would have doubted that the *Kasr Jahud* was the Hippicus; but with that tendency which prevails to ascribe a name to what is prominent rather than to what is less obvious, these remains have been overlooked, and difficulties have been consequently introduced into the description of the city, which have hitherto seemed almost insuperable.

III. *Walls*.—Assuming therefore for the present that the *Kasr Jahud*, as these ruins are now popularly called, is the remains of the Hippicus, we have no difficulty in determining either the direction or the extent of the walls of Jerusalem, as described by Josephus (*B. J. v. 4, §2*), and as shown in Plate I.

The first or old wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and, extending to the Xystus, joined the council house, and ended at the west cloister of the temple. Its southern direction is described as passing the gate of the Essenes (probably the modern Jaffa gate), and, bending above the fountain of Siloam, it reached Ophel, and was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The importance of this last indication will be apparent in the sequel when speaking of the third wall.

The second wall began at the gate Gennath, in the old wall, probably near the Hippicus, and passed



round the northern quarter of the city, enclosing, as will be shown hereafter, the great valley of the Tyropoeon, which leads up to the Damascus gate; and then, proceeding southward, joined the fortress Antonia. Recent discoveries of old bevelled masonry in the immediate proximity of the Damascus gate leave little doubt but that, so far at least, its direction was identical with that of the modern wall; and some part at least of the northern portion of the western wall of the Haram area is probably built on its foundations.

The third wall was not commenced till twelve years after the date of the Crucifixion, when it was undertaken by king Herod Agrippa; and was intended to enclose the suburbs which had grown out on the northern sides of the city, which before this had been left exposed (*B. J. v. 4, §2*). It began at the Hippicus, and reached as far as the tower Psephinus, till it came opposite the monument of Queen Helena of Adiabene; it then passed by the sepulchral monuments of the kings—a well-known locality—and turning south at the monument of the Fuller, joined the old wall at the valley called the valley of Kedron. This last is perhaps the most important point in the description. If the temple had extended the whole width of the modern Haram area, this wall must have joined its northern cloister, or if the whole of the north side of the temple were covered by the tower Antonia it might have been said to have extended to that fortress, but in either of these cases it is quite impossible that it could have passed outside the present Haram wall so as to meet the old wall at the south-eastern angle of the temple, where Josephus in his description makes the old wall end. There does not seem to be any possible solution of the difficulty, except the one pointed out above, that the temple was only 600 feet square; that the space between the temple and the valley of Kedron was not enclosed within the walls till Agrippa's time, and that the present eastern wall of the Haram is the identical wall built by that king—a solution which not only accords with the words of Josephus but with all the local peculiarities of the place.

It may also be added that Josephus's description (*B. J. v. 4, §2*) of the immense stones of which this wall was constructed, fully bears out the appearance of the great stones at the angles, and does away with the necessity of supposing, on account of their magnificence, that they are parts of the substructure of the Temple proper.

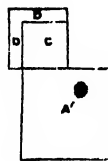
After describing these walls, Josephus adds that the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia, or nearly four English miles, which is as near as may be the extent indicated by the localities. He then adds (*B. J. v. 4, §3*) that the number of towers in the old wall was 60, the middle wall 40, and the new wall 99. Taking the distance of these towers as 150 feet from centre to centre, which is probably very near the truth on the average, the first and last named walls are as nearly as may be commensurate, but the middle wall is so much too short that either we must assume a mistake somewhere, or what is more probable, that Josephus enumerated the towers not only to where it ended at the Antonia, but round the Antonia and temple to where it joined the old wall above Siloam. With this addition the 150 feet again is perfectly consistent with the facts of the case and with the localities. Altogether it appears that the extent and direction of the walls is not now a matter admitting of much con-

trovery, and probably would never have been so, but for the difficulties arising from the position of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which will be alluded to hereafter.

IV. *Antonia*.—Before leaving the subject of the walls, it may be well to fix the situation of the *Turris Antonia*, as far as the data at our command will admit. It certainly was attached to the temple buildings, and on the northern side of them; but whether covering the whole space, or only a portion, has been much disputed. After stating that the temple was foursquare, and a stadium on each side, Josephus goes on to say (*B. J. v. 5, §2*), that with Antonia it was six stadia in circumference. The most obvious conclusion from this would be that the Antonia was of the same dimensions as the temple and of the form shown in the diagram (woodcut No. 5), where A marks the Temple, and B Antonia, according to this theory. In other words, it assumes that the Antonia occupied practically the platform on which the so-called Mosque of Omar now stands, and there is nothing in the locality to contradict such an assumption (see *B. J. vi. 5, §4*). On the contrary, the fact of the Sakhra being the highest rock in the immediate neighbourhood would confirm all we are told of the situation of the Jewish citadel. There are, however, certain facts mentioned in the account of the siege which render such a view nearly if not quite untenable.



No. 5.



No. 6.

It is said that when Titus reviewed his army on Bezetha (*B. J. v. 9, §1*), the Jews looked on from the north wall of the temple. If Antonia, on higher ground, and probably with higher walls, had intervened, this could not have been possible; and the expression must have been that they looked on from the walls of Antonia. We have also a passage (*B. J. v. 7, §3*) which makes this even clearer; it is there asserted that "John and his faction defended themselves from the tower Antonia, and from the northern cloisters of the temple, and fought the Romans" (from the context evidently simultaneously) "before the monument of king Alexander." We are therefore forced to adopt the alternative, which the words of Josephus equally justify, that the Antonia was a tower or keep attached to the north-western angle of the temple, as shown in the plan. Indeed, the words of Josephus hardly justify any other interpretation; for he says (*B. J. v. 5, §8*) that "it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple—of that on the west, and that on the north." Probably it was surrounded by a wall, enclosing courts and other appurtenances of a citadel, and with its enclosing wall at least two stadia in circuit. It may have been two and a half, or even three, as shown in the diagram (woodcut No. 6), where C marks the size and position of the Antonia on the supposition that its entire circumference was two stadia, and D D

the size it would attain if only three of its sides were counted, and if Josephus did not reckon the four stadia of the temple as a fixed quantity, and deducted the part covered by the fortress from the whole sum; but in this instance we have no local indication to guide us. The question has become one of no very great importance, as it is quite certain that, if the Temple was only 600 feet square, it did not occupy the whole of the northern half of the Haram area, and consequently that neither was the "pool of Bethesda," its northern ditch, nor the rock on which the governor's house now stands its rock foundation. With the temple area fixed as above, by no hypothesis could it be made to stretch as far as that; and the object, therefore, which many topographers had in view in extending the dimensions, must now be abandoned.

V. *Hills and Valleys.*—Notwithstanding the very great degree of certainty with which the site of the Temple, the position of the Hippicus, and the direction of the walls may be determined, there are still one or two points within the city, the positions of which have not yet been fixed in so satisfactory a manner. Topographers are still at issue as to the true direction of the upper part of the Tyropoeon valley, and, consequently, as to the position of Acra, and various smaller points dependent on the fixation of these two. Fortunately the determination of these points has no bearing whatever on any of the great historical questions arising out of the topography; and though it would no doubt be satisfactory if they could be definitively settled, they are among the least important points that arise in discussing the descriptions of Josephus.

The difficulty of determining the true course of the upper part of the Tyropoeon valley is caused by our inability to determine whether Josephus, in describing the city (*B. J.* v. 4, §1), limits his description to the city of Jerusalem, properly so called, or circumscribes by the first or old wall, or whether he includes the city of David also, and speaks of the whole city as enclosed by the third or great wall of Agrippa. In the first case the Tyropoeon must have been the depression leading from a spot opposite the north-west angle of the Temple towards the Jaffa gate; in the second it was the great valley leading from the same point northwards towards the Damascus gate.

The principal reason for adopting the first hypothesis arises from the words of Josephus himself, who describes the Tyropoeon as an open space or depression within the city, at "which the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end" (*B. J.* v. 4, §1). This would exactly answer the position of a valley running to the Jaffa gate, and consequently within the old walls, and would apply to such a ravine as might easily have been obliterated by accumulation of rubbish in after times; but it is not so easy to see how it can be made applicable to such a valley as that running towards the Damascus gate, which must have had a wall on either side, and the slope of which is so gradual, that then, as now, the "rows of houses" might—though it by no means follows that they must—have run across it without interruption. We cannot indeed apply the description to this valley, unless we assume that the houses were built close up to the old wall, so as to leave almost no plain space in front of it, or that the formation of the bottom of the valley was originally steeper and narrower than it now is. On the whole, this view presents perhaps less difficulty than the obliteration of the

other valley, which its most zealous advocates are now forced to admit, after the most patient search; added to the difficulty that must have existed in carrying the old wall across its gorge, which Josephus would have hinted at had it existed.

The direct evidence seems so nearly balanced, that either hypothesis might be adopted if we were content to fix the position of the hill Acra from that of this valley, as is usually done, instead of from extraneous evidence, as we fortunately are able to do with tolerable certainty in this matter.

In all the transactions mentioned in the 12th and 13th books of the *Antiquities*, Josephus commonly uses the word *Ἀκρά* as the corresponding term to the Hebrew word *Metzudah*, translated stronghold, fortress, and tower in the books of the Maccabees, when speaking of the fortress which adjoined the Temple in the north; and if we might assume that the hill Acra and the tower Acra were one and the same place, the question might be considered as settled.

It is more than probable that this was so, for in describing the "upper market place," which was called the "citadel" by David (*B. J.* v. 4, §1), Josephus uses the word *φρούριον*, which he also applies to the Acra after it was destroyed (*Ant.* xiii. 16, §5), or *Βάσις*, as the old name apparently immediately before it was rebuilt by Herod, and by him called the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. iv. 3).

It is also only by assuming that the Acra was on the temple hill that we can understand the position of the valley which the Asamoneus filled up. It certainly was not the northern part of the Tyropoeon which is apparent at the present day, nor the other valley to the westward, the filling up of which would not have joined the city to the Temple (*B. J.* v. 4, §1). It could only have been a transverse valley running in the direction of, and nearly in the position of, the Via Dolorosa.

It is true that Josephus describes the citadel or Acra of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xiii. 4, 9) as situated in the "lower city" (*ἐν τῇ κατὰ πόλει*, xii. 5, §4, *B. J.* i. 1, §4), which would equally apply to either of the assumed sites, were it not that he qualifies it by saying that it was built so high as to dominate the Temple, and at the same time lying close to it (*Ant.* xii. 9, §3), which can only apply to a building situated on the Temple hill. It must also be observed that the whole of the Temple hill is very much lower than the hill on which the city itself was located, and, consequently, that the Temple and its adjuncts may, with great propriety, be called the lower city, as contradistinguished from the other half, which, from the superior elevation of the plateau on which it stands, is truly the upper city.

If we adopt this view, it will account for the great levelling operations which at one time have been carried on at the north-western angle of the Haram area, and the marks of which have been always a puzzle to antiquaries. These are utterly unmeaning on any hypothesis yet suggested, for so far from contributing to the defence of any work erected here, their effect from their position must have been the very reverse. But if we admit that they were the works which occupied the Jews for three years of incessant labour (*Ant.* xiii. 7, §6) after the destruction of the Acra, their appearance is at once accounted for, and the description of Josephus made plain.

If this view of the matter be correct, the word *ἀμφικύπτρον* (*B. J.* v. 6, §1), about which so much controversy has been raised, must be translated

"sloping down on either side," a meaning which it will bear equally as well as "gibbous," which is usually affixed to it, and which only could be applied if the hill within the old wall were indicated.

On reviewing the whole question, the great preponderance of evidence seems to be in favour of the assumption that the hill Acra and the citadel Acra were one and the same place. That Acra was situated on the northern side of the Temple, on the same hill, and probably on the same spot, originally occupied by David as the stronghold of Zion (2 Sam. v. 7-9), and near where Baris and Antonia afterwards stood; and consequently that the great northern depression running towards the Damascus gate is the Tyropoeon valley, and that the valley of the Asamoneans was a transverse cut, separating the hill Bezetha from the Acra or citadel on the Temple hill.

If this view of the internal topography of the city be granted, the remaining hills and valleys fall into their places easily and as a matter of course. The citadel, or upper market-place of Josephus, was the *modern* Zion, or the city enclosed within the old wall; Acra was the *ancient* Zion, or the hill on which the Temple, the City of David, Baris, Acra, and Antonia, stood. It lay over against the other; and apparently between these two, in the valley, stood the lower city, and the place called Millo. Bezetha was the well-defined hill to the north of the Temple, just beyond the valley in which the Piscina Probatica was situated. The fourth hill which Josephus enumerates, but does not name, must have been the ridge between the last-named valley and that of the Tyropoeon, and was separated from the Temple hill by the valley of the Asamoneans. The other minor localities will be pointed out in the sequel as they occur in order.

VI. *Population*.—There is no point in which the exaggeration in which Josephus occasionally indulges is more apparent than in speaking of the population of the city. The inhabitants were dead; no record remained; and to magnify the greatness of the city was a compliment to the prowess of the conquerors. Still the assertions that three millions were collected at the Passover (*B. J.* vi. 9, §3); that a million of people perished in the siege; that 100,000 escaped, &c., are so childish, that it is surprising any one could ever have repeated them. Even the more moderate calculation of Tacitus of 600,000 inhabitants, is far beyond the limits of probability.\*

Placing the Hippicus on the farthest northern point possible, and consequently extending the walls as far as either authority or local circumstances will admit, still the area within the old walls never could have exceeded 180 acres. Assuming, as is sometimes done, that the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was outside the old walls, this area must be reduced to 120 or 130 acres; but taking it at the larger area, its power of accommodating such a multitude as Josephus describes may be illustrated by reference to a recent example. The great Exhibition Building of 1851 covered 18 acres—just a tenth of this. On three days near its closing 100,000 or 105,000 persons visited it; but it is not assumed that more than from 60,000 to 70,000 were under its roof at the

same moment. Any one who was in the building on these days will recollect how impossible it was to move from one place to another; how frightful in fact the crush was both in the galleries and on the floor, and that in many places even standing room could hardly be obtained; yet if 600,000 or 700,000 people were in Jerusalem after the fall of the outer wall (almost at the beginning of the siege), the crowd there must have been denser than in the Crystal Palace; eating, drinking, sleeping, or fighting, literally impossible; and considering how the site of a town must be encumbered with buildings, 300,000 in Jerusalem would have been more crowded than were the sight-seers at the Crystal Palace in its most crowded moments.

But fortunately we are not left to such vague data as these. No town in the east can be pointed out where each inhabitant has not at least 50 square yards on an average allowed to him. In some of the crowded cities of the west, such as parts of London, Liverpool, Hamburg, &c., the space is reduced to about 30 yards to each inhabitant; but this only applies to the poorest and more crowded places, with houses many stories high, not to cities containing palaces and public buildings. London, on the other hand, averages 200 yards of superficial space for every person living within its precincts. But, on the lowest estimate, the ordinary population of Jerusalem must have stood nearly as follows:—Taking the area of the city enclosed by the two old walls at 750,000 yards, and that enclosed by the wall of Agrippa at 1,500,000, we have 2,250,000 for the whole. Taking the population of the old city at the probable number of one person to 50 yards we have 15,000, and at the extreme limit of 30 yards we should have 25,000 inhabitants for the old city. And at 100 yards to each individual in the new city about 15,000 more; so that the population of Jerusalem, in its days of greatest prosperity, may have amounted to from 30,000 to 45,000 souls, but could hardly ever have reached 50,000; and assuming that in times of festival one-half were added to this amount, which is an extreme estimate, there may have been 60,000 or 70,000 in the city when Titus came up against it. As no one would stay in a beleaguered city who had a home to flee to, it is hardly probable that the men who came up to fight for the defence of the city would equal the number of women and children who would seek refuge elsewhere; so that the probability is that about the usual population of the city were in it at that time.

It may also be mentioned that the army which Titus brought up against Jerusalem did not exceed from 25,000 to 30,000 effective men of all arms, which, taking the probabilities of the case, is about the number that would be required to attack a fortified town defended by from 8000 to 10,000 men capable of bearing arms. Had the garrison been more numerous the siege would have been improbable, but taking the whole incidents of Josephus's narrative, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the Jews ever could have mustered 10,000 combatants at any period of the siege; half that number is probably nearer the truth. The main interest this question has in a topographical point of view, is the additional argument it affords

\* It is instructive to compare these with the moderate figures of Jeremiah (lil. 28-30) where he enumerates the number of persons carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar in three deportations from both city and

province as only 4600, though they seem to have swept off every one who could go, nearly depopulating the place.

for placing Hippicus as far north as it has been placed above, and generally to extend the walls to the greatest extent justifiable, in order to accommodate a population at all worthy of the greatness of the city. It is also interesting as showing the utter impossibility of the argument of those who would except the whole north-west corner of the present city from the old walls, so as to accommodate the Holy Sepulchre with a site outside the walls, in accordance with the Bible narrative.

VII. *Zion*.—One of the great difficulties which has perplexed most authors in examining the ancient topography of Jerusalem, is the correct fixation of the locality of the sacred Mount of Zion. It cannot be disputed that from the time of Constantine downwards to the present day, this name has been applied to the western hill on which the city of Jerusalem now stands, and in fact always stood.

Notwithstanding this it seems equally certain that up to the time of the destruction of the city by Titus, the name was applied exclusively to the eastern hill, or that on which the Temple stood.

Unfortunately the name Zion is not found in the works of Josephus, so that we have not his assistance, which would be invaluable in this case, and there is no passage in the Bible which directly asserts the identity of the hills Moriah and Zion, though many which cannot well be understood without this assumption. The cumulative proof, however, is such as almost perfectly to supply this want.

From the passages in 2 Sam. v. 7, and 1 Chr. xi. 5-8, it is quite clear that Zion and the city of David were identical, for it is there said, "David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David." "And David dwelt in the castle, therefore they called it the city of David." And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about, and Joab repaired the rest of the city." This last expression would seem to separate the city of Jerusalem which was *repaired*, from that of David which was *built*, though it is scarcely distinct enough to be relied upon. Besides these, perhaps the most distinct passage is that in the 48th Psalm, verse 2, where it is said, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King," which it seems almost impossible to apply to the modern Zion, the most southern extremity of the city. There are also a great many passages in the Bible where Zion is spoken of as a separate city from Jerusalem, as for instance, "For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of Mount Zion" (2 K. xix. 31). "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem" (Ps. li. 18). "The Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem" (Zech. i. 17). "For the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem" (Is. xxx. 19). "The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (Joel iii. 16; Am. i. 2). There are also numberless passages in which Zion is spoken of as a Holy place in such terms as are never applied to Jerusalem and which can only be understood as applied to the Holy Temple Mount. Such expressions, for instance, as "I set my king on my holy hill of Zion" (Ps. ii. 6)—"The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob" (Ps. lxxvii. 2)—"The Lord has chosen Zion" (Ps. cxxvii. 13)—"The city of the Lord, the Zion of the holy one of Israel" (Is. lx. 14)—"Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion to the Lord"

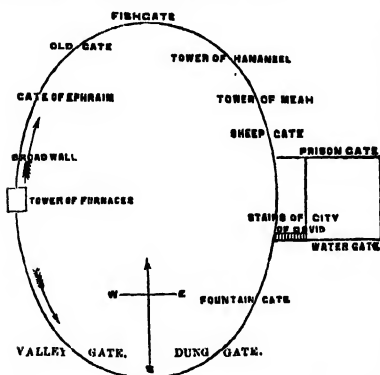
(Jer. xxxi. 6)—"Thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Zion" (Zech. viii. 3)—"I am the Lord thy God, dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain" (Joel iii. 17)—"For the Lord dwelleth in Zion" (Joel iii. 21), and many others, which will occur to every one at all familiar with the Scriptures, seem to us to indicate plainly the hill of the Temple. Substitute the word Jerusalem for Zion in these passages, and we feel at once how it grates on the ear; for such epithets as these are never applied to that city; on the contrary, if there is a curse uttered, or term of disparagement, it is seldom applied to Zion, but always to her unfortunate sister, Jerusalem. It is never said,—The Lord dwelleth in Jerusalem; or, loveth Jerusalem; or any such expression, which surely would have occurred, had Jerusalem and Zion been one and the same place, as they now are, and generally supposed to have been. Though these cannot be taken as absolute proof, they certainly amount to strong presumptive evidence that Zion and the Temple Hill were one and the same place. There is one curious passage, however, which is scarcely intelligible on any other hypothesis than this; it is known that the sepulchres of David and his successors were on Mount Zion, or in the city of David, but the wicked king Ahaz for his crimes was buried in Jerusalem, "in the city," and "not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chr. xxvii. 27). Jehoiachin (2 Chr. xxi. 20) narrowly escaped the same punishment, and the distinction is so marked that it cannot be overlooked. The modern sepulchre of David (*Nebi David*) is, and always must have been in Jerusalem; not, as the Bible expressly tells us, in the city of David, as contradistinguished from the city of the Jebusites.

When from the Old Test. we turn to the Books of the Maccabees, we come to some passages written by persons who certainly were acquainted with the localities, which seem to fix the site of Zion with a considerable amount of certainty; as, for instance, "They went up into Mount Zion, and saw the sanctuary desolate and the altar profaned, and the shrubs growing in the courts as a forest" (1 Macc. iv. 37 and 60). "After this went Nicannor up to Mount Zion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain persons" (1 Macc. vii. 33), and several others, which seem to leave no doubt that at that time Zion and the Temple Hill were considered one and the same place. It may also be added that the Rabbis with one accord place the Temple on Mount Zion, and though their authority in matters of doctrine may be valueless, still their traditions ought to have been sufficiently distinct to justify their being considered as authorities on a merely topographical point of this sort. There is also a passage in Nehemiah (iii. 16) which will be alluded to in the next section, and which, added to the above, seems to leave very little doubt that in ancient times the name of Zion was applied to the eastern and not to the western hill of Jerusalem.

VIII. *Topography of the Book of Nehemiah*.—The only description of the ancient city of Jerusalem which exists in the Bible, so extensive in form as to enable us to follow it as a topographical description, is that found in the Book of Nehemiah, and although it is hardly sufficiently distinct to enable us to settle all the moot points, it contains such valuable indications that it is well worthy of the most attentive examination.

The easiest way to arrive at any correct conclu-

sion regarding it, is to take first the description of the Dedication of the Walls in ch. xii. (31-40), and drawing such a diagram as this, we easily get at the main features of the old wall at least.



No. 7.—Diagram of places mentioned in dedication of walls.

The order of procession was that the princes of Judah went up upon the wall at some point as nearly as possible opposite to the Temple, and one half of them, turning to the right, went towards the dung-gate, "and at the fountain-gate, which was *over against them*" (or, in other words, on the opposite or Temple side of the city), "went up by the stairs of the city of David at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward." The water-gate therefore was one of the southern gates of the Temple, and the stairs that led up to it are here identified with those of the city of David, and consequently with Zion.

The other party turned to the left, or northwards, and passed from beyond the tower of the furnaces even "unto the broad wall," and passing the gate of Ephraim, the old gate, the fish-gate, the towers of Hananeel and Meah, to the sheep-gate, "stood still in the prison-gate," as the other party had in the water-gate. "So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God."

If from this we turn to the third chapter, which gives a description of the repairs of the wall, we have no difficulty in identifying all the places mentioned in the first sixteen verses, with those enumerated in the 12th chapter. The repairs began at the sheep-gate on the north side, and in immediate proximity with the Temple, and all the places named in the dedication are again named, but in the reverse order, till we come to the tower of the furnaces, which if not identical with the tower in the citadel, so often mistaken for the Hippicus, must at least have stood very near to it. Mention is then made, but now in the direct order of the dedication, of "the valley-gate," the "dung-gate," "the fountain-gate," and lastly, the "stairs that go down from the city of David." Between these last two places we find mention made of the pool of Siloah and the king's garden, so that we have long passed the so-called sepulchre of David on the modern Zion, and are in the immediate proximity of the Temple; most probably in the valley between the city of David and the city of Jerusalem. What follows is most important (verse

16), "After him repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Bethzur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." This passage, when taken with the context, seems in itself quite sufficient to set at rest the question of the position of the city of David, of the sepulchres of the kings, and consequently of Zion, all which could not be mentioned after Siloah if placed where modern tradition has located them.

If the chapter ended with the 16th verse, there would be no difficulty in determining the sites mentioned above, but unfortunately we have, according to this view, retraced our steps very nearly to the point from which we started, and have got through only half the places enumerated. Two hypotheses may be suggested to account for this difficulty; the one that there was then, as in the time of Josephus, a second wall, and that the remaining names refer to it; the other that the first 16 verses refer to the walls of Jerusalem, and the remaining 16 to those of the city of David. An attentive consideration of the subject renders it almost certain that the latter is the true explanation of the case.

In the enumeration of the places repaired, in the last part of the chapter, we have two which we know from the description of the dedication really belonged to the Temple. The prison-court (iii. 25), which must have been connected with the prison-gate, and, as shown by the order of the dedication, to have been on the north side of the Temple, is here also connected with the king's high house; all this clearly referring, as shown above, to the castle of David, which originally occupied the site of the Turris Antonia. We have on the opposite side the "water-gate," mentioned in the next verse to Ophel, and consequently as clearly identified with the southern gate of the Temple. We have also the horse-gate, that by which Athaliah was taken out of the Temple (2 K. xi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 15), which Josephus states led to the Kedron (*Ant. ix. 7, § 3*), and which is here mentioned as connected with the priests' houses, and probably, therefore, a part of the Temple. Mention is also made of the house of Eliashib, the high-priest, and of the eastern gate, probably that of the Temple. In fact, no place is mentioned in these last verses which cannot be more or less directly identified with the localities on the Temple hill, and not one which can be located in Jerusalem. The whole of the city of David, however, was so completely rebuilt and remodelled by Herod, that there are no local indications to assist us in ascertaining whether the order of description of the places mentioned after verse 16 proceeds along the northern face, and round by Ophel, and up behind the Temple back to the sheep-gate; or whether, after crossing the causeway to the armoury and prison, it does not proceed along the western face of the Temple to Ophel in the south, and then along the eastern face, back along the northern, to the place from which the description started. The latter seems the more probable hypothesis, but the determination of the point is not of very great consequence. It is enough to know that the description in the first 16 verses applies to Jerusalem, and in the last 16 to Zion, or the city of David; as this is sufficient to explain almost all the difficult passages in the Old Testament which refer to the ancient topography of the city.

IX. *Waters of Jerusalem.*—The above determi-

nation explains most of the difficulties in understanding what is said in the Bible with regard to the water-supply of the city. Like Mecca, Jerusalem seems to have been in all ages remarkable for some secret source of water, from which it was copiously supplied during even the worst periods of siege and famine, and which never appears to have failed during any period of its history. The principal source of this supply seems to have been situated to the north; either on the spot known as the "camp of the Assyrians," or in the valley to the northward of it. The earliest distinct mention of these springs is in 2 Chr. xxxii. 4, 30, where Hezekiah, fearing an attack from the Assyrians, "stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David;"—and again "he fortified the city, and brought in water into the midst thereof, and digged the rock with iron, and made wells for water" (Eccles. xlviii. 17), in other words, he brought the waters under ground down the valley leading from the Damascus gate, whence they have been traced at the present day "to a pool which he made" between "the two walls," viz., those of the cities of David and Jerusalem. Thanks to the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, we know how correct the description of Tacitus is, when he describes the city as containing, "*fons perennis aquae et cavati sub terra montes*," &c., for great rock-cut reservoirs have been found under the Temple area, and channels connecting them with the fountain of the Virgin, and that again with the pool of Siloam; and many others may probably yet be discovered.

It would appear that originally the overflow from the great reservoir under the Temple area must have been by some underground channels, probably alongside of the great tunnel under the Mosque El Akaah. This may at least be inferred from the form of the ground, as well as from the fact of the southern gate of the Temple being called the Water-gate. This is further confirmed by the fact that when the Caliph Omar was searching for the Sakrah or Holy Rock, which was then covered with filth by the Christians (*Jekul Aditin*, p. 174), he was impeded by the water which "ran down the steps of the gate, so that the greater part of the steps were under water;" a circumstance which might very well occur if these channels were obstructed or destroyed by the ruins of the Temple. Of course, if it is attempted to apply this tradition to the Sakrah under the "Dome of the Rock," it is simply absurd; as, that being the highest point in the neighbourhood, no water could lie around it; but applying it to the real Sakrah under the Akse, it is not only consistent with facts, but enables us to understand one more circumstance with regard to the waters of Jerusalem. It will require, however, a more critical examination than even that of Dr. Barclay before we can feel quite certain by which channel the underground waters were collected into the great "excavated sea" (woodcut No. 4) under the Temple, or by what exact means the overflow was managed.

A considerable portion of these waters was at one time diverted to the eastward to the great reservoir known sometimes as the pool of Bethesda, but, from its probable proximity to the sheep-gate, as shown above, more properly the "*piscina probatica*," and which, from the curiously elaborate character of its hydraulic masonry, must always have been intended as a reservoir of water, and never could have been the ditch of a fortification. From

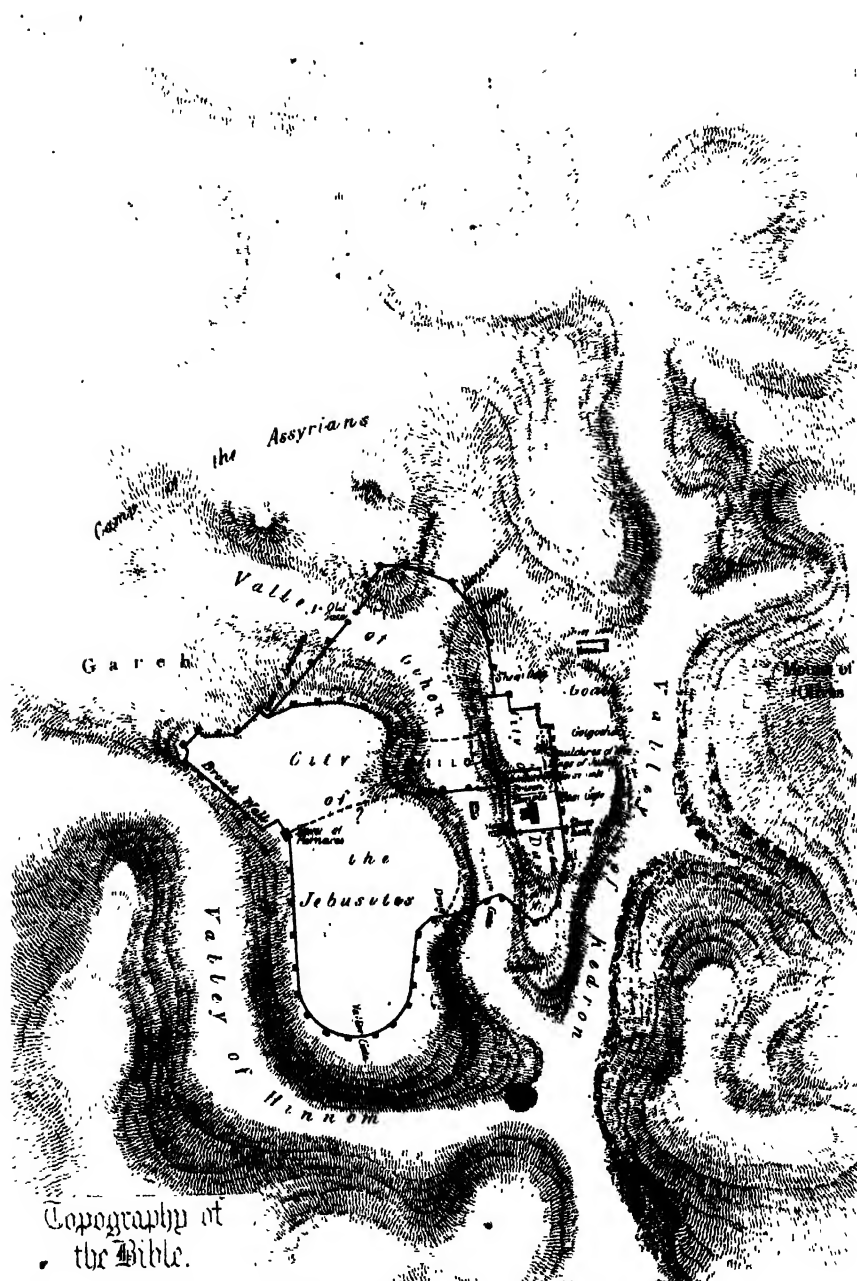
the woodcut No. 8 it will be perceived that the masonry consists first of large blocks of stone, 18 or 20 inches square, marked A. The joints between their courses have been hollowed out to the depth of 8 inches, and blocks 16 inches deep inserted in them. The interstices are then filled up with smaller stones, 8 inches deep, B. These are covered with a layer of coarse plaster and concrete (C), and this again by a fine coating of plaster (D) half an inch in thickness. It is impossible to conceive such elaborate pains being taken with a ditch of a fortress, even if we had any reason to suppose that a wet ditch ever formed part of the fortifications of Jerusalem; but its locality, covering only one-half of one side of the assumed fortress, is sufficient to dispose of that idea, even if no other reason existed against converting this carefully formed pool into a ditch of defence.



No. 8.—Section of Masonry Lining Pool of Bethesda.  
(From Sulzmann.)

It seems, however, that even in very ancient times this northern supply was not deemed sufficient, even with all these precautions, for the supply of the city; and consequently large reservoirs were excavated from the rock, at a place near Etham, now known as Solomon's pools, and the water brought from them by a long canal which enters the city above Siloam, and, with the northern supply, seems at all times to have been sufficient for the consumption of its limited population, aided of course by the rain water, which was probably always stored in cisterns all over the town. The tank now known as the pool of Hezekiah, situated near the modern church of the Holy Sepulchre, cannot possibly be the work referred to, as executed by him. It is merely a receptacle within the walls for the surplus rain water drained into the pool now known as the Birket Mamilla, and as no outlet eastwards or towards the Temple has been found, it cannot ever have been of the importance ascribed to the work of Hezekiah, even supposing the objections to the locality did not exist. These, however, cannot possibly be met over.

**X. Site of Holy Sepulchre.**—If the preceding investigations have rendered the topography of the ancient city at all clear, there ought to be no difficulty in determining the localities mentioned in the N. T. as those in which the various scenes of the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord took place. There would in fact be none, were it not that, as will be shown hereafter, changes were made in the dark ages, which have confused the Christian topography of the city to even a greater extent than the change of the name of Zion from the eastern to the



JERUSALEM



western hill did that of the Jewish descriptions of the place.

As the question now stands, the fixation of the sites depends mainly on the answers that may be given to two questions:—First, did Constantine and those who acted with him possess sufficient information to enable them to ascertain exactly the precise localities of the crucifixion and burial of Christ? Secondly, is the present church of the Holy Sepulchre that which he built, or does it stand on the same spot?

To the second question a negative answer must be given, if the first can be answered with any reasonable degree of probability. Either the localities could not have been correctly ascertained in the time of Constantine, or it must be that at some subsequent period they were changed. The site of the present church is so obviously at variance with the facts of the Bible narrative, that almost all the best qualified investigators have assumed that the means did not exist for ascertaining the localities correctly when the church was built, without its suggesting itself to them that subsequent change may perhaps contain the true solution of the difficulty. On the other hand everything seems to tend to confirm the probability of the first question being capable of being answered satisfactorily.

In the first place, though the city was destroyed by Titus, and the Jews were at one time prohibited from approaching it, it can almost certainly be proved that there were Christians always present on the spot, and the succession of Christian bishops can be made out with very tolerable certainty and completeness; so that it is more than probable they would retain the memory of the sacred sites in unbroken continuity of tradition. Besides this, it can be shown (Findlay, *On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*) that the Romans recorded carefully all the principal localities in their conquered provinces, and had maps or plans which would enable them to ascertain any important locality with very tolerable precision. It must also be borne in mind that during the three centuries that elapsed between the crucifixion and the age of Constantine, the Christians were too important a sect, even in the eyes of the Romans, to be neglected, and their proceedings and traditions would certainly attract the attention of at least the Roman governor of Judæa; and some records must certainly have existed in Jerusalem, which ought to have been sufficient to fix the localities. Even if it is argued that this knowledge might not have been sufficient to identify the exact rock-cut sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, it must have been sufficient to determine the site of such a place as Golgotha, and of the Prætorium; and as the scenes of the Passion all lay near one another, materials must have existed for fixing them with at least very tolerable approximate certainty. As the question now lies between two sites which are very far apart, one being in the town, the other on its eastern boundary, it is nearly certain that the authorities had the knowledge sufficient to determine at least which of the two was the most probable.

The account given by Eusebius of the *uncovering of the rock*, expresses no doubt or uncertainty about the matter. In order to insult the Christians, according to his account (*Vita Const.* iii. 26), "impious persons had heaped earth upon it, and erected an idol temple on the site." The earth was removed, and he says (*Theopluſia*, Lee's *Translation*, p. 199), "it is astonishing to see even

the rock standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cave in it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death might have been obscured;" and as if in order that there might be no mistake as to its position, he continues, "Accordingly on the very spot that witnessed our Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was constructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord has experienced the last extremity of desolation. It was *opposite* this city that the Emperor began to rear a monument of our Saviour's victory over death with rich and lavish magnificence" (*Vita Const.* iii. 33). This passage ought of itself to be sufficient to set the question at rest, for it is minutely descriptive of the site of the building now known as the Mosque of Omar, but wholly inapplicable to the site of the present church, which was then, and must certainly in the time of Titus or of Herod have been within the walls of the city of Jerusalem, and neither opposite to nor over against it.

The buildings which Constantine or his mother, Helena, erected, will be more particularly described elsewhere [SEPULCHRE]; in the meanwhile it is sufficient to say that it will be proved by what follows, that two of them now remain—the one the Anastasis, a circular building erected over the tomb itself; the other the "Golden Gateway," which was the propylea described by Eusebius as leading to the atrium of the basilica. He says it opened "ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας ἀγορᾶς," in other words, that it had a broad market-place in front of it, as all sacred places or places of pilgrimage had, and have, in the East. Beyond this was an atrium leading to the basilica. This was destroyed in the end of the tenth century by El Hakem, the mad Khalif of Egypt; in the words of William of Tyre (lib. i. c. iv.), "usque ad solum diruta," or as it is more quaintly expressed by Albericus (Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, p. 475), "Solo conquire mandavit." Fortunately, however, even the Moslems respected the tomb of Christ, whom they consider one of the seven prophets, inferior only to the Founder of their own religion; and they left the "Dome of the Rock" uninjured as we now see it.

In order to prove these assertions, there are three classes of evidence which may be appealed to, and which must coincide, or the question must remain still in doubt:—

First, it is necessary that the circumstances of the locality should accord with those of the Bible narrative.

Secondly, the incidental notices furnished by those travellers who visited Jerusalem between the time of Constantine and that of the Crusades must be descriptive of these localities; and,

Thirdly, the architectural evidence of the buildings themselves must be that of the age to which they are assigned.

Taking the last first, it is hardly necessary to remark how important this class of evidence has become in all questions of this sort of late years. Before the gradation of styles had been properly investigated nothing could be more wild than the determination of the dates assigned to all the mediæval buildings of Europe. Now that the chronometric scale has been fixed, nothing is either so easy or so certain as to fix the date of any building, or any part of one, and it is admitted by all archaeologists that it is the most sure and conclusive evidence that can be adduced on the subject.

In this country the progression of style is only generally understood as applied to mediæval buildings, but with sufficient knowledge it is equally applicable to Indian, Mohammedan, Classical, or Roman, in fact to all true styles, and no one who is familiar with the gradation of styles that took place between the time of Hadrian and that of Justinian can fail to see that the Golden Gateway and Dome of the Rock are about half-way in the series, and are in fact buildings which must have been erected within the century in which Constantine flourished. With regard to the Golden Gateway, which is practically unaltered, this is undoubted. It is precisely of that style which is found only in the buildings of the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, and accords so completely with those found at Rome, Spalatro, and elsewhere, as to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject. Had it been as early as the time of Hadrian, the bent entablature which covers both the external and internal openings could not have existed, while had it been as late as the age of Justinian, its classical features would have been exchanged for the peculiar incised style of his buildings. It may also be remarked, that, although in the outer wall, it is a festal, not a fortified entrance, and never could have been intended as a city gate, but must have led to some sacred or palatial edifice. It is difficult, indeed, to suggest what that could have been, except the Basilica described by Eusebius.



No. 9.—Interior of Golden Gateway. From a Photograph.

The exterior of the other building (the Anastasis) has been repaired and covered with coloured tiles and inscriptions in more modern times; but the interior is nearly unaltered (vide Plates by Catherwood and Afundale, in Fergusson's *Topography of Ancient Jerusalem*), and even externally, wherever this coating of tiles has peeled off, the old Roman round arch appears in lieu of its pointed substitute. It must also be added that it is essentially a tomb-building, similar in form and arrangement, as it is in detail, to the Tomb of the Emperor Constantine at Rome, or of his daughter Constantia, outside the walls, and indeed more or less like all the tomb-buildings of that age.

Though the drawings of these buildings have been published for more than ten years, and photographs are now available, no competent archaeologist or architect has ventured to deny that these are buildings of the age here ascribed to them; and we have therefore the pertinent question, which still remains unanswered, What tomb-like building

did Constantine or any one in his age erect at Jerusalem, over a mass of the living rock, rising eight or nine feet above the bases of the columns, and extending over the whole central area of the church, with a sacred cave in it, unless it were the church of the Holy Anastasis, described by Eusebius?

Supposing it were possible to put this evidence aside, the most plausible suggestion is to appeal to the presumed historical fact that it was built by Omar, or by the Moslems at all events. There is, however, no proof whatever of this assumption. What Omar did build is the small mosque on the east of the Akshah, overhanging the southern wall, and which still bears his name; and no Mohammedan writer of any sort, anterior to the recovery of the city from the Christians by Saladin, ventures to assert that his countrymen built the Dome of the Rock. On the contrary, while they are most minute in describing the building of the Akshah, they are entirely silent about this building, and only assume that it was theirs after they came into permanent possession of it after the Crusades. It may also be added that, whatever it is, it certainly is not a mosque. The principal and essential feature in all these buildings is the Kibleh, or niche pointing towards Mecca. No mosque in the whole world, of whatever shape or form, is without this; but in the place where it should be in this building is found the principal entrance, so that the worshipper enters with his back to Mecca—a sacrilege which to the Mohammedans, if this were a mosque, would be impossible. Had it been called the Tomb of Omar, this incongruity would not have been apparent, for all the old Moslem and Christian tombs adopt nearly the same ordinance; but no tradition hints that either Omar or any Moslem saint was ever buried within its precincts.

Nor will it answer to assume, as is generally done, that it was built in the first century of the Hegira over the Sacred Rock of the Temple; for from the account of the Moslem and Christian historians of the time it is quite evident that at that time the site and dimensions of the Jewish Temple could be ascertained, and were known. As shown above, this building certainly always was outside the limits of the Temple, so that this could not be the object of its erection. The Mosque of Omar properly so called, the great mosque El Aksa, the mosques of the Mogrebins and of Abu Bekr, are all within the limits of the old Temple, and were meant to be so (see woodcut No. 4). They are so because in all ages the Mohammedans held the Jewish Temple to be a sacred spot, as certainly as the Christians held it to be accursed, and all their sacred buildings stand within its precincts. So far as we now know there was nothing in Jerusalem of a sacred character built by the Mohammedans outside the four walls of the Temple anterior to the recovery of the city by Saladin.

Irrefragable as this evidence appears to be, it would be impossible to maintain it otherwise than by assuming that Constantine blindly adopted a wrong locality, if the sites now assumed to be true were such as did not accord with the details of the Bible narratives: fortunately, however, they agree with them to the minutest detail.

To understand this it is necessary to bear in mind that at the time of the crucifixion the third wall, or that of Agrippa (as shown in Plate II.), did not exist, but was commenced twelve years afterwards: the spot where the Dome of the Rock

therefore now stands was at that time outside the walls, and open to the country.

It was also a place where certainly tombs did exist. It has been shown above that the sepulchres of David and the other kings of Israel were in this neighbourhood. We know from Josephus (*B. J.* v. 7, §3) that "John and his faction defended themselves from the Tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the Temple, and fought the Romans before the monument of king Alexander;" so that there certainly were tombs hereabouts; and there is a passage in Jeremiah (xxi. 38-40.)<sup>1</sup> which apparently describes prophetically the building of the third wall and the enclosure of the northern parts of the city from Gareb—most probably the hill on which Psephinos stood—to Goath, which is mentioned as in immediate juxtaposition to the horse-gate of the Temple, out of which the wicked queen Athaliah was taken to execution; and the description of "the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, and the corner of the horse-gate toward the east," is in itself sufficient to prove that this locality was then, as it is now, the great cemetery of Jerusalem; and as the sepulchre was high at hand to the place of execution (*John* xix. 42), every probability exists to prove that this may have been the scene of the passion.

The *Praetorium* where Christ was judged was most probably the Antonia, which at that time, as before and afterwards, was the citadel of Jerusalem and the residence of the governors, and the *Xystus* and Council-house were certainly, as shown above, in this neighbourhood. Leaving these localities the Saviour, bearing his cross, must certainly have gone towards the country, and might well meet Simon or any one coming towards the city; thus every detail of the description is satisfied, and none offended by the locality now assumed.

The third class of evidence is from its nature by no means so clear, but there is nothing whatever in it to contradict, and a great deal that directly confirms the above statements. The earliest of the travellers who visited Jerusalem after the discovery of the Sepulchre by Constantine is, one known as the Bordeaux pilgrim; he seems to have visited the place about the year 333. In his Itinerary, after describing the palace of David, the Great Synagogue, and other objects inside the city, he adds, "*Inde ut ens foris murum de Sione euntibus ad Portam Neopolitanaam ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive palatium Poutii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est crypta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est Dominicum mirae pulchritudinis.*" From this it is evident that passing out of the modern Zion gate he turned round the outside of the walls to the left. Had he gone to the right, past the Jaffa gate, both the ancient and modern Golgotha would have been on his right hand; but passing round the Temple area he may have had the house of Pilate on his right in the valley, where some tradi-

tions placed it. He must have had Golgotha and the Sepulchre on his left, as he describes them. In so far therefore as his testimony goes, it is clear he was not speaking of the modern Golgotha, which is inside the city, while the very expression "*foris murum*" seems to indicate what the context confirms, that it was a place on the verge of the city, and on the left hand of one passing round the walls, or in other words the place marked on the accompanying map.

Antoninus Martyrus is the only other traveller whose works have come down to us, who visited the city before the Mohammedan conquest; his description is not sufficiently distinct for much reliance to be placed on it, though all it does say is more in accordance with the eastern than the western site; but he incidentally supplies one fact. He says, "*Juxta ipsum altare est crypta ubi si ponas aurem audies flumen aquarum, et si jactas intus pomum aut quid natrare potest et vale ad fontem Siloam et ibi illud suscipies*" (*Ant. Murt. It.* p. 14). There is every reason to believe, from the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, that the whole of the Haram area is excavated with subterranean water-channels, and that therefore if you place your ear almost anywhere you may hear the flowing of the water; and all these waters can only drain out towards Siloam. We also know that under the cave in the Dome of the Rock there is a well, called the *Bir Arruwa*, and that it does communicate with the great excavated sea or cistern in front of the Akas, and that its overflow is towards Siloam, so that if an apple were dropped into it, in so far as we now know, it would come out there. If we presume that Antoninus was speaking of the present sepulchre the passage is utterly unintelligible. There is no well, and no trace has ever been discovered of any communication with Siloam. As far as our present knowledge goes, this objection is in itself fatal to the modern site.

A third and most important narrative has been preserved to us by Adamnanus, an abbot of Iona, who took it down from the mouth of Arculfus, a French bishop who visited the Holy Land in the end of the seventh century. He not only describes, but gives from memory a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but without any very precise indication of its locality. He then describes the mosque El Akas as a square building situated on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and with details that leave no doubt as to its identity; but either he omits all mention of the Dome of the Rock, which certainly was then, as it is now, the most conspicuous and most important building in Jerusalem, or the inference is inevitable, that he has already described it under the designation of the Church of the Sepulchre, which the whole context would lead us to infer was really the case.

Besides these, there are various passages in the writings of the Fathers which are unintelligible if we assume that the present church was the one built by Constantine. Dositheus, for instance (*ii.* 1, §7), says, that owing to the steepness of the ground, or to the hill or valley, to the westward of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it had only its one wall on that side, *Ἐξεί δὲ τὰς τοῦ ἁγίου*

<sup>1</sup> "Behold the day is come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring-line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath.

And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse-gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked nor be thrown down any more for ever."

τάφου κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὁδὸς μόνον τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ. This cannot be applied to the present church, inasmuch as towards the west in that locality there is space for any amount of building; but it is literally correct as applied to the so-called Dome of the Rock, which does stand so near the edge of the valley between the two towns that it would be impossible to erect any considerable building there.

The illuminated Cross, mentioned by St. Cyril (*Epist. ad Const.*) is unintelligible, unless we assume the Sepulchre to have been on the side of the city next to the Mount of Olives. But even more distinct than this is a passage in the writings of St. Epiphanius, writing in the 4th century, who, speaking of Golgotha, says, "It does not occupy an elevated position as compared with other places surrounding it. Over against it, the Mount of Olives is higher. Again, the hill that formerly existed in Zion, but which is now levelled, was once higher than the sacred spot." As we cannot be sure to which hill he applies the name, Zion, no great stress can be laid on that; but no one acquainted with the localities would speak of the modern Golgotha as over against the Mount of Olives. So far therefore as this goes, it is in favour of the proposed view.

The slight notices contained in other works are hardly sufficient to determine the question one way or the other, but the mass of evidence adduced above would probably never have been questioned, were it not that from the time of the Crusades down to the present day (which is the period during which we are really and practically acquainted with the history and topography of Jerusalem), it is certain that the church in the Latin quarter of the city has always been considered as containing the Tomb of Christ, and as being the church which Constantine erected over the sacred cave; and as no record exists—nor indeed is it likely that it should—of a transference of the site, there is a difficulty in persuading others that it really took place. As however there is nothing to contradict, and everything to confirm, the assumption that a transference did take place about this time, it is not important to the argument whether or not we are able to show exactly how it took place, though nothing seems to be more likely or natural under the circumstances.

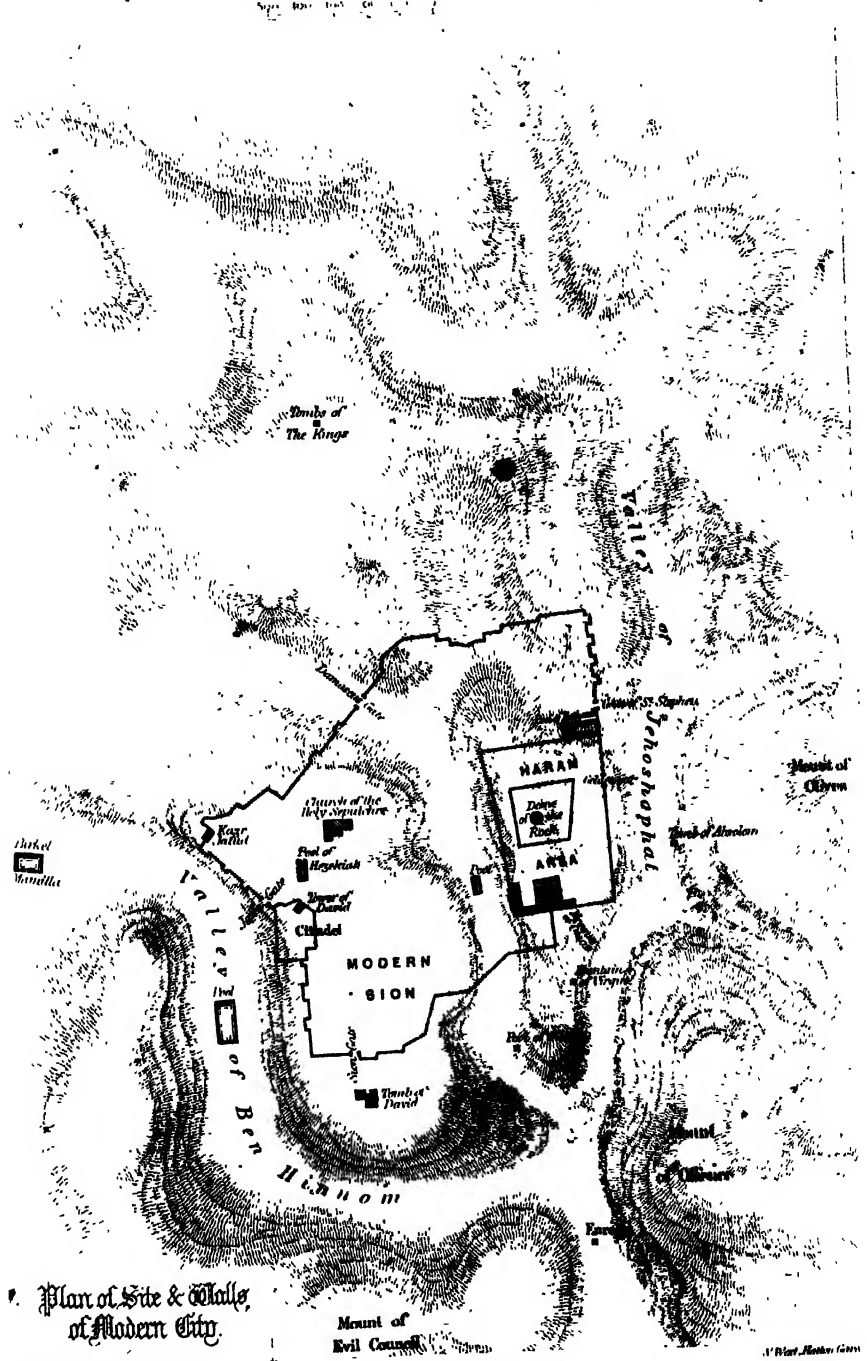
Architecturally, there is literally no feature or no detail which would induce us to believe that any part of the present church is older than the time of the Crusades. The only things about it of more ancient date are the fragments of an old classical cornice, which are worked in as string courses with the Gothic details of the external façade, and singularly enough this cornice is identical in style with, and certainly belongs to the age of, the Golden Gateway, and Dome of the Rock, and consequently can scarcely be anything else than a fragment of the old basilica, which El Hakeem had destroyed in the previous century, and the remains of which must still have been scattered about when the Crusaders arrived.

It is well known that a furious persecution of the Christians was carried on, as above-mentioned, at the end of the 10th century. Their great Basilica was destroyed, their Tomb appropriated, they were driven from the city, and dared not approach the holy places under pain of death. As the persecution relaxed a few crept back to their old quarter of the city, and there most naturally built them-

selves a church in which to celebrate the sacred mysteries of Easter. It is not necessary to assume fraud in this proceeding any more than to impute it to those who built sepulchral churches in Italy, Spain, or England. Thousands have prayed and wept in these simulated sepulchres all over the world, and how much more appropriately at Jerusalem! Being in the city, and so near the spot, it was almost impossible but that it should eventually come to be assumed that instead of a simulated, it was the true sepulchre, and it would have required more than human virtue on the part of the priests if they had undeceived the unsuspecting pilgrims, whose faith and liberality were no doubt quickened by the assumption. Had the Christians never recovered the city, the difference would never have been discovered in the dark ages; but when unexpectedly those who had knelt and prayed as pilgrims, came back as armed men, and actually possessed the city, it was either necessary to confess the deception or to persevere in it; and, as was too often the case, the latter course was pursued, and hence all the subsequent confusion.

Nothing, however, can be more remarkable than the different ways in which the Crusaders treated the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque El Aksa. The latter they always called the "Templum seu palatium Solomonis," and treated it with the contempt always applied by Christians to anything Jewish. The Mosque was turned into a stable, the buildings into dwellings for knights, who took the title of Knights Templars, from their residence in the Temple. But the Dome of the Rock they called "Templum Domini." (Jacob de Vitry, c. 62; Sæwulf, *Rel. de Voyage*, iv. 833; Maundeville, *Voyage*, &c., 100, 105; Mar. Sanutus, iii. xiv. 9; Brocardus, vi. 1047.) Priests and a choir were appointed to perform service in it, and during the whole time of the Christian occupation it was held certainly as sacred, if not more so, than the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the town. (Will. of Tyre, viii. 3.) Had they believed or suspected that the rock was that on which the Jewish temple stood it would have been treated as the Aksa was, but they knew that the Dome of the Rock was a Christian building, and sacred to the Saviour; though in the uncritical spirit of the age they never seem exactly to have known either what it was, or by whom it was erected.

XI. *Rebuilding of the Temple by Julian.*—Before leaving the subject, it is necessary to revert to the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple of the Jews. It was undertaken avowedly as a slight to the Christians, and with the idea of establishing a counterpoise to the influence and position they had attained by the acts of Constantine. It was commenced about six months before his death, and during that period the work seems to have been pushed forward with extraordinary activity under the guidance of his friend Alypius. Not only were large sums of money collected for the purpose, and an enormous concourse of the Jews assembled on the spot, but an immense mass of materials was brought together, and the works of the foundations at least carried vigorously on during this period of excitement, before the miracle occurred, which put a final stop to the undertaking. Even if we have not historical evidence of these facts, the appearance of the south wall of the Haram would lead us to expect that something of the sort had been attempted at this period. As before mentioned, the great tunnel-like vault under the



Plan of Site & Walls of Modern City.

Mount of  
Evil Council

A. W. M. H. G. G. G.

J. A. Ferguson, del.

JERUSALEM.



Mosque El Aksa, with its four-domed vestibule, is almost certainly part of the temple of Herod [see TEMPLE], and coeval with his period, but externally to this, certain architectural decorations have been added (woodcut No. 10), and that so slightly, that daylight can be perceived between the old walls and the subsequent decorations, except at the points of attachment.\* It is not difficult to ascertain, approximately at least, the age of these adjuncts. From their classical forms they cannot be so late as the time of Justinian; while on the other hand they are slightly more modern in style than the architecture of the Golden Gateway, or than any of the classical details of the Dome of the Rock. They may therefore with very tolerable certainty be ascribed to the age of Julian, while, from the historical accounts, they are just such as we would expect to find them. Above them an inscription bearing the name of Hadrian has been inserted in the wall, but turned upside down; and the whole of the masonry being of that intermediate character between that which we know to be ancient, and that which we easily recognise as the work of the Mohammedans, there can be little doubt but that it belongs to this period.



No. 10.—Frontispiece of Julian in south wall of Haram

Among the incidents mentioned as occurring at this time is one bearing rather distinctly on the topography of the site. It is said (Gregory Nazianzen, *ad Jul. et Gent.* 7, 1, and confirmed by Sozomen) that when the workmen were driven from their works by the globes of fire that issued from the foundations, they sought refuge in a neighbouring church (*ἐν τῇ τῶν πηλῶν*

*ἐκκλησίᾳ*, or, as Sozomen has it, *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*)—an expression which would be unintelligible did not the buildings of Constantine exist at that time on the spot; for, except these, there could not be any church or sacred place in the neighbourhood to which the expression could be applied. The principal bearing, however, of Julian's attempt on the topography of Jerusalem consists in the fact of its proving not only that the site of the Jewish temple was perfectly well known at this period—A.D. 362—but that the spot was then, as always, held accursed by the Christians, and as doomed by the denunciation of Christ Himself never to be re-established; and this consequently makes it as absurd to suppose that the Aksa is a building of Justinian as that the Dome of the Rock or the Golden Gateway—if Christian buildings—ever stood within its precincts.

XII. *Church of Justinian.*—Nearly two centuries after the attempt of Julian, Justinian erected a church at Jerusalem; of which, fortunately, we have so full and detailed an account in the works of Procopius (*de Aedificiis Const.*) that we can have little difficulty in fixing its site, though no remains (at least above ground) exist to verify our conjectures. The description given by Procopius is so clear, and the details he gives with regard to the necessity of building up the substructure point so unmistakably to the spot near to which it must have stood, that almost all topographers have jumped to the conclusion that the mosque El Aksa is the identical church referred to. Apart from the consideration already mentioned, the architecture of that building is alone sufficient to refute any such idea. No seven-aisled basilica was built in that age, and least of all by Justinian, whose favourite plan was a dome on pendentives, which in fact, in his age, had become the type of an Oriental Church. Besides, the Aksa has no apse, and, from its situation, never could have had either that or any of the essential features of a Christian basilica. Its whole architecture is that of the end of the 7th century, and its ordinance is essentially that of a mosque. It is hardly necessary to argue this point, however, as the Aksa stands on a spot which was perfectly known then, and ever afterwards, to be the very centre of the site of Solomon's Temple. Not only is this shown from Julian's attempt, but all the historians, Christian and Mohammedan, who refer to Omar's visit to Jerusalem, relate that the Sakhrâh was covered with filth and abhorred by the Christians; and more than this, we have the direct testimony of Eutychius, writing in the 9th century, from Alexandria (*Annales*, ii. 289), "That the Christians had built no church within the area of the Temple on account of the denunciations of the Lord, and had left it in ruins."

Notwithstanding this there is no difficulty in fixing on the site of this church, inasmuch as the vaults that fill up the south-eastern angle of the Haram area are almost certainly of the age of Justinian (woodcuts Nos. 3, 4), and are just such as Procopius describes; so that if it were situated at the northern extremity of the vaults, all the arguments that apply to the Aksa equally apply to this situation.

We have also direct testimony that a church did exist here immediately after Justinian's time in the

\* This fact the Writer owes, with many other valuable rectifications, to the observation of his friend Mr. G. Grove. The woodcut, &c., is from a large photograph which, with many others, were taken

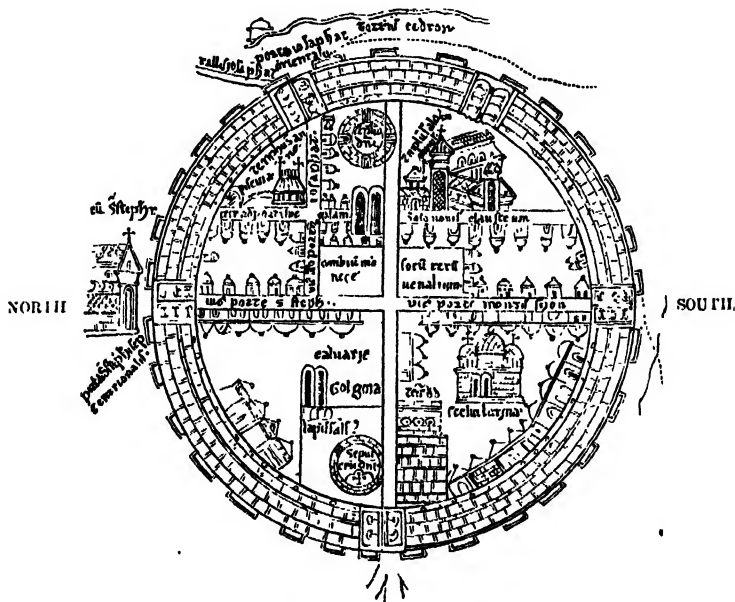
specially for the Writer on the spot, and to which he owes much of the information detailed above, though it has been impossible to refer to it on all occasions.

following words of Ant. Martyr: "Ante ruinas vero templi Solomonis aqua decurrit ad fontem Siloam, secus porticum Solomonis in ecclesia est sedes in qua sedit Pilatus quando audivit Dominum" (*Nin.* p. 16). As the portico of Solomon was the eastern portico of the Temple, this exactly describes the position of the church in question.

But whether we assume the Akra, or a church outside the Temple, on these vaults, to have been the Mary church of Justinian, how comes it that Justinian chose this remote corner of the city, and so difficult a site, for the erection of his church? Why did he not go to the quarter where—if the modern theory be correct—all the sacred localities of the Christians were grouped together in the middle of the city? The answer seems inevitable: that it was because in those times the Sepulchre and Golgotha were *here, and not on the spot to which the Sepulchre with his Mary-church have subsequently been transferred*. It may also be added that the fact of Justinian having built a

church in the neighbourhood is in itself almost sufficient to prove that in his age the site and dimensions of the Jewish temple were known, and also that the localities immediately outside the temple were then considered as sacred by the Christians.

XIII. *Conclusion*.—Having now gone through all the principal sites of the Christian edifices, as they stood anterior to the destruction of the churches by El Hakeem, the plan (No. 4) of the area of the Haram will be easily understood. Both Constantine's and Justinian's churches having disappeared, of course the restoration of these is partly conjectural. Nothing now remains in the Haram area but the Mohammedan buildings situated within the area of Solomon's Temple. Of the Christian buildings which once existed there, there remains only the great Anastasis of Constantine—now known as "the Mosque of Omar" and "the Dome of the Rock"—certainly the most interesting, as well as one of the most beautiful Christian buildings in the East, and a small but equally interesting little do-



No. 11.—Plan of Jerusalem in the 12th cent.

mical building called the Little Sakhrah at the north end of the enclosure, and said to contain a fragment of the rock which the angel sat upon, and which closed the door of the sepulchre (Ali Bey, ii. 225). These two buildings are entire. Of Constantine's church we have only the festal entrance, known as the Golden Gateway, and of Justinian's only the substructions.

It is interesting to compare this with a plan of the city (woodcut No. 11) made during the Crusades, and copied from a manuscript of the twelfth century, in the Library at Brussels. It gives the traditional localities pretty much as they are now; with the exception of St. Stephen's gate, which was the name then applied to that now known as the Damascus Gate. The gate which now bears his name was

then known as that of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The "Temple of Solomon," i.e. the Mosque of el Akra, is divided by a wide street from that of our Lord; and the Sepulchre is represented as only a smaller copy of its prototype within the Haram area, but very remarkably similar in design, to say the least of it.

Having now gone through the main outlines of the topography of Jerusalem, in so far as the limits of this article would admit, or as seems necessary for the elucidation of the subject, the many details which remain will be given under their separate titles, as TEMPLE, TOMB, PALACE, &c. It only remains, before concluding, to recapitulate here that the great difficulties which seem hitherto to have rendered the subject confused, and in fact inex-

plicable, were (1) the improper application of the name of Zion to the western hill, and (2) the assumption that the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was that built by Constantine.

The moment we transfer the name, Zion, from the western to the eastern hill, and the scenes of the Passion from the present site of the Holy Sepulchre to the area of the Haram, all the difficulties disappear; and it only requires a little patience, and perhaps in some instances a little further investigation on the spot, for the topography of Jerusalem to become as well, or better established, than that of any city of the ancient world. [J. F.]

**JERUSHA** (ירושא: *Ἰερουσα*; Alex. *Ἰερους*: *Jerusa*), daughter of Zadok, queen of Uziah, and mother of Jotham king of Judah (2 K. xv. 33). In Chronicles the name is given under the altered form of

**JERUSHAH** (ירושח: *Ἰερουσα*: *Jerusa*), 2 Chr. xxvii. 1. See the preceding article.

**JESAI'AH** (ישעיה: *Ἰεσας*: *Jesaias*). 1. Son of Hananiah, brother of Pelatiah, and grandson of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 21). But according to the LXX. and the Vulgate, he was the son of Pelatiah. For an explanation of this genealogy, and the difficulties connected with it, see Lord A. Hervey's *Genealogies of our Lord*, ch. iv. §v.

2. (ישעיה, i. e. Jeshaiiah: *Ἰεסא*; Alex. *Ἰεσ-σela*: *Isua*.) A Benjamite, whose descendants were among those chosen by lot to reside in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 7).

**JESHAT'AIL**. 1. (ישעיה: *Ἰεסας* in 1 Chr. xxv. 3, and *Ἰωסא* in ver. 15; in the former the Alex. MS. has *Ἰεסא καὶ Σεφεί*, and in the latter *Ἰεסας* the Vulg. has *Jesaias* and *Jesurias*.) One of the six sons of Jeduthun, set apart for the musical service of the Temple, under the leadership of their father, the inspired minstrel; he was the chief of the eighth division of the singers. The Hebrew name is identical with that of the prophet Isaiah.

2. (*Ἰωסας*; Alex. *Ἰωσαιας*: *Isaias*.) A Levite in the reign of David, eldest son of Rehabiah, a descendant of Aharun through Moses (1 Chr. xxvi. 25). He is called Isshiah in 1 Chr. xxiv. 21, in A. V., though the Hebrew is merely the shortened form of the name. Shebuel, one of his ancestors, appears among the Hemanites in 1 Chr. xxv. 4, and is said in Targ. on 1 Chr. xxvi. 24 to be the same with Jonathan the son of Gershom, the priest of the idols of the Danites, who afterwards returned to the fear of Jehovah.

3. (ישעיה: *Ἰωσαιας*; Alex. *Ἡσαία*: *Isaias*.) The son of Athaliah and chief of the house of the Bene-Elam who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 7). In 1 Esd. viii. 33 he is called Josias.

4. (*Ἰωσαια*: *Isaias*.) A Merarite, who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 19). He is called Osaias in 1 Esd. viii. 48.

**JESHA'NAH** (ישנה: *ἡ Ἰεσυνά*; Alex. *Ἀνά*; Joseph. *ἡ Ἰωδνας*: *Jesania*), a town which, with its dependent villages (Heb. and Alex. LXX. "daughters"), was one of the three taken from Jeroboam by Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 19). The other two were Bethel and Ephraim, and Jeshannah is named between them. A place of the same name was the scene of an encounter between Herod and Pappus, the general of Antigonus' army, related

by Josephus with curious details (*Ant.* xiv. 15, §12), which however convey no indication of its position. It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, unless we accept the conjecture of Reland (*Pal.* 861) that "Jethaha, urbs antiqua Judaeae," is at once a corruption and a translation of the name Jeshana, which signifies "old." Nor has it been identified in modern times, save by Schwarz (158), who places it at "Al-Saunin, a village two miles W. of Bethel," but undiscoverable in any map which the writer has consulted. [G.]

**JESHARELAH** (ישרהאל: *Ἰσρηήλ*, *Ἰσ-ρηλά*, Cod. Alex.), head of the seventh of the 24 wards into which the musicians of the Levites were divided (1 Chr. xxv. 14). [HEMAN; JEDUTHUN.] He belonged to the house of Asaph, and had 12 of his house under him. At ver. 2 his name is written Asarelah, with an initial א instead of י; in the LXX. *Ἐπαρά*. [A. C. H.]

**JESHE'BEAB** (ישבעב: *Ἰεσβαά*: *Isbaab*), head of the 14th course of priests (1 Chr. xxiv. 13). [JETHOARIB.] [A. C. H.]

**JESHER** (ישר: *Ἰασρ*; Alex. *Ἰωασρ*: *Jaser*), one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hezron by his wife Azubah (1 Chr. ii. 18). In two of Kennicott's MSS. it is written יתיר, *Jether*, from the preceding verse, and in one MS. the two names are combined. The Peshito Syriac has *Oshir*, the same form in which *Jasher* is represented in 2 Sam. i. 18.

**JESHIMON** (ישחמון = the waste: in Num. *ἡ ἐρημος*; in Sam. *δ Ἰεσσαμὸς*, and *Ἰεσσαμὸς*; Alex. *Ἰεσσαμὸς*: *desertum, solitudo, Jesimonth*), a name which occurs in Num. xxi. 20 and xxiii. 28, in designating the position of Pisgah and Peor: both described as "facing" (על־פני) the Jeshimon." Not knowing more than the general locality of either Peor or Pisgah, this gives us no clue to the situation of Jeshimon. But it is elsewhere used in a similar manner with reference to the position of two places very distant from both the above—the hill of Hechilah, "on the south of," or "facing, the Jeshimon" (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, 8), and the wilderness of Maon, also south of it (xxiii. 24). Ziph (xxiii. 15) and Maon are known at the present day. They lie a few miles south of Hebron, so that the district strictly north of them is the hill-country of Judah. But a line drawn between Maon and the probable position of Peor—on the high country opposite Jericho—passes over the dreary, barren waste of the hills lying immediately on the east of the Dead Sea. To this district the name, if interpreted as a Hebrew word, would be not inapplicable. It would also suit as to position, as it would be full in view from an elevated point on the highlands of Moab, and not far from north of Maon and Ziph. On the other hand, the use of the word *ha-Arābāh*, in 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, must not be overlooked, meaning, as that elsewhere does, the sunk district of the Jordan and Dead Sea, the modern *Ghor*. Beth-Jeshimoth too, which by its name ought to have some connection with Jeshimon, would appear to have been on the lower level, somewhere near the mouth of the Jordan. [BETH-JESHIMOTH.] Perhaps it is not safe to lay much stress on the Hebrew sense of the name. The passages in which it is first mentioned are indisputably of very early date, and it is quite possible that it is an archaic name found and adopted by the Israelites. [G.]

**JESHI'SHAI** (יֵשִׁי'שָׂאִי: 'Iesat; Alex. 'Iesat: Jcsist), one of the ancestors of the Gadites who dwelt in Gilead, and whose genealogies were made out in the days of Jotham king of Judah (1 Chr. v. 14). In the Peshito Syriac the latter part of the verse is omitted.

**JESHOHA'IAH** (יֵשׁוּחָאִיָּה: 'Iasoula: Isu-hu), a chief of one of the families of that branch of the Simeonites, which was descended from Shimel, and was more numerous than the rest of the tribe (1 Chr. iv. 36). He was concerned in the raid upon the Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah.

**JESH'UA** (יֵשׁוּעַ: 'Iesous; Joshua and Joshue), a later Hebrew contraction for Joshua, or rather Jehoshua. [JEHOSHUA.]

1. Joshua, the son of Nun, is called Jeshua in one passage (Neh. viii. 17). [JOSHUA.]

2. A priest in the reign of David, to whom the ninth course fell by lot (1 Chr. xxiv. 11). He is called Jeshuah in the A. V. One branch of the house, viz. the children of Jeshiah, returned from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 36; but see JEDAIAH).

3. One of the Levites in the reign of Hezekiah, after the reformation of worship, placed in trust in the cities of the priests in their classes, to distribute to their brethren of the offerings of the people (2 Chr. xxxi. 15).

4. Son of Jehozadak, first high-priest of the third series, viz. of those after the Babylonish captivity, and ancestor of the fourteen high-priests his successors down to Joshua or Jason, and Onias or Menelaus, inclusive. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Jeshua, like his contemporary Zerubbabel, was probably born in Babylon, whither his father Jehozadak had been taken captive while young (1 Chr. vi. 15, A. V.). He came up from Babylon in the first of Cyrus with Zerubbabel, and took a leading part with him in the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth. Everything we read of him indicates a man of earnest piety, patriotism, and courage. One of less faith and resolution would never have surmounted all the difficulties and opposition he had to contend with. His first care on arriving at Jerusalem was to rebuild the altar, and restore the daily sacrifice, which had been suspended for some fifty years. He then, in conjunction with Zerubbabel, hastened to collect materials for rebuilding the temple, and was able to lay the foundation of it as early as the second month of the second year of their return to Jerusalem. The services on this occasion were conducted by the priests in their proper apparel, with their trumpets, and by the sons of Asaph, the Levites, with their cymbals, according to the ordinance of king David (Ezr. iii.). However, the progress of the work was hindered by the enmity of the Samaritans, who bribed the counsellors of the kings of Persia so effectually to obstruct it that the Jews were unable to proceed with it till the second year of Darius Hystaspis—an interval of about fourteen years. In that year, B.C. 520, at the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah (Ezr. v. 1, vi. 14; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 1-9; Zech. i.-viii.), the work was resumed by Jeshua and Zerubbabel with redoubled vigour, and was happily completed on the third day of the month Adar (= March), in

the sixth of Darius.\* The dedication of the temple, and the celebration of the Passover, in the next month, were kept with great solemnity and rejoicing (Ezr. vi. 15-22), and especially "twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel," were offered as a sin-offering for all Israel. Jeshua's zeal in the work is commended by the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlix. 12). Besides the great importance of Jeshua as a historical character, from the critical times in which he lived, and the great work which he accomplished, his name Jesus, his restoration of the temple, his office as high-priest, and especially the two prophecies concerning him in Zech. iii. and vi. 9-15, point him out as an eminent type of Christ. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing is known of Jeshua later than the seventh year of Darius, with which the narrative of Ezr. i.-vi. closes. Josephus, who says the temple was seven years in building; and places the dedication of it in the ninth of Darius, contributes no information whatever concerning him: his history here, with the exception of the 9th sect. of b. xi. ch. iv., being merely a paraphrase of Ezra and 1 Esdras, especially the latter. [ZERUBBABEL.] Jeshua had probably conversed often with Daniel and Ezekiel, and may or may not have known Jehoichin at Babylon in his youth. He probably died at Jerusalem. It is written *Jeshush* or *Joshua* in Zech. iii. 1, 3, &c.; Hagg. i. 1, 12, &c.

5. Head of a Levitical house, one of those which returned from the Babylonish captivity, and took an active part under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The name is used to designate either the whole family or the successive chiefs of it (Ezr. ii. 40, iii. 9; Neh. iii. 19, vii. 7, ix. 4, 5, xii. 8, &c.). Jeshua, and Kadmiel, with whom he is frequently associated, were both "sons of Hodaviah" (called Judah, Ezr. iii. 9), but Jeshua's more immediate ancestor was Azariah (Neh. x. 9). In Neh. xii. 24 "Jeshua the son of Kadmiel" is a manifest corruption of the text. The LXX. read *καὶ ὁλοὶ Καδμῆα*. It is more likely that *יָד* is an accidental error for *י*.

6. A branch of the family of Pahath-Moab, one of the chief families, probably, of the tribe of Judah (Neh. x. 14, vii. 11, &c.; Ezr. x. 30). His descendants were the most numerous of all the families which returned with Zerubbabel. The verse is obscure, and might be translated, "The children of Pahath-Moab, for (i. e. representing) the children of Jeshua and Joab;" so that Pahath-Moab would be the head of the family. [A. C. H.]

**JESH'UA** (יֵשׁוּעַ: 'Iesou: Jesus), one of the towns re-inhabited by the people of Judah after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 26). Being mentioned with Moladah, Beersheba, &c., it was apparently in the extreme south. It does not, however, occur in the original lists of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xv., xix.), nor is there any name in those lists of which this would be probably a corruption. It is not mentioned elsewhere. [G.]

**JESH'UAH** (יֵשׁוּעָה: 'Iesous: Jesus), a priest in the reign of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 11), the same as JESHUA, No. 2.

**JESHU'RUN**, and once by mistake in A. V. **JESUR'UN**, Is. xlv. 2 (יֵשׁוּרֻן: ὁ ἡγαννέμος,

\* The 7th, after the Babylonian reckoning, according to Prideaux.

\* The connexion with Bani, Hushabiah (or Hush-

abiah), Henadad, and the Levites (17-19), indicates that Jeshua, the father of Exer, is the same person as in the other passages cited.

once with the addition of 'Ispāḥl, which the Arabic of the Lond. Polyglot adopts to the exclusion of the former; *dilectus, rectissimus*), a symbolical name for Israel in Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xlv. 2, for which various etymologies have been suggested. Of its application to Israel there seems to be no division of opinion. The Targum and Peshito Syriac uniformly render Jeshurun by "Israel." Kimchi (on Is. xlv. 2) derives it from the root יָשַׁר, *yāshar*, "to be right or upright," because Israel was "upright among the nations;" as יֵשָׁרִים, *yeshārīm*, "the upright" (Num. xxiii. 10; Ps. cxi. 1) is a poetical appellation of the chosen people, who did that which was right (יֵשֶׁרֶת, *hay-yāshār*) in the eyes of Jehovah, in contradistinction from the idolatrous heathen who did that which was pre-eminently the evil (עָרִים, *hā-r'a*), and worshipped false gods. This seems to have been the view adopted by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion—who according to the account of their version given by Jerome (on Is. xlv. 2), must have had *eubis* or *eubistratos*—and by the Vulgate in three passages. Malvenda (quoted in Poole's *Synopsis*, Deut. xxxii. 15), taking the same root, applies it ironically to Israel. For the like reason, on the authority of the above mentioned Father, the book of Genesis was called "the book of the just" (*eubēon*), as relating to the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel. The termination יָ is either intensive, as the Vulgate takes it, or an affectionate diminutive ("Frömmchen," Hitzig, and Fürst; "Liebling," Heidecker, and Bunsen). Simonis (*Lex. Hebr. s. v.*, and *Arc. Form. Nom. p.*

582) connects Jeshurun with the Arabic root يَسَّرَ, *yāsara*, which in the second conj. signifies "to prosper," and in the 4th "to be wealthy," and is thus cognate with the Hebr. אִשָּׁר, *āshar*, which in Pual signifies "to be blessed." With the intensive termination Jeshurun would then denote Israel as supremely happy or prosperous, and to this signification it must be allowed the context in Deut. xxxii. 15, points. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.*) considers it as a diminutive of Israel, and would read יִשְׂרָאֵלִין, *yisrā'elīn*, contracted from יִשְׂרָאֵלִין, *yisrā'elān*. Such too was the opinion of Grotius and Vitrings, and of the author of the Veneto-Gk. version, who renders it 'IspaeAlskos. For this theory, though supported by the weight of Gesenius' authority, it is scarcely necessary to say there is not the smallest foundation, either in analogy or probability. In the application of the name Jeshurun to Israel, we may discover that fondness for a play upon words of which there are so many examples, and which might be allowed to have some influence in the selection of the appellation. But to derive the one from the other is a fancy unworthy of a scholar.

Two other etymologies of the name may be noticed as showing to what lengths conjecture may go when not regulated by any definite principles. The first of these, which is due to Forster (quoted by Glassius, *Phil. Sacr. lib. iv. tr. 2*), connects it with שֹׁר, *shōr*, "an ox," in consequence of the allusion in the context of Deut. xxxii.

15; the other with שֹׁר, *shōr*, "to behold," because Israel beheld the presence of God.

[W. A. W.]

**JESI'AH** (יֵשִׁיָּהוּ, *i. e.* Yisshiyahu: 'Iḡsoui; Alex. 'Iesid: *Jesia*). 1. A Korhite, one of the mighty men, "helpers of the battle," who joined David's standard at Ziklag during his flight from Saul (1 Chr. xii. 6).

2. (יֵשִׁיָּה: 'Iesid; Alex. 'Iesid.). The second son of Uzziel, the son of Kohath (1 Chr. xiii. 20). He is the same as Jeshiah, whose representative was Zechariah (1 Chr. xxiv. 25); but our translators in the present instance followed the Vulg., as they have too often done in the case of proper names.

**JESIM'IEL** (יֵשִׁמְיֵאל: 'Ispāḥl: *Ismiel*), a Simenite, descended from the prolific family of Shimei, and a prince of his own branch of the tribe, whom he led against the peaceful Ilamites in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Chr. iv. 36).

**JESSE** (יֵשָׁי, *i. e.* Ishai: 'Iesai; Joseph. 'Iesaios: *Isai*: in the margin of 1 Chr. x. 14, our translators have given the Vulgate form), the father of David, and thus the immediate progenitor of the whole line of the kings of Judah, and ultimately of Christ. He is the only one of his name who appears in the sacred records. Jesse was the son of Obed, who again was the fruit of the union of Boaz and the Moabitess Ruth. Nor was Ruth's the only foreign blood that ran in his veins; for his great-grandmother was no less a person than Rahab the Canaanite, of Jericho (Matt. i. 5). Jesse's genealogy is twice given in full in the Old Testament, viz., Ruth iv. 18-22, and 1 Chr. ii. 5-12. We there see that long before David had rendered his family illustrious, it belonged to the greatest house of Judah, that of Pharez, through Hezron his eldest son. One of the links in the descent was Nahshon (N. T. Naashon), chief man of the tribe at the critical time of the Exodus. In the N. T. the genealogy is also twice given (Matt. i. 3-5; Luke iii. 32-34).

He is commonly designated as "Jesse the Bethlehemite" (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 18). So he is called by his son David, then fresh from home (xvii. 58); but his full title is "the Ephrathite of Bethlehem Judah" (xvii. 12). The double expression and the use of the antique word Ephrathite perhaps imply that he was one of the oldest families in the place. He is an "old man" when we first meet with him (1 Sam. xvii. 12), with eight sons (xvi. 10, xvii. 12), residing at Bethlehem (xvi. 4, 5). It would appear, however, from the terms of xvi. 4, 5, and of Josephus (*Ant. vi. 8, §1*), that Jesse was not one of the "elders" of the town. The few slight glimpses we can catch of him are soon recalled. According to an ancient Jewish tradition, recorded in the Targum on 2 Sam. xxi. 19, he was a weaver of the vails of the sanctuary, but as there is no contradiction, so there is no corroboration of this in the Bible, and it is possible that it was suggested by the occurrence of the word *origin*, "weavers," in connexion with a member of his family. [JAARE-OREGIM.] Jesse's wealth

\* Jerome (*Liber de Nominibus*) gives the strange interpretation of *insulæ libamen*.

\* This genealogy is embodied in the "Jesse tree," not unfrequently to be found in the records and east

windows of English churches. One of the finest is at Dorchester, Oxon. The tree springs from Jesse, who is recumbent at the bottom of the window, and contains 25 members of the line, culminating in our Lord.

seems to have consisted of a flock of sheep and goats (מִצֵּב, A. V. "sheep"), which were under the care of David (xvi. 11, xvii. 34, 35). Of the produce of this flock we find him on two occasions sending the simple presents which in those days the higher persons were wont to accept—slices of milk cheese to the captain of the division of the army in which his sons were serving (xvii. 18), and a kid to Saul (xvi. 20); with the accompaniment in each case of parched corn from the fields of Boaz, loaves of the bread from which Bethlehem took its very name, and wine from the vineyards which still enrich the terraces of the hill below the village.

When David's rupture with Saul had finally driven him from the court, and he was in the cave of Adullam, "his brethren and all his father's house" joined him (xxii. 1). His "brother" (probably Eliab) is mentioned on a former occasion (xx. 29) as taking the lead in the family. This is no more than we should expect from Jesse's great age. David's anxiety at the same period to find a safe refuge for his parents from the probable vengeance of Saul, is also quite in accordance with their helpless condition. He took his father and his mother into the country of Moab, and deposited them with the king, and there they disappear from our view in the records of Scripture. But another old Jewish tradition (Rabboth Seiler, מַשְׁכֵּן, 256, col. 2) states that after David had quitted the hold, his parents and brothers were put to death by the king of Moab, so that there remained, besides David, but one brother, who took refuge with Nahash, king of the Bene-Ammon.

Who the wife of Jesse was we are not told. His eight sons will be found displayed under DAVID, p. 401. The family contained in addition two female members, Zeruah and Abigail, but it is uncertain whether these were Jesse's daughters, for though they are called the sisters of his sons (1 Chr. ii. 16), yet Abigail is said to have been the daughter of Nahash (2 Sam. xvii. 25). Of this two explanations have been proposed. (1.) The Jewish—that NAHASH was another name for Jesse (Jerome, *Q. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. xvii. 25<sup>c</sup>). (2.) Professor Stanley's—that Jesse's wife had been formerly wife or concubine to Nahash, possibly the king of the Ammonites (DAVID, 401 b.).

An English reader can hardly fail to remark how often Jesse is mentioned long after the name of David had become famous enough to supersede that of his obscure and humble parent. While David was a struggling outlaw, it was natural that to friend and foe—to Saul, Doeg, and Nabal, no less than to the captains of Judah and Benjamin—he should be merely the "son of Jesse" (1 Sam. xxii. 9, 13; comp. xxiv. 16, xxv. 10; 1 Chr. xii. 18); but that Jesse's name should be brought forward in records of so late a date as 1 Chr. xxix. 26, and Ps. lxxii. 20, long after the establishment of David's own house, is certainly worthy of notice. Especially is it to be observed that it is in his name—the "shoot out of the stump of Jesse . . . the root of Jesse which should stand as an ensign to the people" (Is. xi. 1, 10), that Isaiah announces the most

splendour of his promises, intended to rouse and cheer the heart of the nation at the time of its deepest despondency. [G.]

JESS'UE (Ἰησοῦς; Alex. Ἰησούε: *Jesu*), a Levite, the same as Jeshua (1 Esd. v. 26; comp. Ezr. ii. 40).

JESU (Ἰησοῦς: *Jesu*), the same as Jeshua the Levite, the father of Jozabab (1 Esd. viii. 63; see Ezr. viii. 33), also called Jessue, and Jesus.

JESUI (Ἰησοῖ: Ἰεσοῖ; Alex. Ἰεσοῖ: *Jessui*), the son of Asher, whose descendants THE JESUITES were numbered in the plains of Moab at the Jordan of Jericho (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called Isui (Gen. xli. 17) and Ishuai (1 Chr. vii. 30).

JES'US (Ἰησοῦς: *Jesu, Jesus, Josue*), the Greek form of the name Joshua or Jeshua, a contraction of Jehoshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), that is, "help of Jehovah" or "Saviour" (Numb. xiii. 16). [JESHUUA.]

1. Joshua the priest, the son of Jehozadak (1 Esd. v. 5, 8, 24, 48, 56, 68, 70, vi. 2, ix. 19; Ecclus. xli. 12). Also called Jeshua. [JESHUA, No. 4.]

2. (*Jesus*.) Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd. v. 58, ix. 48).

3. Joshua the son of Nun (2 Esd. vii. 37; Ecclus. xli. 1; 1 Macc. ii. 55; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8). [JOSHUA.]

#### JESUS THE FATHER OF SIRACH.

[JESU'S THE SON OF SIRACH.]

JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH (Ἰησοῦς, υἱὸς Σαράχ; *Jesus filius Sirach*) is described in the text of Ecclesiasticus (l. 27) as the author of that book, which in the LXX., and generally, except in the Western Church, is called by his name the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, or simply the *Wisdom of Sirach* (ECCLESIASTICUS, §1). The same passage speaks of him as a native of Jerusalem (Ecclus. l. c.); and the internal character of the book confirms its Palestinian origin. The name JESUS was of frequent occurrence, and was often represented by the Greek Jason. In the apocryphal list of the LXXXII commissioners sent by Cleazar to Ptolemy it occurs twice (Arist. *Hist. ap. Hody, De text.* p. vii.); but there is not the slightest ground for connecting the author of Ecclesiasticus with either of the persons there mentioned. The various conjectures which have been made as to the position of the son of Sirach from the contents of his book; as, for instance, that he was a priest (from vii. 29 ff., xlv., xlix., l.), or a physician (from xxxviii. 1 ff.), are equally unfounded.

Among the later Jews the "Son of Sirach" was celebrated under the name of Ben Sir as a writer of proverbs, and some of those which have been preserved offer a close resemblance to passages in Ecclesiasticus [ECCLESIASTICUS, §4, n. b.]; but in the course of time a later compilation was substituted for the original work of Ben Sirā (Zunz,

\* This is given also in the Targum to Ruth iv. 22. "And Obed begat Ishai (Jesse), whose name is Nachash, because there were not found in him iniquity and corruption, that he should be delivered into the hand of the Angel of Death that he should take away his soul from him; and he lived many days until was fulfilled before Jehovah the counsel which the Serpent

gave to Chavvah the wife of Adam, to eat of the tree, of the fruit of which when they did eat they were able to discern between good and evil; and by reason of this counsel all the inhabitants of the earth became guilty of death, and in that iniquity only died Ishai the righteous."

*Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden*, 100 ff.), and tradition has preserved no authentic details of his person or his life.

The chronological difficulties which have been raised as to the date of the Son of Sirach have been already noticed [*ECCLESIASTICUS*, §4], and do not call for further discussion.

According to the first prologue to the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, taken from the *Synopsis* of the Pseudo-Athanasius (iv. p. 377, ed. Migne), the translator of the book bore the same name as the author of it. If this conjecture were true, a genealogy of the following form would result: 1. Sirach. 2. Jesus, son (father) of Sirach (*author* of the book). 3. Sirach. 4. Jesus, son of Sirach (*translator* of the book). It is, however, most likely that the last chapter, "*The prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach*," gave occasion to this conjecture. The prayer was attributed to the translator, and then the table of succession followed necessarily from the title attached to it. [B. F. W.]

**JESUS**, called **JUSTUS**, a Christian who was with St. Paul at Rome, and joined him in sending salutations to the Colossians. He was one of the fellow-workers who were a comfort to the Apostle (Col. iv. 11). In the *Acta Sanct. Jun.* iv. 67, he is commemorated as bishop of Eleutheropolis. [W. T. B.]

**JESUS CHRIST**. The name Jesus (*Ἰησοῦς*) signifies Saviour. Its origin is explained above, and it seems to have been not an uncommon name among the Jews. It is assigned in the New Testament (1.) to our Lord Jesus Christ, who "saves His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 21); also (2.) to Joshua the successor of Moses, who brought the Israelites into the land of promise (Num. xlvii. 18; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8); and (3.) to Jesus surnamed Justus, a converted Jew, associated with St. Paul (Col. iv. 11).

The name of Christ (*Χριστός* from *χρίω*, I anoint) signifies *Anointed*. Priests were anointed amongst the Jews, as their inauguration to their office (1 Chr. xvi. 22; 1's. cv. 15), and kings also (2 Macc. i. 24; Eccles. xlv. 19). In the New Testament the name Christ is used as equivalent to Messiah (Greek *Μεσσίας*; Hebrew *מָשִׁיחַ*, John i. 41), the name given to the long promised Prophet and King whom the Jews had been taught by their prophets to expect; and therefore = *ἐπαγγελμενός* (Acts xix. 4; Matt. xi. 3). The use of this name as applied to the Lord has always a reference to the promises of the Prophets. In Matt. ii. 4, xi. 2, it is assumed that the Christ when He should come would live and act in a certain way, described by the Prophets. So Matt. xxii. 42, xxiii. 10, xxiv. 5, 23; Mark xii. 35, xiii. 21; Luke iii. 15, xx. 41; John vii. 27, 31, 41, 42, xii. 34, in all which places there is a reference to the Messiah as delineated by the Prophets. That they had foretold that Christ should suffer appears Luke xxiv. 26, 46. The name of Jesus is the proper name of our Lord, and that of Christ is added to identify Him with the promised Messiah. Other names are sometimes added to the names Jesus Christ, or Christ Jesus: thus "Lord" (frequently) "a King" (added as a kind of explanation of the word Christ, Luke xxii. 2), "King of Israel" (Mark xv. 32), Son of David (Mark xii. 35; Luke xx. 41), chosen of God (Luke xxiii. 35).

Remainable are such expressions as "the Christ

of God" (Luke ii. 26, ix. 20; Rev. xi. 15, xii. 10); and the phrase "in Christ," which occurs about 78 times in the Epistles of St. Paul, and is almost peculiar to them. But the germ of it is to be found in the words of our Lord Himself, "Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me" (John xv. 4, also 5, 6, 7, 9, 10). The idea that all Christian life is not merely an imitation and following of the Lord, but a living and constant union with Him, causes the Apostle to use such expressions as "fallen asleep in Christ" (1 Cor. xv. 18), "I knew a man in Christ" (2 Cor. xii. 2), "I speak the truth in Christ" (1 Tim. ii. 7), and many others. (See Schleusner's *Lexicon*; Wahl's *Christi*; Fritzsche on St. Matthew; De Wette's *Commentary*; Schmidt's *Greek Concordance*, &c.)

The Life, the Person, and the Work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ occupy the whole of the New Testament. Of this threefold subject the present article includes the first part, namely, the Life and Teaching; the Person of our Lord will be treated under the article SON OF GOD; and His Work will naturally fall under the word SAVIOUR.

Towards the close of the reign of Herod the Great, arrived that "fulness of time" which God in His inscrutable wisdom had appointed for the sending of His Son; and Jesus was born at Bethlehem, to redeem a sinful and ruined world. According to the received chronology, which is in fact that of Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th century, this event occurred in the year of Rome 754. But modern writers, with hardly an exception, believe that this calculation places the nativity some years too late; although they differ as to the amount of error. Herod the Great died, according to Josephus, in the thirty-seventh year after he was appointed king (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §1, *B. J.* i. 33, §8). His elevation coincides with the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calpurnius and C. Asinius Pollio, and this determines the date A.D.C. 714 (*Joseph. Ant.* xiv. 14, §5). There is reason to think that in such calculations Josephus reckons the years from the month Nisan to the same month; and also that the death of Herod took place in the beginning of the thirty-seventh year, or just before the Passover (*Joseph. Ant.* xvii. 9, §3); if then thirty-six complete years are added they give the year of Herod's death A.D.C. 750 (see Note on Chronology at the end of this article). As Jesus was born during the life of Herod, it follows from these data that the Nativity took place some time before the month of April 750, and if it took place only a few months before Herod's death, then its date would be four years earlier than the Dionysian reckoning (Wieseler).

Three other chronological data occur in the Gospels, but the arguments founded on them are not conclusive. 1. The Baptism of Jesus was followed by a Passover (John ii. 13), at which certain Jews mention that the restoration of their temple had been in progress for forty-six years (ii. 20), Jesus himself being at this time "about thirty years of age" (Luke iii. 23). As the date of the Temple-restoration can be ascertained, it has been argued from these facts also that the nativity took place at the beginning of A.D.C. 750. But it is sometimes argued that the words that determine our Lord's age are not exact enough to serve as the basis for such a calculation. 2. The ap-

pearance of the star to the wise men has been thought likely, by the aid of astronomy, to determine the date. But the opinion that the star in the East was a remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces, is now rejected. Besides the difficulty of reconciling it with the sacred narrative (Matt. ii. 9) "it would throw back the birth of our Lord to A.U.C. 747, which is too early. 3. Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5), and he was engaged in the duties of his course when the birth of John the Baptist was foretold to him; and it has been thought possible to calculate, from the place which the course of Abia held in the cycle, the precise time of the Saviour's birth. All these data are discussed below (p. 1072).

In treating of the Life of Jesus, a perfect record of the events would be no more than a reproduction of the four Gospels, and a discussion of those events would swell to the compass of a voluminous commentary. Neither of these would be appropriate here, and in the present article a brief sketch only of the Life can be attempted, drawn up with a view to the two remaining articles, on the SON OF GOD and SAVIOUR.

The Man who was to redeem all men and do for the human race what no one could do for his brother, was not born into the world as others are. The salutation addressed by the Angel to Mary His mother, "Hail! Thou that art highly favoured," was the prelude to a new act of divine creation; the first Adam that sinned was not born but created; the second Adam, that restored, was born indeed, but in supernatural fashion. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 35). Mary received the announcement of a miracle, the full import of which she could not have understood, with the submission of one who knew that the message came from God; and the Angel departed from her. At first, her betrothed husband, when he heard from her what had taken place, doubted her, but a supernatural communication convinced him of her purity, and he took her to be his wife. Not only was the approaching birth of Jesus made the subject of supernatural communications, but that of John the Baptist the day before the birth of either had actually taken place, a small knot of persons had been prepared to expect the fulfilment of the divine promises in the Holy One that should be born of Mary (Luke i.).

The prophet Micah had foretold (v. 2) that the future king should be born in Bethlehem of Judaea, the place where the house of David had its origin; but Mary dwelt in Nazareth. Augustus, however, had ordered a general census of the Roman empire, and although Judaea, not being a province of the empire, would not necessarily come under such an order, it was included, probably because the intention was already conceived of reducing it after a time to the condition of a province (see Note on Chronology). That such a census was made we know from Cassiodorus (*Var.* iii. 52). That in its application to Palestine it should be made with reference to Jewish feelings and prejudices, being carried out no doubt by Herod the Jewish king, was quite natural; and so Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem, the city of David, to be taxed. From the well-known and much-canvassed passage in St. Luke (ii. 2) it appears that the taxing was not completed

till the time of Quirinius (Cyprianus), some years later; and how far it was carried now, cannot be determined; all that we learn is that it brought Joseph, who was of the house of David, from his home to Bethlehem, where the Lord was born. As there was no room in the inn, a manger was the cradle in which Christ the Lord was laid. But signs were not wanting of the greatness of the event that seemed so unimportant. Lowly shepherds were the witnesses of the wonder that accompanied the lowly Saviour's birth; an angel proclaimed to them "good tidings of great joy;" and then the exceeding joy that was in heaven amongst the angels about this mystery of love broke through the silence of night with the words—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men" (Luke ii. 8-20). We need not suppose that these simple men were chafing in their hearts the expectation of the Messiah which others had relinquished; they were chosen from the humble, as were our Lord's companions afterwards, in order to show that God "hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty" (1 Cor. i. 26-31), and that the poor and meek could apprehend the message of salvation to which kings and priests could turn a deaf ear.

The subject of the Genealogy of our Lord, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is discussed fully in another article. [See GENEALOGY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.]

The child Jesus is circumcised in due time, is brought to the temple, and the mother makes the offering for her purification. That offering wanted its peculiar meaning in this case, which was an act of new creation, and not a birth after the common order of our fallen nature. But the seed of the new kingdom was to grow unobscuredly as yet; no exemption was claimed by the "highly favoured" mother, and no portent intervened. She made her humble offering like any other Judean mother, and would have gone her way unnoticed; but here too God suffered not His beloved Son to be without a witness, and Simeon and Anna, taught from God that the object of their earnest longings was before them, prophesied of His divine work: the one rejoicing that his eyes had seen the salvation of God, and the other speaking of Him "to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem" (Luke ii. 28-38).

Thus recognised amongst His own people, the Saviour was not without witness amongst the heathen. "Wise men from the East"—that is, Persian magi of the Zend religion, in which the idea of a Zoroastrian or Redeemer was clearly known—guided miraculously by a star or meteor created for the purpose, came and sought out the Saviour to pay him homage. We have said that in the year 747 occurred a remarkable combination of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, and this is supposed to be the sign by which the wise men knew that the birth of some great one had taken place. But, as has been said, the date does not agree with this view, and the account of the Evangelist describes a single star moving before them and guiding their steps. We must suppose that God saw good to speak to the magi in their own way: they were seeking light from the study of the stars, whence only physical light could be found, and He guided them to the Source of spiritual light, to the cradle of His Son, by a star miraculously made to appear to them, and to speak intelligibly to them through

their preconceptions. The offerings which they brought have been regarded as symbolical: the gold was tribute to a king, the frankincense was for the use of a priest, and the myrrh for a body preparing for the tomb—

“Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera regi,  
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulto,”

(says *Selulius*): but in a more general view these were at any rate the offerings made by worshippers, and in that light must the magi be regarded. The events connected with the birth of our Lord are all significant, and here some of the wisest of the heathen knelt before the Redeemer as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and as a sign that His dominion was to be not merely Jewish, but as wide as the whole world. (See *Matt. ii. 1-12*; *Münter, Star of the Wise Men*, Copenhagen. 1827; the *Commentaries* of *Alford*, *Williams*, *Olshausen*, and *Heubner*, where the opinions as to the nature of the star are discussed.)

A little child made the great Herod quake upon his throne. When he knew that the magi were come to hail their King and Lord, and did not stop at his palace, but passed on to a humbler roof, and when he found that they would not return to betray this child to him, he put to death all the children in Bethlehem that were under two years old. The crime was great; but the number of the victims, in a little place like Bethlehem, was small enough to escape special record amongst the wicked acts of Herod from Josephus and other historians, as it had no political interest. A confused indication of it, however, is found in *Macrobius (Saturn. ii. 4)*.

Joseph, warned by a dream, flees to Egypt with the young child, beyond the reach of Herod's aim. This flight of our Lord from His own land to the land of darkness and idolatry—a land associated even to a proverb with all that was hostile to God and His people, impresses on us the reality of His humiliation. Herod's cup was well nigh full; and the doom that soon overtook him could have arrested him then in his bloody attempt; but Jesus, in accepting humanity, accepted all its incidents. He was saved, not by the intervention of God, but by the obedience of Joseph; and from the storms of persecution He had to use the common means of escape (*Matt. ii. 13-23*; *Thomas a Kempis, iii. 15*, and *Commentaries*). After the death of Herod, in less than a year, Jesus returned with His parents to their own land, and went to Nazareth, where they abode.

Except as to one event the Evangelists are silent upon the succeeding years of our Lord's life down to the commencement of His ministry. When He was twelve years old He was found in the temple, hearing the doctors and asking them questions (*Luke ii. 40-52*). We are shown this one fact that we may know that at the time when the Jews considered childhood to be passing into youth, Jesus was already aware of His mission, and consciously preparing for it, although years elapsed before its actual commencement. This fact at once confirms and illustrates such a general expression as “Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man” (*Luke ii. 52*). His public ministry did not begin with a sudden impulse, but was prepared for by his whole life. The consciousness of His divine nature and power grew, and ripened and strengthened until the time of His showing unto Israel.

Thirty years had elapsed from the birth of our Lord to the opening of His ministry. In that time great changes had come over the chosen people. Herod the Great had united under him almost all the original kingdom of David; after the death of that prince it was dismembered for ever. Archelaus succeeded to the kingdom of Judaea, under the title of *Ethnarch*; Herod Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Batanea, and Paneas. The Emperor Augustus promised Archelaus the title of king, if he should prove worthy; but in the tenth year of his reign (U.C. 759), he was deposed in deference to the hostile feelings of the Jews, was banished to Vienne in Gaul, and from that time his dominions passed under the direct power of Rome, being annexed to Syria, and governed by a procurator. No king nor ethnarch held Judaea afterwards, if we except the three years when it was under Agrippa I. Marks are not wanting of the irritation kept up in the minds of the Jews by the sight of a foreigner exercising acts of power over the people whom David once ruled. The publicans (*portitores*) who collected tribute for the Roman empire were everywhere detested; and as a marked class is likely to be a degraded one, the Jews saw everywhere the most despised among the people exacting from them all, and more than all (*Luke iii. 13*), that the foreign tyrant required. Constant changes were made by the same power in the office of high-priest, perhaps from a necessary policy. Josephus says that there were twenty-eight high-priests from the time of Herod to the burning of the temple (*Ant. xx. 10*). The sect of Judas the Gaulonite, which protested against paying tribute to Cæsar, and against bowing the neck to an alien yoke, expressed a conviction which all Jews shared. The sense of oppression and wrong would tend to shape all the hopes of a Messiah, so far as they still existed, to the conception of a warrior who should deliver them from a hateful political bondage.

It was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Emperor, reckoning from his joint rule with Augustus (Jan. U.C. 765), and not from his sole rule (Aug. U.C. 767), that John the Baptist began to teach. In this year (U.C. 779) Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judaea, the worldly and time-serving representative of a cruel and imperious master; Herod Antipas and Philip still held the tetrarchies left them by their father. Annas and Caiaphas are both described as holding the office of high-priest; Annas was deposed by Valerius Gratus in this very year, and his son-in-law Joseph, called also Caiaphas, was appointed, after some changes, in his room; but Annas seems to have retained after this time (*John xviii. 13*) much of the authority of the office, which the two administered together. John the Baptist, of whom a full account is given below under his own name, came to preach in the wilderness. He was the last representative of the prophets of the old covenant; and his work was twofold—to enforce repentance and the terrors of the old law, and to revive the almost forgotten expectation of the Messiah (*Matt. iii. 1-10*; *Mark i. 1-8*; *Luke iii. 1-18*). Both these objects, which are very apparent in his preaching, were connected equally with the coming of Jesus, since the need of a Saviour from sin is not felt but when sin itself is felt to be a bondage and a terror. The career of John seems to have been very short; and it has been asked how such great influence could

have been attained in a short time (Matt. iii. 5). But his was a powerful nature which soon took possession of those who came within its reach; and his success becomes less surprising if we assume with Wieseler that the preaching took place in a sabbatical year (Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu*, 40). It is an old controversy whether the baptism of John was a new institution, or an imitation of the baptism of proselytes as practised by the Jews. But at all events there is no record of such a rite, conducted in the name of and with reference to a particular person (Acts xix. 4), before the ministry of John. Jesus came to Jordan with the rest to receive this rite at John's hands; first, in order that the sacrament by which all were hereafter to be admitted into His kingdom might not want His example to justify its use (Matt. iii. 15); next, that John might have an assurance that his course as the herald of Christ was now completed by His appearance (John i. 33); and last, that some public token might be given that He was indeed the Anointed of God (Heb. v. 5). A supposed discrepancy between Matt. iii. 14 and John i. 31, 33, disappears when we remember that from the relationship between the families of John and our Lord (Luke i.), John must have known already something of the power, goodness, and wisdom of Jesus; what he did not know was, that this same Jesus was the very Messiah for whom he had come to prepare the world. Our Lord received the rite of baptism at His servant's hands, and the Father attested Him by the voice of the Spirit, which also was seen descending on Him in a visible shape: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 13-17; Mark i. 9-11; Luke iii. 21, 22).

Immediately after this inauguration of His ministry Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-13). As the baptism of our Lord cannot have been for Him the token of repentance and intended reformation which it was for sinful men, so does our Lord's sinlessness affect the nature of His temptation; for it was the trial of One Who could not possibly have fallen. This makes a complete conception of the temptation impossible for minds wherein temptation is always associated with the possibility of sin. But whilst we must be content with an incomplete conception, we must avoid the wrong conceptions that are often substituted for it. Some suppose the account before us to describe what takes place in a vision or ecstasy of our Lord; so that both the temptation and its answer arise from within. Others think that the temptation was suggested from without, but in a state, not of sleep or ecstasy, but of complete consciousness. Others consider this narrative to have been a parable of our Lord, of which He has made Himself the subject. All these suppositions set aside the historical testimony of the Gospels: the temptation as there described arose not from the sinless mind of the Son of God, where indeed thoughts of evil could not have harboured, but from Satan, the enemy of the human race. Nor can it be supposed that this account is a mere parable, unless we assume that Matthew and Luke have wholly misunderstood their Master's meaning. The story is that of a fact, hard indeed to be understood, but not to be made easier by explanations such as would invalidate the only testimony on which it rests (Heubner's *Practical Commentary on Matthew*).

The three temptations are addressed to the three forms in which the disease of sin makes its appearance on the soul—to the solace of sense, and the love of praise, and the desire of gain (1 John ii. 16). But there is one element common to them all—they are attempts to call up a wilful and wayward spirit in contrast to a patient self-denying one.

In the first temptation the Redeemer is an hungered, and when the devil bids Him, if He be the Son of God, command that the stones may be made bread, there would seem to be no great sin in this use of divine power to overcome the pressing human want. Our Lord's answer is required to show us where the essence of the temptation lay. He takes the words of Moses to the children of Israel (Deut. viii. 3), which mean, not that men must dispense with bread and feed only on the study of the divine word, but that our meat and drink, our food and raiment, are all the work of the creating hand of God; and that a sense of dependence on God is the duty of man. He tells the tempter that as the sons of Israel standing in the wilderness were forced to humble themselves and to wait upon the hand of God for the bread from heaven which He gave them, so the Son of Man, fainting in the wilderness from hunger, will be humble and will wait upon His Father in heaven for the word that shall bring Him food, and will not be hasty to deliver Himself from that dependent state, but will wait patiently for the gifts of His goodness. In the second temptation, it is not probable that they left the wilderness, but that Satan was allowed to suggest to our Lord's mind the place, and the marvel that could be wrought there. They stood, as has been suggested, on the lofty porch that overhung the valley of Kedron, where the steep side of the valley was added to the height of the temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, §5), and made a depth that the eye could scarcely have borne to look down upon. "Cast thyself down"—perform in the Holy City, in a public place, a wonder that will at once make all men confess that none but the Son of God could perform it. A passage from the 91st Psalm is quoted to give a colour to the argument. Our Lord replies by an allusion to another text that carries us back again to the Israelites wandering in the wilderness: "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye tempted Him in Massah" (Deut. vi. 16). Their conduct is more fully described by the Psalmist as a tempting of God: "They tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust; yea, they spake against God: they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold He smote the rock that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed. Can He give bread also? Can He provide flesh for His people?" (Ps. lxxviii.) Just parallel was the temptation here. God has protected Thee so far, brought Thee up, put His seal upon Thee by manifest proofs of His favour. Can He do this also? Can He send the angels to buoy Thee up in Thy descent? Can He make the air thick to sustain, and the earth soft to receive Thee? The appropriate answer is, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." In the third temptation it is not asserted that there is any mountain from which the eyes of common men can see the world and its kingdoms at once displayed; it was with the mental vision of One who knew all things that these kingdoms and their glory were seen. And Satan has now begun to discover, if he

knew not from the beginning, that One is here who can become the King over them all. He says, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me." In St. Luke the words are fuller: "All this power will I give Thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it;" but these words are the lie of the tempter, which he uses to mislead. "Thou art come to be great—to be a King on the earth; but I am strong, and will resist Thee. Thy followers shall be imprisoned and slain; some of them shall fall away through fear; others shall forsake Thy cause, loving this present world. Cast in Thy lot with me; let Thy kingdom be an earthly kingdom, only the greatest of all—a kingdom such as the Jews seek to see established on the throne of David. Worship me by living as the children of this world live, and so honouring me in Thy life; then all shall be Thine." The Lord knows that the tempter is right in foretelling such trials to Him; but though clouds and darkness hang over the path of His ministry He must work the work of Him that sent Him, and not another work: He must worship God and none other. "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." As regards the order of the temptations, there are internal marks that the account of St. Matthew assigns them their historical order: St. Luke transposes the two last, for which various reasons are suggested by commentators (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-13).

Deserting for a time the historical order, we shall find that the records of this first portion of His ministry, from the temptation to the transfiguration, consist mainly—(1) of miracles, which prove His divine commission; (2) of discourses and parables on the doctrine of "the kingdom of heaven;" (3) of incidents showing the behaviour of various persons when brought into contact with our Lord. The two former may require some general remarks, the last will unfold themselves with the narrative.

1. *The Miracles.*—The power of working miracles was granted to many under the Old Covenant: Moses (Ex. iii. 20, vii.-xi.) delivered the people of Israel from Egypt by means of them; and Joshua, following in his steps, enjoyed the same power for the completion of his work (Josh. iii. 13-16). Samson (Judg. xv. 19), Elijah (1 K. xvii. 10, &c.), and Elisha (2 K. ii.-vi.) possessed the same gift. The prophets foretold that the Messiah, of whom Moses was the type, would show signs and wonders as he had done. Isaiah, in describing His kingdom, says—"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing" (xxxv. 5, 6). According to the same prophet, the Christ was called "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house" (xlii. 7). And all who looked for the coming of the Messiah expected that the power of miracles would be one of the tokens of His commission. When John the Baptist, in his prison, heard of the works of Jesus, he sent his disciples to inquire, "Art Thou He that should come (ὁ ἐρχόμενος = the Messiah), or do we look for another?" Our Lord, in answer to this, only points to His miracles, leaving to John the inference from them, that no one could do such works except the

promised One. When our Lord cured a blind and dumb demoniac, the people, struck with the miracle, said, "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii. 23). On another like occasion it was asked, "When Christ cometh will He do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (John vii. 31). So that the expectation that Messiah would work miracles existed amongst the people, and was founded on the language of prophecy. Our Lord's miracles are described in the New Testament by several names: they are signs (*σημεία*), wonders (*τέρατα*), works (*ἔργα*, most frequently in St. John), and mighty works (*δυνάμεις*), according to the point of view from which they are regarded. They are indeed astonishing works, wrought as signs of the might and presence of God; and they are powers or mighty works because they are such as no power short of the divine could have effected. But if the object had been merely to work wonders, without any other aim than to astonish the minds of the witnesses, the miracles of our Lord would not have been the best means of producing the effect, since many of them were wrought for the good of obscure people, before witnesses chiefly of the humble and uneducated class, and in the course of the ordinary life of our Lord, which lay not amongst those who made it their special business to inquire into the claims of a prophet. When requests were made for a more striking sign than those which He had wrought, for "a sign from heaven" (Luke xi. 16), it was refused. When the tempter suggested that He should cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the temple before all men, the temptation was rejected. The miracles of our Lord were to be, not wonders merely, but signs; and not merely signs of preternatural power, but of the scope and character of His ministry, and of the divine nature of His Person. This will be evident from an examination of those which are more particularly described in the Gospels. Nearly forty cases of this kind appear; but that they are only examples taken out of a very great number, the Evangelists frequently remind us (John ii. 23; Matt. viii. 16 and parall.; iv. 23; xii. 15 and parall.; Luke vi. 19; Matt. xi. 5; xiii. 58; ix. 35; xiv. 14, 30; xv. 30; xix. 2; xxi. 14). These cases might be classified. There are three instances of restoration to life, each under peculiar conditions: the daughter of Jairus was lately dead; the widow's son at Nain was being carried out to the grave; and Lazarus had been four days dead, and was returning to corruption (Matt. ix. 18; Luke vii. 11, 12; John xi. 1, &c.). There are about six cases of demoniac possession, each with its own circumstances: one in the synagogue at Capernaum, where the unclean spirit bore witness to Jesus as "the holy one of God" (Mark i. 24); a second, that of the man who dwelt among the tombs in the country of the Gadarenes, whose state is so forcibly described by St. Mark (v. 2), and who also bore witness to Him as "the Son of the Most High God;" a third, the case of a dumb man (Matt. ix. 32); a fourth, that of a youth who was brought to Him as He came down from the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 15), and whom the disciples had vainly tried to heal; a fifth, that of another dumb man, whom the Jews thought he had healed "through Beelzebub the prince of the devils" (Luke xi. 15); and a sixth, that of the Syro-Phoenician girl whose mother's faith was so tenacious (Matt. xv. 22). There are about seventeen recorded cases of the cure of bodily sickness, including fever, leprosy,

palsy, inveterate weakness, the maimed limb, the issue of blood of twelve years' standing, dropsy, blindness, deafness, and dumbness (John iv. 47; Matt. viii. 2, 14, ix. 2; John v. 5; Matt. xii. 10, viii. 5, ix. 20, 27; Mark viii. 22; John ix. 1; Luke xiii. 10, xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xxii. 51). These three groups of miracles all pertain to one class; they all brought help to the suffering or sorrowing, and proclaimed what love the Man that did them bore towards the children of men. There is another class, showing a complete control over the powers of nature; first by acts of creative power, as when in the beginning of His ministry He made the water wine; and when He fed at one time five thousand, and at another four, with bread miraculously provided (John ii. 7, vi. 10; Matt. xv. 32); secondly, by setting aside natural laws and conditions—now in passing unseen through a hostile crowd (Luke iv. 30); now in procuring miraculous draughts of fishes, when the fisher's skill had failed (Luke v. 4; John xxi. 6); now in stilling a tempest (Matt. viii. 26); now in walking to His disciples on the sea (Matt. xiv. 25); now in the transformation of His countenance by a heavenly light and glory (Matt. xvii. 1); and again in seeking and finding the shekel for the customary tribute to the temple in the fish's mouth (Matt. xvii. 27). In a third class of these miracles we find our Lord over-riding the wills of men; as when He twice cleared the temple of the traders (John ii. 13; Matt. xxi. 12); and when His look staggered the officers that came to take Him (John xviii. 6). And in a fourth subdivision will stand one miracle only, where His power was used for destruction—the case of the barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18). The destruction of the herd of swine does not properly rank here; it was a permitted act of the devil which he cast out, and is no more to be laid to the account of the Redeemer than are all the sicknesses and sufferings in the land of the Jews which He permitted to waste and destroy, having, as He showed by His miracles, abundant power to prevent them. All the miracles of this latter class show our Lord to be One who wields the power of God. No one can suspend the laws of nature save Him who made them: when bread is wonderfully multiplied and the tickle sea becomes a firm floor to walk on, the God of the universe is working the change, directly or through His deputy. Very remarkable, as a claim to divine power, is the motif in which Jesus justified acts of healing on the Sabbath—"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (John v. 17): which means, "As God the Father, even on the Sabbath-day, keeps all the laws of the universe at work, making the planets roll and the grass grow, and the animal pulses beat, so do I my work; I stand above the law of the Sabbath, as He does."<sup>a</sup>

On reviewing all the recorded miracles, we see at once that they are signs of the nature of Christ's Person and mission. None of them are done merely

<sup>a</sup> The Saviour's miracles are—

- Of love { In raising the dead.  
In curing mental disease.  
In healing the body.  
In creating.  
In destroying.
- II. Of power { In setting aside the ordinary laws of being.  
In overruling the opposing wills of men.

In the account in the text, the miracles that took place after the Transfiguration have been included, for the sake of completeness.

to astonish; and hardly any of them, even of those which prove His power more than His love, but tend directly towards the good of men in some way or other. They show how active and unwearied was His love; they also show the diversity of its operation. Every degree of human need—from Lazarus now returning to dust—through the palsy that has seized on brain and nerves, and is almost leath—through the leprosy which, appearing on the skin, was really a subtle poison that had tainted every drop of blood in the veins—up to the injury to the particular limb—received succour from the powerful word of Christ; and to wrest His buried friend from corruption and the worm was neither more nor less difficult than to heal a withered hand or restore to its place an ear that had been cut off. And this intimate connexion of the miracles with the work of Christ will explain the fact that *faith* was in many cases required as a condition for their performance. According to the common definition of a miracle, any one would seem to be a capable witness of its performance; yet Jesus sometimes refrained from working wonders before the unbelieving (Mark vi. 5, 6), and sometimes did the work that was asked of Him because of the faith of them that asked it (Mark vii. 29). The miracles were intended to attract the witnesses of them to become followers of Jesus and members of the kingdom of heaven. Where faith was already so far fixed on Him as to believe that He could do miracles, there was the fit preparation for a faith in higher and heavenly things. If they knew that He could heal the body, they only required teaching to enlarge their view of Him into that of a healer of the diseased spirit, and a giver of true life to those that are dead in trespasses and sins. On the other hand, where men's minds were in a state of bitterness and antagonism against Him, to display miracles before them would but increase their condemnation. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both Me and My Father" (John xv. 24). This result was inevitable: in order to offer salvation to those who are to be saved, the offer must be heard by some of those who will reject it. Miracles then have two purposes—the proximate and subordinate purpose of doing a work of love to them that need it, and the higher purpose of revealing Christ in His own Person and nature as the Son of God and Saviour of men. Hence the rejection of the demand for a sign from heaven—for some great celestial phenomenon which all should see and none could dispute. He refused to give such a sign to the "generation" that asked it: and once He offered them instead the fact that Jonah was a *type* of Him as to His burial and resurrection: thus refusing them the kind of sign which they required. So again, in answer to a similar demand, He said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up"—alluding to his death and resurrection. It is as though He had said, "All the miracles that I have been working are only intended to call attention to the one great miracle of My presence on earth in the form of a servant. No other kind of miracle will I work. If you wish for a greater sign, I refer you to the great miracle about to be wrought in Me—that of My resurrection." The Lord's words do not mean that there shall be no sign; He is working wonders daily: but that He will not travel out of the plan He has proposed for Himself. A sign in the sun

and moon and stars would prove that the power of God was there; but it would not teach men to understand the mission of God Incarnate, of the loving and suffering friend and brother of men. The miracles which He wrought are those best suited to this purpose; and those who had faith, though but in small measure, were the fittest to behold them. They knew Him but a little; but even to think of Him as a Prophet who was able to heal their infirmity was a germ of faith sufficient to make them fit hearers of His doctrine and spectators of His deeds. But those gained nothing from the Divine work who, unable to deny the evidence of their eyes and ears, took refuge in the last argument of malice, "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the prince of the devils."

What is a miracle? A miracle must be either something done in contravention of all law, or it is a transgression of all the laws known to us, but not of some law which further research may discover for us, or it is a transgression of all natural laws, whether known now or to be known hereafter, on account of some higher law whose operation interferes with them. Only the last of these definitions could apply to the Christian miracles. God having chosen to govern the world by laws, having impressed on the face of nature in characters not to be mistaken the great truth that He rules the universe by law and order, would not adopt in the kingdom of grace a different plan from that which in the kingdom of nature He has pursued. If the seen universe requires a scheme of order, and the spiritual world is governed without a scheme (so to speak) by caprice, then the God of Nature appears to contradict the God of Grace. Spinoza has not failed to make the most of this argument; but he assails not the true Christian idea of a miracle, but one which he substitutes for it (*Treat. Theol. Polit.* 6). Nor can the Christian miracles be regarded as cases in which the wonder depends on the anticipation only of some law that is not now understood, but shall be so hereafter. In the first place many of them go beyond, in the amount of their operation, all the wildest hopes of the scientific discoverer. In the second place, the very conception of a miracle is vitiated by such an explanation. All distinction in kind between the man who is somewhat in advance of his age in physical knowledge, and the worker of miracles, would be taken away; and the miracles of one age, as the steam-engine, the telegraph-wire, become the tools and toys of the next. It remains then that a miracle is to be regarded as the over-ruling of some physical law by some higher law that is brought in. We are invited in the Gospels to regard the miracles not as wonders, but as the wonderful acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They are identified with the work of redemption. There are even cautions against teaching them separately—against severing them from their connexion with His work. Eye-witnesses of His miracles were strictly charged to make no report of them to others (*Matt.* ix. 30; *Mark* v. 43, vii. 36). And yet when John the Baptist sent his disciples to ascertain whether the Messiah were indeed come or not, the answer they took back was the very thing which was forbidden to others—a report of miracles. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that wherever a report of the signs and wonders was likely to be conveyed without a right conception of the Person of Christ and the kind of doctrine which he taught, there He suffered not the report to be carried.

Now had the purpose been to reveal His divine nature only, this caution would not have been needed, nor would faith have been a needful preliminary for the apprehension of miracles, nor would the temptations of Satan in the wilderness have been the cunning snares they were intended to be, nor would it have been necessary to refuse the convincing sign from heaven to the Jews that asked it. But the part of His work to which attention was to be directed in connexion with the miracles, was the mystery of our redemption by One "who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross" (*Phil.* ii. 5-8). Very few are the miracles in which divine power is exercised without a manifest reference to the purpose of assisting men. He works for the most part as the Power of God in a state of humiliation for the good of men. Not insignificant here are the cases in which He condescends to use means, wholly inadequate indeed in any other hands than His; but still they are a token that He has descended into the region where means are employed, from that in which even the spoken word can control the subservient agents of nature. He laid His hand upon the patient (*Matt.* viii. 3, 15, ix. 29, xx. 34; *Luke* vii. 14; *xxii.* 51). He anointed the eyes of the blind with clay (*John* ix. 6). He put His finger into the ear and touched the tongue of the deaf and dumb sufferer (*Decapolis* (*Mark* vii. 33, 34)). He treated the blind man at Bethsaida in like fashion (*Mark* viii. 23). Even where He fed the five thousand and the four, He did not create bread out of nothing, which would have been as easy for Him, but much bread out of little; and He looked up to heaven and blessed the meat as a thankful man would do (*Matt.* xiv. 19; *John* vi. 11; *Matt.* xv. 36). At the grave of Lazarus He lifted up His eyes and gave thanks that the Father had heard Him (*John* xi. 41, 42), and this great miracle is accompanied by tears and groanings, that show how One so mighty to save has truly become a man with human soul and sympathies. The worker of the miracles is God become Man; and as signs of his Person and work are they to be measured. Hence, when the question of the credibility of miracles is discussed, it ought to be preceded by the question, Is redemption from the sin of Adam a probable thing? Is it probable that there are spiritual laws as well as natural, regulating the relations between us and the Father of our spirits? Is it probable that, such laws existing, the needs of men and the goodness of God would lead to an expression of them, complete or partial, by means of revelation? If these questions are all decided in the affirmative, then Hume's argument against miracles is already half overthrown. "No testimony," says Hume, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish; and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior" (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 130). If the Christian miracles are parts of a scheme which bears other marks of a divine origin, they point to the existence of a set of spiritual laws with which Christianity

is connected, and of which it is the expression; and then the difficulty of believing them disappears. They are not "against nature," but above it; they are not the few caprice of Providence breaking in upon ages of order, but they are glimpses of the divine spiritual cosmos permitted to be seen amidst the laws of the natural world, of which they take precedence, just as in the physical world one law can supersede another. And as to the testimony for them let Paley speak:—"If twelve men, whose probity and good sense I had long known, should seriously and circumstantially relate to me an account of a miracle wrought before their eyes, and in which it was impossible they should be deceived; if the governor of the country, hearing a rumour of this account, should call those men into his presence, and offer them a short proposal, either to confess the imposture or submit to be tied up to a gibbet; if they should refuse with one voice to acknowledge that there existed any falsehood or imposture in the case; if this threat were communicated to them separately, yet with no different effect; if it was at last executed, if I myself saw them one after another consenting to be racked, burnt or strangled, rather than give up the truth of their account; . . . there exists not a sceptic in the world who would not believe them, or who would defend such incredulity" (*Evidences, Introduction*, p. 6). In the theory of a "mutual destruction" of arguments so that the belief in miracles would represent exactly the balance between the evidence for and against them, Hume contradicts the commonest religious, and indeed worldly, experience; he confounds the state of deliberation and examination with that of conviction. When Thomas the Apostle, who had doubted the great central miracle of the resurrection, was allowed to touch the Saviour's wounded side, and in an access of undoubting faith exclaimed, "My Lord, and my God!" who does not see that at that moment all the former doubts were wiped out, and were as though they had never been? How could he carry about those doubts or any recollection of them, to be a set-off against the complete conviction that had succeeded them? It is so with the Christian life in every case; faith, which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," could not continue to weigh and balance evidence for and against the truth; the conviction either rises to a perfect moral certainty, or it continues tainted and worthless as a principle of action.

The lapse of time may somewhat alter the aspect of the evidence for miracles, but it does not weaken it. It is more difficult (so to speak) to cross-examine witnesses who delivered their testimony ages ago; but another kind of evidence has been gathering strength in successive ages. The miracles are all consequences and incidents of one great miracle, the Incarnation; and if the Incarnation is found true, the rest become highly probable. But this very doctrine has been thoroughly proved through all these ages. Nations have adopted it, and they are the greatest nations of the world. Men have lived and died in it, have given up their lives to preach it; have found that it did not disappoint them, but held true under them to the last. The existence of Christianity itself has become an evidence. It is a phenomenon easy to understand if we grant the miracle of the Incarnation, but is an effect without an adequate cause if that be denied.

Miracles then are offered us in the Gospels, not as startling violations of the order of nature, but as

consequences of the revelation of Himself made by Jesus Christ for men's salvation, and as such they are not violations of order at all, but interferences of the spiritual order with the natural. They are abundantly witnessed by earnest and competent men, who did not aim at any earthly reward for their teaching; and they are proofs, together with His pure life and holy doctrine, that Jesus was the Son of God. (See Dean Trench on the *Miracles*, an important work; Baumgarten, *Leben Jesu*; Paley's *Evidences*; Butler's *Analogy*; Hase, *Leben Jesu*; with the various Commentaries on the New Testament.)

2. *The Parables*.—In considering the Lord's teaching we turn first to the parables. In all ages the aid of the imagination has been sought to assist in the teaching of abstract truth, and that in various ways: in the parable, where some story of ordinary doings is made to convey a spiritual meaning, beyond what the narrative itself contains, and without any assertion that the narrative does or does not present an actual occurrence: in the fable, where a story, for the most part an impossible one, of talking beast and reasoning bird, is made the vehicle of some shrewd and prudent lesson of worldly wisdom: in the allegory, which is a story with a moral or spiritual meaning, in which the lesson taught is so prominent as almost wholly to supersede the story that clothes it, and the names and actions are so chosen that no interpreter shall be required for the application: and lastly, in the proverb, which is often only a parable or a fable condensed into a few pithy words [PARABLE] (Eucresti, *Loc. Tech. Græcism*, under *παραβολή*, λόγος, ἀλληγορία; Trench, *On the Parables*; Alford on Matt. xiii. 1, and other Commentators; Hase, *Leben Jesu*, §87, Ed. iv.; Neander, *Leben Jesu*, 568, foll.). Nearly fifty parables are preserved in the Gospels, and they are only selected from a larger number (Mark iv. 33). Each Evangelist, even St. Mark, has preserved some that are peculiar to himself. St. John never uses the word parable, but that of *proverb* (*παροιμία*), which the other Evangelists nowhere employ. In reference to this mode of teaching, our Lord tells the disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to others in parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand" (Luke viii. 10): and some have hastily concluded from this that the parable—the clearest of all modes of teaching—was employed to conceal knowledge from those who were not susceptible of it, and that this was its chief purpose. But it was chosen not for this negative object, but for its positive advantages in the instruction of the disciples. The nature of the kingdom of heaven was not understood even by disciples; hard even to them were the sayings that described it, and the hearing of them caused many to go back and walk no more with Him (John vi. 66). If there was any mode of teaching better suited than another to the purpose of preserving truths for the memory that were not yet accepted by the heart—for keeping the seed safe till the time should arrive for the quickening Spirit to come down and give it growth—that mode would be the best suited to the peculiar position of the disciples. And any means of translating an abstract thought into sensuous language has ever been the object of poet and teacher in all countries. He who can best employ the symbols of the visible world for the deeper acts of thought has been the clearest and

most successful expositor. The parable affords just such an instrument as was required. Who could banish from his mind, when once understood, the image of the house built on the sand, as the symbol of the faithless soul unable to stand by the truth in the day of temptation? To whom does not the parable of the prodigal son bring back the thought of God's merciful kindness towards the erring? But without such striking images it would have been impossible (to use mere human language) to make known to the disciples in their half-enlightened state the mysteries of faith in the Son of God as a principle of life, of repentance from sin, and of an assurance of peace and welcome from the God of mercy. Eastern teachers have made this mode of instruction familiar; the originality of the parables lay not in the method of teaching by stories, but in the profound and new truths which the stories taught so aptly. And Jesus had another purpose in selecting this form of instruction: He foresaw that many would reject Him, and on them He would not lay a heavier burden than they needs must bear. He did not offer them daily and hourly, in their plainest form, the grand truths of sin and atonement, of judgment and heaven and hell, and in so doing multiply occasions of blaspheming. "Those that were without" heard the parable; but it was an aimless story to them if they sought no moral purpose under it, and a dark saying, passing comprehension, if they did so seek. When the Lord gathered round Him those that were willing to be His, and explained to them at length the parable and its application (Matt. xiii. 10-18), then the light thus thrown on it was not easy to extinguish in their memory. And amongst those without there was no doubt a difference; some listened with indifferent, and some with unbelieving and resisting minds; and of both minds some remained in their aversion, more or less active, from the Son of God unto the end, and some were converted after He was risen. To these we may suppose that the parables which had rested in their memories as vivid pictures, yet still a dead letter, so far as moral import is concerned, became by the Holy Spirit, whose business it was to teach men all things and to bring all things to their remembrance (John xiv. 26), a quick and powerful light of truth, lighting up the dark places with a brightness never again to fade from their eyes. The parable unapplied is a dark saying; the parable explained is the clearest of all teaching. When language is used in Holy Scripture which would seem to treat the parables as means of concealment rather than of instruction, it must be taken to refer to the unexplained parable—to the cypher without the key—the symbol without the interpretation.

Besides the parables, the more direct teaching of our Lord is conveyed in many discourses, dispersed through the Gospels; of which three may be here selected as examples, the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.-vii.), the discourse after the feeding of the five thousand (John vi. 22-65), and the final discourse and prayer which preceded the Passion (John xiv.-xvii.). These are selected principally because they mark three distinct periods in the ministry of Jesus, the opening of it, the principal change in the tone of its teaching, and the solemn close.

Notwithstanding the endeavour to establish that the *Sermon on the Mount* of St. Matthew is different from the *Sermon on the Plain* of St. Luke, the

evidence for their being one and the same discourse greatly preponderates. If so, then its historical position must be fixed from St. Luke; and its earlier place in St. Matthew's Gospel must be owing to the Evangelist's wish to commence the account of the ministry of Jesus with a summary of His teaching; an intention further illustrated by the mode in which the Evangelist has wrought in with his report of the discourse several sayings which St. Luke connects with the various facts which on different occasions drew them forth (comp. Luke xiv. 34, xi. 33, xvi. 17, xii. 58, 59, xvi. 18, with places in Matt. v.; also Luke xi. 1-4, xii. 33, 34, xi. 34-36, xvi. 13, xii. 22-31, with places in Matt. vi.; also Luke xi. 9-13, xiii. 24, 25-27, with places in Matt. vii.). Yet this is done without violence to the connexion and structure of the whole discourse. Matthew, to whom Jesus is ever present as the Messiah, the Anointed Prophet of the chosen people, the successor of Moses, sets at the head of His ministry the giving of the Christian law with its bearing on the Jewish. From Luke we learn that Jesus had gone up into a mountain to pray, that on the morning following He made up the number of His twelve Apostles, and solemnly appointed them, and then descending He stood upon a level place (*καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ ἐν τόπῳ πεδινῷ*, Luke vi. 17), not necessarily at the bottom of the mountain, but where the multitude could stand round and hear; and there he taught them in a solemn address the laws and constitution of His new kingdom, the kingdom of Heaven. He tells them who are meet to be citizens of that heavenly polity, and in so doing rebukes almost every quality on which the world sets a value. The poor in spirit, that is the lowly-minded, the mourners and the meek, those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, the merciful, the pure, and the peacemakers, are all "blessed," are all possessed of the temper which will assort well with that heavenly kingdom, in contrast to the proud, the confident, the great and successful, whom the world honours. (St. Luke adds denunciations of woe to the tempers which are opposed to the Gospel, which St. Matthew omits.) This novel exordium stultifies all the heurters, for it seems to proclaim a new world, new hopes, and new virtues; and our Lord then proceeds to meet the question that rises up in their minds—"If these dispositions and not a literal obedience to minute precepts constitute a Christian, what then becomes of the law?" Answering this tacit objection, the Lord bids them "think not that I am come to destroy (*καταλῦσαι, abolish*) the law and the prophets, I am not come to destroy but to fulfil" (*πληρῶσαι, complete*, Matt. v. 17). He goes on to tell them that not one point or letter of the Law was written in vain; that what was temporary in it does not fall away till its purpose is answered, what was of permanent obligation shall never be lost. He then shows how far more deep and searching a moral lawgiver He is than was Moses His prototype, who like Him spoke the mind of God. The eternal principles which Moses wrote in broad lines, such as a dull and uninspired people must read, He applies to deeper seated sins and to all the finer shades of evil. Murder was denounced by the Law; but anger and provoking speech are of the same stock. It is not only murder, but hate, that is the root of that poisonous fruit which God abhors. Hate defiles the very offering that a man makes to God; let him leave his gift unoffered,

and get the hate cast out, and not waste his time in an unacceptable sacrifice. Hate will affect the soul for ever, if it goes out of the world to meet its Judge in that defiling garment; "agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him" (ver. 25). The act of adultery is deadly, and Moses forbade it. But to permit the thought of lust to rest in the heart, to suffer the desire to linger there without combating it (*βλέπειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι*) is of the same nature, and shares the condemnation. The breach of an oath (Lev. xix. 12) was forbidden by the Law; and the rabbinical writers had woven a distinction between oaths that were and oaths that were not binding (Maimonides in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* ii. p. 127). Jesus shows that all oaths, whether they name the Creator or not, are an appeal to Him, and all are on that account equally binding. But the need of an oath "cometh of evil;" the bare asseveration of a Christian should be as solemn and sacred to him as the most binding oath. That this in its simple literal application would go to abolish all swearing is beyond a question; but the Lord is sketching out a perfect Law for a perfect kingdom; and this is not the only part of the sermon on the Mount which in the present state of the world cannot be carried out completely. Men there are on whom a word is less binding than an oath; and in judicial proceedings the highest test must be applied to them to elicit the truth; therefore an oath must still form part of a legal process, and a good man may take what is really kept up to control the wicked. Jesus Himself did not refuse the oath administered to Him in the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 63). And yet the need of an oath "cometh of evil," for among men who respect the truth it would add nothing to the weight of their evidence. Almost the same would apply to the precepts with which our Lord replaces the much-abused law of retaliation, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (Ex. xxi. 24). To conquer an enemy by submission where he expected resistance is of the very essence of the Gospel; it is an exact imitation of our Lord's own example, who, when He might have summoned more than twelve legions of Angels to His aid, allowed the Jews to revile and slay Him. And yet it is not possible at once to wipe out from our social arrangements the principle of retribution. The robber who takes a coat must not be encouraged to seize the cloak also; to give to every one that asks all that he asks would be an encouragement to sloth and shameless importunity. But yet the awakened conscience will find out a hundred ways in which the spirit of this precept may be carried out, even in our imperfect social state; and the power of this loving policy will be felt by those who attempt it. Finally, our Lord sums up this portion of His divine law by words full of sublime wisdom. To the cramped and confined love of the Rabbis, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy," He opposes this nobler rule—"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust . . . Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 44, 45, 48). To this part of the sermon, which St. Luke has not preserved, but which St. Matthew, writing as it

with his face turned towards his Jewish countrymen, could not pretermit, succeed precepts on almsgiving, on prayer, on forgiveness, on fasting, on trust in God's providence, and on tolerance; all of them tuned to one of two notes: that a man's whole nature must be offered to God, and that it is man's duty to do to others as he would have them do to him. An earnest appeal on the difficulty of a godly life, and the worthlessness of mere profession, and in the form of a parable, concludes this wonderful discourse. The differences between the reports of the two Evangelists are many. In the former Gospel the sermon occupies one hundred and seven verses; in the latter, thirty. The longer report includes the exposition of the relation of the Gospel to the Law: it also draws together, as we have seen, some passages which St. Luke reports elsewhere and in another connection; and where the two contain the same matter, that of Luke is somewhat more compressed. But in taking account of this, the purpose of St. Matthew is to be borne in mind: the morality of the Gospel is to be fully set forth at the beginning of our Lord's ministry, and especially in its bearing on the Law as usually received by the Jews, for whose use especially this Gospel was designed. And when this discourse is compared with the later examples to which we shall presently refer, the fact comes out more distinctly, that we have here the Code of the Christian Lawgiver, rather than the whole Gospel; that the standard of Christian duty is here fixed, but the means for raising men to the level where the observance of such a law is at all possible are not yet pointed out. The hearers learned how Christians would act and think, and to what degree of moral purity they would aspire, in the state of salvation; but how that state was to be purchased for them, and conveyed over to them, is not yet pointed out.

The next example of the teaching of Jesus must be taken from a later epoch in His ministry. It is probable that the great discourse in John vi. took place about the time of the Transfiguration, just before which He began to reveal to the disciples the story of His sufferings (Matt. xvi. and parallels), which was the special and frequent theme of His teaching until the end. The effect of His personal work on the disciples now becomes the prominent subject. He had taught them that He was the Christ, and had given them His law, wider and deeper far than that of Moses. But the objection to every law applies more strongly the purer and higher the law is; and "how to perform that which I will" is a question that grows more difficult to answer as the standard of obedience is raised. It is that question which our Lord proceeds to answer here. The feeling of the five thousand had lately taken place; and from this miracle He preaches yet a greater, namely, that all spiritual life is imparted to the disciples from Him, and that they must feed on Him that their souls may live. He can feed them with something more than manna, even with Himself; "for the bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world" (John vi. 26-40). The Jews murmur at this hard doctrine, and He warns them that it is a kind of test of those who have been with Him: "No man can come to Me except the Father which hath sent Me draw him." He repeats that He is the bread of life; and they murmur yet more (vers. 41-52). He presses it on them still more strongly: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of

the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me" (vers. 53-57). After this discourse many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Him. They could not conceive how salvation could depend on a condition so strange, nay, even so revolting. However we may blame them for their want of confidence in their Teacher, it is not to be imputed to them as a fault that they found a doctrine, which in itself is difficult, and here was clothed in dark and obscure expressions, beyond the grasp of their understanding at that time. For that doctrine was, that Christ had taken our fleshly nature, to suffer in it, and to shed His blood in it; and that those to whom the benefits of His atoning death are imparted find it to be their spiritual food and life, and the condition of their resurrection to life everlasting.

Whether this passage refers, and in what degree, to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is a question on which commentators have been much divided, but two observations should in some degree guide our interpretation: the one, that if the *primary* reference of the discourse had been to the Lord's Supper, it would have been uttered at the institution of that rite, and not before, at a time when the disciples could not possibly make application of it to a sacrament of which they had never even heard; the other, that the form of speech in this discourse comes so near that which is used in instituting the Lord's Supper, that it is impossible to exclude all reference to that Sacrament. The Redeemer alludes here to His death, to the body which shall suffer on the Cross, and to the blood which shall be poured out. This great sacrifice is not only to be looked on, but to be believed; and not only believed, but appropriated to the believer, to become part of his very heart and life. Faith, here as elsewhere, is the means of apprehending it: but when it is once laid hold of, it will be as much a part of the believer as the food that nourishes the body becomes incorporated with the body. In three passages in the other Evangelists, in which our Lord about this very time prepares them for His sufferings, He connects with the announcement a warning to the disciples that all who would come after Him must show the fruit of His death in their lives (Matt. xvi., Mark viii., Luke ix.). And this new principle, infused into them by the life and death of the Redeemer, by His taking our flesh and then suffering in it (for seed of these is excluded), is to believers the seed of eternal life. The believer "hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 54). Now the words of Jesus in instituting the Lord's Supper come very near to the expressions in this discourse: "This is My body which is given for you (*σῶμα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*) . . . This cup is the new testament in My blood, which is shed for you" (Luke xxii. 19, 20). That the Lord's Supper is a means of applying to us through faith the fruits of the incarnation and the atonement of Christ, is generally admitted; and if so, the discourse before us will apply to that sacrament, not certainly to the exclusion of other means of appropriating the saving death of Christ, but still with great force, inasmuch as the Lord's Supper is the

most striking symbol of the application to us of the Lord's body. Here in a bold figure the disciples are told that they must eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood; whilst in the sacrament the same figure becomes an act. Here the language is meant to be general; and there it furts its most striking special application, but not its only one. And the uttering of these words at an epoch that preceded by some months the first celebration of the Lord's Supper was probably intended to preclude that special and limited application of it which would narrow it down to the sacrament only, and out of which much false and even idolatrous teaching has grown. (Compare Commentaries of Alford, Lücke, Meyer, Stier, Heubner, Williams, Tholuck, and others, on this passage.) It will still be asked how we are to account for the startling form in which this most profound Gospel-truth was put before persons to whom it was likely to prove an offence. The answer is not difficult. Many had accompanied with the Lord during the early part of His ministry, to see His miracles, perhaps to derive some fruit from them, to talk about Him, and to repeat His sayings, who were quite unfit to go on as His followers to the end. There was a wide difference between the two doctrines, that Jesus was the Christ, and that the Christ must hang upon the tree, as to their effects on unregenerate and worldly minds. For the latter they were not prepared: though many of them could possibly accept the former. Now this discourse belongs to the time of transition from the easier to the harder doctrine. And we may suppose that it was meant to sift the disciples, that the good grain might remain in the garner and the chaff be scattered to the wind. Hence the hard and startling form in which it was cast; not indeed that this figure of eating and drinking in reference to spiritual things was wholly unknown to Jewish teachers, for Lightfoot, Schöttgen and Wetstein, have shown the contrary. But hard it doubtless was; and if the condition of discipleship had been that they should then and there understand what they heard, their turning back at this time would have been inevitable. But even on the twelve Jesus imposes no such condition. He only asks them, "Will ye also go away?" If a beloved teacher says something which overturns the previous notions of the taught, and shocks their prejudices, then whether they will continue by his side to hear him explain further what they find difficult, or desert Him at once, will depend on the amount of their confidence in Him. Many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Jesus, because their conviction that He was the Messiah had no real foundation. The rest remained with Him for the reason so beautifully expressed by Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (John vi. 68, 69). The sin of the faint-hearted followers who now deserted Him was not that they found this difficult; but that finding it difficult they had not confidence enough to wait for light.

The third example of our Lord's discourses which may be selected is that which closes his ministry—"Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God be glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him" (John xiii. 31, 32). This great discourse, recorded only by St. John,

extends from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth chapter. It hardly admits of analysis. It announces the Saviour's departure in the fulfilment of His mission; it imposes the "new commandment on the disciples of a special love towards each other which should be the outward token to the world of their Christian profession; it consoles them with the promise of the Comforter who should be to them instead of the Saviour; it tells them all that He should do for them, teaching them, reminding them, reproving the world and guiding the disciples into all truth. It offers them, instead of the bodily presence of their beloved Master, free access to the throne of His Father, and spiritual blessings such as they had not known before. Finally, it culminates in that sublime prayer (ch. xvii.) by which the High-priest as it were consecrates Himself the victim; and so doing, prays for those who shall hold fast and keep the benefits of that sacrifice, offered for the whole world, whether His disciples already, or to be brought to Him thereafter by the ministry of Apostles. He wills that they shall be with Him and behold His glory. He recognises the righteousness of the Father in the plan of salvation, and in the result produced to the disciples; in whom that highest and purest love wherewith the Father loved the Son shall be present, and with and in that love the Son Himself shall be present with them. "With this elevated thought," says Olshausen, "the Redeemer concludes His prayer for the disciples, and in them for the Church through all ages. He has compressed into the last moments given Him for intercourse with His own the most sublime and glorious sentiments ever uttered by human lips. Hardly has the sound of the last word died away when Jesus passes with His disciples over the brook Kedron to Gethsemane; and the bitter conflict draws on. The seed of the new world must be sown in death that thence life may spring up."

These three discourses are examples of the Saviour's teaching—of its progressive character from the opening of His ministry to the close. The first exhibits His practical precepts as Lawgiver of His people; the second, an exposition of the need of His sacrifice, but addressed to the world without, and intended to try them rather than to attract; and the third, where Christ, the Lawgiver and the High-priest, stands before God as the Son of God, and speaks to Him of His inmost counsels, as one who had known them from the beginning. They will serve as illustrations of the course of His doctrine; whilst others will be mentioned in the narrative as it proceeds.

*The scene of the Lord's ministry.*—As to the scene of the ministry of Christ, no less than as to its duration, the three Evangelists seem at first sight to be at variance with the fourth. Matthew, Mark, and Luke record only our Lord's doings in Galilee; if we put aside a few days before the Passion, we find that they never mention His visiting Jerusalem. John, on the other hand, whilst he records some acts in Galilee, devotes the chief part of his Gospel to the transactions in Judaea. But when the supplemental character of John's Gospel is borne in mind there is little difficulty in explaining this. The three Evangelists do not profess to give a chronology of the ministry, but rather a picture of it: notes of time are not frequent in their narrative. And as they chiefly confined themselves to Galilee, where the Redeemer's chief acts were done, they might naturally omit to

mention the feasts, which being passed by our Lord at Jerusalem, added nothing to the materials for His Galilean ministry. John, on the other hand, writing later, and giving an account of the Redeemer's life which is still less complete as a history (for more than one-half of the fourth Gospel is occupied with the last three months of the ministry, and seven chapters out of twenty-one are filled with the account of the few days of the Passion), vindicates his historical claim by supplying several precise notes of time: in the occurrences after the baptism of Jesus, days and even hours are specified (i. 29, 35, 39, 43, ii. 1); the first miracle is mentioned, and the time at which it was wrought (ii. 1-11). He mentions not only the Passovers (ii. 13, 23; vi. 4; xiii. 1, and perhaps v. 1), but also the feast of Tabernacles (vii. 2) and of Dedication (x. 22); and thus it is ordered that the Evangelist who goes over the least part of the ground of our Lord's ministry is yet the same who fixes for us its duration, and enables us to arrange the facts of the rest more exactly in their historical places. It is true that the three Gospels record chiefly the occurrences in Galilee; but there is evidence in them that labours were wrought in Judaea. Frequent teaching in Jerusalem is implied in the Lord's lamentation over the lost city (Matt. xxiii. 37). The appearance in Galilee of scribes and pharisees and others from Jerusalem (Matt. iv. 25, xv. 1) would be best explained on the supposition that their enmity had been excited against Him during visits to Jerusalem. The intimacy with the family of Lazarus (Luke x. 38 . . .), and the attachment of Joseph of Arimathea to the Lord (Matt. xxvii. 57), would imply, most probably, frequent visits to Jerusalem. But why was Galilee chosen as the principal scene of the ministry? The question is not easy to answer. The Prophet would resort to the Temple of God; the King of the Jews would go to His own royal city; the Teacher of the chosen people would preach in the midst of them. But their hostility prevented it. The Saviour, who, accepting all the infirmities of "the form of a servant," which He had taken, fled in His childhood to Egypt, betakes Himself to Galilee to avoid Jewish hatred and machinations, and lays the foundations of His church amid a people of impure and despised race. To Jerusalem He comes occasionally, to teach and suffer persecution, and finally to die: "for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 33). It was upon the first outbreak of persecution against Him that He left Judaea: "When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, He departed into Galilee" (Matt. iv. 12). And that this persecution aimed at Him also we gather from St. John: "When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptised more disciples than John . . . He left Judaea and departed into Galilee" (iv. 1, 3). If the light of the Sun of Righteousness shone on the Jews henceforward from the far-off shores of the Galilean lake, it was because they had refused and abhorred that light.

*Duration of the Ministry.*—It is impossible to determine exactly from the Gospels the number of years during which the Redeemer exercised his ministry before the Passion; but the doubt lies between two and three; for the opinion, adopted from an interpretation of Isaiah lxi. 2 by more than one of the ancients, that it lasted only one year, cannot be borne out (Euseb. iii. 24; Clem. Alex.

*Strom.* 1; Origen, *Princ.* 4, 5). The data are to be drawn from St. John. This Evangelist mentions six feasts, at five of which Jesus was present; the Passover that followed His baptism (ii. 13); "a feast of the Jews" (*ἑορτή*) without the article. v. 1) a Passover during which Jesus remained in Galilee (vi. 4); the feast of Tabernacles to which the Lord went up privately (vii. 2); the feast of Dedication (x. 22); and lastly the feast of Passover, at which He suffered (xii. xiii.). There are certainly three Passovers, and it is possible that "a feast" (v. 1) may be a fourth. Upon this possibility the question turns. Lücke in his Commentary (vol. ii. p. 1), in collecting with great research the various opinions on this place, is unable to arrive at any definite conclusion upon it, and leaves it unsolved. But if this feast is not a Passover, then no Passover is mentioned by John between the first (ii. 13), and that which is spoken of in the sixth chapter; and the time between those two must be assumed to be a single year only. Now, although the record of John of this period contains but few facts, yet when all the Evangelists are compared, the amount of labour compressed into this single year would be too much for its compass. The time during which Jesus was baptizing (by his disciples) near the Jordan was probably considerable, and lasted till John's imprisonment (John iii. 22-36, and see below). The circuit round Galilee, mentioned in Matt. iv. 23-25, was a missionary journey through a country of considerable population, and containing two hundred towns; and this would occupy some time. But another such journey, of the most comprehensive kind, is undertaken in the same year (Luke viii. 1), in which He "went throughout every city and village." And a third circuit of the same kind, and equally general (Matt. ix. 35-38), would close the same year. Is it at all probable that Jesus, after spending a considerable time in Judaea, would be able to make three circuits of Galilee in the remainder of the year, preaching and doing wonders in the various places to which He came? This would be more likely if the journeys were hurried and partial; but all three are spoken of as though they were the very opposite. It is, to say the least, easier to suppose that the "feast" (John v. 1) was a Passover, dividing the time into two, and throwing two of these circuits into the second year of the ministry; provided there be nothing to make this interpretation impudible in itself. The words are, "After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." These two facts are meant as cause and effect; the feast caused the visit. If so, it was probably one of the three feasts at which the Jews were expected to appear before God at Jerusalem. Was it the Passover, the Pentecost, or the feast of Tabernacles? In the preceding chapter the Passover has been spoken of as "the feast" (ver. 45); and if another feast were meant here the name of it would have been added, as in vii. 2, x. 22. The omission of the article is not decisive, for it occurs in other cases where the Passover is certainly intended (Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6); nor is it clear that the Passover was called *the* feast, as the most eminent, although the feast of Tabernacles was sometimes so described. All that the omission could prove would be that the Evangelist did not think it needful to describe the feast more precisely. The words in John iv. 35, "There are yet four months and then cometh harvest," would agree with this, for the barley harvest began on

the 16th Nisan, and reckoning back four months would bring this conversation to the beginning of December, i. e. the middle of Kisleu. If it be granted that our Lord is here merely quoting a common form of speech (Alford), still it is more likely that He would use one appropriate to the time at which He was speaking. And if these words were uttered in December, the next of the three great feasts occurring would be the Passover. The shortness of the interval between v. 1 and vi. 4, would afford an objection, if it were not for the scantiness of historical details in the early part of the ministry in St. John: from the other Evangelists it appears that two great journeys might have to be included between these verses. Upon the whole, though there is nothing that amounts to proof, it is probable that there were four Passovers, and consequently that our Lord's ministry lasted somewhat more than three years, the "beginning of miracles" (John ii.) having been wrought before the first passover. On data of calculation that have already been mentioned, the year of the first of these Passovers was u.c. 780, and the Baptism of our Lord took place either in the beginning of that year or the end of the year preceding. The ministry of John the Baptist began in u.c. 779. (See Commentaries on John v. 1, especially Kuinöl and Lücke. Also Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, Art. *Jesus Christ*; Grisswell, *Dissertations*, vol. i., Diss. iv. vol. ii., Diss. 22.)

After this sketch of the means, the scene, and the duration of the Saviour's ministry, the historical order of the events may be followed without interruption.

Our Lord has now passed through the ordeal of temptation, and His ministry is begun. At Bethabara, to which He returns, disciples begin to be drawn towards Him; Andrew and another, probably John, the sole narrator of the fact, see Jesus, and hear the Baptist's testimony concerning Him. Andrew brings Simon Peter to see Him also; and He receives from the Lord the name of Cephas. Then Philip and Nathanael are brought into contact with our Lord. As these reappear as Apostles, if Nathanael be, as has often been supposed, the same as Bartholomew; but the time of their calling to that office was not yet. But that their minds, even at this early time, were wrought upon by the expectation of the Messiah appears by the confession of Nathanael: "Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 35-51). The two disciples last named saw Him as He was about to set out for Galilee, on the third day of His sojourn at Bethabara. The third day after this interview Jesus is at Cana in Galilee, and works His first miracle, by making the water wine (John i. 29, 35, 43; ii. 1). All these particulars are supplied from the fourth Gospel, and come in between the 11th and 12th verses of the 4th chapter of St. Matthew. They show that our Lord left Galilee expressly to be baptized and to suffer temptation, and returned to his own country when these were accomplished. He now betakes Himself to Capernaum, and after a sojourn there of "not many days," sets out for Jerusalem to the Passover, which was to be the beginning of His ministry in Judaea (John ii. 12, 13).

The cleansing of the Temple is associated by St. John with this first Passover (ii. 12-22), and a similar cleansing is assigned to the last Passover by the other Evangelists. These two cannot be confounded without throwing discredit on the his-

torical character of one narrative or the other; the notes of time are too precise. But a host of interpreters have pointed out the probability that an action symbolical of the power and authority of Messiah should be twice performed, at the opening of the ministry and at its close. The expulsion of the traders was not likely to produce a permanent effect, and at the end of three years Jesus found the tumult and the traffic defiling the court of the Temple as they had done when He visited it before. Besides the difference of time, the narrative of St. John is by no means identical with those of the others; he mentions that Jesus made a scourge of small cords (*φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων*, ii. 15) as a symbol—we need not prove that it could be no more—of His power to punish; that here He censured them for making the Temple “a house of merchandise,” whilst at the last cleansing it was pronounced “a den of thieves,” with a distinct reference to the two passages of Isaiah and Jeremiah (Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11). Writers like Strauss would persuade us that “tact and good sense” would prevent the Redeemer from attempting such a violent measure at the beginning of His ministry, before His authority was admitted. The aptness and the greatness of the occasion have no weight with such critics. The usual sacrifices of the law of Jehovah, and the usual half-shekel paid for tribute to the Temple, the very means that were appointed by God to remind them that they were a consecrated people, were made an excuse for secularizing even the Temple; and in its holy precincts all the business of the world went on. It was a time when “the zeal of God’s house” might well supersede the “tact” on which the German philosopher lays stress; and Jesus failed not in the zeal, nor did the accusing consciences of the traders fail to justify it, for at the rebuke of one man they retreated from the scene of their gains. Their hearts told them, even though they had been long immersed in hardening traffic, that the house of God could belong to none other but God; and when a Prophet claimed it for Him, conscience deprived them of the power to resist. Immediately after this, the Jews asked of Him a sign or proof of His right to exercise this authority. He answered them by a promise of a sign by which He would hereafter confirm His mission, “Destroy this Temple and in three days I will raise it up” (John ii. 19), alluding, as the Evangelist explains, to His resurrection. But why is the name of the building before them applied by our Lord so darkly to Himself? There is doubtless a hidden reference to the Temple as a type of the Church, which Christ by His death and resurrection would found and raise up. He who has cleared of buyers and sellers the courts of a perishable Temple made with hands, will prove hereafter that He is the Founder of an eternal Temple made without hands, and your destroying act shall be the cause. The reply was indeed obscure; but it was meant as a refusal of their demand; and to the disciples afterwards it became abundantly clear. At the time of the passion this saying was brought against Him, in a perverted form—“At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days” (Matt. xxvi. 61). They hardly knew perhaps how utterly false a small alteration in the tale had made it. They wanted to hold him up as one who dared to think of the destruction of the Temple; and to change “destroy” into “I can destroy,”

might seem no great violence to do to the truth. But those words contained not a mere circumstance but the very essence of the saying, “you are the destroyers of the temple; you that were polluting it now by turning it into a market-place shall destroy it, and also your city, by staining its stones with my blood.” Jesus came not to destroy the Temple but to widen its foundations; not to destroy the law but to complete it (Matt. v. 17). Two syllables changed their testimony into a lie.

The visit of Nicodemus to Jesus took place about this first passover. It implies that our Lord had done more at Jerusalem than is recorded of Him even by John; since we have here a Master of Israel (John iii. 10), a member of the Sanhedrim (John vii. 50) expressing his belief in Him, although too timid at this time to make an open profession. The object of the visit, though not directly stated, is still clear: he was one of the better Pharisees, who were expecting the kingdom of Messiah, and having seen the miracles that Jesus did, he came to enquire more fully about these signs of its approach. This indicates the connexion between the remark of Nicodemus and the Lord’s reply: “You recognise these miracles as signs of the kingdom of God; verily I say unto you, no one can truly see and know the kingdom of God, unless he be born again (*ἄνωθεν*, from above; see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. in loc.*, vol. iv.). The visitor boasted the blood of Abraham, and expected to stand high in the new kingdom in virtue of that birthright. He did not wish to surrender it, and set his hopes upon some other birth (comp. Matt. iii. 9); and there is something of wilfulness in the question—“How can a man be born when he is old?” (ver. 4). Our Lord again insists on the necessity of the renewed heart, in him who would be admitted to the kingdom of heaven. The new birth is real though it is unseen, like the wind which blows hither and thither though the eye cannot watch it save in its effects. Even so the Spirit sways the heart towards good, carries it away towards heaven, brings over the soul at one time the cloud, at another the sunny weather. The sound of Him is heard in the soul, now as the eager east wind bringing pain and remorse; now breathing over it the soft breath of consolation. In all this He is as powerful as the wind; and as unseen is the mode of His operations. For the new birth, of water and of the Holy Ghost, without which none can come to God, faith in the Son of God is needed (ver. 18); and as implied in that, the renouncing of those evil deeds that blind the eyes to the truth (ver. 19, 20). It has been well said that this discourse contains the whole Gospel in epitome; there is the kingdom of grace into which God will receive those who have offended Him, the new truth which God the holy Spirit will write in all those who seek the kingdom; and God the Son crucified and slain that all who would be saved may look on Him when He is lifted up, and find health thereby. The three Persons of the Trinity are all before us carrying out the scheme of man’s salvation. If it be asked how Nicodemus, so timid and half-hearted as yet, was allowed to hear thus early in the ministry what our Lord kept back even from His disciples till near the end of it, the answer must be, that, wise as it was to keep back from the general body of the hearers the doctrine of the Crucifixion, the Physician of souls would treat each case with the medicine that it most required. Nicodemus was an enquiring spirit, ready to believe all the Gospel,

but for his Jewish prejudices and his social position. He was one whom even the shadow of the Cross would not estrange; and the Lord knew it, and laid open to him all the scheme of salvation. Not in vain. The tradition, indeed, may not be thoroughly certain, which reports his open conversion and his baptism by Peter and John (*Phot. Biblioth. Cod.* 171). But three years after this conversation, when all the disciples have been scattered by the death of Jesus, he comes forward with Joseph of Arimathea, at no little risk, although with a kind of secrecy still, to perform the last offices for the Master to whom his soul cleaves (*John xiv.* 39).

After a sojourn at Jerusalem of uncertain duration, Jesus went to the Jordan with His disciples; and they there baptized in His name. The Baptist was now at Aenon near Salim; and the jealousy of his disciples against Jesus drew from John an avowal of his position, which is remarkable for its humility (*John iii.* 27-30), "A man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I have been sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease." The speaker is one who has hitherto enjoyed the highest honour and popularity, a prophet extolled by all the people. Before the Sun of righteousness his reflected light is turning pale; it shall soon be extinguished. Yet no word of reluctance, or of attempt to cling to a temporary and departing greatness, escapes him. "He must increase but I must decrease." It had been the same before; when the Sanhedrim sent to enquire about him he claimed to be no more than "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias" (*John i.* 23); there was one "who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (*i.* 27). Strauss thinks this height of self-renunciation beautiful, but impossible (*Leben Jesu*, ii. 1, §46); but what divine influence had worked in the Baptist's spirit, adorning that once rugged nature with the grace of humility, we do not admit that Dr. Strauss is in a position to measure.

How long this sojourn in Judaea lasted is uncertain. But in order to reconcile *John iv.* 1 with *Matt. iv.* 12, we must suppose that it was much longer than the "twenty-six or twenty-seven" days, to which the learned Mr. Gresswell upon mere conjecture would limit it. From the two passages together it would seem that John was after a short time cast into prison (*Matt.*), and that Jesus, seeing that the enmity directed against the Baptist would now assail Him, because of the increasing success of His ministry (*John*), resolved to withdraw from its reach.

In the way to Galilee Jesus passed by the shortest route, through Samaria. This country, peopled by men from five districts, whom the king of Assyria had planted there in the time of Hoshea (*2 K. xvii.* 24, &c.), and by the residue of the ten tribes that was left behind from the captivity, had once abounded in idolatry, though latterly faith in the true God had gained ground. The Samaritans even claimed to share with the people of Judaea the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem, and were repulsed (*Ezra iv.* 1-3). In the

time of our Lord they were hated by the Jews even more than if they had been Gentiles. Their corrupt worship was a shadow of the true; their temple on Gerizim was a rival to that which adorned the hill of Zion. "He that eats bread from the hand of a Samaritan," says a Jewish writer, "is as one that eats swine's flesh." Yet even in Samaria were souls to be saved; and Jesus would not shake off even that dust from His feet. He came in His journey to Sichem, which the Jews in mockery had changed to Sychar, to indicate that its people were *drunkards* (*Lightfoot*), or that they followed idols (רצח, Reland, see *Iiab.*

ii. 18). Wearied and athirst He sat on the side of Jacob's well. A woman from the neighbouring town came to draw from the well, and was astonished that a Jew should address her as a neighbour, with a request for water. The conversation that ensued might be taken for an example of the mode in which Christ leads to Himself the souls of men. The awakening of her attention to the privilege she is enjoying in communing with Him (*John iv.* 10-15); the self-knowledge and self-conviction which He arouses (*vers.* 15-19), and which whilst it pains does not repel; the complete revelation of Himself, which she cannot but believe (*vers.* 19-29), are effects that He has wrought in many another case. The woman's lightness and security, until she finds herself in the presence of a Prophet, who knows all her past sins; her readiness afterwards to enter on a religious question, which perhaps had often been revolved in her mind in a worldly and careless way, are so natural that they are almost enough of themselves to establish the historical character of the account.

In this remarkable dialogue are many things to ponder over. The living water which Christ would give; the announcement of a change in the worship of Jew and Samaritan; lastly, the confession that He who speaks is truly the Messiah, are all noteworthy. The open avowal that He is the Messiah, made to the daughter of an abhorred people, is accounted for if we remember that this was the first and last time when He taught personally in Samaria, and that the woman showed a special fitness to receive it, for she expected in the Christ a spiritual teacher not a temporal prince: "When He is come He will tell us all things" (*ver.* 25). The very absence of national pride, which so beset the Jews, preserved in her a right conception of the Christ. Had she thought—had she said, "When He is come He will restore the kingdom to Israel, and set His followers in high places, on His right and on His left," then He could not have answered, as now, "I that speak unto thee am He." The words would have conveyed a falsehood to her. The Samaritans came out to Him on the report of the woman; they heard Him and believed: "We have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world" (*ver.* 42). Was this great grace thrown away upon them? Did it abide by them, or was it lost? In the persecution that arose about Stephen, Philip "went down to a city of Samaria (not 'the city,' as in the English version), and preached Christ unto them" (*Acts viii.* 5). We dare not pronounce as certain that this city was Sychar; but the readiness of the Samaritans to believe (*vii.* 6) recalls the candour and readiness of the men of Sychar, and it is difficult not to connect the two events together.

Jesus now returned to Galilee, and came to Nazareth, His own city. In the Synagogue He expounded to the people a passage from Isaiah (lxi. 1), telling them that its fulfilment was now at hand in His person. The same truth that had filled the Samaritans with gratitude, wrought up to fury the men of Nazareth, who would have destroyed Him if He had not escaped out of their hands (Luke iv. 16-30). He came now to Capernaum. On his way hither, when He had reached Cana, He healed the son of one of the courtiers of Herod Antipas (John iv. 46-54), who "himself believed, and his whole house." This was the second Galilean miracle. At Capernaum He wrought many miracles for them that needed. Here two disciples who had known Him before, namely, Simon Peter and Andrew, were called from their fishing to become "fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19), and the two sons of Zebedee received the same summons. After healing on the Sabbath a demoniac in the Synagogue, a miracle which was witnessed by many, and was made known everywhere, He returned the same day to Simon's house, and healed the mother-in-law of Simon who was sick of a fever. At sunset, the multitude, now fully aroused by what they had heard, brought their sick to Simon's door to get them healed. He did not refuse His succour, and healed them all (Mark i. 29-34). He now, after showering down on Capernaum so many cures, turned His thoughts to the rest of Galilee, where other "lost sheep" were scattered:—"Let us go into the next towns (*κοινοπόλεις*) that I may preach there also, for therefore came I forth" (Mark i. 38). The journey through Galilee, on which He now entered, must have been a general circuit of that country. His object was to call on the Galileans to repent and believe the Gospel. This could only be done completely by taking such a journey that His teaching might be accessible to all in turn at some point or other. Josephus mentions that there were two hundred and four towns and villages in Galilee (*Vita*, 45); therefore such a circuit as should in any real sense embrace the whole of Galilee would require some months for its performance. "The course of the present circuit," says Mr. Gresswell (*Dissertations*, vol. ii. 293), "we may conjecture, was, upon the whole, as follows:—First, along the western side of the Jordan, northward, which would disseminate the fame of Jesus in Decapolis; secondly, along the confines of the tetrarchy of Philip, westward, which would make Him known throughout Syria; thirdly, by the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, southward; and, lastly, along the verge of Samaria, and the western region of the lake of Galilee—the nearest points to Judaea proper and to Perea—until it returned to Capernaum." In the course of this circuit, besides the works of mercy spoken of by the Evangelists (Matt. iv. 23-25; Mark i. 32-34; Luke iv. 40-44) He had probably called to Him more of His Apostles. Four at least were His companions from the beginning of it. The rest (except perhaps Judas Iscariot) were Galileans, and it is not improbable that they were found by their Master during this circuit. Philip of Bethsaida and Nathanael or Bartholomew were already prepared to become His disciples by an earlier interview. On this circuit occurred the first case of the healing of a leper; it is selected for record by the Evangelists, because of the incurableness of the ailment. So great was the dread of this disorder—so strict the precautions against its infection—that even the

raising of Jairus' daughter from the dead, which probably occurred at Capernaum about the end of this circuit, would hardly impress the beholders more profoundly.

*Second year of the Ministry.*—Jesus went up to Jerusalem to "a feast of the Jews," which we have shown (p. 1051) to have been probably the Passover. At the pool Bethesda (=house of mercy), which was near the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 1) on the north-east side of the temple, Jesus saw many infirm persons waiting their turn for the healing virtues of the water. (John v. 1-18. On the genuineness of the fourth verse, see Scholz, *N. T.*; Tischendorf, *N. T.*; and Lücke, *in loc.*) It is wanting in three out of the four chief MSS.; it is singularly disturbed with variations in the MSS. that insert it, and it abounds in words which do not occur again in this Gospel.) Among them was a man who had had an infirmity thirty-eight years: Jesus made him whole by a word, bidding him take up his bed and walk. The miracle was done on the Sabbath; and the Jews, by which name in St. John's Gospel we are to understand the Jewish authorities, who acted against Jesus, rebuked the man for carrying his bed. It was a labour, and as such forbidden (Jer. xvii. 21). The answer of the man was too logical to be refuted: "He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed and walk" (v. 11). If He had not authority for the latter, whence came His power to do the former? Their anger was now directed against Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, even for well-doing. They sought to put Him to death. In our Lord's justification of Himself, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (v. 17), there is an unequivocal claim to the Divine nature. God the Father never rests: if sleep could visit His eyelids for an instant; if His hand could droop for a moment's rest, the universe would collapse in ruin. He rested on the seventh day from the creation of new beings; but from the maintenance of those that exist He never rests. His love streams forth on every day alike; as do the impartial beams from the sun that He has placed in the heavens. The Jews rightly understood the saying: none but God could utter it; none could quote God's example, as setting Him over and above God's law, save One who was God Himself. They sought the more to kill Him. He expounded to them more fully His relation to the Father. He works with the strength of the Father and according to His will. He can do all that the Father does. He can raise men out of bodily and out of spiritual death; and He can judge all men. John bore witness to Him; the works that He does bear even stronger witness. The reason that the Jews do not believe is their want of discernment of the meaning of the Scriptures; and that comes from their worldliness, their desire of honour from one another. Unbelief shall bring condemnation; even out of their Law they can be condemned, since they believe not even Moses, who foretold that Christ should come (John v. 19-47).

Another discussion about the Sabbath arose from the disciples plucking the ears of corn as they went through the fields (Matt. xii. 1-8). The time of this is somewhat uncertain: some would place it a year later, just after the third Passover (Clausen); but its place is much more probably here (Newcome, Robinson, &c.). The needy were permitted by the Law (Deut. xiii. 25) to pluck the ears of

corn with their hand, even without waiting for the owner's permission. The disciples must have been living a hard and poor life to resort to such means of sustenance. But the Pharisees would not allow that it was lawful on the Sabbath-day. Jesus reminds them that David, whose example they are not likely to challenge, ate the sacred shewbread in the tabernacle, which it was not lawful to eat. The priests might partake of it, but not a stranger (Ex. xxix. 33; Lev. xxiv. 5, 9). David, on the principle that mercy was better than sacrifice (Hos. vi. 6), took it and gave to the young men that were with him that they might not perish for hunger. In order further to show that a literal mechanical observance of the law of the Sabbath would lead to absurdities, Jesus reminds them that this law is perpetually set aside on account of another: "The priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless" (Matt. xii. 5). The work of sacrifice, the placing of the shewbread, go on on the Sabbath, and labour even on that day may be done by priests, and may please God. It was the root of the Pharisees' fault that they thought sacrifice better than mercy, ritual exactness more than love: "If ye had known what this meanneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath-day" (Matt. xii. 7, 8). These last words are inseparable from the meaning of our Lord's answer. In pleading the example of David, the king and prophet, and of the priests in the temple, the Lord tacitly implies the greatness of His own position. He is indeed Prophet, Priest, and King; and had He been none of these, the argument would have been not merely incomplete, but misleading. It is undeniable that the law of the Sabbath was very strict. Against labours as small as that of winnowing the corn a severe penalty was set. Our Lord quotes cases where the law is superseded or set aside, because He is One who has power to do the same. And the rise of a new law is implied in those words which St. Mark alone has recorded: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The law upon the Sabbath was made in love to men, to preserve for them a due measure of rest, to keep room for the worship of God. The Son of Man has power to re-adjust this law, if its work is done, or if men are fit to receive a higher.

This may have taken place on the way from Jerusalem after the Passover. On another Sabbath, probably at Capernaum, to which Jesus had returned, the Pharisees gave a far more striking proof of the way in which their hard and narrow and unloving interpretation would turn the beneficence of the Law into a blighting oppression. Our Lord entered into the synagogue, and found there a man with a withered hand—some poor artisan perhaps whose handiwork was his means of life. Jesus was about to heal him—which would give back life to the sufferer—which would give joy to every beholder who had one touch of pity in his heart. The Pharisees interfere: "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day?" Their doctors would have allowed them to pull a sheep out of a pit; but they will not have a man rescued from the depth of misery. Rarely is that loving Teacher wroth, but here His anger, mixed with grief, showed itself: He looked round about upon them "with anger, being grieved at the hardness of their hearts," and answered their cavils by healing the man (Matt. xii. 9-14; Mark iii. 1-6; Luke vi. 6-11).

In placing the ordination or calling of the Twelve Apostles just before the Sermon on the Mount, we are under the guidance of St. Luke (vi. 13, 17). But this more solemn separation for their work by no means marks the time of their first approach to Jesus. Scattered notices prove that some of them at least were drawn gradually to the Lord, so that it would be difficult to identify the moment when they earned the name of disciples. In the case of St. Peter, five degrees or stages might be traced (John i. 41-43; Matt. iv. 19, xvi. 17-19; Luke xxii. 31, 32; John xxi. 15-19), at each of which he came somewhat nearer to his Master. That which takes place here is the appointment of twelve disciples to be a distinct body, under the name of Apostles. They are not sent forth to preach until later in the same year. The number twelve must have reference to the number of the Jewish tribes: it is a number selected on account of its symbolical meaning, for the work confided to them might have been wrought by more or fewer. Twelve is used with the same symbolical reference in many passages of the O. T. Twelve pillars to the altar which Moses erected (Ex. xxiv. 4); twelve stones to commemorate the passing of the ark over Jordan (Josh. iv. 3); twelve precious stones in the breastplate of the priest (Ex. xxviii. 21); twelve oxen bearing up the molten sea in the Temple of Solomon (1 K. vii. 25); twelve officers over Solomon's household (1 K. iv. 7): all these are examples of the perpetual repetition of the Jewish number. Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. i.) has accumulated passages from various authors to show that twelve, the multiple of four and three, is the type or symbol of the universe; but it is enough here to say that the use of the number in the foundation of the Christian Church has a reference to the tribes of the Jewish nation. Hence the number continues to be used after the addition of Paul and Barnabas had made it inapplicable. The Lord Himself tells them that they "shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 27, 28). When He began His ministry in Galilee, He left His own home at Nazareth, and separated Himself from His kinsmen after the flesh, in order to devote Himself more completely to His prophetic office; and these Twelve were "to be with Him" (Mark), and to be instead of family and friends. But the enmity of the Jews separated Him also from His countrymen. Every day the prospect of the Jews receiving Him as their Messiah, to their own salvation, became more faint; and the privileges of the favoured people passed gradually over to the new Israel, the new Church, the new Jerusalem, of which the Apostles were the foundation. The precise day in which this defection was completed could not be specified. The Sun of Righteousness rose on the world, and set for the Jews, through all the shades of twilight. In the education of the Twelve for their appointed work, we see the superseding of the Jews; in the preservation of the symbolical number we see preserved a recognition of their original right.

In the four lists of the names of the Apostles preserved to us (Matt. x., Mark iii., Luke vi., Acts i.), there is a certain order preserved, amidst variations. The two pairs of brothers, Simon and Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee, are always named the first; and of these Simon Peter ever holds the first place. Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, are always in the next rank; and of them Philip is always the first. In the third rank James the son of Alphaeus is the first, as Judas Iscariot is always

the last, with Simon the Zealot and Thaddæus between. The principle that governs this arrangement cannot be determined very positively; but as no doubt Simon Peter stands first because of his zeal in his Master's service, and Judas ranks last because of his treason, it is natural to suppose that they are all arranged with some reference at least to their zeal and fitness for the apostolic office. Some of the Apostles were certainly poor and unlearned men; it is probable that the rest were of the same kind. Four of them were fishermen, not indeed the poorest of their class; and a fifth was a "publican," one of the *portitores*, or tax-gatherers, who collected the taxes farmed by Romans of higher rank. Andrew, who is mentioned with Peter, is less conspicuous in the history than he, but he enjoyed free access to his Master, and seems to have been more intimate with him than the rest (John vi. 8, xii. 22, with Mark xiii. 3). But James and John, who are sometimes placed above him in the list, were especially distinguished by Jesus. They were unmarried; and their mother, of whose ambition we have a well-known instance, seems to have had much influence over them. The zeal and fire of their disposition is indicated in the name of Bonnerges bestowed upon them. One seems hardly to recognize in the fierce enthusiasts who would have called down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 52-56) the Apostle of Love and his brother. It is probable that the Bartholomew of the Twelve is the same as Nathanael (John i.); and the Lebbaeus or Thaddæus the same as Judas the brother of James. Simon the Zealot was so called probably from his belonging to the sect of Zealots, who, from Num. xxv. 7, 8, took it on themselves to punish crimes against the law. If the name Iscariot (= man of Carioth = Kerioth) refers the birth of the traitor to Kerioth in Judah (Josh. xv. 25), then it would appear that the traitor alone was of Judean origin, and the eleven faithful ones were despised Galileans.

From henceforth the education of the twelve Apostles will be one of the principal features of the Lord's ministry. First He instructs them; then He takes them with Him as companions of His wayfaring; then He sends them forth to teach and heal for Him. The *Sermon on the Mount*, although it is meant for all the disciples, seems to have a special reference to the chosen Twelve (Matt. v. 11 . . .). Its principal features have been sketched already; but they will miss their full meaning if it is forgotten that they are the first teaching which the Apostles were called on to listen to after their appointment.

About this time it was that John the Baptist, long a prisoner with little hope of release, sent his disciples to Jesus with the question, "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" In all the Gospels there is no more touching incident. Those who maintain that it was done solely for the sake of the disciples, and that John himself needed no answer to support his faith, show as little knowledge of the human mind as exactness in explaining the words of the account. The great privilege of John's life was that he was appointed to recognize and bear witness to the Messiah (John i. 31). After languishing a year in a dungeon, after learning that even yet Jesus had made no steps towards the establishment of His kingdom of the Jews, and that His following consisted of only twelve poor Galileans, doubts began to cloud over his spirit. Was the kingdom of Messiah as near as

he had thought? Was Jesus not the Messiah, but some forerunner of that Deliverer, as he himself had been? There is no unbelief; he does not suppose that Jesus has deceived; when the doubts arise, it is to Jesus that he submits them. But it was not without great depression and perplexity that he put the question, "Art thou He that should come?" The scope of the answer given lies in its recalling John to the grounds of his former confidence. The very miracles are being wrought that were to be the signs of the kingdom of heaven; and therefore that kingdom is come (Is. xxxv. 5, xlii. 6, 7). There is more of grave encouragement than of rebuke in the words, "Blessed is he who shall not be offended in me" (Matt. xi. 6). They bid the Forerunner to have a good heart, and to hope and believe to the end. He has allowed sorrow, and the apparent triumph of wickedness, which is a harder trial, to trouble his view of the divine plan; let him remember that it is blessed to attain that state of confidence which these things cannot disturb; and let the signs which Jesus now exhibits suffice him to the end (Matt. xi. 1-6; Luke vii. 18-23).

The testimony to John which our Lord graciously adds is intended to reinstate him in that place in the minds of His own disciples which he had occupied before this mission of doubt. John is not a weak waverer; not a luxurious courtier, attaching himself to the new dispensation from worldly motives; but a prophet, and more than a prophet, for the prophets spoke of Jesus afar off, but John stood before the Messiah, and with his hand pointed Him out. He came in the spirit and power of Elijah (Mal. iii. 1, iv. 5), to prepare for the kingdom of heaven. And yet great as he was, the least of those in the kingdom of heaven when it is completely planted should enjoy a higher degree of religious illumination than he (Matt. xi. 7-11; Luke vii. 24-28).

Now commences the second circuit of Galilee (Luke viii. 1-3), to which belong the parables in Matt. xiii.; the visit of our Lord's mother and brethren (Luke viii. 19-21), and the account of his reception at Nazareth (Mark vi. 1-6).

During this time the twelve have journeyed with Him. But now a third circuit in Galilee is recorded, which probably occurred during the last three months of this year (Matt. ix. 35-38); and during this circuit, after reminding them how great is the harvest and how pressing the need of labourers, He carries the training of the disciples one step further by sending them forth by themselves to teach (Matt. x., xi.). Such a mission is not to be considered as identical in character with the mission of the Apostles after the Resurrection. It was limited to the Jews; the Samaritans and heathen were excluded; but this arose, not from any narrowness in the limits of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15), but from the limited knowledge and abilities of the Apostles. They were sent to proclaim to the Jews that "the kingdom of heaven," which their prophets taught them to look for, was at hand (Matt. x. 7); but they were unfit as yet for the task of explaining to Jews the true nature of that kingdom, and still more to Gentiles who had received no preparation for any such doctrine. The preaching of the Apostles whilst Jesus was yet on earth was only ancillary to His and a preparation of the way for Him. It was probably of the simplest character. "As ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Power was given them to confirm it by signs and wonders; and the purpose of it was to throw the minds of

those who heard it into an enquiring state, so that they might seek and find the Lord Himself. But whilst their instructions as to the matter of their preaching were thus brief and simple, the cautions, warnings, and encouragements as to their own condition were far more full. They were to do their work without anxiety for their welfare. No provision was to be made for their journey; in the house that first received them in any city they were to abide, not seeking to find the best. Dangers would befall them, for they were sent forth "as sheep in the midst of wolves" (Matt. x. 16); but they were not to allow this to disturb their thoughts. The same God who wrought their miracles for them would protect them; and those who confessed the name of Christ before men would be confessed by Christ before the Father as His disciples. These precepts for the Apostles even went somewhat beyond what their present mission required; it does not appear that they were at this time delivered up to councils, or scourged in synagogues. But in training their feeble wings for their first flight the same rules and cautions were given which would be needed even when they soared the highest in their zeal and devotion to their crucified Master. There is no difficulty here, if we remember that this sending forth was rather a training of the Apostles than a means of converting the Galilean people.

They went forth two and two; and our Lord continued His own circuit (Matt. xi. 1), with what companions does not appear. By this time the heaven of the Lord's teaching had begun powerfully to work among the people. Herod, we read, "was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead, and of some that Elijah had appeared; and of others, that one of the old prophets was risen again" (Luke ix. 7, 8). The false apprehensions about the Messiah that he should be a temporal ruler, were so deep-rooted, that whilst all the rumours concurred in assigning a high place to Jesus as a prophet, none went beyond to recognise Him as the King of Israel—the Saviour of His people and the world.

After a journey of perhaps two months' duration the twelve return to Jesus, and give an account of their ministry. The third Passover was now drawing near; but the Lord did not go up to it, because His time was not come for submitting to the malice of the Jews against Him; because His ministry in Galilee was not completed; and especially, because He wished to continue the training of the Apostles for their work, now one of the chief objects of His ministry. He wished to commune with them privately upon their work, and, we may suppose, to add to the instruction they had already received from Him (Mark vi. 30, 31). He therefore went with them from the neighbourhood of Capernaum to a mountain on the eastern shore of the Sea of Tiberias, near Bethsaida Julias, not far from the head of the sea. Great multitudes pursued them; and here the Lord, moved to compassion by the hunger and weariness of the people, wrought for them one of His most remarkable miracles. Out of five barley loaves and two small fishes, He produced food for five thousand men besides women and children. The act was one of creation, and therefore was both an assertion and a proof of divine power; and the discourse which followed it, recorded by John only, was an important step in the training of the Apostles, for it hinted to them for the first time the

unexpected truth that the body and blood of Christ, that is, His passion, must become the means of man's salvation. This view of the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven which they had been preaching, could not have been understood; but it would prepare those who still clung to Jesus to expect the hard facts that were to follow these hard words. The discourse itself has already been examined (p. 1048). After the miracle, but before the comment on it was delivered, the disciples crossed the sea from Bethsaida Julias to Bethsaida of Galilee, and Jesus retired alone to a mountain to commune with the Father. They were toiling at the oar, for the wind was contrary, when, as the night drew towards morning, they saw Jesus walking to them on the sea, having passed the whole night on the mountain. They were amazed and terrified. He came into the ship and the wind ceased. They worshipped Him at this new proof of divine power—"Of a truth thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv. 33). The storm had been another trial of their faith (comp. Matt. viii. 23-26), not in a present Master, as on a former occasion, but in an absent one. But the words of St. Mark intimate that even the feeding of the five thousand had not built up their faith in Him,—"*for they considered not the miracle of the loaves: for their heart was hardened*" (vi. 52). Peter, however, as St. Matthew relates, with his usual zeal wishing to show that he really possessed that faith in Jesus, which perhaps in the height of the storm had been somewhat forgotten, requests Jesus to bid him come to Him upon the water. When he made the effort, his faith began to fail, and he cried out for succour. Christ's rebuke, "*O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?*" does not imply that he had no faith, or that it wholly deserted him now. All the failings of Peter were of the same kind; there was a faith full of zeal and eagerness, but it was not constant. He believed that he could walk on the waters if Jesus bade him; but the roar of the waves appalled him, and he sank from the same cause that made him deny his Lord afterwards.

When they reached the shore of Gennesaret the whole people showed their faith in Him as a Healer of disease (Mark vi. 53-56); and he performed very many miracles on them. Nothing could surpass the eagerness with which they sought Him. Yet on the next day the great discourse just alluded to was uttered, and "from that time many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him" (John vi. 66).

*Third year of the Ministry.*—Hearing perhaps that Jesus was not coming to the feast, Scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem went down to see Him at Capernaum (Matt. xv. 1). They found fault with His disciples for breaking the tradition about purifying, and eating with unwashed hands. It is not necessary to suppose that they came to lie in wait for Jesus. The objection was one which they would naturally take. Our Lord in His answer tries to show them how far external rule, claiming to be religious, may lead men away from the true spirit of the Gospel. "Ye say, whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free" (Matt. xv. 5, 6). They admitted the obligation of the fifth commandment, but had introduced a means of evading it, by enabling a son to say to his father and mother who sought his help that he had made his property "a gift" to the

Temple, which took precedence of his obligation. Well might He apply to a people where such a miserable evasion could find place, the words of Isaiah (xxix. 13):—"This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Leaving the neighbourhood of Capernaum our Lord now travels to the north-west of Galilee, to the region of Tyre and Sidon. The time is not strictly determined, but it was probably the early summer of this year. It does not appear that He retired into this heathen country for the purpose of ministering; more probably it was a retreat from the machinations of the Jews. A woman of the country, of Greek education (*Ἑλληνὶς Συφορο-νίστρια*, Mark) came to entreat Him to heal her daughter who was tormented with an evil spirit. The Lord at first repelled her by saying that He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; but not so was her maternal love to be baffled. She besought Him again and was again repelled; the bread of the children was not to be given to dogs. Still persisting, she besought His help even as one of the dogs so despised: "the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from the Master's table." Faith so sincere was not to be resisted. Her daughter was made whole (Matt. xv. 21-28; Mark vii. 24-30).

Returning thence He passed round by the north of the sea of Galilee to the region of Decapolis on its eastern side (Mark vii. 31-37). In this district He performed many miracles, and especially the restoration of a deaf man who had an impediment in his speech, remarkable for the seeming effort with which He wrought it. To these succeeded the feeding of the four thousand with the seven loaves (Matt. xv. 32). He now crossed the Lake of Magdala, where the Pharisees and Sadducees asked and were refused a "sign;" some great wonder wrought expressly for them to prove that He was the Christ. He answers them as He had answered a similar request before; "the sign of the prophet Jonas" was all that they should have. His resurrection after a death of three days should be the great sign, and yet in another sense no sign should be given them, for they should neither see it nor believe it. The unnatural alliance between Pharisee and Sadducee is worthy of remark. The zealots of tradition, and the political partisans of Herod (for "leaven of the Sadducees, in Matt. xvi. 6 = "leaven of Herod." Mark viii. 15) joined together for once with a common object of hatred. After they had departed, Jesus crossed the lake with his disciples, and, combining perhaps for the use of the disciples the remembrance of the feeding of the four thousand with that of the conversation they had just heard, warned them to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod" (Mark viii. 15). So little however were the disciples prepared for this, that they mistook it for a reproof for having brought only one loaf with them! They had forgotten the five thousand and the four thousand, or they would have known that where He was, natural bread could not fail them. It was needful to explain to them that the leaven of the Pharisees was the doctrine of those who had made the word of God of none effect by traditions which appearing to promote religion really overlaid and destroyed it, and the leaven of the Sadducees was the doctrine of those who, under the show of su-

perior enlightenment, denied the foundations of the fear of God by denying a future state. At Bethsaida Julius, Jesus restored sight to a blind man; and here, as in a former case, the form and preparation which He adopted are to be remarked. As though the human Saviour has to wrestle with and painfully overcome the sufferings of His people, He takes him by the hand, and leads him out of the town, and spits on his eyes and asks him if he sees aught. At first the sense is restored imperfectly; and Jesus lays His hand again upon him and the cure is complete (Mark viii. 22-26).

The ministry in Galilee is now drawing to its close. Through the length and breadth of that country Jesus has proclaimed the kingdom of Christ, and has shown by mighty works that He is the Christ that was to come. He begins to ask the disciples what are the results of all His labour. "Whom say the people that I am?" (Luke ix. 18). It is true that the answer shows that they took Him for a prophet. But we are obliged to admit that the rejection of Jesus by the Galileans had been as complete as His preaching to them had been universal. Here and there a few may have received the seeds that shall afterwards be quickened to their conversion. But the great mass had heard without earnestness the preached word, and forgotten it without regret. "Whereunto shall I liken this generation?" says Christ. "It is like unto children sitting in the market, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented" (Matt. xi. 16, 17). This is a picture of a wayward people without earnest thought. As children, from want of any real purpose, cannot agree in their play, so the Galileans quarrel with every form of religious teaching. The message of John and that of Jesus they did not attend to; but they could discuss the question whether one was right in fasting and the other in eating and drinking. He denounces woe to the cities where He had wrought the most, to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, for their strange insensibility, using the strongest expressions. "Thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell; for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee" (Matt. xi. 23, 24). Such awful language could only be used to describe a complete rejection of the Lord. And in truth nothing was wanting to aggravate that rejection. The lengthened journeys through the land, the miracles, far more than are recorded in detail, had brought the Gospel home to all the people. Capernaum was the focus of His ministry. Through Chorazin and Bethsaida He had no doubt passed with crowds behind Him, drawn together by wonders that they had seen, and by the hope of others to follow them. Many thousands had actually been benefited by the miracles; and yet of all these there were only twelve that really claved to Him, and one of them was Judas the traitor. With this rejection an epoch of the history is connected. He begins to unfold now the doctrine of His passion more fully. First inquiring whom the people said that He was, He then put the same question to the Apostles themselves. Simon Peter, the ready spokesman of the rest, answers, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." It might almost seem that such a manifest inference

from the wonders they had witnessed was too obvious to deserve praise, did not the sight of a whole country which had witnessed the same wonders, and despised them, prove how thoroughly callous the Jewish heart was. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 16-20). We compare the language applied to Capernaum for its want of faith with that addressed to Peter and the Apostles, and we see how wide is the gulf between those who believe and those who do not. Jesus now in the plainest language tells them what is to be the mode of His departure from the world; "how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day" (Matt. xvi. 21). Peter, who had spoken as the representative of all the Apostles before, in confessing Jesus as the Christ, now speaks for the rest in offering to our Lord the commonplace consolations of the children of this world to a friend beset by danger. The danger they think will be averted: such an end cannot befall one so great. The Lord, "when he had turned about and looked on His disciples" (Mark), to show that He connected Peter's words with them all, addresses Peter as the tempter—"Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me." These words open up to us the fact that this period of the ministry was a time of special trial and temptation to the sinless Son of God. "Escape from sufferings and death! Do not drink the cup prepared of Thy Father; it is too bitter; it is not deserved." Such was the whisper of the Prince of this World at that time to our Lord; and Peter has been unwittingly taking it into his mouth. The doctrine of a suffering Messiah, so plainly exhibited in the prophets, had receded from sight in the current religion of that time. The announcement of it to the disciples was at once new and shocking. By repelling it, even when offered by the Lord Himself, they fell into a deeper sin than they could have conceived. The chief of them was called "Satan," because he was unconsciously pleading on Satan's side (Matt. xvi. 21-23).

Turning now to the whole body of those who followed Him (Mark, Luke), He published the Christian doctrine of self-denial. The Apostles had just shown that they took the natural view of suffering, that it was an evil to be shunned. They shrunk from conflict, and pain, and death, as it is natural men should. But Jesus teaches that, in comparison with the higher life, the life of the soul, the life of the body is valueless. And as the renewed life of the Christian implies his *dying* to his old wishes and desires, suffering, which causes the death of earthly hopes and wishes, may be a good. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Matt. xvi.). From this part of the history to the end we shall not

lose sight of the sufferings of the Lord. The Cross is darkly seen at the end of our path; and we shall ever draw nearer that mysterious implement of human salvation (Matt. xvi. 21-28; Mark viii. 31-38; Luke ix. 22-27).

The Transfiguration, which took place just a week after this conversation, is to be understood in connexion with it. The minds of the twelve were greatly disturbed at what they had heard. The Messiah was to perish by the wrath of men. The Master whom they served was to be taken away from them. Now, if ever, they needed support for their perplexed spirits, and this their loving Master failed not to give them. He takes with Him three chosen disciples, Peter, John, and James, who formed as it were a smaller circle nearer to Jesus than that of the rest, into a high mountain apart by themselves. There are no means of determining the position of the mountain; although Cæsarea Philippi was the scene of the former conversations, it does not follow that this occurred on the eastern side of the lake, for the intervening week would have given time enough for a long journey thence. There is no authority for the tradition which identifies this mountain with Mount Tabor, although it *may* be true. The three disciples were taken up with Him, who should afterwards be the three witnesses of His agony in the garden of Gethsemane: those who saw His glory in the holy mount would be sustained by the remembrance of it when they beheld His lowest humiliation. The calmness and exactness of the narrative preclude all doubt as to its historical character. It is no myth, nor vision; but a sober account of a miracle. When Jesus had come up into the mountain He was praying, and as He prayed, a great change came over Him. "His face did shine as the sun (Matt.); and His raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them" (Mark). Beside Him appeared Moses the great lawgiver, and Elijah, great amongst the prophets; and they spoke of His departure, as though it was something recognised both by Law and prophets. The three disciples were at first asleep with weariness; and when they woke they saw the glorious scene. As Moses and Elijah were departing (Luke), Peter, wishing to arrest them, uttered those strange words, "Lord, it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah." They were the words of one astonished and somewhat afraid, yet of one who felt a strange peace in this explicit testimony from the Father that Jesus was His. It was good for them to be there, he felt, where no Pharisees could set traps for them, where neither Pilate nor Herod could take Jesus by force. Just as he spoke a cloud came over them, and the voice of the Heavenly Father attested once more His Son—"This is my beloved Son; hear Him." There has been much discussion on the purport of this great wonder. But thus much seems highly probable. First, as it was connected with the prayer of Jesus, to which it was no doubt an answer, it is to be regarded as a kind of inauguration of Him in His new office as the High-priest who should make atonement for the sins of the people with His own blood. The mystery of His trials and temptations lies too deep for speculation: but He received strength against human infirmity—against the prospect of sufferings so terrible—in this His glorification. Secondly, as the witnesses of this scene were the same three disciples who were with the

Master in the garden of Gethsemane, it may be assumed that the one was intended to prepare them for the other, and that they were to be borne up under the spectacle of His humiliation by the remembrance that they had been eye-witnesses of His majesty (2 Pet. i. 16-18).

As they came down from the mountain He charged them to keep secret what they had seen till after the Resurrection; which shows that this miracle took place for His use and for theirs, rather than for the rest of the disciples. This led to questions about the meaning of His rising again from the dead, and in the course of it, and arising out of it, occurred the question, "Why then (*ὁδὲ*, which refers to some preceding conversation) say the scribes that Elias must first come?" They had been assured by what they had just seen that the time of the kingdom of God was now come; and the objection brought by the Scribes, that before the Messiah Elijah must re-appear, seemed hard to reconcile with their new conviction. Our Lord answers them that the Scribes have rightly understood the prophecies that Elijah must first come (Mal. iv. 5, 6), but have wanted the discernment to see that this prophecy was already fulfilled. "Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatever they listed." In John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah, were the Scriptures fulfilled (Matt. xvii. 1-13; Mark ix. 2-13; Luke ix. 28-36).

Meantime amongst the multitude below a scene was taking place which formed the strongest contrast to the glory and the peace which they had witnessed, and which seemed to justify Peter's remark, "It is good for us to be here." A poor youth, lunatic and possessed by a devil—for here as elsewhere the possession is superadded to some known form of that bodily and mental evil which came in at first with sin and Satan—was brought to the disciples who were not with Jesus, to be cured. They could not prevail; and when Jesus appeared amongst them the agonized and disappointed father appealed to Him, with a kind of complaint of the impotence of the disciples. "O faithless and perverse generation!" said our Lord; "how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" The rebuke is not to the disciples, but to all, the father included; for the weakness of faith that hindered the miracle was in them all. St. Mark's account, the most complete, describes the paroxysm that took place in the lad on our Lord's ordering him to be brought; and also records the remarkable saying, which well described the father's state, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief!" What the disciples had failed to do, Jesus did at a word. He then explained to them that their want of faith in their own power to heal, and in His promises to bestow the power upon them, was the cause of their inability (Matt. xvii. 14-21; Mark ix. 14-29; Luke ix. 37-43).

Once more did Jesus foretell His sufferings on their way back to Capernaum; but "they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask Him" (Mark ix. 30-32).

But a vague impression seems to have been produced on them that His kingdom was now very near. It broke forth in the shape of a dispute amongst them as to which should rank the highest in the kingdom when it should come. Taking a little child, He told them that, in His kingdom, not ambition, but a childlike humility, would entitle to the highest place (Matt. xviii. 1-5; Mark ix. 33-

37; Luke ix. 46-48). The humility of the Christian is so closely connected with consideration for the souls of others, that the transition to a warning against causing offence (Matt., Mark), which might appear abrupt at first, is most natural. From this Jesus passes naturally to the subject of a tender consideration for "the lost sheep;" thence to the duty of forgiveness of a brother. Both of these last points are illustrated by parables. These, and some other discourses belonging to the same time, are to be regarded as designed to carry on the education of the Apostles, whose views were still crude and unformed, even after all that had been done for them (Matt. xviii.).

*From the Feast of Tabernacles, Third Year.*—The Feast of Tabernacles was now approaching. For eighteen months the ministry of Jesus had been confined to Galilee; and his brothers, not hostile to Him, yet only half-convinced about His doctrine, urged Him to go into Judaea that His claims might be known and confessed on a more conspicuous field. This kind of request, founded in human motives, was one which our Lord would not assent to; witness His answer to Mary at Cana in Galilee when the first miracle was wrought. He told them that, whilst all times were alike to them, whilst they could always walk among the Jews without danger, His appointed time was not come. They set out for the feast without Him, and He abode in Galilee for a few days longer (John vii. 2-10). Afterwards He set out, taking the more direct but less frequented route by Samaria, that His journey might be "in secret." It was in this journey that James and John conceived the wish—so closely parallel to facts in the Old Covenant, so completely at variance with the spirit of the New, that He should be commanded to come down from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 51-62).

St. Luke alone records, in connection with this journey, the sending forth of the seventy disciples. This event is to be regarded in a different light from that of the twelve. The seventy had received no special education from our Lord, and their commission was of a temporary kind. The number has reference to the Gentiles, as twelve had to the Jews; and the scene of the work, Samaria, reminds us that this is a movement directed towards the stranger. It takes place six months after the sending forth of the twelve; for the Gospel was to be delivered to the Jew first and afterwards to the Gentile. In both cases probably the preaching was of the simplest kind—"The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." The instructions given were the same in spirit; but, on comparing them, we see that now the danger was becoming greater and the time for labour shorter (Luke x. 1-16).

After healing the ten lepers in Samaria, He came "about the midst of the feast" to Jerusalem. Here the minds of the people were strongly excited and drawn in different ways concerning Him. The Pharisees and rulers sought to take Him; some of the people, however, believed in Him, but concealed their opinion for fear of the rulers. To this division of opinion we may attribute the failure of the repeated attempts on the part of the Sanhedrim to take One who was openly teaching in the Temple (John vii. 11-53; see esp. ver. 30, 32, 44, 45, 46). The officers were partly afraid to seize in the presence of the people the favourite Teacher; and they themselves were awed and attracted by Him. They came to seize Him, but could not lift their hands

against Him. Notwithstanding the ferment of opinion, and the fixed hatred of those in power, He seems to have taught daily to the end of the feast in the Temple before the people.

The history of the woman taken in adultery belongs to this time. But it must be premised that several MSS. of highest authority omit this passage, and that in those which insert it the text is singularly disturbed (see Lücke, *in loc.*, and Tischendorf, *Gr. Test.*, ed. vii.). The remark of Augustine is perhaps not far from the truth, that this story formed a genuine portion of the apostolic teaching, but that mistaken people excluded it from their copies of the written Gospel, thinking it might be perverted into a license to women to sin (*Ad Pollent.* ii. ch. 7). That it was thus kept apart, without the safeguards which Christian vigilance exercised over the rest of the text, and was only admitted later, would at once account for its absence from the MSS. and for the various forms assumed by the text where it is given. But the history gives no ground for such apprehensions. The law of Moses gave the power to stone women taken in adultery. But Jewish morals were sunk very low, like Jewish faith; and the punishment would not be inflicted on a sinner by those who had sinned in the same kind: "Etenim non est ferendus accusator is qui quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipso deprehenditur" (Cicero, *c. Verrem*, iii.). Thus the punishment had passed out of use. But they thought, by proposing this case to our Lord, to induce Him either to set the Law formally aside, in which case they might accuse Him of profaneness; or to sentence the guilty wretch to die, and so become obnoxious to the charge of cruelty. From such temptations Jesus was always able to escape. He threw back the decision upon them; He told them that the man who was free from that sin might cast the first stone at her. Conscience told them that this was unanswerable, and one by one they stole away, leaving the guilty woman alone before One who was indeed her Judge. It has been supposed that the words "Neither do I condemn thee" convey an absolute pardon for the sin of which she had just been guilty. But they refer, as has long since been pointed out, to the doom of stoning only. "As they have not punished thee, neither do I; go, and let this danger warn thee to sin no more" (John viii. 1-11).

The conversations (John viii. 12-59) show in a strong light the perversity of the Jews in misunderstanding our Lord's words. They refuse to see any spiritual meaning in them, and drag them as it were by force down to a low and carnal interpretation. Our Lord's remark explains the cause of this, "Why do ye not understand my speech [way of speaking]? Even because ye cannot hear my word" (ver. 43). His mode of expression was strange to them, because they were neither able nor willing to understand the real purport of His teaching. To this place belongs the account, given by John alone, of the healing of one who was born blind, and the consequences of it (John ix. 1-41, x. 1-21). The poor patient was excommunicated for refusing to undervalue the agency of Jesus in restoring him. He believed on Jesus; whilst the Pharisees were only made the worse for what they had witnessed. Well might Jesus exclaim, "For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind" (ix. 39). The well-known parable of the

good shepherd is an answer to the calumny of the Pharisees, that He was an impostor and breaker of the law, "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day" (ix. 18).

We now approach a difficult portion of the sacred history. The note of time given us by John immediately afterwards is the Feast of the Dedication, which was celebrated on the 25th of Kislev, answering nearly to December. According to this Evangelist our Lord does not appear to have returned to Galilee between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of Dedication, but to have passed the time in and near Jerusalem. Matthew and Mark do not allude to the Feast of Tabernacles. Luke appears to do so in ix. 51; but the words there used would imply that this was the last journey to Jerusalem. Now in St. Luke's Gospel a large section, from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, seems to belong to the time preceding the departure from Galilee; and the question is how is this to be arranged, so that it shall harmonize with the narrative of St. John? In most Harmonies a return of our Lord to Galilee has been assumed, in order to find a place for this part of Luke's Gospel. "But the manner," says the English editor of Robinson's *Harmony*, "in which it has been arranged, after all is exceedingly various. Some, as Le Clerc, *Harmon. Evang.* p. 264, insert nearly the whole during this supposed journey. Others, as Lightfoot, assign to this journey only what precedes Luke xiii. 23; and refer the remainder to our Lord's sojourn beyond Jordan, John x. 40 (*Chron. Temp. N. T.* Opp. II. p. 37, 39). Greswell (*Dissert.* xvi. vol. ii.) maintains that the transactions in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14, all belong to the journey from Ephraim (through Samaria, Galilee, and Perea) to Jerusalem, which he dates in the interval of four months, between the Feast of Dedication and our Lord's last passover. Wieseler (*Chron. Synops.* p. 328) makes a somewhat different arrangement, according to which, Luke ix. 51—xiii. 21, relates to the period from Christ's journey from Galilee to the Feast of the Tabernacles, till after the Feast of Dedication (parallel to John vii. 10—x. 42). Luke xiii. 22—xvii. 10, relates to the interval between that time and our Lord's stay at Ephraim (parallel to John xi. 1-54); and Luke xvii. 11—xviii. 14, relates to the journey from Ephraim to Jerusalem, through Samaria, Galilee, and Perea" (Robinson's *Harmony*, English ed. p. 92). If the table of the Harmony of the Gospels given above is referred to [GOSPELS], it will be found that this great division of St. Luke (x. 17—xviii. 14) is inserted entire between John x. 21 and 22; not that this appeared certainly correct, but that there are no points of contact with the other Gospels to assist us in breaking it up. That this division contains partly or chiefly reminiscences of occurrences in Galilee prior to the Feast of Tabernacles, is untenable. A journey of some kind is implied in the course of it (see xiii. 22), and beyond this we shall hardly venture to go. It is quite possible, as Wieseler supposes, that part of it should be placed before, and part after the Feast of Dedication. Notwithstanding the uncertainty, it is as the history of this period of the Redeemer's career that the Gospel of St. Luke possesses its chief distinctive value for us. Some of the most striking parables, preserved only by this Evangelist, belong to this period. The parables of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, the rich man and Lazarus, and the Pharisee and publican, all

peculiar to this Gospel, belong to the present section. The instructive account of Mary and Martha, on which so many have taken a wrong view of Martha's conduct, reminds us that there are two ways of serving the truth, that of active exertion, and that of contemplation. The preference is given to Mary's meditation, because Martha's labour belonged to household cares, and was only indirectly religious. The miracle of the ten lepers belongs to this portion of the narrative. Besides these, scattered sayings that occur in St. Matthew are here repeated in a new connexion. Here too belongs the return of the seventy disciples, but we know not precisely where they rejoined the Lord (Luke x. 17-20). They were full of triumph, because they found even the devils subject to them through the weight of Christ's word. In anticipation of the victory which was now begun, against the powers of darkness, Jesus replies, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." He sought however to humble their triumphant spirit, so near akin to spiritual pride; "Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven."

The account of the bringing of young children to Jesus unites again the three Evangelists. Here, as often, St. Mark gives the most minute account of what occurred. After the announcement that the disposition of little children was the most meet for the kingdom of God, "He took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them and blessed them." The childlike spirit, which in nothing depends upon its own knowledge but seeks to be taught, is in contrast with the haughty pharisaism with its boast of learning and wisdom; and Jesus tells them that the former is the passport to His kingdom (Matt. xix. 13-15; Mark x. 13-16; Luke xviii. 15-17).

The question of the ruler, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" was one conceived wholly in the spirit of Judaism. The man asked not how he should be delivered from sin, but how his will, already free to righteousness, might select the best and most meritorious line of conduct. The words, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God," were meant first to draw him down to a humbler view of his own state; the title *good* is easy to give, but hard to justify, except when applied to the One who is all good. Jesus by no means repudiates the title as applied to Himself, but only as applied on any other ground than that of a reference to His true divine nature. Then the Lord opened out to him all the moral law, which in its full and complete sense no man has observed; but the ruler answered, perhaps sincerely, that he had observed it all from his youth up. Duties however there might be which had not come within the range of his thoughts; and as the demand had reference to his own special case, our Lord gives the special advice to sell all his possessions and to give to the poor. Then for the first time did the man discover that his devotion to God and his yearning after the eternal life were not so perfect as he had thought; and he went away sorrowful, unable to bear this sacrifice. And Jesus told the disciples how hard it was for those who had riches to enter the kingdom. Peter, ever the most ready, now contrasts, with somewhat too much emphasis, the mode in which the disciples had left all for Him, with the conduct of this rich ruler. Our Lord, sparing him the rebuke which he might have expected, tells them that those who

have made any sacrifice shall have it richly repaid even in this life in the shape of a consolation and comfort, which even persecutions cannot take away (Mark); and shall have eternal life (Matt. xix. 16-30; Mark x. 17-31; Luke xviii. 18-30). Words of warning close the narrative, "Many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first," lest the disciples should be thinking too much of the sacrifices, not so very great, that they had made. And in St. Matthew only, the well-known parable of the labourers in the vineyard is added to illustrate the same lesson. Whatever else the parable may contain of reference to the calling of Jews and Gentiles, the first lesson Christ was to give was one of caution to the Apostles against thinking too much of their early calling and arduous labours. They would see many, who, in comparison with themselves, were as the labourers called at the eleventh hour, who should be accepted of God as well as they. But not merit, not self-sacrifice, but the pure love of God and His mere bounty, conferred salvation on either of them; "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?" (Matt. xx. 1-16.)

On the way to Jerusalem through Perea, to the Feast of Dedication, Jesus again puts before the minds of the twelve what they are never now to forget, the sufferings that await Him. They "understood none of these things" (Luke), for they could not reconcile this foreboding of suffering with the signs and announcements of the coming of His kingdom (Matt. xx. 17-19; Mark x. 32-34; Luke xviii. 31-34). In consequence of this new, though dark, intimation of the coming of the kingdom, Salome, with her two sons, James and John, came to bespeak the two places of highest honour in the kingdom. Jesus tells them that they know not what they ask; that the places of honour in the kingdom shall be bestowed, not by Jesus in answer to a chance request, but upon those for whom they are prepared by the Father. As sin ever provokes sin, the ambition of the ten was now aroused, and they began to be much displeased with James and John. Jesus once more recalls the principle that the childlike disposition is that which He approves. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45).

The healing of the two blind men at Jericho is chiefly remarkable among the miracles from the difficulty which has arisen in harmonizing the accounts. Matthew speaks of two blind men, and of the occasion as the departure from Jericho; Mark of one, whom he names, and of their arrival at Jericho; and Luke agrees with him. This point has received much discussion; but the view of Lightfoot finds favour with many eminent expositors, that there were two blind men, and both were healed under similar circumstances, except that Bartimaeus was on one side of the city, and was healed by Jesus as He entered, and the other was healed on the other side as they departed (see Gresswell, *Diss.* xx. ii.; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 332; Matt. xx. 29-34; Mark x. 46-52; Luke xviii. 35-43).

The calling of Zacchaeus has more than a mere

personal interest. He was a publican, one of a class hated and despised by the Jews. But he was one who sought to serve God; he gave largely to the poor, and restored fourfold when he had injured any man. Justice and love were the law of his life. From such did Jesus wish to call His disciples, whether they were publicans or not. "This day is salvation come to this house, for that he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke xix. 1-10).

We have reached now the Feast of Dedication; but, as has been said, the exact place of the events in St. Luke about this part of the ministry has not been conclusively determined. After being present at the feast, Jesus returned to Bethaniam beyond Jordan, where John had formerly baptised, and abode there. The place which the beginning of His ministry had consecrated, was now to be adorned with His presence as it drew towards its close, and the scene of John's activity was now to witness the presence of the Saviour whom he had so faithfully proclaimed (John x. 22-42). The Lord intended by this choice to recall to the minds of many the good which John had done them, and also, it may be, to prevent an undue exaltation of John in the minds of some who had heard him only. "Many," we read, "resorted to Him, and said John did no miracle: but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on Him there" (vers. 41, 42).

How long He remained here does not appear. It was probably for some weeks. The sore need of a family in Bethany, who were what men call the intimate friends of our Lord, called Him thence. Lazarus was sick, and his sisters sent word of it to Jesus, whose power they well knew. Jesus answered that the sickness was not unto death, but for the glory of God, and of the Son of God. This had reference to the miracle about to be wrought; even though he died, not his death but his restoration to life was the purpose of the sickness. But it was a trial to the faith of the sisters to find the words of their friend apparently falsified. Jesus abode for two days where He was, and then proposed to the disciples to return. The rage of the Jews against him filled the disciples with alarm; and Thomas, whose mind leant always to the depending side, and saw nothing in the expedition but certain death to all of them, said, "Let us also go that we may die with Him." It was not till Lazarus had been four days in the grave that the Saviour appeared on the scene. The practical energy of Martha, and the retiring character of Mary, show themselves here, as once before. It was Martha who met Him, and addressed to Him words of sorrowful reproach. Jesus probed her faith deeply, and found that even in this extremity of sorrow it would not fail her. Mary now joined them, summoned by her sister; and she too reproached the Lord for the delay. Jesus does not resist the contagion of their sorrow, and as a Man He weeps true human tears by the side of the grave of a friend. But with the power of God he breaks the fetters of brass in which Lazarus was held by death, and at His word the man on whom corruption had already begun to do its work, came forth alive and whole (John xi. 1-45). It might seem difficult to account for the omission of this, perhaps the most signal of the miracles of Jesus, by the three synoptical evangelists. No doubt it was intentional, and the wish not to direct attention, and perhaps persecution, to Lazarus in his

lifetime may go far to account for it. But it stands well in the pages of John, whose privilege it has been to announce the highest truths connected with the divine nature of Jesus, and who is now also permitted to show him touched with sympathy for a sorrowing family with whom He lived in intimacy.

A miracle so public, for Bethany was close to Jerusalem, and the family of Lazarus well known to many people in the mother-city, could not escape the notice of the Sanhedrin. A meeting of this Council was called without loss of time, and the matter discussed, not without symptoms of alarm, for the members believed that a popular outbreak, with Jesus at its head, was impending, and that it would excite the jealousy of the Romans and lead to the taking away of their "place and nation." Caiaphas the high-priest gave it as his opinion that it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish. The Evangelist adds that these words bore a prophetic meaning, of which the speaker was unconscious: "This spake he not of himself, but being high-priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation." That a bad and worldly man may prophesy, the case of Balaam proves (Num. xxii.); and the Jews, as Schöttgen shows, believed that prophecy might also be unconscious. But the connexion of the gift of prophecy with the office of the high-priest offers a difficulty. It has been said that, though this gift is never in Scripture assigned to the high-priest as such, yet the popular belief at this time was that he did enjoy it. There is no proof, however, except this passage, of any such belief; and the Evangelist would not appeal to it except it were true, and if it were true, then the O. T. would contain some allusion to it. The endeavours to escape from the difficulty by changes of punctuation are not to be thought of. The meaning of the passage seems to be this:—The Jews were about to commit a crime, the real results of which they did not know, and God overruled the words of one of them to make him declare the reality of the transaction, but unconsciously; and as Caiaphas was the high-priest, the highest minister of God, and therefore the most conspicuous in the sin, it was natural to expect that he and not another would be the channel of the prophecy. The connexion between his office and the prophecy was not a necessary one; but if a prophecy was to be uttered by unwilling lips, it was natural that the high-priest, who offered for the people, should be the person compelled to utter it. The death of Jesus was now resolved on, and He fled to Ephraim for a few days, because his hour was not yet come (John xi. 45-57).

We now approach the final stage of the history, and every word and act tend towards the great act of suffering. The hatred of the Pharisees, now converted into a settled purpose of murder, the vile wickedness of Judas, and the utter fickleness of the people are all displayed before us. Each day is marked by its own events or instructions. Our Lord entered into Bethany on Friday the 8th of Nisan, the eve of the Sabbath, and remained over the Sabbath.

*Saturday the 9th of Nisan (April 1st).*—As He was at supper in the house of one Simon, surnamed "the leper," a relation of Lazarus, who was at table with Him, Mary, full of gratitude for the wonderful raising of her brother from the dead, took a vessel containing a quantity of pure ointment of spikenard,

and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair, and anointed His head likewise. She thought not of the cost of the precious ointment, in an emotion of love which was willing to part with anything she possessed to do honour to so great a Guest, so mighty a Benefactor. Judas the traitor, and some of the disciples (Matt., Mark), who took their tone from him, began to murmur at the waste: "It might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor." But Judas cared not for the poor; already he was meditating the sale of his Master's life, and all that he thought of was how he might lay hands on something more, beyond the price of blood. Jesus, however, who knew how true was the love which had dictated this sacrifice, silenced their censure. He opened out a meaning in the action which they had not sought there: "She is come aforehand to anoint My body to the burying."

*Passion Week. Sunday the tenth day of Nisan (April 2nd).*—The question of John the Baptist had no doubt often been repeated in the hearts of the expectant disciples:—"Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" All His conversations with them of late had been filled, not with visions of glory, but with forebodings of approaching death. The world thinks them deceived, and its mockery begins to exercise some influence even over them. They need some encouraging sign under influences so depressing, and this Jesus affords them in the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. If the narrative is carefully examined, it will be seen how remarkably the assertion of a kingly right is combined with the most scrupulous care not to excite the political jealousy of the Jewish powers. When He arrives at the Mount of Olives He commands two of His disciples to go into the village near at hand, where they would find an ass, and a colt tied with her. They were neither to buy nor hire them, and "if any man shall say aught unto you, ye shall say The Lord hath need of them, and straightway he will send them." With these beasts, impressed as for the service of a King, He was to enter into Jerusalem. The disciples spread upon the ass their ragged cloaks for Him to sit on. And the multitudes cried aloud before Him, in the words of the 118th Psalm, "Hosanna, Save now! blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." This Messianic psalm they applied to Him, from a belief, sincere for the moment, that he was the Messiah. It was a striking and to the Pharisees an alarming sight; but it only serves in the end to show the feeble hearts of the Jewish people. The same lips that cried Hosanna will before long be crying, Crucify Him, crucify Him! Meantime, however, all thoughts were carried back to the promises of a Messiah. The very act of riding in upon an ass revived an old prophecy of Zechariah (ix. 9). Words of prophecy out of a psalm sprang unconsciously to their lips. All the city was moved. Blind and lame came to the Temple when He arrived there and were healed. The august conspirators of the Sanhedrim were sore displeased. But all these demonstrations did not deceive the divine insight of Christ. He wept over the city that was hailing Him as its King, and said, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes" (Luke). He goes on to prophesy the destruction of the city, just as it afterwards came to pass. After working miracles in the Temple He returned to Bethany.

The 10th of Nisan was the day for the separation of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 3). Jesus, the Lamb of God, entered Jerusalem and the Temple on this day, and although none but He knew that He was the Paschal Lamb, the coincidence is not undesigned (Matt. xxi. 1-11, 14-17; Mark xi. 1-11; Luke xix. 29-44; John xii. 12-19).

*Monday the 11th of Nisan (April 3rd).*—The next day Jesus returned to Jerusalem, again to take advantage of the mood of the people to instruct them. On the way He approached one of the many fig-trees which grew in that quarter (Bethphage="house of figs"), and found that it was full of foliage, but without fruit. He said, "No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever!" and the fig-tree withered away. This was no doubt a work of destruction, and as such was unlike the usual tenor of His acts. But it is hard to understand the mind of those who stumble at the destruction of a tree which seems to have ceased to bear by the word of God the Son, yet are not offended at the famine or the pestilence wrought by God the Father. The right of the Son must rest on the same ground as that of the Father. And this was not a wanton destruction; it was a type and a warning. The barren fig-tree had already been made the subject of a parable (Luke xiii. 6), and here it is made a visible type of the destruction of the Jewish people. He had come to them seeking fruit, and now it was time to pronounce their doom as a nation—there should be no fruit on them for ever (Matt. xxi. 18, 19; Mark xi. 12-14). Proceeding now to the Temple, He cleared its court of the crowd of traders that gathered there. He had performed the same act at the beginning of His ministry, and now at the close He repeats it, for the house of prayer was as much a den of thieves as ever. With zeal for God's house His ministry began, with the same it ended (see p. 1051; Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15-19; Luke xix. 45-48). In the evening He returned again to Bethany.

*Tuesday the 12th of Nisan (April 4th).*—On this the third day of Passion week Jesus went into Jerusalem as before, and visited the Temple. The Sanhedrim came to Him to call Him to account for the clearing of the Temple. "By what authority doest thou these things?" The Lord answered their question by another, which, when put to them in their capacity of a judge of spiritual things, and of the pretensions of prophets and teachers, was very hard either to answer or to pass in silence—what was their opinion of the baptism of John? If they replied that it was from heaven, their own conduct towards John would accuse them; if of men, then the people would not listen to them even when they denounced Jesus, because none doubted that John was a prophet. They refused to answer, and Jesus refused in like manner to answer them. In the parable of the Two Sons, given by Matthew, the Lord pronounces a strong condemnation on them for saying to God, "I go, Sir," but not going (Matt. xxi. 23-32; Mark xi. 27-33; Luke xx. 1-8). In the parable of the wicked husbandmen the history of the Jews is represented, who had stoned and killed the prophets, and were about to crown their wickedness by the death of the Son. In the parable of the wedding garment the destruction of the Jews, and the invitation to the Gentiles to the feast in their stead, are vividly represented (Matt. xxi. 33-46, xxii. 1-14; Mark xii. 1-12; Luke xx. 9-19).

Not content with their plans for His death, the different parties try to entangle Him in argument and to bring him into contempt. First come the Pharisees and Herodians, as if to ask Him to settle a dispute between them. "Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not?" The spirit of the answer of Christ lies here: that, since they had accepted Caesar's money, they had confessed his rule, and were bound to render to the civil power what they had confessed to be due to it as they were to render to God and to His holy temple the offerings due to it. Next appeared the Sadducees, who denied a future state, and put before Him a contradiction which seemed to them to arise out of that doctrine. Seven brethren in succession married a wife (Deut. xxv. 5): whose wife should she be in a future state? The answer was easy to find. The law in question referred obviously to the present time: it would pass away in another state, and so would all such earthly relations, and all jealousies or disputes founded on them. Jesus now retorts the argument on the Sadducees. Appealing to the Pentateuch, because His hearers did not acknowledge the authority of the later books of the Bible, He recites the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," as used to Moses, and draws from them the argument that these men must then have been alive. Although the words would not at first sight suggest this inference, they really contain it; for the form of expression implies that He still exists and they still exist (Matt. xxi. 15-33; Mark xii. 13-27; Luke xx. 20-40). Fresh questions awaited Him, but His wisdom never failed to give the appropriate answer. And then he uttered to all the people that terrible denunciation of woe to the Pharisees with which we are familiar (Matt. xxiii. 1-39). If we compare it with our Lord's account of His own position in reference to the Law, in the Sermon on the Mount, we see that the principles there laid down are everywhere violated by the Pharisees. Their almsgiving was ostentation; their distinctions about oaths led to falsehood and profaneness; they were exact about the small observances and neglected the weightier ones of the Law; they adorned the tombs of the prophets, saying that if they had lived in the time of their fathers they would not have slain them; and yet they were about to fill up the measure of their fathers' wickedness by slaying the greatest of the Prophets, and persecuting and slaying His followers. After an indignant denunciation of the hypocrites who, with a show of religion, had thus contrived to stifle the true spirit of religion and were in reality its chief persecutors, He apostrophizes Jerusalem in words full of compassion, yet carrying with them a sentence of death: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii.).

Another great discourse belongs to this day, which, more than any other, presents Jesus as the great Prophet of His people. On leaving the Temple His disciples drew attention to the beauty of its structure, its "goodly stones and gifts,"

their remarks probably arising from the threats of destruction which had so lately been uttered by Jesus. Their Master answered that not one stone of the noble pile should be left upon another. When they reached the Mount of Olives the disciples, or rather the first four (Mark), speaking for the rest, asked Him when this destruction should be accomplished. To understand the answer it must be borne in mind that Jesus warned them that He was not giving them an historical account such as would enable them to anticipate the events. "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." Exact data of time are to be purposely withheld from them. Accordingly, two events, analogous in character but widely sundered by time, are so treated in the prophecy that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. The destruction of Jerusalem and the day of judgment—the national and the universal days of account—are spoken of together or alternately without hint of the great interval of time that separates them. Thus it may seem that a most important fact is omitted; but the highest work of prophecy is not to fix times and seasons, but to disclose the divine significance of events. What was most important to them to know was that the destruction of Jerusalem followed upon the probation and rejection of her people, and that the crucifixion and that destruction were connected as cause and effect (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.). The conclusion which Jesus drew from his own awful warning was, that they were not to attempt to fix the date of his return: "Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." The lesson of the parable of the Ten Virgins is the same; the Christian soul is to be ever in a state of vigilance and preparation (Matt. xxiv. 44, xxv. 13). And the parable of the Talents, here repeated in a modified form, teaches how precious to souls are the uses of time (xxv. 14-30). In concluding this momentous discourse, our Lord puts aside the destruction of Jerusalem, and displays to our eyes the picture of the final judgment. There will He Himself be present, and will separate all the vast family of mankind into two classes, and shall appraise the works of each class as works done to Himself, present in the world though invisible; and men shall see, some with terror and some with joy, that their life here was spent either for Him or against Him, and that the good which lay before them to do was provided for them by Him, and not by chance, and the reward and punishment shall be apportioned to each (Matt. xxv. 31-46).

With these weighty words ends the third day; and whether we consider the importance of His recorded teaching, or the amount of opposition and of sorrow presented to His mind, it was one of the greatest days of all His earthly ministrations. The general reflections of John (xii. 37-50), which contain a retrospect of His ministry and of the strange reception of Him by His people, may well be read as if they came in here.

*Wednesday the 13th of Nisan (April 5th).—*This day was passed in retirement with the Apostles. Satan had put it into the mind of one of them to betray Him; and Judas Iscariot made a covenant to betray Him to the chief priests for thirty pieces of silver. The character of Judas, and the degrees by which he reached the abyss of guilt in which he was at last destroyed, deserve

much attention. There is no reason to doubt that when he was chosen by Jesus he possessed, like the rest, the capacity of being saved, and was endowed with gifts which might have made him an able minister of the New Testament. But the innate worldliness and covetousness were not purged out from him. His practical talents made him a kind of steward of the slender resources of that society, and no doubt he conceived the wish to use the same gifts on a larger field, which the realization of "the kingdom of Heaven" would open out before him. These practical gifts were his ruin. Between him and the rest there could be no real harmony. His motives were worldly, and theirs were not. They loved the Saviour more as they knew Him better. Judas, living under the constant tacit rebuke of a most holy example, grew to hate the Lord; for nothing, perhaps, more strongly draws out evil instincts than the enforced contact with goodness. And when he knew that his Master did not trust him, was not deceived by him, his hatred grew more intense. But this did not break out into overt act until Jesus began to foretell His own crucifixion and death. If these were to happen, all his hopes that he had built on following the Lord would be dashed down. If they should crucify the Master they would not spare the servants; and, in place of a heavenly kingdom, he would find contempt, persecution, and probably death. It was high time, therefore, to treat with the powers that seemed most likely to prevail in the end; and he opened a negotiation with the high-priests in secret, in order that, if his Master were to fall, he might be the instrument, and so make friends among the triumphant persecutors. And yet, strange contradiction, he did not wholly cease to believe in Jesus; possibly he thought that he would so act that he might be safe either way. If Jesus was the Prophet and Mighty One that he had once thought, then the attempt to take Him might force Him to put forth all His resources and to assume the kingdom to which He laid claim, and then the agent in the treason, even if discovered, might plead that he foresaw the result: if He were unable to save Himself and His disciples, then it were well for Judas to betake himself to those who were stronger. The bribe of money, not very considerable, could not have been the chief motive; but as two vicious appetites could be gratified instead of one, the thirty pieces of silver became a part of the temptation. The treason was successful, and the money paid; but not one moment's pleasure did those silver pieces purchase for their wretched possessor, not for a moment did he reap any fruit from his detestable guilt. After the crucifixion, the avenging belief that Jesus was what He professed to be rushed back in full force upon his mind. He went to those who had hired him; they derided his remorse. He cast away the accursed silver pieces, defiled with the "innocent blood" of the Son of God, and went and hanged himself (Matt. xxvi. 14-16; Mark xiv. 10-11; Luke xxii. 1-6).

*Thursday the 14th of Nisan (April 6th).*—On "the first day of unleavened bread," when the Jews were wont to put away all leaven out of their houses (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mark xiv. 12), the disciples asked their Master where they were to eat the Passover. He directed Peter and John to go into Jerusalem, and to follow a man whom they

should see bearing a pitcher of water, and to demand of him, in their Master's name, the use of the guestchamber in his house for this purpose. All happened as Jesus had told them, and in the evening they assembled to celebrate, for the last time, the paschal meal. The sequence of the events is not quite clear from a comparison of the Evangelists; but the difficulty arises with St. Luke, and there is external evidence that he is not following the chronological order (Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 399). The order seems to be as follows. When they had taken their places at table and the supper had begun, Jesus gave them the first cup to divide amongst themselves (Luke). It was customary to drink at the paschal supper four cups of wine mixed with water; and this answered to the first of them. There now arose a contention among the disciples which of them should be the greatest; perhaps in connexion with the places which they had taken at this feast (Luke). After a solemn warning against pride and ambition Jesus performed an act which, as one of the last of His life, must ever have been remembered by the witnesses as a great lesson of humility. He rose from the table, poured water into a basin, girded himself with a towel, and proceeded to wash the disciples' feet (John). It was an office for slaves to perform, and from Him, knowing, as He did, "that the Father had given all things into His hand, and that He was come from God and went to God," it was an unspeakable condescension. But His love for them was infinite, and if there were any way to teach them the humility which as yet they had not learned, He would not fail to adopt it. Peter, with his usual readiness, was the first to refuse to accept such menial service—"Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" When he was told that this act was significant of the greater act of humiliation by which Jesus saved His disciples and united them to Himself, his scruples vanished. After all had been washed, the Saviour explained to them the meaning of what He had done. "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." But this act was only the outward symbol of far greater sacrifices for them than they could as yet understand. It was a small matter to wash their feet; it was a great one to come down from the glories of heaven to save them. Later the apostle Paul put this same lesson of humility into another form, and rested it upon deeper grounds. "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil. ii. 5-8; Matt. xxvi. 17-20; Mark xiv. 12-17; Luke xxii. 7-30; John xiii. 1-20).

From this act of love it does not seem that even the traitor Judas was excluded. But his treason was thoroughly known; and now Jesus denounces it. One of them should betray Him. They were all sorrowful at this, and each asked "Is it I?" and even Judas asked and received an affirmative answer (Matt.), but probably in an undertone, for when Jesus said "That thou doest do quickly," none of the rest understood. The traitor having gone straight to his wicked object, the end of the

Saviour's ministry seemed already at hand. "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." He gave them the new commandment, to love one another, as though it were a last bequest to them. To love was not a new thing, it was enjoined in the old Law; but to be distinguished for a special Christian love and mutual devotion was what He would have, and this was the new element in the commandment. Founded by a great act of love, the Church was to be marked by love (Matt. xxvi. 21-25; Mark xiv. 18-21; Luke xxii. 21-23; John xiii. 21-35).

Towards the close of the meal Jesus instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He took bread, and gave thanks and broke it, and gave to His disciples, saying, "This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me." He then took the cup, which corresponded to the *third* cup in the usual course of the paschal supper, and after giving thanks, He gave it to them, saying, "This is my blood of the new testament [covenant] which is shed for many." It was a memorial of His passion and of this last supper that preceded it, and in dwelling on His passion in this sacrament, in true faith, all believers draw nearer to the cross of His sufferings and taste more strongly the sweetness of His love and the efficacy of His atoning death (Matt. xxvi. 26-29; Mark xiv. 22-25; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23-25).

The denial of Peter is now foretold, and to no one would such an announcement be more incredible than to Peter himself. "Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake." The zeal was sincere, and as such did the Lord regard it; but here, as elsewhere, Peter did not count the cost. By and bye, when the Holy Spirit has come down to give them a strength not their own, Peter and the rest of the disciples will be bold to resist persecution, even to the death. It needs strong love and deep insight to view such an act as this denial with sorrow and not with indignation (Matt. xxvi. 31-35; Mark xiv. 27-31; Luke xxii. 31-38; John xiii. 36-38).

That great final discourse, which John alone has recorded, is now delivered. Although in the middle of it there is a mention of departure (John xiv. 31), this perhaps only implies that they prepared to go; and then the whole discourse was delivered in the house before they proceeded to Gethsemane. Of the contents of this discourse, which is the voice of the Priest in the holy of holies, something has been said already (p. 1050; John xiv.-xvii.).

*Friday the 15th of Nisan (April 7), including part of the eve of it.*—"When they had sung a hymn," which perhaps means, when they had sung the second part of the Hallel, or song of praise, which consisted of Psalms cxv.-cxviii., the former part (Psalms cxiii.-cxiv.) having been sung at an earlier part of the supper, they went out into the Mount of Olives. They came to a place called Gethsemane (*oil-press*), and it is probable that the place now pointed out to travellers is the real scene of that which follows, and even that its huge olive-trees are the legitimate successors of those which were there when Jesus visited it. A moment of terrible agony is approaching, of which all the apostles need not be spectators, for He thinks of them, and wishes to spare them this addition to their sorrows. So He takes only His three proved companions, Peter, James, and John, and passes with them farther into the garden, leaving the rest seated, probably near the entrance. No pen can attempt to describe

what passed that night in that secluded spot. He tells them "my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here and watch with me," and then leaving even the three He goes further, and in solitude wrestles with an inconceivable trial. The words of Mark are still more expressive—"He began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy" (*ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἰσχυρῶς εἶναι*, xiv. 33). The former word means that he was struck with a great dread; not from the fear of physical suffering, however excruciating, we may well believe, but from the contact with the sins of the world, of which, in some inconceivable way, He here felt the bitterness and the weight. He did not merely contemplate them, but bear and feel them. It is impossible to explain this scene in Gethsemane in any other way. If it were merely the fear of the terrors of death that overcame Him, then the martyr Stephen and many another would surpass Him in constancy. But when He says, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will but what thou wilt" (Mark), the cup was filled with a far bitterer potion than death; it was flavoured with the poison of the sins of all mankind against its God. Whilst the sinless Son is thus carried two ways by the present horror and the strong determination to do the Father's will, the disciples have sunk to sleep. It was in search of consolation that He came back to them. The disciple who had been so ready to ask "Why cannot I follow thee now?" must hear another question, that rebukes his former confidence—"Couldst not thou watch one hour?" A second time He departs and wrestles in prayer with the Father; but although the words He utters are almost the same (Mark says "the same"), He no longer asks that the cup may pass away from Him—"If this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, Thy will be done" (Matt.). A second time He returns and finds them sleeping. The same scene is repeated yet a third time; and then all is concluded. Henceforth they may sleep and take their rest; never more shall they be asked to watch one hour with Jesus, for His ministry in the flesh is at an end. "The hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Matt.). The prayer of Jesus in this place has always been regarded, and with reason, as of great weight against the monothelite heresy. It expresses the natural shrinking of the human will from a horror which the divine nature has admitted into it, yet without sin. Never does He say, "I will flee;" He says, "If it be possible;" and leaves that to the decision of the Father. That horror and dread arose from the spectacle of human sin; from the bearing the weight and guilt of human sin as about to make atonement for it; and from a conflict with the powers of darkness. Thus this scene is in complete contrast to the Transfiguration. The same companions witnessed both; but there there was peace, and glory, and honour, for the sinless Son of God; here fear and conflict: there God bore testimony to Him; here Satan for the last time tempted Him. (On the account of the Agony see Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus*, p. 206; Matt. xxvi. 36-46; Mark xiv. 32-42; Luke xxii. 39-46; John xvii. 1.)

Judas now appeared to complete his work. In the doubtful light of torches, a kiss from him was the sign to the officers whom they should take. Peter, whose name is first given in John's Gospel, drew a sword and smote a servant of the high-

priest, and cut off his ear; but his Lord refused such succour, and healed the wounded man. He treated the seizure as a step in the fulfilment of the prophecies about Him, and resisted it not. All the disciples forsook Him and fled (Matt. xxvi. 47-56; Mark xiv. 43-52; Luke xxii. 47-53; John xviii. 2-12).

There is some difficulty in arranging the events that immediately follow, so as to embrace all the four accounts.—The 'data will be found in the Commentary of Olshausen, in Wieseler (*Chron. Syn.* p. 401, sqq.), and in Greswell's *Dissertations* (iii. 200, sqq.). On the capture of Jesus He was first taken to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas (see p. 1041) the high-priest. It has been argued that as Annas is called, conjointly with Caiaphas, the high-priest, he must have held some actual office in connexion with the priesthood, and Lightfoot and others suppose that he was the vicar or deputy of the high-priest, and Selden that he was president of the Council of the Sanhedrim; but this is uncertain.\* It might appear from the course of John's narrative that the examination of our Lord, and the first denial of Peter, took place in the house of Annas (John xviii. 13, 14). But the 24th verse is retrospective—"Now Annas had sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high-priest" (*ἀπεστείλε*, aorist for pluperfect, see Winer's *Grammar*); and probably all that occurred after verse 14 took place not at the house of Annas, but at that of Caiaphas. It is not likely that Peter gained admittance to two houses in which two separate judicial examinations took place with which he had nothing ostensibly to do, and this would be forced on us if we assumed that John described what took place before Annas, and the other Evangelists what took place before Caiaphas. The house of the high-priest consisted probably, like other Eastern houses, of an open central court with chambers round it. Into this court a gate admitted them, at which a woman stood to open. Peter, who had fled like the rest from the side of Jesus, followed afar off with another disciple, probably John, and the latter procured him admittance into the court of the high-priest's house. As he passed in, the lamp of the portress threw its light on his face, and she took note of him; and afterwards, at the fire which had been lighted, she put the question to him, "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" (John.) All the zeal and boldness of Peter seems to have deserted him. This was indeed a time of great spiritual weakness and depression, and the power of darkness had gained an influence over the Apostle's mind. He had come as in secret; he is determined so to remain, and he denies his Master! Feeling now the danger of his situation, he went out into the porch, and there some one, or, looking at all the accounts, probably several persons, asked him the question a second time, and he denied more strongly. About an hour after, when he had returned into the court, the same question was put to him a third time, with the same result. Then the cock crew; and Jesus, who was within sight, probably in some open room communicating with the court, "turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how He had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly" (Luke).

(Luke). Let no man who cannot fathom the utter perplexity and distress of such a time presume to judge the zealous disciple hardly. He trusted too much to his strength; he did not enter into the full meaning of the words, "Watch and pray lest ye enter into temptation." Self-confidence betrayed him into a great sin; and the most merciful Lord restored him after it. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. x. 12; Matt. xxvi. 57, 58, 69-75; Mark xiv. 53, 54, 66-72; Luke xxii. 54-62; John xviii. 13-18, 24-27).

The first interrogatory to which our Lord was subject (John xviii. 19-24) was addressed to Him by Caiaphas (Annas? Olshausen, Wieseler), probably before the Sanhedrim had time to assemble. It was the questioning of an inquisitive person who had an important criminal in his presence, rather than a formal examination. The Lord's refusal to answer is thus explained and justified. When the more regular proceedings begin He is ready to answer. A servant of the high-priest, knowing that he should thereby please his master, smote the cheek of the Son of God with the palm of his hand. But this was only the beginning of horrors. At the dawn of day the Sanhedrim, summoned by the high-priest in the course of the night, assembled, and brought their band of false witnesses, whom they must have had ready before. These gave their testimony (see Psalm xxvii. 12), but even before this unjust tribunal it could not stand; it was so full of contradictions. At last two false witnesses came, and their testimony was very like the truth. They deposed that He had said, "I will destroy this temple, that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands" (Mark xiv. 58). The perversion is slight but important; for Jesus did not say that He would destroy (see John ii. 19), which was just the point that should most irritate the Jews. Even these two fell into contradictions. The high-priest now with a solemn adjuration asks Him whether He is the Christ the Son of God. He answers that He is, and foretells His return in glory and power at the last day. This is enough for their purpose. They pronounce Him guilty of a crime for which death should be the punishment. It appears that the Council was now suspended or broken up; for Jesus is delivered over to the brutal violence of the people, which could not have occurred whilst the supreme court of the Jews was sitting. The prophets had foretold this violence (Is. i. 6), and also the meekness with which it would be borne (Is. liii. 7). And yet this "lamb led to the slaughter" knew that it was He that should judge the world, including every one of His persecutors. The Sanhedrim had been within the range of its duties in taking cognizance of all who claimed to be prophets. If the question put to Jesus had been merely, Art Thou the Messiah? this body should have gone into the question of His right to the title, and decided upon the evidence. But the question was really twofold, "Art Thou the Christ, and in that name dost Thou also call Thyself the Son of God?" There was no blasphemy in claiming the former name, but there was in assuming the latter. Hence the proceedings were cut short. They had closed their eyes to the evidence, accessible to all, of the miracles of Jesus, that He was indeed the Son of God, and without these they were not likely to believe that He could claim a title belonging to no other among the

\* Mr. Greswell sees no uncertainty; and asserts as a fact that he was the high-priest, vicar, and vice-president of the Sanhedrim (p. 200).

children of men (John xviii. 19-24; Luke xxii. 63-71; Matt. xxvi. 59-68; Mark xiv. 55-65).

Although they had pronounced Jesus to be guilty of death, the Sanhedrim possessed no power to carry out such a sentence (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 6). So as soon as it was day they took Him to Pilate, the Roman procurator. The hall of judgment, or *praetorium*, was probably a part of the tower of Antonia near the Temple, where the Roman garrison was. Pilate hearing that Jesus was an offender under their law, was about to give them leave to treat him accordingly; and this would have made it quite safe to execute Him. But the council, wishing to shift the responsibility from themselves, from a fear of some reaction amongst the people in favour of the Lord, such as they had seen on the first day of that week, said that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death; and having condemned Jesus for blasphemy, they now strove to have Him condemned by Pilate for a political crime, for calling Himself the King of the Jews. But the Jewish punishment was stoning; whilst crucifixion was a Roman punishment, inflicted occasionally on those who were not Roman citizens; and thus it came about that the Lord's saying as to the mode of His death was fulfilled (Matt. xx. 19, with John xii. 32, 33). From the first Jesus found favour in the eyes of Pilate; His answer that His kingdom was not of this world, and therefore could not menace the Roman rule, was accepted, and Pilate pronounced that he found no fault in Him. Not so easily were the Jews to be cheated of their prey. They heaped up accusations against Him as a disturber of the public peace (Luke xxiii. 5). Pilate was no match for their vehemence. Finding that Jesus was a Galilean, he sent Him to Herod to be dealt with; but Herod, after cruel mockery and persecution, sent Him back to Pilate. Now commenced the fearful struggle between the Roman procurator, a weak as well as cruel man, and the Jews. Pilate was detested by the Jews as cruel, treacherous, and oppressive. Other records of his life do not represent him merely as the weakling that he appears here. He had violated their national prejudices, and had used the knives of assassins to avert the consequences. But the Jews knew the weak point in his breastplate. He was the merely worldly and professional statesman, to whom the favour of the Emperor was life itself, and the only evil of life a downfall from that favour. It was their policy therefore to threaten to denounce him to Caesar for lack of zeal in suppressing a rebellion, the leader of which was aiming at a crown. In his way Pilate believed in Christ this the greatest crime of a stained life was that with which his own will had the least to do. But he did not believe, so as to make him risk delation to his Master and all its possible consequences. He yielded to the stronger purpose of the Jews, and suffered Jesus to be put to death. Not many years after, the consequences which he had stained his soul to avert came upon him. He was accused and banished, and like Judas, the other great accomplice in this crime of the Jews, put an end to his own life [see PILATE]. The well-known incidents of the second interview are soon recalled. After the examination by Herod, and the return of Jesus, Pilate proposed to release Him, as it was usual on the feast-day to release a prisoner to the Jews out of grace. Pilate knew well that the priests and rulers would object to this; but it was a covert appeal to the people, also present, with

whom Jesus had so lately been in favour. The multitude, persuaded by the priests, preferred another prisoner, called Barabbas. In the meantime the wife of Pilate sent a warning to Pilate to have nothing to do with the death of "that just man," as she had been troubled in a dream on account of Him. Obligated, as he thought, to yield to the clamours of the people, he took water and washed his hands before them, and adopting the phrase of his wife, which perhaps represented the opinion of both of them formed before this time, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." The people imprecated on their own heads and those of their children the blood of Him whose doom was thus sealed.

Pilate released unto them Barabbas "that for sedition and murder was cast into prison whom they had desired" (comp. Acts ii. 14). This was no unimportant element in their crime. The choice was offered them between one who had broken the laws of God and man, and One who had given His whole life up to the doing good and speaking truth amongst them. They condemned the latter to death, and were eager for the deliverance of the former. "And in fact their demanding the acquittal of a murderer is but the parallel to their requiring the death of an innocent person, as St. Ambrose observes:—for it is but the very law of iniquity, that they which hate innocence should love crime. They rejected therefore the Prince of Heaven, and chose a robber and a murderer, and an insurrectionist, and they received the object of their choice; so was it given them, for insurrections and murders did not fail them till the last, when their city was destroyed in the midst of murders and insurrections, which they now demanded of the Roman governor" (Williams on the Passion, p. 215).

Now came the scourging, and the blows and insults of the soldiers, who, uttering truth when they thought they were only reviling, crowned Him and addressed Him as King of the Jews. According to John, Pilate now made one more effort for His release. He thought that the scourging might appease their rage, he saw the frame of Jesus bowed and withered with all that it had gone through; and, hoping that this moving sight might inspire them with the same pity that he felt himself, he brought the Saviour forth again to them, and said, "Behold the Man!" Not even so was their violence assuaged. He had made Himself the Son of God, and must die. He still sought to release Jesus: but the last argument, which had been in the minds of both sides all along, was now openly applied to him: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend." This saying, which had not been uttered till the vehemence of rage overcame their decent respect for Pilate's position, decided the question. He delivered Jesus to be crucified (Matt. xxvii. 15-30; Mark xv. 6-19; Luke xxiii. 17-25; John xviii. 39, 40, xix. 1-16). John mentions that this occurred about the sixth hour, whereas the crucifixion, according to Mark, was accomplished at the third hour; but there is every reason to think, with Greswell and Wieseler, that John reckons from midnight, and that this took place at six in the morning, whilst in Mark the Jewish reckoning from six in the morning is followed, so that the crucifixion took place at nine o'clock, the intervening time having been spent in preparations.

Difficult, but not insuperable, chronological ques-

tions arise in connexion with (a) John xiii. 1, "before the feast of the passover;" (b) John xviii. 28, "and they themselves went not into the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover;" and (c) John xix. 14, "And it was the preparation of the passover about the sixth hour," in all of which the account of John seems dissonant with that of the other Evangelists. These passages are discussed in the various commentaries, but nowhere more fully than in a paper by Dr. Robinson (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1845, p. 405), reproduced in his (English) *Harmony* in an abridged form.

One Person alone has been calm amidst the excitements of that night of horror. On Him is now laid the weight of His cross, or at least of the transverse beam of it; and, with this pressing Him down, they proceed out of the city to Golgotha or Calvary, a place the site of which is now uncertain. As He began to droop, His persecutors, unwilling to defile themselves with the accursed burden, lay hold of Simon of Cyrene and compel him to carry the cross after Jesus. Amongst the great multitude that followed, were several women, who bewailed and lamented Him. He bade them not to weep for Him, but for the widespread destruction of their nation which should be the punishment for His death (Luke). After offering Him wine and myrrh, they crucified Him between two thieves. Nothing was wanting to His humiliation; a thief had been preferred before Him, and two thieves share His punishment. The soldiers divided His garments and cast lots for them (see Psalm xxii. 18). Pilate set over Him in three languages the inscription "Jesus, the King of the Jews." The chief-priests took exception to this that it did not denounce Him as falsely calling Himself by that name, but Pilate refused to alter it. The passers-by and the Roman soldiers would not let even the minutes of deadly agony pass in peace; they reviled and mocked Him. One of the two thieves underwent a change of heart even on the cross: he reviled at first (Matt.); and then, at the sight of the constancy of Jesus, repented (Luke) (Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xix.).

In the depths of His bodily suffering, Jesus calmly commended to John (?), who stood near, the care of Mary his mother. "Behold thy son! behold thy mother." From the sixth hour to the ninth there was darkness over the whole land. At the ninth hour (3 P.M.) Jesus uttered with a loud voice the opening words of the 22nd Psalm, all the inspired words of which referred to the suffering Messiah. One of those present dipped a sponge in the common sour wine of the soldiers and put it on a reed to moisten the sufferer's lips. Again He cried with a loud voice, "It is finished" (John), "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke); and gave up the ghost. His words upon the cross had all of them shown how truly He possessed His soul in patience even to the end of the sacrifice He was making: "Father, forgive them! was a prayer for His enemies. "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," was a merciful acceptance of the offer of a penitent heart. "Woman, behold thy son," was a sign of loving consideration, even at the last, for those He had always loved. "Why hast Thou forsaken me?" expressed the fear and the need of God. "I thirst," the only word that related to Himself, was uttered because it was

prophesied that they were to give Him vinegar to drink. "It is finished," expresses the completion of that work which, when He was twelve years old, had been present to His mind, and never absent since; and "Into Thy hands I commend My spirit," was the last utterance of His resignation of Himself to what was laid upon Him (Matt. xxvii. 31-56; Mark xv. 20-41; Luke xxiii. 33-49; John xix. 17-30).

On the death of Jesus the veil which covered the most Holy Places of the Temple, the place of the more especial presence of Jehovah, was rent in twain, a symbol that we may now have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus by a new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, through His flesh" (Heb. x. 19, 20). The priesthood of Christ superseded the priesthood of the law: There was a great earthquake. Many who were dead rose from their graves, although they returned to the dust again after this great token of Christ's quickening power had been given to many (Matt.): they were "saints" that slept—probably those who had most earnestly longed for the salvation of Christ were the first to taste the fruits of His conquest of death. The centurion who kept guard, witnessing what had taken place, came to the same conclusion as Pilate and his wife, "Certainly this was a righteous man," he went beyond them, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mark). Even the people who had joined in the mocking and reviling were overcome by the wonders of His death, and "smote their breasts and returned" (Luke xxiii. 48). The Jews, very zealous for the Sabbath in the midst of their murderous work, begged Pilate that he would put an end to the punishment by breaking the legs of the criminals (Lactant. iv. 26) that they might be taken down and buried before the Sabbath, for which they were preparing (Deut. xxi. 23; Joseph., *B. J.* iv. 5, § 2). Those who were to execute this duty found that Jesus was dead and the thieves still living; so they performed this work on the latter only, that a bone of Him might not be broken (Ex. xii. 10; Psalm xxiv. 20). The death of the Lord before the others was, no doubt, partly the consequence of the previous mental suffering which He had undergone, and partly because His will to die lessened the natural resistance of the frame to dissolution. Some seek for a "mysterious cause" of it, something out of the course of nature; but we must beware of such theories as would do away with the reality of the death, as a punishment inflicted by the hands of men. Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Council but a secret disciple of Jesus, came to Pilate to beg the body of Jesus, that he might bury it. Nicodemus assisted in this work of love, and they anointed the body and laid it in Joseph's new tomb (Matt. xxvii. 50-61; Mark xv. 37-47; Luke xxiii. 46-56; John xix. 30-42).

*Saturday the 16th of Nisam (April 8th).*—Love having done its part, hatred did its part also. The chief priests and Pharisees, with Pilate's permission, set a watch over the tomb, "lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say unto the people He is risen from the dead" (Matt. xxvii. 62-66).

*Sunday the 17th of Nisam (April 9th).*—The Sabbath ended at six on the evening of Nisam 16th. Early the next morning the resurrection of Jesus took place. Although He had lain in the grave for

about thirty-six or forty hours, yet these formed part of three days, and thus, by a mode of speaking not unusual to the Jews (Josephus frequently reckons years in this manner, the two extreme portions of a year reckoning as two years), the time of the dominion of death over Him is spoken of as three days. The order of the events that follow is somewhat difficult to harmonise; for each Evangelist selects the facts which belong to his purpose.<sup>b</sup> The exact hour of the resurrection is not mentioned by any of the Evangelists. But from Mark xvi. 2 and 9 we infer that it was not long before the coming of the women; and from the time at which the guards went into the city to give the alarm the same inference arises (Matt. xxviii. 11). Of the great mystery itself, the resurrection of life by Him who was truly dead, we see but little. "There was a great earthquake, for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men" (Matt.). The women, who had stood by the cross of Jesus, had prepared spices on the evening before, perhaps to complete the embalming of our Lord's body, already performed in haste by Joseph and Nicodemus. They came very early on the first day of the week to the sepulchre. The names of the women are differently put by the several Evangelists, but with no real discrepancy. Matthew mentions the two Marys; Mark adds Salome to these two; Luke has the two Marys, Joanna, and others with them; and John mentions Mary Magdalene only. In thus citing such names as seemed good to him, each Evangelist was no doubt guided by some reason. John, from the especial share which Mary Magdalene took in the testimony to the fact of the resurrection, mentions her only. The women discuss with one another who should roll away the stone, that they might do their pious office on the body. But when they arrive they find the stone rolled away, and Jesus no longer in the Sepulchre. He had risen from the dead. Mary Magdalene at this point goes back in haste; and at once, believing that the body has been removed by men, tells Peter and John that the Lord has been taken away. The other women, however, go into the Sepulchre, and they see an angel (Matt., Mark), or two angels (Luke), in bright apparel, who declare to them that the Lord is risen, and will go before the disciples into Galilee. The two angels, mentioned by St. Luke, are probably two separate appearances to different members of the group; for he alone mentions an indefinite number of women. They now leave the sepulchre, and go in haste to make known the news to the Apostles. "As they were going, 'Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him.' Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid, go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see Me." The eleven do not believe the account when they receive it. In the meantime Peter and John came to the Sepulchre. They ran, in their eagerness, and John arrived first and looked in; Peter afterwards came up, and it is characteristic that the awe which had prevented the other disciple from going in appears to have been

felt by Peter, who entered at once, and found the grave-clothes lying, but not Him who had worn them. This fact must have suggested that the removal was not the work of human hands. They then returned, wondering at what they had seen. Mary Magdalene, however, remained weeping at the tomb, and she too saw the two angels in the tomb, though Peter and John did not. They addressed her, and she answers, still, however, without any suspicion that the Lord is risen. As she turns away she sees Jesus, but in the tumult of her feelings does not even recognise Him at His first address. But He calls her by name, and then she joyfully recognises her Master. He says, "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father: but go to My brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God." The meaning of the prohibition to touch Him must be sought in the state of mind of Mary, since Thomas, for whom it was desirable as an evidence of the identity of Jesus, was permitted to touch Him. Hitherto she had not realized the mystery of the Resurrection. She saw the Lord, and would have touched His hand or His garment in her joy. Our Lord's answer means, "Death has now set a gulf between us. Touch not, as you once might have done, this body, which is now glorified by its conquest over death, for with this body I ascend to the Father" (so Euthymius, Theophylact, and others). Space has been wanting to discuss the difficulties of arrangement that attach to this part of the narrative. The remainder of the appearances present less matter for dispute; in enumerating them the important passage in 1 Cor. xv. must be brought in. The third appearance of our Lord was to Peter (Luke, Paul); the fourth to the two disciples going to Emmaus in the evening (Mark, Luke); the fifth in the same evening to the eleven as they sat at meat (Mark, Luke, John). All of these occurred on the first day of the week, the very day of the Resurrection. Exactly a week after, He appeared to the Apostles, and gave Thomas a convincing proof of His Resurrection (John); this was the sixth appearance. The seventh was in Galilee, where seven of the Apostles were assembled, some of them probably about to return to their old trade of fishing (John). The eighth was to the eleven (Matt.), and probably to five hundred brethren assembled with them (Paul) on a mountain in Galilee. The ninth was to James (Paul); and the last to the Apostles at Jerusalem just before the Ascension (Acts).

Whether this be the exact enumeration, whether a single appearance may have been quoted twice, or two distinct ones identified, it is clear that for forty days the Lord appeared to His disciples and to others at intervals. These disciples, according to the common testimony of all the Evangelists, were by no means enthusiastic and prejudiced expectants of the resurrection. They were sober-minded men. They were only too slow to apprehend the nature of our Lord's kingdom. Almost to the last they shrank from the notion of His suffering death, and thought that such a calamity would be the absolute termination of all their hopes. But from the time of the Ascension they went about preaching the truth that Jesus was risen from the dead. Kings could not alter their conviction on this point; the fear of death could not hinder them from proclaiming it (see Acts ii. 24, 32, iv. 8-13, iii. x. xiii.; 1 Cor. xv. 5; 1 Pet.

<sup>b</sup> In what follows, much use has been made of an excellent paper by Dr. Robinson, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 1845, p. 162.

i. 21). Against this event no real objection has ever been brought, except that it is a miracle. So far as historical testimony goes, nothing is better established.

In giving His disciples their final commission the Lord said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 18-20). The living energy of Christ is ever present with His Church, even though He has withdrawn from it His bodily presence. And the facts of the life that has been before us are the substance of the apostolic teaching now as in all ages. That God and man were reconciled by the mission of the Redeemer into the world, and by His self-devotion to death (2 Cor. v. 18; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20), that this sacrifice has procured for man the restoration of the divine love (Rom. v. 8, viii. 32; 1 John iv. 9); that we by His incarnation become the children of God, knit to Him in bonds of love, instead of slaves under the bondage of the law (Rom. viii. 15, 29; Gal. iv. 1); these are the common ideas of the apostolic teaching. Brought into such a relation to Christ and His life, we see in all its acts and stages something that belongs to and instructs us. His birth, His baptism, temptation, lowliness of life and mind, His sufferings, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, all enter into the apostolic preaching, as furnishing motives, examples, and analogies for our use. Hence every Christian should study well this sinless life, not in human commentaries only, still less in a bare abstract like the present, but in the living pages of inspiration. Even if he began the study with a lukewarm belief, he might hope, with God's grace, that the conviction would break in upon him that did upon the Centurion at the cross—"Truly this is the Son of God."

**CHRONOLOGY.—Year of the birth of Christ.**—It is certain that our Lord was born before the death of Herod the Great. Herod died, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), "having reigned thirty-four years from the time that he had procured Antigonus to be slain; but thirty-seven from the time that he had been declared king by the Romans" (see also *B. J. i.* 33, § 8). His appointment as king, according to the same writer (*Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5), coincides with the 184th Olympiad, and the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio. It appears that he was made king by the joint influence of Antony and Octavius; and the reconciliation of these two men took place on the death of Fulvia in the year 714. Again, the death of Antigonus and the siege of Jerusalem, which form the basis of calculation for the thirty-four years, coincide (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 4) with the consulship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus, that is with the year of Rome 717; and occurred in the month Sivan (= June or July). From these facts we are justified in placing the death of Herod in A.U.C. 750. Those who place it one year later overlook the mode in which Josephus reckons Jewish reigns. Wieseler shows by several passages that he reckons the year from the month Nisan to Nisan, and that he counts the fragment of a year at either extreme as one complete year. In this mode, thirty-four years, from June or July 717, would apply to any date

between the first of Nisan 750, and the first of Nisan 751. And thirty-seven years from 714 would apply likewise to any date within the same termini. Wieseler finds facts confirmatory of this in the dates of the reigns of Herod Antipas and Archelaus (see his *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 55). Between these two dates Josephus furnishes means for a more exact determination. Just after Herod's death the Passover occurred (Nisan 15th), and upon Herod's death Archelaus caused a seven-days' mourning to be kept for him (*Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3, xvii. 8, § 4); so that it would appear that Herod died somewhat more than seven days before the Passover in 750, and therefore in the first few days of the month Nisan A.U.C. 750. Now, as Jesus was born before the death of Herod, it follows that the Dionysian era, which corresponds to A.U.C. 754, is at least four years too late.

Many have thought that the star seen by the wise men gives grounds for an exact calculation of the time of our Lord's birth. It will be found, however, that this is not the case. For it has first been assumed that the star was not properly a star, but an astronomical conjunction of known stars. Kepler finds a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces in A.U.C. 747, and again in the spring of the next year, with the planet Mars added; and from this he would place the birth of Jesus in 748. Ideler, on the same kind of calculation, places it in A.U.C. 747. But this process only proves a highly improbable date, on highly improbable evidence. The words of St. Matthew are extremely hard to reconcile with the notion of a conjunction of planets; it was a star that appeared, and it gave the Magi ocular proof of its purpose by guiding them to where the young child was. But a new light has been thrown on the subject by the Rev. C. Pritchard, who has made the calculations afresh. Ideler (*Handbuch d. Chronologie*) asserts that there were three conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn in B.C. 7, and that in the third they approached so near that, "to a person with weak eyes, the one planet would almost seem to come within the range of the dispersed light of the other, so that both might appear as one star." Dean Alford puts it much more strongly, that on November 12 in that year the planets were so close "that an ordinary eye would regard them as one star of surpassing brightness" (Greek Test. *in loc.*). Mr. Pritchard finds, and his calculations have been verified and confirmed at Greenwich, that this conjunction occurred not on November 12 but early on December 5; and that even with Ideler's somewhat strange postulate of an observer with weak eyes, the planets could never have appeared as one star, for they never approached each other within double the apparent diameter of the moon (*Memoirs R. Astr. Soc.* vol. xxv.). [STAR IN THE EAST.] Most of the chronologists find an element of calculation in the order of Herod to destroy all the children "from two years old and under" (*ἄρῃ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρως*, Matt. ii. 16). But the age within which he destroyed, would be measured rather by the extent of his fears than by the accuracy of the calculation of the Magi. Gresswell has laboured to show that, from the inclusive mode of computing years, mentioned above in this article, the phrase of the Evangelist would apply to all children just turned one year old, which is true; but he assumes that it would not apply to any that were older, say to those aged a year and eleven months. Herod was a cruel man, angry,

and afraid; and it is vain to assume that he adjusted the limit of his cruelties with the nicest accuracy. As a basis of calculation the visit of the Magi, though very important to us in other respects, must be dismissed (but see Greswell, *Dissertations*, &c., *Diss.* 18th; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 57, sqq., with all the references there).

The census taken by Augustus Caesar, which led to the journey of Mary from Nazareth just before the birth of the Lord, has also been looked on as an important note of time, in reference to the chronology of the life of Jesus. Several difficulties have to be disposed of in considering it. (i.) It is argued that there is no record in other histories of a census of the whole Roman empire in the time of Augustus. (ii.) Such a census, if held during the reign of Herod the Great, would not have included Judæa, for it was not yet a Roman province. (iii.) The Roman mode of taking such a census was with reference to actual residence, so that it would not have been requisite for Joseph to go to Bethlehem. (iv.) The state of Mary at the time would render such a journey less probable. (v.) St. Luke himself seems to say that this census was not actually taken until ten years later (ii. 2). To these objections, of which it need not be said Strauss has made the worst, answers may be given in detail, though scarcely in this place with the proper completeness.

(1.) "As we know of the *legis actiones* and their abrogation, which were quite as important in respect to the early period of Roman history, as the census of the empire was in respect to a later period, not from the historical works of Livy, Dionysius, or Polybius, but from a legal work, the *Institutes* of Gaius; so we should think it strange if the works of Paullus and Ulpian *De Censibus* had come down to us perfect, and no mention were made in them of the census of Augustus; while it would not surprise us that in the ordinary histories of the time it should be passed over in silence" (Hinschke in Wieseler, p. 78). "If Suetonius in his life [of Augustus] does not mention this census, neither does Spartian in his life of Hadrian devote a single syllable to the *edictum perpetuum*, which, in later times, has chiefly adorned the name of that emperor" (*ibid.*). Thus it seems that the *argumentum de taciturnitate* is very far from conclusive. The edict possibly affected only the provinces, and in them was not carried out at once; and in that case it would attract less attention at any one particular moment.

In the time of Augustus all the procurators of the empire were brought under his sole control and supervision for the first time A.U.C. 731 (Dion Cass. liii. 32). This movement towards centralisation renders it not improbable that a general census of the empire should be ordered, although it may not have been carried into effect suddenly, nor intended to be so. But proceedings in the way of an estimate of the empire, if not an actual census, are distinctly recorded to have taken place in the time of Augustus. "Huic addendæ sunt mensuræ limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Caesarum: sed et Balbi mensuris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentarios retulit et legem agrariam per universitatem provinciarum distinxit et declaravit" (Frontinus, in the *Rei Agrar. Auct.* of Goes, p. 109, quoted by Wieseler). This is confirmed from other sources (Wieseler, pp. 81, 82). Augustus directed, as we learn, a

brevarium totius imperii to be made, in which, according to Tacitus, "Opes publicæ continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones" (Tacit. *Annal.* i. 11; Sueton. *Aug.* 28, 101; Dion Cass. liii. 30; lvi. 33, given in Wieseler; see also Ritschl, in *Rhein. Mus. für Philol.* N. Series, i. 481). All this makes a census by order of Augustus in the highest degree probable, apart from St. Luke's testimony. The time of our Lord's birth was most propitious. Except some troubles in Dacia the Roman world was at peace, and Augustus was in the full enjoyment of his power. But there are persons who, though they would at once believe this fact on the testimony of some inferior historian, added to these confirmatory facts, reject it just because an Evangelist has said it. (ii. and iii.) Next comes the objection, that, as Judæa was not yet a Roman province, such a census would not have included that country, and that it was not taken from the residence of each person, but from the place of his origin. It is very probable that the mode of taking the census would afford a clue to the origin of it. Augustus was willing to include in his census all the tributary kingdoms, for the *regna* are mentioned in the passage in Tacitus; but this could scarcely be enforced. Perhaps Herod, desiring to gratify the Emperor, and to emulate him in his love for this kind of information, was ready to undertake the census for Judæa, but in order that it might appear to be his rather than the emperor's, he took it in the Jewish manner rather than in the Roman, in the place whence the family sprang, rather than in that of actual residence. There might be some hardship in this, and we might wonder that a woman about to become a mother should be compelled to leave her home for such a purpose, if we were sure that it was not voluntary. A Jew of the house and lineage of David would not willingly forego that position, and if it were necessary to assert it by going to the city of David, he would probably make some sacrifice to do so. Thus the objection (iv.), on the ground of the state of Mary's health, is entitled to little consideration. It is said indeed that "all went to be taxed, every one into his own city" (Luke ii. 3); but not that the decree prescribed that they should. Nor could there well be any means of enforcing such a regulation. But the principle being adopted, that Jews were to be taxed in the places to which their families belonged, St. Luke tells us by these words that as a matter of fact it was generally followed. (v.) The objection that, according to St. Luke's own admission, the census was not taken now, but, when Quirinus was governor of Syria, remains to be disposed of. St. Luke makes two statements, that at the time of our Lord's birth ("in those days") there was a decree for a census, and that this taxing first came about, or took effect (*πρώτη ἐγένετο*), when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria (Luke ii. 1, 2). And as the two statements are quite distinct, and the very form of expression calls special attention to some remarkable circumstance about this census, no historical inaccuracy is proved, unless the statements are shown to be contradictory, or one or other of them to be untrue. That Strauss makes such a charge without establishing either of these grounds, is worthy of a writer so dishonest (*Leben Jesu*, i. iv. 32). Now, without going into all the theories that have been proposed to explain this second verse, there is no

doubt that the words of St. Luke can be explained in a natural manner, without violence to the sense or contradiction. Herod undertakes the census according to Jewish forms; but his death the same year puts an end to it, and no more is heard of it: but for its influence as to the place of our Lord's birth it would not have been recorded at all. But the Evangelist knows that, as soon as a census (ἀπογραφὴ) is mentioned, persons conversant with Jewish history will think at once of the census taken after the banishment of Archelaus, or about ten years later, which was avowedly a Roman census, and which caused at first some resistance in consequence (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1). The second verse therefore means—"No census was actually completed then, and I know that the first Roman census was that which followed the banishment of Archelaus; but the decree went out much earlier, in the time of Herod." That this is the only possible explanation of so vexed a passage cannot of course be affirmed.<sup>c</sup> But it will bear this interpretation, and upon the whole evidence there is ground whatever for denying either assertion of the Evangelist, or for considering them irreconcilable. Many writers have confounded an obscurity with a proved inaccuracy. The value of this census, as a fact in the chronology of the life of Christ, depends on the connexion which is sought to be established between it and the insurrection which broke out under Matthias and Judas, the son of Sapphæus, in the last illness of Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 6, § 1). If the insurrection arose out of the census, a point of connexion between the sacred history and that of Josephus is made out. Such a connexion, however, has not been clearly made out (see Wieseler, Olshausen, and others, for the grounds on which it is supposed to rest).

The age of Jesus at His baptism (Luke iii. 23) affords an element of calculation. "And Jesus Himself began to be about (ὡσεὶ) thirty years of age." Born in the beginning of A.U.C. 750 (or the end of 749), Jesus would be thirty in the beginning of A.U.C. 780 (A.D. 27). Gresswell is probably right in placing the baptism of our Lord in the beginning of this year, and the first Passover during His ministry would be that of the same year; Wieseler places the baptism later, in the spring or summer of the same year. (On the sense of ἀρχόμενος, see the commentators.) To this first Passover after the baptism attaches a note of time which will confirm the calculations already made. "Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this Temple in building (φκαδοποιήθη), and wilt Thou rear it up in three days?" There can be no doubt that this refers to the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod: it cannot mean the second Temple, built after the captivity, for this was finished in twenty years (N.C. 535 to B.C. 515). Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1), began to reconstruct the Temple on a larger and more splendid scale (A.U.C. 734). The work was not finished till long after his death, till A.U.C. 818. It is inferred from Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5 & 6) that it was begun in the month

Cislen, A.U.C. 734. And if the Passover at which this renak was made was that of A.U.C. 780, then forty-five years and some months have elapsed, which, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning (p. 1072), would be spoken of as "forty and six years."

Thus the death of Herod enables us to fix a boundary on one side to the calculations of our Lord's birth. The building of the Temple, for forty-six years, confirms this, and also gives a boundary on the other. From the star of the Magi nothing conclusive can be gathered, nor from the census of Augustus. One datum remains: the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist is connected with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar (Luke iii. 1). The rule of Tiberius may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Augustus, A.U.C. 767, or from his joint government with Augustus, i. e. from the beginning of A.U.C. 765. In the latter case the fifteenth year would correspond with A.U.C. 779, which goes to confirm the rest of the calculations relied on in this article.

An endeavour has been made to deduce the time of the year of the birth of Jesus from the fact that Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5). The twenty-four courses of priests served in the Temple according to a regular weekly cycle, the order of which is known. The date of the conception of John would be about fifteen months before the birth of our Lord, and if the date of the latter be A.U.C. 780, then the former would fall in A.U.C. 748. Can it be ascertained in what part of the year 748 the course of Abia would be on duty in the Temple? The Talmud preserves a tradition that the Temple was destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70, on the ninth day of the month Ab. Josephus mentions the date as the 10th of Ab (*Jel. Jud.* vi. 4, § 5 & 8). Without attempting to follow the steps by which these are reconciled, it seems that the "course" of Jehoiarib had just entered upon its weekly duty at the time the Temple was destroyed. Wieseler, assuming that the day in question would be the same as the 5th of August, A.U.C. 823, reckons back the weekly courses to A.U.C. 748, the course of Jehoiarib being the first of all (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). "It follows," he says, "that the ministration of the course of Abia, 74 years 10 months and 2 days, or (reckoning 19 intercalary years) 27,335 days, earlier (= 162 hieratic circles and 119 days earlier), fell between the 3rd and 9th of October, A.U.C. 748. Reckoning from the 10th of October, on which Zacharias might reach his house, and allowing nine months for the pregnancy of Elizabeth, to which six months are to be added (Luke i. 26), we have in the whole one year and three months, which gives the 10th of January as the date of Christ's birth." Gresswell, however, from the same starting-point, arrives at the date April 5th; and when two writers so laborious can thus differ in their conclusions, we must rather suspect the soundness of their method than their accuracy in the use of it.

<sup>c</sup> See a summary of the older theories in Kuñhöl (in Luc. ii. 2); also in Meyer (in Luc. ii. 2), who gives an account of the view, espoused by many, that Quirinus was now a special commissioner for this census in Syria (ἡγεμὼν τῆς Συρίας), which the Greek will not bear. But if the theory of the younger Zumpt (see above, CYRENEA) be correct, then Quirinus was twice governor of Syria, and the Evangelist would

here refer to his former rule. The difficulty is that Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1) mentions that Quirinus was sent after the banishment of Archelaus, to take a census. Either Zumpt would set this authority aside, or would hold that Quirinus, twice governor, twice made a census; which is scarcely an easier hypothesis than some others.

Similar differences will be found amongst eminent writers in every part of the chronology of the Gospels. For example, the birth of our Lord is placed in B.C. 1 by Pearson and Hug; B.C. 2 by Scaliger; B.C. 3 by Baronius, Calvisius, Sibkind, and Paulus; B.C. 4 by Lamy, Bengel, Auger, Wieseler, and Greswell; B.C. 5 by Usher and Petavius; B.C. 7 by Ideler and Nenclemente. And whilst the calculations given above seem sufficient to determine us, with Lamy, Usher, Petavius, Bengel, Wieseler, and Greswell, to the close of B.C. 5, or early part of B.C. 4, let it never be forgotten that there is a distinction between these researches, which the Holy Spirit has left obscure and doubtful, and "the weightier matters" of the Gospel, the things which directly pertain to man's salvation. The silence of the inspired writers, and sometimes the obscurity of their allusions to matters of time and place, have given rise to disputation. But their words admit of no doubt when they tell us that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and that wicked hands crucified and slew Him, and that we and all men must own Him as the Lord and Redeemer.

SOURCES.—The bibliography of the subject of the Life of Jesus has been most fully set out in Hase, *Leben Jesu*, Leipzig, 1854, 4th edition. It would be vain to attempt to rival that enormous catalogue. The principal works employed in the present article are the FOUR GOSPELS, and the best-known commentaries on them, including those of Bengel, Wetstein, Lightfoot, De Wette, Lücke, Olshausen, Stier, Alford, Williams, and others; Neander, *Leben Jesu* (Hamburg, 1837), as against Strauss, *Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1837), also consulted; Stackhouse's *History of the Bible*; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. v., *Christus* (Göttingen, 1857); Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu* (Brunswick, 1859); Krummacker, *Der Leikende Christus* (Bielefeld, 1854). Upon the harmony of the Gospels, see the list of works given under GOSPELS: the principal works used for the present article have been, Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, &c., Hamburg, 1843; Greswell's *Harmony, Protegomena, and Dissertations*, Oxford, v. y.; two papers by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1845; and Clausen, *Tabulæ Synopticæ*, Havnæ, 1829. Special works, such as Dean Trench on the Parables and on the Miracles, have also been consulted; and detached monographs, sermons, and essays in periodicals. For the text of the Gospels, the 7th edition of Tischendorf's Gr. Text has been employed. [W. T.]

JETHER (יֶתֶר). 1. (יֶתֶר) Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, so called in Ex. iv. 18 and the margin of A. V., though in the Heb.-Sam. text and Sam. version the reading is יֶתֶר, as in the Syriac and Targ. Jon., one of Kennicott's MSS., and a MS. of Targ. Onk., No. 16 in De Rossi's collection.

2. (יֶתֶר) Jether. The firstborn of Gideon's seventy sons, who were all, with the exception of Jotham, the youngest, slain at Ophrah by Abimelech. At the time of his father's victorious pursuit of the Midianites and capture of their kings he was still a lad on his first battle-field, and feared to draw his sword at Gideon's bidding, and avenge, as the representative of the family, the slaughter of his kinsmen at Tabor (Judg. viii. 20).

3. (יֶתֶר) in 1 K. ii. 5, 12; יֶתֶר in 1 Chr. ii. 17; the Alex. MS. has יֶתֶר in both passages: Jether. The father of Amasa, captain-general of

Abalom's army. Jether is merely another form of Ithra (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the latter being probably a corruption. He is described in 1 Chr. ii. 17 as an Ishmaelite, which again is more likely to be correct than the "Israelite" of the Heb. in 2 Sam. xvii., or the "Jezreelite" of the LXX. and Vulg. in the same passage. "Ishmaelite" is said by the author of the *Quest. Hebr. in lib. Reg.* to have been the reading of the Hebrew, but there is no trace of it in the MSS. One MS. of Chronicles reads "Israelite," as does the Targum, which adds that he was called Jether the Ishmaelite, "because he girt his loins with the sword, to help David with the Ambs, when Abner sought to drive away David and all the race of Jesse, who were not pious to enter the congregation of Jehovah on account of Ruth the Moabitess." According to Jarchi, Jether was an Israelite, dwelling in the land of Ishmael, and thence acquired his surname, like the house of Obadedom the Gittite. Josephus calls him יֶתֶר (Ant. vii. 10, § 1). He married Abigail, David's sister, probably during the sojourn of the family of Jesse in the land of Moab, under the protection of its king.

4. The son of Judai, a descendant of Hezron, of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 32). He died without children, and being the eldest son the succession fell to his brother's family.

5. The son of Ezra, whose name occurs in a dislocated passage in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17). In the LXX. the name is repeated: "and Jether begat Miriam," &c. By the author of the *Quest. Hebr. in Par.* he is said to have been Aaron, Ezra being another name for Amiam.

6. (יֶתֶר) Alex. יֶתֶר. The chief of a family of warriors of the line of Asher, and father of Jephunneh (1 Chr. vii. 38). He is probably the same as Ithra in the preceding verse. One of Kennicott's MSS. and the Alex. had Jether in both cases.

[W. A. W.]

JETHETH (יֶתֶת: יֶתֶת: Jetheth), one of the phylarchs (A. V. "dukes") who came of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chr. i. 51), enumerated separately from the genealogy of Esau's children in the earlier part of the chapter, "according to their families, after their places, by their names," and "according to their habitations in the land of their possession" (vers. 40-3). This record of the Edomite phylarchs may point specially to the places and habitations, or towns, named after, or occupied by, them; and even otherwise, we may look for some trace of their names, after the custom of the wandering tribes to leave such footprints in the changeless desert. Identifications of several in the list have been proposed: Jetheth, as far as the writer knows, has not been yet recovered. He may however be probably found if we adopt the likely suggestion of Simonis, יֶתֶת = יֶתֶת, "a nail," "a tent-pin," &c. (and metaphorically "a prince," &c.,

as being stable, firm) = Arab. وَطَدَ, وَتَدَ, with

the same signification. El-Wetideh, الْوَيْتِدَة (n. of

unity of the former) is a place in Nejd, said to be in the Dahab (see ISHAK); there is also a place called El-Wetid; and El-Wetidat (perhaps pl. of the first-named), which is the name of mountains belonging to Benee 'Abd-Allah Ibn Ghafsi (Marasul, s. vv.). [E. S. P.]

**JETH'LAH** (יֶתְלָח), *i. e.* Jithlah: יֶתְלָח; Alex. 'Ιεθλά: *Jethela*), one of the cities of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), named with Ajalon and Thinnathah. In the *Omonasticon* it is mentioned, without any description or indication of position, as 'Ιεθλάδ. It has not since been met with, even by the indefatigable Tobler in his late *Wandering* in that district. [G.]

**JETH'RO** (יֶתְרוֹ), *i. e.* Jithro: 'Ιεθρό), called also Jether and Hobab; the son of REUEL, was priest or prince of Midian, both offices probably being combined in one person. Moses spent the forty years of his exile from Egypt with him, and married his daughter Zipporah. By the advice of Jethro, Moses appointed deputies to judge the congregation and share the burden of government with himself (Ex. xviii.). On account of his local knowledge he was entreated to remain with the Israelites throughout their journey to Canaan; his room however was supplied by the ark of the covenant, which supernaturally indicated the places for encamping (Num. x. 31, 33). The idea conveyed by the name of Jethro or Jether is probably that of *excellence*; and as Hobab may mean *beloved*, it is quite possible that both appellations were given to the same person for similar reasons. That the custom of having more than one name was common among the Jews we see in the case of Benjamin, Benoni; Solomon, Jedidiah, &c., &c.

It is said in Ex. ii. 18 that the priest of Midian whose daughter Moses married was Reuel; afterwards, at ch. iii. 1, he is called Jethro, as also in ch. xviii.; but in Num. x. 29 "Hobab the son of Raguel the Midianite" is called Moses' father-in-law: assuming the identity of Hobab and Jethro, we must suppose that "their father Reuel," in Ex. ii. 18, was really their grandfather, and that the person who "said, How is it that ye are come so soon to-day?" was the priest of ver. 16: whereas, proceeding on the hypothesis that Jethro and Hobab are not the same individual, it seems difficult to determine the relationship of Reuel, Jethro, Hobab, and Moses. The hospitality, freehearted and unsought, which Jethro at once extended to the unknown homeless wanderer, on the relation of his daughters that he had watered their flock, is a picture of Eastern manners no less true than lovely. We may perhaps suppose that Jethro, before his acquaintance with Moses, was not a worshipper of the true God. Traces of this appear in the delay which Moses had suffered to take place with respect to the circumcision of his son (Ex. iv. 24-26): indeed it is even possible that Zipporah had afterwards been subjected to a kind of divorce (Ex. xviii. 2, שְׁלֵחָהּ), on account of her attachment to an alien creed, but that growing convictions were at work in the mind of Jethro, from the circumstance of Israel's continued prosperity, till at last, acting upon these, he brought back his daughter, and declared that his impressions were confirmed, for "now he knew that the Lord was

took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God;" as though to celebrate the event of his conversion. Whether or not the account given at Num. x. 29-32 refers to this same event, the narrative at Ex. xviii. 27

coincides with Hobab's own words at Num. x. 30; and, comparing the two, we may suppose that Moses did not prevail upon his father-in-law to stay with the congregation. Calvin (*in 5 lib. Mos. Comment.*) understands ver. 31, 32 thus: "Thou hast gone with us hitherto, and hast been to us instead of eyes, and now what profit is it to thee if, having suffered so many troubles and difficulties, thou dost not go on with us to inherit the promised blessing?" And Mat. Henry imagines that Hobab complied with this invitation, and that traces of the settlement of his posterity in the land of Canaan are apparent at Judg. i. 16 and 1 Sam. xv. 6. Some, and among them Calvin, take Jethro and Reuel to be identical, and call Hobab the *brother-in-law* of Moses. The present punctuation of our Bibles does not warrant this. Why, at Judg. i. 16, Moses' father-in-law is called יֶזְרָי (Kenite, comp. Gen. xv. 19), or why, at Num. xii. 1, Zipporah, if it be Zipporah, is called בְּשִׁית, A. V. Ethiopian, is not clear.

The Mohammedan name of Jethro is Shouib (Koran 7 and 11). There is a tale in the Midrash that Jethro was a counsellor of Pharaoh, who tried to dissuade him from slaughtering the Israelitish children, and consequently, on account of his clemency, was forced to flee into Midian, but was rewarded by becoming the father-in-law of Moses (see Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 93, note). [JETHER; HOBAB.] [S. L.]

**JETUR** (יֶטֶר): 'Ιετούρ, 'Ιεττούρ, 'Ιτουραιο: *Jethur*, Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 31, v. 19. [ITURAEA.]

**JEU'EL**. 1. (יֶזְעָל: 'Ιεήλ: *Jeucl*.) A chief man of Judah, one of the Bene-Zerah; apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 6; comp. 2).

2. (Γεουήλ; Alex. 'Ιεουήλ: *Gebel*.) One of the Bene-Adonikam who returned to Jerusalem with Esdras (1 Esdr. viii. 39). [JIEL.]

For other occurrences of this name see JIEL.

**JEU'USH** (יֶזֶשׁ): 'Ιεούς, 'Ιεούλ, 'Ιεός, 'Ιαούς, 'Ιεός, 'Ιός, 'Ιβας, 'Ιωός: *Jehus, Jaus*).

1. Son of Esau, by Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the son of Zibeon the Hivite (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; 1 Chr. i. 35). It appears from Gen. xxxvi. 20-25, that Anah is a man's name (not a woman's, as might be thought from ver. 2), and, by comparison with ver. 2, that the Horites were Hivites. Jeush was one of the Edomitish dukes (ver. 18). The Cethib has repeatedly יֶזֶשׁ, Jeish.

2. Head of a Benjamite house, which existed in David's time, son of Bilhan, son of Jediel, (1 Chr. vii. 10, 11).

3. A Levite, of the house of Shimei, of the family of the Gershonites. He and his brother Beriah were reckoned as one house in the census of the Levites taken in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11).

4. Son of Rehoboam king of Judah, by Abihail, the daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse (2 Chr. xi. 18, 19). [A. C. H.]

**JEU'UZ** (יֶזֶז: 'Ιεβούς, Alex.: 'Ιεούς, *Jehus*), head of a Benjamite house, in an obscure genealogy (1 Chr. viii. 10), apparently son of Shuhnamim and Hodesh his third wife, and born in Moab. [A. C. H.]

**JEW** (יְהוּדִי; 'Ιουδαίος; *Judaean*, i.e. Judean; 'Ιουδαῖος, Esth. viii. 17; 'Ιουδαῖσμός, 2 Macc. ii. 21). This name was properly applied to a member of the kingdom of Judah after the separation of the ten tribes. In this sense it occurs twice in the second book of Kings, 2 K. xvi. 6, xxv. 25, and seven times in the later chapters of Jeremiah: Jer. xxxii. 12, xxiv. 9 (in connexion with Hebrew), xxxviii. 19, xl. 12, xli. 3, xliv. 1, lii. 28. After the Return the word received a larger application. Partly from the predominance of the members of the old kingdom of Judah among those who returned to Palestine, partly from the identification of Judah with the religious ideas and hopes of the people, all the members of the new state were called Jews (*Judaean*), and the name was extended to the remnants of the race scattered throughout the nations (Dan. iii. 8, 12; Est. iv. 12, 23, &c.; Neh. i. 2, ii. 16, v. 1, &c.; Esth. iii. 4 ff., &c. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, §7, ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ('Ιουδαῖοι) ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεβήσαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ιουδα φυλῆς . . .).

Under the name of "*Judaean*," the people of Israel were known to classical writers. The most famous and interesting notice by a heathen writer is that of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2 ff.; cf. Orelli's *Excursus*). The trait of extreme exclusiveness with which he specially charged them is noticed by many other writers (Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103; Dio. Sic. *Ecl.* 34, 1; Quint. *Inst.* iii. 7, 21). The account of Strabo (xvi. pp. 760 ff.) is more favourable (cf. Just. xxxvi. 2), but it was impossible that a stranger could clearly understand the meaning of Judaism as a discipline and preparation for a universal religion (F. C. Meier, *Judaica seu veterum scriptorum profanorum de rebus Judaicis fragmenta*, Jenae, 1832).

The force of the title 'Ιουδαῖος is seen particularly in the Gospel of St. John. While the other Evangelists scarcely ever use the word except in the title "King of the Jews" (as given by Gentiles),\* St. John, standing within the boundary of the Christian age, very rarely uses any other term to describe the opponents of our Lord. The name, indeed, appeared at the close of the apostle's life to be the true antithesis to Christianity, as describing the limited and definite form of a national religion; but at an earlier stage of the progress of the faith, it was contrasted with Greek ('Ελλην) as implying an outward covenant with God (Rom. i. 16; ii. 9, 10; Col. iii. 11, &c.). In this sense it was of wider application than *Hebrew*, which was the correlative of *Hellenist* [HELLENIST], and marked a division of language subsisting within the entire body, and at the same time less expressive than *Israelite*, which brought out with especial clearness the privileges and hopes of the children of Jacob (2 Cor. xi. 22; John i. 47; 1 Macc. i. 43, 53, and often).

The history of Judaism is divided by Jost—the most profound writer who has investigated it—into two great eras, the first extending to the close of the collections of the oral laws, 536 B.C.—600 A.D.: the second reaching to the present time. According to this view the first is the period of original development, the second of formal construction; the one furnishes the constituent elements, the second the varied shape of the present faith. But as far

as Judaism was a great stage in the Divine revelation, its main interest closes with the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. From that date its present living force was stayed, and its history is a record of the human shapes in which the Divine truths of earlier times were enshrined and hidden. The old age (*αἰών*) passed away, and the new age began when the Holy City was finally wrested from its citizens and the worship of the temple closed.

Yet this shorter period from the Return to the destruction of Jerusalem was pregnant with great changes. Four different dynasties in succession directed the energies and influenced the character of the Jewish nation. The dominion of Persia (536–333 B.C.), of Greece (333–167 B.C.), of the Asmonaeans (167–63 B.C.), of the Herods (40 B.C., 70 A.D.) sensibly furthered in various ways the discipline of the people of God, and prepared the way for a final revelation. An outline of the characteristic features of the several periods is given in other articles. Briefly it may be said that the supremacy of Persia was marked by the growth of organization, order, ritual [CYRUS; DISPERSION OF THE JEWS]; that of Greece by the spread of liberty, and speculation [ALEXANDER; ALEXANDRIA; HELLENISTS]; that of the Asmonaeans by the strengthening of independence and faith [MACCABEES]; that of the Herods by the final separation of the elements of temporal and spiritual dominion into antagonistic systems [HEROD]; and so at length the inheritance of six centuries, painfully won in times of exhaustion and persecution and oppression, was transferred to the treasury of the Christian Church. [B. F. W.]

#### JEWEL. [PRECIOUS STONES.]

**JEWESS** ('Ιουδαία; *Judaea*), a woman of Hebrew birth, without distinction of tribe (Acts xvi. 1, xxiv. 24). It is applied in the former passage to Eunice the mother of Timothy, who was unquestionably of Hebrew origin (comp. 2 Tim. iii. 15), and in the latter to Drusilla, the wife of Felix and daughter of Herod Agrippa I.

**JEWISH** ('Ιουδαϊκός; *Judaicus*), of or belonging to Jews: an epithet applied to the Rabbinical legends against which the elder apostle warns his younger brother (Tit. i. 14).

**JEWRY** (Ἰουδαία; 'Ιουδαία; *Judaea*), the same word elsewhere rendered Judah and Judaea. It occurs but once in the O. T., Dan. v. 13, in which verse the Hebrew is translated both by Judah and Jewry: the A. V. retaining the latter as it stands in Coverdale, Tyndale, and the Geneva Bible. The variation possibly arose from a too faithful imitation of the Vulg., which has *Juda* and *Judaea*. Jewry comes to us through the Norman-French, and is of frequent occurrence in Old English. It is found besides in 1 Esd. i. 32, ii. 4, iv. 49, v. 7, 8, 57, vi. 1; viii. 81, ix. 3; Bel. 33; 2 Macc. x. 24; Luke xxiii. 5; John vii. 1. ●

**JEZANIAH** (יְהִיָּה; 'Εζωνίας; Alex. 'Ιεζωνίας in Jer. xl. 8; 'Ιεζωνίας in Jer. xlii. 1: *Jezonias*), the son of Hoshaiab, the Maschathite, and one of the captains of the forces, who had escaped from Jerusalem during the final attack of the beleaguering army of the Chaldeans. In the consequent pursuit, which resulted in the capture of Zedekiah, the army was scattered from him and

\* The exceptions are, Matt. xxviii. 15 (a note of the Evangelist of later date than the substance of the

Gospel); Mark vii. 3 (a similar note); Luke vii. 8, xxiii. 51.

dispersed throughout the open country among the neighbouring Ammonites and Moabites, watching from thence the progress of events. When the Babylonians had departed, Jezeiah, with the men under his command, was one of the first who returned to Gedaliah at Mizpah. In the events which followed the assassination of that officer Jezeiah took a prominent part. He joined Johanan in the pursuit of Ishmael and his murderous associates, and in the general consternation and distrust which ensued he became one of the foremost advocates of the migration into Egypt, so strongly opposed by Jeremiah. Indeed in their interview with the prophet at the Khan of Chimham, when words ran high, Jezeiah (there called Azariah) was apparently the leader in the dispute, and for once took precedence of Johanan (Jer. xliii. 2). In 2 K. xiv. 23 he is called Jazaniah, in which form the name was easily corrupted into Azariah, or Zechariah, as one MS. of the LXX. reads it. The Syriac and Josephus follow the Hebrew. In the LXX. his father's name is Maaseiah.

**JEZEBEL** (זִיזְבֵּל; LXX. and N. T. Ἰεζαβήλ; Joseph. Ἰεζαβήλ; *Jezebel*: probably a name, like *Agnès*, signifying "chaste," *sine coitu*, Gesenius in voc.), wife of Ahab, king of Israel, and mother of Athaliah, queen of Judah, and Ahaziah and Joram, kings of Israel.\* She was a Phœnician princess, daughter of "Ethbaal king of the Zidonians" (or Ithobaal king of the Syrians and Sidonians, Menauder *apud* Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 2; c. *Apion*, i. 18). Her marriage with Ahab was a turning point in the history of Israel. Not only was the union with a Canaanitish wife unprecedented in the northern kingdom, but the character of the queen gave additional force and significance to what might else have been regarded merely as a commercial and political measure, natural to a king devoted, as was Ahab, to the arts of peace and the splendour of regal luxury. She was a woman in whom, with the reckless and licentious habits of an Oriental queen, were united the sternest and fiercest qualities inherent in the Phœnician people. The royal family of Tyre was remarkable at that time both for its religious fanaticism and its savage temper. Her father Ethbaal united with his royal office the priesthood of the goddess Astarte, and had come to the throne by the murder of his predecessor Phœles (Jos. c. *Ap.* i. 18). The next generation included within itself Sichæus, or Matfenos, king and priest of Baal, the murderer Pygmalion, and Elisa or Dido, foundress of Carthage (ib.). Of this stock came Jezebel. In her hands her husband became a mere puppet (1 K. xxi. 25). Even after his death, through the reigns of his sons, her influence was the evil genius of the dynasty. Through the marriage of her daughter Athaliah with the king of Judah, it extended even to the rival kingdom. The wild licence of her life, the magical fascination of her arts or of her character, became a proverb in the nation (2 K. ix. 22). Long afterwards her name lived as the byword for all that was execrable,

and in the Apocalypse it is given to a church or an individual<sup>b</sup> in Asia Minor, combining in like manner fanaticism and profligacy (Rev. ii. 20). If we may trust the numbers of the text, she must have married Ahab before his accession. He reigned 22 years; and 12 years from that time her grandson Ahaziah was 21 years of age. Her daughter Athaliah must have been born therefore at least 37 years before.

The first effect of her influence was the immediate establishment of the Phœnician worship on a grand scale in the court of Ahab. At her table were supported no less than 450 prophets of Baal, and 400 of Astarte (1 K. xvi. 31, 32, xviii. 19). The prophets of Jehovah, who up to this time had found their chief refuge in the northern kingdom, were attacked by her orders and put to the sword (1 K. xviii. 13; 2 K. ix. 7). When at last the people, at the instigation of Elijah, rose against her ministers, and slaughtered them at the foot of Carmel, and when Ahab was terrified into submission, she alone retained her presence of mind; and when she received in the palace of Jezreel the tidings that her religion was all but destroyed (1 K. xix. 1), her only answer was one of those fearful vows which have made the legends of Semitic nations so terrible whether for good or evil—expressed in a message to the very man who, as it might have seemed but an hour before, had her life in his power:—"As surely as *thou* art Elijah and as *I* am Jezebel (LXX.), so may God do to me and more also, if by this time to-morrow I make not thy life as the life of one of them" (1 K. xix. 2). Elijah, who had encountered undaunted the king and the whole force of the prophets of Baal, "fearful" (LXX.) the wrath of the awful queen, and fled for his life beyond the furthest limits of Israel (1 K. xix. 3). [Elijah.]

The next instance of her power is still more characteristic and complete. When she found her husband cast down by his disappointment at being thwarted by Naboth, she took the matter into her own hands, with a spirit which reminds us of Clytemnestra or Lady Macbeth. "Dost *thou* now govern the kingdom of Israel? (play the king, ποιεῖς βασιλεία. LXX.) Arise and eat bread and let thine heart be merry, and *I* will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite" (1 K. xxi. 7). She wrote a warrant in Ahab's name, and sealed it with his seal. It was couched in the official language of the Israelite law—a solemn fast—witnesses—a charge of blasphemy—the authorized punishment of stoning. To her, and not to Ahab, was sent the announcement that the royal wishes were accomplished (1 K. xxi. 14), and she bade her husband go and take the vacant property; and on her accordingly fell the prophet's curse, as well as on her husband (1 K. xxi. 23).

We hear no more of her for a long period. But she survived Ahab by 14 years, and still, as queen-mother (after the Oriental custom), was a great personage in the court of her sons, and, as such, became the special mark for vengeance when Jehu advanced against Jezreel to overthrow the dynasty

\* Amongst the Spanish Jews the name of Jezebel was given to Isabella "the Catholic," in consequence of the detestation in which her memory was held as their persecutor (Ford's *Handbook of Spain*, 2nd ed. p. 486). Whether the name Isabella was originally connected with that of Jezebel is doubtful.

<sup>b</sup> According to the reading of A. B. and the older

versions, it is ἡν γυναῖκα σου, "thy wife." In that case she must be the wife of the "angel;" and the expression would thus confirm the interpretation which makes "the angel" to be the bishop or presiding officer of the Church of Thyatira; and this woman would thus be his wife.

of Ahab. "What peace so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezabel and her witchcrafts are so many?" (2 K. ix. 22). But in that supreme hour of her house the spirit of the aged queen rose within her, equal to the dreadful emergency. She was in the palace, which stood by the gate of the city, overlooking the approach from the east. Beneath lay the open space under the city walls. She determined to face the destroyer of her family, whom she saw rapidly advancing in his chariot.<sup>a</sup> She painted her eyelids in the Eastern fashion with antimony, so as to give a darker border to the eyes, and make them look larger and brighter (Keil), possibly in order to induce Jehu, after the manner of eastern usurpers, to take her, the widow of his predecessor, for his wife,<sup>b</sup> but more probably as the last act of regal splendour. She tired ("made good") her head, and, looking down upon him from the high latticed window in the tower (Jos. Ant. ix. 6, § 4), she met him by an allusion to a former act of treason in the history of her adopted country, which conveys a different expression, according as we take one or other of the different interpretations given to it. (1) "Was there peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'?" as if to remind Jehu, now in the fulness of his triumph, how Omri, the founder of the dynasty which he was destroying, had himself come into power as the avenger of Zimri, who had murdered Baasha, as he now had murdered Jehoram; or (2) a direct address to Jehu, as a second Zimri:—"Is it peace?" (following up the question of her son in 2 K. ix. 21). "Is it peace, O Zimri, slayer of his lord?" (So Keil and LXX. ἡ Εἰρήνη Ζαμβρι δ φανεύης τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ;). Or (3) "Peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord,'"—(according to Josephus, Ant. ix. 6, § 4, καλὸς δοῦλος δ ἀποκτείνων τὸν δεσποτὴν)—which again may be taken either as an ironical welcome, or (according to Ewald, iii. 166, 260) as a reminder that as Zimri had spared the seraglio of Baasha, so she was prepared to welcome Jehu. The general character of Jezabel, and the doubt as to the details of the history of Zimri, would lead us rather to adopt the sterner view of her speech. Jehu looked up from his chariot—and his answer, again, is variously given in the LXX. and in the Hebrew text. In the former he exclaims, "Who art thou?—Come down to me." In the latter, "Who is on my side, who?" In either case the issue is the same. Two or three eunuchs of the royal harem show their faces at the windows, and at his command dashed the ancient princess down from the chamber. She fell immediately in front of the conqueror's chariot. The blood flew from her mangled corpse over the palace-wall behind, and over the advancing horses in front. The merciless destroyer passed on; and the last remains of life were trampled out by the horses' hoofs. The body was left in that open space called in modern Eastern language "the mounds," where offal is thrown from the city-walls. The dogs of Eastern cities, which prowl around these localities, and which the present writer met on this very spot by the modern village which occupies the site of Jezreel, pounced upon this unexpected prey. Nothing was left by them but the hard portions of the human skele-

ton, the skull, the hands, and the feet. Such was the sight which met the eyes of the messengers of Jehu, whom he had sent from his triumphal banquet, struck with a momentary feeling of compassion for the fall of so much greatness. "Go, see now this cursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." When he heard the fate of the body, he exclaimed in words which no doubt were long remembered as the epitaph of the greatest and wickedest of the queens of Israel—"This is the word of Jehovah, which He spake by His servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, In the portion<sup>d</sup> of Jezreel shall 'the' dogs eat the flesh of Jezabel; and the carcase of Jezabel shall be as dung on the face of the earth; so that they shall not say, This is Jezabel" (2 K. ix. 36, 37). [A. P. S.]

**JEZELUS** (Ἰεζελος: *Zecholus*). 1. The same as **JATHAZIEL** (1 Esd. viii. 32).

2. (*Jehelus*). **JEHIEL**, the father of Obadiah (1 Esd. viii. 35).

**JEZER** (יֶזֶר: *'Isodap* in Gen. xli. 24; *'Isépe*, Num. xxvi. 49, Alex. *'Isépi*; *'Ašhp*, 1 Chr. vii. 13, Alex. *Šadp*: *Jaer*), the third son of Naphtali, and father of the family of the Jezerites, who were numbered in the plains of Moab.

**JEZ'IAH** (יֶזְיָא: *'Ašia*: *Jezia*), properly Yizziyah, a descendant of Parosh, and one of those among the laymen after the return from Babylon who had married strange wives, and at Ezia's bidding had promised to put them away (Ezr. x. 25). In 1 Esd. ix. 26 he is called Eddias. The Syriac of Ezra reads *Jezaniah*.

**JEZ'IEL** (יֶזְיִי: *Keri* יֶזְיִי, which is the reading of some MSS.: *'Iwāh*; MS. Fred. Aug. *'Ašhā*: *Jaziel*), one of the skilled Benjamite archers or slingers who joined David in his retreat at Ziklag. He was probably the son of Azmaveth of Bahurim, one of David's heroes (1 Chr. xii. 3). In the Syriac Jeziel is omitted, and the sons of Azmaveth are there Pelet and Beruchah.

**JEZLI'AH** (יֶזְלִיָּא: *'Iēlās*, Alex. *'Iēlāa*), one of a long list of Benjamite heads of houses, sons of Elpaal, who dwelt at Jerusalem (1 Chr. viii. 18). [A. C. H.]

**JEZO'AR** (יֶזְעָר: *Šadp*: *Isaar*), the son of Helah, one of the wives of Asher, the father or founder of Tekoa, and posthumous son of Hezron (1 Chr. iv. 7). The Keri has יֶזְעָר "and Zohar," which was followed by the LXX. and by the A. V. of 1611.

**JEZRAHIAH** (יֶזְרָחִיא: omitted in Vat. MS., Alex. *'Iēšūp*, and MS. Fred. Aug. *'Iēšolas*: *Jezraha*), a Levite, the leader of the choristers at the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42). The singers had built themselves villages in the environs of the city, and the Oasis of the Jordan, and with the minstrels they gathered themselves together at the first summons to keep the dedication with gladness.

**JEZ'REEL** (יֶזְרְעֵל: *'Iēšrahā*; Alex. *'Iēš-rahā* and *'Iēšrahā*: *Jezrahel*), according to the received text, a descendant of the father or founder of Etam, of the line of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). But

<sup>a</sup> A graphic conception of this scene occurs in Racine's *Athalie*, Act II. Sc. 3.

<sup>b</sup> According to the explanation of S. Ephrem Syrus ad loc.

<sup>c</sup> דָּשָׁ, "dash," as from a precept (Ps. cxli. 6).

<sup>d</sup> שָׂדֵה, "smooth field."

as the verse now stands, we must supply some such word as "families;" "these (are the families of) the father of Etam." Both the LXX. and Vulg. read "sons," for "בָּנֵי," "father," and six of Kennicot's MSS. have the same, while in two of De Rossi's the readings are combined. The Syriac is singularly different from all:—"And these are the sons of Aminodab, Achizur'el, &c., Neshmo, and Dibosh," the last clause of ver. 3 being entirely omitted. But, although the Syriac text of the Chronicles is so corrupt as to be of little authority in this case, there can be no doubt that the genealogy in vers. 3, 4 is so confused as to be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Tremellius and Junius regard Etam as the proper name of a person, and Jezreel as one of his sons, while Bertheau considers them both names of places. The Targum on Chron. has, "And these are the Rabbits dwelling at Etam, Jezreel," &c. In ver. 4 Hur is referred to as the ancestor of this branch of the tribe of Judah, and therefore, if the present text be adopted, we must read, "and these, viz. Abi-Etam, Jezreel," &c. But the probability is that in ver. 3 a clause has been omitted. [W. A. W.]

JEZ'REEL (יִזְרְעֵל); LXX. Ἰερσαέλ; Joseph.

Ἰερσαήλα, Ant. viii. 13, § 6, Ἰερσαέλα, Ant. ix. 6, § 4, Ἰζάρα, Ant. viii. 15, § 4, 6; Ἐσδρήλων, or Ἐσδρήλων, Jud. i. 8, iv. 6; Ἐσδρήλα, Eusebius and Jerome, in *Onomasticon*, vocs *Jezrael*, Latinized into *Stradela*. See Bordenaux Pilgrim in *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 586.) Its modern name is *Zerin*, which is in fact the same word, and which first appears in William of Tyre (xxii. 26) as *Gerin* (*Gerinum*), and Benjamin of Tudela as *Zarzin*. The history of the identification of these names is well given in Robinson, *B. R.* 1st Ed. iii. 163, 165, and is curious as an example of the tenacity of a local tradition, in spite of the carelessness of modern travellers.

The name is used in 2 Sam. ii. 9 and (?) iv. 4, and Hos. i. 5, for the valley or plain between Gilboa and Little Hermon; and to this plain, in its widest extent, the general form of the name Esdraelon (first used in Jud. i. 8) has been applied in modern times. It is probably from the richness of the plain that the name is derived, "God has sown," "God's sowing." For the events connected with this great battle-field of Palestine, see ESDRAELON.

In its more limited sense, as applied to the city, it first appears in Josh. xix. 18, where it is mentioned as a city of Issachar, in the neighbourhood of Chesulloth and Shunem; and it had citizens (1 K. xxi. 1-3), elders, and nobles of its own (1 K. xxi. 8-11). But its historical importance dates from the reign of Ahab; who chose it for his chief residence, as Omri had chosen Samaria, and Bascha Tirzah.

The situation of the modern village of *Zerin* still remains to show the fitness of his choice. It is on one of the gentle swells which rise out of the fertile plain of Esdraelon; but with two peculiarities which mark it out from the rest. One is its strength. On the N.E. the hill presents a steep rocky descent of at least 100 feet (Robinson, 1st Ed. iii. 162). The other is its central locality. It stands at the opening of the middle branch of the three eastern forks of the plain, and looks straight towards the wide western level; thus commanding the view towards the Jordan on the east (2 K. ix. 17), and visible from Carmel on the west (1 K. xviii. 46).

In the neighbourhood, or within the town probably, was a temple and grove of Astarte, with an establishment of 400 priests supported by Jezebel (1 K. xvi. 33; 2 K. x. 11). The palace of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 1, xviii. 46), probably containing his "ivory house" (1 K. xxii. 39), was on the eastern side of the city, forming part of the city wall (coup. 1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 25, 30, 33). The seraglio, in which Jezebel lived, was on the city wall, and had a high window facing eastward (2 K. ix. 30). Close by, if not forming part of this seraglio (as Josephus supposes, *σπᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου*, Ant. ix. 6, § 4), was a watch-tower, on which a sentinel stood, to give notice of arrivals from the disturbed district beyond the Jordan (2 K. ix. 17). This watch-tower, well-known as "the tower in Jezreel," may possibly have been the tower or "migdol" near which the Egyptian army was encamped in the battle between Necho and Josiah (*Herod.* ii. 159). An ancient square tower which stands amongst the hovels of the modern village may be its representative. The gateway of the city on the east was also the gateway of the palace (2 K. ix. 34). Immediately in front of the gateway, and under the city wall, was an open space, such as existed before the neighbouring city of Bethshan (2 Sam. xxi. 12), and is usually found by the walls of Eastern cities, under the name of "the mounds" (see *Arabian Nights*, *passim*), whence the dogs, the scavengers of the East, prowled in search of offal (2 K. ix. 25). Here Jezebel met with her end (2 K. ix. 35). [JEZEEL.] A little further East, but adjoining to the royal domain (1 K. xxi. 1); was a smooth tract of land cleared out of the uneven valley (2 K. i. 25), which belonged to Naboth, a citizen of Jezreel (2 K. ix. 1), by an hereditary right (1 K. xxi. 3); but the royal grounds were so near that it would have been easily turned into a garden of herbs for the royal use (2 K. xxi. 2). Here Elijah met Ahab, Jehu, and Bidkar (1 K. xxi. 17); and here Jehu met Joam and Ahaziah (2 K. x. 21, 25). [ELIJAH; JEHU.] Whether the *vineyard* of Naboth was here or at Samaria is a doubtful question. [NABOTH.]

Still in the same eastern direction are two sp.-mgs, one 12 minutes from the town, the other 20 minutes (Robinson, 1st Ed. iii. 167). This latter spring "flows from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa. The water is excellent; and issuing from crevices in the rocks, it spreads out at once into a fine limpid pool, 40 or 50 feet in diameter, full of fish" (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 168). This probably, both from its size and situation, was known as "THE SPRING OF JEZREEL" (mistranslated A. V. "a fountain." 1 Sam. xxix. 1), where Saul was encamped before the battle of Gilboa; and probably the same as the spring of "Harod," where Gideon encamped before his night attack on the Midianites, (Judg. vii. 1, mistranslated A. V. "the well"). The name of Harod, "trembling," probably was taken from the "trembling" of Gideon's army (Judg. vii. 3). It was the scene of successive encampments of the Crusaders and Saracens; and was called by the Christians Tubania, and by the Arabs *Ain Jâhid*, "the spring of Goliath" (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 69). This last name, which it still bears, is derived from a tradition mentioned by the Bordenaux Pilgrim, that here David

\* In Jos. Ant. viii. 13, § 6, it is called Ἰερσαήλα, Ἰζάρου πόλις; in viii. 13, § 7, Ἰζάρου πόλις singly; in

viii. 15, § 4, 6, Ἰζάρα. Various readings are given of Ἰεζάρα, Ἀράρα, Ἀζάρα, Ἀζάρα.

killed Goliath. The tradition may be a confused reminiscence of many battles fought in its neighbourhood (Litter, *Jordan*, 416); or the word may be a corruption of "Gilead," supposing that to be the ancient name of Gilboa, and thus explaining Judg. vii. 3, "depart from Mount Gilead" (Schwarz, 334).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §4, 6), this spring, and the pool attached to it, was the spot where Naboth and his sons were executed, where the dogs and swine licked up their blood and that of Ahab, and where the harlots bathed in the blood-stained water (LXX). But the natural inference from the present text of 1 K. xxii. 38 makes the scene of these events to be the pool of Samaria. [See NABOTH.]

With the fall of the house of Ahab the glory of Jezreel departed. No other king is described as living there, and the name was so deeply associated with the family of its founder, that when the Divine retribution overtook the house of their destroyer, the eldest child of the prophet Hosea, who was to be a living witness of the coming vengeance, was called "Jezreel;" "for I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu . . . and at that day I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel; . . . and great shall be the day of Jezreel" (Hos. i. 4, 5, 11). And then out of that day and place of humiliation the name is to go back to its original signification as derived from the beauty and fertility of the rich plain, and to become a pledge of the revived beauty and richness of Israel. "I will 'hear and answer' the heavens, and 'they will hear and answer' the earth, and the earth shall 'hear and answer' the corn and the wine and the oil [of that fruitful plain], and they shall 'hear and answer' Jezreel. [that is, the seed of God], and I will sow her unto me in the earth" (Hos. ii. 22; see Ewald *ad loc.*, and Gesenius *in voce Jezreel*). From this time the image seems to have been continued as a prophetic expression for the sowing the people of Israel, as it were broadcast; as though the whole of Palestine and the world were to become, in a spiritual sense, one rich plain of Jezreel. "I will sow them among the people, and they shall remember me in far countries" (Zech. x. 9). "Ye shall be tilled and sown, and I will multiply men upon you" (Ez. xxxvi. 9, 10). "I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of men and with the seed of beast" (Jer. xxxi. 27). Hence the consecration of the image of "sowing," as it appears in the N. T., Matt. xiii. 2.

2. A town in Judah, in the neighbourhood of the southern Carmel (Josh. xv. 56). Here David in his wanderings took Ahinoam the Jezreelitess for his first wife (1 Sam. xxvii. 3, xxx. 5). [A. P. S.]

**JIB'SAM** (יִבְסָם): 'Iesard; Alex. 'Iesardū: *Jebsem*, one of the sons of Tola, the son of Issachar, who were heads of their father's house and heroes of might in their generations (1 Chr. vii. 2). His descendants appear to have served in David's army, and with others of the same clan mustered to the number of upwards of 22,000.

**JID'LAPH** (יִדְלָפִי): "weeping," Ges.: 'Iedδφ: *Jedlaph*, a son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), whose settlements have not been identified, though they most probably are to be looked for in the Euphrates country. [E. S. P.]

**JIM'NA** (יִמְנָה): 'Iamiv; Alex. 'Iamiv: *Jemna*, the firstborn of Asher, represented in the num-

bering on the plains of Moab by his descendants the Jimnites (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called in the A. V. **JIMNAH** (Gen. xlii. 17) and **IMNAH** (1 Chr. vii. 30), the Hebrew in both instances being the same.

**JIM'NAH** (יִמְנָה): 'Iemv; Alex. 'Iemv: *Jamne* = **JIMNA** = **IMNAH** (Gen. xlii. 17).

**JIM'NITES**, **THE** (יִמְנִיָּהּ; i. e. the Jimnites; Sam. and one MS. יִמְנִיָּהּ: δ 'Iamiv; Alex. δ 'Iamiv: *Jemnaites*), descendants of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 44).

**JIPH'TAH** (יִפְתָּח), i. e. Yiftach: Vat. omits; Alex. 'Iephδ: *Sephtha*), one of the cities of Judah in the maritime lowland, or Shefelah (Josh. xv. 43). It is named in the same group with Mareshah, Nezib, and others. Both the last-mentioned places have been discovered, the former to the south, the latter to the east of *Beit-Jibrin*, not as we should expect on the plain, but in the mountains. Here Jiphtah may some day be found, though it has not yet been met with. [G.]

**JIPH'TAH-EL**, **THE VALLEY OF** (יִפְתָּחֶל): Γαφαήλ, 'Eργαί καὶ Φθαήλ; Alex. Γατ' 'Iephθαήλ, 'Eργαί 'Iephθαήλ: *Sephtahel*, a valley which served as one of the land-marks for the boundary both of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 14) and Asher (27). The district was visited in 1852 by Dr. Robinson, who suggests that Jiphtah-el was identical with Jotapata, the city which so long withstood Vespasian (Joseph. B. J. iii. 7), and that they survive in the modern *Jefat*, a village in the mountains of Galilee, half-way between the Bay of Acre and the Lake of Genesareth. In this case the valley is the great *Wady-Abiltu*, which "has its head in the hills near *Jefat*, and runs thence westward to the maritime plain (Robinson, iii. 107). Van de Velde concurs in this, and identifies Zebulun (Josh. xix. 27), which he considers to be a town, with the ruins of *Abiltu* (*Memoir*, 326). It should, however, be remarked that the Hebrew word *Ge*, here rendered "valley," has commonly rather the force of a ravine or glen, and is distinct from *Nachal*, which answers exactly to the Arabic *Wady* (Stanley, S. & P. App. §2, 38). [G.]

**JO'AB** (יֹאָב): "Jehovah-father:" 'Iwδδ: *Joab*, the eldest and most remarkable of the three nephews of David, the children of Zeruiah, David's sister. Their father is unknown,\* but seems to have resided at Bethlehem, and to have died before his sons, as we find mention of his sepulchre at that place (2 Sam. ii. 32). They all exhibit the activity and courage of David's constitutional character. But they never rise beyond this to the nobler qualities which lift him above the wild soldiers and chieftains of the time. Asahel, who was cut off in his youth, and seems to have been the darling of the family, is only known to us from his gazelle-like agility (2 Sam. ii. 18). Abishai and Joab are alike in their implacable revenge. Joab, however, combines with these ruder qualities something of a more statesman-like character, which brings him more nearly to a level with his youthful uncle; and unquestionably gives him the second place in the whole history of David's reign.

\* By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. i. §3) his name is given as Suri (Σούρι); but this may be merely a repetition of Sarouiah (Σαρουιά).

I. He first appears after David's accession to the throne at Hebron, thus differing from his brother Abishai, who was already David's companion during his wanderings (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). He with his two brothers went out from Hebron at the head of David's "servants," or guards, to keep a watch on the movements of Abner, who with a considerable force of Benjamites had crossed the Jordan, and come as far as Gibeon, perhaps on a pilgrimage to the sanctuary. The two parties sat opposite each other, on each side of the tank by that city. Abner's challenge, to which Joab assented, led to a desperate struggle between twelve champions from either side. [GIBEON.] The left-handed Benjamites, and the right-handed men of Judah—their sword-hands thus coming together—seized each his adversary by the head, and the whole number fell by the mutual wounds they received.

This roused the blood of the rival tribes; a general encounter ensued; Abner and his company were defeated, and in his flight, being hard pressed by the swift-footed Asahel, he reluctantly killed the unfortunate youth. The expressions which he uses, "Wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?" (2 Sam. ii. 22), imply that up to this time there had been a kindly, if not a friendly, feeling between the two chiefs. It was rudely extinguished by this deed of blood. The other soldiers of Judah, when they came up to the dead body of their young leader, halted, struck dumb by grief. But his two brothers, on seeing the corpse, only hurried on with greater fury in the pursuit. At sunset the Benjamite force rallied round Abner,<sup>b</sup> and he then made an appeal to the generosity of Joab not to push the war to extremities. Joab reluctantly consented, drew off his troops, and returned, after the loss of only nineteen men, to Hebron. They took the corpse of Asahel with them, and on the way halted at Bethlehem in the early morning, or at dead of night, to inter it in their family burial-place (2 Sam. ii. 32).

But Joab's revenge on Abner was only postponed. He had been on another of these predatory excursions from Hebron, when he was informed on his return that Abner had in his absence paid a visit to David, and been received into favour (2 Sam. iii. 23). He broke out into a violent remonstrance with the king, and then, without David's knowledge, immediately sent messengers after Abner, who was overtaken by them at the well of Sirah, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, §5), about two miles from Hebron.<sup>c</sup> Abner, with the unsuspecting generosity of his noble nature, returned at once. Joab and Abishai met him in the gateway of the town; Joab took him aside (2 Sam. iii. 27), as if with a peaceful intention, and then struck him a deadly blow "under the fifth rib." It is possible that with the passion of vengeance for his brother may have been mingled the fear lest Abner should supplant him in the king's favour. David burst into passionate invective and imprecations on Joab when he heard of the act, and forced him to appear in sackcloth and torn garments at the funeral (iii. 31). But it was an intimation of Joab's power,

which David never forgot. The awe in which he stood of the sons of Zeruah cast a shade over the whole remainder of his life (iii. 39).

III. There was now no rival left in the way of Joab's advancements, and soon the opportunity occurred for his legitimate accession to the highest post that David could confer. At the siege of Jebus, the king offered the office of chief of the army, now grown into a "host," to any one who would lead the forlorn hope, and scale the precipice on which the besieged fortress stood. With an agility equal to that of David himself, or of his brother Asahel, Joab succeeded in the attempt, and became in consequence commander-in-chief—"captain of the host"—the same office that Abner had held under Saul, the highest in the state after the king (1 Chr. xi. 6; 2 Sam. viii. 16). His importance was immediately shown by his undertaking the fortification of the conquered city, in conjunction with David (1 Chr. xi. 8).

In this post he was content, and served the king with undeviating fidelity. In the wide range of wars which David undertook, Joab was the acting general, and he therefore may be considered as the founder, as far as military prowess was concerned, the Marlborough, the Belisarius, of the Jewish empire. Abishai, his brother, still accompanied him, as captain of the king's "mighty men" (1 Chr. xi. 20; 2 Sam. x. 10). He had a chief armour-bearer of his own, Naharii, a Beerothite (2 Sam. xxiii. 37; 1 Chr. xi. 39), and ten attendants to carry his equipment and baggage (2 Sam. xviii. 15). He had the charge, formerly belonging to the king or judge, of giving the signal by trumpet for advance or retreat (2 Sam. xvii. 16). He was called by the almost regal title of "Lord" (2 Sam. xi. 11), "the prince of the king's army" (1 Chr. xxvii. 34). His usual residence (except when campaigning) was in Jerusalem—but he had a house and property, with barley-fields adjoining, in the country (2 Sam. xiv. 30), in the "wilderness" (1 K. ii. 34), probably on the N.E. of Jerusalem (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 18, Josh. viii. 15, 20), near an ancient sanctuary, called from its nomadic village "Bethhazor" (2 Sam. xiii. 23; comp. with xiv. 30), where there were extensive sheepwalks. It is possible that this "house of Joab" may have given its name to Ataroth, *Beth-Joab* (1 Chr. ii. 54), to distinguish it from Ataroth-adar. There were two Ataroths in the tribe of Benjamin [see ATAROTH].

1 His great war was that against Ammon, which he conducted in person. It was divided into three campaigns. (a) The first was against the allied forces of Syria and Ammon. He attacked and defeated the Syrians, whilst his brother Abishai did the same for the Ammonites. The Syrians rallied with their kindred tribes from beyond the Euphrates, and were finally routed by David himself. [HADAREZER]. (b) The second was against Edom. The decisive victory was gained by David himself in the "valley of salt," and celebrated by a triumphal monument (2 Sam. viii. 13). But Joab had the charge of carrying out the victory, and remained for six months, extirpating the male population, whom he then buried in the tombs of Petra

<sup>b</sup> The word describing the halt of Abner's band and rendered "troop" in the A. V. (2 Sam. ii. 28) is an unusual one, אַגְדָּה (*Aguddah*), elsewhere employed for a bunch or knot of hyssop.

<sup>c</sup> Possibly the spring which still exists about that distance out of Hebron on the left of the road going northward, and bears the name of *Ain-Serah*. The road has doubtless always followed the same track.

(1 K. xi. 15, 16). So long was the terror of his name preserved that only when the fugitive prince of Edom, in the Egyptian court, heard that "David slept with his fathers, and that *Joab the captain of the host was dead*," did he venture to return to his own country (ib. xi. 21, 22). (c) The third was against the Ammonites. They were again left to Joab (2 Sam. x. 7-19). He went against them at the beginning of the next year "at the time when kings go out to battle"—to the siege of Rabbah. The ark was sent with him, and the whole army was encamped in booths or huts round the beleaguered city (2 Sam. xi. 1, 11). After a sortie of the inhabitants, which caused some loss to the Jewish army, Joab took the lower city on the river, and, then, with true loyalty, sent to urge David to come and take the citadel, "Rabbah," lest the glory of the capture should pass from the king to his general (2 Sam. xii. 26-28).

2. The services of Joab to the king were not confined to these military achievements. In the entangled relations which grew up in David's domestic life, he bore an important part. (a) The first occasion was the unhappy correspondence which passed between him and the king during the Ammonite war respecting Uriah the Hittite, which led to the treacherous sacrifice of Uriah in the above mentioned sortie (2 Sam. xi. 1-25). It shows both the confidence reposed by David in Joab, and Joab's too unscrupulous fidelity to David. From the possession which Joab thus acquired of the terrible secret of the royal household, has been dated, with some probability,<sup>4</sup> his increased power over the mind of the king.

(b) The next occasion on which it was displayed was in his successful endeavour to reinstate Absalom in David's favour, after the murder of Amnon. It would almost seem as if he had been guided by the effect produced on the king by Nathan's parable. A similar apologue he put into the mouth of a "wise woman of Tekoah." The exclamation of David on perceiving the application intimates the high opinion which he entertained of his general, "Is not the hand of Joab in all this?" (2 Sam. xiv. 1-20). A like indication is found in the confidence of Absalom that Joab, who had thus procured his return, could also go a step further and demand his admission to his father's presence. Joab, who evidently thought that he had gained as much as could be expected (2 Sam. xiv. 22), twice refused to visit the prince, but having been entangled into an interview by a stratagem of Absalom, undertook the mission, and succeeded in this also (ib. xiv. 28-33).

(c) The same keen sense of his master's interests that had prompted this desire to heal the breach in the royal family ruled the conduct of Joab no less, when the relations of the father and son were reversed by the successful revolt of Absalom. His former intimacy with the prince did not impair his fidelity to the king. He followed him beyond the Jordan, and in the final battle of Ephraim assumed the responsibility of taking the rebel prince's dangerous life in spite of David's injunction to spare him, and when no one else had courage to act so decisive a part (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 11-15). He was well aware of the terrible effect it would have on the king (ib. xviii. 20), and on this account possibly dissuaded his young friend Ahimase from bearing the news; but, when the tidings had been broken, he

had the spirit himself to rouse David from the frantic grief which would have been fatal to the royal cause (2 Sam. xix. 5-7). His stern resolution (as he had himself anticipated) well again proved fatal to his own interests. The king could not forgive it, and went so far in his unreasonable re-entment as to transfer the command of the army from the too faithful Joab to his other nephew Amasa, the son of Abigail, who had even sided with the insurgents (2 Sam. xix. 32). In like manner he returned only a reproachful answer to the vindictive loyalty of Joab's brother, Abishai (ib. 22).

(d) Nothing brings out more strongly the good and bad qualities of Joab than his conduct in this trying crisis of his history. On the one hand, he remained still faithful to his master. On the other hand, as before in the case of Abner, he was determined not to lose the post he so highly valued. Amasa was commander-in-chief, but Joab had still his own small following of attendants; and with him were the mighty men commanded by his brother Abishai (2 Sam. xx. 7, 10), and the body-guard of the king. With these he went out in pursuit of the remnants of the rebellion. In the heat of pursuit, he encountered his rival Amasa, more leisurely engaged in the same quest. At "the great stone" in Gibeon, the cousins met. Joab's sword was attached to his girdle; by design or accident it protruded from the sheath; Amasa rushed into the treacherous embrace, to which Joab invited him, holding fast his sword by his own right hand, whilst the unsheathed sword in his left hand plunged into Amasa's stomach; a single blow from that practised arm, as in the case of Abner, sufficed to do its work. Joab and his brother hurried on to discharge their commission, whilst one of his ten attendants stood by the corpse, calling on the royal party to follow after Joab. But the deed produced a frightful impression. The dead body was lying in a pool of blood by the roadside; every one halted, as they came up, at the ghastly sight, till the attendant dragged it out of the road, and threw a cloak over it. Then, as if the spell was broken, they followed Joab, now once more captain of the host (2 Sam. xx. 5-13). He too, when they overtook him, presented an aspect long afterwards remembered with horror. The blood of Amasa had spilt all over the girdle to which the sword was attached, and the sandals on his feet were red with the stains left by the falling corpse (1 K. ii. 5).

(e) But, at the moment, all were absorbed in the pursuit of the rebels. Once more a proof was given of the wide-spread confidence in Joab's judgment. In the besieged town of Abel Bethmaachah, far in the north, the same appeal was addressed to his sense of the evils of an endless civil war, that had been addressed to him years before by Abner near Gibeon. He demanded only the surrender of the rebel chief, and on the sight of his head thrown over the wall, withdrew the army and returned to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xx. 16-22). [SHEBA.]

(f) His last remonstrance with David was on the announcement of the king's desire to number the people. "The king prevailed against Joab" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1-4). But Joab's scruples were so strong that he managed to avoid numbering two of the tribes, Levi and Benjamin (1 Chr. xxi. 6).

3. There is something mournful in the end of Joab. At the close of his long life, his loyalty, so long unshaken, at last wavered. "Though he

<sup>4</sup> See Blunt's *Coincidences*, ii., xi.

had not turned after Absalom (or, as in LXX. or Jos. *Ant.* viii. 1, §4, "He turned not after Solomon"), he turned after Adonijah" (1 K. ii. 28). This probably filled up the measure of the king's long cherished resentment. We learn from David's last song that his powerlessness over his courtiers was even then present to his mind (2 Sam. xiii. 6, 7), and now, on his deathbed, he recalled to Solomon's recollection the two murders of Abner and Amasa (1 K. ii. 5, 6), with an injunction not to let the aged soldier escape with impunity.

The revival of the pretensions of Adonijah after David's death was sufficient to awaken the suspicions of Solomon. The king deposed the high-priest Abiathar, Joab's friend and fellow-conspirator—and the news of this event at once alarmed Joab himself. He claimed the right of sanctuary within the curtains of the sacred tent, under the shelter of the altar at Gibeon. He was pursued by Benaiah, who at first agitated to violate the sanctuary of the refuge; but Solomon urged that the guilt of two such murders overrode all such protection. With his hands on the altar therefore, the grey-headed warrior was slaughtered by his successor. The body was carried to his house "in the wilderness," and there interred. He left descendants, but nothing is known of them, unless it may be inferred from the double curse of David (2 Sam. iii. 29) and of Solomon (1 K. ii. 33) that they seemed to dwindle away, stricken by a succession of visitations—weakness, leprosy, lameness, murder, starvation. His name is by some supposed (in allusion to his part in Adonijah's coronation on that spot) to be preserved in the modern appellation of Enrogel—"the well of Job"—corrupted from *Job*. [A. P. S.]

2. **צִיָּה**: 'Iwβδβ; Alex. 'Iwδβ: *Joab*.) Son of Seraiah, and descendant of Kenaz (1 Chr. iv. 14). He was father, or prince, as Jarchi explains it, of the valley of Charashim, or smiths, so called, according to the tradition quoted by Jerome (*Quæst. Heb. in Paral.*), because the architects of the Temple were selected from among his sons.

3. ('Iwδβ: *Job* in 1 Esd.) The head of a family, not of priestly or Levitical rank, whose descendants, with those of Jeshua, were the most numerous of all who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 6, viii. 9; Neh. vii. 11; 1 Esd. viii. 35). It is not clear whether Jeshua and Joab were two prominent men among the children of Pahath-Moab, the ruler or sultan (*shālṭōn*) of Moab, as the Syriac renders, or whether, in the registration of those who returned, the descendants of Jeshua and Joab were represented by the sons of Pahath-Moab. The latter is more probably the true solution, and the verse (Ezr. ii. 6; Neh. vii. 11) should then be rendered:—"the sons of Pahath-Moab, for (i. e. representing) the sons of Jeshua and Joab." In this case the Joab of Ezr. viii. 9 and 1 Esd. viii. 35 was probably a distinct personage.

JOACHAZ ('Iεχωίας; Alex. 'Ιόχαζ: *Jochonias*) = Jehonahaz (1 Esd. i. 34), the son of Josiah. The LXX. and Vulgate are in this case followed by St. Matthew (i. 11), or have been altered so as to agree with him.

JOACHIM ('Ιωακίμ: *Joakim*). 1. (Bar. i. 3) = Jehoiakim, called also Joacim.

2. A "high-priest" (δ *ιερεὺς*) at Jerusalem

in the time of Baruch "the son of Chelcias," i. e. Hilkiah (Bar. i. 7). The name does not occur in the list 1 Chr. vi. 13 ff. [B. F. W.]

JO'ACIM ('Ιωακίμ: Alex. 'Ιωακίμ and 'Ιωακίμ: *Joacim*). 1. = Jehoiakim (1 Esd. i. 37, 38, 39). [JOACHIM, 1.]

2. (*Joachim*) = Jehoiachin (1 Esd. i. 43).

3. = Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (1 Esd. v. 5). He is by mistake called the son of Zerubbabel, as is clear from Neh. xii. 10, 26; and the passage has in consequence been corrected by Junius, who renders it "Jeschuahh filius Jehotzadaki cum Jehoakimo filio." Burrington (*Genes.* i. 72) proposed to omit the words 'Ιωακίμ δ τούτῳ altogether as an interpolation. [W. A. W.]

4. "The high-priest which was in Jerusalem" (Jud. iv. 6, 14) in the time of Judith, who welcomed the heroine after the death of Holofernes, in company with "the ancients of the children of Israel" (ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, xv. 8 ff.). The name occurs with the various reading *Eliakim*, but it is impossible to identify him with any historical character. No such name occurs in the lists of high-priests in 1 Chr. vi. (Jos. *Ant.* x. 8, §6); and it is a mere arbitrary conjecture to suppose that Eliakim mentioned in 2 K. xviii. 18 was afterwards raised to that dignity. Still less can be said for the identification of Joacim with Hilkiah (2 K. xxii. 4; 'Ελιακίας, Jos. *Ant.* x. 4, §2; 'Χελκίας, LXX.). The name itself is appropriate to the position which the high-priest occupies in the story of Judith ("The Lord hath set up"), and the person must be regarded as a necessary part of the fiction.

5. The husband of Susanna (Sus. 1 ff.). The name seems to have been chosen, as in the former case, with a reference to its meaning; and it was probably for the same reason that the husband of Anna, the mother of the Virgin, is called Joacim in early legends (*Proten. Jac.* i., &c.).

JOADANUS ('Ιωάννης: *Joadens*), one of the sons of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak (1 Esd. ix. 19). His name occupies the same position as that of Gedaliah in the corresponding list in Ezr. x. 18, but it is uncertain how the corruption originated. Probably, as Burrington suggests (*Genes.* i. 167), the J was corrupted into I, and AI into N, a change which in the uncial character would be very slight.

JO'AH (יוֹאֵה: 'Iwds in Kings, 'Iwδχ in Isaiah; Alex. 'Ιωαφάτ in 2 K. xviii. 18, 26, and 'Iwds in ver. 37: *Jouhe*). 1. The son of Asaph, and chronicler, or keeper of the records, to Hezekiah. He was one of the three chief officers sent to communicate with the Assyrian general at the conduit of the upper pool (Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22), and probably belonged to the tribe of Levi.

2. ('Iwδβ; Alex. 'Ιωδχ: *Joah*.) The son or grandson of Zimnah, a Gershonite. (1 Chr. vi. 21), and apparently the same as Ethan (ver. 42), unless, as is not improbable, in the latter list some names are supplied which are omitted in the former, and *vice versa*. For instance, in ver. 42 Shimei is added, and in ver. 43 Libni is omitted (comp. ver. 20). If Joah and Ethan are identical, the passage must have been early corrupted, as all ancient versions give it as it stands at present, and there are no variations in the MSS.

3. ('Iwδβ; Alex. 'Ιωδχ: *Joaha*.) The third son of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 4), a Korhite, and one of the door-keepers appointed by David. With

the rest of his family he is characterised as a man of excellence in strength for the service (ver. 8). They were appointed to keep the southern gate of the temple, and the house of Asuppim, or "gatherings," which was either a store-house or council-chamber in the outer court (ver. 15).

4. ('*Ἰωδᾶδ*; Alex. '*Ἰωδ*: *Joah*.) A Gershonite, the son of Zimmah, and father of Eden (2 Chr. xxix. 12). As one of the representatives of the great Levitical family to which he belonged, he took a leading part in the purification of the temple in the reign of Hezekiah. In the last clause of the verse the LXX. have '*Ἰωαχάδ*, which is the reading of both MSS.; but there is nothing to show that the same person is not in both instances intended, nor any MS. authority for the various reading.

5. ('*Ἰωδᾶ*; Alex. '*Ἰωδ*: *Johā*.) The son of Joahaz, and keeper of the records, or annalist to Josiah. Together with the chief officers of state, Shaphan the scribe, and Maasiah, the governor of the city, he superintended the repair of the Temple which had been neglected during the two previous reigns (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). Josephus calls him '*Ἰωδρῆς*, as if he read *Ἰωδῆ*. The Syriac and Arabic omit the name altogether.

JOAH'HAZ ('*Ἰωᾶחז*': '*Ἰωαχᾶς*: *Joachaz*), the father of Joah, the chronicler or keeper of the records to king Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). One of Kennicott's MS. reads *Ἰωᾶחז*, i. e. Ahaz, and the margin of Bomberg's Bible gives *Ἰωᾶחז*, i. e. Jehohaz. In the Syr. and Arab. versions the name is omitted.

JOA'NAN ('*Ἰωάνν*; Alex. '*Ἰωάνν*: *Jonathas*) = JOHANAN, the son of Eliashib (1 Esd. ix. 1).

JOAN'NA ('*Ἰωάννας*, '*Ἰωάνν*: *Joanna*), son of Rhesa, according to the text of Luke iii. 27, and one of the ancestors of Christ. But according to the view explained in a previous article, son of Zerubbabel, and the same as Hananiah in 1 Chr. iii. 19. [GENERAL OF CHRIST; HANANIAH, 8.] [A.C.H.]

JOAN'NA ('*Ἰωάννα*, modern form "Joan," of the same origin with '*Ἰωάννας*, the reading of most MSS.; also rendered A. V. "Joanna," St. Luke iii. 27, and '*Ἰωάννης* = Hebr. JEHOJANAN), the name of a woman, occurring twice in Luke (viii. 3, xxiv. 10), but evidently denoting the same person. In the first passage she is expressly stated to have been "wife of Chusa, steward (*ἐπίτροπος*), of Herod," that is, Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. Professor Blunt has observed in his *Coincidences*, that "we find here a reason why Herod should say to his servants (*Matt. xiv. 2*), 'This is John the Baptist' . . . because his steward's wife was a disciple of Jesus, and so there would be frequent mention of him among the servants in Herod's court" (Alford, *ad loc.*; comp. Luke ix. 7). Professor Blunt adds the still more interesting instance of Munnen (Acts xiii. 1), the tetrarch's own "foster-brother" (*συντροφός*, Blunt, p. 263, ed. 1859). Another coincidence is, that our Lord's ministry was mostly confined to Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction. Farther, if we might suppose Herod at length to have dismissed Chusa from his service, on account of Joanna's attachment to one already in ill odour with the higher powers (see particularly Luke xiii. 31), the suppression of her husband's name, now no longer holding a distinguished office, would be very natural in the second passage. However, Joanna continued faith-

ful to our Lord throughout His ministry; and as she was one of those whose circumstances permitted them to "minister unto Him out of their substance" during His lifetime, so she was one of those who brought spices and ointments to embalm His body when dead. [E. S. Ff.]

JOANNAN ('*Ἰωάννᾱν*; Alex. '*Ἰωάννης*: *Jouannes*), the eldest brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 2). He had the surname of Caddis, and is elsewhere called John. [JOHN, 2.]

JOA'RIB ('*Ἰωαρίβ*; Alex. '*Ἰωαπέλου*: *Joarib*), chief of the first of the twenty-four courses of priests in the reign of David, and ancestor of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 1). His name appears also in the A. V. as Jehoariab (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and Jarib (1 Macc. xiv. 29). Josephus retains the form adopted by the LXX. (*Ant. xii. 6, §1*).

JO'ASH ('*Ἰωάν*'), the contracted form of the name JEHOASH, in which it is frequently found: '*Ἰωδ*: *Joas*). 1. Son of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the only one of his children who escaped the murderous hand of Athaliah. Jehoram having himself killed all his own brethren, and all his sons, except Ahaziah, having been killed by the irruption of the Philistines and Arabians, and all Ahaziah's remoter relations having been slain by Jehu, and now all his sons being put to death by Athaliah (2 Chr. xxi. 4, 17; xii. 1, 8, 9, 10), the house of David was reduced to the lowest ebb, and Joash appears to have been the only surviving descendant of Solomon. After his father's sister Jehoshabab, the wife of Jehoiada, had stolen him from among the king's sons, he was hid for 8 years in the chambers of the Temple. In the 7th year of his age and of his concealment, a successful revolution placed him on the throne of his ancestors, and freed the country from the tyranny and idolatries of Athaliah. [JEHOIADA.] For at least 23 years, while Jehoiada lived, this reign was very prosperous. Excepting that the high-places were still resorted to for incense and sacrifice, pure religion was restored, large contributions were made for the repair of the Temple, which was accordingly restored; and the country seems to have been free from foreign invasion and domestic disturbance. But, after the death of Jehoiada, Joash, who was evidently of weak character, fell into the hands of bad advisers, at whose suggestion he revived the worship of Baal and Ashteroth. When he was rebuked for this by Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, who had probably succeeded to the high-priesthood, with base ingratitude and daring impiety Joash caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the Lord's house, "between the temple and the altar" (*Matt. xxiii. 35*). The vengeance imprecated by the murdered high-priest was not long delayed. That very year, Hazael king of Syria, after a successful campaign against the Philistines, came up against Jerusalem, and carried off a vast booty as the price of his departure. A decisive victory, gained by a small band of Syrians over a great host of the king of Judah, had thus placed Jerusalem at his mercy. This defeat is expressly said to be a judgment upon Joash for having forsaken the God of his fathers. He had scarcely escaped this danger, when he fell into another and a fatal one. Two of his servants, taking advantage of his severe illness, some think of a wound received in battle, conspired against him, and slew him in his bed in the fortress of Millo, thus avenging the innocent blood of Zechariah. He

was buried in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. Possibly the fact of Jehoiahaz being buried there had something to do with this exclusion. Joash's reign lasted 40 years, from 878 to 838 B.C. He was 10th king from David inclusive, reckoning the reign of the usurper Athaliah. He is one of the three kings (Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah) omitted by St. Matthew in the genealogy of Christ.

With regard to the different accounts of the Syrian invasion given in 2 K. and in 2 Chr., which has led some (as Thénien and many older commentators), to imagine two distinct Syrian invasions, and others to see a direct contradiction, or at least a strange incompleteness in the narratives, as Winer, the difficulty exists solely in the minds of the critics. The narrative given above, which is also that of Keil and E. Bertheau (*Exej. handb. z. A. T.*) as well as of Josephus, perfectly suits the two accounts, which are merely different abridgements of the one fuller account contained in the original chronicles of the kingdom. Gramberg pushes the system of incredulous criticism to such an absurd pitch, that he speaks of the murder of Zacharias as a pure fable (Winer, *Realb. d. J. d. A. T.*).

It should be added that the prophet Elisha flourished in Israel throughout the days of Joash; and there is some ground for concluding with Winer (agreeing with Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Meier, and others) that the prophet Joel also prophesied in the former part of this reign. (See Movers, *Chronik.* pp. 119-121.)

2. Son and successor of Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel from B.C. 840 to 825, and for two full years a contemporary sovereign with the preceding (2 K. xiv. 1; comp. with xii. 1, xiii. 10). When he succeeded to the crown, the kingdom was in a deplorable state from the devastations of Hazael and Benhadad, kings of Syria, of whose power at this time we had also evidence in the preceding article. In spite of the perseverance of Joash in the worship set up by Jeroboam, God took compassion upon the extreme misery of Israel, and in remembrance of His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, interposed to save them from entire destruction. On occasion of a friendly visit paid by Joash to Elisha on his deathbed, where he wept over his face, and addressed him as "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof," the prophet promised him deliverance from the Syrian yoke in Aphek, the scene of Ahab's great victory over a former Ben-hadad (1 K. xx. 26-30). He then bid him smite upon the ground, and the king smote thrice and then stayed. The prophet rebuked him for staying, and limited to three his victories over Syria. Accordingly Joash did beat Ben-hadad three times on the field of battle, and recovered from him the cities which Hazael had taken from Jehoahaz. The other great military event of Joash's reign was his successful war with Amaziah king of Judah. The grounds of this war are given fully in 2 Chr. xxv. [AMAZIAH.] The hiring of 100,000 men of Israel for 100 talents of silver by Amaziah is the only instance on record of such a transaction, and implies that at that time the kingdom of Israel was free from all fear of the Syrians. These mercenary soldiers having been dismissed by Amaziah, at the instigation of a prophet, without being allowed to take part in the Edomitish expedition, returned in great wrath to their own country, and sacked and plundered the cities of Judah in revenge for the

slight put upon them, and also to indemnify themselves for the loss of their share of the plunder. It was to avenge this injury that Amaziah, on his return from his triumph over the Edomites, declared war against Joash, in spite of the warning of the prophet, and the contemptuous dissuasion of Joash under the fable of the cedar and the thistle. The result was that the two armies met at Beth-shemesh, that Joash was victorious, put the army of Amaziah to the rout, took him prisoner, brought him to Jerusalem, broke down the wall of Jerusalem, all along the north side from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, a distance of 400 cubits, plundered the Temple of its gold and silver vessels, seized the king's treasures, took hostages, and then returned to Samaria, where he died, probably not very long afterwards, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings of Israel. He died in the 15th year of Amaziah king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II. There is a discrepancy between the Bible account of his character and that given by Josephus. For whereas the former says of him, "He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (2 K. xiii. 11), the latter says that he was a good man, and very different from his father. Josephus probably was guided by the account of Joash's friendly intercourse with Elisha, which certainly indicates some good disposition in him, although he followed the sin of Jeroboam. [A. C. H.]

3. The father of Gideon, and a wealthy man among the Abiezrites. At the time of the Midianitish occupation of the country, he appears to have gone so far with the tide of popular opinion in favour of idolatry, that he had on his own ground an altar dedicated to Baal, and an Asherah. In this, however, he submitted rather to the exigencies of the time, and the influence of his family and neighbours, and was the first to defend the daring act of his son, and protect him from the vengeance of the Abiezrites, by sarcasm only less severe than that which Elijah employed against the priests of Baal in the memorable scene on Carmel (Judg. vi. 11, 29, 30, 31, vii. 14, viii. 13, 29, 32). The LXX. put the speech in vi. 31 most inappropriately into the mouth of Gideon, but this is corrected in the Alex. MS. In the Vulg. the name is omitted in vi. 31 and viii. 13.

4. Apparently a younger son of Ahab, who held a subordinate jurisdiction in the life-time of his father, or was appointed viceroy (*ἀρχιστάτης*, LXX. of 2 Chr. xviii. 25) during his absence in the attack on Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xxvii. 25). Or he may have been merely a prince of the blood-royal. But if Geiger be right in his conjecture, that Maaseiah, "the king's son," in 2 Chr. xxviii. 7, was a prince of the Moloch worship, Joash would be a priest of the same. There is, however, but slender foundation for the belief (Geiger, *Urschrift*, &c., p. 307). The Vulgate calls him "the son of Amelech," taking the article as part of the noun, and the whole as a proper name. Thénien suggests that he may have been placed with the governor of the city for the purpose of military education.

5. A descendant of Shelah the son of Judah, but whether his son or the son of Jokim, as Berrington (*Genealogies*, i. 179) supposes, is not clear (1 Chr. iv. 22). The Vulgate rendering of this name by *Securus*, according to its etymology, as well as of the other names in the same verse, is

very remarkable. The Hebrew tradition, quoted by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in Paral.*) and Jarchi (*Comm. in loc.*), applies it to Mahlon, the son of Elimelech, who married a Moabitess. The expression rendered in A. V., "who had the dominion (יָדָה, *lādā*)" would, according to this interpretation, signify "who married in Moab." The same explanation is given in the Targum of R. Joseph.

6. A Benjamite, son of Shemaah of Gibeon (1 Chr. xii. 3). He was one of the heroes, "helpers of the battle," who resorted to David at Ziklag, and assisted him in his excursions against the marauding parties to whose attacks he was exposed (ver. 21). He was probably with David in his pursuit of the Amalekites (comp. 1 Chr. xii. 21, with 1 Sam. xxx. 8, where יָדָה should be "troop" in both passages). The Peshito-Syriac, reading יָדָה for יָדָה, makes him the son of Abiezer.

7. One of the officers of David's household, to whose charge were entrusted the store-houses of oil, the produce of the plantations of sycamores and the olive-yards of the lowlands of Judah (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). [W. A. W.]

JO'ASH (יֹאשָׁה), a different name from the preceding: *Joas*, son of Becher, and head of a Benjamite house, which existed in the time of king David (1 Chr. vii. 8). [A. C. H.]

JO'ATHAM (Ἰωθάμ: *Joatham*) = Jotham the son of Uzziah (Matt. i. 9).

JOAZAB'DUS (Ἰωαβδός: *Joradus*) = Jorabab the Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

JOB (יֹב: *ʾAḥōb*; Alex. *Ἰασόβ*: *Job*), the third son of Issachar (Gen. xli. 13), called in another genealogy JASHUB (1 Chr. vii. 1), which is the reading of the Heb. Sam. Codex in Genesis, as it was also in all probability of the two MSS. of the LXX., *ῥ* being frequently represented by *μ*.

JOB (יֹב, *i. e.* *Job*; *Ἰώβ*; *Job*). The numerous and difficult questions touching the integrity of this book, its plan, object, and general character; and the probable age, country, and circumstances of its author, cannot be satisfactorily discussed without a previous analysis of its contents. It consists of five parts: the introduction, the discussion between Job and his three friends, the speech of Elihu, the manifestation and address of Almighty God, and the concluding chapter.

1. *Analysis*.—1. The Introduction supplies all the facts on which the argument is based. Job, a chieftain in the land of Uz,\* of immense wealth and high rank, "the greatest of all the men of the East," is represented to us as a man of perfect integrity, blameless in all the relations of life, declared indeed by the Lord Himself to be "without his like in all the earth," "a perfect, and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil." The highest goodness, and the most perfect temporal happiness are combined in his person; under the protection of God, surrounded by a numerous family, he enjoys in advanced life<sup>b</sup> an almost paradisaical state, exemplifying the normal results of human obe-

dience to the will of a righteous God. One question could be raised by envy; may not the goodness which secures such direct and tangible rewards be a refined form of selfishness? In the world of spirits, where all the mysteries of existence are brought to light, Satan, the accusing angel, suggests the doubt, "doth Job fear God for nought?" and asserts boldly that if those external blessings were withdrawn Job would cast off his allegiance,—"he will curse thee to thy face." The problem is thus distinctly propounded which this book is intended to discuss and solve. Can goodness exist irrespective of reward, can the fear of God be retained by man when every inducement to selfishness is taken away? The problem is obviously of infinite importance, and could only be answered by inflicting upon a man, in whom, while prosperous, malice itself could detect no evil, the calamities which are the due, and were then believed to be invariably the results, even in this life, of wickedness. The accuser receives permission to make the trial. He destroys Job's property, then his children; and afterwards, to leave no possible opening for a cavil, is allowed to inflict upon him the most terrible disease known in the East. Each of these calamities assumes a form which produces an impression that it must be a visitation from God,<sup>c</sup> precisely such as was to be expected, supposing that the Patriarch had been a successful hypocrite, reserved for the day of wrath. Job's wife breaks down entirely under the trial—in the very words which Satan had anticipated the patriarch himself would at last utter in his despair, she counsels him "to curse God and die." Job remains steadfast. The destruction of his property draws not from him a word of complaint; the death of his children elicits the sublimest words of resignation which ever fell from the lips of a mourner—the disease which made him an object of loathing to man, and seemed to designate him as a visible example of divine wrath, is borne without a murmur; he repels his wife's suggestion with the simple words, "What! shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" "In all this Job did not sin with his lips."

The question raised by Satan was thus answered. His assaults had but issued in a complete removal of the outer forms which could mislead men's judgment, and in developing the highest type of disinterested worth. Had the narrative then ended, the problem could not be regarded as unsolved, while a sublime model would have been exhibited for men to admire and imitate.

2. Still in that case it is clear that many points of deep interest would have been left in obscurity. Entire as was the submission of Job, he must have been inwardly perplexed by events to which he had no clue, which were quite unaccountable on any hypothesis hitherto entertained, and seemed repugnant to the ideas of justice engraven on man's heart. It was also most desirable that the impressions made upon the generality of men by sudden and unaccountable calamities should be thoroughly discussed, and that a broader and firmer basis than heretofore should be found for speculations concerning the providential government of the

\* The situation of Uz is doubtful. Ewald (*Das Buch Job*, p. 20) supposes it to have been the district south of Bashan. Spanheim and Rosenmüller (*Proll.* pp. 29-33) fix it in the N.E. of the desert near the Euphrates. See also Dr. Lee, *Introduction to Job*, p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> From ch. xlii. 16 it may be inferred that he was about 70 years old at this time.

<sup>c</sup> ὅς καὶ Θεοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ χρονοῦντος. Uldinus Alex. ed. Migne, p. 1126.

world. An opportunity for such discussion is afforded in the most natural manner by the introduction of three men, representing the wisdom and experience of the age, who came to condole with Job on hearing of his misfortunes. Some time<sup>4</sup> appears to have elapsed in the interim, during which the disease had made formidable progress, and Job had thoroughly realised the extent of his misery. The meeting is described with singular beauty. At a distance they greet him with the wild demonstrations of sympathising grief usual in the east; coming near they are overpowered by the sight of his wretchedness, and sit seven days and seven nights without uttering a word. This awful silence, whether Job felt it as a proof of real sympathy, or as an indication of inward suspicion<sup>5</sup> on their part, drew out all his anguish. In an agony of desperation he curses the day of his birth, and sees and hopes for no end of his misery, but death.

With the answer to this outburst begins a series of discussions, continued probably (as Ewald shows, p. 55) with some intervals, during several successive days. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar in turn, bring forward arguments, which are severally answered by Job.

The results of the *first* discussion (from c. iii. xiv.) may be thus summed up. We have on the part of Job's friends a theory of the divine government resting upon an exact and uniform correlation between sin and punishment (iv. 6, 11, and throughout).<sup>6</sup> Afflictions are always penal, issuing in the destruction of those who are radically opposed to God, or who do not submit to His chastisements. They lead of course to correction and amendment of life when the sufferer repents, confesses his sins, puts them away, and turns to God. In that case restoration to peace, and even increased prosperity may be expected (v. 17-27). Still the fact of the suffering always proves the commission of some special sin, while the demeanour of the sufferer indicates the true internal relation between him and God.

These principles are applied by them to the case of Job. They are in the first place scandalized by the vehemence of his complaints, and when they find that he maintains his freedom from wilful, or conscious sin, they are driven to the conclusion that his faith is radically unsound; his protestations appear to them almost blasphemous, they become convinced that he has been secretly guilty of some unpardonable sin, and their tone, at first courteous, though warning (comp. c. iv. with c. xv.), becomes stern, and even harsh and menacing. It is clear that unless they are driven from their partial and exclusive theory they must be led on to an unqualified condemnation of Job.

In this part of the dialogue the character of the three friends is clearly developed. Eliphaz represents the true patriarchal chieftain, grave and dignified, and erring only from an exclusive adherence to tenets hitherto unquestioned, and influenced in the first place by genuine regard for Job, and sympathy with his affliction. Bildad, without much originality or independence of character, reposes partly on the wise saws of antiquity, partly on the authority of his older friend. Zophar differs from

both, he seems to be a young man; his language is violent, and at times even coarse and offensive (see especially his second speech, c. xx.). He represents the prejudiced and narrow-minded bigots of his age.

In order to do justice to the position and arguments of Job, it must be borne in mind, that the direct object of the trial was to ascertain whether he would deny or forsake God, and that his real integrity is asserted by God Himself. His answers throughout correspond with these data. He knows with a sure inward conviction that he is not an offender in the sense of his opponents: he is therefore confident that whatever may be the object of the afflictions for which he cannot account, God knows that he is innocent. This consciousness, which from the nature of things cannot be tested by others, enables him to examine fearlessly their position. He denies the assertion that punishment follows surely on guilt, or proves its commission. Appealing boldly to experience, he declares that in point of fact prosperity and misfortune are not always, or generally commensurate; both are often irrespective of man's deserts, "the tabernacles of robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure" (c. xii. 6). In the government of Providence he can see but one point clearly, viz., that all events and results are absolutely in God's hand (xii. 9-25), but as for the principles which underlie those events he knows nothing. In fact, he is sure that his friends' are equally uninformed, and are sophists, defending their position, out of mere prejudice, by arguments and statements false in themselves and doubly offensive to God, being hypocritically advanced in his defence (xiii. 1-13). Still he doubts not that God is just, and although he cannot see how or when that justice can be manifested, he feels confident that his innocence must be recognised. "Though He slay me, yet I will trust in Him; he also will be my salvation" (xiii. 14, 16). There remains then but one course open to him, and that he takes. He turns to supplication, implores God to give him a fair and open trial (xiii. 18-28). Admitting his liability to such sins as are common to man, being unclean by birth (xiii. 26, xiv. 4); he yet protests his substantial innocence, and in the bitter struggle with his misery, he first meets the thought which is afterwards developed with remarkable distinctness. Believing that with death all hope connected with this world ceases, he prays that he may be hidden in the grave (xiv. 13), and there reserved for the day when God will try his cause and manifest Himself in love (ver. 15). This prayer represents but a dim, yet a profound and true presentiment, drawn forth, then evidently for the first time, as the possible solution of the dark problem. As for a renewal of life *here*, he dreams not of it (14), nor will he allow that the possible restoration or prosperity of his descendants at all meets the exigencies of his case (21, 22).

In the *second* discussion (xv.-xvi.) there is a more resolute elaborate attempt on the part of Job's friends to vindicate their theory of retributive justice. This requires an entire overthrow of the position taken by Job. They cannot admit his innocence. The fact that his calamities are unparalleled, proves to them that there must be something

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise it would be difficult to meet Rosenmüller's objection (p. 8). It seems indeed probable that some months even might pass by before the news would reach the friends, and they could arrange their meeting.

<sup>5</sup> Thus Schlottmann.

<sup>6</sup> It is curious that this theory was revived and systematized by Basilides, to the great scandal of the early Fathers. See Clem. Al. *Str.* iv. p. 506.

quite unique in his guilt. Eliphaz (c. xv.), who, as usual, lays down the basis of the argument, does not now hesitate to impute to Job the worst crimes of which man could be guilty. His defence is blasphemous, and proves that he is quite godless; that he disregards the wisdom of age and experience, denies the fundamental truths of religion (3-16), and by his rebellious struggles (25-27) against God deserves every calamity which can befall him (28-30). Bildad (xviii.) takes up this suggestion of ungodliness, and after enlarging upon the inevitable results of all iniquity, concludes that the special evils which had come upon Job, such as agony of heart, ruin of home, destruction of family, are peculiarly the penalties due to one who is without God. Zophar (xx.) draws the further inference that a sinner's sufferings must needs be proportioned to his former enjoyments (5-14), and his losses to his former gains (15-19), and thus not only accounts for Job's present calamities, but menaces him with still greater evils (20-29).

In answer Job recognises the hand of God in his afflictions (xvi. 7-16, and xix. 6-20), but rejects the charge of ungodliness; he has never forsaken his Maker, and never ceased to pray. This being a matter of inward consciousness cannot of course be proved. He appeals therefore directly to earth and heaven:—"My witness is in heaven, and my record is on high" (xvi. 19). The train of thought thus suggested carries him much farther in the way towards the great truth—that since in this life the righteous certainly are not saved from evil, it follows that their ways are watched and their sufferings recorded, with a view to a future and perfect manifestation of the divine justice. This view becomes gradually brighter and more definite as the controversy proceeds (xvi. 18, 19, xvii. 8, 9, and perhaps 13-16), and at last finds expression in a strong and clear declaration of his conviction that at the latter day (evidently that day which Job had expressed a longing to see, c. xiv. 12-14) God will personally manifest Himself, and that he, Job, will then see him, in his body,<sup>1</sup> with his own eyes, and notwithstanding the destruction of his skin, i. e., the outward man, retaining or recovering his personal identity (xix. 25-27). There can be no doubt that Job here virtually anticipates the final answer to all difficulties supplied by the Christian revelation.

On the other hand, stung by the harsh and narrow-minded bigotry of his opponents, Job draws out (xxi.) with terrible force the undeniable fact, that from the beginning to the end of their lives ungodly men, avowed atheists (vers. 14, 15), persons, in fact, guilty of the very crimes, imputed, out of mere conjecture, to himself, frequently enjoy great and unbroken prosperity. From this he draws the inference, which he states in a very unguarded manner, and in a tone calculated to give just offence, that an impenetrable veil hangs over the temporal dispensations of God.

In the *third* dialogue (xxii.-xxxi.) no real pro-

gress is made by Job's opponents. They will not give up and cannot defend their position. Eliphaz (xxii.) makes a last effort, and raises one new point which he states with some ingenuity. The station in which Job was formerly placed presented temptations to certain crimes; the punishments which he undergoes are precisely such as might be expected had those crimes been committed; hence he infers they actually were committed. The tone of this discourse thoroughly harmonises with the character of Eliphaz. He could scarcely come to a different conclusion without surrendering his fundamental principles, and he urges with much dignity and impressiveness the exhortations and warnings which in his opinion were needed. Bildad has nothing to add but a few solemn words on the incomprehensible majesty of God and the nothingness of man.<sup>1</sup> Zophar, the most violent and least rational of the three, is put to silence, and retires from the contest.

In his two last discourses Job does not alter his position, nor, properly speaking, adduce any new argument, but he states with incomparable force and eloquence the chief points which he regards as established (c. xxvi.). All creation is confounded by the majesty and might of God; man catches but a faint echo of God's word, and is baffled in the attempt to comprehend his ways. He then (c. xxvii.) describes even more completely than his opponents had done<sup>2</sup> the destruction which, as a rule, ultimately falls upon the hypocrite, and which he certainly would deserve if he were hypocritically to disguise the truth concerning himself, and deny his own integrity. He thus recognises what was true in his opponent's arguments, and corrects his own hasty and unguarded statements. Then follows (xxviii.) the grand description of Wisdom, and the declaration that human wisdom does not consist in exploring the hidden and inscrutable ways of God, but in the fear of the Lord, and in turning away from evil. The remainder of this discourse (xxix.-xxxi.) contains a singularly beautiful description of his former life, contrasted with his actual misery, together with a full vindication of his character from all the charges made or insinuated by his opponents.

3. Thus ends the discussion, in which it is evident both parties had partially failed. Job has been betrayed into very hazardous statements, while his friends had been on the one hand disingenuous, on the other bigoted, harsh, and pitiless. The points which had been omitted, or imperfectly developed, are now taken up by a new interlocutor (xxxi.-xxxvii.). Elihu, a young man, descended from a collateral branch of the family of Abraham,<sup>3</sup> has listened in indignant silence to the arguments of his elders (xxxii. 7), and, impelled by an inward inspiration, he now addresses himself to both parties in the discussion, and specially to Job. He shows, 1. that they had accused Job upon false or insufficient grounds, and failed to convict him, or to vindicate God's justice. Job again had assumed his entire innocence, and had arraigned that justice (xxxiii.

<sup>1</sup> This gradual and progressive development was perhaps first brought out distinctly by Ewald.

<sup>2</sup> מִבְּשָׁרִי, lit. "from my flesh," may mean in the body, or out of the body. Each rendering is equally tenable on grammatical grounds; but the specification of the time (אֲחֵרִית) and the place (עֵלֶי-עֵפֶר) requires a personal manifestation of God, and a personal recognition on the part of Job. Complete personality in the mind of the ancients implies a living body.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Frodde, on *The Book of Job*, seems not to perceive, or to ignore, the ground on which Eliphaz reasons.

<sup>2</sup> See Herder's excellent remarks, quoted by Rosenmüller, p. 24. Mr. Frodde quite overlooks the fact that Job here, as elsewhere, takes up his opponents' arguments, and urges all the truth which they may involve with greater force, thus showing himself master of the position.

<sup>3</sup> A Buzite.

9-11). These errors he traces to their both overlooking one main object of all suffering. God *speaks* to man by chastisement (14,<sup>a</sup> 19-22)—warns him, teaches him self-knowledge and humility (16, 17)—and prepares him (23) by the mediation of a spiritual interpreter (the angel Jehovah<sup>o</sup> of Genesis 1) to implore and to obtain pardon (24), renewal of life (25), perfect access and restoration (26). This statement does not involve any charge of special guilt, such as the friends had alleged and Job had repudiated. Since the warning and suffering are preventive, as well as remedial, the visitation anticipates the commission of sin; it saves man from pride, and other temptations of wealth and power, and it effects the real object of all divine interpositions, the entire submission to God's will. Again, Elihu argues (xxxiv. 10-17) that any charge of injustice, direct or implicit, against God involves a contradiction in terms. God is the only source of justice; the very idea of justice is derived from His governance of the universe, the principle of which is love. In His absolute knowledge God sees all secrets, and by His absolute power He controls all events, and that, for the one end of bringing righteousness to light (21-30). Man has of course no claim upon God; what he receives is purely a matter of grace (xxxv. 6-9). The occasional appearance of unanswered prayer (9), when evil seems to get the upper hand, is owing merely to the fact that man prays in a proud and insolent spirit (12, 13). Job may look to his heart, and he will see if that is true of himself.

Job is silent, and Elihu proceeds (xxxvi.) to show that the Almightyness of God is not, as Job seems to assert, associated with any contempt or neglect of His creatures. Job, by ignoring this truth, has been led into grave error, and terrible danger (12; cf. 18), but God is still drawing him, and if he yields and follows he will yet be delivered. The rest of the discourse brings out forcibly the lessons taught by the manifestations of goodness, as well as greatness in creation. Indeed, the great object of all natural phenomena is to teach men—"who teacheth like Him?" This part differs from Job's magnificent description of the mystery and majesty of God's works, inasmuch as it indicates a clearer recognition of a loving purpose—and from the address of the Lord which follows, by its discursive and argumentative tone. The last words are evidently spoken while a violent storm is coming on, in which Elihu views the signs of a Theophany, which cannot fail to produce an intense realisation of the nothingness of man before God.

4. From the preceding analysis it is obvious that many weighty truths have been developed in the course of the discussion—nearly every theory of the objects and uses of suffering has been reviewed—while a great advance has been made towards the apprehension of doctrines hereafter to be revealed, such as were known only to God. But the mystery is not as yet really cleared up. The position of the three original opponents is shown to be untenable—the views of Job himself to be but imperfect—while even Elihu gives not the least intimation

that he recognises one special object of calamity. In the case of Job, as we are expressly told, that object was to try his sincerity, and to demonstrate that goodness, integrity in all relations, and devout faith in God can exist independent of external circumstances. This object never occurs to the mind of any one of the interlocutors, nor could it be proved without a revelation. On the other hand, the exact amount of censure due to Job for the excesses into which he had been betrayed, and to his three opponents for their harshness and want of candour, could only be awarded by an omniscient Judge. Hence the necessity for the Theophany—from the midst of the storm Jehovah speaks.

In language of incomparable grandeur He improves and silences the murmurs of Job. God does not condescend, strictly speaking, to argue with His creatures. The speculative questions discussed in the colloquy are unnoticed, but the declaration of God's absolute power is illustrated by a marvellously beautiful and comprehensive survey of the glory of creation, and His all-embracing Providence by reference to the phenomena of the animal kingdom. He who would argue with the Lord must understand at least the objects for which instincts so strange and manifold are given to the beings far below man in gifts and powers. This declaration suffices to bring Job to a right mind: he confesses his inability to comprehend, and therefore to answer his Maker (xl. 3, 4). A second address completes the work. It proves that a charge of injustice against God involves the consequence that the accuser is more competent than He to rule the universe. He should then be able to control, to punish, to reduce all creatures to order—but he cannot even subdue the monsters of the irrational creation. Baffled by leviathan and behemoth, how can he hold the reins of government, how contend with Him who made and rules them all?

5. Job's unreserved submission terminates the trial. He expresses deep contrition, not of course for sins falsely imputed to him, but for the bitterness and arrogance which had characterised some portions of his complaints. In the rebuke then addressed to Job's opponents the integrity of his character is distinctly recognised, while they are condemned for untruth, which, inasmuch as it was not wilful, but proceeded from a real but narrow-minded conviction of the Divine justice, is pardoned on the intercession of Job. The restoration of his external prosperity, which is an inevitable result of God's personal manifestation, symbolizes the ultimate compensation of the righteous for all sufferings undergone upon earth.

From this analysis it seems clear that certain views concerning the general object of the book are partial or erroneous. It cannot be the object of the writer to prove that there is no connexion between guilt and sorrow,<sup>4</sup> or that the old orthodox doctrine of retribution was radically unsound. Job himself recognises the general truth of the doctrine, which is in fact confirmed by his ultimate restoration to happiness.<sup>5</sup> Nor is the development of the

<sup>a</sup> A point well drawn out by Schlottmann, p. 33. Job had specially complained of the silence of God.

<sup>o</sup> Thus A. Schulz. There can be no doubt that "angel," not "messenger," is the true translation; nor that the angel, the one of a thousand, is the מלאך האלפים of Genesis.

<sup>p</sup> This bearing of the statement upon the whole

argument is satisfactorily shown by Hahn (*Introduction to Job*, p. 4), and by Schlottmann in his commentary on the passage (p. 489).

<sup>4</sup> This is the strangely exaggerated form in which Mr. Froude represents the views of Ewald. Nothing can be more contrary to the whole tenor of the book.

<sup>5</sup> See Ewald's remarks in his *Jahrb.* 1858, p. 33.

great doctrine of a future state the primary object." It would not in that case have been passed over in Job's last discourse, in the speech of Elihu, or in the address of the Lord God. In fact critics who hold that view admit that the doctrine is rather suggested than developed, and amounts to scarcely more than a wish, a presentiment, at the most a subjective conviction of a truth first fully revealed by Him "who brought life and immortality to light." The great object must surely be that which is distinctly intimated in the introduction, and confirmed in the conclusion, to show the effects of calamity in its worst and most awful form upon a truly religious spirit. Job is no Stoic, no Titan (Ewald, p. 26), struggling rebelliously against God; no Prometheus' victim of a jealous and unrelenting Deity: he is a suffering man, acutely sensitive to all impressions inward and outward, grieved by the loss of wealth, position, domestic happiness, the respect of his countrymen, dependents, and followers, tortured by a loathsome and all but unendurable disease, and stung to an agony of grief and passion by the insinuations of conscious guilt and hypocrisy. Under such provocation, being wholly without a clue to the cause of his misery, and hopeless of restoration to happiness on earth, he is shaken to the utmost, and driven almost to desperation. Still in the centre of his being he remains firm and unmoved—with an intense consciousness of his own integrity—without a doubt as to the power, wisdom, truth, or absolute justice of God, and therefore awaiting with longing expectation "the final judgment which he assured must come and bring him deliverance. The representation of such a character, involving the discomfiture of man's great enemy, and the development of the manifold problems which such a spectacle suggests to men of imperfect knowledge, but thoughtful and inquiring minds, is the true object of the writer, who, like all great spirits of the ancient world, dealt less with abstract propositions than with the objective realities of existence. Such is the impression naturally made by the book, and which is recognised more distinctly in proportion as the reader grasps the tenour of the arguments, and realises the characters and events.

II. *Integrity of the book.*—It is satisfactory to find that the arguments employed by those who impugn the authenticity of considerable portions of this book are for the most part mutually destructive, and that the most minute and searching investigations bring out the most convincing proofs of the unity of its composition, and the coherence of its constituent parts. One point of great importance is noted by the latest and one of the most ingenious writers (M. E. Renan, *Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1859) on this subject. After some strong remarks upon the inequality of the style, and appearance of

interpolation, M. E. Renan observes (p. xlv.) :—"The Hebrews, and Orientals in general, differed widely from us in their views about composition. Their works never have that perfectly defined outline to which we are accustomed, and we should be careful not to assume interpolations or alterations (*retouches*) when we meet with defects of sequence which surprise us." He then shows that in parts of the work, acknowledged by all critics to be by one hand, there are very strong instances of what Europeans might regard as repetition, or suspect of interpolation: \* thus Elihu recommences his argument four times; while discourses of Job, which have distinct portions, such as to modern critics might seem unconnected and even misplaced, are impressed with such a character of sublimity and force as to leave no doubt that they are the product of a single inspiration. To this just and true observation it must be added that the assumed want of coherence and of logical consistency is for the most part only apparent, and results from a radical difference in the mode of thinking and enunciating thought between the old Eastern, and modern European.

Four parts of the book have been most generally attacked. Objections have been made to the introductory and concluding chapters (1) on account of the style. Of course there is an obvious and natural difference between the prose of the narrative and the highly poetical language of the colloquy. Yet the best critics now acknowledge that the style of these portions is quite as antique in its simple and severe grandeur, as that of the Pentateuch itself (to which it bears a striking resemblance") or as any other part of this book, while it is as strikingly unlike the narrative style of all the later productions of the Hebrews. Ewald says with perfect truth, "these prosaic words harmonise thoroughly with the old poem in subject-matter and thoughts, in colouring and in art, also in language, so far as prose can be like poetry." It is said again that the doctrinal views are not in harmony with those of Job. This is wholly unfounded. The fundamental principles of the patriarch, as developed in the most solemn of his discourses, are identical with those maintained throughout the book. The form of worship belongs essentially to the early patriarchal type; with little of ceremonial ritual, without a separate priesthood, thoroughly domestic in form and spirit. The representation of the angels, and their appellation, "sons of God," peculiar to this book and to Genesis, accord entirely with the intimations in the earliest documents of the Semitic race. It is moreover alleged that there are discrepancies between the facts related in the introduction, and statements or allusions in the dialogue. But the apparent contradiction between xix. 17 and the statement that all Job's children

The notion that Job is a type of the Hebrew nation in their sufferings, and that the book was written to console them in their exile, held by Clericus and Bp. Warburton, is generally rejected. See Rosenmüller, pp. 13-16.

\* Ewald's theory, on which Schlottmann has some excellent observations (p. 48).

† Schlottmann (p. 46), who draws also a very interesting comparison between Job and Viçramitra, in the Ramayana (p. 128).

‡ See the passages quoted by Ewald, p. 27.

§ It is a very remarkable instance both of the inconsistency of M. Renan, and of the little reliance which can be placed upon the judgment of critics upon such

questions, that he and Ewald are at direct issue as to the state in which the text of this book has been handed down to us. Ewald considers that it is pure—that the MSS. must have been very good—the verbal connexion is accurate—and emendations unnecessary (see p. 66). M. Renan asserts, "Cet antique monument nous est parvenu, j'en suis persuadé, dans un état fort misérable et maculé en plusieurs endroits" (p. lx.).

¶ Renan : "Le grand caractère du récit est une preuve de son ancienneté."

‡ For a list of coincidences see Dr. Lee's *Job*, p. 49.

had perished, rests upon a misinterpretation of the words "בְּנֵי יָדֵי, "children of my womb," i. e. "of the womb that bare me"—"my brethren," not "my children" (cf. iii. 10): indeed the destruction of the patriarch's whole family is repeatedly assumed in the dialogue (e. g. viii. 4, xxix. 5). Again, the omission of all reference to the defeat of Satan in the last chapter is quite in accordance with the grand simplicity of the poem (Schlottmann, 59, 40). It was too obvious a result to need special notice, and it had in fact been accomplished by the steadfast faith of the patriarch even before the discussions commenced. No allusion to the agency of that spirit was to be expected in the colloquy, since Job and his friends are represented as wholly ignorant of the transactions in heaven. At present indeed it is generally acknowledged\* that the entire work would be unintelligible without these portions.

2. Strong objections are made to the passage xxvii. from v. 7 to the end of the chapter. Here Job describes the ultimate fate of the godless hypocrite in terms which some critics hold to be in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of his arguments in other discourses. Dr. Keimicott, whose opinion is adopted by Eichhorn, Froude, and others, held that, owing to some confusion or omission in the MS., the missing speech of Zophar has been put into the mouth of Job. The fact of the contradiction is denied by able writers, who have shown that it rests upon a misapprehension of the patriarch's character and fundamental principles. He had been provoked under circumstances of peculiar aggravation into statements which at the close of the discussion he would be anxious to guard or recal: he was bound, having spoken so harshly, to recognise, what beyond doubt he never intended to deny, the general justice of divine dispensations even in this world. Moreover he intimates a belief or presentiment of a future retribution, of which there are no indications in any other speaker (see ver. 8). The whole chapter is thoroughly coherent: the first part is admitted by all to belong to Job; nor can the rest be disjoined from it without injury to the sense. Ewald says, "only a grievous misunderstanding of the whole book could have misled the modern critics who hold that this passage is interpolated or misplaced." Other critics have abundantly vindicated the authenticity of the passage (Hahn, Schlottmann, &c.). As for the style, E. Rénan, a most competent authority in a matter of taste, declares that it is one of the finest developments of the poem. It certainly differs exceedingly in its breadth, loftiness, and devout spirit, from the speeches of Zophar, for whose silence satisfactory reasons have been already assigned (see the analysis).

3. The last two chapters of the address of the Almighty have been rejected as interpolations by

many, of course rationalistic writers (Stuhlman, Bernstein, Eichhold, Ewald, Meier); partly because of an alleged inferiority of style; partly as not having any bearing upon the argument: but the connexion of reasoning, involved, though, as was to be expected, not drawn out, in this discourse, has been shown in the preceding analysis; and as for the style, few who have a true ear for the resonant grandeur of ancient Hebrew poetry will dissent from the judgment of E. Rénan,<sup>b</sup> whose suggestion, that it may have been written by the same author at a later date, is far from weakening the force of his observation as to the identity of the style.

4. The speech of Elihu presents greater difficulties, and has been rejected by several rationalists, whose opinion, however, is controverted not only by orthodox writers, but by some of the most sceptical commentators.<sup>c</sup> The former support their decision chiefly on the manifest, and to a certain extent the real, difference between this and other parts of the book in tone of thought, in doctrinal views, and more positively in language and general style. Much stress also is laid upon the facts that Elihu is not mentioned in the introduction nor at the end, and that his speech is unanswered by Job, and unnoticed in the final address of the Almighty. These points were observed by very early writers, and were accounted for in various ways. On the one hand, Elihu was regarded as a specially inspired person (Schlottmann, p. 53). In the Seder Olam (a rabbinical system of chronology) he is reckoned among the prophets who declared the will of God to the Gentiles before the promulgation of the law. S. Bar Nachman (12th century) notes his connexion with the family of Abraham as a sign that he was the fittest person to expound the ways of God. The Greek Fathers generally follow Chrysostom in attributing to him a superior intellect; while many of the best critics of the two last centuries<sup>d</sup> consider that the true dialectic solution of the great problems discussed in the book is to be found in his discourse. On the other hand, Jerome,<sup>e</sup> who is followed by Gregory,<sup>f</sup> and many ancient as well as modern writers of the Western Church, speak of his character and arguments with singular contempt. Later critics, chiefly rationalists,<sup>g</sup> see in him but an empty babbler, introduced only to heighten by contrast the effect of the last solemn and dignified discourse of Job. The alternative of rejecting his speech as an interpolation was scarcely less objectionable, and has been preferred by Stuhlman, Bernstein, Ewald, Rénan, and other writers of similar opinions in our country. A candid and searching examination, however, leads to a different conclusion. It is proved (see Schlottmann, *Einl.* p. 55) that there is a close internal connexion between this and other parts of the book; there are references to numerous passages in the discourses of Job and his friends; so covert as only to be dis-

\* Hahn, p. 13; Rosenmüller, p. 46; Eichhorn, Ewald, Schlottmann, Rénan, &c.

<sup>b</sup> "Le style du fragment dont nous parlons est celui des meilleurs endroits du poëme. Nulle part la coupe n'est plus vigoureuse, le parallélisme plus sonore: tout indique que ce singulier morceau est de la même main, mais non pas du même jet, que le reste du discours de Jéhovah" (p. 1).

<sup>c</sup> Berthold, Gesenius, Schaefer, Jahn, Umbreit, Rosenmüller; and of course by moderate or orthodox writers, as Hävernick, Hahn, Stöckel, Hengstenberg, and Schlottmann. Mr. Froude ventures, nevertheless, to assert that this speech is "now decisively

pronounced by Hebrew scholars not to be genuine," and he disposes of the question in a short note (*The Book of Job*, p. 24).

<sup>d</sup> Thus Calvin, Thomas Aquinas, and A. Schultens, who speaks of his speech thus: "Elihu modatissima illa quidem, sed tamen zelo dei flagrantissima redargutio, qua Jobum subtiliter non minus quam graviter compescere aggreditur."

<sup>e</sup> The commentary on Job is not by Jerome, but one of his disciples, and probably expresses his thoughts.

<sup>f</sup> *Moralia Magna*, lib. xxviii. l. 11.

<sup>g</sup> Eichhorn, Berthold, Umbreit.

covered by close inquiry, yet, when pointed out, so striking and natural as to leave no room for doubt. Elihu supplies exactly what Job repeatedly demands—a confutation of his opinions, not merely produced by an overwhelming display of divine power, but by rational and human arguments, and proceeding from one, not like his other opponents, bigoted or hypocritical, but upright, candid, and truthful (comp. xxxiii. 3 with vi. 24, 25). The reasonings of Elihu are moreover such as are needed for the development of the doctrines inculcated in the book, while they are necessarily cast in a form which could not without irreverence be assigned to the Almighty.<sup>1</sup> As to the objection that the doctrinal system of Elihu is in some points more advanced than that of Job or his friends, it may be answered, first, that there are no traces in this discourse of certain doctrines which were undoubtedly known at the earliest date to which those critics would assign the interpolation; whereas it is evident that if known they would have been adduced as the very strongest arguments for a warning and consolation. No reader of the Psalms and of the prophets could have failed to urge such topics as the resurrection, the future judgment, and the personal advent of Messiah. Secondly, the doctrinal system of Elihu differs rather in degree than in kind from that which has been either developed or intimated in several passages of the work, and consists chiefly in a specific application of the mediatorial theory, not unknown to Job, and in a deeper appreciation of the love manifested in all providential dispensations. It is quite consistent with the plan of the writer, and with the admirable skill shown in the arrangement of the whole work, that the highest view as to the object of afflictions, and to the source to which men should apply for comfort and instruction, should be reserved for this, which, so far as regards the human reasoners,<sup>2</sup> is the culminating point of the discussion. Little can be said for Lightfoot's theory, that the whole work was composed by Elihu; or for E. Rénan's conjecture that this discourse may have been composed by the author in his old age;<sup>3</sup> yet these views imply an unconscious impression that Elihu is the fullest exponent of the truth. It is satisfactory to know that two<sup>4</sup> of the most impartial and discerning critics, who unite in denying this to be an original and integral portion of the work, fully acknowledge its intrinsic excellence and beauty.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the omission of Elihu's name in the introduction. No persons are named in the book until they appear as agents, or as otherwise concerned in the events. Thus Job's brethren are named incidentally in one of his speeches, and his relatives are for the first time in the concluding chapter. Had Elihu been mentioned at first, we should of course have expected him to take part in the discussion, and the impression made by his startling address would

have been lost. Job does not answer him, nor indeed could he deny the cogency of his arguments; while this silence brings out a curious point of coincidence with a previous declaration of the patriarch (vi. 24, 25).<sup>5</sup> Again, the discourse being substantially true did not need correction, and is therefore left unnoticed in the final decision of the Almighty.<sup>6</sup> Nothing indeed could be more in harmony with the ancient traditions of the East than that a youth, moved by a special and supernatural impulse to speak out God's truth in the presence of his elders, should retire into obscurity when he had done his work. More weight is to be attached to the objection resting upon diversity of style, and dialectic peculiarities. The most acute critics differ indeed in their estimate of both, and are often grossly deceived (see Schlottmann, p. 61), still there can be little doubt as to the fact. It may be accounted for either on the supposition that the author adhered strictly to the form in which tradition handed down the dialogue; in which case the speech of a Syrian might be expected to bear traces of his dialect;<sup>7</sup> or that the Chaldaic forms and idioms, which are far from resembling later vulgarisms or corruptions of Hebrew, and occur only in highly poetic passages of the oldest writers, are such as peculiarly suit the style of the young and fiery speaker (see Schlottmann, *Entl.* p. 61). It has been observed, and with apparent truth, that the discourses of the other interlocutors have each a very distinct and characteristic colouring, shown not only in the general tone of thought, but in peculiarities of expression (Ewald and Schlottmann). The excessive obscurity of the style, which is universally admitted, may be accounted for in a similar manner. A young man speaking under strong excitement, embarrassed by the presence of his elders, and by the peculiar responsibility of his position, might be expected to use language obscured by repetitions; and, though ingenious and true, yet somewhat intricate and imperfectly developed arguments; such as in fact present great difficulties in the exegesis of this portion of the book.

III. *Historical character of the work.*—Three distinct theories have been maintained at various times—some believing the book to be strictly historical; others a religious fiction; others a composition based upon facts. Until a comparatively late time the prevalent opinion was, not only that the persons and events which it describes are real, but that the very words of the speakers were accurately recorded. It was supposed either that Job himself employed the latter years of his life in writing it (A. Schultens), or that at a very early age some inspired Hebrew collected the facts and sayings, faithfully preserved by oral tradition, and presented them to his countrymen in their own tongue. By some the authorship of the work was attributed to Moses; by others it was believed (and this theory has lately been sustained with much ingenuity<sup>8</sup>)

in this speech are in themselves exceedingly pure and true, conceived with greater depth, and presented with more force than in the rest of the book" (p. 320).

<sup>2</sup> This seems a sufficient answer to an objection more likely to occur to a modern European than to a Hebrew.

<sup>3</sup> Stöckel supposes that the Aramaic forms were intentionally introduced by the author on account of the Syrian descent of Elihu.

<sup>4</sup> By Dr. Lee; see his Introduction. He accounts thus for the use of the name *יְהוֹאָחָז*, found, with one exception, only in these chapters.

<sup>1</sup> See Schlottmann (*l. c.*). The reader will remember the just, though sarcastic, criticism of Pope on Milton's irreverence and bad taste.

<sup>2</sup> Hahn says of Elihu: "A young wise man, representing all the intelligence of his age" (p. 5). Cf. A. Schultens and Hengstenberg in *Kitt's Bibl. Enc.*

<sup>3</sup> P. lvi. This implies, at any rate, that in his opinion there is no absolute incompatibility between this and other parts of the book in point of style or thought. The conjecture is a striking instance of inconsistency in a very dogmatic writer.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald and Rénan. Ewald says: "The thoughts

that Moses became acquainted with the documents during his residence in Midian, and that he added the introductory and concluding chapters.

The fact of Job's existence, and the substantial truth of the narrative, were not likely to be denied by Hebrews or Christians, considering the terms in which the patriarch is named in the 14th of Ezekiel and in the Epistle of St. James (v. 11). It seemed to early writers incompatible with any idea of inspiration to assume that a narrative, certainly not allegorical, should be a mere fiction; and irreverent to suppose that the Almighty would be introduced as a speaker in an imaginary colloquy. In the East numerous traditions (Ewald, p. 17, 18; see D'Herbelot, s. v. *Ayoub*) about the patriarch and his family show the deep impression made by his character and calamities: these traditions may possibly have been derived from the book itself; but it is at least equally probable that they had an independent origin. We are led to the same conclusion by the soundest principles of criticism. Ewald says (*Eint.* p. 15) most truly, "The invention of a history without foundation in facts—the creation of a person, represented as having a real historical existence, out of the mere head of the poet—is a notion so entirely alien to the spirit of all antiquity, that it only began to develop itself gradually in the latest epoch of the literature of any ancient people, and in its complete form belongs only to the most modern times." In the canonical books there is not a trace of any such invention. Of all people the Hebrews were the least likely to mingle the mere creations of imagination with the sacred records revered as the peculiar glory of their race.

This principle is corroborated by special arguments. It is, to say the least, highly improbable that a Hebrew, had he invented such a character as that of Job, should have represented him as belonging to a race which, though descended from a common ancestor, was never on friendly, and generally on hostile, terms with his own people. Uz, the residence of Job, is in no way associated with Israelitish history, and, apart from the patriarch's own history, would have no interest for a Hebrew. The names of most persons introduced have no meaning connected with the part attributed to them in the narrative. The name of Job himself is but an apparent exception. According to most critics **יֹבָב** is derived from **יָבֵן**, *infensus fuit*, and means "cruelly or hostily treated;" according to others (Ewald and Rosenmüller) of high authority it may signify "a true penitent," corresponding to **שָׁזַע**.

**אוֹבָב**, so applied to Job, and evidently with reference to his name, in the Koran (Sur. 38, 44). In either case the name would give but a very

<sup>a</sup> A fictitious name would of course have meant what the ancients supposed that Job must signify. τὸ ἰσὺς ὄνομα ὑπομονῆς νοεῖται, καὶ ἰσχυρὸν, ὡς γενέσθαι τοῦτον δὲ προεκάλεσθαι, ἢ καλεῖσθαι ὡς περ ἐλέγερτο. Didymus Alexand. p. 1120, ed. Migne.

<sup>b</sup> This is assumed by all the critics who believe the details of the work to be a pure creation of the poet. "He has represented the simple relations of patriarchal life, and sustained the assumed character of a rich Arabian chieftain of a nomad tribe, with the greatest truthfulness." (Hahn.) Thus Ewald, Schlottmann, &c., p. 70.

<sup>c</sup> Both races probably dwelt near the land of Uz. See Rosenm. *Proil.* pp. 30, 31.

partial view, and would indeed fail to represent the central principle<sup>a</sup> of the patriarch's heroic character. It is moreover far from improbable that the name previously borne by the hero may have been changed in commemoration of the event. Such was the case with Abraham, Jacob, Joshua, and in all probability with many other historical personages in the Old Testament. It is worth noting, without laying much stress upon the fact, that in a notice appended to the Alexandrian version it is stated, "he bore previously the name of Jobab;" and that a tradition adopted by the Jews and some Christian Fathers, identifies Job with Jobab, prince of Edom, mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 33. Moreover a coincidence between the name and the character or history of a real person is not uncommon in any age. To this it is objected that the resemblance in Greek does not exist in the Hebrew—a strange assertion: **יֹבָב** and **יָבֵן** are certainly not much less alike than *Job* and *Jobab*.

To this it must be added that there is a singular air of reality in the whole narrative, such as must either proceed naturally from a faithful adherence to objective truth, or be the result of the most consummate art.<sup>b</sup> The effect is produced partly by the thorough consistency of all the characters, especially that of Job, not merely as drawn in broad strong outlines, but as developed under a variety of most trying circumstances: partly also by the minute and accurate account of incidents which in a fiction would probably have been noted by an ancient writer in a vague and general manner. Thus we remark the mode in which the supernatural trial is carried into execution by natural agencies—by Chaldaean and Sabeen<sup>c</sup> robbers—by whirlwinds common in and peculiar to the desert—by fire—and lastly by the elephantiasis (see Schlottmann, p. 15; Ewald, l. c.; and Hengstenberg), the most formidable disease known in the East. The disease was indeed one which the Indians<sup>d</sup> and most Orientals then probably believed to be peculiarly indicative of divine wrath, and would therefore be naturally selected by the writer (see the analysis above). But the symptoms are described so faithfully as to leave no doubt that the writer must either have introduced them with a view of giving an air of truthfulness to his work, or have recorded what he himself witnessed, or received from an exact tradition. The former supposition is confuted by the fact that the peculiar symptoms are not described in any one single passage so as to attract the reader's attention, but are made out by a critical and scientific examination of words occurring here and there at intervals in the complaints of the sufferer.<sup>e</sup> The most refined art fails in producing such a result: it is rarely attempted in the most artificial ages; was never dreamed of by ancient writers, and must here be regarded as a strong

<sup>a</sup> Thus Origen, c. *Cels.* vi. 5, 2; Abulfeda, *Hist.*

*Anticel.*, **تَجَدَّمٌ وَدَوْدٌ**, p. 27, ed. Fleischer, i. e. his body was smitten with elephantiasis (the **سَوَسَ**

**جَذَامٌ**), and eaten by worms. The disease is described by Ainslie, *Transactions R. S.*, and Bruce. See Ewald, p. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. ii. 7, 8; vii. 5, 13; xvi. 8; xix. 17, 20; xxx. 18; and other passages. See the valuable remarks of Ewald, p. 22.

instance of the undesigned coincidences which the soundest criticism regards as the best evidence of genuineness and authenticity in any work.

Forcible as these arguments may appear, many critics have adopted the opinion either that the whole work is a moral or religious apologue, or that, upon a substratum of a few rudimental facts preserved by tradition, the genius of an original thinker has raised this, the most remarkable monument of the Semitic mind. The first indications of this opinion are found in the Talmud (Baba Bathra, 14-16). In a discussion upon the age of this book, while the Rabbins in general maintain its historical character, Samuel Bar Nachman declares his conviction "Job did not exist, and was not a created man, but the work is a parable."<sup>7</sup> Hai Gaon,<sup>8</sup> A.D. 1000, who is followed by Jarchi, altered this passage to "Job existed and was created to become a parable." They had evidently no critical ground for the change, but bore witness to the prevalent tradition of the Hebrews. Maimonides (*Moreh Nevochim*, iii. 22), with his characteristic freedom of mind, considers it an open question of little or no moment to the real value of the inspired book. Halbag, i. e. R. Levi Ben Gershom, treats it as a philosophic work. A late Hebrew commentator, Simcha Ariei (Schlottmann, p. 4), denies the historical truth of the narrative, on the ground that it is incredible the patriarchs of the chosen race should be surpassed in goodness by a child of Edom. This is worth noting in corroboration of the argument that such a fact was not likely to have been invented by an Israelite of any age.<sup>9</sup>

Luther first suggested the theory, which, in some form or other, is now most generally received. In his introduction to the first edition of his translation of the Bible, he speaks of the author as having so treated the historical facts as to demonstrate the truth that God alone is righteous—and in the Tischreden (ed. Walsch, tom. xxii. p. 2093), he says, "I look upon the book of Job as a true history, yet I do not believe that all took place just as it is written, but that an ingenious, pious, and learned man brought it into its present form." This position was strongly attacked by Bellarmine, and other Roman theologians, and was afterwards repudiated by most Lutherans. The fact that Spinoza, Cleirius, Du Pin, and Father Simon, held nearly the same opinion, the first denying, and the others notoriously holding low views of the inspiration of Scripture, had of course a tendency to bring it into disrepute. J. D. Michaelis first revived the old theory of Bar Nachman, not upon critical but dogmatic grounds. In a mere history, the opinions or doctrines enounced by Job and his friends could have no dogmatic authority; whereas if the whole book were a pure inspiration, the strongest arguments could be deduced from them on behalf of the great truths of the resurrection and a future judgment, which though implied in other early books, are now where so distinctly inculcated. The arbitrary

character of such reasoning is obvious. At present no critic doubts that the narrative rests on facts, although the prevalent opinion among continental scholars is certainly that in its form and general features, in its reasonings and representations of character, the book is a work of creative genius.

The question however cannot be settled, nor indeed thoroughly understood, without reference to other arguments by which critics have endeavoured to determine the date at which the work was completed in its present form, and the circumstances under which it was composed. We proceed therefore to consider

IV. *The probable age, country, and position of the author.*—The language alone does not, as some have asserted, supply any decisive test as to the date of the composition. Critics of the last century generally adopted the opinion of A. Schultens (*Pref. ad librum Jobi*), who considered that the indications of external influences were best accounted for on the supposition that the book was written at a very early period, before the different branches of the Semitic race had completely formed their distinct dialects. The fact that the language of this work approaches far more nearly to the Arabic than any other Hebrew production was remarked by Jerome and is recognised by the soundest critics. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many Aramaic words,<sup>10</sup> and grammatical forms, which some critics have regarded as a strong proof that the writers must have lived during, or even after the captivity. At present this hypothesis is universally given up as untenable. It is proved (Ewald, Rénan, Schlottmann, and Kosegarten) that there is a radical difference between the Aramaisms of the later Hebrew writings and those found in the book of Job. These latter are, without an exception, such as characterise the antique and highly poetic style; they occur in parts of the Pentateuch, in the Song of Deborah, in the earliest Psalms, and the Song of Solomon, all of which are now admitted even by the ablest rationalistic critics to be among the earliest and purest productions of Hebrew literature.<sup>11</sup> So far as any argument can be drawn from idiomatic peculiarities, it may be regarded as a settled point that the book was written long before the exile (see some good observations by Hävernick, l. c.); while there is absolutely nothing to prove a later date than the Pentateuch, or even those parts of the Pentateuch which appear to belong to the patriarchal age.

This impression is borne out by the style. All critics have recognised its grand archaic character. Firm, compact, sonorous as the ring of a pure metal, severe and at times rugged, yet always dignified and majestic, the language belongs altogether to a period when thought was slow, but profound and intensely concentrated, when the weighty and oracular sayings of the wise were wont to be engraved upon rocks with a pen of iron and in characters of molten lead (see xix. 24). It is truly a lapidary

<sup>7</sup> **אֵיּוֹב לֹא הָיָה וְלֹא נִבְרָא אֱלֹהִים מִשַּׁל הָיָה** *Meshal* has a much wider signification than parable, or any English synonym.

<sup>8</sup> Ewald and Duker's *Beiträge*, iii. 163.

<sup>9</sup> Theodoros of Mopsuestia stands alone in denying the inspiration, while he admits the historical character of the book, which he asserted, in a passage condemned at the second Council of Constantinople, to be replete with statements derogatory to God, and such as could only proceed from a vain and ignorant

heathen. Aben Ezra, among the Jews, maintained the same opinion.

<sup>10</sup> A list is given by Lee, p. 50. See also Hävernick, *Introd. to O. T.* p. 176, Eng. Trans.

<sup>11</sup> Rénan's good taste and candour here, as elsewhere, neutralize his rationalistic tendency. In the *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, ed. 1857, he held that the Aramaisms indicated a very late date; in the preface to Job he has adopted the opinion here expressed.

style, such as was natural only in an age when writing, though known, was rarely used, before language had acquired clearness, fluency, and flexibility, but lost much of its freshness and native force. Much stress has been laid upon the fact that the book bears a closer resemblance to the Proverbs of Solomon than to any other Hebrew work (see especially Rosenmüller, *Proll.* p. 38). This is true to a remarkable extent with regard to the thoughts, words and forms of expression, while the metre, which is somewhat peculiar and strongly marked,<sup>b</sup> is almost identical. Hence it has been inferred that the composition belongs to the Solomonian era, or to the period between Solomon and Hezekiah, by whose orders, as we are expressly informed, a great part of the book of Proverbs was compiled. But the argument loses much of its force when we consider that Solomon did not merely invent the proverbs, but collected the most ancient and curious sayings of olden times, not only of the Hebrews, but probably of other nations with whom he had extensive intercourse, and in whose philosophy he is supposed, not without good reason, to have taken deep interest even to the detriment of his religious principles (see Renan's *Job*, p. xxiii.); while those proverbs which he invented himself would as a matter of course be cast in the same metrical form, and take an archaic character. Again, there can be little doubt that the passages in which the resemblance is most complete and striking, were taken from one book by the author of the other; and adapted, according to a Hebrew custom, common among the prophets, to the special purposes of his work. On comparing these passages, it seems impossible to deny that they belonged in the first instance to the book of Job,<sup>c</sup> where they are in thorough harmony with the tenour of the argument, and have all the characteristics of the author's genius. Taking the resemblance as a fact, we are entitled to conclude that we have in Job a composition not later than the most ancient proverbs, and certainly of much earlier date than the entire book.

The extent to which the influence of this book is perceptible in the later literature of the Hebrews is a subject of great interest and importance; but it has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Hävernicks has a few good remarks in his general *Introduction to the Old Testament*, §30. Dr. Lee (*Introd.* Section vii.) has led the way to a more complete and searching inquiry by a close examination of five chapters, in which he produces a vast number of parallel passages from the Pentateuch (which he holds to be contemporary with the Introduction,

<sup>b</sup> Each verse, with very few exceptions, consists of two parallel members, and each member of three words: when that number is exceeded, it is owing to the particles or subordinate words, which are almost always so combined as to leave only three tones in each member (Schlottmann, p. 68).

<sup>c</sup> See Rosenmüller, *Proll.* p. 40. Even Renan, who believes that Job was written after the time of Solomon, holds that the description of Wisdom (ch. xxviii.) is the original source of the idea which we find in Proverbs (chs. viii., ix.).

<sup>d</sup> See some excellent remarks by Renan, p. xxxvii.

<sup>e</sup> The Makamat of Hariri, and the life of Timour by Arabshah, in Arabic, the works of Lycophron in Greek, are good examples. Somewhat of this character may perhaps be found in the last chapters of Ecclesiastes, while it is conspicuous in the apocryphal books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch.

and of a later date than the rest of the book), from Ruth, Samuel, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, and Nahum, all of which are probably, and some of them demonstrably, copied from Job.

Considerable weight must also be attached to the fact that Job is far more remarkable for obscurity than any Hebrew writing.<sup>d</sup> There is an obscurity which results from confusion of thought, from carelessness and inaccuracy, or from studied involutions and artificial combination of metaphors indicating a late age.<sup>e</sup> But when it is owing to obsolete words, intense concentration of thought and language, and incidental allusions to long forgotten traditions, it is an all but infallible proof of primeval antiquity. Such are precisely the difficulties in this book. The enormous mass of notes which a reader must wade through, before he can feel himself competent to decide upon the most probable interpretation of a single chapter,<sup>f</sup> proves that this book stands apart from all other productions of the Hebrews, belongs to a different epoch, and in accordance with the surest canons of criticism, to an earlier age.

We arrive at the same conclusion from considering the institutions, manners, and historical facts described or alluded to in this book. It must be borne in mind that no ancient writer ever succeeded in reproducing the manners of a past age;<sup>g</sup> to use the words of M. Renan, "antiquity had not an idea of what we call local colouring." The attempt was never made by any Hebrew; and the age of any writer can be positively determined when we know the date of the institutions and customs which he describes. Again it is to the last degree improbable (being without a precedent or parallel) that an ancient author<sup>h</sup> should intentionally and successfully avoid all reference to historical occurrences, and to changes in religious forms or doctrines of a date posterior to that of the events which he narrates. These points are now generally recognised, but they have rarely been applied with consistency and candour by commentators on this book.

In the first place it is distinctly admitted that from the beginning to the end no reference whatever is made to the Mosaic law, or to any of the peculiar institutions of Israel,<sup>i</sup> or to the great cardinal events of the national history after the Exodus. It cannot be proved<sup>k</sup> that such reference was unlikely to occur in connexion with the argument. The sanctions and penalties of the law if known, could scarcely have been passed over by the opponents of Job, while the deliverance of Israel and the overthrow of the Egyptians supplied exactly the

Instances in our own literature will occur to every reader.

<sup>d</sup> The ἀναξ λεγόμενα, and passages of which the interpretation is wholly a matter of conjecture, far surpass those of any portion of the O. T.

<sup>e</sup> This is true of the Greek dramatists, and of the greatest original writers of our own, and indeed of every country before the 18th century.

<sup>f</sup> In fact, scarcely one work of fiction exists in which a searching criticism does not detect anachronisms or inconsistencies.

<sup>g</sup> See Renan, p. xvi. It should be noted that even the word מִן, so common in every other book, especially in those of the post-Davidic age, occurs only once in Job xxii. 22, and then not in the special or technical signification of a received code.

<sup>h</sup> See, on the other side, Pareau ap. Rosenm.

examples which they required in order to silence the complaints and answer the arguments of Job. The force of this argument is not affected by the answer that other books written long after the establishment of the Mosaic ritual contain few or no allusions to those institutions or events. The statement is inaccurate. In each of the books specified<sup>11</sup> there are abundant traces of the law. It was not to be expected that a complete view of the Levitical rites, or of historical facts unconnected with the subject matter of those works, could be derived from them; but they abound in allusions to customs and notions peculiar to the Hebrews trained under the law, to the services of the tabernacle or temple, and they all recognise most distinctly the existence of a sacerdotal system, whereas our author ignores, and therefore, as we may reasonably conclude, was unacquainted with, any forms of religious service, save those of the patriarchal age.

Ewald, whose judgment in this case will not be questioned,<sup>12</sup> asserts very positively that in all the descriptions of manners and customs, domestic, social, and political, and even in the indirect allusions and illustrations, the genuine colouring of the age of Job, that is of the period between Abraham and Moses, is very faithfully observed; that all historical examples and allusions are taken exclusively from patriarchal times, and that there is a complete and successful avoidance of direct reference to later occurrences,<sup>13</sup> which in his opinion may have been known to the writer. All critics concur in extolling the fresh, antique simplicity of manners described in this book, the genuine air of the wild, free, vigorous life of the desert, the stamp of hoar antiquity, and the thorough consistency in the development of characters, equally remarkable for originality and force. There is an absolute contrast between the manners, thoughts, and feelings, and those which characterised the Israelites during the monarchical period; while whatever difference exists between the customs of the older patriarchs as described in Genesis and those of Job's family and associates, is accounted for by the progress of events in the intervening period. The chieftain lives in considerable splendour and dignity; menial offices, such as commonly devolved upon the elder patriarchs and their children, are now performed by servants, between whom and the family the distinction appears to be more strongly marked. Job visits the city frequently, and is there received with high respect as a prince, judge, and distinguished warrior (xxix. 7-9). There are allusions to courts of judicature, written indictments,<sup>14</sup> and regular forms of procedure (xiii. 26, and xxi. 28). Men had begun to observe and reason upon the phenomena of na-

ture, and astronomical observations were connected with curious speculations upon primeval traditions. We read (xx. 15, xxiii. 10, xxvii. 16, 17, xxviii. 1-21) of mining operations, great buildings, ruined sepulchres, perhaps even of sculptured figures of the dead,<sup>15</sup> and there are throughout copious allusions to the natural productions and the arts of Egypt. Great revolutions had occurred within the time of the writer; nations once independent had been overthrown, and whole races reduced to a state of misery and degradation. All this might be expected, even supposing the work to have been written before or near the date of the Exodus. The communications with Egypt were frequent, and indeed uninterrupted during the patriarchal age, and in that country each one of the customs upon which most reliance is placed as indicating a later date, is now proved to have been common long before the age of Moses (see Lepsius, Schlottmann, p. 107). Moreover, there is sufficient reason to believe that under favourable circumstances a descendant of Abraham, who was himself a warrior, and accustomed to meet princes on terms of equality, would at a very early age acquire the habits, position, and knowledge, which we admire in Job. He was the head of a great family, successful in war, prosperous in peace, supplied abundantly with the necessities of life, and enjoying many of its luxuries; he lived near the great cities on the Euphrates and Tigris, and on the route of the caravans which at the remotest periods exchanged the productions of Egypt and the far East, and had therefore abundant opportunities of procuring information from those merchants, supposing that he did not himself visit a country so full of interest to a thoughtful mind.

Such a progress in civilization may or may not be admitted by historical critics to be probable within the limits of time thus indicated, but no positive historical fact or allusion can be produced from the book to prove that it could not have been written before the time of Moses. The single objection (Renan, p. 40) which presents any difficulty is the mention of the Chaldeans in the introductory chapter. It is certain that they appear first in Hebrew history about the year B.C. 770. But the name of Cheshel, the ancestor of the race, is found in the genealogical table in Genesis (xii. 22), a fact quite sufficient to prove the early existence of the people as a separate tribe. It is highly probable that an ancient race bearing that name in Kurdistan (see Xenoph., *Cyr.* iii. 1, §34; *Anab.* iv. 3, §4, v. 5, §17) was the original source of the nation, who were there trained in predatory habits, and accustomed, long before their appearance in history, to make excursions into the neighbouring deserts;<sup>16</sup> a

<sup>11</sup> M. Rénan says: "On s'étonnait de ne trouver dans le livre de Job aucune trace des proscriptions mosaïques. Mais on n'en trouve pas davantage dans le livre des Proverbes, dans l'histoire des Juges et des premiers Rois, et en général dans les écrivains antérieurs à la dernière époque du royaume de Juda." It must be remembered that this writer denies the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

<sup>12</sup> See the *Einführung*, p. 57. M. Rénan, Hahn, Schlottmann, and other critics, agree fully with this opinion.

<sup>13</sup> The entire disappearance of the bushmen (Job xxx. 4-7) belongs to a very early age. Ewald supposes them to have been descendants of the Horites; and Schlottmann (p. 13) observes, truly, that the writer must have known them from his own observation. This throws us of course back to the Mosaic age.

<sup>14</sup> Known in Egypt at an early period (Diod. Sic. i. p. 75).

<sup>15</sup> Ch. xxi. 32. The interpretation is very doubtful.

<sup>16</sup> The remarkable treatise by Chwolson, *Ueber die Ueberreste der Babylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen*, proves an advance in mental cultivation in those regions at a far earlier age, more than sufficient to answer every objection of this nature.

<sup>17</sup> This is now generally admitted. See M. Rénan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, ed. 1858, p. 58. He says truly that they were "redoutés dans tout l'Orient pour leurs brigandages" (p. 63). See also Chwolson, *die Sabier*, vol. i. p. 312. Ur of the Chaldeans was undoubtedly so named because it was founded or occupied by that people.

view quite in harmony with the part assigned to them in this book.

The arguments which have induced the generality of modern critics to assign a later date to this book, notwithstanding their concurrence in most of the points and principles which we have just considered, may be reduced to two heads, which we will now examine separately:—

1. We are told that the doctrinal system is considerably in advance of the Mosaic; in fact that it is the result of a recoil from the stern, narrow dogmatism of the Pentateuch. Here of course there can be no common ground between those who admit, and those who secretly or openly deny the authenticity and inspiration of the Mosaic writings. Still even rationalistic criticism cannot show, what it so confidently assumes, that there is a demonstrable difference in any essential point between the principles recognised in Genesis and those of our author. The absence of all recognition of the peculiar views and institutions first introduced or developed in the law has been already shown to be an evidence of an earlier date—all that is really proved is that the elementary truths of primeval revelation are represented, and their consequences developed under a great variety of striking and original forms—a fact sufficiently accounted for by the highly thoughtful character of the book, and the undoubted genius of the writer (comp. Job x. 9; Gen. iii. 19; Isa. xlvii. 3; Gen. ii. 7, vii. 22; Job xxii. 15, 16, with the account of the deluge). In Genesis and in this work we have the same theology; the attributes of the Godhead are identical. Man is represented in all his strength and in all his weakness, glorious in capacities, but infirm and impure in his actual condition, with a soul and spirit allied to the eternal, but with a physical constitution framed from the dust to which it must return. The writer of Job knows just so much of the fall of Adam and the early events of man's history, including the deluge (xxii. 15, 16), as was likely to be preserved by tradition in all the families descended from Shem. And with reference to those points in which a real progress was made by the Israelites after the time of Moses, the position from which this writer starts is precisely that of the lawgiver. One great problem of the book is the reconciliation of unmerited suffering with the love and justice of God. In the prophets and psalms the subject is repeatedly discussed, and receives, if not a complete, yet a substantially satisfactory settlement in connexion with the great doctrines of Messiah's kingdom, priesthood, sufferings, and second advent, involving the resurrection and a future judgment. In the book of Job, as it has been shown, there is no indication that the question had previously been raised. The answers given to it are evidently elicited by the discussions. Even in the discourse of Elihu, in which the nearest approach to the full development of the true theory of providential dispensations is admitted to be found, and which indeed for that very reason has been suspected of interpolation, there is no sign that the writer knew those characteristics of Messiah which from the time of

David were continually present to the mind of the Israelites.

Again it is said that the representation of angels, and still more specially of Satan, belongs to a later epoch. Some have even asserted that the notion must have been derived from Persian or Assyrian mythology. That hypothesis is now generally rejected—on the one hand it would fix a far later date<sup>1</sup> for the composition than any critic of the least authority would now assign to the book; on the other it is proved<sup>2</sup> that Satan bears no resemblance to Ahriman; he acts only by permission from God, and differs from the angels not in essence but in character. It is true that Satan is not named in the Pentateuch, but there is an exact correspondence between the characteristics of the malignant and envious accuser in this book and those of the enemy of man and God, which are developed in the history of the Fall.<sup>3</sup> The appellation of "sons of God" is peculiar to this book and that of Genesis.

It is also to be remarked that no charge of idolatry is brought against Job by his opponents when enumerating all the crimes which they can imagine to account for his calamities. The only allusion to the subject (xxxi. 26) refers to the earliest form of false religion known in the East.<sup>4</sup> To an Israelite, living after the introduction of heathen rites, such a charge was the very first which would have suggested itself, nor can any one satisfactory reason be assigned for the omission.

2. Nearly all modern critics, even those who admit the inspiration of the author, agree in the opinion that the composition of the whole work, the highly systematic development of the plot, and the philosophic tone of thought indicate a considerable progress in mental cultivation far beyond what can, with any show of probability, be supposed to have existed before the age of Solomon. We are told indeed that such topics as are here introduced occupied men's minds for the first time when schools of philosophy were formed under the influence of that prince. Such assertions are easily made, and resting on no tangible grounds, they are not easily disproved. It should, however, be remarked that the persons introduced in this book belong to a country celebrated for wisdom in the earliest times; inasmuch that the writer who speaks of those schools considers that the peculiarities of the Salomonian writings were derived from intercourse with its inhabitants (Rénan, p. xxiii.—xxv.). The book of Job differs from those writings chiefly in its greater earnestness, vehemence of feeling, vivacity of imagination, and free independent inquiry into the principles of divine government, characteristics as it would seem of a primitive race, acquainted only with the patriarchal form of religion, rather than of a scholastic age. There is indeed nothing in the composition incompatible with the Mosaic age, admitting (what all rationalistic critics who assign a later date to this book deny) the authenticity and integrity of the Pentateuch.

We should attach more weight to the argument derived from the admirable arrangement of the entire book (Schlottmann, p. 108), did we not re-

<sup>1</sup> To the epoch of the Achæmenidæ.

<sup>2</sup> See Rénan, p. xxxix. This was previously pointed out by Herder.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lee (*Introduction to Job*, p. 13) observes that although Satan is not named in Genesis, yet that the character which that name implies is clearly intimated in the words, "I will put enmity (בְּרִיבָה) between

thee and him." The connexion between this word and the name of Job is perhaps more than an accidental coincidence.

<sup>4</sup> The worship of the moon was introduced into Mesopotamia, probably in the earliest age, by the Aryans. See Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, i. p. 313.

member how completely the same course of reasoning misled the acutest critics in the case of the Homeric poems. There is a kind of artifice in style and arrangement of a subject which is at once recognised as an infallible indication of a highly cultivated or declining literature. This, however, differs essentially from the harmonious and majestic simplicity of form, and the natural development of a great thought which characterise the first grand productions of genius in every nation, and produce so powerful an impression of reality as well as of grandeur in every unprejudiced reader of the book of Job.

These considerations lead of course to the conclusion that the book must have been written before the promulgation of the Law, by one speaking the Hebrew language, and thoroughly conversant with the traditions preserved in the family of Abraham. Whether the writer had access to original documents\* or not is mere matter of conjecture; but it can scarcely be doubted that he adhered very closely to the accounts, whether oral or written, which he received.

It would be a waste of time to consider the arguments of those who hold that the writer lived near the time of the captivity—that view is now all but universally repudiated: but one hypothesis which has been lately brought forward (by Stickel, who is followed by Schlottmann), and supported by very ingenious arguments, deserves a more special notice. It meets some of the objections which have been here adduced to the prevalent opinion of modern critics, who maintain that the writer must have lived at a period when the Hebrew language and literature had attained their full development; while it accounts in a satisfactory manner for some of the most striking peculiarities of the book. That supposition is, that Job may have been written after the settlement of the Israelites by a dweller in the south of Judaea, in a district immediately bordering upon the Idumean desert. The inhabitants of that district were to a considerable extent isolated from the rest of the nation: their attendance at the festivals and ordinances of the tabernacle and of the temple before the time of the later kings, was probably rare and irregular, if it were not altogether interrupted during a long period. In that case it would be natural that the author, while recognising and enforcing the fundamental principles of religion, should be sparing in allusions to the sanctions or observances of the law. A resident in that district would have peculiar opportunities of collecting the varied and extensive information which was possessed by the author of Job. It was not far from the country of Elipliaz; and it is probable that the intercourse with all the races to which the persons named in the book belonged was frequent during the early years of Israelitish history. The caravans of Tema and Sheba (Job vi. 19) crossed there in a route much frequented by merchants, and the communications with Egypt were of course regular and uninterrupted. A man of wealth, station, and cultivated mind, such as we cannot doubt the author must have been, would either learn from conversation with merchants the peculiarities to which he so frequently alludes, or, as is highly probable, he would avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded

of visiting that country, of all the most interesting to an ancient. The local colouring, so strikingly characteristic of this book, and so evidently natural, is just what might be expected from such a writer: the families in southern Palestine, even at a later age, lived very much after the manner of the patriarchs; and illustrations derived from the free, wild, vigorous life of the desert, and the customs of pastoral tribes, would spontaneously suggest themselves to his mind. The people appear also to have been noted for freshness and originality of mind—qualities seen in the woman of Tekoah, or still more remarkably in Amos, the poor and unlearned herdsman, also of Tekoah. It has also been remarked that Amos seems to have known and imitated the book of Job (comp. Am. iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 6, with Job ix. 8, 9, xxxviii. 31, xli. 15; Schlottmann, p. 109): a circumstance scarcely to be explained, considering the position and imperfect education of that prophet, excepting on the supposition that for some reason or other this book was peculiarly popular in that district. Some weight may also be attached to the observation (Stickel, p. 276; Schlottmann, p. 111) that the dialectic peculiarities of Southern Palestine, especially the softening of the aspirates and exchanges of the sibilants, resemble the few divergences\* from pure Hebrew which are noted in the book of Job.

The controversy about the authorship cannot ever be finally settled. From the introduction it may certainly be inferred that the writer lived many years after the death of Job. From the strongest internal evidence it is also clear that he must either have composed the work before the law was promulgated, or under most peculiar circumstances which exempted him from its influence. The former of these two suppositions has nothing against it excepting the arguments, which have been shown to be far from conclusive, derived from language, composition, and indications of a high state of mental cultivation and general civilization. It has every other argument in its favour, while it is free from the great, and surely insuperable, difficulty that a devout Israelite, deeply interested in all religious speculations, should ignore the doctrines and institutions which were the peculiar glory of his nation: a supposition which, in addition to its intrinsic improbability, is scarcely consistent with any sound view of the inspiration of holy writ.

A complete list and fair estimate of all the preceding commentators on Job is given by Rosenmüller (*Klenchus Inst. Jobi*, 1824). The best Rabbinical commentators are—Jarchi, in the 12th century; Aben Ezra, a good Arabic as well as Hebrew scholar, † A.D. 1168; Levi Ben Gershom, commonly known as Ralbag, † 1370; and Nachmanides in the 13th century. Saadia, the well-known translator of the Pentateuch, has written a paraphrase of Job, and Tanchum a good commentary, both in Arabic (Ewald, *Vorrade*, p. xi.). The early Fathers contributed little to the explanation of the text; but some good remarks on the general argument are found in Chrysostom, Didymus Alexandrinus, and other Greek Fathers quoted in the *Catenae* of Nicetas, edited by Junier, London, fol., 1637—a work chiefly valuable with reference to the Alexandrian version. Ephrem Syrus has

\* The most sceptical critics admit that the Israelites had written documents in the age of Moses. See E. Renan, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 116.

\* עֲשֵׂה לִי מִשְׁכָּן, vi. 8; מִשְׁכָּן, vi. 10; בֹּשֶׂם, v. 11; יִצְחָק, vii. 16.

scholia, chiefly doctrinal and practical, vol. ii., Romae, 1740. The translation in the Latin Vulgate by Jerome is of great value; but the commentary ascribed to him consists merely of excerpts from the work of Philip, one of Jerome's disciples (see Tillenont, *Mem. Éoc.* xii. 681): it is of little or no use for the interpretation. The great work of Gregory M. is practical, spiritual, or mystical, but has little connexion with the literal meaning, which the author does not profess to explain. Among the long list of able and learned Romanists who have left commentaries on the book, few had any knowledge of the Hebrew language: from Caetan, Zuniga, little can be learned; but A. Schultens speaks very highly of Pineda, whose commentary has passed through many editions. Rosenmüller says the German translation of Job by T. A. De-reser is one of the best in that language. The early Protestants, Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Calvin, contributed somewhat to the better understanding of the text; but by far the best commentary of that age is that prepared by C. Bertram, a disciple of Mercer, after the death of his master, from his MS. notes. This work is well worth consulting. Mercer was a sound Hebrew scholar of Reuchlin's school, and a man of acute discernment and excellent judgment. The great work of Albert Schultens on Job (A.D. 1737) far surpasses all preceding and contemporary expositions, nor has the writer as yet been surpassed in knowledge of the Hebrew and cognate languages. He was the first who brought all the resources of Arabic literature to bear upon the interpretation of Job. The fault of his book is diffuseness, especially in the statement of opinions long since rejected, and uninteresting to the student. The best works of the present century are those of Rosenmüller, 3 vols. 1824; and H. Ewald, whose translation and commentary are remarkable for accurate learning and originality of genius, but also for contempt of all who believe in the inspiration of Scripture. The *Vorrede* is most painful in tone. The commentaries of Umbreit, Vaihinger, Lange, Stöckel, Hahn, Hirzel, De Wette, Knobel, and Vatke are generally characterised by diligence and ingenuity; but have for the most part a strong rationalistic tendency, especially the three last. The most useful analysis is to be found in the introduction to K. Schlottmann's translation, Berlin, 1851; but his commentary is deficient in philological research. M. Réanau has lately given an excellent translation in French (*Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1859), with an introduction, which, notwithstanding its thoroughly sceptical character, shows a genial appreciation of some characteristic excellences of this book. In England we have a great number of translations, commentaries, &c., of various merit: among which the highest rank must be assigned to the work of Dr. Lee, especially valuable for its copious illustrations from Oriental sources. [F. C. C.]

**JO'BAB.** 1. (יֹבָב: 'Iobab: *Jobab*.) The last in order of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 29; 1 Chr. i. 23). His name has not been discovered among the Arab names of places in Southern Arabia, where he ought to be found with the other sons of Joktan. But Ptolemy mentions the 'Iobabirai near the Sachalitae; and Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21), followed by Salmasius and Gesenius, suggests the reading 'Iobabirai, by the common interchange of  $\rho$  and  $\beta$ . The identification is perhaps correct, but it has not been connected with an Arab name of a tribe or place; and Bochart's conjecture of its being i. g.

Arab. بيباب, "a desert," &c., from بيب, though regarded as probable by Gesenius and Michaelis, seems to be unworthy of acceptance. Kalisch (*Com. on Gen.*) says that it is, "according to the etymology, a district in *Arabia Deserta*," in apparent ignorance of the famous desert near Hadramawt, called the Ahkaf, of proverbial terror; and the more extensive waste on the north-east of the former, called the "deserted quarter," Er-Ruba el-Khalee, which is impassable in the summer, and fitter to be called desert Arabia than the country named *deserta* by the Greeks.

2. One of the "kings" of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34; 1 Chr. i. 44, 45), enumerated after the genealogy of Esau, and Seir, and before the phylarchs descended from Esau. [EDOM.] He was "son of Zerah of Bozrah," and successor of Bela, the first king on the list. It is this Jobab whom the LXX., quoting the Syriac, identify with Job, his father being Zerah son of Esau, and his mother, *Boorôpha*. [E. S. P.]

3. King of MADON; one of the northern chieftains who attempted to oppose Joshua's conquest, and were routed by him at Meron (Josh. xi. 1, only).

4. 'Iobab, Alex.; 'Iobab, head of a Benjamite house (1 Chr. viii. 10). [JEUZ.] [A. C. II.]

**JOCH'EBED** (יֹכָבֵד: 'Ioxabêd; *Jochabed*), the wife and at the same time the aunt of Amiam, and the mother of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 20). In order to avoid the apparent illegality of the marriage between Amiam and his aunt, the LXX. and Vulg. render the word *dôdah* "cousin" instead of "aunt." But this is unnecessary: the example of Abraham himself (Gen. xx. 12) proves that in the pre-Mosaic age a greater latitude was permitted in regard to marriage than in a later age. Moreover it is expressly stated elsewhere (Ex. ii. 1; Num. xxvi. 59) that Jochabed was the daughter of Levi, and consequently sister of Kohath, Amram's father. [W. L. B.]

**JO'DA** ('Iodâ) = Judah the Levite, in a passage which is difficult to unravel (1 Esd. v. 58; see Ezr. iii. 9). Some words are probably omitted. The name elsewhere appears in the A. V. in the forms Hodaviah (Ezr. ii. 40), Hodevah (Neh. vii. 43), Hodijah (Neh. x. 10), and Sudias (1 Esd. v. 26).

**JO'ED** (יֹאֵד: 'Iodâ: *Joed*), a Benjamite, the son of Pedaiab (Neh. xi. 7). Two of Kennicott's MSS. read יֹאֵד, i. e. Jocezer, and two יֹאֵד, i. e. Joel, confounding Joed with Joel the son of Pedaiab, the Manassite. The Syriac must have had יֹאֵד.

**JO'EL** (יֹאֵל: 'Iohal: *Joel* and *Johel*). 1. Eldest son of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chr. vi. 33, xv. 17), and father of Heman the singer. He and his brother Abiah were made judges in Beersheba when their father was old, and no longer able to go his accustomed circuit. But they disgraced both their office and their parentage by the corrupt way in which they took bribes and perverted judgment. Their grievous misconduct gave occasion to the change of the constitution of Israel to a monarchy. It is in the case of Joel that the singular corruption of the text of 1 Chr. vi. 13 (28, A. V.) has taken place. Joel's name has dropped out; and *Vashni*, which means "and the second," and is descriptive of Abijah, has been taken for a proper name.

2. In 1 Chr. vi. 36, A. V., Joel seems to be merely a corruption of Shaul at ver. 24. [A. C. H.]

3. One of the twelve minor prophets; the son of Pethuel, or, according to the LXX., Bethuel. Beyond this fact all is conjecture as to the personal history of Joel. Pseudo-Epiphanius (ii. 245) records a tradition that he was of the tribe of Reuben, born and buried at Bethhoron, between Jerusalem and Caesarea. It is most likely that he lived in Judaea, for his commission was to Judah, as that of Hosea had been to the ten tribes (St. Jerome, *Comment. in Joel*). He exhorts the priests, and makes frequent mention of Judah and Jerusalem. It has been made a question whether he were a priest himself (Winer, *Realw.*), but there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for determining it in the affirmative, though some recent writers (e. g. Maurice, *Prophecy and Kings*, p. 179) have taken this view. Many different opinions have been expressed about the date of Joel's prophecy. Credner has placed it in the reign of Jotham, Bertholdt of Hezekiah, Kimchi, Jahn, &c. of Manasseh, and Calmet of Josiah. The LXX. places Joel after Amos and Micah. But there seems no adequate reason for departing from the Hebrew order. The majority of critics and commentators (Abarbanel, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Winer, &c.) fix upon the reign of Uzziah, thus making Joel nearly contemporary with Hosea and Amos. The principal reasons for this conclusion, besides the order of the books, are the special and exclusive mention of the Egyptians and Edomites as enemies of Judah, no allusion being made to the Assyrians or Babylonians, who arose at a later period. Nothing, says Hengstenberg, has yet been found to overthrow this conclusion, and it is confirmed on other grounds, especially

*The nature, style, and contents of the prophecy.*—We find, what we should expect on the supposition of Joel being the first prophet to Judah, only a grand outline of the whole terrible scene, which was to be depicted more and more in detail by subsequent prophets (Browne, *Ordo Saecul.* p. 691). The scope, therefore, is not any particular invasion, but the whole day of the Lord. "This book of Joel is a type of the early Jewish prophetic discourse, and may explain to us what distant events in the history of the land would expand it, and bring fresh discoveries within the sphere of the inspired man's vision" (Maurice, *Prophecy and Kings*, p. 179).

The proximate event to which the prophecy related was a public calamity, then impending on Judaea, of a twofold character: want of water, and a plague of locusts, continuing for several years. The prophet exhorts the people to turn to God with penitence, fasting, and prayer, and then (he says) the plague shall cease, and the rain descend in its season, and the land yield her accustomed fruit. Nay, the time will be a most joyful one for God, by the outpouring of His Spirit, will impart to His worshippers increased knowledge of Himself, and after the excision of the enemies of His people, will extend through them the blessings of true religion to heathen lands. This is the simple argument of the book; only that it is beautified and enriched with variety of ornament and pictorial description. The style of the original is perspicuous (except towards the end) and elegant, surpassing that of all other prophets, except Isaiah and Habakkuk, in sublimity.

Browne (*Ordo Saecul.* p. 692) regards the con-

tents of the prophecy as embracing two visions, but it is better to consider it as one connected representation (Hengst., Winer). For its interpretation we must observe not isolated facts of history, but the *idea*. The swarm of locusts was the medium through which this idea, "the ruin upon the postate church," was represented to the inward contemplation of the prophet. But, in one unbroken connexion, the idea goes on to penitence, return, blessing, outpouring of the Spirit, judgments on the enemies of the Church (1 Pet. iv. 17), final establishment of God's kingdom. All prior destructions, judgments, and victories are like the smaller circles; the final consummation of all things, to which the prophecy reaches, being the outmost one of all.

The locusts of ch. ii. were regarded by many interpreters of the last century (Lowth, Shaw, &c.) as figurative, and introduced by way of comparison to a hostile army of men from the north country. This view is now generally abandoned. Locusts are spoken of in Deut. xxviii. 38 as instruments of Divine vengeance; and the same seems implied in Joel ii. 11, 25. Maurice (*Prophecy and Kings*, p. 180) strongly maintains the literal interpretation. And yet the plague contained a parable in it, which it was the prophet's mission to unfold. The four kinds or swarms of locusts (i. 4) have been supposed to indicate four Assyrian invasions (Titcomb, *Bible Studies*), or four cries to the chosen people of God, the Babylonian, Syro-Macedonian, Roman, and Antichristian (Browne). In accordance with the literal (and certainly the primary) interpretation of the prophecy, we should render אֶת־הַמּוֹרָה as in our A. V., "the former rain," with Rosenm. and the lexicographers, rather than "a (or the) teacher of righteousness" with marg. of A. V., Hengst., and others. The allusion to the Messiah, which Hengst. finds in this word, or to the ideal teacher (Deut. xviii. 18), of whom Messiah was the chief, scarcely accords with the immediate context.

The אֶת־הַיּוֹם of ch. iii. 1 in the Hebrew, "afterwards" ch. ii. 27 of the A. V., raises us to a higher level of vision, and brings into view Messianic times and scenes. Here, says Steudel, we have a Messianic prophecy altogether. If this prediction has ever yet been fulfilled, we must certainly refer the event to Acts ii. The best commentators are agreed upon this. We must not, however, interpret it thus to the exclusion of all reference to preparatory events under the earlier dispensation, and still less to the exclusion of later Messianic times. Acts ii. virtually contained the whole subsequent development. The outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost was the ἀπαρχή, while the full accomplishment and the final reality are yet to come. But here both are blended in one, and the whole passage has therefore a double aspect. The passage is well quoted by St. Peter from the first prophet to the Jewish kingdom. And his quoting it shows that the Messianic reference was the prevailing one in his day; though Acts ii. 39 proves that he extended his reference to the end of the dispensation. The expression "all flesh" (ii. 17) is explained by the following clauses, by which no principle of distribution is meant, but only that all classes, without respect of persons, will be the subjects of the Spirit's influences. All distinction of races, too, will be done away (cf. ii. 32, with Rom. x. 12, 13).

Lastly, the accompanying portents and judg-

ments upon the enemies of God find their various solutions, according to the interpreters, in the repeated deportations of the Jews by neighbouring merchants, and sale to the Macedonians (1 Macc. iii. 41, and Ezek. xxvii. 13), followed by the sweeping away of the neighbouring nations (Maurice); in the events accompanying the crucifixion, in the fall of Jerusalem, in the breaking up of all human polities. But here again the idea includes all manifestations of judgment, ending with the last. The whole is shadowed forth in dim outline; and while some crises are past, others are yet to come (comp. iii. 13-21 with St. Matt. xxiv., and Rev. xix.).

Among the commentators on the book of Joel, enumerated by Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, part 7, vol. i., may be specially mentioned Leusden's *Joel Explicatus*, Ultraj. 1657; Dr. Edw. Pocock's *Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, Oxford, 1691; and *A Paraphrase and critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, by Samuel Chandler, London, 1735. See also *Die Propheten des alten Bundes erklärt*, von Heinrich Ewald, Stuttgart, 1840; *Praktischen Commentar über die Kleinen Propheten*, von Dr. Umbreit, Hamburg, 1844; and *Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets*, by Dr. E. Henderson, London, 1845. [H. B.]

4. (יִשְׁשִׁי): 'Ishshai: Joël. The head of one of the families of the Simeonites (1 Chr. iv. 35). He formed part of the expedition against the Hamites of Gedor in the reign of Hezekiah.

5. A descendant of Reuben. Junius and Tremellius make him the son of Hanoeh, while others trace his descent through Carmi (1 Chr. v. 4). The Syriac for Joel substitutes Carmi, but there is reason to believe that the genealogy is that of the eldest son. Harrington (*Genal.* i. 53) maintains that the Joel mentioned in v. 8 was a descendant, not of Hanoeh, but of one of his brethren, probably Carmi, as Junius and Tremellius print it in their genealogical table. But the passage on which he relies for support (ver. 7), as concluding the genealogy of Hanoeh, evidently refers to Beerah, the prince of the Reubenites, whom the Assyrian king carried captive. There is, however, sufficient similarity between Shemaiah and Shemi, who are both represented as sons of Joel, to render it probable that the latter is the same individual in both instances. Bertheau conjectures that he was contemporary with David, which would be approximately true if the genealogy were traced in each case from father to son.

6. Chief of the Gadites, who dwelt in the land of Bashan (1 Chr. v. 12).

7. (*Johel*). The son of Izrahiah, of the tribe of Issachar, and a chief of one of "the troops of the host of the battle" who numbered in the days of David 36,000 men (1 Chr. vii. 3). Four of Kennicott's MSS. omit the words "and the sons of Izrahiah;" so that Joel appears as one of the five sons of Uzai. The Syriac retains the present text, with the exception of reading "four" for "five."

8. The brother of Nathan of Zobah (1 Chr. xi. 38), and one of David's guard. He is called Igal in 2 Sam. xxiii. 36; but Kennicott contends that in this case the latter passage is corrupt, though in other words it preserved the true reading.

9. The chief of the Gershonites in the reign of David, who sanctified themselves to bring up the ark from the house of Obadiah (1 Chr. xv. 7, 11).

10. A Gershonite Levite in the reign of David,

son of Jehiel, a descendant of Laadan, and probably the same as the preceding (1 Chr. xxiii. 8; xxvi. 22). He was one of the officers appointed to take charge of the treasures of the Temple.

11. The son of Pedaiah, and prince or chief of the half-tribe of Manasseh, west of Jordan, in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 20).

12. A Kohathite Levite in the reign of Hezekiah. He was the son of Azariah, and one of the two representatives of his branch of the tribe in the solemn purification by which the Levites prepared themselves for the restoration of the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 12).

13. One of the sons of Nebo, who returned with Ezra, and had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 43). He is called Juel in 1 Esd. ix. 35.

14. The son of Zichri, a Benjaminite, placed in command over those of his own tribe and the tribe of Judah, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 9). [W. A. W.]

JOELAH (יֹהֵלָה): 'Ielā; Alex. 'Iωηλά: Joēla, son of Jeroham of Gedor, who with his brother joined the band of warriors who rallied round David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7).

JOE'ZER (יֹעֶזֶר): 'Iowzār; Cod. Fred. Aug. 'Iowzār; Joerzer), a Korhite, one of David's captains who fought by his side while living in exile among the Philistines (1 Chr. xii. 6).

JOG'BEHAH (יֹגְבֵהָא): in Num. the LXX. have translated it, as if from יֹגְבֵהָא—*ψύσαν αὐτάς*; in Judg. 'Ieyebāl; Alex. ἐξ ἐναντίας Ζεβέε: *Jeybaa*), one of the cities on the east of Jordan which were built and fortified by the tribe of Gad when they took possession of their territory (Num. xxxii. 35). It is there associated with JAAZER and BETH-NIMRAH, places which there is reason to believe were not far from the Jordan, and south of the *Jebel-Jilah*. It is mentioned once again, this time in connexion with Nobah, in the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites (Judg. vii. 11). They were at Karkor, and he made his way from the upper part of the Jordan valley at Succoth and Peniel, and "went up"—ascended from the Ghor by one of the torrent-beds to the downs of the higher level—by the way of the dwellers in tents—the pastoral people, who avoided the district of the towns—to the east of Nobah and Jogbehah—making his way towards the waste country in the south-east. Here, according to the scanty information we possess, Karkor would seem to have been situated. No trace of any name like Jogbehah has yet been met with in the above, or any other direction. [G.]

JO'GLI (יֹגְלִי): 'Eyal; Alex. 'Eyal: *Jogli*), the father of Bukki, a chief man among the Danites (Num. xxxiv. 22).

JO'HA. 1. (יֹהָא): 'Iōdā; Alex. 'Iωχά: *Joha*.) One of the sons of Beriah, the Benjaminite, who was a chief of the fathers of the dwellers in Ajalon, and had put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr. viii. 16). His family may possibly have founded a colony, like the Danites, within the limits of another tribe, where they were exposed, as the men of Ephraim had been, to the attacks of the Gittites. Such border-warfare was too common to render it necessary to suppose that the narratives in 1 Chr. vii. 21 and viii. 13 refer to the same

encounter, although it is not a little singular that the name Beriah occurs in each.

2. (*יוֹאָחָאֵל*; Alex. *Ἰωαχάε*.) The Tizite, one of David's guard. Kennicott decides that he was the son of Shimri, as he is represented in the A. V., though in the margin the translators have put "Shimrite" for "the son of Shimri" to the name of his brother Jedihel.

JOHANAN (*יוֹחָנָן*; *Ἰωάννης*), a shortened form of Jehohanan = "Jehovah's gift." It is the same as John. [JEHOHANAN.] 1. Son of Azariah [AZARIAH, 2], and grandson of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and father of Azariah, 3 (1 Chr. vi. 9, 10, A. V.). In Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, §6) the name is corrupted to Joramus, and in the *Seder Olam* to Joiahaz. The latter places him in the reign of Jehoshaphat; but merely because it begins by wrongly placing Zadok in the reign of Solomon. Since however we know from 1 K. iv. 2, supported by 1 Chr. vi. 10, A. V., that Azariah the father of Johanan was high-priest in Solomon's reign, and Amariah his grandson was so in Jehoshaphat's reign, we may conclude without much doubt that Johanan's pontificate fell in the reign of Rehoboam. (See Hervey's *Genealogies*, &c., ch. x.)

2. Son of Eliehoai, the son of Neariah, the son of Shebailah, in the line of Zerubbabel's heirs [SHEBAILAH], (1 Chr. iii. 24). [A. C. II.] 3. (*Ἰωάνης* in 2 K., *Ἰωάννης* in Jer.; Alex. *Ἰωάννης* in 2 K., and *Ἰωάννης* in Jer., except xli. 11, xlii. 8, xliii. 2, 4, 5: *Johanan*). The son of Kareh, and one of the captains of the scattered remnants of the army of Judah, who escaped in the final attack upon Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and, after the capture of the king, remained in the open country of Moab and the Ammonites, watching the tide of events. He was one of the first to repair to Mizpah, after the withdrawal of the hostile army, and tender his allegiance to the new governor appointed by the king of Babylon. From his acquaintance with the treacherous designs of Ishmael, against which Gedaliah was unhappily warned in vain, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been a companion of Ishmael in his exile at the court of Baalis king of the Ammonites, the promoter of the plot (Jer. xl. 8-16). After the murder of Gedaliah, Johanan was one of the foremost in the pursuit of his assassin, and rescued the captives he had carried off from Mizpah (Jer. xli. 11-16). Fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans for the treachery of Ishmael, the captains, with Johanan at their head, halted by the Khan of Chimham, on the road to Egypt, with the intention of seeking refuge there; and, notwithstanding the warnings of Jeremiah, settled in a body at Tahpanhes. They were afterwards scattered throughout the country, in Migdol, Noph, and Pathros, and from this time we lose sight of Johanan and his fellow-captains.

4. (*Ἰωάννης*). The firstborn son of Josiah king of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 15), who either died before his father, or fell with him at Megiddo. Junius, without any authority, identifies him with Zaraces, mentioned 1 Esd. i. 38.

5. A valiant Benjamite, one of David's captains, who joined him at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

6. (Alex. *Ἰωάννης*; Cod. Fred. Aug. *Ἰωάννης*.) The eighth in number of the lion-faced warriors of Gad, who left their tribe to follow the fortunes of David, and spread the terror of their arms beyond Jordan in the month of its overflow (4 Chr. xii. 12).

7. (*יוֹחָנָן*; *Ἰωάννης*). The father of Azariah,

an Ephraimite in the time of Ahas (2 Chr. xxviii. 12).

8. The son of Hakkatan, and chief of the Bene-Azgad who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 12). He is called Johannes in 1 Esd. viii. 38.

9. (*יוֹחָנָן*). The son of Eliashib, one of the chief Levites (Neh. xii. 23) to whose chamber (or "treasury," according to the LXX.) Ezra retired to mourn over the foreign marriages which the people had contracted (Ezr. x. 6). He is called Joanan in 1 Esd. ix. 1; and some have supposed him to be the same with Jonathan, descendant of another Eliashib, who was afterwards high-priest (Neh. xii. 11).

10. (*יוֹחָנָן*; *Ἰωάννης*; Alex. *Ἰωάννης*; Cod. Fred. Aug. *Ἰωάννης*.) The son of Tobiah the Ammonite, who had married the daughter of Meshullam the priest (Neh. vi. 18). [W. A. W.]

JOHAN'NES (*Ἰωάννης*; *Joannes*) = Jehohanan son of Bebai (1 Esd. ix. 29; comp. Ezr. x. 28).

JOHN (*Ἰωάννης*), names in the Apocrypha.

1. The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the Maccabean family (1 Macc. ii. 1).

2. The (eldest) son of Mattathias (*Ἰωάννης*), surnamed Caddis (*Καδδῖς*, cf. Grimm, *ad* 1 Macc. ii. 2), who was slain by "the children of Jambri" [JAMBR] (1 Macc. ii. 2; ix. 36-38). In 2 Macc. viii. 22 he is called Joseph, by a common confusion of name. [MACCABEES.]

3. The father of Eupolemus, one of the envoys whom Judas Maccabaeus sent to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11).

4. The son of Simon, the brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xiii. 53, xvi. 1), "a valiant man," who, under the title of Johannes Hyrcanus, nobly supported in after time the glory of his house. [MACCABEES.]

5. An envoy from the Jews to Lysias (2 Macc. xi. 17). [B. F. W.]

JOHN (*Ἰωάννης*; Cod. Bezae, *Ἰωάννης*; *Joannes*). 1. One of the high-priest's family, who, with Annas and Caiaphas, sat in judgment upon the Apostles Peter and John for their cure of the lame man and preaching in the Temple (Acts iv. 6). Lightfoot identifies him with R. Johanan ben Zaccai, who lived forty years before the destruction of the Temple, and was president of the great Synagogue after its removal to Jabne, or Jamnia (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor. Matth. praef.* ch. 15; see also Selden, *De Synedrion*, ii. ch. 15). Grotius merely says he was known to Rabbinical writers as "John the priest" (*Comm. in Act. iv.*).

2. The Hebrew name of the Evangelist Mark, who throughout the narrative of the Acts is designated by the name by which he was known among his countrymen (Acts xii. 12, 25, xiii. 5, 13, xv. 37).

JOHN THE APOSTLE (*Ἰωάννης*). It will be convenient to divide the life which is the subject of the present article into periods corresponding both to the great critical epochs which separate one part of it from another, and to marked differences in the trustworthiness of the sources from which our materials are derived. In no instance, perhaps, is such a division more necessary than in this. One portion of the Apostle's life and work stands out before us as in the clearness of broad daylight. Over

those which precede and follow it there brood the shadows of darkness and uncertainty. In the former we discern only a few isolated facts, and are left to inference and conjecture to bring them together into something like a whole. In the latter we encounter, it is true, images more distinct, pictures more vivid; but with these there is the doubt whether the distinctness and vividness are not misleading—whether half-traditional, half-mythical narrative has not taken the place of history.

1. *Before the call to the discipleship.*—We have no data for settling with any exactitude the time of the Apostle's birth. The general impression left on us by the Gospel-narrative is that he was younger than the brother whose name commonly precedes his (Matt. iv. 21, x. 3, xvii. 1, &c.; but comp. Luke ix. 28, where the order is inverted), younger than his friend Peter, possibly also than his Master. The life which was protracted to the time of Trajan (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23, following Irenaeus) can hardly have begun before the year B.C. 4 of the Dionysian aera. The Gospels give us the name of his father Zebedaeus (Matt. iv. 21) and his mother Salome (Matt. xxvii. 56, compared with Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1). Of the former we know nothing more. The traditions of the fourth century (Epiphani. iii. *Haer.* 78) make the latter the daughter of Joseph by his first wife, and consequently half-sister to our Lord. By some recent critics she has been identified with the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, in John xix. 25 (Wieseler, *Stud. in Krit.* 1840, p. 648).<sup>a</sup> They lived, it may be inferred from John i. 41, in or near the same town [BETHSAIDA] as those who were afterwards the companions and partners of their children. There on the shores of the Sea of Galilee the Apostle and his brother grew up. The mention of the "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), of his mother's "substance" (*ἀρὰ τῶν ἐπαρχόντων*, Luke viii. 3), of "his own house" (*τὰ ἴδια*, John xix. 27), implies a position removed by at least some steps from absolute poverty. The fact that the Apostle was known to the high-priest Caiaphas, as that knowledge was hardly likely to have begun after he had avowed himself the disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, suggests the probability of some early intimacy between the two men or their families.<sup>b</sup> The name which the parents gave to their younger child was too common to serve as the ground of any special inference; but it deserves notice (1) that the name appears among the kindred of Caiaphas (Acts iv. 6); (2) that it was given to another priestly child, the son of Zacharias (Luke i. 13), as the embodiment and symbol of Messianic hopes. The frequent occurrence of the name at this period, unconnected as it was with any of the great deeds of the old heroic days of Israel, is indeed in itself significant as a sign of that yearning and expectation which then characterised, not only the more faithful and devout (Luke ii. 25, 38), but the whole people. The prominence given to it by the wonders connected with the birth of the future Baptist may have given a meaning to it for the parents of the future Evangelist which it would not otherwise have had. Of the character of Zebedaeus we have hardly the slightest trace. He interposes no refusal when his sons are called on to leave him (Matt. iv.

21). After this he disappears from the scene of the Gospel-history, and we are led to infer that he had died before his wife followed her children in their work of ministration. Her character meets us as presenting the same marked features as those which were conspicuous in her son. From her, who followed Jesus and ministered to Him of her substance (Luke viii. 3), who sought for her two sons that they might sit, one on His right hand, the other on His left, in His kingdom (Matt. xx. 20), he might well derive his strong affections, his capacity for giving and receiving love, his eagerness for the speedy manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom. The early years of the Apostle we may believe to have passed under this influence. He would be trained in all that constituted the ordinary education of Jewish boyhood. Though not taught in the schools of Jerusalem, and therefore, in later life, liable to the reproach of having no recognised position as a teacher, no rabbinical education (Acts iv. 13), he would yet be taught to read the Law and observe its precepts, to feed on the writings of the prophets with the feeling that their accomplishment was not far off. For him too, as bound by the Law, there would be, at the age of thirteen, the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would become familiar with the stately worship of the Temple, with the sacrifice, the incense, the altar, and the priestly robes. May we not conjecture that then the impressions were first made which never afterwards wore off? Assuming that there is some harmony between the previous training of a prophet and the form of the visions presented to him, may we not recognise them in the rich liturgical imagery of the Apocalypse—in that union in one wonderful vision of all that was most wonderful and glorious in the predictions of the older prophets?

Concurrently with this there would be also the boy's outward life as sharing in his father's work. The great political changes which agitated the whole of Palestine would in some degree make themselves felt even in the village-town in which he grew up. The Galilean fisherman must have heard, possibly with some sympathy, of the efforts made (when he was too young to join in them) by Judas of Gamala, as the great assertor of the freedom of Israel against their Roman rulers. Like other Jews he would grow up with strong and bitter feelings against the neighbouring Samaritans. Lastly, before we pass into a period of greater certainty, we must not forget to take into account that to this period of his life belongs the commencement of that intimate fellowship with Simon Bar-jonah of which we afterwards find so many proofs. That friendship may even then have been, in countless ways, fruitful for good upon the hearts of both.

11. *From the call to the discipleship to the departure from Jerusalem.*—The ordinary life of the fisherman of the Sea of Galilee was at last broken in upon by the news that a Prophet had once more appeared. The voice of John the Baptist was heard in the wilderness of Judaea, and the publicans, peasants, soldiers, and fishermen of Galilee gathered round him. Among these were the two sons of

<sup>a</sup> Ewald (*Gesch. Israels*, v. p. 171) adopts Wieseler's conjecture, and connects it with his own hypothesis that the sons of Zebedee, and our Lord, as well as the Baptist, were of the tribe of Levi. On the other hand, more sober critics, like Neander (*Pfanz. u. Leit.* p.

609, 4th ed.), and Lücke (*Johanneis*, i. p. 9), reject both the tradition and the conjecture.

<sup>b</sup> Ewald (*l. c.*) presses this also into the service of his strange hypothesis.

Zebedaeus and their friends. With them perhaps was One whom as yet they knew not. They heard, it may be, of his protests against the vices of their own ruler—against the hypocrisy of Pharisees and Scribes. But they heard also, it is clear, words which spoke to them of their own sins—of their own need of a deliverer. The words "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins" imply that those who heard them would enter into the blessedness of which they spoke. Assuming that the unnamed disciple of John i. 37-40 was the evangelist himself, we are led to think of that meeting, of the lengthened interview that followed it as the starting-point of the entire devotion of heart and soul which lasted through his whole life. Then Jesus loved him as he loved all earnest seekers after righteousness and truth (comp. Mark x. 21). The words of that evening, though unrecorded, were mighty in their effect. The disciples (John apparently among them) followed their new teacher to Galilee (John i. 44), were with him, as such, at the marriage-feast of Cana (ii. 2), journeyed with him to Capernaum, and thence to Jerusalem (ii. 12, 22), came back through Samaria (iv. 5), and then, for some uncertain interval of time, returned to their former occupations. The uncertainty which hangs over the narratives of Matt. iv. 18, and Luke v. 1-11 (comp. the arguments for and against their relating to the same events in Lampe, *Comment. ad Joann.* i. p. 20), leaves us in doubt whether they received a special call to become "fishers of men" once only or twice. In either case they gave up the employment of their life and went to do a work like it, and yet unlike, in God's spiritual kingdom. From this time they take their place among the company of disciples. Only here and there are there traces of individual character, of special turning-points in their lives. Soon they find themselves in the number of the Twelve who are chosen, not as disciples only, but as their Lord's delegates—representatives—Apostles. In all the lists of the Twelve those four names of the sons of Jonah and Zebedaeus stand foremost. They come within the innermost circle of their Lord's friends, and are as the ἐλεκτὼν ἐλεκτότεροι. The three, Peter, James, and John, are with him when none else are, in the chamber of death (Mark v. 37), in the glory of the transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1), when he forewarns them of the destruction of the Holy City (Mark xiii. 3, Andrew, in this instance, with them), in the agony of Gethsemane. St. Peter is throughout the leader of that band; to John belongs the yet more memorable distinction of being the disciple whom Jesus loved. This love is returned with a more single undivided heart by him than by any other. If Peter is the φιλόχριστος, John is the φιλόθεος (Grotius, *Prolegom. in Joann.*). Some striking facts indicate why this was so; what the character was which was thus worthy of the love of Jesus of Nazareth. They hardly sustain the popular notion, fostered by the received types of Christian art, of a nature gentle, yielding, feminine. The name Boanerges (Mark iii. 17) implies a vehemence, zeal, intensity, which gave to those who had it the might of Sons of Thunder.\* That spirit broke out, once and again, when they joined their mother in

asking for the highest places in the kingdom of their Master, and declared that they were ready to face the dark terrors of the cup that he drank and the baptism that he was baptised with (Matt. xx. 20-24; Mark x. 35-41)—when they rebuked one who cast out devils in their Lord's name because he was not one of their company (Luke ix. 49)—when they sought to call down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans (Luke ix. 54). About this time Salome, as if her husband had died, takes her place among the women who followed Jesus in Galilee (Luke viii. 3), ministering to him of their substance, and went up with him in his last journey to Jerusalem (Luke xxiii. 55). Through her, we may well believe, St. John first came to know that Mary Magdalene whose character he depicts with such a life-like touch, and that other Mary to whom he was afterwards to stand in so close and special a relation. The fulness of his narrative of what the other evangelists omit (John xi.) leads to the conclusion that he was united also by some special ties of intimacy to the family of Bethany. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the familiar history of the Last Supper. What is characteristic is that he is there, as ever, the disciple whom Jesus loved; and, as the chosen and favoured friend, reclines at table with his head upon his Master's breast (John xiii. 23). To him the eager Peter—they had been sent together to prepare the supper (Luke xxii. 8)—makes signs of impatient questioning that he should ask what was not likely to be answered if it came from any other (John xiii. 24). As they go out to the Mount of Olives the chosen three are nearest to their Master. They only are within sight or hearing of the conflict in Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 37). When the betrayal is accomplished, Peter and John, after the first moment of confusion, follow afar off, while the others simply seek safety in a hasty flight (John xviii. 15). The personal acquaintance which existed between John and Caiaphas enabled him to gain access both for himself and Peter, but the latter remains in the porch, with the officers and servants, while John himself apparently is admitted to the council-chamber, and follows Jesus thence, even to the praetorium of the Roman Procurator (John xviii. 16, 19, 28). Thence, as if the desire to see the end, and the love which was stronger than death, sustained him through all the terrors and sorrows of that day, he followed—accompanied probably by his own mother, Mary the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene—to the place of crucifixion. The teacher who had been to him as a brother leaves to him a brother's duty. He is to be as a son to the mother who is left desolate (John xix. 26-27). The Sabbath that followed was spent, it would appear, in the same company. He receives Peter, in spite of his denial, on the old terms of friendship. It is to them that Mary Magdalene first runs with the tidings of the emptied sepulchre (John xx. 2); they are the first to go together to see what the strange words meant. Not without some bearing on their respective characters is the fact that John is the more impetuous, running on most eagerly to the rock-tomb; Peter, the least restrained by awe, the first to enter in and look (John xx. 4-6). For at

\* The consensus of patristic interpretation sees in this name the prophecy of their work as preachers of the Gospel. This, however, would deprive the epithet of all distinguishing force. (Comp. Saucer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. *Βρονή*; and Lampe, i. p. 27.)

† A somewhat wild conjecture is found in writers of the Western Church. Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and Bede, identify the Apostle with the *vearlanas* or of Mark xiv. 51, 52 (Lampe, i. p. 38).

least eight days they continued in Jerusalem (John xx. 26). Then, in the interval between the resurrection and the ascension, we find them still together on the sea of Galilee (John xxi. 1), as though they would calm the eager suspense of that period of expectation by a return to their old calling and their old familiar haunts. Here too there is a characteristic difference. John is the first to recognise in the dim form seen in the morning twilight the presence of his risen Lord; Peter the first to plunge into the water and swim towards the shore where he stood calling to them (John xxi. 7). The last words of the Gospel reveal to us the deep affection which united the two friends. It is not enough for Peter to know his own future. That at once suggests the question—"And what shall this man do?" (John xxi. 21). The history of the Acts shows the same union. They are of course together at the ascension and on the day of Pentecost. Together they enter the Temple as worshippers (Acts iii. 1) and protest against the threats of the Sanhedrim (iv. 13). They are fellow-workers in the first great step of the Church's expansion. The apostle whose wrath had been roused by the unbelief of the Samaritans overcomes his national exclusiveness, and receives them as his brethren (viii. 14). The persecution which was pushed on by Saul of Tarsus did not drive him or any of the apostles from their post (viii. 1). When the persecutor came back as the convert, he, it is true, did not see him (Gal. i. 19), but this of course does not involve the inference that he had left Jerusalem. The sharper though shorter persecution which followed under Herod Agrippa brought a great sorrow to him in the martyrdom of his brother (Acts xii. 2). His friend was driven to seek safety in flight. Fifteen years after St. Paul's first visit he was still at Jerusalem and helped to take part in the great settlement of the controversy between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians (Acts xv. 6). His position and reputation there were those of one ranking among the chief "pillars" of the Church (Gal. ii. 9). Of the work of the Apostle during this period we have hardly the slightest trace. There may have been special calls to mission-work like that which drew him to Samaria. There may have been the work of teaching, organising, exhorting the Churches of Judaea. His fulfilment of the solemn charge entrusted to him may have led him to a life of loving and reverent thought rather than to one of conspicuous activity. We may, at all events, feel sure that it was a time in which the natural elements of his character, with all their fiery energy, were being purified and mellowed, rising step by step to that high serenity which we find perfected in the closing portion of his life. Here too we may, without much hesitation, accept the traditions of the Church as recording a historic fact when they ascribe to him a life of celibacy (Tertull. *de Monog.* c. xiii.). The absence of his name from 1 Cor. ix. 5 tends to the same conclusion. It harmonises with all we know of his character to think of his heart

as so absorbed in the higher and diviner love that there was no room left for the lower and the human.

III. *From his departure from Jerusalem to his death.*—The traditions of a later age come in, with more or less show of likelihood, to fill up the great gap which separates the Apostle of Jerusalem from the Bishop of Ephesus. It was a natural conjecture to suppose that he remained in Judaea till the death of the Virgin released him from his trust.\* When this took place we can only conjecture. There are no signs of his being at Jerusalem at the time of St. Paul's last visit (Acts xxi.). The pastoral epistles set aside the notion that he had come to Ephesus before the work of the Apostle of the Gentiles was brought to its conclusion. Out of many contradictory statements, fixing his departure under Claudius, or Nero, or as late even as Domitian, we have hardly any data for doing more than rejecting the two extremes.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it certain that his work as an Apostle was transferred at once from Jerusalem to Ephesus. A tradition current in the time of Augustine (*Quest. Evang.* ii. 19), and embodied in some MSS. of the N. T., represented the 1st Epistle of St. John as addressed to the Parthians, and so far implied that his Apostolic work had brought him into contact with them. When the form of the aged disciple meets us again, in the twilight of the Apostolic age, we are still left in great doubt as to the extent of his work and the circumstances of his onward life. Assuming the authorship of the Epistles and the Revelation to be his, the facts which the N. T. writings assert or imply are—(1) that, having come to Ephesus, some persecution, local or general, drove him to Patmos (Rev. i. 9);<sup>2</sup> (2) that the seven churches, of which Asia was the centre, were special objects of his solicitude (Rev. i. 11); that in his work he had to encounter men who denied the truth on which his faith rested (1 John iv. 1; 2 John 7), and others who, with a railing and malignant temper, disputed his authority (3 John 9, 10). If to this we add that he must have outlived all, or nearly all, of those who had been the friends and companions even of his maturer years—that this lingering age gave strength to an old imagination that his Lord had promised him immortality (John xxi. 23)—that, as if remembering the actual words which had been thus perverted, the longing of his soul gathered itself up in the cry, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. xxii. 20)—that from some who spoke with authority he received a solemn attestation of the confidence they reposed in him (John xxi. 24)—we have stated all that has any claim to the character of historical truth. The picture which tradition fills up for us has the merit of being full and vivid, but it blends together, without much regard to harmony, things probable and improbable. He is shipwrecked off Ephesus (Simeon Metaph. *in vitâ Johâ.* c. 2; Lampe, i. 47), and arrives there in time to check the progress of the heresies which sprang up after

\* The hypothesis of Baronius and Tillemont, that the Virgin accompanied him to Ephesus, has not even the authority of tradition (Lampe, i. p. 51).

<sup>1</sup> Lampe fixes A.D. 68, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman forces under Cestius, as the most probable date.

<sup>2</sup> In the earlier tradition which made the Apostles formally partition out the world known to them, Parthia falls to the lot of Thomas, while John receives the Proconsular Asia (Euseb. *II. E.* iii. 1). In one

of the legends connected with the Apostles' Creed, Peter contributes the first article, John the second, but the tradition appears with great variations as to time and order (comp. Pseudo-August. *Serm.* ccxi. ccxii.).

<sup>3</sup> Here again the hypotheses of commentators range from Claudius to Domitian, the consensus of patristic tradition preponderating in favour of the latter. [Comp. REVELATION.]

St. Paul's departure. Then, or at a later period, he numbers among his disciples men like Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. xvii.). In the persecution under Domitian he is taken to Rome, and there, by his boldness, though not by death, gains the crown of martyrdom. The boiling oil into which he is thrown has no power to hurt him (Tertull. *de Praescript.* c. xxvi.).<sup>1</sup> He is then sent to labour in the mines, and Patmos is the place of his exile (Victorinus, in *Apoc.* ix.; Lampe, i. 66). The accession of Nerva frees him from danger, and he returns to Ephesus. There he settles the canon of the Gospel-history by formally attesting the truth of the first three Gospels, and writing his own to supply what they left wanting (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24). The elders of the Church are gathered together, and he, as by a sudden inspiration, begins with the wonderful opening, "In the beginning was the word" (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* 29). Heresies continue to show themselves, but he meets them with the strongest possible protest. He refuses to pass under the same roof (that of the public baths of Ephesus) as their foremost leader, lest the house should fall down on them and crush them (Iren. iii. 3; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28, iv. 14).<sup>2</sup> Through his agency the great temple of Artemis is at last reft of its magnificence, and even (!) levelled with the ground (Cyril. Alex. *Orat. de Mar. Virg.*; Nicéphor. *H. E.* ii. 42; Lampe, i. 90). He introduces and perpetuates the Jewish mode of celebrating the Easter feast (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3). At Ephesus, if not before, as one who was a true priest of the Lord, bearing on his brow the plate of gold (*πέταλον*; comp. Suicer. *Thes. s. v.*), with the sacred name engraved on it, which was the badge of the Jewish pontiff (Polycrates, in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, v. 24).<sup>3</sup> In strange contrast with this ideal exaltation, a later tradition tells how the old man used to find pleasure in the playfulness and fondness of a favourite bird, and defended himself against the charge of unworthy trifling by the familiar apologue of the bow that must sometimes be unstrung (Cassian. *Collat.* xxiv. c. 2).<sup>4</sup> More true to the N. T. character of the Apostle is the story, told with so much power and beauty by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dices.* c. 42), of his special and loving interest in the younger members of his flock; of his eagerness and courage in the attempt to rescue one of them who had fallen into evil courses. The scene of the old and loving man, standing face to face with the outlaw-chief whom,

in days gone by, he had baptised, and winning him to repentance, is one which we could gladly look on as belonging to his actual life—part of a story which is, in Clement's words, *οὐ μύθος ἀλλὰ λόγος*. Not less beautiful is that other scene which comes before us as the last act of his life. When all capacity to work and teach is gone—when there is no strength even to stand—the spirit still retains its power to love, and the lips are still opened to repeat, without change and variation, the command which summed up all his Master's will, "Little children, love one another" (Hieron. in *Gal.* vi.). Other stories, more apocryphal and less interesting, we may pass over rapidly. That he put forth his power to raise the dead to life (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18); that he drank the cup of hemlock which was intended to cause his death, and suffered no harm from it" (Pseudo-August. *Soliloq.*; Isidor. Hispal. *de Morte Sanct.* c. 73); that when he felt his death approaching he gave orders for the construction of his own sepulchre, and when it was finished calmly laid himself down in it and died (Augustin. *Tract. in Joann.* cxxiv.); that after his interment there were strange movements in the earth that covered him (*ibid.*); that when the tomb was subsequently opened it was found empty (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 42); that he was reserved to re-appear again in conflict with the personal Antichrist in the last days (Suicer. *Thes. s. v. Ἰωάννης*): these traditions, for the most part, indicate little else than the uncritical spirit of the age in which they passed current. The very time of his death lies within the region of conjecture rather than of history, and the dates that have been assigned for it range from A.D. 89 to A.D. 120 (Lampe, i. 92).

The result of all this accumulation of apocryphal materials is, from one point of view, disappointing enough. We strain our sight in vain to distinguish between the false and the true—between the shadows with which the gloom is peopled, and the living forms of which we are in search. We find it better and more satisfying to turn again, for all our conceptions of the Apostle's mind and character, to the scanty records of the N. T., and the writings which he himself has left. The truest thought that we can attain to is still that he was "the disciple whom Jesus loved"—*ὁ ἐπιστῆθιος*—returning that love with a deep, absorbing, unwavering devotion. One aspect of that feeling is seen in the zeal for his Master's glory, the burning indig-

<sup>1</sup> The scene of the supposed miracle was outside the Porta Latina, and hence the Western Church commemorates it by the special festival of "St. John Pert. Latin." on May 8th.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius and Irenaeus make Cerinthus the heretic. In Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. c. 24) Eblion is the hero of the story. To modern feelings the anecdote may seem at variance with the character of the Apostle of Love, but it is hardly more than the development in act of the principle of 2 John 10. To the mind of Epiphanius there was a difficulty of another kind. Nothing less than a special inspiration could account for such a departure from an ascetic life as going to a bath at all.

<sup>3</sup> The story of the *πέταλον* is perhaps the most perplexing of all the traditions as to the age of the Apostles. What makes it still stranger is the appearance of a like tradition (Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; Epiph. *Haer.* 78) about James the Just. Measured by our notions, the statement seems altogether improbable, and yet how can we account for

its appearance at so early a date? Is it possible that this was the symbol that the old exclusive priesthood had passed away? Or are we to suppose that a strong statement as to the new priesthood was misinterpreted, and that rhetoric passed rapidly into legend? (Comp. Neand. *Pfands. u. Leit.* p. 613; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on Apostolic Age*, p. 283.) Ewald (*l. c.*) finds in it an evidence in support of the hypothesis above referred to.

<sup>4</sup> The authority of Cassian is but slender in such a case; but the story is hardly to be rejected, on *a priori* grounds, as incompatible with the dignity of an Apostle. Does it not illustrate the truth—

"He prayeth best who loveth best  
All things both great and small"?

<sup>5</sup> The memory of this deliverance is preserved in the symbolic cup, with the serpent issuing from it, which appears in the mediaeval representations of the Evangelist. Is it possible that the symbol originated in Mark x. 39, and that the legend grew out of the symbol?

nation against all that seemed to outrage it, which runs, with its fiery gleam, through his whole life, and makes him, from first to last, one of the Sons of Thunder. To him, more than to any other disciple, there is no neutrality between Christ and Antichrist. The spirit of such a man is intolerant of compromises and concessions. The same strong personal affection shows itself, in another form, in the chief characteristics of his Gospel. While the other Evangelists record principally the discourses and parables which were spoken to the multitude, he treasures up every word and accent of dialogues and conversations, which must have seemed to most men less conspicuous. In the absence of any recorded narrative of his work as a preacher, in the silence which he appears to have kept for so many years, he comes before us as one who lives in the unseen eternal world, rather than in that of secular, or even spiritual activity. If there is less apparent power to enter into the minds and hearts of men of different temperament and education, less ability to become all things to all men than there is in St. Paul, there is a perfection of another kind. The image mirrored in his soul is that of the Son of Man, who is also the Son of God. He is the Apostle of Love, not because he starts from the easy temper of a general benevolence, nor again as being of a character soft, yielding, feminine, but because he has grown, ever more and more, into the likeness of Him whom he loved so truly. Nowhere is the vision of the Eternal Word, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, so unclouded: nowhere are there such distinctive personal reminiscences of the Christ, *κατὰ σάφρα*, in his most distinctively human characteristics. It was this union of the two aspects of the Truth which made him so truly the "Theologus" of the whole company of the Apostles, the instinctive opponent of all forms of a mystical, or logical, or doctetic Gnosticism. It was a true feeling which led the later interpreters of the mysterious forms of the four living creatures round the throne (Rev. iv. 7)—departing in this instance from the earlier tradition<sup>p</sup>—to see in him the eagle that soars into the highest heaven and looks upon the unclouded sun. "It will be well to end with the noble words from the hymn of Adam of St. Victor, in which that feeling is embodied:—

"Cœlum transit, veri rotam  
Solis vidit, ibi totum  
Mentis figens æicm;  
Speculator spiritualis  
Quasi seraphim sub alis,  
Dei vidit faciem."<sup>q</sup>

(Comp. the exhaustive Prolegomena to Lampe's *Commentary*; Neander, *Pfanz. u. Leit.* 609-652; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, Sermon iv., and *Essay on the Traditions respecting St. John*; Maurice *On the Gospel of St. John*, Sermon i.; and an interesting article by Ebrard, s. v. *Johannes*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*.)

[E. H. P.]

**JOHN THE BAPTIST** (*Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής*), a saint more signally honoured of God than any other whose name is recorded in either the O. or the N. T. John was of the priestly race by both parents, for his father Zacharias was himself a

priest of the course of Abia, or Abijah (1 Chr. xxiv. 10), offering incense at the very time when a son was promised to him; and Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron (Luke i. 5). Both, too, were devout persons—walking in the commandments of God, and waiting for the fulfilment of His promise to Israel. The divine mission of John was the subject of prophecy many centuries before his birth, for St. Matthew (iii. 3) tells us that it was John who was prefigured by Isaiah as "the Voice of one crying in the wilderness, I prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight" (Is. xl. 3), while by the prophet Malachi the spirit announces more definitely, "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before Me" (iii. 1). His birth—a birth not according to the ordinary laws of nature, but through the miraculous interposition of Almighty power—was foretold by an angel sent from God, who announced it as an occasion of joy and gladness to many—and at the same time assigned to him the name of *John* to signify either that he was to be born of God's especial favour, or, perhaps, that he was to be the harbinger of grace. The angel Gabriel moreover proclaimed the character and office of this wonderful child even before his conception, foretelling that he would be filled with the Holy Ghost from the first moment of his existence, and appear as the great reformer of his countrymen—another Elijah in the boldness with which he would speak truth and rebuke vice—but, above all, as the chosen forerunner and herald of the long-expected Messiah.

These marvellous revelations as to the character and career of the son, for whom he had so long prayed in vain, were too much for the faith of the aged Zacharias; and when he sought some assurance of the certainty of the promised blessing, God gave it to him in a judgment—the privation of speech—until the event foretold should happen—a judgment intended to serve at once as a token of God's truth, and a rebuke of his own incredulity. And now the Lord's gracious promise tarried not—Elizabeth, for greater privacy, retired into the hill-country, whither she was soon afterwards followed by her kinswoman Mary, who was herself, the object and channel of divine grace beyond measure greater and more mysterious. The two cousins, who were thus honoured above all the mothers of Israel, came together in a remote city of the south (by some supposed to be Hebron, by others Jutta), and immediately God's purpose was confirmed to them by a miraculous sign; for as soon as Elizabeth heard the salutations of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb, thus acknowledging, as it were even before birth, the presence of his Lord (Luke i. 43, 44). Three months after this, and while Mary still remained with her, Elizabeth was delivered of a son. The birth of John preceded by six months that of our blessed Lord. [Respecting this date, see *JESUS CHRIST*, p. 1072.] On the eighth day the child of promise was, in conformity with the law of Moses (Lev. xii. 3), brought to the priest for circumcision, and as the performance of this rite was the accustomed time for naming a child, the friends of the family proposed to call him Zacharias after the name of his father. The mother, however, required that he should be called John—a decision which

<sup>p</sup> The older interpretation made Mark answer to the eagle, John to the lion (Sulzer, *Theo. s. v. εὐαγγελιστής*).

<sup>q</sup> Another verse of this hymn, "Volat avis sine

metâ," et seq., is familiar to most students as the motto prefixed by Olshausen to his commentary on St. John's Gospel. The whole hymn is to be found in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 71.

Zacharias, still speechless, confirmed by writing on a tablet, "his name is John." The judgment on his want of faith was then at once withdrawn, and the first use which he made of his recovered speech was to praise Jehovah for his faithfulness and mercy (Luke i. 64). God's wonderful interposition in the birth of John had impressed the minds of many with a certain solemn awe and expectation (Luke iii. 15). God was surely again visiting His people. His providence, so long hidden, seemed once more about to manifest itself. The child thus supernaturally born must doubtless be commissioned to perform some important part in the history of the chosen people. Could it be the Messiah? Could it be Elijah? Was the era of their old prophets about to be restored? With such grave thoughts were the minds of the people occupied, as they mused on the events which had been passing under their eyes, and said one to another, "What manner of child shall this be?" while Zacharias himself, "filled with the Holy Ghost," broke forth in that glorious strain of praise and prophecy so familiar to us in the morning service of our church—a strain in which it is to be observed that the father, before speaking of his own child, blesses God for remembering his covenant and promise, in the redemption and salvation of his people through Him, of whom his own son was the prophet and forerunner. A single verse contains all that we know of John's history for a space of thirty years—the whole period which elapsed between his birth and the commencement of his public ministry. "The child grew and waxed strong in the spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel" (Luke i. 80). John, it will be remembered, was ordained to be a Nazarite (see Num. vi. 1-21) from his birth, for the words of the angel were, "He shall drink neither wine nor strong drink" (Luke i. 15). What we are to understand by this brief announcement is probably this:—The chosen forerunner of the Messiah and herald of his kingdom was required to forego the ordinary pleasures and indulgences of the world, and live a life of the strictest self-denial in reticement and solitude.

It was thus that the holy Nazarite, dwelling by himself in the wild and thinly peopled region westward of the Dead Sea, called "Desert" in the text, prepared himself by self-discipline, and by constant communion with God, for the wonderful office to which he had been divinely called. Here year after year of his stern probation passed by, till at length the time for the fulfilment of his mission arrived. The very appearance of the holy Baptist was of itself a lesson to his countrymen; his dress was that of the old prophets—a garment woven of camel's hair (2 K. i. 8), attached to the body by a leathern girdle. His food was such as the desert afforded—locusts (Lev. xi. 23) and wild honey (Ps. lxxxi. 16).

And now the long secluded hermit came forth to the discharge of his office. His supernatural birth—his hard ascetic life—his reputation for extraordinary sanctity—and the generally prevailing expectation that some great one was about to appear—these causes, without the aid of miraculous power, for "John did no miracle" (John x. 41), were sufficient to attract to him a great multitude from "every quarter" (Matt. iii. 5). Brief and startling was his first exhortation to them—"Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Some score verses contain all that is recorded of John's

preaching, and the sum of it all is repentance; not mere legal ablation or expiation, but a change of heart and life. Herein John, though exhibiting a marked contrast to the scribes and pharisees of his own time, was but repeating with the stimulus of a new and powerful motive the lessons which had been again and again impressed upon them by their ancient prophets (cf. Is. i. 16, 17, lv. 7; Jer. vii. 3-7; Ezek. xviii. 19-32, xxxvi. 25-27; Joel ii. 12, 13; Mic. vi. 8; Zech. i. 3, 4). But while such was his solemn admonition to the multitude at large, he adopted towards the leading sects of the Jews a severer tone, denouncing Pharisees and Sadducees alike as "a generation of vipers," and warning them of the folly of trusting to external privileges as descendants of Abraham (Luke iii. 8). Now at last he warns them that "the axe was laid to the root of the tree"—that formal righteousness would be tolerated no longer, and that none would be acknowledged for children of Abraham but such as did the works of Abraham (cf. John viii. 39). Such alarming declarations produced their effect, and many of every class pressed forward to confess their sins and to be baptised.

What then was the baptism which John administered? Not altogether a new rite, for it was the custom of the Jews to baptise proselytes to their religion—not an ordinance in itself conveying remission of sins, but rather a token and symbol of that repentance which was an indispensable condition of forgiveness, through Him, whom John pointed out as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Still less did the baptism of John impart the grace of regeneration—of a new spiritual life (Acts xix. 3, 4). This was to be the mysterious effect of baptism "with the Holy Ghost," which was to be obtained by that "Mightier One," whose coming he proclaimed. The preparatory baptism of John was a visible sign to the people, and a distinct acknowledgment by them, that a hearty renunciation of sin and a real amendment of life were necessary for admission into the kingdom of heaven, which the Baptist proclaimed to be at hand. But the fundamental distinction between John's baptism unto repentance, and that baptism accompanied with the gift of the Holy Spirit which our Lord afterwards ordained, is clearly marked by John himself (Matt. iii. 11, 12).

As a preacher, John was eminently practical and discriminating. Self-love and covetousness were the prevalent sins of the people at large: on them therefore he enjoined charity, and consideration for others. The publicans he cautioned against extortion, the soldiers against violence and plunder. His answers to them are, no doubt, to be regarded as instances of the appropriate warning and advice which he addressed to every class.

The mission of the Baptist—an extraordinary one for an extraordinary purpose—was not limited to those who had openly forsaken the covenant of God, and so forfeited its principles. It was to the whole people alike. This we must infer from the baptism of one who had no confession to make, and no sins to wash away. Jesus Himself came from Galilee to Jordan to be baptised of John, on the special ground that it became Him "to fulfil all righteousness," and, as man, to submit to the customs and ordinances which were binding upon the rest of the Jewish people. John, however, naturally at first shrank from offering the symbols of purity to the sinless Son of God. But here a difficult question arises—How is John's acknowledgment of

Jesus at the moment of His presenting Himself for baptism compatible with his subsequent assertion that he knew Him not, save by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him, which took place after His baptism? If it be difficult to imagine that the two cousins were not personally acquainted with each other, it must be borne in mind that their places of residence were at the two extremities of the country, with but little means of communication between them. Perhaps, too, John's special destination and mode of life may have kept him from the stated festivals of his countrymen at Jerusalem. It is possible therefore that the Saviour and the Baptist had never before met. It was certainly of the utmost importance that there should be no suspicion of concert or collusion between them. John, however, must assuredly have been in daily expectation of Christ's manifestation to Israel, and so a word or sign would have sufficed to reveal to him the person and presence of our Lord, though we may well suppose such a fact to be made known by a direct communication from God, as in the case of Simeon (Luke ii. 26; cf. Jackson on the *Creed*, Works, Ox. Ed. vi. 404). At all events it is wholly inconceivable that John should have been permitted to baptise the Son of God without being enabled to distinguish Him from any of the ordinary multitude. Upon the whole, the true meaning of the words *κτὴν οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτον* would seem to be as follows:—And I, even I, though standing in so near a relation to Him, both personally and ministerially, had no assured knowledge of Him as the Messiah. I did not know Him, and I had not authority to proclaim Him as such, till I saw the predicted sign in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him. It must be borne in mind that John had no means of knowing by previous announcement, whether this wonderful acknowledgment of the Divine Son would be vouchsafed to His forerunner at His baptism, or at any other time (see Dr. Mill's *Hist. Character of St. Luke's Gospel*, and the authorities quoted by him).

With the baptism of Jesus John's more especial office ceased. The king had come to his kingdom. The function of the herald was discharged. It was this that John had with singular humility and self-renunciation announced beforehand:—"He must increase, but I must decrease."

John, however, still continued to present himself to his countrymen in the capacity of witness to Jesus. Especially did he bear testimony to Him at Bethany beyond Jordan (for Bethany, not Bethabara, is the reading of the best MSS.). So confidently indeed did he point out the Lamb of God, on whom he had seen the Spirit alighting like a dove, that two of his own disciples, Andrew, and probably John, being convinced by his testimony, followed Jesus, as the true Messiah.

From incidental notices in Scripture we learn that John and his disciples continued to baptise some time after our Lord entered upon His ministry (see John iii. 23, iv. 1; Acts xix. 3). We gather also that John instructed his disciples in certain moral and religious duties, as fasting (Matt. ix. 14; Luke v. 33) and prayer (Luke xi. 1).

But shortly after he had given his testimony to the Messiah, John's public ministry was brought to a close. He had at the beginning of it condemned the hypocrisy and worldliness of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and he now had occasion to denounce the lust of a king. In daring disregard of the divine laws, Herod Antipas had taken to himself the wife

of his brother Philip; and when John reproved him for this, as well as for other sins (Luke iii. 19), Herod cast him into prison. The place of his confinement was the castle of Machaerus—a fortress on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It was here that reports reached him of the miracles which our Lord was working in Judaea—miracles which, doubtless, were to John's mind but the confirmation of what he expected to hear as to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. But if Christ's kingdom were indeed established, it was the duty of John's own disciples no less than of all others to acknowledge it. They, however, would naturally cling to their own master, and be slow to transfer their allegiance to another. With a view therefore to overcome their scruples, John sent two of them to Jesus Himself to ask the question, "Art Thou He that should come?" They were answered not by words, but by a series of miracles wrought before their eyes—the very miracles which prophecy had specified as the distinguishing credentials of the Messiah (Is. xxxv. 5, lxi. 1); and while Jesus bade the two messengers carry back to John as his only answer the report of what they had seen and heard, He took occasion to guard the multitude who surrounded Him, against supposing that the Baptist himself was shaken in mind, by a direct appeal to their own knowledge of his life and character. Well might they be appealed to as witnesses that the stern prophet of the wilderness was no wavering, bending to every breeze, like the reeds on the banks of Jordan. Proof abundant had they that John was no worldling with a heart set upon rich clothing and dainty fare—the luxuries of a king's court—and they must have been ready to acknowledge that one so inured to a life of hardness and privation was not likely to be affected by the ordinary terrors of a prison. But our Lord not only vindicates his forerunner from any suspicion of inconstancy, He goes on to proclaim him a prophet, and more than a prophet, nay, inferior to none born of woman, though in respect to spiritual privileges behind the least of those who were to be born of the Spirit and admitted into the fellowship of Christ's body (Matt. xi. 11). It should be noted that the expression *ὁ δὲ μικρότερος, κ.τ.λ.* is understood by Chrysostom, Augustin, Hilary, and some modern commentators, to mean Christ Himself, but this interpretation is less agreeable to the spirit and tone of our Lord's discourse.

Jesus further proceeds to declare that John was, according to the true meaning of the prophecy, the Elijah of the new covenant, foretold by Malachi (iii. 4). The event indeed proved that John was to Herod what Elijah had been to Ahab, and a prison was deemed too light a punishment for his boldness in asserting God's law before the face of a king and a queen. Nothing but the death of the Baptist would satisfy the resentment of Herodias. Though soiled once, she continued to watch her opportunity, which at length arrived. A court festival was kept at Machaerus in honour of the king's birthday. After supper, the daughter of Herodias came in and danced before the company, and so charmed was the king by her grace that he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she should ask.

Salome, prompted by her abandoned mother, demanded the head of John the Baptist. The promise had been given in the hearing of his distinguished guests, and so Herod, though loth to be made the instrument of so bloody a work, gave instructions to an officer of his guard, who went and

executed John in the prison, and his head was brought to feast the eyes of the adulteress whose sins he had denounced.

Thus was John added to that glorious army of martyrs who have suffered for righteousness' sake. His death is supposed to have occurred just before the third passover, in the course of the Lord's ministry. It is by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §2) attributed to the jealousy with which Herod regarded his growing influence with the people. Herod undoubtedly looked upon him as some extraordinary person, for no sooner did he hear of the miracles of Jesus than, though a Sadducee himself, and as such a disbeliever in the Resurrection, he ascribed them to John, whom he supposed to be risen from the dead. Holy Scripture tells us that the body of the Baptist was laid in the tomb by his disciples, and Ecclesiastical history records the honours which successive generations paid to his memory.

The brief history of John's life is marked throughout with the characteristic graces of self-denial, humility, and holy courage. So great indeed was his abstinence that worldly men considered him possessed. "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they said he hath a devil." His humility was such that he had again and again to disavow the character, and decline the honours which an admiring multitude almost forced upon him. To their questions he answered plainly, he was not the Christ, nor the Elijah of whom they were thinking, nor one of their old prophets. He was no one—a voice merely—the Voice of God calling His people to repentance in preparation for the coming of Him whose shoe latchet he was not worthy to unloose.

For his boldness in speaking truth, he went a willing victim to prison and to death.

The student may consult the following works, where he will find numerous references to ancient and modern commentators:—Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.*; Witsius, *Miscell.* vol. iv.; Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, Oxford, 1842; Neander, *Life of Christ*; Le Bas, *Scripture Biography*; Taylor, *Life of Christ*; Olshausen, *Com. on the Gospels*. [E. H.—s.]

**JOHN, GOSPEL OF.** 1. *Authority.*—No doubt has been entertained at any time in the Church, either of the canonical authority of this Gospel, or of its being written by St. John. The text 2 Pet. i. 14 is not indeed sufficient to support the inference that St. Peter and his readers were acquainted with the fourth Gospel, and recognised its authority. But still no other book of the N. T. is authenticated by testimony of so early a date as that of the disciples which is embodied in the Gospel itself (xxi. 24, 25). Among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius appears to have known and recognised this Gospel. His declaration, "I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ the Son of God . . . and I desire the drink of God, His blood, which is incorruptible love" (*ad Rom.* vii.; Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 231), could scarcely have been written by one who had not read St. John vi. 32, &c. And in the *Ep. ad Philadelphenses*, vii. (which, however, is not contained in Mr. Cureton's Syriac MSS.), the same writer says, "[The Holy Spirit] knoweth whence He cometh and whither He goeth, and reproveth the things which are hidden:" this is surely more than an accidental verbal coincidence with St. John iii. 8 and xvi. 8. The fact that this Gospel is not in the Clement of Rome (A.D. 68 or 96) serves,

as Dean Alford suggests, merely to confirm the statement that it is a very late production of the Apostolic age. Polycarp in his short epistle, Hermas, and Barnabas do not refer to it. But its phraseology may be clearly traced in the Epistle to Diognetus ("Christians dwell in the world, but they are not of the world;" comp. John xvii. 11, 14, 16: "He sent His only-begotten Son . . . as loving, not condemning;" comp. John iii. 16, 17), and in Justin Martyr, A.D. 150 ("Christ said, Except ye be born again ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven: and it is manifest to all that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into the wombs of those that bare them;" *Apol.* 61; comp. John iii. 3, 5; and again, "His blood having been produced, not of human seed, but of the will of God;" *Trypho.* 63; comp. John i. 13, &c.). Tatian, A.D. 170, wrote a harmony of the four Gospels; and he quotes St. John's Gospel in his only extant work; so do his contemporaries Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras, and the writer of the Epistle to the churches of Vienne and Lyons. The Valentinians made great use of it; and one of their sect, Heracleon, wrote a commentary on it. Yet its authority among orthodox Christians was too firmly established to be shaken thereby. Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolycom.* ii.) expressly ascribes this Gospel to St. John; and he wrote, according to Jerome (*Ep.* 53 *ad Algas.*), a harmonised commentary on the four Gospels. And, to close the list of writers of the second century, the numerous and full testimonies of Irenæus in Gaul and Tertullian at Carthage, with the obscure but weighty testimony of the Roman writer of the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon, sufficiently show the authority attributed in the Western Church to this Gospel. The third century introduces equally decisive testimony from the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church, Clement and Origen, which it is unnecessary here to quote at length.

Cerdon, Marcion, the Montanists, and other ancient heretics (see Lampe, *Commentarius*, i. 136), did not deny that St. John was the author of the Gospel, but they held that the Apostle was mistaken, or that his Gospel had been interpolated in those passages which are opposed to their tenets. The Alogi, a sect in the beginning of the third century, were singular in rejecting the writings of St. John. Guerike (*Einkleitung in N. T.* 308) enumerates later opponents of the Gospel, beginning with an Englishman, Edw. Evanson, *On the Dissimance of the Four Evangelists*, Ipswich, 1792, and closing with Bretschneider's *Probabilia de Evangelio Johannis, &c., origine*. Lips. 1820. His arguments are characterised by Guerike as strong in comparison with those of his predecessors. They are grounded chiefly on the strangeness of such language and thoughts as those of St. John coming from a Galilean fisherman, and on the difference between the representations of our Lord's person and of his manner of speech given by St. John and the other Evangelists. Guerike answers Bretschneider's arguments in detail. The scepticism of more recent times has found its fullest, and, according to Bleek, its most important, expression in a treatise by Litzelberger on the tradition respecting the Apostle John and his writings (1840). His arguments are recapitulated and answered by Dr. Davidson (*Introduction to the N. T.*, 1848, vol. i. p. 244, &c.). It may suffice to mention one specimen. St. Paul's expression (Gal. ii. 6), *ὅμοιοι τῷ Ἰσῶν*, is translated by

Lützelberger, "whatsoever they [Peter, James, and John] were formerly:" he discovers therein an implied assertion that all three were not living when the Epistle to the Galatians was written, and infers that since Peter and James were undoubtedly alive, John must have been dead, and therefore the tradition which ascribes to him the residence at Ephesus, and the composition, after A.D. 60, of various writings, must confound him with another John. Still more recently the objections of Baur to St. John's Gospel have been answered by Ebrard, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, &c., Zurich, 1845.

2. *Place and time at which it was written.*—Ephesus and Patmos are the two places mentioned by early writers; and the weight of evidence seems to preponderate in favour of Ephesus. Irenaeus (iii. 1; also *apud* Euseb. II. E. v. 8) states that John published his Gospel whilst he dwelt in Ephesus of Asia. Jerome (*Prolog. in Matth.*) states that John was in Asia when he complied with the request of the bishops of Asia and others to write more profoundly concerning the Divinity of Christ. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Prolog. in Joannem*) relates that John was living at Ephesus when he was moved by his disciples to write his Gospel.

The evidence in favour of Patmos comes from two anonymous writers. The author of the *Synopsis of Scripture*, printed in the works of Athanasius, states that the Gospel was dictated by St. John in Patmos, and published afterwards in Ephesus. The author of the work *De XII. Apostolis*, printed in the Appendix to Fabricius' Hippolytus (p. 952, ed. Migne), states that John was banished by Domitian to Patmos, where he wrote his Gospel. The later date of these unknown writers, and the seeming inconsistency of their testimony with St. John's declaration (Rev. i. 2) in Patmos, that he had previously borne record of the Word of God, render their testimony of little weight.

Attempts have been made to elicit from the language of the Gospel itself some argument which should decide the question whether it was written before or after the destruction of Jerusalem. But considering that the present tense "is" is used in v. 2, and the past tense "was" in xi. 18, xviii. 1, xix. 41, it would seem reasonable to conclude that these passages throw no light upon the question.

Clement of Alexandria (*apud* Euseb. H. E. vi. 14) speaks of St. John as the latest of the Evangelists. The Apostle's sojourn at Ephesus probably began after St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians was written, i. e. after A.D. 62. Eusebius (H. E. iii. 20) specifies the fourteenth year of Domitian, i. e. A.D. 95, as the year of his banishment to Patmos. Probably the date of the Gospel may lie about midway between these two, about A.D. 78. The references to it in the 1st Epistle and the Revelation lead to the supposition that it was written decidedly before those two books; and the tradition of its supplementary character would lead us to place it some little time after the Apostle had fixed his abode at Ephesus.

3. *Occasion and Scope.*—After the destruction of Jerusalem A.D. 69, Ephesus probably became the centre of the active life of Eastern Christendom. Even Antioch, the original source of missions to the Gentiles, and the future metropolis of the Christian Patriarch, appears, for a time, less conspicuous in the obscurity of early church history than Ephesus, to which St. Paul inscribed his Epistle, and in which St. John found a dwelling-place and a tomb. This half-Greek, half-Oriental city,

"visited by ships from all parts of the Mediterranean, and united by great roads with the markets of the interior, was the common meeting-place of various characters and classes of men" (*Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul*, ch. xiv.). It contained a large church of faithful Christians, a multitude of zealous Jews, an indigenous population devoted to the worship of a strange idol whose image (Jerome, *Præf. in Ephes.*) was borrowed from the East, its name from the West: in the Xystus of Ephesus, free-thinking philosophers of all nations disputed over their favourite tenets (Justin, *Trypho*, i. vii.). It was the place to which Cerinthus chose to bring the doctrines which he devised or learned at Alexandria (Neander, *Church History*, ii. 42, ed. Bohn). In this city, and among the lawless heathens in its neighbourhood (Clem. Alex. *Quis dices salu.* §42), St. John was engaged in extending the Christian Church, when, for the greater edification of that Church, his Gospel was written. It was obviously addressed primarily to Christians, not to heathens; and the Apostle himself tells us (xx. 31) what was the end to which he looked forward in all his teaching.

Modern criticism has indulged in much curious speculation as to the exclusive or the principal motive which induced the Apostle to write. His design, according to some critics, was to supplement the deficiencies of the earlier three Gospels; according to others, to confute the Nicolaitans and Cerinthus; according to others, to state the true doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. But let it be borne in mind first of all that the inspiring, directing impulse given to St. John was that by which all "prophecy came in old time," when "holy men of God spake," "not by the will of man," "but as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." We cannot feel confident of our own capacity to analyse the motives and circumscribe the views of a mind under the influence of Divine inspiration. The Gospel of St. John is a boon to all ages, and to men in an infinite variety of circumstances. Something of the feelings of the chronicler, or the polemic, or the catechist may have been in the heart of the Apostle, but let us not imagine that his motives were limited to any, or to all of these.

It has indeed been pronounced by high critical authority that "the supplementary theory is entirely untenable;" and so it becomes if put forth in its most rigid form, and as showing the whole design of St. John. But even Dr. Davidson, while pronouncing it unsupported by either external tradition or internal grounds, acknowledges that some truth lies at the bottom of it. Those who hold the theory in its extreme and exclusive form will find it hard to account for the fact that St. John has many things in common with his predecessors; and those who repudiate the theory entirely will find it hard to account for his omission, e. g. of such an event as the Transfiguration, which he was admitted to see, and which would have been within the scope (under any other theory) of his Gospel. Luthardt concludes most judiciously that, though St. John may not have written with direct reference to the earlier three Evangelists, he did not write without any reference to them.

And in like manner, though so able a critic as Lücke speaks of the anti-Gnostic reference of St. John as prevailing throughout his Gospel, while Luthardt is for limiting such reference to his first verses, and to his doctrine of the Logos; and, though other writers have shown much ingenuity

in discovering, and perhaps exaggerating, references to Docetism, Ebionitism, and Sabianism; yet, when controversial references are set forth as the principal design of the Apostle, it is well to bear in mind the cautious opinion expressed by Dr. Davidson:—"Designated polemical opposition to one of those errors, or to all of them, does not lie in the contents of the sacred book itself; and yet it is true that they were not unnoticed by St. John. He intended to set forth the faith alone, and in so doing he has written passages that do confute those erroneous tendencies."

There is no intrinsic improbability in the early tradition as to the occasion and scope of this Gospel, which is most fully related in the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia, to the effect that while St. John lived at Ephesus, and visited all parts of Asia, the writings of Matthew, Mark, and even Luke, came into the hands of the Christians, and were diligently circulated everywhere. Then it occurred to the Christians of Asia that St. John was a more credible witness than all others, forasmuch as from the beginning, even before Matthew, he was with the Lord, and enjoyed more abundant grace through the love which the Lord bore to him. And they brought him the books, and sought to know his opinion of them. Then he praised the writers for their veracity, and said that a few things had been omitted by them, and that all but a little of the teaching of the most important miracles was recorded. And he added that they who discourse of the coming of Christ in the flesh ought not to omit to speak of his Divinity, lest in course of time men who are used to such discourses might suppose that Christ was only what He appeared to be. Thereupon the brethren exhorted him to write at once the things which he judged the most important for instruction, and which he saw omitted by the others. And he did so. And therefore from the beginning he discoursed about the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, judging this to be the necessary beginning of the Gospel, and from it he went on to the incarnation. [See above, p. 1107.]

4. *Contents and Integrity.*—Lutherdard says that there is no book in the N. T. which more strongly than the fourth Gospel impresses the reader with the notion of its unity and integrity. And yet it does not appear to be written with such close adherence to a preconceived plan as a Western writer would show in developing and illustrating some one leading idea. The preface, the break at the end of the twelfth chapter, and the supplementary chapter, are divisions which will occur to every reader. The ingenious synopsis of Bengel and the thoughtful one of Lutherdard are worthy of attention. But none is so elaborate and minute as that of Lampe, of which the following is an abridgement:—

A. THE PROLOGUE, i. 1-18.

B. THE HISTORY, i. 19-xx. 29.

a. Various events relating to our Lord's ministry, narrated in connexion with seven journeys, i. 19-xii. 50:—

1. First journey, into Judaea and beginning of His ministry, i. 19-ii. 12.

2. Second journey, at the Passover in the first year of His ministry, ii. 13-iv. (The manifestation of His glory in Jerusalem, ii. 13-iii. 21, and in the journey back, iii. 22-iv.)

3. Third journey, in the second year of His ministry, about the Passover, v.

4. Fourth journey, about the Passover, in the

third year of His ministry, beyond Jordan, vi. (His glory shown by the multiplication of the loaves, and by His walking on the sea, and by the discourses with the Jews, His disciples and His Apostles.)

5. Fifth journey, six months before His death, begun at the Feast of Tabernacles, vii.-x. 21. (Circumstances in which the journey was undertaken, vii. 1-13; five signs of His glory shown at Jerusalem, vii. 14-x. 21.)

6. Sixth journey, about the Feast of Dedication, x. 22-42. (His testimony in Solomon's porch, and His departure beyond Jordan.)

7. Seventh journey in Judaea towards Bethany, xi. 1-54. (The raising of Lazarus and its consequences.)

8. Eighth journey, before His last Passover, xi. 55-xii. (Plots of the Jews, His entry into Jerusalem, and into the Temple, and the manifestation of His glory there.)

b. History of the Death of Christ, xiii.-xx. 29.

1. Preparation for His Passion, xiii.-xvii. (Last-Supper, discourse to His disciples, His commendatory prayer.)

2. The circumstances of His Passion and Death, xviii. xix. (His apprehension, trial, and crucifixion.)

3. His Resurrection, and the proofs of it, xx. 1-29.

C. THE CONCLUSION, xx. 30-xxi.:—

1. Scope of the foregoing history, xx. 30, 31.

2. Confirmation of the authority of the Evangelist by additional historical facts, and by the testimony of the elders of the Church, xxi. 1-24.

3. Reason of the termination of the history, xxi. 25.

Some portions of the Gospel have been regarded by certain critics as interpolations. Lutherdard discusses at considerable length the objections of Paulus, Weiss, Schenkel, and Schweizer to ch. xxi. viii. 1-11, v. 3, ii. 1-12, iv. 44-54, vi. 1-26. The discussion of these passages belongs rather to a commentary than to a brief introduction. But as the question as to ch. xxi. has an important bearing on the history of the Gospel, a brief statement respecting it may not be out of place here.

Guerike (*Einleitung*, p. 310) gives the following lists of (1) those who have doubted, and (2) those who have advocated its genuineness:—(1) Grotius, Le Clerc, Pfaff, Semler, Paulus, Gurliitt, Bertholdt, Seyffarth, Lücke, De Wette, Schott; (2) R. Simon, Lampe, Wetstein, Oslander, Michaelis, Beck, Eichhorn, Hug, Wegscheider, Handschke, Weber, Tholuck, Scheffer. The objections against the first twenty-three verses of this chapter are founded entirely on internal evidence. The principal objections as to alleged peculiarities of language are completely answered in a note in Guerike's *Einleitung*, 310, and are given up with one exception by De Wette. Other objections, though urged by Lücke, are exceedingly trivial and arbitrary, *e. g.* that the reference to the author in verse 20 is unlike the manner of St. John; that xx. 30, 31 would have been placed at the end of xxi. by St. John if he had written both chapters; that the narrative descends to strangely minute circumstances, &c.

The 25th verse and the latter half of the 24th of ch. xxi. are generally received as an undisputed addition, probably by the elders of the Ephesian Church, where the Gospel was first published.

There is an early tradition recorded by the au-

thor of the Synopsis of Scripture in Athanasius, that this Gospel was written many years before the Apostle permitted its general circulation. This fact—rather improbable in itself—is rendered less so by the obviously supplementary character of the latter part, or perhaps the whole of ch. xxi. Ewald (*Gesch. Israel*, vii. 217), less sceptical herein than many of his countrymen, comes to the conclusion that the first 20 chapters of this Gospel, having been written by the Apostle, about A.D. 80, at the request, and with the help of his more advanced Christian friends, were not made public till a short time before his death, and that ch. xxi. was a later addition by his own hand.

5. *Literature*.—The principal Commentators on St. John will be found in the following list:—(1) Origen, in *Opp.* ed. 1759, iv. 1-460; (2) Chrysostom, in *Opp.* ed. 1728, viii. 1-530; (3) Theodore of Mopsuestia and others, in *Corderii Catena in Joannem*, 1630; (4) Augustine, in *Opp.* ed. 1690, iii. part 2, 290-826; (5) Theophylact; (6) Euthymius Zigabenus; (7) Maldonatus; (8) Luther; (9) Calvin; (10) Grotius and others, in the *Critici Sacri*; (11) Cornelius à Lapide; (12) Hammond; (13) Lampe, *Commentarius exegetico-analyticus in Joannem*, 1735; (14) Bengel; (15) Whitby; (16) Lücke, *Commentar zum Evang. Joann.* 1820; (17) Olshausen, *Biblicher Commentar*, 1834; (18) Meyer, *Kritisch-exeget. Commentar*; (19) De Wette, *Exeget. Handbuch z. N. T.*; (20) Tholuck, *Comm. z. Evang. Johan.*; (21) C. E. Luthardt, *des Johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit*, 1853.

Until very lately the English reader had no better critical helps in the study of St. John's Gospel than those which were provided for him by Hammond, Lightfoot, and Whitby. He now has access through the learned Commentaries of Canon Wordsworth and Dean Alford to the interpretations and explanations of the ancient Fathers, and several English theologians, and to those of all the eminent German critics.

The Commentaries of Chrysostom and Augustine have been translated into English in the *Oxford Library of the Fathers* (Parker, 1848). English translations have been published also of the Commentaries of Bengel and Olshausen. And the Rev. F. D. Maurice has published an original and devout Commentary under the title of *Discourses on the Gospel of St. John*, 1857. [W. T. B.]

**JOHN, THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF.** *Its Authenticity*.—The external evidence is of the most satisfactory nature. Eusebius places it in his list of *ὁμοαπολύμενα* [see above, p. 362], and we have ample proof that it was acknowledged and received as the production of the Apostle John in the writings of Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philipp.* c. vii.); Papias, as quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39); Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.* iii. 18); Origen (*apud Eus. H. E.* vi. 25); Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. ii.); Tertullian (*Adv. Præc.* c. xv.); Cyprian (*Ep.* xxviii.); and there is no voice in antiquity raised to the contrary.

On the grounds of internal evidence it has been questioned by Lange (*Die Schrift. des Johann. übersetzt und erklärt*, vol. iii.); Cludius (*Ursichten des Christenthums*); Bretschneider (*Probabilia de Evang. et Epist. Joann. Ap. indole et origine*); Zeller (*Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1845). The objections made by these critics are too slight to be worth mentioning. On the other hand the internal evidence for its being the work of St. John

from its similarity in style, language, and doctrine to the Gospel is overwhelming. Macknight (*Preface to First Epistle of John*) has drawn out a list of nineteen passages in the Epistle which are so similar to an equal number of passages in the Gospel that we cannot but conclude that the two writings emanated from the same mind, or that one author was a strangely successful copyist both of the words and of the sentiments of the other. The allusion again of the writer to himself is such as would suit St. John the Apostle, and very few but St. John (1 Ep. i. 1).

Thus we see that the high probability of the authorship is established both by the internal evidence and by the external evidence taken apart. Unite them, and this probability rises to a moral certainty.

With regard to the time at which St. John wrote the Epistle (for an Epistle it essentially is, though not commencing or concluding in the epistolary form) there is considerable diversity of opinion. Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Benson, Macknight, fix a date previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, understanding (but probably not correctly) the expression "It is the last time" (ii. 18) to refer to the Jewish Church and nation. Landner, Whiston, Lampe, Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Beausobre, Dupin, Davidson, assign it to the close of the first century. This is the more probable date. There are several indications of the Epistle being posterior to the Gospel.

Like the Gospel it was probably written from Ephesus. Grotius fixes Patmos as the place at which it was written—Macknight, Judæa. But a late date would involve the conclusion that it was Ephesus. The persons addressed are certainly not the Parthians, according to the inscriptions of one Greek and several Latin MSS. There is however a somewhat widely spread Latin tradition to this effect resting on the authority of St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Bede; and it is defended by Estius. The Greek Church knew no such report. Landner is clearly right when he says that it was primarily meant for the Churches of Asia under St. John's inspection, to whom he had already orally delivered his doctrine (i. 3, ii. 7).

The main object of the Epistle does not appear to be that of opposing the errors of the Docetæ (Schmidt, Bertholdt, Niemeyer), or of the Gnostics (Kleuker), or of the Nicolaitans (Macknight), or of the Cerinthians (Michaelis), or of all of them together (Townsend), or of the Sabians (Barkey, Storr, Keil), or of Judaizers (Loellier, Semler), or of apostates to Judaism (Lange, Eichhorn, Hainlein): the leading purpose of the Apostle appears to be rather constructive than polemical. St. John is remarkable both in his history and in his writings for his abhorrence of false doctrine, but he does not attack error as a controversialist. He states the deep truth and lays down the deep moral teaching of Christianity, and in this way rather than directly condemns heresy. In the introduction (i. 1-4) the Apostle states the purpose of his Epistle. It is to declare the Word of life to those whom he is addressing, in order that he and they might be united in true communion with each other, and with God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ. He at once begins to explain the nature and conditions of communion with God, and being led on from this point into other topics, he twice brings himself back to the same subject. The first part of the Epistle may be considered to end at ii. 28. The Apostle begins afresh with the doctrine of sonship or communion at ii. 29, and returns to the same

theme at iv. 7. His lesson throughout is, that the means of union with God are, on the part of Christ, his atoning blood (i. 7, ii. 2, iii. 5, iv. 10, 14, v. 6) and advocacy (ii. 1)—on the part of man, holiness (i. 6), obedience (ii. 3), purity (iii. 3), faith (iii. 23, iv. 3, v. 5), and above all love (ii. 7, iii. 14, iv. 7, v. 1). St. John is designated the Apostle of Love, and rightly; but it should be ever remembered that his "Love" does not exclude or ignore, but embraces both faith and obedience as constituent parts of itself. Indeed, St. Paul's "Faith that worketh by Love," and St. James' "Works that are the fruit of Faith," and St. John's "Love which springs from Faith and produces Obedience," are all one and the same state of mind described according to the first, third, or second stage into which we are able to analyse the complex whole.

There are two doubtful passages in this Epistle, ii. 23, "but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also," and v. 7, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." The question of their authenticity is argued at length by Mill (note at the end of 1 John v.), and Horne (*Introduction to H. S. iv. p. 448*, Lond. 1834). It would appear without doubt that they are not genuine. The latter passage is contained in four only of the 150 MSS. of the Epistle, the Codex Guelpherbytanus of the seventeenth century, the Codex Ravianus, a forgery subsequent to the year 1514, the Codex Britannicus or Monfortii of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the Codex Ottonianus of the fifteenth century. It is not found in the Syriac versions, in the Coptic, the Sahidic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, the Arabic, the Slavonic, nor in any ancient version except the Latin; and the best editions of even the Latin version omit it. It was not quoted by one Greek Father, or writer previous to the 14th century. It was not inserted in Erasmus's editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1516 and 1519, nor in that of Aldus, 1518; nor in that of Gerbelius, 1521; nor of Cephalæus, 1524; nor of Colinaeus 1534; nor in Luther's version of 1546. Against such an amount of external testimony no internal evidence, however weighty, could be of avail. For the exposition of the passage as containing the words in question, see (as quoted by Horne) Bp. Horsley's *Sermons* (i. p. 193). For the same passage interpreted without the disputed words, see Sir Isaac Newton's *Hist. of Two Texts* (Works, v. p. 528, Lond. 1779). See also Emlyn's *Enquiry*, &c., Lond. 1717. See further, Travis (*Letters to Gibbon*, Lond. 1785); Porson (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1790); Bishop Marsh (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1795); Michaelis (*Intr. to New Test.* iv. p. 412, Lond. 1802); Griesbach (*Diatribe* appended to vol. ii. of *Greek Test.* Halae, 1806); Butler (*Horæ Biblicæ*, ii. p. 245, Lond. 1807); Clarke (*Succession*, &c., i. p. 71, Lond. 1807); Bishop Burgess (*Vindication of 1 John v. 7*, Lond. 1822 and 1823 *Adnotationes Millii*, &c., 1822; *Letter to the Clergy of St. David's*, 1825; *Two letters to Mrs Joanna Baillie*, 1831, 1835), to which may be added a dissertation in the *Life of Bp. Burgess*, p. 398, Lond. 1840. [F. M.]

#### JOHN, THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF. *Their Authenticity.*—These

two Epistles are placed by Eusebius in the class of *ἀντιγράφουνα*, and he appears himself to be doubtful whether they were written by the Evangelist, or by some other John (*II. E. iii. 25*). The evidence of

antiquity in their favour is not very strong, but yet it is considerable. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the first Epistle as *the larger* (*Strom. lib. ii.*), and if the *Adumbrationes* are his, he bears direct testimony to the second Epistle (*Adumbr. p. 1011*, ed. Potter). Origen appears to have had the same doubts as Eusebius (*apud Euseb. H. E. vi. 25*). Dionysius (*apud Euseb. II. E. vii. 25*) and Alexander of Alexandria (*apud Socr. II. E. i. 6*) attribute them to St. John. So does Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc. i. 16*). Aurelius quoted them in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 256, as St. John's writing (Cyprian, *Op. ii. p. 120*, ed. Oberthür). Ephrem Syrus speaks of them in the same way in the fourth century. In the fifth century they are almost universally received. A homily, wrongly attributed to St. Chrysostom, declares them uncanonical.

If the external testimony is not as decisive as we might wish, the internal evidence is peculiarly strong. Mill has pointed out that of the 13 verses which compose the Second Epistle, 8 are to be found in the First Epistle. Either then the Second Epistle proceeded from the same author as the First, from a conscious fabricator who desired to pass off something of his own as the production of the Apostle. But if the latter alternative had been true, the fabricator in question would assuredly have assumed the title of John the Apostle, instead of merely designating himself as John the elder, and he would have introduced some doctrine which it would have been his object to make popular. The title and contents of the Epistle are strong arguments against a fabricator, whereas they would account for its non-universal reception in early times. And if not the work of a fabricator, it must from style, diction, and tone of thought, be the work of the author of the First Epistle, and, we may add, of the Gospel.

The reason why St. John designates himself as *πρεσβύτερος* rather than *ἀπόστολος* (Ep. ii. 1, Ep. iii. 1), is no doubt the same as that which made St. Peter designate himself by the same title (1 Pet. v. 1), and which caused St. James and St. Jude to give themselves no other title than "the servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (Jam. i. 1), "the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" (Jude 1). St. Paul had a special object in declaring himself an apostle. Those who belonged to the original Twelve had no such necessity imposed upon them. With them it was a matter of indifference whether they employed the name of Apostle like St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 1, 2 Pet. i. 1), or adopted an appellation which they shared with others like St. John and St. James, and St. Jude.

The Second Epistle is addressed *ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ*. This expression cannot mean the Church (Jerome), nor a particular Church (Cassiodorus), nor the elect Church which comes together on Sundays (Michaelis), nor the Church of Philadelphia (Whiston), nor the Church of Jerusalem (Whitby). An individual woman who had children, and a sister and nieces, is clearly indicated. Whether her name is given, and if so, what it is, has been doubted. According to one interpretation she is "the Lady Electa," to another, "the elect Kyria," to a third, "the elect Lady." The first interpretation is that of Clement of Alexandria (if the passage above referred to in the *Adumbrationes* be his), Wetstein, Grotius, Middleton. The second is that of Benson, Carpov, Schleusner, Heumann, Bengel, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Lücke, Neander, Davidon. The third is the rendering of the English version,

Mill, Wall, Wolf, Le Clerc, Lardner, Beza, Eichhorn, Newcome, Wakefield, Macknight. For the rendering "the Lady Electa" to be right, the word *κυρία* must have preceded (as in modern Greek) the word *ἐκλεκτή*, not followed it; and further, the last verse of the Epistle in which her sister is also spoken of as *ἐκλεκτή* is fatal to the hypothesis. The rendering "the elect Kyría," is probably wrong, because there is no article before the adjective *ἐκλεκτή*. It remains that the rendering of the English version is probably right, though here too we should have expected the article.

The Third Epistle is addressed to Caius or Caius. We have no reason for identifying him with Caius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29), or with Caius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4), or with Caius of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14), or with Caius Bishop of Ephesus, or with Caius Bishop of Thessalonica, or with Caius Bishop of Pergamos. He was probably a convert of St. John (Ep. iii. 4), and a layman of wealth and distinction (Ep. iii. 5) in some city near Ephesus.

The object of St. John in writing the Second Epistle was to warn the lady, to whom he wrote, against abetting the teaching known as that of Balaamites and his followers, by perhaps an undue kindness displayed by her towards the preachers of the false doctrine. After the introductory salutation, the Apostle at once urges on his correspondent the great principle of Love, which with him (as we have before seen) means right affection springing from right faith and issuing in right conduct. The immediate consequence of the possession of this Love is the abhorrence of heretical misbelief, because the latter, being incompatible with right faith, is destructive of the producing cause of Love, and therefore of Love itself. This is the secret of St. John's strong denunciation of the "deceiver" whom he designates as "anti-Christ." Love is with him the essence of Christianity; but Love can spring only from right faith. Wrong belief therefore destroys Love and with it Christianity. Therefore says he, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds" (Ep. ii. 10, 11).

The Third Epistle was written for the purpose of commending to the kindness and hospitality of Caius some Christians who were strangers in the place where he lived. It is probable that these Christians carried this letter with them to Caius as their introduction. It would appear that the object of the travellers was to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles without money and without price (Ep. iii. 7). St. John had already written to the ecclesiastical authorities of the place (*ἐγγραφά*, ver. 9, not "scipissem" *Vulg.*); but they, at the instigation of Diotrophes, had refused to receive the missionary brethren, and therefore the Apostle now commends them to the care of a layman. It is probable that Diotrophes was a leading presbyter who held Judaizing views, and would not give assistance to men who were going about with the purpose of preaching solely to the Gentiles. Whether Demetrius (Ver. 12) was a tolerant presbyter of the same community, whose example St. John holds up as worthy of commendation in contradistinction to that of Diotrophes, or whether he was one of the strangers who bore the letter, we are now unable to determine. The latter supposition is the more probable.

We may conjecture that the two Epistles were written shortly after the First Epistle from Ephesus. They both apply to individual cases of conduct

the principles which had been laid down in their fulness in the First Epistle.

The title Catholic does not properly belong to the Second and Third Epistles. It became attached to them, although addressed to individuals, because they were of too little importance to be classed by themselves, and so far as doctrine went, were regarded as appendices to the First Epistle. [F. M.]

**JOI'ADA** (יִיזָדָא): *Ἰωδαέ, Ἰωαδὰ*; Alex. *Ἰωαδὰ, Joiada*), high-priest after his father Eliashib, but whether in the lifetime of Nehemiah is not clear, as it is doubtful whether the title in Neh. xiii. 28 applies to him or his father. One of his sons married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. He was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Jonathan, or Johanan (Neh. xii. 11, 22). Josephus calls this Jehoiada, Judas. [A. C. H.]

**JOI'AKIM** (יִיזָקִים): *Ἰωακίμ: Joacim*), a high-priest, son of the renowned Jeshua who was joint leader with Zerubbabel of the first return from Babylon. His son and successor was ELIASHIB (Neh. xii. 10). In Neh. xii. 12-26 is preserved a catalogue of the heads of the various families of priests and Levites during the high-priesthood of Jojakim.

The name is a contracted form of JEHOIAKIM.

**JOI'ARIB** (יִיזָרִיב): *Ἰωαρίμ, Ἰωαρίβ*; Alex. *Ἰωαρίμ: Joarib*). 1. A layman who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 16).

2. The founder of one of the courses of priests, elsewhere called in full JEHOIAHIM. His descendants after the Captivity are given, Neh. xii. 6, 19, and also in xi. 10; though it is possible that in this passage another person is intended.

3. A Shilonite—i. e. probably a descendant of SHELAH the son of Judah—named in the genealogy of Manasseh, the then head of the family (Neh. xi. 5).

**JOK'DEAM** (יִזְדֵּאָם): *Ἀζιδάμ*; Alex. *Ἰεκδαμ; Jacodam*), a city of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 56), named in the same group with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and therefore apparently to be looked for south of Hebron, where they are situated. It has not, however, been yet met with, nor was it known to Eusebius and Jerome. [G.]

**JO'KIM** (יִזְקִים): *Ἰωακίμ*; Alex. *Ἰωακίμ: qui stare fecit solem*), one of the sons of Shelah (the third according to Buriington) the son of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 22), of whom nothing further is known. It would be difficult to say what gave rise to the rendering of the Vulgate or the Targum on the verse. The latter translates, "and the prophets and scribes who came forth from the seed of Joshua." The rendering which they had was evidently יִזְקִים, which some Rabbinical tradition applied to Joshua, and at the same time identified Josh and Saraph, mentioned in the same verse, with Mahlon and Chilion. Jerome quotes a Hebrew legend that Jokim was Elimelech the husband of Naomi, in whose days the sun stood still on account of the transgressors of the law (*Quiest. Heb. in Paral.*).

**JOK'MEAM** (יִזְמֵאָם): *Ἰεζμεάμ: Jecmann*), a city of Ephraim, given with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 68). The catalogue of the towns of Ephraim in the Book of Joshua is unfortunately very imperfect (see xvi.), but in the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh. xxi., KIBZAIM occupies the place of Jokmeam (ver. 22). The situation of Jokmeam is to a certain extent indicated in 1 K. iv. 12, where it is named with places

which we know to have been in the Jordan valley at the extreme east boundary of the tribe. (Here the A. V. has, probably by a printer's error, JOKNEAM.) This position is further supported by that of the other Levitical cities of this tribe—Shechem in the north, Bethhoron in the south, and Gezer in the extreme west, leaving Jokneam to take the opposite place in the east (see, however, the contrary opinion of Robinson, iii. 115 note). With regard to the substitution of Kibzaim—which is not found again—for Jokneam, we would only draw attention to the fact of the similarity in appearance of the two names, יִבְצַיִם and יִבְצַיִם. [G.]

**JOK'NEAM** (יִבְצַיִם): 'Iekud, ḥ Madv; Alex. 'Iekovād, 'Iekvā, ḥ 'Iekvā: *Jachavim, Jecovam, Jecnam*), a city of the tribe of Zebulun, allotted with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 34), but entirely omitted in the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. (comp. ver. 77). It is doubtless the same place as that which is incidentally named in connexion with the boundaries of the tribe—"the torrent which faces Jokneam" (xix. 11), and as the Canaanite town, whose king was killed by Joshua—"Jokneam of Carmel" (xii. 22). The requirements of these passages are sufficiently met by the modern site *Tell Kaimon*, an eminence which stands just below the eastern termination of Carmel, with the Kishon at its feet about a mile off. Dr. Robinson has shown (*B. R.* iii. 115 note) that the modern name is legitimately descended from the ancient: the CYAMON of Jud. vii. 3 being a step in the pedigree. (See also Van de Velde, i. 331, and *Memoir*, 326.) Jokneam is found in the A. V. of 1 K. iv. 12, but this is unwarranted by either Hebrew text, Alex. LXX. or Vulgate (both of which have the reading Jokmeam, the Vat. LXX. is quite corrupt), and also by the requirements of the passage, as stated under JOKMEAM. [G.]

**JOK'SHAN** (יִבְצַיִם): 'Iekud; 'Iekvā: *Jecshin*), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2, 3; 1 Chr. i. 32), whose sons were Sheba and Dedan. While the settlements of his two sons are presumptively placed on the borders of Palestine, those of Jokshan are not known. The Keturahites certainly stretched across the desert from the head of the Arabian, to that of the Persian, gulf; and the reasons for supposing this especially in the case of Jokshan are mentioned in ART. DEDAN. If those reasons be accepted, we must suppose that Jokshan returned westwards to the trans-Jordanic country, where are placed the settlements of his sons, or at least the chief of their settlements; for a wide spread of these tribes seems to be indicated in the passages in the Bible which make mention of them. Places or tribes bearing their names, and consequently that of Jokshan, may be looked for over the whole of the country intervening between the heads of the two gulfs.

The writings of the Arabs are rarely of use in the case of Keturahite tribes, whom they seem to confound with Ishmaelites in one common appellation. They mention a dialect of Jokshan ("Yākish, who is Yokshūn," as having been formerly spoken near 'Aden and El-Jened, in Southern Arabia, Yakoot's *Moriam*, cited in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, viii. 600-1, s. 30-1); but that Midianites penetrated so far into the peninsula we hold to be highly improbable [see ARABIA]. [E. S. P.]

\* It is remarkable that in historical questions, the Rabbins are singularly wide of the truth, displaying

**JOKTAN** (יִבְצַיִם): "small," Gen.: 'Iekvā: *Jectan*), son of Eber (Gen. x. 25; 1 Chr. i. 19); and the father of the Joktanite Arabs. His sons were Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Hayilah, and Jobab; progenitors of tribes peopling southern Arabia, many of whom are clearly identified with historical tribes, and the rest probably identified in the same manner. The first-named identifications are too well proved to admit of doubt; and accordingly scholars are agreed in placing the settlements of Joktan in the south of the peninsula. The original limits are stated in the Bible, "their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East" (Gen. x. 30). The position of Mesha, which is reasonably supposed to be the western boundary, is still uncertain [MESHA]; but Sephar is well established as being the same as Zafarī, the sea-port town on the east of the modern Yemen, and formerly one of the chief centres of the great Indian and African trade [SEPHAR; ARABIA]. Besides the genealogies in Gen. x., we have no record of Joktan himself in the Bible; but there are mentions of the peoples sprung from him, which must guide all researches into the history of the race. The subject is naturally divided into the history of Joktan himself, and that of his sons and their descendants.

The native traditions respecting Joktan commence with a difficulty. The ancestor of the great southern peoples were called Kahtān, who, say the Arabs, was the same as Joktan. To this some European critics have objected that there is no good reason to account for the change of name, and that the identification of Kahtān with Joktan is evidently a Jewish tradition adopted by Mohammad or his followers, and consequently at or after the promulgation of Islām. M. Caussin de Perceval commences his essay on the history of Yemen (*Essai*, i. 39) with this assertion, and adds, "Le nom de Kahtān, disent-ils [les Arabes], est le nom de Yectān, légèrement altéré en passant d'une langue étrangère dans la langue arabe." In reply to these objectors, we may state:—

1. The Rabbinis found a tradition that Joktan settled in India (see Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §4), and the supposition of a Jewish influence in the Arab traditions respecting him is therefore untenable.\* In the present case, even were this not so, there is an absence of motive for Mohammad's adopting traditions which alienate from the race of Ishmael many tribes of Arabia: the influence here suspected may rather be found in the contradictory assertion, put forward by a few of the Arabs, and rejected by the great majority, and the most judicious, of their historians, that Kahtān was descended from Ishmael.

2. That the traditions in question are post-Mohammadan cannot be proved; the same may be said of everything which Arab writers tell us dates before the Prophet's time; for then oral tradition alone existed, if we except the rock-cut inscriptions of the Himyarites, which are too few, and our knowledge of them is too slight, to admit of much weight attaching to them.

3. A passage in the *Mir-āt ex-Zemān*, hitherto unpublished, throws new light on the point. It is as follows:—"Ibn-el-Kelbee says, Yuktan [whose name is also written Yuktān] is the same as Kahtān son of 'A'bir," i. e. Eber, and so say the gene-

a deficiency of the critical faculty that is characteristic of Semitic races.

rality of the Arabs. "El-Belâdhiree says, People differ respecting Kahtân; some say he is the same as Yuktân, who is mentioned in the Pentateuch; but the Arabs arabicized his name, and said Kahtân the son of Hood [because they identified their prophet Hood with Eber, whom they call 'A'bir]; and some say, son of Es-Semeyfa," or as is said in one place by the author here quoted, "El-Hemeysa", the son of Nebt [or Nâbit, i. e. Nebaioth], the son of Isma'el," i. e. Ishmael. He then proceeds, in continuation of the former passage, "Abou-Hanefeh Ed-Deenawaree says, He is Kahtân the son of 'A'bir; and was named Kahtân only because of his suffering from drought" [which is termed in Arabic Kaht]. (*Mirât ez-Zemân*; account of the sons of Shem.) Of similar changes of names by the Arabs there are numerous instances. Thus it is evident that the name of "Saul" (סָאֻל) was changed by the

Arabs to "Taloote" (طَالُوت), because of his

tallness, from طُول (tallness), or طَال (he was tall); although the latter name, being imperfectly declinable, is not to be considered as Arabic (which several Arabian writers assert it to be), but as a variation of a foreign name. (See the remarks on this name, as occurring in the Kur'ân, ch. ii. 248, in the *Expositions of Ez-Zamakhshere* and El-Beydâwee.) We thus obtain a reason for the change of name which appears to be satisfactory, whereas the theory of its being arabicized is not readily to be explained unless we suppose the term "arabicized" to be loosely employed in this instance.

4. If the traditions of Kahtân be rejected (and in this rejection we cannot agree), they are, it must be remembered, immaterial to the fact that the peoples called by the Arabs descendants of Kahtân, are certainly Joktanites. His sons' colonisation of Southern Arabia is proved by indisputable, and undisputed, identifications, and the great kingdom, which there existed for many ages before our era, and in its later days was renowned in the world of classical antiquity, was as surely Joktanite.

The settlements of the sons of Joktan are examined in the separate articles bearing their names, and generally in ARABIA. They colonised the whole of the south of the peninsula, the old "Arabia Felix," or the Yemen (for this appellation had a very wide significance in early times), stretching, according to the Arabs (and there is in this case no ground for doubting their general correctness), to Mekkeh, on the north-west, and along nearly the whole of the southern coast eastwards, and far inland. At Mekkeh, tradition connects the two great races of Joktan and Ishmael, by the marriage of a daughter of Jurhum the Joktanite with Ishmael. It is necessary in mentioning this Jurhum, who is called a "son" of Joktan (Kahtân), to observe that "son" in these cases must be regarded as signifying "descendant" (cf. CHRONOLOGY, in Hebrew generations), and that many generations (though how many, or in what order, is not known) are missing from the existing list between Kahtân (embracing the most important time of the Joktanites) and the establishment of the comparatively-modern Himyerite kingdom; from this latter date, stated by Caussin, *Essai*, i. 63, at B.C. 100, the

succession of the Tubbas is apparently preserved to us.<sup>b</sup> At Mekkeh, the tribe of Jurhum long held the office of guardians of the Kaabeh, or temple, and the sacred enclosure, until they were expelled by the Ishmaelites (Kutb-ed-Deen, *Hist. of Mekkeh*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 35 and 39 *seqq.*; and Caussin, *Essai*, i. 194). But it was at Seba, the Biblical Sheba, that the kingdom of Joktan attained its greatness. In the south-western angle of the peninsula, San'â (Uzal), Seba (Sheba), and Hadamiawt (Hazarmaveth), all closely neighbouring, formed together the principal known settlements of the Joktanites. Here arose the kingdom of Seba, followed in later times by that of Himyer. The dominant tribe from remote ages seems to have been that of Seba (or Sheba, the *Sabari* of the Greeks): while the family of Himyer (*Homeritae*) held the first place in the tribe. The kingdom called that of Himyer we believe to have been merely a late phase of the old Seba, dating, both in its rise and its name, only shortly before our era.

In ARABIA we have alluded to certain curious indications in the names of Himyer, OPHIR, the Phœnicians, and the Erythraean Sea, and the traces of their westward spread, which would well repay a careful investigation; as well as the obscure relations of a connexion with Chaldaea and Assyria, found in Berossus and other ancient writers, and strengthened by presumptive evidence of a connexion closer than that of commerce, in religion, &c., between those countries and Arabia. An equally interesting and more tangible subject, is the apparently-proved settlement of Cushite races along the coast, on the ground also occupied by Joktanites, involving intermarriages between these peoples, and explaining the Cyclopean masonry of the so-called Himyerite ruins which bear no mark of a Shemite's hand, the vigorous character of the Joktanites and their sea-faring propensities (both qualities not usually found in Shemites), and the Cushite elements in the rock-cut inscriptions in the "Himyeritic" language.

Next in importance to the tribe of Seba was that of Hadamiawt, which, till the fall of the Himyerite power, maintained a position of independence and a direct line of rulers from Kahtân (Caussin, i. 135-6). Joktanite tribes also passed northwards, to Heerch, in El-Jrâk, and to Ghassân, near Damascus. The emigration of these and other tribes took place on the occasion of the rupture of a great dyke (the Dyke of El-Arim), above the metropolis of Seba; a catastrophe that appears, from the concurrent testimony of Arab writers, to have devastated a great extent of country, and destroyed the city Ma-rib or Seba. This event forms the commencement of an era, the dates of which exist in the inscriptions on the Dyke and elsewhere; but when we should place that commencement is still quite an open question. (See the extracts from El-Mes'ooloe and other authorities, edited by Schultens; Caussin, i. 84, *seqq.*; and ARABIA.)

The position which the Joktanites hold (in native traditions) among the successive races who are said to have inhabited the peninsula has been fully stated in Art. ARABIA; to which the reader is referred for a sketch of the inhabitants generally, their descent, history, religion, and language. There are some existing places named after Joktan and

<sup>b</sup> It is curious that the Greeks first mention the Himyerites in the expedition of Aelius Gallus, towards the close of the 1st century B.C., although Himyer

himself lived long before; agreeing with our belief that his family was important before the establishment of the so-called kingdom. See Caussin, l. c.

Kahltán (El-idreesee, Ed. Jaubert; Niebuhr, *Descr.* 2:38 c); but there seems to be no safe ground for attaching to them any special importance, or for supposing that the name is ancient when we remember that the whole country is full of the traditions of Joktan. [E. S. P.]

### JOK'THEEL (יֶחֱזֵקֵל)

1. (Ἰαχαεήλ; Alex. Ἰεχθαήλ: *Jocthel*), a city in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 38), named next to Lachish—probably *Um-Lukis*, on the road between *Beit-gibrin* and Gaza. The name does not appear to have been yet discovered.

2. (Ἰεθοήλ; Alex. Ἰεθοήλ: *Jocthel*): "God-subdued" the title given by Amaziah to the cliff (צִיְהוֹנָה, A. V. *Selah*)—the stronghold of the Edomites—after he had captured it from them (2 K. xiv. 7). The parallel narrative of 2 Chr. xxv. 11-13 supplies fuller details. From it we learn that, having beaten the Edomite army with a great slaughter in the "Valley of Salt"—the valley south of the Dead Sea—Amaziah took those who were not slain to the cliff, and threw them headlong over it. This cliff is asserted by Eusebius (*Onomast. πέτρα*) to be "a city of Edom, also called by the Assyrians *Rekem*," by which there is no doubt that he intends *Petra* (see *Onomasticon*, 'Ρεκέρ, and the quotations in Stanley's *S. & P.* 94 note). The title thus bestowed is said to have continued "unto this day." This, Keil remarks, is a proof that the history was nearly contemporary with the event, because Amaziah's conquest was lost again by Ahaz less than a century afterwards (2 Chr. xxvii. 17). [G.]

JO'NA (Ἰωνᾶ: *Jonai*), the father of the Apostle Peter (John i. 42), who is hence addressed as Simon Barjona in Matt. xvi. 17. In the A. V. of John xxi. 15-17 he is called JONAS, though the Greek is Ἰωάννης, and the Vulg. *Johannes* throughout. The name in either form would be the equivalent of the Hebrew Johanan.

### JON'ADAB. 1. (יֹחָנָדָב, and once יֹחָנָדָב, i.e. Jehonadab: Ἰωνάδᾰβ: *Jonadab*), son of Shimeah and nephew of David. He is described as "very subtil" (σοφὸς σφόδρα; the word is that usually translated "wise," as in the case of Solomon, 2 Sam. xiii. 3). He seems to have been one of those characters who, in the midst of great or royal families, pride themselves, and are renowned, for being acquainted with the secrets of the whole circle in which they move. His age naturally made him the friend of his cousin Amnon, heir to the throne (2 Sam. xiii. 3). He perceived from the prince's altered appearance that there was some unknown grief—"Why art thou, the king's son, so lean?"—and, when he had wormed it out, he gave him the fatal advice, for ensnaring his sister Tamar (5, 6).

Again, when, in a later stage of the same tragedy, Amnon was murdered by Abuloni, and the exaggerated report reached David that all the princes were slaughtered, Jonadab was already aware of the real state of the case. He was with the king, and was able at once to reassure him (2 Sam. xiii. 32, 33).

2. Jer. xxxv. 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, in which it represents sometimes the long, sometimes the short Heb. form of the name. [JHONADAB.] [A.P.S.]

\* Niebuhr also (*Descr.* 249) mentions the reputed tomb of Kahltán, but probably refers to the tomb of

### JO'NAH (יוֹנָה; Ἰωνᾶς, LXX. and Matt. xii.

39), a prophet, son of Amittai (whose name, conjoined with יוֹנָה, used by the widow of Zarepheth, 1 K. xvii. 24, has given rise to an old tradition, recorded by Jerome, that Jonah was her son, and that Amittai was a prophet himself). We further learn from 2 K. xiv. 25, he was of Gath-hepher, a town of lower Galilee, in Zebulun. This verse enables us to approximate to the time at which Jonah lived. It was plainly after the reign of Jehu, when the losses of Israel (2 K. x. 32) began; and it may not have been till the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II. The general opinion is that Jonah was the first of the prophets (Rosenm., Ep. Lloyd, Davison, Browne, Drake): Hengstenberg would place him after Amos and Hosea, and indeed adheres to the order of the books in the canon for the chronology. The king of Nineveh at this time is supposed (Ussher and others) to have been Pul, who is placed by Layard (*Nin. and Bab.* 624) at B.C. 750; but an earlier king, Adrammelech II., B.C. 840, is regarded more probably by Drake. Our English Bible gives B.C. 862.

The personal history of Jonah is brief, and well known; but is of such an exceptional and extraordinary character, as to have been set down by many German critics to fiction, either in whole or in part. The book, say they, was composed, or compounded, some time after the death of the prophet, perhaps (Rosenm.) at the latter part of the Jewish kingdom, during the reign of Josiah (S. Sharpe), or even later. The supposed improbabilities are accounted for by them in a variety of ways; e.g. as merely fabulous, or fanciful ornaments to a true history, or allegorical, or parabolical and moral, both in their origin and design. A list of the critics who have advanced these several opinions may be seen in Davidson's *Introduction*, p. 956. Rosenmüller (*Proleg. in Jonam*) refutes them in detail; and then propounds his own, which is equally baseless. Like them, he begins with proposing to escape the difficulties of the history, but ends in a mere theory, open to still greater difficulties. "The fable of Hercules," he says, "devoured and then restored by a sea-monster, was the foundation on which the Hebrew prophet built up the story. Nothing was really true in it." We feel ourselves precluded from any doubt of the reality of the transactions recorded in this book, by the simplicity of the language itself; by the historical allusions in Tob. xiv. 4-6, 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, §2; by the accordance with other authorities of the historical and geographical notices; by the thought that we might as well doubt all other miracles in Scripture as doubt these ("Quod aut omnia divina miracula credenda non sint, aut hoc cur non credatur causa multa sit," Aug. *Ep.* cii. in *quaest.* 6 de *Jona*, ii. 284; cf. Cyril. Alex. *Comment. in Jonam*, iii. 367-389); above all, by the explicit words and teaching of our blessed Lord Himself (Matt. xii. 39, 41, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29), and by the correspondence of the miracles in the histories of Jonah and of the Messiah.

We shall derive additional arguments for the same conclusion from the history and meaning of the prophet's mission. Having already, as it seems (from † in i. 1), prophesied to Israel, he was sent

the prophet Hood, who, as we have mentioned, is by some thought to be the father of Kahltán.

to Nineveh. The time was one of political revival in Israel; but ere long the Assyrians were to be employed by God as a scourge upon them. The Israelites consequently viewed them with repulsiveness; and the prophet, in accordance with his name (יוֹנָה, "a dove"), out of timidity and love for his country, shrunk from a commission which he felt sure would result (iv. 2) in the sparing of a hostile city. He attempted therefore to escape to Tarshish, either Tartessus in Spain (Bochart, *Titcomb*, Hengst.), or more probably (Drake) Tarsus in Cilicia, a port of commercial intercourse. The providence of God, however, watched over him, first in a storm, and then in his being swallowed by a large fish (דָּג גָּדוֹל) for the space of three days and three nights. We need not multiply miracles by supposing a great fish to have been created for the occasion, for Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. pp. 752-754) has shown that there is a sort of shark which devours a man entire, as this did Jonah while cast into the water (August. *Ep.* 49, ii. 284).

After his deliverance, Jonah executed his commission; and the king, "believing him to be a minister from the supreme deity of the nation" (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*), and having heard of his miraculous deliverance (Dean Jackson *On the Creed*, bk. ix. c. 42), ordered a general fast, and averted the threatened judgment. But the prophet, not from personal but national feelings, grudged the mercy shown to a heathen nation. He was therefore taught, by the significant lesson of the "gourd," whose growth and decay (a known fact to naturalists, Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 123, 124) brought the truth at once home to him, that he was sent to testify by deed, as other prophets would afterwards testify by word, the capacity of Gentiles for salvation, and the design of God to make them partakers of it. This was "the sign of the prophet Jonas" which was given to a proud and perverse generation of Jews after the ascension of Christ by the preaching of His Apostles. (Luke xi. 29, 30, 32; Jackson's *Comm. on the Creed*, ix. c. 12.)

But the resurrection of Christ itself was also shadowed forth in the history of the prophets, as is made certain to us by the words of our Saviour. (See Jackson, as above, bk. ix. c. 40.) Titcomb (*Bible Studies*, p. 237, n.) sees a correspondence between Jon. i. 17 and Hosea vi. 2. Besides which, the fact and the faith of Jonah's prayer in the belly of the fish betokened to the nation of Israel the intimation of a resurrection and of immortality.

We thus see distinct purposes which the mission of Jonah was designed to serve in the Divine economy; and in these we have the reason of the history's being placed in the *prophetic canon*. It was highly symbolical. The facts contained a concealed prophecy. Hence, too, only so much of the prophet's personal history is told us as suffices for setting forth the symbols divinely intended, which accounts for its fragmentary aspect. Exclude the symbolical meaning, and you have no adequate reason to give of this history: admit it, and you have images here of the highest facts and doctrines of Christianity. (Davison, *On Prophecy*, p. 275.)

For the extent of the site of Nineveh, see NINEVEH.

The old tradition made the burial-place of Jonah to be Gath-hepher: the modern tradition places it at Nebi-Yunus, opposite Mosul. See the account of the excavations in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 596, 597. And consult Drake's *Notes on Jonah* (Macmillan and Co., 1853).

See Leusden's *Jonas Illustratus*, Trajecti ad Rhen. 1692; Rosenmüller's *Scholæ in Vet. Test.*; *Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah*, by Abp. Abbott (reprinted), London, 1845; *Notes on the Prophecies of Jonah and Hosea*, by Rev. W. Drake, Cambridge, 1853: Ewald; Umbreit; Henderson, *Minor Prophets*. [H. B.]

**JON'AN** (יוֹנָדָב: *Jonah*), son of Eliakim, in the genealogy of Christ, in the 7th generation after David, i. e. about the time of king Jehoram (Luke iii. 30). The name is probably only another form of Johanan, which occurs so frequently in this genealogy. The sequence of names, Jonan, Joseph, Juda, Simeon, Levi, Matthat, is singularly like that in vers. 26, 27, Joanna, Judah, Joseph, Semei—Mattathias. [A.C.H.]

**JONAS**. 1. (יוֹנָדָב; Alex. Ἰωνῆς: *Etionas*). This name occupies the same position in 1 Esd. ix. 23 as Eliezer in the corresponding list in Ezr. x. 23. Perhaps the corruption originated in reading יוֹנָדָב for יוֹנָדָב, as appears to have been the case in 1 Esd. ix. 32 (comp. Ezr. x. 31). The former would have caught the compiler's eye from Ezr. x. 22, and the original form EJonas, as it appears in the Vulg., could easily have become Jonas.

2. (יוֹנָדָב, *Jonas*.) The prophet Jonah (2 Esd. i. 39; Tob. xiv. 4, 8; Matt. xii. 39, 40, 41, xvi. 4).

3. (Ἰωννης: *Johannes*), John xxi. 15-17. [JONA.]

**JON'ATHAN** (יוֹחָנָן, i. e. Jehonathan, and יוֹחָנָן; the two forms are used almost alternately: יוֹנָדָב, Jos. יוֹנָדָב; *Jonathum*), the eldest son of king Saul. The name ("the gift of Jehovah," corresponding to *Theodorus* in Greek) seems to have been common at that period; possibly from the example of Saul's son (see JONATHAN, the nephew of David, JONATHAN, the son of Abiathar, JONATHAN, the son of Shage, and NATHAN the prophet).

He first appears some time after his father's accession (1 Sam. xiii. 2). If his younger brother Ishboseth was 40 at the time of Saul's death (2 Sam. ii. 8), Jonathan must have been at least 30, when he is first mentioned. Of his own family we know nothing, except the birth of one son, 5 years before his death (2 Sam. iv. 4). He was regarded in his father's lifetime as heir to the throne. Like Saul, he was a man of great strength and activity (2 Sam. i. 23), of which the exploit at Michmash was a proof. He was also famous for the peculiar martial exercises in which his tribe excelled—archery and slinging (1 Chr. xii. 2). His bow was to him what the spear was to his father: "the bow of Jonathan turned not back" (2 Sam. i. 22). It was always about him (1 Sam. xviii. 4, xx. 35). It is through his relation with David that he is chiefly known to us, probably as related by his descendants at David's court. But there is a background, not so clearly given, of his relation with his father. From the time that he first appears he is Saul's constant companion. He was always present at his father's meals. As Abner and David seem to have occupied the places afterwards called the captaincies of "the host" and "of the guard;" so he seems to have been (as Hushai afterwards) "the friend" (comp. 1 Sam. xx. 25; 2 Sam. xv. 37). The whole story implies, without expressing, the deep attachment of the father and son. Jona-

than can only go on his dangerous expedition (1 Sam. xiv. 1) by concealing it from Saul. Saul's vow is confirmed, and its tragic effect deepened, by his feeling for his son, "though it be Jonathan my son" (ib. xiv. 39). "Tell me what thou hast done" (ib. xiv. 43). Jonathan cannot bear to believe his father's enmity to David, "my father will do nothing great or small, but that he will show it to me: and why should my father hide this thing from me? it is not so" (1 Sam. xx. 2). To him, if to any one, the wild frenzy of the king was amenable—"Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan" (1 Sam. xix. 6). Their mutual affection was indeed interrupted by the growth of Saul's insanity. Twice the father would have sacrificed the son: once in consequence of his vow (1 Sam. xiv.); the second time, more deliberately, on the discovery of David's flight: and on this last occasion, a momentary glimpse is given of some darker history. Were the phrases "son of a perverse rebellious woman,"—"shame on thy mother's nakedness" (1 Sam. xx. 30, 31), mere frantic invectives? or was there something in the story of Ahinoam or Rizpah which we do not know? "In fierce anger" Jonathan left the royal presence (ib. 34). But he cast his lot with his father's decline, not with his friend's rise, and "in death they were not divided" (2 Sam. i. 23; 1 Sam. xxiii. 16).

His life may be divided into two main parts.

1. The war with the Philistines; commonly called, from its locality, "the war of Michmash," as the last years of the Peloponnesian war were called for a similar reason "the war of Decelæ" (1 Sam. xiii. 21, LXX.). In the previous war with the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 4-15) there is no mention of him; and his abrupt appearance, without explanation, in xiii. 2, may seem to imply that some part of the narrative has been lost.

He is already of great importance in the state. Of the 3000 men of whom Saul's standing army was formed (xiii. 2, xiv. 2, xxvi. 1, 2), 1000 were under the command of Jonathan at Gibeah. The Philistines were still in the general command of the country; an officer was stationed at Gibeah, either the same as Jonathan's position or close to it. In a sudden act of youthful daring, as when Tell rose against Gesler, or as in sacred history Moses rose against the Egyptian, Jonathan slew this officer,<sup>a</sup> and thus gave the signal for a general revolt. Saul took advantage of it, and the whole population rose. But it was a premature attempt. The Philistines poured in from the plain, and the tyranny became more deeply rooted than ever. [SAUL.] Saul and Jonathan (with their immediate attendants) alone had arms, amidst the general weakness and disarming of the people (1 Sam. xiii. 22). They were encamped at Gibeah, with a small body of 600 men, and as they looked down from that height on the misfortunes of their country, and of their native tribe especially, they wept aloud (ἐκλαίων, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 16).

From this oppression, as Jonathan by his former act had been the first to provoke it, so now he was the first to deliver his people. On the former occa-

sion Saul had been equally with himself involved in the responsibility of the deed. Saul "blew the trumpet;" Saul had "smitten the officer of the Philistines" (xiii. 3, 4). But now it would seem that Jonathan was resolved to undertake the whole risk himself. "The day," the day fixed by him (γίγεται ἡ ἡμέρα, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 1) approached; and without communicating his project to any one, except the young man, whom, like all the chiefs of that age, he retained as his armour-bearer, he sallied forth from Gibeah to attack the garrison of the Philistines stationed on the other side of the steep defile of Michmash (xiv. 1). His words are short, but they breathe exactly the ancient and peculiar spirit of the Israelite warrior. "Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised; it may be that Jehovah will work for us: for there is no restraint to Jehovah to save by many or by few." The answer is no less characteristic of the close friendship of the two young men: already like to that which afterwards sprang up between Jonathan and David. "Do all that is in thine heart; . . . behold, I am with thee; as thy heart is my heart (LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 7)." After the manner of the time (and the more, probably, from having taken no counsel of the high-priest or any prophet before his departure), Jonathan proposed to draw an omen for their course from the conduct of the enemy. If the garrison, on seeing them, gave intimations of descending upon them, they would remain in the valley: if, on the other hand, they raised a challenge to advance, they were to accept it. The latter turned out to be the case. The first appearance of the two warriors from behind the rocks was taken by the Philistines, as a furtive apparition of "the Hebrews coming forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves;" and they were welcomed with a scoffing invitation (such as the Jebusites afterwards offered to David), "Come up, and we will show you a thing" (xiv. 4-12). Jonathan immediately took them at their word. Strong and active as he was, "strong as a lion, and swift as an eagle" (2 Sam. i. 23); he was fully equal to the adventure of climbing on his hands and feet up the face of the cliff. When he came directly in view of them, with his armour-bearer behind him, they both, after the manner of their tribe (1 Chr. xii. 2) discharged a flight of arrows, stones, and pebbles,<sup>b</sup> from their bows, crossbows, and slings, with such effect that 20 men fell at the first onset [ARMS, p. 111a]. A panic seized the garrison, thence spread to the camp, and thence to the surrounding hordes of marauders; an earthquake combined with the terror of the moment; the confusion increased; the Israelites who had been taken slaves by the Philistines during the last 3 days (LXX.) rose in mutiny: the Israelites who lay hid in the numerous caverns and deep holes in which the rocks of the neighbourhood abound, sprang out of their subterranean dwellings. Saul and his little band had watched in astonishment the wild retreat from the heights of Gibeah—he now joined in the pursuit, which led him headlong after the fugitives, over the rugged plateau of Bethel, and down<sup>c</sup> the

<sup>a</sup> A. V. "Garrison") τὸν Ναεὶβ, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 4. See Ewald, *il.* 476.

<sup>b</sup> We have taken the LXX. version of xiv. 13, 14: ἐπέβαλεσαν κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἰωνάθαν, καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτοὺς . . . ἐν βόλαις καὶ ἐν περὶβόλοις καὶ ἐν κοχλάεσι τοῦ πεδίου, for "they fell before Jonathan . . . within as it were a half acre of ground, which a yoke of oxen might plough." The alteration of the Hebrew ne-

cessary to produce this reading of the LXX., is given by Kennicott (*Dissert. on 1 Chron. vi. p. 453*). Ewald (*il.* 480) makes this last to be, "Jonathan and his friend were as a yoke of oxen ploughing, and resisting the sharp ploughshares."

<sup>c</sup> In xiv. 23, 31, the LXX. reads "Bamoth" for "Beth-aven," and omits "Ajalon."

pass of Beth-horon to Ajalon (xiv. 15-31). [GIBBEAH, p. 691a.] The father and son had not met on that day: Saul only conjectured his son's absence from not finding him when he numbered the people. Jonathan had not heard of the rash curse (xiv. 24) which Saul invoked on any one who ate before the evening. In the dizzies and darkness (Hebrew, 1 Sam. xiv. 27) that came on after his desperate exertions, he put forth the staff which apparently had (with his sling and bow) been his chief weapon, and tasted the honey which lay on the ground as they passed through the forest. The pursuers in general were restrained even from this slight indulgence by fear of the royal curse; but the moment that the day, with its enforced fast, was over, they flew, like Muslims at sunset during the fast of Ramadan, on the captured cattle; and devoured them, even to the brutal neglect of the law which forbade the dismemberment of the fresh carcases with the blood. This violation of the law Saul endeavoured to prevent and to expiate by erecting a large stone, which served both as a rude table and as an altar; the first altar that was raised under the monarchy. It was in the dead of night after this wild revel was over that he proposed that the pursuit should be continued till dawn; and then, when the silence of the oracle of the high-priest indicated that something had occurred to intercept the Divine favour, the lot was tied, and Jonathan appeared as the culprit. Jephthah's dreadful sacrifice would have been repeated; but the people interposed in behalf of the hero of that great day; and Jonathan was saved (xiv. 24-46).

2. This is the only great exploit of Jonathan's life. But the chief interest of his career is derived from the friendship with David, which began on the day of David's return from the victory over the chumpion of Gath, and continued till his death. It is the first Biblical instance of a romantic friendship, such as was common afterwards in Greece, and has been since in Christendom; and is remarkable both as giving its sanction to these, and as filled with a pathos of its own, which has been imitated, but never surpassed, in modern works of fiction. "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul"—"Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (1 Sam. xviii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 26). Each found in each the affection that he found not in his own family: no jealousy of rivalry between the two, as claimants for the same throne, ever interposed: "Thou shalt be king in Israel, and I shall be next unto thee" (1 Sam. xxiii. 17). The friendship was confirmed, after the manner of the time, by a solemn compact often repeated. The first was immediately on their first acquaintance. Jonathan gave David as a pledge his royal mantle, his sword, his girdle, and his famous bow (xviii. 4). His fidelity was soon called into action by the insane rage of his father against David. He interposed for his life, at first with success (1 Sam. xix. 1-7). Then the madness returned and David fled. It was in a secret interview during this flight, by the stone of Ezel, that the second covenant was made between the two friends, of a still more binding kind, extending to their mutual posterity—Jonathan laying such emphasis on this portion of the compact, as almost to suggest the belief of a

slight misgiving on his part of David's future conduct in this respect. It is this interview which brings out the character of Jonathan in the liveliest colours—his little artifices—his love for both his father and his friend—his bitter disappointment at his father's unmanageable fury—his familiar spot of archery. With passionate embraces and tears the two friends parted, to meet only once more (1 Sam. xx.). That one more meeting was far away in the forest of Ziph, during Saul's pursuit of David. Jonathan's alarm for his friend's life is now changed into a confidence that he will escape: "He strengthened his hand in God." Finally, and for the third time, they renewed the covenant, and then parted for ever (1 Sam. xxiii. 16-18).

From this time forth we hear no more till the battle of Gilboa. In that battle he fell, with his two brothers and his father, and his corpse shared their fate (1 Sam. xxxi. 2, 8). [SAUL.] His ashes were buried first at Jabesh-Gilead (ib. 13), but afterwards removed with those of his father to Zelah in Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 12). The news of his death occasioned the celebrated elegy of David, in which he, as the friend, naturally occupies the chief place (2 Sam. i. 22, 23, 25, 26), and which seems to have been sung in the education of the archers of Judah, in commemoration of the one great archer, Jonathan: "He bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow" (2 Sam. i. 17, 18).

He left one son, aged five years old at the time of his death (2 Sam. iv. 4), to whom he had probably given his original name of Meib-baal, afterwards changed for Mephibosheth (comp. 1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40). [MEPHIBOSHETH.] Through him the line of descendants was continued down to the time of Ezra (1 Chr. ix. 40), and even then their great ancestor's archery was practised amongst them. [SAUL.]

2. (יְהוֹנָתָן). Son of Shimeah, brother of Jonathanab, and nephew of David (2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. xx. 7). He inherited the union of civil and military gifts, so conspicuous in his uncle. Like David, he engaged in a single combat and slew a gigantic Philistine of Gath, who was remarkable for an additional finger and toe on each hand and foot (2 Sam. xxi. 21). If we may identify the Jonathan of 1 Chr. xxvii. 32 with the Jonathan of this passage, where the word translated "uncle" may be "nephew," he was (like his brother Jonathanab) "wise"—and as such, was David's counsellor and secretary. Jerome (*Quæst. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) conjectures that this was Nathan the prophet, thus making up the 8th son, not named in 1 Chr. ii. 13-15. But this is not probable.

3. The son of Abiathur, the high-priest. He is the last descendant of Eli, of whom we hear anything. He appears on two occasions. 1. On the day of David's flight from Absalom, having first accompanied his father Abiathur as far as Olivet (2 Sam. xv. 36), he returned with him to Jerusalem, and was there, with Ahimeaz the son of Zadok, employed as a messenger to carry back the news of Hushai's plans to David (xvii. 15-21). 2. On the day of Solomon's inauguration, he suddenly broke in upon the banquet of Adonijah, to announce the success of the rival prince (1 K. i. 42, 43). It may be inferred from Adonijah's ex-

<sup>a</sup> Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 6, §5) puts into Jonathan's mouth a speech of patriotic self-devotion, after the manner of a Greek or Roman. Ewald (ii. 483) sup-

poses that a substitute was killed in his place. There is no trace of either of these in the sacred narrative.

pression ("Thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings"), that he had followed the policy of his father Abiathar in Adonijah's support.

On both occasions, it may be remarked that he appears as the swift and trusty messenger.

4. The son of Shage the Hararite (1 Chr. xi. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 32). He was one of David's heroes (*gibborim*). The LXX. makes his father's name *Sola* (Σολά), and applies the epithet "Aurite" (δ' Αὔριπ) to Jonathan himself. "Harar" is not mentioned elsewhere as a place; but it is a poetical word for "Har" (mountain), and, as such, may possibly signify in this passage "the mountaineer." Another officer (Ahiam) is mentioned with Jonathan, as bearing the same designation (1 Chr. xi. 35). [A. P. S.]

5. (יְהוֹנָתָן). The son, or descendant, of Gershom the son of Moses, whose name in the Masoretic copies is changed to Manasseh, in order to screen the memory of the great lawgiver from the disgrace which attached to the apostasy of one so closely connected with him (Judg. xviii. 30). While wandering through the country in search of a home, the young Levite of Bethlehem-Judah came to the house of Micah, the rich Ephraimite, and was by him appointed to be a kind of private chaplain, and to minister in the house of gods, or sanctuary, which Micah had made in imitation of that at Shiloh. He was recognised by the five Danite spies appointed by their tribe to search the land for an inheritance, who lodged in the house of Micah on their way northwards. The favourable answer which he gave when consulted with regard to the issue of their expedition probably induced them, on their march to Laish with the warriors of their tribe, to turn aside again to the house of Micah, and carry off the ephod and teraphim, superstitiously hoping thus to make success certain. Jonathan, to whose ambition they appealed, accompanied them, in spite of the remonstrances of his patron; he was present at the massacre of the defenceless inhabitants of Laish, and in the new city, which rose from its ashes, he was constituted priest of the graven image, an office which became hereditary in his family till the captivity. The Targum of R. Joseph, on 1 Chr. xviii. 16, identifies him with Shebuel the son of Gershom, who is there said to have repented (עָבַר וַתִּתְנַבֵּא) in his old age, and to have been appointed by David as chief over his treasures. All this arises from a play upon the name Shebuel, from which this meaning is extracted in accordance with a favourite practice of the Targumists.

6. (יֹנָתָן). One of the sons of Adiu (Ezr. viii. 6), whose representative Eliel returned with Ezra at the head of fifty males, a number which is increased to two hundred and fifty in 1 Esd. viii. 32, where Jonathan is written 'Ιωνθας.

7. A priest, the son of Asahel, one of the four who assisted Ezra in investigating the marriages with foreign women, which had been contracted by the people who returned from Babylon (Ezr. x. 15; 1 Esd. ix. 14).

8. A priest, and one of the chiefs of the fathers in the days of Joikim, son of Jeshua. He was the representative of the family of Melch (Neh. xii. 14).

9. One of the sons of Kareah, and brother of Johanan (Jer. xl. 8). The LXX. in this passage omits his name altogether, and in this they are supported by two of Kennicott's MSS., and the parallel passage of 2 K. xxv. 23. In three others of

Kennicott's it was erased, and was originally omitted in the army of De Kossis. He was one of the captains of the De who had escaped from Jerusalem in the final assault by the Chaldeans, and, after the capture of Zedekiah at Jericho, had crossed the Jordan, and remained in the open country of the Ammonites till the victorious army had retired with their spoils and captives. He accompanied his brother Johanan and the other captains, who resorted to Gedalnah at Mizpah, and from that time we hear nothing more of him. Hitzig decides against the LXX. and the MSS. which omit the name (*Par. Proph. Jeremias*), on the ground that the very similarity between Jonathan and Johanan favours the belief that they were brothers. [W. A. W.]

10. (יֹנָתָן): 'Ιωνθας. Son of Joiada, and his successor in the high-priesthood. The only fact connected with his pontificate recorded in Scripture, is that the genealogical records of the priests and Levites were kept in his day (Neh. xii. 11, 22), and that the chronicles of the state were continued to his time (ib. 23). Jonathan (or, as he is called in Neh. xii. 22, 23, John) lived, of course, long after the death of Nehemiah, and in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Josephus, who also calls him John, as do Eusebius\* and Nicephorus likewise, relates that he murdered his own brother Jesus in the Temple, because Jesus was endeavouring to get the high-priesthood from him through the influence of Bagoses the Persian general. He adds that John by this misdeed brought two great judgments upon the Jews: the one, that Bagoses entered into the Temple and polluted it; the other, that he imposed a heavy tax of 50 shekels upon every lamb offered in sacrifice, to punish them for this horrible crime (A. J. xi. vii. §1). Jonathan, or John, was high-priest for 32 years, according to Eusebius and the Alexandr. Chron. (*Seld. de Success. in P. E. cap. vi. vii.*). Milman speaks of the murder of Jesus as "the only memorable transaction in the annals of Judaea from the death of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great" (*Hist. of Jews*, ii. 29).

11. Father of Zechariah, a priest who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 35). He seems to have been of the course of Shemaiah. The words "son of" seem to be improperly inserted before the following name, *Matthanias*, as appears by comparing xi. 17. [A. C. H.]

12. ('Ιωνθας). 1 Esdr. viii. 32. [See No. 6.]

13. A son of Matthanias, and leader of the Jews in their war of independence after the death of his brother Judas Maccabaeus, B.C. 161 (1 Macc. ix. 19 ff.). [MACCABEES.]

14. A son of Absalom (1 Macc. xiii. 11), sent by Simon with a force to occupy Joppa, which was already in the hands of the Jews (1 Macc. xii. 33), though probably held only by a weak garrison. Jonathan expelled the inhabitants (τοὺς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ; cf. Jos. Ant. xiii. 6, §3) and secured the city. Jonathan was probably a brother of Matthanias (2) (1 Macc. xi. 70).

15. A priest who is said to have offered up a solemn prayer on the occasion of the sacrifice made by Nehemiah after the recovery of the sacred fire (2 Macc. i. 23 ff.: cf. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iv. 184 f.). The narrative is interesting, as it presents a singular example of the combination of public prayer with sacrifice (Grimm, *ad 2 Macc. i. c.*). [B. F. W.]

\* Chron. Cmn. lib. poster. p. 340. But in the *De-monst. Evang.* lib. viii., Jonathan.

**JON'ATHAS** (Ἰωνάθας; Alii, Ἰαθάν; *Jonathas*; Alii, *Nathan*), the Latin form of the common name Jonathan, which is preserved in A. V. in Tob. v. 13. [B. F. W.].

**JON'ATH-E'LEM-RECHO'KIM** (יֹנָתָן־אֵלֶם־רְחוֹקִים), "a dumb dove of (in) distant places", a phrase found once only in the Bible as a heading to the 56th psalm. Critics and commentators are very far from being agreed on its meaning. Rashi considers that David employed the phrase to describe his own unhappy condition when, exiled from the land of Israel, he was living with Achish, and was an object of suspicion and hatred to the countrymen of Goliath: thus was he amongst the Philistines as a mute (אַלְמִית) dove. Kimchi supplies the following commentary:—"The Philistines sought to seize and slay David (1 Sam. xxix. 4-11), and he, in his terror, and pretending to have lost his reason, called himself *Jonath*, even as a dove driven from her cote." Knapp's explanation "on the oppression of foreign rulers"—assigning to *Elem* the same meaning which it has in Ex. xv. 15—is in harmony with the contents of the psalm, and is worthy of consideration. De Wette translates *Jonath Elem Rechokim* "dove of the distant terebinths," or "of the dove of dumbness (Stummheit) among the strangers" or "in distant places." According to the Septuagint, *ὄψαρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μεμακρυσμένου*, "on the people far removed from the holy places" (probably אֱלִים־אֵלֶם, the Temple-hall; see *Orient. Literatur. Blatt*. p. 579, year 1841), a rendering which very nearly accords with the Chaldee paraphrase: "On the congregation of Israel, compared with a mute dove while exiled from their cities, but who come back again and offer praise to the Lord of the Universe." Aben Ezra, who regards *Jonath Elem Rechokim* as merely indicating the modulation or the rhythm of the psalm (comp. the title אֵילַת הַשֹּׁהַר, Ps. xvii.), appears to come the nearest to the meaning of the passage in his explanation, "after the melody of the air which begins *Jonath-elem-Rechokim*." In the *Biour* to Mendelssohn's version of the Psalms *Jonath Elem Rechokim* is mentioned as a musical instrument which produced dull, mournful sounds. "Some take it for a pipe called in Greek *ἄλυσος*, *ἄλυν*, from ἴν, *Greek*, which would make the inscription read "the long Grecian pipe," but this does not appear to us admissible" (Bourist's Preface, p. 26). [D. W. M.].

**JOP'PA** (Ἰόψα, i. e. *Yafa*, "beauty;" the A. V. follows the Greek form, except once, *JAPHO*: Ἰάφθη, LXX. N. T. and Vulg.; Ἰάθη, Joseph.—at least in the most recent editions—Strabo, and others: now *Yafa* or *Jaffa*), a town on the S.W. coast of Palestine, the port of Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, as it has been ever since. Its etymology is variously explained; some deriving it from "Japhet," others from "Jopa," daughter of Acolus and wife of Cepheus, Andromeda's father, its reputed founder; others interpreting it "the watch-tower of joy," or "beauty," and so forth (Beland, *Paläst.* 864). The fact is, that from its being a sea-port, it had a profane, as well as a sacred history. Pliny following Mela (*De situ Orb.* i. 12) says, that it was of ante-diluvian antiquity (*Nat. Hist.* v. 14); and even Sir John Maundeville, in the 14th century, bears witness—though it must be

confessed a clumsy one—to that tradition (*Early Travels in P.* p. 142). According to Josephus, it originally belonged to the Phoenicians (*Ant.* xiii. 15, §4). Here, writes Strabo, some say Andromeda was exposed to the whale (*Geograph.* xvi. p. 759; comp. Müller's *Hist. Græc. Fragm.* vol. iv. p. 325, and his *Geograph. Græc. Min.* vol. i. p. 79), and he appeals to its elevated position in behalf of those who laid the scene there; though in order to do so consistently, he had already shown that it would be necessary to transport Aethiopia into Phoenicia (Strab. i. p. 43). However, in Pliny's age—and Josephus had just before affirmed the same (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 9, §3)—they still showed the chains by which Andromeda was bound; and not only so, but M. Scaurus the younger, the same that was so much employed in Judaea by Pompey (*Bell. Jud.* i. 6, §2 et seq.), had the bones of the monster transported to Rome from Joppa—where till then they had been exhibited (Mela, *ibid.*)—and displayed them there during his aedileship to the public amongst other prodigies. Nor would they have been uninteresting to the modern geologist, if his report be correct. For they measured 40 ft. in length; the span of the ribs exceeding that of the Indian elephant; and the thickness of the spine or vertebrae being one foot and a half ("sesquipedalis," i. e. in circumference—when Solinus says "semipedalis," he means in diameter, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ix. 5 and the note, Delphin ed.). Beland would trace the adventures of Jonah in this legendary guise (see above); but it is far more probable that it symbolises the first interchange of commerce between the Greeks, personified in their errant hero Perseus, and the Phoenicians, whose lovely—but till then unexplored—climate may be well shadowed forth in the fair virgin Andromeda. Perseus, in the tale, is said to have plunged his dagger into the right shoulder of the monster. Possibly he may have discovered or improved the harbour, the roar from whose frowning reefs, on the north, could scarcely have been surpassed by the bawlings of Scylla or Charybdis. Even the chains shown there may have been those by which his ship was attached to the shore. Rings used by the Romans for mooring their vessels, are still to be seen near Terracina in the S. angle of the ancient port (Murray's *Handbk. for S. Italy*, p. 10, 2nd ed.).

Returning to the province of history, we find that Japho or Joppa was situated in the portion of Dan (Josh. xix. 46) on the coast towards the south; and on a hill so high, says Strabo, that people affirmed (but incorrectly) that Jerusalem was visible from its summit. Having a harbour attached to it—though always, as still, a dangerous one—it became the port of Jerusalem, when Jerusalem became metropolis of the kingdom of the house of David, and certainly never did port and metropolis more strikingly resemble each other in difficulty of approach both by sea and land. Hence, except in journeys to and from Jerusalem, it was not much used. In St. Paul's travels, for instance, the starting points by water are, Antioch (Acts xv. 39, viâ the Orontes, it is presumed—xviii. 22, 23, was probably a land-journey throughout: Caesarea (ix. 30, and xxvii. 2), and once Seleucia (xiii. 4, namely that at the mouth of the Orontes). Also once Antioch (xiv. 25) and once Tyre, as a landing place (xvi. 3). And the same preference for the more northern ports is observable in the early pilgrims beginning with him of Bordeaux.

But Joppa was the place fixed upon for the cedar and pine-wood, from Mount Lebanon, to be landed by the servants of Hiram king of Tyre; thence to be conveyed to Jerusalem, by the servants of Solomon—for the erection of the first "house of habitation" ever made with hands for the invisible Jehovah. It was by way of Joppa, similarly that like materials were conveyed from the same locality, by permission of Cyrus, for the rebuilding of the 2nd Temple under Zerubbabel (1 K. v. 9; 2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezz. iii. 7). Here Jonah, whenever, and wherever he may have lived (2 K. xiv. 25, certainly does not clear up the first of these points), "took ship to flee from the presence of his Maker," and accomplished that singular history, which our Lord has appropriated as a type of one of the principal scenes in the great Drama of His own (Jon. i. 3; Matth. xii. 40). Here, lastly, on the house-top of Simon the tanner, "by the sea-side"—with the view therefore circumscribed on the E. by the high ground on which the town stood; but commanding a boundless prospect over the western waters—St. Peter had his "vision of tolerance," as it has been happily designated, and went forth like a 2nd Perseus—but from the East to emancipate, from still worse thralldom, the virgin daughter of the West. The Christian poet Arator has not failed to discover a mystical connexion between the raising to life of the aged Tabitha—the occasion of St. Peter's visit to Joppa—and the baptism of the first Gentile household (*De Act. Apost.* l. 840, ap. Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.* lxviii. 164).

These are the great Biblical events of which Joppa has been the scene. In the interval that elapsed between the Old and New Dispensations it experienced many vicissitudes. It had sided with Apollonius, and was attacked and captured by Jonathan Maccabæus (1 Macc. x. 76). It witnessed the meeting between the latter and Ptolemy (Ibid. vi. 6). Simon had his suspicions of its inhabitants, and set a garrison there (Ibid. xii. 34), which he afterwards strengthened considerably (Ibid. xiii. 11). But when peace was restored, he re-established it once more as a haven (Ibid. xiv. 5). He likewise rebuilt the fortifications (Ibid. v. 34). This occupation of Joppa was one of the grounds of complaint urged by Antiochus, son of Demetrius, against Simon; but the latter alleged in excuse the mischief which had been done by its inhabitants to his fellow-citizens (Ibid. xv. 30 and 35). It would appear that Judas Maccabæus had burnt their haven some time back for a gross act of barbarity (2 Macc. xii. 6). Tribute was subsequently exacted for its possession from Hyrcanus by Antiochus Sidetes. By Pompey it was once more made independent, and comprehended under Syria (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4, §4); but by Caesar it was not only restored to the Jews, but its revenues—whether from land or from export-duties—were bestowed upon the 2nd Hyrcanus and his heirs (xiv. 10, §6). When Herod the Great commenced operations, it was seized by him, lest he should leave a hostile strong-hold in his rear, when he marched upon Jerusalem (xiv. 15, §1), and Augustus confirmed him in its possession (xv. 7, §4). It was afterwards assigned to Archelaus, when constituted ethnarch (xvii. 11, §4), and passed with Syria under Cyrenius, when Archelaus had been deposed (xvii. 12, §5). Under Cestius (i. e. Gessius Florus) it was destroyed amidst great slaughter of its inhabitants (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, §10); and such a

nest of pirates had it become, when Vespasian arrived in those parts, that it underwent a second and entire destruction—together with the adjacent villages—at his hands (iii. 9, §3). Thus it appears that this port had already begun to be the den of robbers and outcasts which it was in Strabo's time (*Geograph.* xvi. p. 759); while the district around it was so populous, that from Jamnia, a neighbouring town, and its vicinity, 40,000 armed men could be collected (Ibid.). There was a vast plain around it, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, §4); it lay between Jamnia and Caesarea—the latter of which might be reached "on the morrow" from it (Acts x. 9 and 24)—not far from Lydda (Acts ix. 38), and distant from Antipatris 150 stadia (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15, §1).

When Joppa first became the seat of a Christian bishop is unknown; but the subscriptions of its prelates are preserved in the acts of various synods of the 5th and 6th centuries (Le Quien, *Œriens Christian.* iii. 629). In the 7th century Arculfus sailed from Joppa to Alexandria, the very route usually taken now by those who visit Jerusalem; but he notices nothing at the former place (*Early Travels in P.* by Wright, p. 10). Sæwulf, the next who set sail from Joppa, A.D. 1103, is not more explicit (Ibid. p. 47). Meanwhile Joppa had been taken possession of by the forces of Godfrey de Bouillon previously to the capture of Jerusalem. The town had been deserted and was allowed to fall into ruin: the Crusaders contenting themselves with possession of the citadel (William of Tyre, *Hist.* viii. 9); and it was in part assigned subsequently for the support of the Church of the Resurrection (Ibid. ix. 16); though there seem to have been bishops of Joppa (perhaps only titular after all) between A.D. 1253 and 1363 (Le Quien, 1291; comp. p. 1241). Saladin, in A.D. 1188, destroyed its fortifications (Sanut, *Secret. Fid. Crucis*, lib. iii. part. x. c. 5); but Richard of England, who was confined here by sickness, rebuilt them (Ibid., and Richard of Devizes in Bohm's *Ant. Lib.* p. 61). Its last occupation by Christians was that of St. Louis, A.D. 1253, and when he came, it was still a city and governed by a count. "Of the immense sums," says Joinville, "which it cost the king to enclose Jaffa, it does not become me to speak; for they were countless. He enclosed the town from one side of the sea to the other; and there were 24 towers, including small and great. The ditches were well scoured, and kept clean, both within and without. There were 3 gates" . . . (*Chron. of Crus.* p. 495, Bohm). So restored it fell into the hands of the Sultans of Egypt, together with the rest of Palestine, by whom it was once more laid in ruins. So much so, that Bertrand de la Brocquiere visiting it about the middle of the 15th century, states that it then only consisted of a few tents covered with reeds; having been a strong place under the Christians. Guides, accredited by the Sultan, here met the pilgrims and received the customary tribute from them; and here the papal indulgences offered to pilgrims commenced (*Early Travels*, p. 286). Finally, Jaffa fell under the Turks, in whose hands it still is, exhibiting the usual decrepitude of the cities possessed by them, and depending on Christian commerce for its feeble existence. During the period of their rule it has been three times sacked—by the Arabs in 1722; by the Mamelukes in 1775; and lastly, by Napoleon I. in 1799, upon the glories of whose early career "the massacre of Jaffa" leaves a stain that can never be washed out (v.

Moroni, *Dizion. Eccl. s. v.*; Porter, *Handbk.* 238, 9).

The existing town contains in round numbers about 4000 inhabitants, and has three convents, Greek, Latin, and Armenian; and as many, or more mosques. Its bazars are worth a visit; yet few places could exhibit a harbour or landing more miserable. Its chief manufacture is soap. The house of Simon the tanner of course purports to be shown still: nor is its locality badly chosen (Stanley, *S. & P.* 264, 274; and see Seddon's *Memoir*, 88, 7; 185).

The oranges of Jaffa are the finest in all Palestine and Syria: its pomegranates and water-melons are likewise in high repute, and its gardens and orange and citron-groves deliciously fragrant and fertile. But amongst its population are fugitives and vagabonds from all countries; and Europeans have little security, whether of life or property, to induce a permanent abode there. [E. S. F.]

JOPPE (Ἰόππη; *Joppa*), 1 Esd. v. 55; 1 Macc. x. 75, 76; xi. 6; xii. 33; xiii. 11; xiv. 5, 34; xv. 28, 35; 2 Macc. iv. 21; xii. 3, 7. [JOPPA.]

JORAH (יֹרָה; *Jorā*), the ancestor of a family of 112 who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. ii. 18). In Neh. vii. 24 he appears under the name Hariph, or more correctly the same family are represented as the Beue-Hariph, the variation of name originating probably in a very slight confusion of the letters which compose it. In Ezr. two of De Rossi's MSS., and originally one of Kennicott's, had יֹרָה, i. e. Jodah, which is the reading of the Syr. and Arab. versions. One of Kennicott's MSS. had the original reading in Ezr. altered to יֹרָם, i. e. Joram; and two in Neh. read יֹרָם, i. e. Harim, which corresponds with *Apelu* of the Alex. MS., and *Harum* of the Syriac. In any case the change or confusion of letters which might have caused the variation of the name is so slight, that it is difficult to pronounce which is the true form, the corruption of Jorah into Hariph being as easily conceivable as the reverse. Burrington (*Genal.* ii. 75) decides in favour of the latter, but from a comparison of both passages with Ezr. x. 31 we should be inclined to regard Harim (יֹרָם) as the true reading in all cases. But on any supposition it is difficult to account for the form Azeplurith, or more properly *Ἀποφουρίθ*, in 1 Esd. v. 16, which Burrington considers as having originated in a corruption of the two readings in Ezra and Nehemiah, the second syllable arising from an error of the transcriber in mistaking the uncial E for Z. [W. A. W.]

JORAI (יֹרָי; *Jorai*; Alex. *Jorai*). One of the Gadites dwelling in Gilead in Bashan, whose genealogies were recorded in the reign of Jotham king of Judah (1 Chr. v. 13). Four of Kennicott's MSS., and the printed copy used by Luther, read יֹרָי, i. e. Jodai.

JORAM (יֹרָם, and יֹרָם, apparently indiscriminately: *Joram*). 1. Son of Ahab; king of Israel (2 K. viii. 16, 25, 28, 29; ix. 14, 17, 21-23, 29). [JEHORAM, 1.]

2. Son of Jehoshaphat; king of Judah (2 K. viii. 21, 24; 2 Chr. iii. 11; 2 Chr. xxii. 5, 7. Matt. i. 8). [JEHORAM, 2.]

3. A priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat, one of those employed by him to teach the law of Moses through the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

4. (יֹרְדָן). A Levite, ancestor of Shelomith in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 25).

5. (Ἰεδδουπᾶν; Alex. *Ἰεδδουπᾶν*). Son of Toi, king of Hamath, sent by his father to congratulate David on his victories over Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 10). [HADORAM.]

6. 1 Esd. i. 9. [JOZABAD, 3.] [A. C. II.]

JORDAN (יֹרְדָן, i. e. *Yarden*, always with the definite article יְרֵדָן, except Ps. xlii. 6 and Job xl. 23, from יָרַד, *Jarad*, "to descend:" *Ἰορδάνης*: *Jordanis*: now called by the Arabs *ash-Sherāh*, or "the watering-place," with the addition of *el Kibir*, "the great," to distinguish it from the *Sheriat el Mandhūr*, the Hieromax), a river that has never been navigable (see below), flowing into a sea that has never known a port—has never been a high-road to more hospitable coasts—has never possessed a fishery—a river that has never boasted of a single town of eminence upon its banks. It winds through scenery remarkable rather for sameness and tameness than for bold outline. Its course is not much above 200 miles from first to last, less than 1-15th of that of the Nile—from the roots of Anti-Lebanon, where it bursts forth from its various sources in all its purity, to the head of the Dead Sea, where it loses itself and its tributaries in the unfathomable brine. Such is the river of the "great plain" of Palestine—the "Descender"—if not "the river of God" in the book of Psalms, at least that of His chosen people throughout their history.

As Joppa could never be made easy of access, or commodious for traffic as a commercial city, so neither could Jordan ever vie with the Thames or the Tiber as a river of the world, nor with the rivers of Nannan's preference, the Pharpar and Abana, for the natural beauty of its banks. These last could boast of the same superiority, in respect of the picturesque, over the Jordan, that Gerizim and Samaria could over Zion and Jerusalem.

We propose to inquire, I. what is said about the Jordan in Holy Scripture; II. the accounts given of it by Josephus and others of the same date; III. the statements respecting it by later writers and travellers.

I. There is no regular description of the Jordan to be met with in Holy Scripture, and it is only by putting scattered notices of it together that we can give the general idea which runs through the Bible respecting it.

And, I. the earliest allusion is not so much to the river itself as to the plain or plains which it traversed: "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere . . . even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" (Gen. xiii. 10). Abram had just left Egypt (xii. 10-20), and therefore the comparison between the fertilising properties of the Jordan and of the Nile is very apposite, though it has since been pushed much too far, as we shall see. We may suppose Lot to have had his view from one of the summits of those hills that run north in the direction of Scythopolis (*B. J.* iv. 7, §2), bounding the plains of Jordan on the W.; for Lot and Abram were now sojourning between Bethel and Ai (Gen. xiii. 3). How far the plain extended in length or breadth is not said: other passages speak of "Jordan and his border" (Josh. xii. 27), "the borders of Jordan" (xxii. 11), and "the plains of Jericho" (iv. 13; comp. 2 K. xv. 5): all evidently subdivisions of the same idea, comprehending the east bank equally with the west (Josh. xiii. 27).

2. We must anticipate events slightly to be able to speak of the fords or passages of the Jordan. Jordan is inexhaustible, in the book of Job (xl. 23), and deep enough to prove a formidable passage for belligerents (1 Macc. ix. 48); yet, as in all rivers of the same magnitude, there were shallows where it could be forded on foot. There were fords over against Jericho, to which point the men of Jericho pursued the spies (Josh. ii. 7), the same probably that are said to be "toward Moab" in the book of Judges, where the Moabites were slaughtered (iii. 28). Higher up, perhaps over against Succoth, some way above where the little river Jabbok (Zerka) enters the Jordan, were the fords or passages of Beth-barth (probably the Bethabara, "house of passage," of the Gospel, though many moderns would read "Bethany," see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 308, note, 2nd ed.), where Gideon lay in wait for the Midianites (Judg. vii. 24), and where the men of Gilead slew the Ephraimites (xii. 6). Not far off, in "the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan," were the brass foundries of king Solomon (1 K. vii. 46). These fords undoubtedly witnessed the first recorded passage of the Jordan in the O. T.: we say recorded, because there can be little dispute but that Abraham must have crossed it likewise. But only the passage of Jacob is mentioned, and that in remarkable language: "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two lands" (Gen. xxxii. 10, and Jabbok in connexion with it, ver. 23). And Jordan was next crossed—over against Jericho—by Joshua the son of Nun, at the head of the descendants of the twelve sons of him who signalized the first passage. The magnitude of their operations may be inferred from the fact, that—of the children of Reuben, and of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, only—"about 40,000 prepared for war passed over before the Lord unto battle". . . (Josh. iv. 12 and 13).

The ceremonial of this second crossing is too well known to need recapitulation. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the passage of the Red Sea, where the intermediate agency of a strong east wind is freely admitted (Ex. xiv. 21), it is here said, in terms equally explicit, not only that the river was then unusually full of water, but that "the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap . . . while those that came down toward the sea of the plain . . . failed and were cut off," as soon as ever "the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water" (Josh. iii. 15, 16). That it happened in harvest-time is seen also from ch. v. 10-12. Finally, with regard to the memorial of the twelve stones, such had been the altar erected by Moses "under the hill" (Ex. xiv. 4); such probably the altar erected by Joshua upon Mount Ebal, though the number of stones is not defined (Josh. viii. 31), and such, long afterwards, the altar erected by Elijah (1 K. xviii. 31). Whether these twelve stones were deposited in, or on the banks of, the Jordan, or whether there were two sets, one for each locality, has been disputed. Josephus only recognises a single construction—that of an altar—in either case; and this was built, according to him, in the present instance, 50 stadia from the river, and 10 stadia from Jericho, where the people encamped, with the stones which the heads of their tribes had brought from out of the bed of the Jordan. It may be added that Josephus seems loth to admit a miracle, both in the passage of the Jordan and that of the Red Sea (*Ant.* v. 1, §4, ii. 16, §5). From their

vicinity to Jerusalem these lower fords were much used; David, it is probable, passed over them in one instance to fight the Syrians (2 Sam. x. 17); and subsequently, when a fugitive himself, in his way to Mahanaim (xvii. 22), on the east bank. Hither Judah came to reconduct the king home (2 Sam. xix. 15), and on this one occasion a ferry-boat—if the Hebrew word has been rightly rendered—is said to have been employed (ver. 18). Somewhere in these parts Elijah must have smitten the waters with his mantle, "so that they divided hither and thither" (2 K. ii. 8), for he had just left Jericho (ver. 4), and by the same route that he went did Elisha probably return (ver. 14). Naaman, on the other hand, may be supposed to have performed his ablutions in the upper fords, for Elisha was then in Samaria (v. 3), and it was by these fords doubtless that the Syrians fled when miraculously discomfited through his instrumentality (vii. 15). Finally, it was probably by these upper fords that Judas and his followers went over into the great plain before Bethsan—not that they crossed over against Bethsan (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §5), when they were retracing their steps from the land of Galaad to Jerusalem (1 Macc. v. 52).

Thus there were two customary places, at which the Jordan was fordable, though there may have been more, particularly during the summer, which are not mentioned. And it must have been at one of these, if not at both, that baptism was afterwards administered by St. John, and by the disciples of our Lord. The plain inference from the Gospels would appear to be that these baptisms were administered in more places than one. There was one place where St. John baptised in the first instance (τὸ πρῶτον, John x. 40), though it is not named. There was Bethabara—probably the upper fords—where the Baptist, having previously baptised our Lord—whether there or elsewhere—bears record to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him which ensued (i. 29-34). There was Aenon, near to Salem, to the north, where St. John was baptising upon another occasion, "because there was much water there" (iii. 23). This was during the summer evidently (comp. ii. 13-23), that is, long after the feast of the passover, and the river had become low, so that it was necessary to resort to some place where the water was deeper than at the ordinary fords. There was some place "in the land of Judaea" where our Lord, or rather His disciples, baptised about the same time (iii. 22). And lastly, there was the place—most probably the lower ford near Jericho—where all "Jerusalem and Judaea" went out to be baptised of John in the Jordan (Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5).

Where our Lord was baptised is not stated expressly. What is stated is, (1.) that as St. John was a native of some "city in the hill-country of Judaea" (Luke i. 39), so his preaching, commencing "in the wilderness of Judaea" (Matt. iii. 1), embraced "all the country about Jordan" (Luke iii. 3), and drew persons from Galilee, as far off as Nazareth (Mark i. 9) and Bethsaida (John i. 35, 40, 44), as well as from Jerusalem; (2.) that the baptism of the multitude from Jerusalem and Judaea preceded that of our Lord (Matt. iii. 6, 13; Mark i. 5, 9); (3.) that our Lord's baptism was also distinct from that of the said multitude (Luke iii. 21); and (4.) that He came from Nazareth in Galilee, and not from Jerusalem or Judaea, to be baptised. The inference from all which would seem to be, (1.) that

the first (τὸ πρῶτον) baptisms of St. John took place at the lower ford near Jericho, to which not only he himself, a native of Judaea, but all Jerusalem and Judaea likewise, would naturally resort as being the nearest; where similarly our Lord would naturally take refuge when driven out from Jerusalem, and from whence He would be within reach of tidings from Bethany, the scene of His next miracle (John x. 39, 40, xi. 1); (2.) that his second baptisms were at the upper ford, or Bethabara, whither he had arrived in the course of his preachings, and were designed for the inhabitants of the more northern parts of the Holy Land, among whom were Jesus and Andrew, both from Galilee; (3.) that his third and last baptisms were in the neighbourhood of Aenon and Salem, still further to the north, where there was not generally so much of a ford, but, on the contrary, where the water was still sufficiently deep, notwithstanding the advanced season. Thus St. John would seem to have moved upwards gradually towards Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction, by whom he was destined to be apprehended and executed; while our Lord, coming from Galilee, probably by way of Samaria, as in the converse case (John iv. 3, 4), would seem to have met him half-way, and to have been baptised in the ford nearest to that locality—a ford which had been the scene of the first recorded crossing. The tradition which asserts Christ to have been baptised in the ford near Jericho, has been obliged to invent a Bethabara near that spot, of which no trace exists in history, to appear consistent with Scripture (Origen, quoted by Alford on John i. 28).

3. These fords—and more light will be thrown upon their exact site presently—were rendered so much the more precious in those days from two circumstances. First, it does not appear that there were then any bridges thrown over, or boats regularly established on, the Jordan, for the purpose of transporting either pedestrians or merchandise from one bank to the other. One case, perhaps, of either bridge or boat is upon record; but it would seem to have been got up expressly for the occasion (2 Sam. xix. 18). Neither the LXX. nor Vulg. contain a word about a "boat," and Josephus says expressly that it was a "bridge" that was then extemporised (*Ant.* vii. 2. §2). And secondly, because, in the language of the author of the book of Joshua (iii. 15), "Jordan overflowed all his banks all the time of harvest;" a "swelling" which, according to the 1st book of Chronicles (xii. 15), commenced "in the first month" (i. e. about the latter end of our March), drove the lion from his lair in the days of Jeremiaha (xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44), and had become a proverb for abundance in the days of Jesus the son of Sirach (*Eccles.* xxiv. 26). The context of the first of these passages may suffice to determine the extent of this exuberance. The meaning is clearly that the channel or bed of the river became brimfull, so that the level of the water and of the banks was then the same. Dr. Robinson seems therefore to have good reason for saying that the ancient rise of the river has been greatly exaggerated (i. 540, 2nd ed.), so much so as to have been compared to that of the Nile (Reland, *Palest.* xl. 111). Evidently too there is nothing extraordinary whatever in this occurrence. On the contrary, it would be more extraordinary were it otherwise. All rivers that are fed by melting snows are fuller between March and September than between September and March; but

the exact time of their increase varies with the time when the snows melt. The Po and Adige are equally full during their harvest-time with the Jordan; but the snows on Lebanon melt earlier than on the Alps, and harvest begins later in Italy than in the Holy Land. "The heavy rains of November and December," as Dr. R. justly remarks, "find the earth in a parched and thirsty state, and are consequently absorbed into the soil as they fall. The melting of the snows, on the other hand, on the mountains can only affect the rivers. Possibly 'the basins of Håleh and Tiberias' may so far act as 'regulators' upon the Jordan as to delay its swelling till they have been replenished. On the other hand, the snows on Lebanon are certainly melting fast in April.

4. The last feature which remains to be noticed in the Scriptural account of the Jordan is its frequent mention as a boundary: "over Jordan," "this," and "the other side," or "beyond Jordan," were expressions as familiar to the Israelites as "across the water," "this," and "the other side of the Channel," are to English ears. In one sense indeed, that is, in so far as it was the eastern boundary of the land of Canaan, it was the eastern boundary of the promised land (*Num.* xxxiv. 12). In reality, it was the long serpentine vine, trailing over the ground from N. to S., round which the whole family of the twelve tribes were clustered. Four-fifths of their number—nine tribes and a half—dwelt on the W. of it, and one-fifth, or two tribes and a half, on the E. of it, with the Levites in their cities equally distributed amongst both, and it was theirs from its then reputed fountain-head to its exit into the Dead Sea. Those who lived on the E. of it had been allowed to do so on condition of assisting their brethren in their conquests on the W. (*Num.* xxxii. 20-33); and those who lived on the W. "went out with one consent" when their countrymen on the E. were threatened (1 Sam. xi. 6-11). The great altar built by the children of Reuben, of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, on the banks of the Jordan, was designed as a witness of this intercommunion and mutual interest (*Josh.* xii. 10-29). In fact, unequal as the two sections were, they were nevertheless regarded as integral parts of the whole land; and thus there were three cities of refuge for the manslayer appointed on the E. of the Jordan; and there were three cities, and no more, on the W.—in both cases moreover equi-distant one from the other (*Num.* xxxv. 9-15; *Josh.* xx. 7-9; *Lewis, Heb. Republ.* ii. 13). When these territorial divisions had been broken up in the captivities of Israel and Judah, some of the "coasts beyond Jordan" seem to have been retained under Judaea. [JUDAEA.]

II. As the passage which is supposed to speak of "the fountain of Daphne" (*Num.* xxxiv. 11, and Patrick *ad l.*, see below) is by no means clear, we cannot appeal to Holy Scripture for any information respecting the sources of the Jordan. What Josephus and others say about the Jordan may be briefly told. Panium, says Josephus (i. e. the sanctuary of Pan), appears to be the source of the Jordan; whereas it has a secret passage hither under ground from Phiala, as it is called, about 120 stadia distant from Caesarea, on the road to Trachonitis, and on the right hand side of, and not far from the road. Being a wheel-shaped pool, it is rightly called Phiala from its rotundity (*επιφωφελας*); yet the water always remains there up to the brim, neither subsiding nor overflowing.

That this is the true source of the Jordan was first discovered by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis—for by his orders chaff was cast into the water at Phiala, and it was taken up at Panium. Panium was always a lovely spot; but the embellishments of Agrippa, which were sumptuous, added greatly to its natural charms (from *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, §3; and *Ant.* xv. 10, §3, it appears that the temple there was due to Herod the Great). It is from this cave at all events that the Jordan commences his ostensible course above ground; traversing the marshes and fens of Semehonitis (L. Merom or *Haleh*), and then, after a course of 120 stadia, passing by the town Julias, and intersecting the lake of Genesareth, winds its way through a considerable wilderness, till it finds its exit in the lake Asphaltites (*B. J.* iii. 10, §7). Elsewhere he somewhat modifies his assertion respecting the nature of the great plain [JERICHO]; while on the physical beauties of Genesareth, the palms and figs, olives and grapes, that flourished round it, and the fish for which its waters were far-famed, he is still more eloquent (*B. J.* iii. 10, §8). In the first chapter of the next book (iv. 1, §1) he notices more fountains at a place called Daphne (still *Difneh*, see *Rob. Bibl. Res.*, vol. iii. p. 393, note), immediately under the temple of the golden calf, which he calls the sources of the little, and its communication with the great, Jordan (comp. *Ant.* i. 10, §1, v. 3, §1, and viii. 8, §4). While Josephus dilates upon its sources, Pausanias, who had visited the Jordan, dilates upon its extraordinary disappearance. He cannot get over its losing itself in the Dead Sea; and compares it to the submarine course of the Alpheus from Greece to Sicily (*lib.* v. 7, 4, ed. Dindorf). Pliny goes so far as to say that the Jordan instinctively shinks from entering that dread lake, by which it is swallowed up. On the other hand Pliny attributes its rise to the fountain of Paneas, from which he adds Caesarea was surnamed (*Nat. H.* v. 15). Lastly Strabo speaks of the aromatic reeds and rushes, and even balsam, that grew on the shores and marshes round Genesareth; but can he be believed when he asserts that the Arabians and others were in the habit of *sailing up Jordan with calves?* (xvi. 2, 16.) It will be remembered that he wrote during the first days of the empire, when there were boats in abundance upon Genesareth (John vi. 22-24).

III. Among the latest travellers who have explored and afterwards written upon the course or sources of the Jordan, are Messrs. Irby and Mangles (*Journal of Trav.*), Dr. Robinson, Lieut. Lynch and party (*Narrat. and Off. Rep.*), Capt. Newbold (*Journal of R. Asiat. S.*, vol. xvi. p. 8, *et seq.*), Rev. W. Thompson (*Bibl. Sac.*, vol. iii. p. 184, *et seq.*), and Professor Stanley. While making our best acknowledgments to these writers for what is contained in the following summary, we shall take the liberty of offering one or two criticisms where personal inspection constrains our demurring to their conclusions. According to the older commentators "Dan" was a stream that rose in a fountain called Phiala, in the district called Panium, and among the roots of Lebanon; then after a subterraneous course, re-appeared near the town called Paneas, Dan, or Caesarea Philippi, where it was joined by a small stream called "Jor;" and henceforth united both names in one—Jordan (*Corn. a Lap.* in Deut. xxiii. 22). But it has been well observed that the Hebrew word דן, *Jarden*, has no relation whatever to the name Dan; and also that the river had

borne that name from the days of Abraham, and from the days of Job, at least five centuries before the name of Dan was given to the city at its source (Robinson, iii. 412). It should be added that the number of streams meeting at or about Bāniās very far exceeds two.

This is one of the points on which we are compelled to dissent from one and all of the foregoing travellers—not one of them dwells upon the phenomenon that from the village of *Hashbeiya* on the N.W. to the village of *Shil'a* on the N.E. of *Bāniās*, the entire slope of Anti-Lebanon is alive with bursting fountains and gushing streams, every one of which, great or small, finds its way sooner or later into the swamp between *Bāniās* and lake *Haleh*, and eventually becomes part of the Jordan. Incidentally this of course comes out; but surely this, and not those three prime sources exclusively, to which Captain Newbold has most justly added a 4th, passed over without a word by the rest—should he made the prominent feature of that charmed locality. The fact is, that with the exception of Messrs. Irby and Mangles, he is the only traveller of them all who has in any degree explored the S.E. side of the slope; the route of the others being from *Bāniās* to *Hashbeiya* on the western side. Then again all have travelled in the months of April, May, or June—that is, before the melting of the snows had ceased to have influence—except Messrs. Irby and Mangles, whose scanty notices were made in February, or just after the heavy rains. Whereas in order to be able to decide to which of those sources Jordan is most indebted, the latter end of October, the end of the dry season, and just before the rains set in—when none but streams possessed of inherent vitality are in existence—should have been chosen. Far be it from us to depreciate those time-honoured parent springs—the noble fountain (of Daphne) under the Tell, or hill of Dan (*Tell-el-Kady*), which "gushes out all at once a beautiful river of delicious water" in the midst of verdure and welcome shade; still less, that magnificent "burst of water out of the low slope" in front of the picturesque cave of *Bāniās*, inscriptions in the niches of which still testify to the deity that was once worshipped there, and to the royal munificence that adorned his shrine. Travellers nevertheless who have seen Clitumnus (and to read of it in Pliny, *Ep. lib.* viii. 8, is almost to see), Vaucluse, or even Holywell in N. Wales, will have seen something of the kind. But what shall we say to "the bold perpendicular rock" near *Hashbeiya*, "from beneath which," we are told, "the river gushes copious, translucent, and cool, in two rectangular streams, one to the N.E., and the other to the N.W.?" for if this source, being the most distant of all, may "claim in a strictly scientific sense to be the parent stream of the whole valley," then let us be prepared on the same principle to trace the Mississippi back to the Missouri. Besides, Captain Newbold—and we can here vouch for his statement—has detected a 4th source, which according to the Arabs, is never dry, in what Mr. Thompson hastily dismisses as the mountain-torrent *Wady el-Kid*, and Messrs. Irby and Mangles as a "rivulet;" but which the Captain appears to have followed to the springs called *Esh-Shar*, though we must add, that its sources, according to our impression, lie considerably more to the N. It runs past the ruined walls and forts of *Bāniās* on the S.E. Nobody that has seen its dizzy catenacts in the month of April, or its deep-rock-hewn bed at

all other seasons, can speak lightly of it; though it is naturally lost upon all those who quit Baniás for the N.W.

Again, we make bold to say, that the Phiala of Josephus has not yet been identified. Any lake would have been called Phiala by the Greeks that bore that shape (Reland, *Palæst.* 41; comp. Hoffmann's *Læc. Univ.* s. v.; if we mistake not, the lake of Delos is a further instance). But *Birket er Ram*, or the alleged Phiala, lying to the S.E. of, and at some distance from, the cave of Baniás, we are not surprised that the story of Josephus should be voted absurd; for he is thus made to say seriously, what even to a tragic poet was the climax of impossibilities (Eur. *Med.* 410), that "the fountains of sacred streams flow backwards," or uphill. The Arabs doubtless heard of the story of the chaff through some dragoman, who heard it from his masters; but the direction of *Shil'a*—"six hours higher up the southern declivity of Mount Hermon," and therefore to the N.E. of Baniás—is beyond doubt the true one, as long since pointed out by Reland (*ibid.*, and see his Map) for the site of the lake. According to Lynch, "a very large fountain issuing from the base of a high rock," exists there (*Off. Rep.* 112). Lastly, the actual description given by Captain Newbold of the lake *Merj el Man*, "3 hrs. E. 10° N. from Baniás," proves, at all events, that there is one circular lake, besides *Birket er Ram*, in those regions, and in the very direction indicated by the historian. We cannot help, therefore, entertaining a suspicion that *Merj el Man* will turn out to be the true Phiala.

Once more, Mr. Thompson had stated that "the Hashbeyra, when it reaches the L. Hâleh, has been immensely enlarged by the waters from the great fountains of Baniás, Tell-el Kâdy, el Mellâhah, Derakhi, or Haldât" (both on the western side of the plain) "and innumerable other springs." Captain Newbold, on the other hand, found it impossible to ascertain whether such a junction took place, or not, before they enter the lake (p. 15). His Arabs strongly maintained the negative. It was reserved for Dr. Robinson in 1852 to settle the question of their previous junction, which according to him may be witnessed one-third of a mile N. of Tell Sheikh Yûsuf: so that they enter Hâleh, as they depart from it, in one united stream (vol. iii. 395). Its passage through and from Genesareth is that of uninterrupted unity. But that the waters of the Jordan do not condescend to mingle in any sense with those of the lake, is as true as that the Rhone and the lake of Geneva never embrace. Any comparison between the waters of the Jordan, as a fertilizer, or as a beverage, with those of the Nile, would be no less unreal; while from the immense amount of vegetable matter which they contain, the former decompose with a rapidity perfectly marvellous when kept. Travellers, therefore, who are desirous of preserving them, will do well to go to the fountain-heads for their supply. There alone they sparkle and look inviting.

"The Jordan enters Genesareth about two miles below the ruins of the ancient city Julias, or the Bethsaida of Geulonitis, which lay upon its eastern bank. At its mouth it is about 70 feet wide, a lazy turbid stream, flowing between low alluvial banks. There are several bars not far from its mouth where it can be forded. . . . From the site of Bethsaida to *Tsir Bendât Ya'abb* is about six miles. The Jordan here rushes along, a foaming torrent (much of course depending on the season

when it is visited), through a narrow winding ravine, shut in by high precipitous banks. Above the bridge the current is less rapid and the banks are lower. The whole distance from the lake el-Hâleh to the sea of Tiberias is nearly nine miles, and the fall of the river is about 600 feet" (Porter's *Handbook*, part ii. p. 426-7; comp. Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 364, note 1, 2nd ed.).

The two principal features in the course of the Jordan are its descent and its sinuosity. From its fountain-heads to the point where it is lost to nature, it rushes down one continuous inclined plane, only broken by a series of rapids or precipitous falls. Between the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, Lieutenant Lynch passed down 27 rapids which he calls threatening; besides a great many more of lesser magnitude. According to the computations which were then made, the descent of the Jordan in each mile was about 11·8 English feet; the depression of the lake of Tiberias below the level of the Mediterranean 653·3; and that of the Dead Sea 1316·7 (Robinson, i. 612, note xxx.). Thus "the Descender" may be said to have fairly earned his name. Its sinuosity is not so remarkable in the upper part of its course. Lieutenant Lynch would regard the two phenomena in the light of cause and effect. "The great secret," he says, "of the depression between lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of 60 miles of latitude and 4 or 5 miles of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles" (*Off. Letter*, p. 265 of *Narrat.*). During the whole passage of 8½ days, the time which it took his boats to reach the Dead Sea from Genesareth, only one straight reach of any length, about midway between them, i. e. on the 4th day, is noticed. The rate of stream seems to have varied with its relative width and depth. The greatest width mentioned was 180 yards, the point where it enters the Dead Sea. Here it was only 3 feet deep. On the 6th day the width in one place was 80 yards, and the depth only 2 feet; while the current on the whole varied from 2 to 8 knots. On the 5th day the width was 70 yards, with a current of 2 knots, or 30 yards with a current of 6 knots.

The only living tributaries to the Jordan noticed particularly below Genesareth were the *Yarimâk* (Hieromax) and the *Zerka* (Jahbok). The mouth of the former of these was passed on the 3rd day, 40 yards wide, with moderate current; while the latter, whose course became visible on the 7th day, was, on the 8th day, discovered to have two distinct outlets into the main stream, one of which was then dry. Older writers had distinguished two beds and banks of the Jordan; the first, that occupied by the river in its normal state; the second, comprising the space which it occupied during its swelling or overflow (Martinière, *Dict. Geograph.* s. v.). Similarly Lieutenant Lynch has remarked, "There are evidently two terraces to the Jordan, and through the lowest one the river runs its serpentine course. From the stream, above the immediate banks, there is, on each side, a singular terrace of low hills, like truncated cones, which is the bluff terminus of an extended table-land, reaching quite to the mountains of Hauran on the E., and the high hills on the western side" (*Narrat.*, April 13, and comp. what Capt. Newbold says, p. 22). There are no bridges over Jordan to which an earlier date has been assigned than that of the Roman occupation; and there are vestiges of Roman roads in different parts of the country—between Nâbulus and Reisin

for instance—that may well have crossed by these bridges. The Saracens afterwards added to their number, or restored those which they found in ruins. Thus the bridge called *el Ghinif* over the Hashbeiya, has two pointed arches and one round (Newbold, p. 13), while the entire architecture of the *Jisr Benât Ya'âbb* (of the daughters of Jacob),  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the S. of L. Hâleh, as well as of the *khan* adjacent to it on the eastern side, is pronounced to be Saracenic (*ibid.*, p. 20). A Roman bridge of ten arches, *Jisr Semakh*, spans the Jordan near the village bearing that name, and was doubtless on the route from Tiberias and Tarichea to Gadara and Decapolis (*ibid.*, p. 21, *liby*, p. 90). Lastly, the bridge of *Mejdânieh*, which crosses the Jordan about six miles from the lake of Genesareth, was Saracenic; while that near the ford *Dâmîeh* was more Roman (Newbold, p. 20, and Lynch, *Narr.* April 16).

Turning from these artificial constructions to the old bridges of nature—the fords, we find a remarkable, yet perfectly independent concurrence between the narrative of Lieutenant Lynch and what has been asserted previously respecting the fords or passages of the Bible. We do not indeed affirm that the localities fit into each other like the pieces of a puzzle. Yet still it is no slight coincidence that no more than three, or at most four regular fords should have been set down by the chroniclers of the American expedition. The two first occur on the same day within a few hours of each other, and are called respectively *Warabes* and *Sûkwa* (*Off. Rep.* pp. 25 and 26). Eighteen miles E. by N. of the last of these were the ruins of *Jenah* (which our authority confounds with *Pella*), exactly in a line with which is placed the site of *Succoth*, or *Sakât*, in the map of Dr. Robinson; though he admits that arguments are not wanting for placing it some way to the S. (*vol. iii.* p. 310). The next ford is passed the following, or the 7th day, the ford of *Dâmîeh*, as it is called, opposite to the commencement of the *Wady Zerka*, some miles above the junction of that river with the Jordan, and where the road from *Nâbulus* to *es-Salt* crossed. Could we ascertain the true site of *Succoth*, we might be better able to decide which of these two fords answered best to the Beth-barah of the Old Test., or Bethabam of the New; and then Aenon might be the ford, or one of the two fords, to the N. of it. It is perhaps worthy of note that the neighbourhood of the ford *Sûkwa* is represented as the dreariest wild imaginable—fearful solitude and monotony (*Narr.*, April 15). That Messrs. Irby and Mangles forded the Jordan near Tarichea was probably due to the ruins of the old Roman bridge; on the contrary, where they forded it on horseback,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hr. from Beisân, Lynch found the water between 5 and 6 feet deep.

The ford *el-Mashûnâ* over against Jericho was the last ford put upon record, and it is too well known to need any lengthened notice. Here tradition has chosen to combine the passage of the Israelites under Joshua with the baptism of our Lord—a more distant ford would have been found highly inconvenient for the Jerusalem pilgrims; and here accordingly, three miles below the ruined convent of St. John—in honour of these events—the annual bathing of the Oriental pilgrims takes place; of which Professor Stanley has given a lively picture (*S. & P.* p. 314-16; comp. *Off. Rep.* p. 29, 30).

We have observed that not a single city ever crowned the banks of the Jordan. Still Bethshan and Jericho to the W., Gerasa, Pella, and Gadara to

the E. of it, were important cities, and caused a good deal of traffic between the two opposite banks. Under the sway of the Egyptian sultans, the bridge of the Daughters of Jacob seems to have been one of the high-roads to Damascus. Another road to Damascus was from *Nâbulus* through *Ecisân*, and was brought over by the bridge at the mouth of the *Yermâk*. The sites of these cities, with their history, are discussed under their respective names; and for the same reason we abstain from going deeply into the physical features of the Jordan, or of the Ghor, for these will be treated of more at large under the general head of Palestine. We shall confine ourselves therefore to the most cursory notice. As there were slime-pits, or pits of bitumen, and salt-pits (*Gen. xi. 3; Zeph. ii. 9*) in the vale of Siddim, on the extreme south, so Mr. Thompson speaks of bitumen wells 20 minutes from the bridge over the *Hashbeiya* on the extreme north; while *Ain-el Mellâhah* above L. Hâleh, is emphatically “the fountain of the salt works” (Lynch’s *Narrat.*, p. 470). Thermal springs are frequent about the lake of Tiberias; the most celebrated, below the town bearing that name (Robinson, ii. 384, 5); some near Emmaus (Lynch, 467), some near Magdala, and some not far from Gadara (Irby, 90, 1). The hill of Dan is said to be an extinct crater, and masses of volcanic rock and tufa are noticed by Lynch, not far from the mouth of the *Yermâk* (*Narrat.*, April 12). Dark basalt is the characteristic of the rocks in the upper stage; trap, limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate, in the lower. On the 2nd day of the passage a bank of fuller’s-earth was observed.

How far the Jordan in olden time was ever a zone of cultivation, like the Nile, is uncertain. Now, with the exception of the eastern shores of the L. Hâleh, the hand of man may be said to have disappeared from its banks. The genuine Arab is nomad by nature, and contemns agriculture. There, however, Dr. Robinson, in the month of May, found the land tilled almost down to the lake; and large crops of wheat, barley, maize, sesame, and rice rewarded the husbandman. Horses, cattle, and sheep—all belonging to the *Ghaurânînah* tribe—fattened on the rich pasture; and huge herds of black buffaloes luxuriated in the streams and in the deep mire of the marshes (*vol. iii.* p. 396). These are doubtless lineal descendants of the “fit bulls of Bashan,” as the “oxen of Bashan” are still the magnificent staple race of those regions. Cultivation degenerates as we advance southwards. Corn-fields wave round Genesareth on the W., and the palm and vine, fig and pomegranate, are still to be seen here and there. Melon grown on its shores are of great size and much esteemed. Pink oleanders, and a rose-coloured species of hollyhock, in great profusion, wait upon every approach to a rill or spring. These gems of nature reappear in the lower course of the Jordan. There the purple thistle, the bright yellow marigold, and scarlet anemone, salute the adventurers of the New World: the laurestinus and oleander, cedar and arbutus, willow and tamarisk, accompanied them on their route. As the climate became more tropical, and the lower Ghôr was entered, large ghurrah trees, like the aspen, with silvery foliage, overhung them; and the cane, frequently impenetrable, and now in blossom, “was ever at the water’s edge.” Only once during the whole voyage, on the 4th day, were patches of wheat and barley visible; but the hand that had sowed them lived far away. As Jeremiah in the O. T., and St. Je-

rome and Phocas (see Ireland as above) among Christian pilgrims, had spoken of the Jordan as the resort of lions, so tracks of tigers, wild boars, and the like, presented themselves from time to time to these explorers. Flocks of wild ducks, of cranes, of pigeons, and of swallows, were scared by their approach; and a specimen of the bulbul, or Syrian nightingale, fell into their hands. The scenery throughout was not inspiring—it was of a subdued character when they started; profoundly gloomy and dreary near ford *Sikkia*; and then utterly sterile just before they reached Jericho. With the exception of a few Arab tribes—so savage, as scarce to be considered exceptions—humanity had become extinct on its banks.

We cannot take leave of our subject without expressing our warmest thanks to our Transatlantic brethren. It was not enough that Dr. Robinson should have eclipsed all other writers who had preceded him in his noble work upon Palestine; but that a nation from the extreme W., from a continent utterly unknown to the Old or New Testament—should have been the first to accomplish the navigation of that sacred river, which has been before the world so prominently for nearly 4000 years; this is a fact which surely ought not to be passed over by any writer on the Jordan in silence, or uncommemorated. [E. S. Ff.]

**JO'RIBAS** (Ἰορίβας: *Joribus* = **JARIB** (1 Esd. viii. 44; comp. Ezr. viii. 16).

**JO'RIBUS** Ἰορίβος: *Joribus*) = **JARIB** (1 Esd. ix. 19; comp. Ezr. x. 18).

**JO'RIM** (Ἰωρεμ), son of Matthat, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 29), in the 13th generation from David inclusive; about contemporary, therefore, with Ahaz. The form of the name is anomalous, and should probably be either Joram or Joiarim. [A. C. H.]

**JOR'KOAM** (Ἰερκοῦμ: Ἰερκοῦμ; Alex. Ἰερκοῦμ: *Jercoam*), either a descendant of Caleb the son of Hebron, through Hebron, or, as Jarchi says, the name of a place in the tribe of Judah, of which Raham was prince (1 Chr. ii. 44). It was probably in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Jerome gives it in the form Jerchaam (*Quæst. Hebr. in Paral.*).

**JO'SABAD**. 1. (Ἰωζαβὰδ: Ἰωζαβὰδ; Alex. Ἰωζαβὰδ; Cod. Fred. Aug. Ἰωζαβὰδ: *Jezebad*.) Properly JOZABAD, the Gedeonathite, one of the hardy warriors of Benjamin who left Saul to follow the fortunes of David during his residence among the Philistines at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

2. (Ἰωζαβὰδ; Alex. Ἰωσαβὰδ: *Josadus*) = Jozabul, son of Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd. viii. 63; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

3. (Alex. Ἰωζαβὰδ: *Zabdi*), one of the sons of Behai (1 Esd. ix. 29). [ZABBAI.]

\* According to the order of the narrative, Rachel's death preceded the selling of Joseph; it is unlikely that 17 years should have elapsed between the birth of Joseph and that of Benjamin; and as Benjamin had ten sons at the coming into Egypt (xvii. 21), it is scarcely probable that he was born no more than 22 years before. There is moreover no mention of Rachel besides the allusion in the speech of Judah to Joseph, quoted above (xlv. 20), in the whole subsequent narrative, until dying Jacob, when he blesses Ephraim

**JO'SAPIIAT** (Ἰωσαφάτ: *Josaphat*) = Jehoshaphat king of Judah (Matt. i. 8).

**JOSAPH'IAS** (Ἰωσαφίας: *Josaphias*) = JOSAPH'IAH (1 Esd. viii. 36; comp. Ezr. viii. 10).

**JO'SEDECH** (Ἰωσεδέκ: *Josedec*; *Josedech*), 1 Esd. v. 5, 48, 56; vi. 2; ix. 19; Ecclus. xlix. 12 = JEHOZADAK or JOZADAK, the father of Jeshua, whose name also appears as JOSEDECH (Hag. i. 1).

**JO'SEPH** (Ἰωσήφ: Ἰωσήφ: *Joseph*). 1. The elder of the two sons of Jacob by Rachel. Like his brethren, he received his name on account of the circumstances of his birth. We read that Rachel was long barren, but that at length she "bare a son; and said, God hath taken away (ἡρῶν) my reproach: and she called his name Joseph (Ἰωσήφ); saying, The Lord will add (ἵδω) to me another son" (Gen. xxx. 23, 24); a hope fulfilled in the birth of Benjamin (comp. xxxv. 17). This passage seems to indicate a double etymology (from ἡρῶν and ἵδω). There is nothing improbable in this explanation, because of the relation of the taking away the reproach to the expectation of another son. Such double etymologies are probably more common in Hebrew names than is generally supposed.

The date of Joseph's birth relatively to that of the coming of Jacob into Egypt is fixed by the mention that he was thirty years old when he became governor of Egypt (xli. 46), which agrees with the statement that he was "seventeen years old" (xxxvii. 2) about the time that his brethren sold him. He was therefore born about 39 years before Jacob came into Egypt, and, according to the chronology which we hold to be the most probable, B.C. cir. 1906.

After Joseph's birth he is first mentioned when a youth, seventeen years old. As the child of Rachel, and "son of his old age" (xxxvii. 3), and doubtless also for his excellence of character, he was beloved by his father above all his brethren. Probably at this time Rachel was already dead and Benjamin but an infant, Benjamin, that other "child of his old age" (xlv. 20), whom Jacob afterwards loved as all that remained of Rachel when he supposed Joseph dead—"his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him" (l. c.).\* Jacob at this time had two small pieces of land in Canaan, Abraham's burying-place at Hebron in the south, and the "parcel of a field, where he [Jacob] had spread his tent" (Gen. xxxiii. 19), at Shechem in the north, the latter being probably, from its price, the lesser of the two. He seems then to have stayed at Hebron with the aged Isaac, while his sons kept his flocks. Joseph, we read, brought the evil report of his brethren to his father, and they hated him

and Manasseh, returns to the thought of his beloved wife, and says, "And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet [there was] but a little way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath; the same [is] Beth-lehem" (xlviii. 7). Joseph's anxiety in Egypt to see Benjamin seems to favour the idea that he had known him as a child. When Joseph was sold, Benjamin can, however, have only been very young.

because his father loved him more than them, and had shown his preference by making him a dress (כְּתֹנֶת עֲשִׂים), which appears to have been a long tunic with sleeves, worn by youths and maidens of the richer class.<sup>b</sup> The hatred of Joseph's brethren was increased by his telling of a dream foreboding that they would bow down to him, which was followed by another of the same import.<sup>c</sup> It is remarkable that thus early prophetic dreams appear in Joseph's life. This part of the history (xxxvii. 3-11) may perhaps be regarded as a retrospective introduction to the narrative of the great crime of the envious brethren. They had gone to Shechem to feed the flock; and Joseph was sent thither from the vale of Hebron by his father to bring him word of their welfare and that of the flock. They were not at Shechem, but were gone to Dothan, which appears to have been not very far distant, pasturing their flock like the Arabs of the present day, wherever the wild country (ver. 22) was unowned. On Joseph's approach, his brethren, except Reuben, resolved to kill him; but Reuben saved him, persuading them to cast him into a dry pit, with the intent that he might restore him to his father. Accordingly, when Joseph was come, they stripped him of his tunic and cast him into the pit, "and they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery [?] and balm and gum ladanum [?], going to carry [it] down to Egypt" (ver. 25).—In passing we must call attention to the interest of this early notice of the trade between Palestine and Egypt.—The Ishmeelites are also called Midianites in the narrative: that the two names are used interchangeably is evident from ver. 28; it must therefore be supposed that one of them is generic; the caravan "came from Gilead" and brought balm;<sup>d</sup> so that it is reasonable to infer the merchants to have been Midianites, and that

they are also called Ishmeelites by a kind of generic use of that name. Judah suggested to his brethren to sell Joseph to the Ishmeelites, appealing at once to their covetousness and, in proposing a less cruel course than that on which they were probably still resolved, to what remnant of brotherly feeling they may still have had. Accordingly they took Joseph out of the pit and sold him "for twenty [shekels] of silver" (ver. 28), which we find to have been, under the Law, the value of a male from five to twenty years old (Lev. xxvii. 5).<sup>e</sup> Probably there was a constant traffic in white slaves, and the price, according to the unchangeableness of eastern customs, long remained the same. It is worthy of remark that we here already find the descendants of Abraham's concubines oppressing the lawful heirs. Reuben was absent, and on his return to the pit was greatly distressed at not finding Joseph. His brethren pretended to Jacob that Joseph had been killed by some wild beast, taking to him the tunic stained with a kid's blood, while even Reuben forbore to tell him the truth, all speaking constantly of the lost brother as though they knew not what had befallen him, and even as dead. "And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down unto my son mourning into the grave. Thus his father wept for him" (Gen. xxxvii. 34, 35).<sup>f</sup> Jacob's lamentation shows that he knew of a future state, for what comfort would he have in going into his own grave when he thought that his lost son had been torn by wild beasts? This is one of the cases in which we should certainly understand "Hades" by "the grave," and may translate, "For I will go down unto my son mourning to Hades."<sup>g</sup>

The Midianites sold Joseph in Egypt to Potiphar, "an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the executioners, an Egyptian" (xxix. 1; comp. xxxvii. 36).<sup>h</sup> We

<sup>b</sup> The name of this dress seems to signify "a tunic reaching to the extremities." It was worn by David's daughter Tamar, being the dress of "the king's daughters [that were] virgins" (2 Sam. xiii. 18, see 19). There seems no reason for the LXX. rendering χιτών ποικίλος, or the Vulg. *polymita*, except that it is very likely that such a tunic would be ornamented with coloured stripes, or embroidered. The richer classes among the ancient Egyptians wore long dresses of white linen. The people of Palestine and Syria, represented on the Egyptian monuments as enemies or tributaries, wore similar dresses, partly coloured, generally with a stripe round the skirts and the borders of the sleeves.

<sup>c</sup> From Joseph's second dream, and his father's rebuke, it might be inferred that Rachel was living at the time that he dreamt it. It is indeed possible that it may have occurred some time before the selling of Joseph, and been interpreted by Jacob of Rachel, who certainly was not alive at its fulfilment, so that it could not apply to her. Yet, if Leah only survived, Jacob might have spoken of her as Joseph's mother. The dream, moreover, indicates eleven brethren besides the father and mother of Joseph: if therefore Benjamin were already born, Rachel must have been dead: the reference is therefore more probably to Leah, who may have been living when Jacob went into Egypt.

<sup>d</sup> The three articles of commerce carried by the caravan we have rendered spicery, balm, and gum ladanum. The meaning of כְּתֹנֶת is extremely doubtful: there is nothing to guide us but the

renderings of the LXX. *θυσίαμα* and the Vulg. *aromata*, and the congruity of their meaning with that of the name of the second article. As to the *וְיָבִי*, there can be no doubt that it was a kind of balm, although its exact kind is difficult to determine. The meaning of *וְיָבִי* is not certain: perhaps gum ladanum is a not improbable conjecture.

<sup>e</sup> Kallisch remarks (*ad loc.*) that twenty shekels was "a price less than that ordinarily paid for a Hebrew slave (Ex. xxi. 32; Lev. xxvii. 5)." The former reference is to the fine to be paid, thirty shekels of silver, to the owner of a slave, male or female, gored to death by an ox: the latter disproves his assertion.—The payment must have been by weight, since there is no reason to believe that coined money was known at this remote period. [MONEY.]

<sup>f</sup> The daughters here mentioned were probably the wives of Jacob's sons: he seems to have had but one daughter; and if he had many granddaughters, few would have been born thus early.

<sup>g</sup> For this interesting inference we are indebted to Dr. Marks. On the knowledge of the future state among the Israelites during and after the sojourn in Egypt, see art. EGYPT.

<sup>h</sup> The word *סָרִיס*, which we have rendered "officer," with the A. V., properly means "eunuch," as explained in the margin, although it is also used in the Bible in the former sense (Iscen. *Theo. s. v.*). Potiphar's office would scarcely have been given to a

have probably no right to infer, as Gesenius has done (*Theo. s. v.* רַב־רֵאשִׁי, that by the executioners we are to understand the same as the king's guard or body-guard.<sup>1</sup> This may be the case when the Chaldeans are spoken of, for the immediate infliction of punishment under the very eye of the sovereign was always usual both with Shemites and Tatars, as a part of their system of investing the regal power with terror; but the more refined Egyptians and their responsible kings do not seem to have practised a custom which nothing but necessity could render tolerable. That in this case the title is to be taken literally, is evident from the control exercised by Potiphar over the king's prison (xxix. 20), and from the fact that this prison is afterwards shown to have been in the house of the captain of the executioners, that officer then being doubtless a successor of Potiphar (xl. 3, 4). The name Potiphar is written in hieroglyphics P<sup>ET</sup>-P<sup>A</sup>-R<sup>A</sup> or P<sup>ET</sup>-I<sup>U</sup>-R<sup>A</sup>, and signifies "belonging to Ra" (the sun). It occurs again, with a slightly different orthography, Poti-pherah, as the name of Joseph's father-in-law, priest or prince of On. It may be remarked that as Ra was the chief divinity of On, or Ithopolis, it is an interesting undesigned coincidence that the latter should bear a name indicating devotion to Ra. [POTIPHAR.]

It is important to observe that a careful comparison of evidence has led us to the conclusion that, at the time that Joseph was sold into Egypt, the country was not united under the rule of a single native line, but governed by several dynasties, of which the Fifteenth Dynasty, of Shepherd Kings, was the predominant line, the rest being tributary to it. The absolute dominions of this dynasty lay in Lower Egypt, and it would therefore always be most connected with Palestine. The manners described are Egyptian, although there is apparently an occasional slight tinge of Shemitism. The date of Joseph's arrival we should consider B.C. cir. 1890. [EGYPT: CHRONOLOGY.]

In Egypt, the second period of Joseph's life begins. As a child he had been a true son, and withstood the evil example of his brethren. He is now to serve a strange master in the hard state of slavery, and his virtue will be put to a severer proof than it had yet sustained. Joseph prospered in the house of the Egyptian, who, seeing that God blessed him, and pleased with his good service, "set him over his house, and all [that] he had he gave into his hand" (xxxix. 4, comp. 5). He was placed over all his master's property with perfect trust, and "the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake" (ver. 5). The sculptures and paintings of the ancient Egyptian tombs bring vividly before us the daily life and duties of Joseph. The property of great men is shown to have been managed by scribes, who exercised a most methodical and minute supervision over all the operations of agriculture, gardening, the keeping of live stock, and fishing. Every product was carefully registered to check the dishonesty of the labourers, who in Egypt have always been famous in this respect. Probably in no country was farming ever more systematic. Joseph's previous knowledge of tending flocks, and

perhaps of husbandry, and his truthful character, exactly fitted him for the post of overseer. How long he filled it we are not told. "Joseph was fair of form and fair in appearance" (xxxix. 6). His master's wife, with the well-known profligacy of the Egyptian women, tempted him, and failing, charged him with the crime she would have made him commit. Potiphar, incensed against Joseph, cast him into prison. It must not be supposed, from the lowliness of the morals of the Egyptians in practice, that the sin of unfaithfulness in a wife was not ranked among the heaviest vices. The punishment of adulterers was severe, and a moral tale recently interpreted, "*The Two Brothers*," is founded upon a case nearly resembling that of Joseph. It has, indeed, been imagined that this story was lused upon the trial of Joseph, and as it was written for the heir to the throne of Egypt at a later period, there is some reason in the idea that the virtue of one who had held so high a position as Joseph might have been in the mind of the writer, was this part of his history well-known to the priests, which, however, is not likely. This incident, moreover, is not so remarkable as to justify great stress being laid upon the similarity to it of the main event of a moral tale. The story of Bellerophon might as reasonably be traced to it, were it Egyptian and not Greek.—The Muslims have founded upon the history of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, whom they call Yousif and Zeleekha, a famous religious allegory. This is much to be wondered at, as the Kur-an relates the tempting of Joseph with no material variation in the main particulars from the authentic narrative. The commentators say, that after the death of Potiphar (Kitfeer), Joseph married Zeleekha (Sale, ch. xii.). This mistake was probably caused by the circumstance that Joseph's father-in-law bore the same name as his master.

Potiphar, although convinced of Joseph's guilt, does not appear to have brought him before a tribunal, where the enormity of his alleged crime, especially after the trust placed in him, and the fact of his being a foreigner, which was made much of by his master's wife (xxxix. 14, 17), would probably have ensured a punishment of the severest kind. He seems to have only cast him into the prison, which appears to have been in his house, or, at least, under his control, since afterwards prisoners are related to have been put "in ward [in] the house of the captain of the executioners, into the prison" (xl. 3), and simply, "in ward [in] the captain of the executioners' house" (xli. 10, comp. xli. 7.). The prison is described as "a place where the king's prisoners [were] bound" (xxxix. 20). Here the hardest time of Joseph's period of probation began. He was cast into prison on a false accusation, to remain there for at least two years, and perhaps for a much longer time. At first he was treated with severity; this we learn from Ps. cv., "He sent a man before thee," Joseph [who]: was sold for a slave: whose feet they afflicted with the fetter: the iron entered into his soul" (ver. 17, 18). There is probably here a connexion between "fetter," and "חַבֵּל" (comp. cxlix. 8), in which case the signification of the last

sunuch, and there is, we believe, no evidence that there were such in the Egyptian courts in ancient times. This very word first occurs in hieroglyphics, written HARR, as a title of Persian functionaries, in inscriptions of the time of the Persian dominion.

<sup>1</sup> לִרְאֵשֵׁי הַמִּצְבֵּיִם must mean "captain of the executioners," from Potiphar's connexion with the prison, although the LXX. renders it ἀρχιμαίεστος.

clause would be "the iron entered into him," meaning that the fetters cut his feet or legs. This is not inconsistent with the statement in Genesis that the keeper of the prison treated Joseph well (xxxix. 21), for we are not justified in thence inferring that he was kind from the first.<sup>k</sup>

In the prison, as in Potiphar's house, Joseph was found worthy of complete trust, and the keeper of the prison placed everything under his control, God's especial blessing attending his honest service. After a while, Pharaoh was incensed against two of his officers, "the chief of the cupbearers" (שַׁר הַמְּשָׁכִים), and "the chief of the bakers" (שַׁר הַחֲמִיצִים), and cast them into the prison where Joseph was. Here the chief of the executioners, doubtless a successor of Potiphar (for, had the latter been convinced of Joseph's innocence, he would not have left him in the prison, and if not so convinced, he would not have trusted him), charged Joseph to serve these prisoners. Like Potiphar, they were "officers" of Pharaoh (xl. 2), and though it may be a mistake to call them grandees, their easy access to the king would give them an importance that explains the care taken of them by the chief of the executioners. Each dreamed a prophetic dream, which Joseph interpreted, disclaiming human skill and acknowledging that interpretations were of God. It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the particulars of this part of Joseph's history, since they do not materially affect the leading events of his life; they are however very interesting from their perfect agreement with the manners of the ancient Egyptians as represented on their monuments.<sup>l</sup> Joseph, when he told the chief of the cupbearers of his coming restoration to favour, prayed him to speak to Pharaoh for him; but he did not remember him.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph's complaint to the chief of the cupbearers, "And here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon" (בְּבֹר, xl. 15), does not throw light upon this matter; for although the word used seems properly to mean the worst kind of prison, or the worst part of a prison, here it must be merely equivalent, as in xli. 14, to בֵּית הַסֹּפֶר (xxxix. 20, &c.), which seems properly a milder term.

<sup>l</sup> It has been imagined, from the account of the dream of the chief of the cupbearers, that the wine then drunk by the king of Egypt may have been the fresh unfermented juice of the grape; but the nature of the dream, which embraces a long period, and merely indicates the various stages of the growth of the tree and fruit as though immediately following one another, would allow the omission of the process of preparing the wine. The evidence of the monuments makes it very improbable that unfermented wine was drunk by the ancient inhabitants, so that it seems impossible that it should ever have taken the place of fermented or true wine, which was the national beverage of the higher classes at least.

<sup>m</sup> Lit. "at the end of two years of days;" but we may read "after" for "at the end;" and the word "days" appears merely to indicate that the year was a period of time, or possibly is used to distinguish the ordinary year from a greater period, the year of days from the year of years.

<sup>n</sup> This word is probably of Egyptian origin. [Egyp̄t; Nilus.]

<sup>p</sup> There can be no doubt that this is an Egyptian word. The LXX. does not translate it (Gen. xli. 2, 18; Is. xix. 7); and Jesus the son of Sirach, an Egyptian Jew, uses it untranslated (Wisd. xl. 16): it

"After two years,"<sup>a</sup> Joseph's deliverance came. Pharaoh dreamed two prophetic dreams. "He stood by the river" [נָחַ, the Nile].<sup>o</sup> And, behold, coming up out of the river seven kine [or 'heifers'], beautiful in appearance and fat-fleshed; and they fed in the marsh-grass [מִרְיָן].<sup>p</sup> And, behold, seven other kine coming up after them out of the river, evil in appearance, and lean-fleshed" (xli. 1-3). These, afterwards described still more strongly, ate up the first seven, and yet, as is said in the second account, when they had eaten them remained as lean as before (xli. 1-4, 17-21). Then Pharaoh had a second dream,—“Behold, seven ears of corn coming up on one stalk, fat [or 'full,' ver. 22] and good. And, behold, seven ears, thin and blasted with the east wind,<sup>q</sup> sprouting forth after them” (ver. 5, 6). These, also described more strongly in the second account, devoured the first seven ears (ver. 5-7, 22-24). In the morning Pharaoh sent for the “scribes,” (חֲרָטִים), and the “wise men,” and they were unable to give him an interpretation. Then the chief of the cupbearers remembered Joseph, and told Pharaoh how a young Hebrew, “servant to the captain of the executioners,” had interpreted his and his fellow-prisoner's dreams. “Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they made him hasten out of the prison: and he shaved [himself], and changed his raiment, and came unto Pharaoh” (ver. 14). The king then related his dreams, and Joseph, when he had disclaimed human wisdom, declared to him that they were sent of God to forewarn Pharaoh. There was essentially but one dream. Both kine and ears symbolized years. There were to be seven years of great plenty in Egypt, and after them seven years of consuming and “very heavy famine.” The dou-

is written in these places ἀγ, ἀγε. Jerome remarks that when he asked the learned Egyptians what this word meant, they said that in their language this name was given to every kind of marsh-plant (“*omne quod in palude virena nascitur*,” *Com. in Is. l. c.*). The change of the ancient Egyptian vowel *en* to *i* is quite consistent with the laws of permutation which we discover by a comparison of Egyptian and Hebrew (*Enc. Brit.* 8th ed. “Hieroglyphics”). This word occurs with מִרְיָן in Job viii. 11. The latter we have supposed to be there used generically, as “the reed” [פַּיִר]; but from the occurrence of an Egyptian word with it, it may be inferred to have its special signification, “the papyrus.” The former word, however, seems to be always generic.

<sup>a</sup> Bunsen remarks upon this word: “Der Ostwind, der wegen seiner funktigstigen Dauer jetzt in Aegypten Chamsin heisst, ist sehr trocken und hat Verwandtschaft mit dem Samum (d. h. der Giftige), dem erstickenden Sturmwind des wüsten Arabien, der im April und Mai herrscht” (*Bibelwerk*, ad loc.). But it should be observed: 1. The east wind does not blow during the Khamaseen. 2. The spring hot winds are southerly. 3. They do not last fifty days. 4. They are not called Chamsin (Khamaseen) or Khamaseen. 5. They prevail, usually for three days at a time, during the seven weeks (49 days) following Easter, vulgarly called in Egypt Khamaseen, which is a plural of Khamaseen, a term applied in the singular to neither winds nor period, though they are not strictly confined to this fluctuating period. 6. They have no relation to the Samouou, which occurs in any hot weather, and seldom lasts more than a quarter of an hour. 7. The Samouou is not peculiar to Arabia.

bling of the dream denoted that the events it foreshadowed were certain and imminent. On the interpretation it may be remarked, that it seems evident that the kine represented the animal products, and the ears of corn the vegetable products, the most important object in each class representing the whole class. Any reference to Egyptian superstitions, such as some commentators have imagined, is both derogatory to revelation and, on purely critical grounds, unreasonable. The perfectly Egyptian colour of the whole narrative is very noticeable, and nowhere more so than in the particulars of the first dream. The cattle coming up from the river and feeding on the bank may be seen even now, though among them the lean kine predominate; and the use of one Egyptian word, if not of two, in the narrative, probably shows that the writer knew the Egyptian language. The corn with many ears on one stalk must be wheat, one kind of which now grown in Egypt has this peculiarity. Another point to be remarked is, that Joseph shaved before he went into Pharaoh's presence, and we find from the monuments that the Egyptians, except when engaged in war, shaved both the head and face, the small beard that was worn on the chin being probably artificial. Having interpreted the dream, Joseph counselled Pharaoh to choose a wise man and set him over the country, in order that he should take the fifth part of the produce of the seven years of plenty against the years of famine. To this high post the king appointed Joseph. Thus, when he was thirty years of age, was he at last released from his state of suffering, and placed in a position of the greatest honour. About thirteen years' probation had prepared him for this trust; some part passed as Potiphar's slave, some part, probably the greater, in the prison. If our views of Hebrew and Egyptian chronology be correct, the Pharaoh here mentioned was Asa, Manetho's Assis or Asses, whose reign we suppose to have about occupied the first half of the nineteenth century B.C.

Pharaoh, seeing the wisdom of giving Joseph, whom he perceived to be under God's guidance, greater powers than he had advised should be given to the officer set over the country, made him not only governor of Egypt, but second only to the sovereign. We read: "And Pharaoh took off his signet" from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen (שֵׁט, *byssus*), and put a collar of gold about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Abrech (אֲבֹרַח), even to set him over all the land of Egypt" (xli. 42, 43). The monuments show that on the investiture of a high official in Egypt, one of the chief ceremonies was the putting on him a collar of gold (see *Ancient Egyptians*, pl. 80); the other particulars, the vestures of fine linen and the riding in the second chariot,

\* We only know that Joseph was two years in prison after the liberation of the chief of the cup-bearers. The preponderance of evidence, however, seems in favour of supposing that he was longer in prison than in Potiphar's house.

\* The signet was of so much importance with the ancient Egyptian kings that their names (except perhaps in the earliest period) were always enclosed in an oval which represented an elongated signet.

\* We do not here except Bunsen's etymology (*Bibl. work*, ad loc.), for we doubt that the root bears the signification he gives it, and think the construction inadmissible.

are equally in accordance with the manners of the country. The meaning of what was cited before him has not been satisfactorily determined.\* We are told that Pharaoh named Joseph Zaphnath-paaneah (xli. 45) (זַפְנַתְפָּנֵאֵךְ, *Zaphnath-paaneah*), the signification of which is doubtful. [See ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH.] He also "gave him to wife Asenath daughter of Poti-pherah, priest [or "prince," זֶרַח] of On" (ver. 45). Whether Joseph's father-in-law were priest or prince cannot, we think, be determined," although the former seems more likely, since On was a very priestly city, and there is no good reason to think that a priest would have been more exclusive than any other Egyptian functionary. His name, implying devotion to Ra, the principal object of worship at On, though, as already noticed, appropriate to any citizen of that place, would be especially so to a priest. [POTI-PHAR.] It is worthy of remark that On appears to have been the capital, and seems to have been certainly the religious capital, as containing the great temple, of Apeper, a shepherd-king, probably of the same line as Joseph's Pharaoh. (*Select Papyri*; Brugsch, *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*. The name of Joseph's wife we are disposed to consider to be Hebrew." [ASENATH.]

Joseph's history, as governor of Egypt, shows him in two relations, which may be here separately considered. We shall first speak of his administration of the country, and then of his conduct to his brethren. In one respect, as bearing upon Joseph's moral character, the two subjects are closely connected, but their details may be best treated apart, if we keep this important aspect constantly in view.

Joseph's first act was to go "throughout all the land of Egypt" (ver. 46). During "the seven plenteous years" there was a very abundant produce, and he gathered the fifth part, as he had advised Pharaoh, and laid it up. The narrative, according to Semitic usage, speaks as though he had taken the whole produce of the country, or the whole surplus produce (ver. 48); but a comparison with a parallel passage shows that our explanation must be correct (ver. 34, 35). The abundance of this store is evident from the statement that "Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for [it was] without number" (ver. 49). The representations of the monuments, which show that the contents of the granaries were accurately noted by the scribes when they were filled, well illustrate this passage.

Before the years of famine Asenath bare Joseph two sons, of whom we read that he named "the firstborn Manasseh [a forgetter]: For God [said he] hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house. And the name of the second called he Ephraim [fruitful?]: For God hath caused

\* The very old opinion that זֶרַח means prince as well as priest has been contradicted by Gesenius, but not disproved.

\* It may be remarked, as indicating that Joseph's family did not maintain an Egyptian mode of life, that Manasseh took an Aramite as a concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14). This happened in his father's lifetime; for Joseph lived to see the children of Machir the son of this concubine (Gen. i. 23).

\* The derivation of Ephraim can scarcely be doubted, although there is difficulty in determining it. This difficulty we may perhaps partly attribute to the pointing.

me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction" (54-52). Though, as was natural, the birth\* of a son made Joseph feel that he had at last found a home, that his father's house was no longer his home, yet it was not in utter forgetfulness of his country that he gave this and the other, both born of his Egyptian wife, Hebrew names, still less, names signifying his devotion to the God of his fathers.

When the seven good years had passed, the famine began. We read that "the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth. And Joseph opened all the storehouses [lit. 'all wherein' was], and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy [corn]; because that the famine was [so] sore in all lands" (ver. 54-57). The expressions here used do not require us to suppose that the famine extended beyond the countries around Egypt, such as Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, as well as some part of Africa, although of course it may have been more widely experienced. It may be observed, that although famines in Egypt depend immediately upon the failure of the inundation, and in other countries upon the failure of rain, yet that, as the rise of the Nile is caused by heavy rains in Ethiopia, an extremely dry season there and in Palestine would produce the result described in the sacred narrative. It must also be recollected that Egypt was anciently the granary of neighbouring countries, and that a famine there would cause first scarcity, and then famine, around. Famines are not very unfrequent in the history of Egypt; but the famous seven years' famine in the reign of the Fâtîmeh Khaleefeh El-Mustansir-billâh is the only known parallel to that of Joseph: of this an account is given under FAMINE. Early in the time of famine, Joseph's brethren came to buy corn, a part of the history which we mention here only as indicating the liberal policy of the governor of Egypt, by which the storehouses were opened to all buyers of whatever nation they were.

After the famine had lasted for a time, apparently two years, there was "no bread in all the land; for the famine [was] very sore, so that the land of Egypt and [all] the land of Canaan faunted by reason of the famine. And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house" (xvii. 13, 14). When all the money of Egypt and Canaan was exhausted, barter became necessary. Joseph then obtained all the cattle of Egypt, and in the next year, all

the land, except that of the priests, and apparently, as a consequence, the Egyptians themselves. He demanded, however, only a fifth part of the produce as Pharaoh's right. It has been attempted to trace this enactment of Joseph in the fragments of Egyptian history preserved by profane writers, but the result has not been satisfactory. Even were the latter sources trustworthy as to the early period of Egyptian history, it would be difficult to determine the age referred to, as the actions of at least two kings are ascribed by the Greeks to Sesostris, the king particularized. Herodotus says that, according to the Egyptians, Sesostris "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all, and obtaining his chief revenue from the rent which the holders were required to pay him every year" (ii. 109). Elsewhere he speaks of the priests as having no expenses, being supported by the property of the temples (37), but he does not assign, to Sesostris, as has been rashly supposed, the exemption from taxation that we may reasonably infer. Diodorus Siculus ascribes the division of Egypt into nomes to Sesostris, whom he calls Sesôsis. Taking into consideration the general character of the information given by Herodotus, respecting the history of Egypt at periods remote from his own time, we are not justified in supposing anything more than that some tradition of an ancient allotment of the soil by the crown among the population was current when he visited the country. The testimony of Diodorus is of far less weight.

The evidence of the narrative in Genesis seems favourable to the theory we support that Joseph ruled Egypt under a shepherd-king. It appears to have been his policy to give Pharaoh absolute power over the Egyptians, and the expression of their gratitude—"Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants" (xlvii. 25)—seems as though they had been heretofore unwilling subjects. The removing the people to cities probably means that in that time of suffering the scattered population was collected into the cities for the more convenient distribution of the corn.

There is a notice, in an ancient Egyptian inscription, of a famine which has been supposed to be that of Joseph. The inscription is in a tomb at Bence-Hasan, and records of Amenee, a governor of a district of Upper Egypt, that when there were years of famine, his district was supplied with food. This was in the time of Sesertsen I., of the xliith Dynasty. It has been supposed by Baron Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, iii. 334) that this must be Joseph's famine, but not only are the particulars of the record inapplicable to that instance,\* but the calamity it relates was never unusual in Egypt as its ancient inscriptions and modern history equally testify.<sup>b</sup>

\* It appears from this narrative that purchase by money was, in Joseph's time, the general practice in Egypt. The representations of the monuments show that in early times money was abundant, not coined, but, in the form of rings of gold and silver, weighed out when purchases were made.

<sup>a</sup> It does not appear whether, after the money of Canaan was exhausted, Joseph made conditions with the Canaanites like those he had made with the Egyptians.

<sup>b</sup> Baron Bunsen's quotation, "When, in the time of Sesertsen I., the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine"

(*Egypt's Place*, l. c.), is nowhere in the original. See Birch in *Transactions R. Soc. Lit.* 2nd Ser. v. Pt. ii. 232, 3; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Brugsch remarks on this inscription: "La dernière partie de cette curieuse inscription où Amenj, se reportant à une famine qui avait lieu pendant les années de son gouvernement, se fait un panégyrique d'avoir prévenu les malheurs de la disette sans se partialiser, a attiré la plus grande attention de ceux qui y voient, et nous ajoutons très à propos, un pendant de l'histoire de Joseph en Égypte, et des sept années de famine de ce pays. Cependant il ne faut pas croire, que le roi Ouserôsén I., sous le règne

Joseph's policy towards the subjects of Pharaoh is important in reference to the forming an estimate of his character. It displays the resolution and breadth of view that mark his whole career. He perceived a great advantage to be gained, and he lost no part of it. He put all Egypt under Pharaoh. First the money, then the cattle, last of all the land, and the Egyptians themselves, became the property of the sovereign, and that too by the voluntary act of the people without any pressure. This being effected, he exercised a great act of generosity, and required only a fifth of the produce as a recognition of the rights of the crown. Of the wisdom of this policy there can be no doubt. Its justice can hardly be questioned when it is borne in mind that the Egyptians were not forcibly deprived of their liberties, and that when they had been given up, they were at once restored. We do not know all the circumstances, but if, as we may reasonably suppose, the people were warned of the famine and yet made no preparation during the years of overflowing abundance, the government had a clear claim upon its subjects for having taken precautions they had neglected. In any case it may have been desirable to make a new allotment of land, and to reduce an unequal system of taxation to a simple claim to a fifth of the produce. We have no evidence whether Joseph were in this matter divinely aided, but we cannot doubt that if not he acted in accord with a judgment of great clearness in distinguishing good and evil.

We have now to consider the conduct of Joseph at this time towards his brethren and his father. Early in the time of famine, which prevailed equally in Canaan and Egypt, Jacob reproved his helpless sons and sent them to Egypt, where he knew there was corn to be bought. Benjamin alone he kept with him. Joseph was now governor, an Egyptian in habits and speech, for like all men of large mind he had suffered no scruples of prejudice to make him a stranger to the people he ruled. In his exalted station he laboured with the zeal that he showed in all his various charges, presiding himself at the sale of corn. We read: "And the sons of Israel came to buy [corn], among those that came; for the famine was in the land of Canaan. And Joseph, the governor over the land, he [it was] that sold to all the people of the land; and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him [with] their faces to the earth" (xlii. 5, 6). His brethren did not know Joseph, grown from the boy they had sold into a man, and to their eyes an Egyptian, while they must have been scarcely changed, except from the effect of time, which would have been at their ages far less marked. Joseph remembered his dreams, and behaved to them as a stranger, using, as we afterwards learn, an interpreter, and spoke hard words to them, and accused them of being spies. In defending themselves they thus spoke of their household. "Thy servants [are] twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan, and, behold, the youngest [is] this day with our father, and one [is] not" (13). Thus to Joseph himself they maintained the old deceit of his disappearance. He at once desires

to see his brother, first refusing that they should return without sending for and bringing Benjamin, then putting them in prison three days, but at last releasing them that they might take back corn, on the condition that one should be left as a hostage. They were then stricken with remorse, and saw that the punishment of their great crime was come upon them. "And they said one to another, We [are] verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben answered them, saying, Spoke I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required. And they knew not that Joseph understood [them]; for an interpreter [was] between them. And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes" (21-24). Thus he separated one of them from the rest, as they had separated him from his father. Yet he restored their money in their sacks, and gave them provision for the way, besides the corn they had purchased. The discovery of the money terrified them and their father, who refused to let them take Benjamin. Yet when the famine continued, and they had eaten the supply, Jacob desired his sons to go again to Egypt. But they could not go without Benjamin. At the persuasion of Judah, who here appears as the spokesman of his brethren, Jacob was at last prevailed on to let them take him, Judah offering to be surety. It may be remarked that Reuben had made the same offer, apparently, at once after the return, when Jacob had withheld his consent, telling his father that he might slay his two sons if he did not bring back Benjamin (37, 38). Judah seems to have been put forward by his brethren as the most able, and certainly his after-conduct in Egypt would have justified their choice, and his father's trusting him rather than the rest. Jacob, anxious for Benjamin, and not unmindful of Simeon, touchingly sent to the governor out of his scanty stock a little present of the best products of Palestine, as well as double money that his sons might repay what had been returned to them.

When they had come into Egypt, Joseph's brethren, as before, found him presiding at the sale of corn. Now that Benjamin was with them he told his steward to slay and make ready, for they should dine with him at noon. So the man brought them into Joseph's house. They feared, not knowing, as it seems, why they were taken to the house (xliii. 25), and perhaps thinking they might be imprisoned there. Joseph no doubt gave his command in Egyptian, and apparently did not cause it to be interpreted to them. They were, however, encouraged by the steward, and Simeon was brought out to them. When Joseph came they brought him the present, again fulfilling his dreams, as twice they bowed before him. At the sight of Benjamin he was greatly affected. "And he lifted up his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, [is] this

duquel une famine eut lieu en Égypte, soit le Pharaon de Joseph, ce qui n'est guère admissible, par suite de raisons chronologiques. Du reste ce n'est pas la seule inscription qui fasse mention de la famine; il en existe d'autres, qui datent de rois tout-à-fait différents, parlent du même fléau et des mêmes précautions prises

pour le prévenir."—*Histoire d'Égypte*, l. p. 56. We are glad to learn from this new work that Dr. Brugsch, though differing from us as to the Exodus, is disposed to hold Joseph to have governed Egypt under a Shepherd-king (pp. 79, 80).

your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother, and he sought [where] to weep; and he entered into [his] chamber, and wept there. And he washed his face, and went out, and refrained himself" (29-31). The description of Joseph's dinner is in accordance with the representations of the monuments. The governor and each of his guests were served separately, and the brethren were placed according to their age. But though the youngest thus had the lowest place, yet when Joseph sent messes from before him to his brethren, he showed his favour to Benjamin by a mess five times as large as that of any of them. "And they drank, and were merry with him" (32-34). It is mentioned that the Egyptians and Hebrews sat apart from each other, as to eat bread with the Hebrews was "an abomination unto the Egyptians" (32). The scenes of the Egyptian tombs show us that it was the custom for each person to eat singly, particularly among the great, that guests were placed according to their right of precedence, and that it was usual to drink freely, men and even women being represented as overpowered with wine, probably as an evidence of the liberality of the entertainer. These points of agreement in matters of detail are well worthy of attention. There is no evidence as to the entertaining foreigners, but the general exclusiveness of the Egyptians is in harmony with the statement that they did not eat with the Hebrews.

The next morning, when it was light, they left the city (for here we learn that Joseph's house was in a city), having had their money replaced in their sacks, and Joseph's silver cup put in Benjamin's sack. His steward was ordered to follow them, and say (claiming the cup), "Whosoever have ye rewarded evil for good? [Is] not this [it] in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? Ye have done evil in so doing" (xliv. 4, 5). When they were thus accused, they declared that the guilty person should die, and that the rest should be bondmen. So the steward searched the sacks, and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack; whereupon they rent their clothes, and returned to the city, and went to Joseph's house, and "fell before him on the ground. And Joseph said unto them, What deed [is] this that ye have done? wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" Judah then, instead of protesting innocence, admitted the alleged crime, and declared that he and his brethren were the governor's servants. But Joseph replied that he would alone keep him in whose hand the cup was found. Judah, not unmindful of the trust he held, then laid the whole matter before Joseph, showing him that he could not leave Benjamin without causing the old man's death, and as surety nobly offered himself as a bondman in his brother's stead. Then, at the touching relation of his father's love and anxiety, and, perhaps, moved by Judah's generosity, the strong will of Joseph gave way to the tenderness he had so long felt, but restrained, and he made himself known to his brethren. If hitherto he had dealt severely, now he showed his generosity. He sent forth every one but his brethren. "And he wept aloud. . . . And Joseph said unto his brethren, I [am] Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I [am]

Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. For these two years [hath] the famine [been] in the land: and yet [there are] five years in the which [there shall] neither [be] earing nor harvest. And God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. So now [it was] not you [that] sent me hither, but God" (xlv. 2-8). He then desired them to bring his father, that he and all his offspring and flocks and herds might be preserved in the famine, and charged them to tell his father of his greatness and glory. "And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them" (14, 15). Pharaoh and his servants were well pleased that Joseph's brethren were come, and the king commanded him to send for his father according to his desire, and to take wagons for the women and children. He said, "Also let not your eye spare your staff; for the good of all the land of Egypt [is] yours" (20). From all this we see how highly Joseph was regarded by Pharaoh and his court. Joseph then gave presents to his brethren, distinguishing Benjamin as before, and sent by them a present and provisions to his father, dismissing them with this charge, "See that ye fall not out by the way" (24). He feared that even now their trials had taught them nothing.

Joseph's conduct towards his brethren and his father, at this period, must be well examined before we can form a judgment of his character. We have no evidence that he was then acting under the Divine directions: we know indeed that he held that his being brought to Egypt was providentially ordered for the saving of his father's house: from some points in the narrative, especially the matter of the cup, which he said that he used for divination, he seems to have acted on his own judgment. Supposing that this inference is true, we have to ask whether his policy towards his brethren were founded on a resolution to punish them from resentment or a sense of justice, as well as his desire to secure his union with his father, or again, whether the latter were his sole object. Joseph had suffered the most grievous wrong. According to all but the highest principles of self-denial he would have been justified in punishing his brethren as an injured person: according to these principles he would have been bound to punish them for the sake of justice, if only he could put aside a sense of personal injury in executing judgment. This would require the strongest self-command, united with the deepest feeling, self-command that could keep feeling under, and feeling that could subdue resentment, so that justice would be done impartially. These are the two qualities that shine out most strongly in the noble character of Joseph. We believe therefore that he punished his brethren, but did so simply as the instrument of justice, feeling all the while a brother's tenderness. It must be remembered what they were. Reuben and Judah, both at his selling and in the journeys into Egypt, seem better than the rest of the elder brethren. But Reuben was guilty of a crime that was lightly punished by the loss of his birthright, and Judah was profligate and cruel. Even at the time of reconciliation Joseph saw, or thought, as his parting

\* This is the most probable rendering.

charge shows, that they were either not less wicked or not wiser than of old. After his father's death, with the suspicion of ungenerous and deceitful men, they feared Joseph's vengeance, and he again tenderly assured them of his love for them. Joseph's conduct to Jacob at this time can, we think, be only explained by the supposition that he felt it was his duty to treat his brethren severely: otherwise his delay and his causing distress to his father are inconsistent with his deep affection. The sending for Benjamin seems hard to understand, except we suppose that Joseph felt he was the surest link with his father, and perhaps that Jacob would more readily receive his testimony as to the lost son.

There is no need here to speak largely of the rest of Joseph's history: full as it is of interest, it throws no new light upon his character. Jacob's spirit revived when he saw the wagons Joseph had sent. Encouraged on the way by a Divine vision, he journeyed into Egypt with his whole house. "And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou [art] yet alive" (xli. 29, 30). Then Jacob and his house abode in the land of Goshen, Joseph still ruling the country. Here Jacob, when near his end, gave Joseph a portion above his brethren, doubtless including the "parcel of ground" at Shechem, his future buryingplace (comp. John iv. 5). Then he blessed his sons, Joseph most earnestly of all, and died in Egypt. "And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him" (l. 1). When he had caused him to be embalmed by "his servants the physicians" he carried him to Canaan, and laid him in the cave of Machpelah, the buryingplace of his fathers. Then it was that his brethren feared that, their father being dead, Joseph would punish them, and that he strove to remove their fears. From his being able to make the journey into Canaan with "a very great company" (9), as well as from his living apart from his brethren and their fear of him, Joseph seems to have been still governor of Egypt. We know no more than that he lived "a hundred and ten years" (22, 26), having been more than ninety in Egypt; that he "saw Ephraim's children of the third" [generation], and that "the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were borne upon Joseph's knees" (23); and that dying he took an oath of his brethren that they should carry up his bones to the land of promise: thus showing in his latest action the faith (Heb. xi. 22) which had guided his whole life. Like his father he was embalmed, "and he was put in a coffin in Egypt" (l. 26). His trust Moses kept, and laid the bones of Joseph in his inheritance in Shechem, in the territory of Ephraim his off-spring.

The character of Joseph is wholly composed of great materials, and therefore needs not to be minutely portrayed. We trace in it very little of that balance of good and evil, of strength and weakness, that marks most things human, and do not anywhere distinctly discover the results of the conflict of motives that generally occasions such great difficulty in judging men's actions. We have as full an account of Joseph as of Abraham and Jacob, a fuller one than of Isaac; and if we compare their histories, Joseph's character is the least marked by wrong or indecision. His first quality seems to have been the greatest resolution. He not only

believed faithfully, but could endure patiently, and could command equally his good and evil passions. Hence his strong sense of duty, his zealous work, his strict justice, his clear discrimination of good and evil. Like all men of vigorous character, he loved power, but when he had gained it he used it with the greatest generosity. He seems to have striven to get men unconditionally in his power that he might confer benefits upon them. Generosity in conferring benefits, as well as in forgiving injuries, is one of his distinguishing characteristics. With this strength was united the deepest tenderness. He was easily moved to tears, even weeping at the first sight of his brethren after they had sold him. His love for his father and Benjamin was not enfeebled by years of separation, nor by his great station. The wise man was still the same as the true youth. These great qualities explain his power of governing and administering, and his extraordinary flexibility, which enabled him to suit himself to each new position in life. The last characteristic to make up this great character was modesty, the natural result of the others.

In the history of the chosen race Joseph occupies a very high place as an instrument of Providence. He was "sent before" his people, as he himself knew, to preserve them in the terrible famine, and to settle them where they could multiply and prosper in the interval before the iniquity of the Canaanites was full. In the latter days of Joseph's life, he is the leading character among the Hebrews. He makes his father come into Egypt, and directs the settlement. He protects his kinsmen. Dying, he reminds them of the promise, charging them to take his bones with them. Blessed with many revelations, he is throughout a God-taught leader of his people. In the N. T. Joseph is only mentioned: yet the striking particulars of the persecution and sale by his brethren, his resisting temptation, his great degradation and yet greater exaltation, the saving of his people by his hand, and the confounding of his enemies, seem to indicate that he was a type of our Lord. He also connects the Patriarchal with the Gospel dispensation, as an instance of the exercise of some of the highest Christian virtues under the less distinct manifestation of the Divine will granted to the fathers.

The history of Joseph's posterity is given in the articles devoted to the tribes of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH. Sometimes these tribes are spoken of under the name of Joseph, which is even given to the whole Israelite nation. Ephraim is, however, the common name of his descendants, for the division of Manasseh gave almost the whole political weight to the brother-tribe. That great people seems to have inherited all Joseph's ability with none of his goodness, and the very knowledge of his power in Egypt, instead of stimulating his offspring to follow in his steps, appears only to have constantly drawn them into a hankering after that forbidden land which began when Jeroboam introduced the calves, and ended only when a treasonable alliance laid Samaria in ruins and sent the ten tribes into captivity. [R. S. P.]

2. Father of Igal who represented the tribe of Issachar among the spies (Num. xlii 7).

3. A lay Israelite of the family of Bani who was expelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 42). In 1 Esdr. it is given as JOSEPHUS.

4. Representative of the priestly family of Shebaniah, in the next generation after the Return from Captivity (Neh. xii. 14).

5. (Ἰωσήφ). A Jewish officer defeated by Gorgias c. 164 B.C. (1 Macc. v. 8; 56, 60.).

6. In 2 Macc. viii. 22, x. 19, Joseph is named among the brethren of Judas Maccabaeus apparently in place of John (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 384 note; Grimm, *ad* 2 Macc. viii. 22). The confusion of Ἰωδάρης, Ἰωσήφ, Ἰωσῆς is well seen in the various readings in Matt. xiii. 55.

7. An ancestor of Judith (Jud. viii. 1). [B.F.W.]

8. One of the ancestors of Christ (Luke iii. 30), son of Jonan, and the eighth generation from David inclusive, about contemporary therefore with king Ahaziah.

9. Another ancestor of Christ, son of Judah or Abiud, and grandson of Joannan or Hananiah the son of Zerubbabel, Luke iii. 26. Alford adopts the reading Jusek, a mistake which seems to originate with the common confusion in Heb. MSS. between *q* and *j*.

10. Another, son of Mattathias, in the seventh generation before Joseph the husband of the Virgin.

11. Son of Heli, and reputed father of Jesus Christ. The recurrence of this name in the three above instances, once before, and twice after Zerubbabel, whereas it does not occur once in St. Matthew's genealogy, is a strong evidence of the paternal descent of Joseph the son of Heli, as traced by St. Luke to Nathan the son of David.

All that is told us of Joseph in the N. T. may be summed up in a few words. He was a just man, and of the house and lineage of David, and was known as such by his contemporaries, who called Jesus the son of David, and were disposed to own Him as Messiah, as being Joseph's son. The public registers also contained his name under the reckoning of the house of David (John i. 45; Luke iii. 23; Matt. i. 20; Luke ii. 4). He lived at Nazareth in Galilee, and it is probable that his family had been settled there for at least two preceding generations, possibly from the time of Mattathias, the common grandfather of Joseph and Mary, since Mary lived there too (Luke i. 26, 27). He espoused Mary, the daughter and heir of his uncle Jacob, and before he took her home as his wife received the angelic communication recorded in Matt. i. 20. It must have been within a very short time of his taking her to his home, that the decree went forth from Augustus Caesar which obliged him to leave Nazareth with his wife and go to Bethlehem. He was there with Mary and her first-born, when the shepherds came to see the babe in the manger, and he went with them to the temple to present the infant according to the law, and there heard the prophetic words of Simeon, as he held him in his arms. When the wise men from the East came to Bethlehem to worship Christ, Joseph was there; and he went down to Egypt with them by night, when warned by an angel of the danger which threatened them; and on a second message he returned with them to the land of Israel, intending to reside at Bethlehem the city of David; but being afraid of Archelaus he took up his abode, as before his marriage, at Nazareth, where he carried on his trade as a carpenter. When Jesus was 12 years old Joseph and Mary took him with them to keep the Passover at Jerusalem, and when they returned to Nazareth he continued to act as a father

to the child Jesus, and was reputed to be so indeed. But here our knowledge of Joseph ends. That he died before our Lord's crucifixion, is indeed tolerably certain, by what is related, John xix. 27, and perhaps Mark vi. 3 may imply that he was then dead. But where, when, or how he died, we know not. What was his age when he married, what children he had, and who was their mother, are questions on which tradition has been very busy, and very contradictory, and on which it affords no available information whatever. In fact the different accounts given are not traditions, but the attempts of different ages of the early Church to reconcile the narrative of the Gospels with their own opinions, and to give support, as they thought, to the miraculous conception. It is not necessary to detail or examine these accounts here, as they throw light rather upon the history of those opinions during four or five centuries, than upon the history of Joseph. But it may be well to add that the origin of the earliest stories and assertions of the fathers concerning Joseph, as, e. g., his extreme old age, his having sons by a former wife, his having the custody of Mary given to him by lot, and so on, is to be found in the apocryphal Gospels, of which the earliest is the Protevangelium of St. James, apparently the work of a Christian Jew of the second century, quoted by Origen, and referred to by Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr (Tischendorf, *Proleg.* xlii.). The same stories are repeated in the other apocryphal Gospels. The monophysite Coptic Christians are said to have first assigned a festival to St. Joseph in the Calendar, viz., on the 20th July, which is thus inscribed in a Coptic almanack:—"Requies sancti senis justi Josephi fabri lignarii, Deiparae Virginis Mariae sponsi, qui pater Christi vocari proueruit." The apocryphal *Historia Josephi fabri lignarii*, which now exists in Arabic, is thought by Tischendorf to have been originally written in Coptic, and the festival of Joseph is supposed to have been transferred to the Western Churches from the East as late as the year 1399.\* The above-named history is acknowledged to be quite fabulous, though it belongs probably to the 4th century. It professes to be an account given by our Lord Himself to the apostles on the Mount of Olives, and placed by them in the library of Jerusalem. It ascribes 111 years to Joseph's life, and makes him old and the father of 4 sons and 2 daughters before he espoused Mary. It is headed with this sentence: "Benedictiones ejus et preces servant nos omnes, o fratres. Amen." The reader who wishes to know the opinion of the ancients on the obscure subject of Joseph's marriage may consult Jerome's acrimonious tract *Contra Helvidium*. He will see that Jerome highly disapproves the common opinion (derived from the apocryphal Gospels) of Joseph being twice married, and that he claims the authority of Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and "many other apostolical men," in favour of his own view, that our Lord's brethren were his cousins only, or at all events against the opinion of Helvidius, which had been held by Ebion, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Valentine, that they were the children of Joseph and Mary. Those who held this opinion were called *Antidicomuriantes*, as enemies of the Virgin. (Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.* i. iii. t. ii.;

\* Calmet, however, places the admission of Joseph into the calendar of the Western Church as early as before the year 900. See Tischendorf, *ut sup.*

*Haer.* lxxviii., also *Haer.* li. See also Pearson on the *Credo*, Art. Virgin Mary; Mill, on the *Brethren of the Lord*; Calmet, *de S. Joseph. S. Mar. Virg. conjuge*; and for an able statement of the opposite view, Alford's note on *Matt.* xiii. 55; Winer, *Rob. s. vv. Jesus and Joseph.* [A. C. H.]

**JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA** (Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας), a rich and pious Israelite who had the privilege of performing the last offices of duty and affection to the body of our Lord. He is distinguished from other persons of the same name by the addition of his birth-place Arimathaea, a city supposed by Robinson to be situated somewhere between Lydda and Nobe, now *Bett Niba*, a mile north-east of Yalo (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 239-41, iii. 142).

Joseph is denominated by St. Mark (xv. 43) an honourable counsellor, by which we are probably to understand that he was a member of the Great Council, or Sanhedrim. He is further characterised as "a good man and a just" (*Luke* xxiii. 50), one of those who, bearing in their hearts the words of their old prophets, was waiting for the kingdom of God (*Mark* xv. 43; *Luke* ii. 25, 38, xxiii. 51). We are expressly told that he did not "consent to the counsel and deed" of his colleagues in conspiring to bring about the death of Jesus; but he seems to have lacked the courage to protest against their judgment. At all events we know that he shrank, through fear of his countrymen, from professing himself openly a disciple of our Lord.

The awful event, however, which crushed the hopes while it excited the fears of the chosen disciples, had the effect of inspiring him with a boldness and confidence to which he had before been a stranger. The crucifixion seems to have wrought in him the same clear conviction that it wrought in the Centurion who stood by the cross; for on the very evening of that dreadful day, when the triumph of the chief priests and rulers seemed complete, Joseph "went in boldly unto Pilate and craved the body of Jesus." The fact is mentioned by all four Evangelists. Pilate, having assured himself that the Divine Sufferer was dead, consented to the request of Joseph, who was thus rewarded for his faith and courage by the blessed privilege of consigning to his own new tomb the body of his crucified Lord. In this sacred office he was assisted by Nicodemus, who, like himself, had hitherto been afraid to make open profession of his faith, but now dismissing his fears brought an abundant store of myrrh and aloes for the embalming of the body of his Lord according to the Jewish custom.

These two masters in Israel then having enfolded the sacred body in the linen shroud which Joseph had bought, consigned it to a tomb hewn in a rock—a tomb where no human corpse had ever yet been laid.

It is specially recorded that the tomb was in a garden belonging to Joseph, and close to the place of crucifixion.

The minuteness of the narrative seems purposely designed to take away all ground or pretext for any rumour that might be spread, after the Resurrection, that it was some other, not Jesus Himself, that had risen from the grave. But the burial of Jesus in the new private sepulchre of the rich man of Arimathaea must also be regarded as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (liii. 9): according to the literal rendering of Bishop Lowth "with the rich man was His tomb." Nothing, but of the merest legendary character, is recorded of Joseph, beyond what we read in Scripture. There is a tradition,

surely a very improbable one, that he was of the number of the seventy disciples. Another, whether authentic or not, deserves to be mentioned as generally current, namely—that Joseph being sent to Great Britain by the Apostle St. Philip, about the year 63, settled with his brother disciples at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire; and there erected of wicker-twigs the first Christian oratory in England, the parent of the majestic abbey which was afterwards founded on the same site. The local guides to this day show the miraculous thorn (said to bud and blossom every Christmas-day) that sprang from the staff which Joseph stuck in the ground as he stopped to rest himself on the hill top. (See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 1; and Hearne, *Hist. and Ant. of Glastonbury*; Asseman, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 319). Winer refers to a monograph on Joseph—Broemel, *Diss. de Josepho Arimath.* Viteb. 1683, 4to. [E. II. . . .]

**JOSEPH**, called **BAR'SABAS**, and surname Justus; one of the two persons chosen by the assembled church (Acts i. 23) as worthy to fill the place in the Apostolic company from which Judas had fallen. He, therefore, had been a companion of the disciples all the time that they followed Jesus, from His baptism to His ascension.

Papias (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) calls him Justus Barsabas, and relates that having drunk some deadly poison he, through the grace of the Lord, sustained no harm. Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 12) states that he was one of the seventy disciples. He is to be distinguished from Joseph Barnabas (Acts iv. 36) and from Judas Barsabas (Acts xv. 22). The signification of Barsabas is quite uncertain. Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* Acts i. 23) gives five possible interpretations of it, viz., the son of conversion, of quiet, of an oath, of wisdom, of the old man. He prefers the last two; and suggests that Joseph Barsabas may be the same as Jesus the son of Alphaeus, and that Judas Barsabas may be his brother the Apostle. [W. T. B.]

**JOSEPHUS** (Ἰωσήφος), 1 Esdr. iv. 34. [JOSEPH, 3.]

**JOSE-S** (Ἰωσῆς, Ἰησοῦς, Alford; Ἰωσῆς the genuine case). 1. Son of Eliezer, in the genealogy of Christ (*Luke* iii. 29), 15th generation from David, i. e. about the reign of Manasseh.

2. One of the Lord's brethren (*Matt.* xiii. 55; *Mark* vi. 3). His name connects him with the preceding. For the inquiry who these brethren of the Lord were, see JAMES. All that appears with certainty from Scripture is that his mother's name was Mary, and his brother's James (*Matt.* xvii. 56).

3. **JOSE BARNABAS** (Acts iv. 36). [BARNABAS.] [A. C. H.]

**JO'SHAH** (יֵשָׁה: Ἰωσία; Alex. Ἰωσίας; *Josa*), a prince of the house of Simeon, son of Amaziah, and connected with the more prosperous branch of the tribe, who, in the days of Hezekiah, headed a marauding expedition against the peaceable Hamite shepherds dwelling in Idler, exterminated them, and occupied their pasturage (1 Chr. iv. 34, 38-41).

**JO'SHAPHAT** (יֵשָׁפָא: Ἰωσαφάτ; Cod. Fred. Aug. Ἰωσαφάδ; *Josaphat*), the Mithnite, one of David's guard, apparently selected from among the warriors from the east of Jordan (1 Chr. xi. 43). Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* p. 1284) gives Mathnan as the Chaldee equivalent of Bathan, by

which the latter is always represented in the Targ. Onk; and if this were the place which gave Joshaphat his surname he was probably a Gadite. In the Syriac Joshaphat and Uzziab (ver. 44) are interchanged, and the latter appears as "Azi of Anaboth."

**JOSHAVIAH** (יְהוֹשָׁפָאֵת: 'Iosafat; Cod. Fred. Aug. 'Iosafat: Josafat), the son of Elnaam, and one of David's guards (1 Chr. xi. 46). The LXX. make him the son of Jeribai, by reading יְרִיבַי for יְהוֹשָׁפָאֵת. The name appears in eight, and probably nine, different forms in the MSS. collated by Kennicott.

**JOSHBEKA'SHAH** (יְהוֹשֶׁבֶעַבֶּשֶׁאֵל: 'Iosabekasand; Ξεβακάρδης, Cod. Alex.: 'Iosabacassa), head of the 16th course of musicians. [JESHABELEAH.] He belonged to the house of Hemui (1 Chr. xxv. 1, 24). [A. C. H.]

**JOSH'UA** (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ: 'Ihsous: Josua: i. e. "whose help is Jehovah," Gesen., or rather "God the Saviour," Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. 11., p. 89, ed. 1843: on the import of his name, and the change of it from Oshea or Hoshea, Numb. xiii. 16 = "well-fare" or "salvation," see Pearson, l. c.: it appears in the various forms of HOSHUA, OSHEA, JEHOSHUA, JESHUA, and JESUS. 1. The son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 27). The future captain of invading hosts grew up a slave in the brick-fields of Egypt. Born about the time when Moses fled into Midian, he was a man of nearly forty years when he saw the ten plagues, and shared in the hurried triumph of the Exodus. The keen eye of the aged Lawgiver soon discerned in Hoshea those qualities which might be required in a colleague or successor to himself. He is mentioned first in connexion with the fight against Amalek at Rephidim, when he was chosen (Ex. xvii. 9) by Moses to lead the Israelites. When Moses ascended Mount Sinai to receive for the first time (compare Ex. xxiv. 13, and xxxiii. 11) the two Tables, Joshua, who is called his minister or servant, accompanied him part of the way, and was the first to accost him in his descent (Ex. xxxii. 17). Soon afterwards he was one of the twelve chiefs who were sent (Num. xiii. 17) to explore the land of Canaan, and one of the two (xiv. 6) who gave an encouraging report of their journey. The 40 years of wandering were almost passed, and Joshua was one of the few survivors, when Moses, shortly before his death, was directed (Num. xvii. 18) to invest Joshua solemnly and publicly with definite authority in connexion with Eleazar the priest, over the people. And after this was done, God Himself gave Joshua a charge by the mouth of the dying Lawgiver (Deut. xxxi. 14, 23).

Under the direction of God again renewed (Josh. i. 1), Joshua, now in his 85th year (Joseph. *Ant. v. 1*, §29), assumed the command of the people at Shittim, sent spies into Jericho, crossed the Jordan, fortified a camp at Gilgal, circumsised the people, kept the passover, and was visited by the Captain\* of the Lord's Host. A miracle made the fall of Jericho more terrible to the Canaanites. A miraculous repulse in the first assault on Ai impressed upon

the invaders the warning that they were the instruments of a holy and jealous God. Ai fell: and the law was inscribed on Mount Ebal, and read by their leader in the presence of all Israel.

The treaty which the fear-stricken Gibeonites obtained deceitfully was generously respected by Joshua. It stimulated and brought to a point the hostile movements of the five confederate chiefs of the Amorites. Joshua, aided by an unprecedented hailstorm, and a miraculous prolongation of the day, obtained a decisive victory over them at Makkedah, and proceeded at once to subjugate the south country as far as Kadesh-barnea and Gaza. He returned to the camp at Gilgal, master of half of Palestine.

In another campaign he marched to the waters of Merom, where he met and overthrew a confederacy of the Canaanitish chiefs in the north, under Jabin king of Hazor; and in the course of a protracted war he led his victorious soldiers to the gates of Zidon and into the valley of Lebanon under Hermon. In six years, six nations with thirty-one kings swell the roll of his conquests; amongst others the Anakim—the old terror of Israel—are specially recorded as destroyed everywhere except in Philistia. It must be borne in mind that the extensive conquests of Joshua were not intended to achieve and did not achieve the complete extirpation of the Canaanites, many of whom continued to occupy isolated strongholds throughout the land.

Joshua, now stricken in years, proceeded in conjunction with Eleazar and the heads of the tribes to complete the division of the conquered land; and when all was allotted, Timnath-serah in Mount Ephraim was assigned by the people as Joshua's peculiar inheritance. The Tabernacle of the congregation was established at Shiloh, six cities of refuge were appointed, forty-eight cities assigned to the Levites, and the warriors of the trans-Jordanic tribes dismissed in peace to their homes.

After an interval of rest, Joshua convoked an assembly from all Israel. He delivered two solemn addresses reminding them of the marvellous fulfilment of God's promises to their fathers, and warning them of the conditions on which their prosperity depended; and lastly, he caused them to renew their covenant with God, at Shechem, a place already famous in connexion with Jacob (Gen. xxv. 4), and Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32).

He died at the age of 110 years, and was buried in his own city, Timnath-serah.

Joshua's life has been noted as one of the very few which are recorded in history with some fulness of detail, yet without any stain upon them. In his character have been traced, under an Oriental garb, such features as chiefly kindled the imagination of Western chroniclers and poets in the middle ages: the character of a devout warrior, blameless and fearless, who has been taught by serving as a youth how to command as a man; who earns by manly vigour a quiet honoured old age; who combines strength with gentleness, ever looking up for and obeying the Divine impulse with the simplicity of a child, while he wields great power and directs it calmly, and without swerving, to the accomplishment of a high unselfish purpose.

\* It has been questioned whether the Captain of the Lord's Host was a created being or not. Dr. W. H. Mill discusses this point at full length and with great learning, and decides in favour of the former alternative (*On the Historical Character of St. Luke's*

*First Chapter*, Camb. 1841, p. 92). But J. G. Abiebt (*De Duce Ezerietus, &c.*, ap. *Nov. Theol. Theologico-philolog.* i. 503) is of opinion that He was the uncreated Angel, the Son of God. Compare also Pfeiffer, *Diff. Script. Loc.* p. 173.

All that part of the book of Joshua which relates his personal history seems to be written with the unconscious, vivid power of an eye-witness. We are not merely taught to look with a distant reverence upon the first man who bears the name which is above every name. We stand by the side of one who is admitted to hear the words of God, and see the vision of the Almighty. The image of the armed warrior is before us as when in the sight of two armies he lifted up his spear over unguarded Ai. We see the majestic presence which inspired all Israel (iv. 14) with awe; the mild father who remonstrated with Achan; the calm dignified judge who pronounced his sentence; the devout worshipper prostrating himself before the Captain of the Lord's host. We see the lonely man in the height of his power, separate from those about him, the last survivor, save one, of a famous generation; the honoured old man of many deeds and many sufferings, gathering his dying energy for an attempt to bind his people more closely to the service of God whom he had so long served and worshipped, and whom he was ever learning to know more and more.

The great work of Joshua's life was more exciting but less hopeful than that of Moses. He gathered the first fruits of the autumn harvest where his predecessor had sown the seed in spring. It was a high and hopeful task to watch beside the cradle of a mighty nation, and to train its early footsteps in laws which should last for centuries. And it was a fit end to a life of expectation to gaze with longing eyes from Pithagah upon the Land of Promise. But no such brightness gleamed upon the calm close of Joshua's life. Solemn words, and dark with foreboding, fell from him as he sat "under the oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord in Shechem." The excitement of his battles was past; and there had grown up in the mind of the pious leader a consciousness that it is the tendency of prosperity and success to make a people wanton and worldly-minded, idolaters in spirit if not in act, and to alienate them from God.

Holy Scripture itself suggests (Heb. iv. 8) the consideration of Joshua as a type of Christ. Many of the Christian Fathers have enlarged upon this view; and Bishop Pearson, who has collected their opinions (*On the Creed*, Art. ii. pp. 87-90, and 94-96, ed. 1843), points out the following and many other typical resemblances: (1.) the name common to both; (2.) Joshua brings the people of God into the land of promise, and divides the land among the tribes; Jesus brings His people into the presence of God, and assigns to them their mansions; (3.) as Joshua succeeded Moses and completed his work, so the Gospel of Christ succeeding the law, annulled One by whom all that believe are justified from all things from which we could not be justified by the Law of Moses (Acts xiii. 39); (4.) as Joshua the minister of Moses renewed the rite of circumcision, so Jesus the minister of the circumcision brought in the circumcision of the heart (Rom. xv. 8, ii. 29).

The treatment of the Canaanites by their Jewish conquerors is fully discussed by Dean Graves *On the Pentateuch*, Pt. 3, Lect. i. He concludes that the extermination of the Canaanites was justified by their crimes, and that the employment of the Jews in such extermination was quite consistent with God's method of governing the world. Prof. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, bk. iii. ch. 4, §1, ed. 1854), argues with great force and candour in favour of the complete agreement of the principles on

which the war was carried on by Joshua with the principles of the Christian dispensation.

Among the supernatural occurrences in the life of Joshua, none has led to so much discussion as the prolongation of the day of the battle of Makkedah (x. 12-14). No great difficulty is found, in deciding as Pfeiffer has done (*Diff. Script.* loc. p. 175), between the lengths of this day and that of Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 11); and in connecting both days with the Egyptian tradition mentioned by Herodotus, ii. 142. But since modern science revealed the stupendous character of this miracle, modern criticism has made several attempts to explain it away. It is regarded by Le Clerc, Dathe, and others, as no miracle but an optical illusion; by Rosenmüller, following Ilgen, as a mistake of the time of day; by Winer and many recent German critics, with whom Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to O. T.* p. 644) seems to agree, as a mistake of the meaning or the authority of a poetical contributor to the book of Jasher. So Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 326) traces in the latter part of verse 13 an interpolation by the hand of that anonymous Jew whom he supposes to have written the book of Deuteronomy, and here to have misunderstood the vivid conception of an old poet: and he cites numerous similar conceptions from the old poetry of Greece, Rome, Arabia, and Peru. But the literal and natural interpretation of the text as intended to describe a miracle is sufficiently vindicated by Deyling, *Observ. Sacr.* i. § 19, p. 100; and J. G. Abicht, *De statione Solis ap. Nov. Thes. Theol.-Philol.* i. 516; and is forcibly stated by Bishop Watson in the 4th letter in his *Apology for the Bible*.

Procopius, who flourished in the 6th century, relates (*Vandal.* ii. 10) that an inscription existed at Tugis in Mauritania, set up by Phœnician refugees from Canaan, and declaring in the Phœnician language, "We are they who fled from the face of Joshua the robber the son of Nun." Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 297, 298) gives sound reasons for forbearing to use this story as authentic history. It is, however, accepted by Rawlinson (*Bampton Lecture*, for 1859, iii. 91).

Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* in Matt. i. 5, and *Chorogr. Lucæ priemis.* iv. § 3) quotes Jewish traditions to the effect that Rahab became a proselyte, and the wife of Joshua, and the ancestress of nine prophets and priests; also that the sepulchre of Joshua was adorned with an image of the Sun in memory of the miracle of Ajalon. The LXX. and the Arab. Ver., add to Josh. xxiv. 30 the statement that in his sepulchre were deposited the flint-knives which were used for the circumcision at Gilgal (Josh. v. 2).

The principal occurrences in the life of Joshua are reviewed by Bishop Hall in his *Contemplations on the O. T.* bks. 7, 8, and 9.

2. An inhabitant of Bethshemesh, in whose land was the stone at which the milch-kine stopped, when they drew the ark of God with the offerings of the Philistines from Ekron to Bethshemesh (1 Sam. vi. 14, 18).

3. A governor of the city who gave his name to a gate of Jerusalem (2 K. xxiii. 8).

4. (Called Jeshua in Ezra and Nehemiah), a high-priest, who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. For details see JESHAUA, No. 4. [W. T. B.]

**JOSHUA, BOOK OF.** 1. *Authority.*—The claim of the book of Joshua to a place in the Canon of the O. T. has never been disputed. [See

CANON.] (Bp. Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon*; Dr. Wordsworth's *Discourses on the Canon*.) Its authority is confirmed by the references, in other books of Holy Scripture, to the events which are related in it; as Ps. lxxviii. 53-65; Is. xxviii. 21; Hab. iii. 11-13; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8, xi. 30-32; James ii. 25. The miracles which it relates, and particularly that of the prolongation of the day of the battle of Makkedah have led some critics to entertain a suspicion of the credibility of the book as a history. But such an objection does not touch the book of Joshua only. It must stand or fall with nearly every historical book of the Bible. Some Christians may be more or less disposed by excess of candour, or a desire to conciliate opposition, to regard as the effect of natural and ordinary causes, occurrences which have always been and still are commonly regarded as miraculous; and such persons cannot be blamed so long as their views are consistent with a fair interpretation of the Bible. But it cannot be allowed that any canonical book is the less entitled to our full belief because it relates miracles.

The treatment of the Canaanites which is sanctioned in this book has been denounced for its severity by Eichhorn and earlier writers. But there is nothing in it inconsistent with the divine attribute of justice, or with God's ordinary way of governing the world. Therefore the sanction which is given to it does not impair the authority of this book. Critical ingenuity has searched it in vain for any incident or sentiment inconsistent with what we know of the character of the age, or irreconcilable with other parts of canonical Scripture. Some discrepancies are alleged by De Wette and Hauff to exist within the book itself, and have been described as material differences and contradictions. But they disappear when the words of the text are accurately stated and weighed, and they do not affect the general credibility of the book. Thus, it cannot be allowed that there is any real disagreement between the statement xi. 16 and xii. 7 that Joshua took all the land and gave it to Israel, and the subsequent statement xviii. 3 and xvii. 1, 16 that the people were slack to possess the land which was given to them, and that the Canaanites were not entirely extirpated: of course it was intended (Ex. xxiii. 28, 30) that the people should occupy the land by little and little. It cannot be allowed that there is any irreconcilable contradiction between the statement xii. 10-12, that the kings of Jerusalem and Gezer were smitten and their country divided, and the statement xv. 63, xvi. 10, that their people were not extirpated for some time afterward. It cannot be allowed that the general statement xi. 23 that Joshua gave the land unto all Israel according to their divisions by their tribes is inconsistent with the fact (xviii. 1, xix. 51), that many subsequent years passed before the process of division was completed, and the allotments finally adjusted. Other discrepancies have been alleged by Dr. Davidson, with the view not of disparaging the credibility of the book, but of supporting the theory that it is a compilation from two distinct documents. The boundaries of the different tribes, it is said, are stated sometimes with greater, sometimes with less exactness. Now, this may be a fault of the surveyors employed by Joshua; but it is scarcely an inconsistency to be charged on the writer of the book who transcribed their descriptions. Again,

the Divine promise that the coast of Israel shall extend to the Euphrates (i. 4) is not inconsistent with the fact that the country which Joshua was commanded to divide (xiii. 16) does not extend so far. Again, the statement (xiii. 3) that Ekron, &c., remained yet to be possessed is not inconsistent with the subsequent statement (xv. 45) that it was assigned to Judah. Dr. Davidson gives no proof either of his assertion that the former text is in fact subsequent to the latter, or of his supposition that Ekron was in the possession of Judah at the time of its assignment. Again, it would seem that Dr. Davidson pushes a theory too far when he assumes (*Introd. to O. T.* 637-8) that one and the same writer would hardly denote a "tribe" by one Hebrew word in some passages, and by a synonymous Hebrew word in others; or that he would not in some passages designate Moses as the servant of the Lord, and in others mention Moses without so designating him; or that he would not describe the same class of persons in one place as "priests," and in another as "sons of Aaron." Such alleged discrepancies are not sufficient either to impair the authority of the book, or to prove that it was not substantially the composition of one author.

2. *Scope and contents.*—The book of Joshua is a distinct whole in itself. Although to later generations it became a standing witness of the faithfulness of God in fulfilling His promises to Israel, yet the immediate aim of the inspired writer was probably of a more simple character. He records, for the information of the nation to which he belonged, the acts of Joshua so far as they possessed a national interest. The book was not intended to be a mere ascription of praise to God, nor a mere biography, nor a mere collection of documents. While it serves as a link between that which precedes, and that which follows it, it has a distinct purpose, which it fulfils completely. There is not sufficient ground for treating it as a part of the Pentateuch, or a compilation from the same documents as formed the groundwork of the Pentateuch. The fact that its first sentence begins with a conjunction does not show any closer connexion between it and the Pentateuch than exists between Judges and it. The references in i. 8, viii. 31; xiii. 6, xxiv. 26, to the "book of the law" rather show that that book was distinct from Joshua. Other references to events recorded in the Pentateuch tend in the same direction. No quotation (in the strict modern sense of the word) from the Pentateuch can be found in Joshua. The author quotes from memory, like the writers of the N. T., if he quotes at all (comp. xiii. 7 with Num. xxiv. 13; xiii. 17 with Num. xxiii. 37; xiii. 21, 22 with Num. xxxi. 8; xiii. 14, 33, and xiv. 4 with Deut. xviii. 1, 2; and Num. xviii. 20, xxi. with Num. xxv.).

Perhaps no part of Holy Scripture is more injured than the first half of this book by being printed in chapters and verses. The first twelve chapters form a continuous narrative, which seems never to halt or flag. And the description is frequently so minute as to show the hand not merely of a contemporary, but of an eye-witness. An awful sense of the Divine Presence reigns throughout. We are called out from the din and tumult of each battle-field to listen to the still small Voice. The progress of events is clearly foreshadowed in the first chapter (vers. 5, 6). Step by step we are led on through the solemn

preparation, the arduous struggle, the crowning triumph. Moving everything around, yet himself moved by an unseen Power, the Jewish leader rises high and calm amid all.

The second part of the book (ch. xiii.-xxi.) has been aptly compared to the Domesday-book of the Norman conquerors of England. The documents of which it consists were doubtless the abstract of such reports as were supplied by the men whom Joshua sent out (xviii. 8) to describe the land. In the course of time it is probable that changes were introduced into their reports—whether kept separately among the national archives, or embodied in the contents of a book—by transcribers adapting them to the actual state of the country in later times when political divisions were modified, new towns sprung up, and old ones disappeared (comp. the two lists of Levitical towns, Josh. xxi. and 1 Chr. vi. 54, &c.).

The book may be regarded as consisting of three parts: (a) the conquest of Canaan, (b) the partition of Canaan, (c) Joshua's farewell.

a. The preparations for the war, and the passage of the Jordan, ch. 1-5; the capture of Jericho, 6; the conquest of the south, 7-10; the conquest of the north, 11; recapitulation, 12.

b. Territory assigned to Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, 13; the lot of Caleb and of the tribe of Judah, 14, 15; Ephraim and half Manasseh, 16, 17; Benjamin, 18; Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali and Dan, 19; the appointment of six cities of refuge, 20; the assignment of forty-eight cities to Levi, 21; the departure of the transjordanic tribes to their homes, 22.

c. Joshua's convocation of the people and first address, 23; his second address at Shechem, and his death, 24.

The events related in this book extend over a period of about 25 years from B.C. 1451 to 1426. The declaration of Caleb, xiv. 10, is useful in determining the chronology of the book.

3. *Author*.—Nothing is really known as to the authorship of the book. Joshua himself is generally named as the author by the Jewish writers and the Christian Fathers; and a great number of critics acquiesce more or less entirely in that belief. But no contemporary assertion or sufficient historical proof of the fact exists, and it cannot be maintained without qualification. Other authors have been conjectured, as Phinehas by Lightfoot; Eleazar by Calvin; Samuel by Van Til; Jeremiah by Henry; one of the elders who survived Joshua, by Keil. Von Lengerke thinks it was written by some one in the time of Josiah; Davidson by some one in the time of Saul, or somewhat later; Masius, Le Clerc, Maurer, and others by some one who lived after the Babylonian captivity. The late date is now advocated for the most part in connexion with a theory, which may perhaps help to explain the composition of the Pentateuch; but which, when applied to a book so uniform in its style as Joshua, seems to introduce more difficulties than it removes. It has been supposed that the book as it now stands is a compilation from two earlier documents; one, the original, called Elohistie, the other supplementary, called Jehovistic; they are distinguished by the names given in them to God, and by some other characteristic differences on which the supporters of the hypothesis are not perfectly agreed. Ewald's theory is that the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua form one complete work; that it is mainly compiled from contemporary and ancient

documents, and that it has grown into its present form under the hands of five successive writers or editors; the first of whom composed his book in the time of the Judges, and the last (to whom the book of Deuteronomy is assigned) in the time of Manasseh. His account of these authors or compilers may be seen in *Gesch. Isr.* i. 81-174, and his method of apportioning various parts of the book of Joshua to the several writers in *Gesch. Isr.* i. 84 and ii. 299-305. The theory of this able critic, so conjectural, complicated, and arbitrary, has met with many opponents, and few, if any, supporters even in his own country.

No one would deny that some additions to the book might be made after the death of Joshua without detracting from the possible fact that the book was substantially his composition. The last verses (xxiv. 29-33) were obviously added by some later hand. If, as is possible, though not certain, some subordinate events, as the capture of Hebron, of Debir (Josh. xv. 13-19, and Judg. i. 10-15), and of Lehem (Josh. xix. 47, and Judg. xviii. 7), and the joint occupation of Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 63, and Judg. i. 21) did not occur till after Joshua's death, they may have been inserted in the book of Joshua by a late transcriber. The passages xiii. 2-6, xvi. 10, xvii. 11, which also are subsequently repeated in the book of Judges, may doubtless describe accurately the same state of things existing at two distinct periods.

The arguments which, though insufficient to prove that Joshua was the author, yet seem to give a preponderance in favour of him when compared with any other person who has been named, may be thus briefly stated:—(a) It is evident (xxiv. 26) that Joshua could and did write some account of at least one transaction which is related in this book; (b) the numerous accounts of Joshua's intercourse with God (i. 1, iii. 7, iv. 2, v. 2, 9, vi. 2, vii. 10, viii. 1, x. 8, xi. 6, xiii. 1, 2, xx. 1, xxiv. 2), and with the Captain of the Lord's Host (v. 13), must have emanated from himself; (c) no one is more likely than the speaker himself to have committed to writing the two addresses which were Joshua's legacy to his people (xxiii. and xxiv.); (d) no one was so well qualified by his position to describe the events related, and to collect the documents contained in the book; (e) the example of his predecessor and master, Moses, would have suggested to him such a record of his acts; (f) one verse (vi. 25) must have been written by some person who lived in the time of Joshua; and two other verses, v. 1 and 6—assuming the common reading of the former to be correct—are most fairly interpreted as written by actors in the scene.

Hävernick's assertion that some grammatical forms used in Joshua are less ancient than the corresponding forms in Judges, may be set against Keil's list of expressions and forms which are peculiar to this book and the Pentateuch; and Hävernick is not supported by facts when he supposes that no expedition of any separate tribe against the Canaanites could have occurred in the lifetime of Joshua, and that the book was therefore written some time afterwards. It has been said that the expression "to this day," which is found fourteen times in the book, presupposes so considerable an interval of time between the occurrence of the event and the composition of the history, that Joshua could not have lived long enough to write in such language. But a careful examination of the passages will scarcely bear out that observation. For instance,

in three places (xxii. 3, xxiii. 8, 9) the phrase denotes a period unquestionably included within the twenty-five years which Joshua lived in Canaan; in xxii. 17 it goes but a little farther back; in iv. 9, vii. 26, viii. 29, and x. 27 it describes certain piles of stones which he raised as still remaining—a remark which does not necessarily imply that more than twenty years had elapsed since they were raised; and in vi. 25 it defines a period within the lifetime of a contemporary of Joshua, and therefore probably within his own. In the remaining passages (viii. 28, xiii. 13, xiv. 14, xv. 63, xvi. 10) there is nothing which would make it impossible that Joshua should have used this expression.

4. There is extant a Samaritan Book of Joshua in the Arabic language. It was printed for the first time at Leyden in 1848, with the title "Liber Josue; Chronicon Samaritanum, edidit, Latine vertit, &c., T. G. J. Juybnoll." Its contents were known previously from the accounts given of it by Hottinger and others. It was written in the 13th century. It recounts the late acts of Moses amplified from the book of Numbers, a history of Joshua interspersed with various legends, portions of the Jewish law, and several unconnected historical passages more or less falsified, extending down to the time of Hadrian.

5. *Literature*.—The best Commentary, which is accessible to the English reader, is the translation of Keil's *Commentary on Joshua* (Clark, Edinburgh). A complete list of commentaries may be found in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*. Among the Fathers, Ephrem Syrus has written an explanation, and Augustine and Theodoret have discussed questions connected with the book. The following commentaries may be selected as most useful:—That of *Jarchi* or *Rashi* (Solomon ben Isaac), translated into Latin by Brethaupt, Göttinge, 1710; the commentary of Masius, Antwerp, 1574, inserted in the *Critici Sacri*; those of Le Clerc, Amsterdam, 1708; Rosenmüller, Leipzig, 1833; and Keil, Erlangen, 1847.

[W. T. B.]

**JOSIAH** (יְחִיָּהוּ: *Yosias Josias*) 1. The son of Amon and Jedidah, succeeded his father B.C. 641, in the eighth year of his age, and reigned 31 years. His history is contained in 2 K. xxii.—xxiv. 30; 2 Chr. xxxiv., xxxv.; and the first twelve chapters of Jeremiah throw much light upon the general character of the Jews in his days.

He began in the eighth year of his reign to seek the Lord; and in his twelfth year, and for six years afterwards, in a personal progress throughout all the land of Judah and Israel, he destroyed everywhere high places, groves, images, and all outward signs and relics of idolatry. Those which Solomon and Ahab had built, and even Hezekiah had spared, and those which Manasseh had set up more recently, now ceased to pollute the land of Judah; and in Israel the purification began with Jeroboam's chapel at Bethel, in accordance with the remarkable prediction of the disobedient prophet, by whom Josiah

was called by name three centuries before his own (1 K. xiii. 2). The Temple was restored under a special commission; and in the course of the repairs Hilkiah the priest [HILKIAH] found that book of the Law of the Lord which quickened so remarkably the ardent zeal of the king. The question as to the contents of that book has been discussed elsewhere: in forming an opinion on it we should bear in mind that it is very difficult for us in this age and country to estimate the scantiness of the opportunities which were then open to laymen of acquiring literary knowledge connected with religion. The special commission sent forth by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 7) is a proof that even under such kings as Asa and his son, the Levites were insufficient for the religious instruction of the people. What then must have been the amount of information accessible to a generation which had grown up in the reigns of Manasseh and Amon? We do not know that the Law was read as a stated part of any ordinary public service in the Temple of Solomon (unless the injunction Deut. xxxi. 10 was obeyed once in seven years), though God was worshipped there with daily sacrifice, psalmody, and prayer. The son of Amon began only when he was sixteen years old to seek the God of David, and for ten years he devoted all his active energies to destroying the gross external memorials of idolatry throughout his dominions, and to strengthening and multiplying the visible signs of true religion. It is not surprising that in the 26th year of his age he should find the most awful words in which God denounces sin come home to his heart on a particular occasion with a new and strange power, and that he should send to a prophethess to inquire in what degree of closeness those words were to be applied to himself and his generation. That he had never read the words is probable. But his conduct is no sufficient proof that he had never heard them before, or that he was not aware of the existence of a "book of the Law of the Lord."

The great day of Josiah's life was that on which he and his people, in the eighteenth year of his reign, entered into a special covenant to keep the law of the Lord, and celebrated the feast of the Passover at Jerusalem with more munificent offerings, better arranged services, and a larger concourse of worshippers than had been seen on any previous occasion.

After this, his endeavours to abolish every trace of idolatry and superstition were still carried on. But the time drew near which had been indicated by Huldah (2 K. xxii. 20). When Pharaoh-Necho went from Egypt to Carchemish to carry on his war against Assyria (comp. Herodotus, ii. 159), Josiah, possibly in a spirit of loyalty to the Assyrian king, to whom he may have been bound,\* opposed his march along the sea-coast. Necho reluctantly paused and gave him battle in the valley of Esdraelon: and the last good king of Judah was carried wounded from Hadrhimmon, to die before he could arrive at Jerusalem.

He was buried with extraordinary honours; and

\* Such is at least the conjecture of Prideaux (*Connexion*, anno 610), and of Milman (*History of the Jews*, i. 313). But the Bible ascribes no such chivalrous motive to Josiah: and it does not occur to Josephus, who attributes (*Ant.* x. 5, §1) Josiah's resistance merely to Fate urging him to destruction; nor to the author of 1 Esd. i. 28, who describes him as acting wilfully against Jeremiah's advice; nor to Ewald, who (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 707) conjectures that it

may have been the constant aim of Josiah to restore not only the ritual, but also the kingdom of David in its full extent and independence, and that he attacked Necho as an invader of what he considered as his northern dominions. This conjecture, if equally probable with the former, is equally without adequate support in the Bible, and is somewhat derogatory to the character of Josiah.

## JOSIAS

universal dirge, in part composed by Jeremiah, which the affection of his subjects sought to perpetuate as an annual solemnity, was chanted probably at Hallelrimmon. Compare the narrative in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25 with the allusions in Jer. xxii. 10, 18, and Zech. xii. 11, and with Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. viii. ch. 23, p. 878. The prediction of Huldah, that he should "be gathered into the grave in peace," must be interpreted in accordance with the explanation of that phrase given in Jer. xxxiv. 5. Some excellent remarks on it may be found in Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. xi. ch. 36, p. 664. Josiah's reformation and his death are commented on by Bishop Hall, *Contemplations on the O. T.*, bk. xx.

It was in the reign of Josiah that a nomadic horde of Scythians overran Asia (Herodotus, i. 104-106). A detachment of them went towards Egypt by the way of Philistia: somewhere southward of Ascalon they were met by messengers from Psammitichus and induced to turn back. They are not mentioned in the historical accounts of Josiah's reign. But Ewald (*Die Psalmen*, 165) conjectures that the 59th Psalm was composed by king Josiah during a siege of Jerusalem by these Scythians. The town Bethshan is said to derive its Greek name, Scythopolis (Reland, *Pal.* 992; Lightfoot, *Chor. Marc.* vii. §2), from these invaders. The facility with which Josiah appears to have extended his authority in the land of Israel is adduced as an indication that the Assyrian conquerors of that land were themselves at this time under the restraining fear of some enemy. The prophecy of Zephaniah is considered to have been written amid the terror caused by their approach. The same people are described at a later period by Ezekiel (xxviii.). See Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 689. Abarbanel (ap. Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 858) records an oral tradition of the Jews to the effect that the Ark of the Covenant, which Solomon deposited in the Temple (1 K. vi. 19), was removed and hidden by Josiah, in expectation of the destruction of the Temple; and that it will not be brought again to light until the coming of Messiah. [W. T. B.]

2. The son of Zephaniah, at whose house the prophet Zechariah was commanded to assemble the chief men of the captivity, to witness the solemn and symbolical crowning of Joshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 9). It has been conjectured that Josiah was either a goldsmith, or treasurer of the Temple, or one of the keepers of the Temple, who received the money offered by the worshippers, but nothing is known of him. Possibly he was a descendant of Zephaniah, the priest mentioned in Jer. xxi. 1, xxxvii. 3, and if Hen in Zech. vi. 15 be a proper name, which is doubtful, it probably refers to the same person, elsewhere called Josiah. [W. A. W.]

**JOSIAS.** 1. (*Ἰωσίας*: *Josias*). Josiah, king of Judah (1 Esd. i. 1, 7, 18, 21-23, 25, 28, 29, 32-34; Ecclus. xlix. 1, 4; Bar. i. 8; Matt. i. 10, 11).

2. (*Ἰωσίας*; Alex. *Ἰωσίας*: *Maasias*). Jeshaiiah the son of Athaliah (1 Esd. viii. 33; comp. Ezr. viii. 7).

**JOSIBAH** (*Ἰωσὶβ*), i. e. Josibiah: *Ἀραβία*;

Alex. *Ἰσαβία*: *Josabias*), the father of Jehu, a Simeonite, descended from that branch of the tribe of which Shimei was the founder, and which afterwards became most numerous (1 Chr. iv. 35).

## JOZABAD

**JOSIPHIAH** (*Ἰωσὴφ*): *Ἰωσέφας*: *Josphias*), the father or ancestor of Shelomith, who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 10). A word is evidently omitted in the first part of the verse, and is supplied both by the LXX. and the Syr., as well as by the compiler of 1 Esd. viii. 36. The LXX. supply *Βααβί*, i. e. *בַּבִּי*, which, from its resemblance to the preceding word *בַּבִּי*, might easily have been omitted by a transcriber. The verse would then read, "of the sons of Bani, Shelomith the son of Josphiah." In the Syriac Shelomith is repeated, but this is not likely to have been correct. Josphiah is called in Ezra, *JOSAPHIAS*.

**JOT'BATH** (*Ἰοτβα*): *Ἰερεβα*; Alex. *Ἰεραχδ*; Jos. *Ἰαβάρη*: *Jeteba*), the native place of Meshullemeth, the queen of Manasseh, and mother of Amon king of Judah (2 K. xxi. 19). The place is not elsewhere named as a town of Palestine, and is generally identified with Jothab, or Jothabnah, mentioned below. This there is nothing either to prove or disprove. [G.]

**JOT'BATHAI** (*Ἰοτβαθ*): *Ἰερεβαθ*; Alex. *Ἰεραβαθ*; Dent. x. 7; Num. xxxiii. 33), a desert station of the Israelites: it is described as "a land of torments of waters;" there are several confluences of Wadyas on the W. of the Arabah, any one of which might in the rainy season answer the description, and would agree with the general locality. [H. H.]

**JO'THAM** (*Ἰοθαμ*): *Ἰωθαμ*: *Joatham*). 1. The youngest son of Gideon (Judg. ix. 5), who escaped when his brethren, to the number of 69 persons, were slain at Ophrah by their half-brother Abimelech. When this bloody act of Abimelech had secured his election as king, Jotham, ascending Mount Gerizim, boldly uttered, in the hearing of the men of Shechem, his well-known warning parable of the reign of the bramble. Nothing is known of him afterwards, except that he dwelt at Beer.

2. The son of king Uzziiah or Azariah and Jerushah. After administering the kingdom for some years during his father's leprosy, he succeeded to the throne B.C. 758, when he was 25 years old, and reigned 16 years in Jerusalem. He was contemporary with Pekah and with the prophet Isaiah. His history is contained in 2 K. xv. and 2 Chr. xxvii. He did right in the sight of the Lord, and his reign was prosperous, although the high-places were not removed. He built the high gate of the Temple, made some additions to the wall of Jerusalem, and raised fortifications in various parts of Judah. After a war with the Ammonites he compelled them to pay him the tribute they had been accustomed to pay his father. Towards the end of his reign Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah, began to assume a threatening attitude towards Judah. [W. T. B.]

3. A descendant of Judah, son of Jahdai (1 Chr. ii. 47).

**JO'ZABAD.** 1. (*Ἰοζαβ*): *Ἰωζαβ*; Alex. *Ἰωζαβδ*: *Jozabad*). A captain of the thousands of Manasseh, who deserted to David before the battle of Gilboa, and assisted him in his pursuit of the marauding band of Amalekites (1 Chr. xii. 20). One of Kennicott's MSS. reads *Ἰοζαβ*, i. e. Jozabab.

2. (*Ἰωζαβ*; Alex. *Ἰωζαβδ*). A hero of Manasseh, like the preceding (1 Chr. xii. 20).

## JOZACHAR

3. ('*Ιωαβδδ*; Alex. '*Ιωαβδδ*, in 2 Chr. xxxi. 13.) A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, who was one of the overseers of offerings and dedicated things in the temple, under Cononiah and Shimei, after the restoration of the true worship.

4. (*Josabad*.) One of the princes of the Levites, who held the same office as the preceding, and took part in the great Passover kept at Jerusalem in the reign of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

5. A Levite, son of Jeshua, who assisted Meremoth and Eleazar in registering the number and weight of the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the Temple, which they brought with them from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 33). He is called JOSABAD in the parallel narrative of 1 Esd. viii. 63, and is probably identical with 7.

6. ('*Ιωαβδδ* in Ezra; '*Οκδδης* in 1 Esd. ix. 23; *Jozabad*.) A priest of the sons of Pashur, who had married a foreigner on the return from the captivity (Ezr. x. 22). He appears as OCIDELUS in the A. V. of 1 Esd.

7. ('*Ιωαβδδς* in 1 Esd. ix. 23; *Jozabad*, Ezr. x. 22; *Jorabbus*, 1 Esd. ix. 23.) A Levite among those who returned with Ezra and had married foreign wives. He is probably identical with Josabad the Levite, who assisted when the law was read by Ezra (Neh. viii. 7); and with Jozabad, one of the heads of the Levites who presided over the outer work of the Temple (Neh. xi. 16). [W.A.W.]

JO'ZACHAR (יֹזָכָר; '*Ιεζαχαρ*; Alex. '*Ιωαχαρ*: *Josachar*), the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and one of the murderers of Joash king of Judah (2 K. xii. 21). The writer of the Chronicles (2 Chr. xiv. 26) calls him Zabab, which is nothing more than a clerical error for Jozachar: the first syllable being omitted in consequence of the final letters of the preceding word עָלִיו. In 18 MSS. of Kennicott's collation the name in the Kings is יֹזָכָר, i. e. Jozabul, and the name is the reading of 32 MSS. collated by De Rossi. Another MS. in De Rossi's possession had יֹזָכָר, i. e. Jozachad, and one collated by Kennicott יֹזָבָר, or Jozabar, which is the reading of the Peshito-Syriac. Burrington concludes that the original form of the word was יֹזָכָר, or Jozabad; but for this there does not seem sufficient reason, as the name would then be all but identical with that of the Moabite Jehozabad, who was the accomplice of Jozachar in the murder. It is uncertain whether their conspiracy was prompted

\* Ewald observes that vers. 17-22 in this chapter should be read immediately after ver. 7, since they carry on the account of the sabbatical year, and have no reference to the year of Jubilee.

† It does not seem likely that the rites of solemn humiliation which marked the great fast of the year were disturbed. The joyful sound probably burst forth in the afternoon, when the high-priest had brought the services of Atonement to a conclusion. The contrast between the quiet of the day and the loud blast of the trumpets at its close, must have rendered deeply impressive the hallowing of the year of release from poverty and bondage. But Hupfeld is so offended with the incongruity of this arrangement, that he would fain repair what he thinks must be a defect in the Hebrew text, in order that he may put back the commencement of the year of Jubilee from the Day of Atonement, on the 10th, to the Feast of Trumpets, on the 1st of Tisri.

“Hic (i. e. in ver. 9) vetus mendum latere suspicor,

## JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF 1149

by a personal feeling of revenge for the death of Zechariah, as Josephus intimates (*Ant.* ix. 8, §4), or whether they were urged to it by the family of Jehoiada. The care of the Chronicler to show that they were of foreign descent seems almost intended to disarm a suspicion that the king's assassination was an act of priestly vengeance. But it is more likely that the conspiracy had a different origin altogether, and that the king's murder was regarded by the Chronicler as an instance of Divine retribution. On the accession of Amaziah the conspirators were executed. [W. A. W.]

JO'ZADAK (יֹזָדָק; '*Ιωσαδək*: *Josadak*), Ezr. iii. 2, 8; v. 2; x. 18; Neh. xii. 26. The name is a contraction of JEHOZADAK.

JUB'AL (יֹבֵל; '*Ιουβδα*: *Jubal*), a son of Lamech by Adah, and the inventor of the “harp and organ” (Gen. iv. 21; *κιθάρα*, probably general terms for stringed and wind instruments). His name appears to be connected with this subject, springing from the same root as *yobel*, “jubilee.” That the inventor of musical instruments should be the brother of him who introduced the nomad life, is strictly in accordance with the experience of the world. The connexion between music and the pastoral life is indicated in the traditions of the Greeks, which ascribed the invention of the pipe to Pan and of the lyre to Apollo, each of them being also devoted to pastoral pursuits. [W. L. B.]

JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF (שְׁנַת יִיבֵל; and simply יִיבֵל: *eros tēs apóstews, apóstews σημεῖα*, and *ἀφῆσις*: *annus jubilaei*, and *jubilaeus*), the fiftieth year after the succession of seven Sabbatical years, in which all the land which had been alienated returned to the families of those to whom it had been allotted in the original distribution, and all bondmen of Hebrew blood were liberated. The relation in which it stood to the Sabbatical year and the general directions for its observance are given Lev. xxv. 8-16 and 23-55. Its bearing on lands dedicated to Jehovah is stated Lev. xxvii. 16-25. There is no mention of the Jubilee in the book of Deuteronomy, and the only other reference to it in the Pentateuch is in the appeal of the tribe of Manasseh, on account of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxxvi. 4; see below, §VI. note \*).

II. The year was inaugurated on the Day of Atonement with the blowing of trumpets throughout

forte in die numero, בְּעֶשְׂרִי, primitus positum (pro בְּאַחַד) cui deinde gl'osa accessit ‘die exlationis’” (*Comment. de vera fest. rat. pt. iii. p. 20*). In the same vein of criticism, considering that the rest of the soil is alien to the idea of the Jubilee, he would expunge ver. 11 as an interpolation. He is disposed to deal still more freely with that part of the chapter which relates to the sabbatical year.

\* The trumpets used in the proclamation of the Jubilee appear to have been curved horns, not the long straight trumpets represented on the Arch of Titus, and which, according to Hengstenberg (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 131, Eng. trans.), are the only ones represented in Egyptian sculptures and paintings. The straight trumpet was called זָרָזָרָה, the other, שֹׁפָר. The Jubilee horns used in the siege of Jericho are called שֹׁפְרוֹת הַיִּבְלִים (Josh. vi. 4); and, collectively, in the following verse,

the land, and by a proclamation of universal liberty.

1. The soil was kept under the same condition of rest as had existed during the preceding Sabbatical year. There was to be neither ploughing, sowing, nor reaping; but the chance produce was to be left for the use of all comers. [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

2. Every Israelite returned to "his possession and to his family;" that is, he recovered his right in the land originally allotted to the family of which he was a member, if he, or his ancestor, had parted with it.

(a) A strict rule to prevent fraud and injustice in such transactions is laid down:—if a Hebrew urged by poverty,<sup>d</sup> had to dispose of a field, the price was determined according to the time of the sale in reference to the approach of the next Jubilee. The transfer was thus, not of the land itself, but of the usufruct for a limited time. Deduction was systematically made on account of the number of Sabbatical years, which would deprive the purchaser of certain crops within that period.<sup>e</sup>

(b) The possession of the field could, at any time, be recovered by the original proprietor, if his circumstances improved, or by his next of kin<sup>f</sup> (כֹּהֵן, i. e. one who redeems). The price to be paid for its redemption was to be fixed according to the same equitable rule as the price at which it had been purchased (ver. 16).

(c) Houses in walled cities<sup>g</sup> were not subject to the law of Jubilee, but a man who sold his house could redeem it at any time within a full year of the time of its sale. After that year, it became the absolute property of the purchaser.

(d) Houses and buildings in villages, or in the country, being regarded as essentially connected with the cultivation of the land, were not excepted, but returned in the Jubilee with the land on which they stood.

קֶרֶן הַיִּבּוֹל (See Keil on Josh. vi. 4.) It is not quite certain whether they were the horns of oven or formed of metal (Kranold, p. 50), but the latter seems by far more probable. Connected with the mistake as to the origin of the word יִבּוֹל (which will be noticed below), was the notion that they were rams' horns. R. Jehuda, in the Mishna, says that the horns of rams (כִּרְיִים) were used at the Feast of Trumpets, and those of wild goats (עֵיִלִּים) at the Jubilee. But Maimonides and Bartenora say that rams' horns were used on both occasions (*Rosh Hashana*, p. 342, edit. Suren.). Bochart and others have justly objected that the horns of rams, or those of wild goats, would form but sorry trumpets. [Coarset.]

It is probable that on this, as on other occasions of public proclamation, the trumpets were blown by the priests, in accordance with Num. x. 8. (See Kranold, *Comment. de Jubileo*, p. 50; with whom agree Ewald, Bähr, and most modern writers.) Bähr supposes that, at the proclamation of the Jubilee, the trumpets were blown in all the priests' cities and wherever a priest might be living; while, on the Feast of Trumpets, they were blown only in the Temple. Maimonides says that every Hebrew at the Jubilee blew nine blasts, so as to make the trumpet literally "sound throughout the land" (Lev. xxv. 9). Such a usage may have existed, as a mere popular expression of rejoicing, but it could have been no essential part of the ceremony.

<sup>d</sup> It would seem that the Israelites never parted with their land except from the pressure of poverty. The objection of Naboth to accept the offer of Ahab

(e) The Levitical cities were not, in respect to this law, reckoned with walled towns. If a Levite sold the use of his house, it reverted to him in the Jubilee, and he might redeem it at any previous time. The lands in the suburbs of the Levites' cities could not be parted with under any condition, and were not therefore affected by the law of Jubilee (ver. 34).

(f) If a man had sanctified a field of his patrimony unto the Lord, it could be redeemed at any time before the next year of Jubilee, on his paying one-fifth in addition to the worth of the crops, rated at a stated valuation (Lev. xxvii. 19). If not so redeemed, it became, at the Jubilee, devoted for ever. If the man had previously sold the usufruct of the field to another, he lost all right to redeem it (vers. 20, 21).

(g) If he who had purchased the usufruct of a field sanctified it, he could redeem it till the next Jubilee, that is, as long as his claim lasted; but it then, as justice required, returned to the original proprietor (ver. 22-24).

3. All Israelites who had become bondmen, either to their countrymen, or to resident foreigners, were set free in the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 40, 41), when it happened to occur before their seventh year of servitude, in which they became free by the operation of another law (Ex. xxi. 2). Those who were bound to resident foreigners might redeem themselves, if they obtained the means, at any time; or they might be redeemed by a relation. Even the bondman who had submitted to the ceremony of having his ears bored (Ex. xxi. 6) had his freedom at the Jubilee.<sup>h</sup>

Such was the law of the year of Jubilee, as it is given in the Pentateuch. It was, of course, like the law of the Sabbatical Year, and that of those rites of the great festivals which pertain to agriculture, delivered prophetically. The same formula is used—"When ye be come into the land which

(1 K. xxi. 1) appears to exemplify the sturdy feeling of a substantial Hebrew, who would have felt it to be a shame and a sin to give up any part of his patrimony—"The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers to thee." If Michaelis had felt as most Englishmen do in such matters, he would have had more respect for the conduct of Naboth. (See *Comment. on the Mosaic Law*, art. 73.) But the conduct of Naboth has been questioned on different ground in a dissertation by S. Andreas, in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. xiii. p. 608.

<sup>e</sup> This must be the meaning of the price being calculated on "the years of fruits," שְׁנֵי תְבוּאָת (Lev. xxv. 15, 16), the years of tillage, exclusive of the years of rest.

<sup>f</sup> Kranold observes (p. 54) that there is no record of the *goel* ever exercising his right till after the death of him who had sold the field. But the inference that the *goel* could not previously exercise his power seems to be hardly warranted, and is opposed to what is perhaps the simplest interpretation of Ruth iv. 3, 4. See note <sup>g</sup>, § V.

<sup>g</sup> A Jewish tradition, preserved by Maimonides and others, states that no cities were thus reckoned, as regards the Jubilee, but such as were walled in the time of Joshua. According to this, Jerusalem was excluded.

<sup>h</sup> Maimonides says that the interval between the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, in the year of Jubilee, was a time of riotous rejoicing to all servants. If there is any truth in the tradition that he records (which is in itself probable enough) the eight days must have been a sort of Saturnalia.

I give unto you"—both in Lev. xxv. 2, and Lev. xxiii. 10.

III. Josephus (*Ant.* iii, 12, §3) states that all debts were remitted in the year of Jubilee, while the Scripture speaks of the remission of debts only in connexion with the Sabbatical Year (*Deut.* xv. 1, 2). [SABBATICAL YEAR.] He also describes the terms on which the holder of a piece of land resigned it in the Jubilee to the original proprietor. The former (he says) produced a statement of the value of the crops, and of the money which he had laid out in tillage. If the expenses proved to be more than the worth of the produce, the balance was paid by the proprietor before the field was restored. But if the balance was on the other side, the proprietor simply took back the field, and allowed him who had held it to retain the profit.

Philo (*De Septenario*, ch. 13, 14, vol. v. v. 37, edit. Tauch.) gives an account of the Jubilee agreeing with that in Leviticus, and says nothing of the remission of debts.<sup>1</sup>

IV. There are several very difficult questions connected with the Jubilee, of which we now proceed to give a brief view:—

1. *Origin of the word Jubilee.*—The doubt on this point appears to be a very old one. The Hebrew word is treated by the LXX. in different modes. They have retained it untranslated in Josh. vi. 8, 13 (where we find *καταλιναι του ιωβηλ*, and *σαλπιγγε του ιωβηλ*). In Lev. xxv. they generally render it by *ἀφ᾽εως*, or *ἀφ᾽εως σημεσια*; but where the context suits it, by *φύνη* *σαλπιγγος*. In Ex. xix. 13 they have *αἱ φωναι καὶ αἱ σαλπιγγες*. The Vulgate retains the original word in Lev. xxv., as well as in Josh. vi. (*buccinae quarum usus est in Jubilaeo*), and by *bucinus* in Ex. xix. 13. It seems, therefore, beyond doubt that uncertainty respecting the word must have been felt when the most ancient versions of the O. T. were made.

Nearly all of the many conjectures which have been hazarded on the subject are directed to explain the word exclusively in its bearing on the year of Jubilee. This course has been taken by Josephus—*ἐλευθερίαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτονομα*; and by St. Jerome—*Jobel est dimittens aut mittens*. Many modern writers have exercised their ingenuity in the same track. Now in all such attempts at explanation there must be an anachronism, as the word is used in Ex. xix. 13, before the institution of the Law, where it can have nothing to do with the Year of Jubilee, or its observances. The expression

there used is *בְּמִשְׁחָ הַיּוֹבֵל*; similar to that in Josh. vi. 5, *בְּמִשְׁחָ בָּקָר הַיּוֹבֵל*. The question seems to be, can *יּוֹבֵל* here mean the peculiar sound, or the instrument for producing the sound? Ewald favours the latter notion, and so does Gesenius (*Thes. sub* *מִשְׁחָ*), following the old versions (with which our own agrees), though under *יּוֹבֵל* he explains *יּוֹבֵל* as *clangor*. De Wette inclines the same way, rendering the words in Ex. xix. 13—*beim Blazen des Jubelhorns*. Luther translates the same words—*wenn es wird aber lange tönen* (though he is not consistent with himself in rendering Josh. vi. 5)—Bähr renders them, *cum trahetur sonus*, and most recent critics agree with him. It would follow from this view that what is meant in Joshua, when the trumpet is expressly mentioned, is, "When the sound called Jubilee (whatever that may be) is prolonged on the horn."<sup>2</sup>

As regards the derivation of the word, it is now very generally ascribed to the root *יָבַל*, *undavit, copiose et cum quadam impetu fluxit*. Hence Kranold explains *יּוֹבֵל*, id *quod magno stropitio fluit*; and he adds, "duplex igitur in ea radice vis distinguitur, fluendi et sonandi altera in *יָבַל* (*diluvium*), Gen. vi. 17, altera in *יּוֹבֵל* (*artis musicae inventor*), Gen. iv. 21, conspicua." The meaning of Jubilee would thus seem to be, *a rushing, penetrating sound*.<sup>3</sup> But in the uncertainty, which, it must be allowed, exists, our translators have taken a safer course by retaining the original word in Lev. xxv. and xvii., than that which was taken by Luther, who has rendered it by *Halljahr*.

2. *Was the Jubilee every 49th or 50th year?*—If the plain words of Lev. xxv. 10 are to be followed, this question need not be asked. The statement that the Jubilee was the 50th year, after the succession of seven weeks of years, and that it was distinguished from, not identical with, the seventh Sabbatical year, is as evident as language can make it. But the difficulty of justifying the wisdom of allowing the land to have two years of rest in succession has been felt by some, and deemed sufficient to prove that the Jubilee could only have been the 49th year, that is, one with the seventh Sabbatical year. But in such a case, a mere *a priori* argument cannot justly be deemed sufficient to

<sup>1</sup> The Mishna contains nothing on the Jubilee but unimportant scattered notices, though it has a considerable treatise on the Sabbatical year (Shebilth).

<sup>2</sup> The grounds on which the opposite view rests are stated elsewhere. [See *CONJECT.*]

<sup>3</sup> Carpozov (*App.* p. 449) appears to have been the first who put forth this view of the origin and meaning of the word. The figure of the pouring along of the "rich stream of music" is familiar enough in most languages to recommend it as probable. But Gesenius prefers to make a second root, *יָבַל*, *jubilare*, which he ascribes to onomatopoeia, like the Latin *jubilare*, and the Greek *ὀλοῦσθαι*.

The fanciful notion that *יּוֹבֵל* signifies a ram has some interest, from its being held by the Jews so generally and by the Chaldaee Paraphrast; and from its having influenced our translators in Josh. vi. to call the horns on which the Jubilee was sounded, *trumpets*

*of rams' horns*. It appears to come from the strange nonsense which some of the rabbis in early times began to talk respecting the ram which was sacrificed in the place of Isaac. They said (R. Bechal in Ex. xix. ap. Kranold) that after the ram was burnt, God miraculously restored the body. His muscles were deposited in the golden altar; from his viscera were made the strings of David's harp; his skin became the mantle of Elijah; his left horn was the trumpet of Sinai; and his right horn was to sound when Messiah comes (Is. xxvii. 13). R. Akiba, to connect this with the Jubilee, affirms that *יּוֹבֵל*

is the Arabic for a ram, though the best Arabic scholars say there is no such word in the language.

The other notions respecting the word may be found in Fuller (*Misc. Sac.* p. 1026, sq.; *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix.), in Carpozov (p. 448, sq.), and, most completely given, in Kranold (p. 11, sq.).

overthrow a clear unequivocal statement, involving no inconsistency, or physical impossibility.<sup>24</sup>

Hug has suggested that the Sabbatical year might have begun in Nisan and the Jubilee Year in Tisri (Winer, *sub voce*). In this way the labours of the husbandmen would only have been intermitted for a year and a half. But it is surely a very harsh supposition to imagine that Moses would have spoken of the institution of the two years, and of the relation in which they stand to each other, without noticing such a distinction, had it existed. It is most probable that the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee both began in Tisri, as is stated in the Mishna (*Rosh Hashana*, p. 300, edit. Suren.). [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

The simplest view, and the only one which accords with the sacred text, is, that the year which followed the seventh Sabbatical year was the Jubilee, which was intercalated between two series of Sabbatical years, so that the next year was the first of a new half century, and the seventh year after that was the first Sabbatical year of the other series. Thus the Jubilee was strictly a Pentecost year, holding the same relation to the preceding seven Sabbatical years, as the day of Pentecost did to the seven Sabbath days. Substantially the same formula, in reference to this point, is used in each case<sup>25</sup> (cf. Lev. xxiii. 15-16, xxv. 8-10).

3. *Were debts remitted in the Jubilee?*—Not a word is said of this in the O. T., or in Philo. The affirmative rests entirely on the authority of Josephus. Maimonides says expressly that the remission of debts<sup>26</sup> was a point of distinction between the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee. The Mishna is to the same effect (*Shebiith*, cap. x. p. 194, edit. Suren.). It seems that Josephus must either have wholly made a mistake, or that he has drawn too wide an inference from the general character of the year. Of course to those who were in bondage for their debts, the freedom conferred by the Jubilee must have amounted to a remission; as did, not less, their freedom at the end of their seven years of servitude.

The first Jubilee year must have fallen in due course after the first seven Sabbatical years. For the commencement of the series on which the succession of Sabbatical years was reckoned, see CHRONOLOGY, p. 310, and SABBATICAL YEAR.

V. Maimonides, and the Jewish writers in general, consider that the Jubilee was observed till the destruction of the first temple. But there is no direct historical notice of its observance on any one

<sup>24</sup> The only distinguished Jewish teacher who advocated the claims of the 49th year was R. Jehuda. He was followed by the Gaonim, certain doctors who took up the exposition of the Talmud after the work was completed, from the seventh to the eleventh century (Winer, *sub voce*). The principal Christian writers on the same side are Scaliger, Petavius, Ussher, Cuneus, and Schroeder.

<sup>25</sup> Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 419), and others, have referred the words of Is. xxvii. 30 to the jubilee year succeeding the sabbath year. But Gesenius adopts another view of the passage, which accords better with the context. He regards it as merely referring to the continuance of the desolation occasioned by the war for two years.

The language of Josephus and of Philo, and of every eminent Jewish and Christian writer, except those that have been mentioned, are in favour of the fifth year. Ideler has taken up the matter very satisfactorily (*Handb. der Chron.* i. p. 305).

<sup>26</sup> Whether this was an absolute remission of debts,

occasion, either in the books of the O. T., or in any other records. The only passages in the Prophets which can be regarded with much confidence, as referring to the Jubilee in any way, are Is. v. 7, 8, 9, 10; Is. lxi. 1, 2; Ez. vii. 12, 13; Ez. xlv. 16, 17, 18. Regarding Is. xxvii. 30, see note<sup>27</sup>, §IV. Some have doubted whether the law of Jubilee ever came into actual operation (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. lxxvi., and Winer, *sub voce*), others have confidently denied it (Kinnold, p. 80; Hupfeld, pt. iii. p. 20). But Ewald contends that the institution is eminently practical in the character of its details, and that the accidental circumstance of no particular instance of its observance having been recorded in the Jewish history proves nothing. Besides the passages to which reference has been made, he applies several others to the Jubilee. He conceives that "the year of visitation" mentioned in Jer. xi. 23, xxiii. 12, xlviii. 44 denotes the punishment of those who, in the Jubilee, withheld by tyranny or fraud the possessions or the liberty of the poor.<sup>28</sup> From Jer. xxxii. 6-12 he infers that the law was restored to operation in the reign of Josiah<sup>29</sup> (*Alterthümer*, p. 424, note 1).

VI. The Jubilee is to be regarded as the outer circle of that great Sabbatical system which comprises within it the sabbatical year, the sabbatical month, and the sabbath day. [FEASRS.] The rest and restoration of each member of the state, in his spiritual relation, belongs to the weekly sabbath and the sabbatical month, while the land had its rest and relief in the sabbatical year. But the Jubilee is more immediately connected with the body politic; and it was only as a member of the state that each person concerned could participate in its provisions. It has less of a formally religious aspect than either of the other sabbatical institutions, and its details were of a more immediately practical character. It was not distinguished by any prescribed religious observance peculiar to itself, like the rites of the sabbath day and of the sabbatical month; nor even by anything like the reading of the law in the sabbatical year. But in the Hebrew state, polity and religion were never separated, nor was their essential connexion ever dropped out of sight. Hence the year was hallowed, in the strict sense of the word, by the solemn blast of the Jubilee trumpets, on the same day on which the sins of the people had been acknowledged in the general fast, and in which they had been symbolically expiated by the entrance of the high-priest into the holy of holies with the blood of the appointed victims.

or merely a *justitium* for the year, will be considered under SABBATICAL YEAR.

<sup>27</sup> The words of Isaiah (v. 7-10) may, it would seem with more distinctness, be understood to the same effect, as denouncing war against those who had unrighteously hindered the Jubilee from effecting its object.

<sup>28</sup> Is there not a difficulty in considering this passage to have any bearing on the Jubilee, from its relating, apparently, to a priest's field? (See §II. 2 (e).) At all events, the transaction was merely the transfer of land from one member of a family to another, with a recognition of a preference allowed to a near relation to purchase. The case mentioned Ruth iv. 3, appears to go further in illustrating the Jubilee principle.—Naomi is about to sell a field of Elimelech's property. Boaz proposes to the next of kin to purchase it of her, in order to prevent it from going out of the family, and on his refusal, takes it himself, as having the next right.

Hence also the deeper ground of the provisions of the institution is stated with marked emphasis in the law itself.—The land was to be restored to the families to which it had been at first allotted by divine direction (Josh. xiv. 2), because it was the Lord's. "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. xxv. 23). "I am the Lord your God which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God" (ver. 38).—The Hebrew bondman was to have the privilege of claiming his liberty as a right, because he could never become the property of any one but Jehovah. "For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen" (ver. 42). "For unto me the children of Israel are servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt" (ver. 55).

If regarded from an ordinary point of view, the Jubilee was calculated to meet and remedy those incidents which are inevitable in the course of human society; to prevent the accumulation of inordinate wealth in the hands of a few; and to relieve those whom misfortune or fault had reduced to poverty. As far as legislation could go, its provisions tended to restore that equality in outward circumstances which was instituted in the first settlement of the land by Joshua.\* But if we look upon it in its more special character, as a part of the divine law appointed for the chosen people, its practical bearing was to vindicate the right of each Israelite to his part in the covenant which Jehovah had made with his fathers respecting the land of promise. The loud notes of the Jubilee horns symbolised the voice of the Lord proclaiming the restoration of political order, as (according to Jewish tradition) the blast in the Feast of Trumpets had, ten days before, commemorated the creation of the world and the completion of the material kosmos.

In the incurable uncertainty respecting the fact of the observance of the Jubilee, it is important that we should keep in mind that the record of the law, whether it was obeyed or not, was, and is, a constant witness for the truth of those great social principles on which the theocracy was established.† Moreover, from the allusions which are made to it by the prophets, it must have become a standing prophecy in the hearts of the devout Hebrews. They who waited in faith for the salvation of Israel were kept in mind of that spiritual Jubilee which

was to come (Luke. iv. 19), in which every one of the spiritual seed of Abraham was to have, in the sight of God, an equality which no accident could ever disturb; and a glorious freedom, in that liberty with which He that was to come was to make him free, and which no force or fraud could ever take from him.

[There are several monographs on the Jubilee, of which Kranold has given a catalogue. There is a treatise by Maimonides, *de Anno Sabbatico et Jubilæo*. Of more recent works, the most important are that of J. T. Kranold himself, *Commentatio de anno Hebræorum Jubilæo*, Göttingen, 1837, 4to, and that of Carpov, first published in 1730, but afterwards incorporated in the *Apparatus Historico Criticus*, p. 447, sq.; Ewald (*Altenthümer*, p. 415, sq.) and Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. ii. p. 572, sq.), but especially the latter, have treated the subject in a very instructive manner. Hupfeld (*Commentatio de Hebræorum Festis*, pt. iii. 1852) has lately dealt with it in a wilful and reckless style of criticism. Of other writers, those who appear to have done most to illustrate the Jubilee, are Cunaeus (*de Rep. Hebr.* c. ii. §iv., in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix. p. 378, sq.), and Michaelis (*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, vol. i. p. 376, sq., English translation. Vitringa notices the prophetic bearing of the Jubilee in lib. iv. c. 4, of the *Observationes Sacrae*. Lightfoot (*Harmon. Evang.* in Luc. iv. 19) pursues the subject in a fanciful manner, and makes out that Christ suffered in a Jubilee year. For this he is well rebuked by Carpov (*App. Hist. Crit.* p. 468). Schubert (*Symbolik des Traums*) has followed in nearly the same track, and has been answered by Bähr.] [S.C.]

JU'CAL (יִּזְחָל: 'isāḥal: *Juchal*), son of Shelemiah (Jer. xxxviii. 1). Elsewhere called JEHU'CAL.

JU'DA ('יֹדָא, i. e. Judas; 'יֹדָא being only the genitive case).

1. Son of Joseph in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 30), in the ninth generation from David, about the time of king Josiah.

2. Son of JOAHAN, or HANANIAH [HANANIAH, 8] (Luke iii. 26). He seems to be certainly the same person as Abiud in Matt. i. 13. His name, יְהוֹדָה, is identical with that of יְהוֹדָה, only that אֵל is prefixed; and when Rhema is discarded from Luke's line, and allowance is made for St. Matthew's omis-

sion, and that disputed claims might be, as far as possible, authoritatively met.

Its effect in maintaining the distinction of the tribes is illustrated in the appeal made by the tribe of Manasseh in regard to the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxxvi. 4). The sense of the passage is, however, obscured in most versions. It is, "And even when the Jubilee comes, their inheritance will be in another tribe." The rendering the participle *etiam* is satisfactorily vindicated by Kranold, p. 33.

As regards the reason of the exception of houses in towns from the law of Jubilee, Bähr has observed that, as they were chiefly inhabited by artificers and tradesmen, whose wealth did not consist in lands, it was reasonable that they should retain them in absolute possession. It has been conjectured that many of these tradesmen were foreign proselytes, who could not hold property in the land which was subject to the law of Jubilee.

† This view is powerfully set forth by Bähr.

\* The foundation of the law of Jubilee, appears to be so essentially connected with the children of Israel, that it seems strange that Michaelis should have confidently affirmed its Egyptian origin, while yet he acknowledges that he can produce no specific evidence on the subject (*Mos. Law*, art. 73). The only well-proved instance of anything like it in other nations appears to be that of the Dalmatians, mentioned by Strabo, lib. vii. (p. 315, edit. Casaub.). He says that they redistributed their land every eight years. Ewald, following the statement of Plutarch, refers to the institution of Lycurgus; but Mr. Grote has given another view of the matter (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 530).

† A collateral result of the working of the Jubilee must have been the preservation of the genealogical tables, and the maintenance of the distinction of the tribes. Ewald and Michaelis suppose that the tables were systematically corrected and filled up at each Jubilee. This seems reasonable enough, in order that the fresh names might be filled in, that irregularities arising from the dying out of families might

sion of generations in his genealogy, their times will agree perfectly. Both may be the same as Hodaiah of 1 Chr. iii. 24. See Hervey's *Genealogies*, p. 118, sqq.

3. One of the Lord's brethren, enumerated in Mark vi. 3. [JOSIAS; JOSEPH.] On the question of his identity with Jude the brother of James, one of the twelve Apostles (Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13), and with the author of the general Epistle, see p. 1163, seq. In Matt. xiii. 55 his name is given in the A. V. as JUDAS.

4. The patriarch JUDAH (Sus. 56; Luke iii. 33; Heb. vii. 14; Rev. v. 5, vii. 5). [A. C. H.]

JUDAEA or JUDEA (Ἰουδαία), a territorial division which succeeded to the overthrow of the ancient landmarks of the tribes of Israel and Judah in their respective captivities. The word first occurs Dan. v. 13 (A. V. "Jewry"), and the first mention of the "province of Judaea" is in the book of Ezra (v. 8); it is alluded to in Neh. xi. 3 (Hebr. and A. V. "Judah"), and was the result of the division of the Persian empire mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 89-97.), under Darius (comp. Esth. viii. 9; Dan. vi. 1). In the Apocryphal Books the word "province" is dropped, and throughout the books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, the expressions are the "land of Judaea," "Judaea" (A. V. frequently "Jewry") and throughout the N. T. In the words of Josephus, "The Jews made preparations for the work (of rebuilding the walls under Nehemiah)—a name which they received forthwith on their return from Babylon, from the tribe of Judah, which being the first to arrive in those parts, gave name both to the inhabitants and the territory" (*Ant.* xi. 5, §7). But other tribes also returned from Babylon, such as the tribes of Benjamin and Levi (Ezr. i. 5, and x. 5-9; Neh. xi. 4-36); scattered remnants of the "children of Ephraim and Manasseh" (1 Chr. ix. 3), or "Israel," as they are elsewhere called (Ezr. ii. 70, iii. 1, and x. 5; Neh. vii. 73), and others whose pedigree was not ascertainable (Ezr. ii. 59). In fact so many returned that in the case of the sin-offering the number of he-goats offered was twelve, according to the original number of the tribes (*Ibid.* vi. 17, see also viii. 35). There had indeed been more or less of an amalgamation from the days of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx-xxxi.), which continued ever afterwards, down to the very days of our Lord. Anna, wife of Phanuel, for instance, was of the tribe of Asher (St. Luke ii. 36), St. Paul of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. xi. 1), St. Barnabas, a Levite, and so forth (Acts iv. 36; comp. Acts xxvi. 7; and Prideaux, *Connection*, vol. i. p. 128-30, ed. McCaul.) On the other hand the schismatical temple upon Mount Gerizim drew many of the disaffected Jews from their own proper country (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8); Nazareth, a city of Galilee, was the residence of our Lord's own parents; Bethesda, that of three of His Apostles; the borders of the sea of Galilee generally, that of most of them. The scene of His preaching—intended as it was, during His earthly ministry, for the lost sheep of the house of Israel, was, with the exception of the last part of it, confined to Galilee. His disciples are addressed by the two Angels subsequently to his Ascension, as "the men of Galilee" (Acts i. 11), and it was asked by the multitude that came together in wonder on the day of Pentecost, "Are not all these, who speak, Galileans?" (Acts ii. 7.) Thus, neither did all who were Jews inhabit that limited

territory called Judaea; nor again was Judaea inhabited solely by that tribe which gave name to it, or even in sole conjunction with Benjamin and Levi.

Once more as regards the territory. In a wide and more improper sense, the term Judaea was sometimes extended to the whole country of the Canaanites, its ancient inhabitants (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §2); and even in the Gospels we seem to read of the coasts of Judaea beyond Jordan (St. Matt. xix. 1; St. Mark x. 1), a phrase perhaps countenanced by Josephus no less (*Ant.* xii. 4, §11; comp. Josh. xix. 34), if the usual rendering of these passages is to be followed (see Reland, *Palest.* i. 6), "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry (καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας) beginning from Galilee, unto this place," said the chief priests of our Lord (St. Luke xxiii. 5). With Ptolemy, moreover (see Reland, *Ibid.*), and with Dion Cassius (xxxviii. 16), Judaea is synonymous with Palestine-Syria; the latter adding that the term Palestine had given place to it. With Strabo (xvi. p. 760 seq.) it is the common denomination for the whole inland country between Gaza and Anti-Libanus, thus including Galilee and Samaria. Similarly, the Jews, according to Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6), occupied the country between Arabia on the E., Egypt on the S., Phoenicia and the sea on the W., and Syria on the N.; and by the same writer both Pompey and Titus are said to have conquered Judaea, the other and less important divisions of course included.

Still, notwithstanding all these large significations which have been affixed to it, Judaea was, in strict language, the name of the thirteenth district, west of the Jordan, and south of Samaria. Its northern boundary, according to Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, §5) was a village called Ananthe, its southern another village named Jaidas. Its general breadth was from the Jordan to Joppa, though its coast did not end there, and it was latterly subdivided into eleven lots or portions, with Jerusalem for their centre (Joseph. *Ibid.*). In a word it embodied "the original territories of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with Dan and Simeon; being almost the same with the old kingdom of Judah, and about 100 miles in length and 60 in breadth" (Lewis, *Heb. Republ.* i. 2).

It was made a portion of the Roman province of Syria upon the deposition of Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judaea in A.D. 6, and was governed by a procurator, who was subject to the governor of Syria. The procurator resided at Caesarea on the coast, and not at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §5; xviii. 1, §1; 2, §1; 3, §1). Its history as a Roman province is related under JERUSALEM (p. 1008, seq.), and the physical features of the country are described in the article PALESTINE. [E. S. FF.]

JU'DAH (יְהוּדָה), i. e. Yehûdā: Ἰουδᾶν in Gen. xix. 35; Alex. Ἰούδα; elsewhere Ἰούδας in both MSS. and in N. T.; and so also Josephus: *Juda*), the fourth son of Jacob and the fourth of Leah, the last before the temporary cessation in the births of her children. His whole-brothers were Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, elder than himself—Issachar and Zebulun younger (see xxxv. 23). The name is explained as having originated in Leah's exclamation of "praise" at this fresh gift of Jehovah—"She said, 'now will I praise (יְהוָה, ôdeh) Jehovah,' and she called his name Yehudah" (Gen. xxix. 35). The same play is preserved in the blessing of Jacob—"Judah,

thou whom thy brethren shall praise!" (xlix. 8). The name is not of frequent occurrence in the O. T. In the Apocrypha, however, it appears in the great hero Judas Maccabæus; in the N. T. in Jude, Judas Iscariot, and others. [JUDA; JUDAS.]

Of the individual Judah more traits are preserved than of any other of the patriarchs with the exception of Joseph. In the matter of the sale of Joseph, he and Reuben stand out in favourable contrast to the rest of the brothers. But for their interference he, who was "their brother and their flesh," would have been certainly put to death. Though not the firstborn he "prevailed above his brethren" (1 Chr. v. 2), and we find him subsequently taking a decided lead in all the affairs of the family. When a second visit to Egypt for corn had become inevitable, it was Judah who, as the mouthpiece of the rest, headed the remonstrance against the detention of Benjamin by Jacob, and finally undertook to be responsible for the safety of the lad (xliii. 3-10). And when, through Joseph's artifice, the brothers were brought back to the palace, he is again the leader and spokesman of the band. In that thoroughly Oriental scene it is Judah who unhesitatingly acknowledges the guilt which had never been committed, throws himself on the mercy of the supposed Egyptian prince, offers himself as a slave, and makes that wonderful appeal to the feelings of their disguised brother which renders it impossible for Joseph any longer to conceal his secret (xliv. 14, 16-34). So too it is Judah who is sent before Jacob to smooth the way for him in the land of Goshen (xvi. 28). This ascendancy over his brethren is reflected in the last words addressed to him by his father—"Thou whom thy brethren shall praise! thy father's sons shall bow down before thee! unto him shall be the gathering of the people" (Gen. xlix. 8-10).<sup>a</sup> In the interesting traditions of the Koran and the Midrash his figure stands out in the same prominence. Before Joseph his wrath is mightier and his recognition heartier than the rest. It is he who hastens in advance to bear to Jacob the fragrant robe of Joseph (Weil's *Biblical Legends*, 88-90).

His sons were five. Of these three were by his Canaanite wife Bath-shua; they are all insignificant, two died early, and the third, SHELAH, does not come prominently forward, either in his person, or his family. The other two, PHAREZ and ZERAH—twins—were illegitimate sons by the widow of Er, the eldest of the former family. As is not unfrequently the case, the illegitimate sons surpassed the legitimate, and from Pharez, the elder, were descended the royal, and other illustrious families of Judah. These sons were born to Judah while he was living in the same district of Palestine, which, centuries after, was repossessed by his descendants—amongst villages which retain their names unaltered in the catalogues of the time of the conquest. The three sons went with their father into Egypt at the time of the final removal thither (Gen. xvi. 12; Ex. i. 2).

When we again meet with the families of Judah they occupy a position among the tribes similar to that which their progenitor had taken amongst the patriarchs. The numbers of the tribe at the census at Sinai were 74,600 (Num. i. 26, 27), considerably in advance of any of the others, the largest of which—Dan—numbered 62,700. On the borders

of the Promised Land they were 76,500 (xxvi. 23), Dan being still the nearest. The chief of the tribe at the former census was NAHSION, the son of Amminadab (Num. i. 7, ii. 8, vii. 12, x. 14), an ancestor of David (Ruth iv. 20). Its representative amongst the spies, and also among those appointed to partition the land, was the great Caleb the son of Jephunneh (Num. xiii. 6; xxxiv. 19). During the march through the desert Judah's place was in the van of the host, on the east side of the Tabernacle, with his kinsmen Issachar and Zebulun (ii. 3-9; x. 14). The traditional standard of the tribe was a lion's whelp, with the words, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered! (Targ. Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3).

During the conquest of the country the only incidents specially affecting the tribe of Judah are—(1) the misbehaviour of Achai, who was of the great house of Zerah (Josh. vi. 1, 16-18); and (2) the conquest of the mountain-district of Hebron by Caleb, and of the strong city Debir, in the same locality, by his nephew and son-in-law Othniel (Josh. xiv. 8-15, xv. 13-19). It is the only instance given of a portion of the country being expressly reserved for the person or persons who conquered it. In general the conquest seems to have been made by the whole community, and the territory allotted afterwards, without reference to the original conquerors of each locality. In this case the high character and position of Caleb, and perhaps a claim established by him at the time of the visit of the spies to "the land whereon his feet had trodden" (Josh. xiv. 9; comp. Num. xiv. 24), may have led to the exception.

The boundaries and contents of the territory allotted to Judah are narrated at great length, and with greater minuteness than the others, in Josh. xv. 20-63. This may be due either to the fact that the lists were reduced to their present form at a later period, when the monarchy resided with Judah, and when more care would naturally be bestowed on them than on those of any other tribe; or to the fact that the territory was more important and more thickly covered with towns and villages than any other part of Palestine. The greater prominence given to the genealogies of Judah in 1 Chr. ii. iii. iv. no doubt arises from the former reason. However this may be, we have in the records of Joshua a very full and systematic description of the allotment to this tribe. The north boundary—for the most part coincident with the south boundary of Benjamin—began at the embouchure of the Jordan, entered the hills apparently at, or about the present road from Jericho, ran westward to En-shemesh—probably the present *Ain-Haud*—below Bethany—thence over the Mount of Olives to *Erwogel*, in the valley beneath Jerusalem; went along the ravine of Hinnom, under the precipices of the city, climbed the hill in a N. W. direction to the water of Nephtoah (probably *Lifta*), and thence by Kijath-Jearim (probably *Kuriet el-Enab*), Bethshemesh (*Ain-Shems*), Timnath, and Ekron to Jabneel on the sea-coast. On the east the Dead Sea, and on the west the Mediterranean formed the boundaries. The southern line is hard to determine, since it is denoted by places many of which have not been identified. It left the Dead Sea at its extreme south end, and joined the Mediterranean at the *Wady el-Arish*; but between these two points it passed through Maaleh Acraabim, the Wilderness of Zin, Hezron, Adar, Karkar, and Azmon; the Wilderness of Zin the extreme south

<sup>a</sup> The obscure and much disputed passage in verse 10 will be best examined under the head SULLON.

of all (Josh. xv. 1-12). This territory—in average length about 45 miles, and in average breadth about 50—was from a very early date divided into four main regions. (1.) **THE SOUTH**—the undulating pasture country, which intervened between the hills, the proper possession of the tribe, and the deserts which encompass the lower part of Palestine (Josh. xv. 21; Stanley, *S. & P.*). It is this which is to be designated as the wilderness (*midbar*) of Judah (Judg. i. 16). It contained thirty-seven cities, with their dependent villages (Josh. xv. 20-32), of which eighteen of those farthest south were ceded to Simeon (xix. 1-9). Amongst these southern cities the most familiar name is Beersheba.

(2.) **THE LOWLAND** (xv. 33; A. V. "valley")—or, to give it its own proper and constant appellation, **THE SHEFELAH**—the broad belt or strip lying between the central highlands—"the mountain"—and the Mediterranean Sea; the lower portion of that maritime plain, which extends through the whole of the sea board of Palestine, from Sidon in the north, to Rhinocolura at the south. This tract was the garden and the granary of the tribe. In it, long before the conquest of the country by Israel, the Philistines had settled themselves, never to be completely dislodged (Neh. xiii. 23, 24). There, planted at equal intervals along the level coast, were their five chief cities, each with its circle of smaller dependents, overlooking, from the natural undulations of the ground, the "standing corn," "shocks," "vineyards and olives," which excited the ingenuity of Samson, and are still remarkable by modern travellers. "They are all remarkable for the beauty and profusion of the gardens which surround them—the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranates, the enormous oranges which gild the green foliage of their famous groves" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 257). From the edge of the sandy tract, which fringes the immediate shore right up to the very wall of the hills of Judah, stretches the immense plain of corn-fields. In those rich harvests lies the explanation of the constant contests between Israel and the Philistines (*S. & P.* 258). From them were gathered the enormous cargoes of wheat, which were transmitted to Phœnicia by Solomon in exchange for the arts of Hiram, and which in the time of the Herods still "nourished" the country of Tyre and Sidon (Acts xii. 20). There were the olive trees, the sycamore trees, and the treasures of oil, the care of which was sufficient to task the energies of two of David's special officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). The nature of this locality would seem to be reflected in the names of many of its towns if interpreted as Hebrew words:—**DILKAN** = cucumbers; **GEDGRAH**, **GEDEROTH**, **GEDEROTHAIM**, sheepfolds; **ZOREAH**, wasps; **EX-GANNIM**, spring of gardens, &c. &c. But we have yet to learn how far these names are Hebrew; and whether at best they are but mere Hebrew accommodations of earlier originals, and therefore not to be depended on for their significations. The number of cities in this district, without counting the smaller villages connected with them, was forty-two. Of these, however, many which belonged to

the Philistines can only have been allotted to the tribe, and if taken possession of by Judah were only held for a time.

What were the exact boundaries of the Shefelah we do not know. We are at present ignorant of the principles on which the ancient Jews drew their boundaries between one territory and another. One thing only is almost certain that they were not determined by the natural features of the ground, or else we should not find cities enumerated as in the lowland plain, whose modern representatives are found deep in the mountains. [**JARMUTH**; **JIPHTEH**, &c.] (The latest information regarding this district is contained in Tobler's *3tte Wanderung*, 1859.)

(3.) The third region of the tribe—**THE MOUNTAIN**, the "hill-country of Judah"—though not the richest, was at once the largest and the most important of the four. Beginning a few miles below Hebron, where it attains its highest level, it stretches eastward to the Dead Sea and westward to the Shefelah, and forms an elevated district or plateau, which, though thrown into considerable undulations, yet preserves a general level in both directions. It is the southern portion of that elevated hilly district of Palestine which stretches north until intersected by the plain of Eschelon, and on which Hebron, Jerusalem, and Shechem are the chief spots. The surface of this region, which is of limestone, is monotonous enough. Round swelling hills and hollows, of somewhat bolder proportions than those immediately north of Jerusalem, which, though in early times probably covered with forests [**HARETH**], have now, where not cultivated, no growth larger than a brushwood of dwarf-oak, arbutus, and other bushes. In many places there is a good soft turf, discoverable even in the autumn, and in spring the hills are covered with flowers. The number of towns enumerated (Josh. xv. 48-60) as belonging to this district is 38; but, if we may judge from the ruins which meet the eye on every side, this must have been very far below the real number. Hardly a hill which is not crowned by some fragments of stone buildings, more or less considerable,—those which are still inhabited surrounded by groves of olive-trees, and enclosures of stone walls protecting the vineyards. Streams there are none, but wells and springs are frequent—in the neighbourhood of "Solomon's Pools" at *Urtas* most abundant.

(4.) The fourth district is **THE WILDERNESS** (*Midbar*), which here and here only appears to be synonymous with *Arabah*, and to signify the sunken district immediately adjoining the Dead Sea. It contained only six cities, which must have been either, like Engedi, on the slopes of the cliffs overhanging the Sea, or else on the lower level of the shore. The "city of Salt" may have been on the salt plains, between the sea and the cliffs which form the southern termination to the *Ghor*.<sup>b</sup>

Nine of the cities of Judah were allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 9-19). The Levites had no<sup>c</sup> cities in the tribe, and the priests had none out of it.

In the partition of the territory by Joshua and

<sup>b</sup> On the words "Judah on Jordan," used in describing the Eastern termination of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34), critics have strained their ingenuity to prove that Judah had some possessions in that remote locality either by allotment or inheritance. See the elaborate attempt of Von Raumer (*Pol.* 405-410) to show that the villages of Jair are intended. But the difficulty—*maximus atque insolubilis nodus*,

*qui plurimos interpretes torsit*—has defied every attempt; and the suggestion of Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 380, note) is the most feasible—that the passage is corrupt, and that Cinneroth or some other word originally occupied the place of "at Judah."

<sup>c</sup> But Bethlehem appears to have been closely connected with them (Judg. xvii. 7, 9; xix. 1).

Eleazar (Josh. xix. 51), Judah had the first allotment (xv. 1). Joshua had on his first entrance into the country overrun the Shefelah, destroyed some of the principal towns and killed the kings (x. 28-35), and had even penetrated thence into the mountains as far as Hebron and Debir (36-39); but the task of really subjugating the interior was yet to be done. After his death it was undertaken by Judah and Simeon (Judg. i. 20). In the artificial contrivances of war they were surpassed by the Canaanites, and in some places,<sup>d</sup> where the ground admitted of their iron chariots being employed, the latter remained masters of the field. But wherever force and vigour were in question there the Israelites succeeded, and they obtained entire possession of the mountain district and the great corn-growing tract of Philistia (Judg. i. 18, 19). The latter was constantly changing hands as one or the other side got stronger (1 Sam. iv. v., vii. 14, &c.); but in the natural fortresses of the mountains Judah dwelt undisturbed throughout the troubled period of the Judges. OTNIEL was partly a member of the tribe (Judg. iii. 9), and the Bethlehem of which HIZAN was a native (xii. 8, 9) may have been Bethlehem-Judah. But even if these two judges belonged to Judah, the tribe itself was not molested, and with the one exception mentioned in Judg. xx. 19, when they were called by the divine oracle to make the attack on Gibeah, they had nothing to do during the whole of that period but settle themselves in their home. Not only did they take no part against Sisera, but they are not even rebuked for it by Deborah.

Nor were they disturbed by the incursions of the Philistines during the rule of Samuel and of Saul, which were made through the territory of Dan and of Benjamin; or if we place the valley of ELAH at the *Wady es-Sunt*, only on the outskirts of the mountains of Judah. On the last named occasion, however, we know that at least one town of Judah—Bethlehem—furnished men to Saul's host. The incidents of David's flight from Saul will be found examined under the heads of DAVID, SAUL, MAON, HACHILAH, &c.

The main inference deducible from these considerations is the determined manner in which the tribe keeps aloof from the rest—neither offering its aid nor asking that of others. The same independent mode of action characterises the foundation of the monarchy after the death of Saul. There was no attempt to set up a rival power to Ishbosheth. The tribe had had full experience of the man who had been driven from the court to take shelter in the caves, woods, and fastnesses of their wild hills, and when the opportunity offered, "the men of Judah came and anointed David king over the house of Judah in Hebron" (2 Sam. ii. 4, 11). The further step by which David was invested with the sovereignty of the whole nation was taken by the other tribes; Judah having no special part therein; and though willing enough, if occasion rendered it necessary, to act with others, their conduct later, when brought into collision with Ephraim on the matter of the restoration of David, shows that the men of Judah had preserved their independent mode of action. The king was near of kin to them: and therefore they, and they alone, set about bringing him back. It had been their own

affair, to be accomplished by themselves alone, and they had gone about it in that independent manner, which looked like "despising" those who believed their share in David to be a far larger one (2 Sam. xix. 41-43).

The same independent temper will be found to characterise the tribe throughout its existence as a kingdom, which is considered in the following article.

2. A Levite whose descendants, Kadmiel and his sons, were very active in the work of rebuilding the Temple after the return from captivity (Ezr. iii. 9). Lord Hervey has shown cause for believing (*Genealogies*, &c., 119) that the name is the same as HODAVIAH and HODEVAH. In 1 Esd. v. 58, it appears to be given as JODA.

3. (*Ἰούδας*, *Ioudas*). A Levite who was obliged by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 23). Probably the same person is intended in Neh. xii. 8, 36. In 1 Esd. his name is given as JUDAS.

4. A Benjamite, son of Senuah (Neh. xi. 9). It is worth notice, in connexion with the suggestion of Lord Hervey mentioned above, that in the lists of 1 Chr. ix. in many points so curiously parallel to those of this chapter, a Benjamite, Hodaviah, son of Has-senuah, is given (ver. 7). [G.]

**JUDAH, KINGDOM OF.** 1. When the disruption of Solomon's kingdom took place at Shechem, only the tribe of Judah followed the house of David. But almost immediately afterwards, when Rehoboam conceived the design of establishing his authority over Israel by force of arms, the tribe of Benjamin also is recorded as obeying his summons, and contributing its warriors to make up his army. Jerusalem, situate within the borders of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28, &c.), yet won from the henchmen by a prince of Judah, connected the frontiers of the two tribes by an indissoluble political bond. By the erection of the city of David, Benjamin's former adherence to Israel (2 Sam. ii. 9) was cancelled; though at least two Benjamite towns, Bethel and Jericho, were included in the northern kingdom. A part, if not all, of the territory of Simeon (1 Sam. xxvii. 6; 1 K. xix. 3; cf. Josh. xix. 1) and of Dan (2 Chr. xi. 10; cf. Josh. xix. 41, 42) was recognised as belonging to Judah; and in the reigns of Abijah and Asa, the southern kingdom was enlarged by some additions taken out of the territory of Ephraim (2 Chr. xiii. 19, xv. 8, xvii. 2). After the conquest and deportation of Israel by Assyria, the influence, and perhaps the delegated jurisdiction of the king of Judah sometimes extended over the territory which formerly belonged to Israel.

2. In Edom a vassal-king probably retained his fidelity to the son of Solomon, and guarded for Jewish enterprise the road to the maritime trade with Ophir. Philistia maintained for the most part a quiet independence. Syria, in the height of her brief power, pushed her conquests along the northern and eastern frontiers of Judah and threatened Jerusalem; but the interposition of the territory of Israel generally relieved Judah from any immediate contact with that dangerous neighbour. The southern border of Judah, resting on the uninhabited Desert, was not agitated by any turbulent stream of commercial activity like that which flowed by the rear of Israel, from Damascus to

<sup>d</sup> The word here (Judg. i. 19) is *Emek*, entirely a different word from *Shefelah*, and rightly rendered "valley." It is difficult, however, to fix upon any

"valley" in this region sufficiently important to be alluded to. Can it be the valley of ELAH, where contests with the Philistines took place later?

Tyre. And though some of the Egyptian kings were ambitious, that ancient kingdom was far less aggressive as a neighbour to Judah than Assyria was to Israel.

3. A singular gauge of the growth of the kingdom of Judah is supplied by the progressive augmentation of the army under successive kings. In David's time (2 Sam. xxiv. 9, and 1 Chr. xxi. 5) the warriors of Judah numbered at least 500,000. But Rehoboam brought into the field (1 K. xii. 21) only 180,000 men: Abijah, eighteen years afterwards, 400,000 (2 Chr. xiii. 3): Asa (2 Chr. xiv. 8), his successor, 580,000, exactly equal to the sum of the armies of his two predecessors: Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 14-19), the next king, numbered his warriors in five armies, the aggregate of which is 1,160,000, exactly double the army of his father, and exactly equal to the sum of the armies of his three predecessors. After four inglorious reigns the energetic Amaziah could muster only 300,000 men when he set out to recover Edom. His son Uzziah had a standing (2 Chr. xxvi. 11) force of 307,500 fighting men. It would be out of place here to discuss the question which has been raised as to the accuracy of these numbers. So far as they are authentic, it may be safely reckoned that the population subject to each king was about four times the number of the fighting men in his dominions. [ISRAEL.]

4. Unless Judah had some other means beside pasture and tillage of acquiring wealth; as by maritime commerce from the Red Sea ports, or (less probably) from Joppa, or by keeping up the old trade (1 K. x. 28) with Egypt—it seems difficult to account for that ability to accumulate wealth, which supplied the Temple treasury with sufficient store to invite so frequently the hand of the spoiler. Egypt, Damascus, Samaria, Nineveh, and Babylon, had each in succession a share of the pillage. The treasury was emptied by Shishak (1 K. xiv. 26), again by Asa (1 K. xv. 18), by Jehoash of Judah (2 K. xii. 18), by Jehoash of Israel (2 K. xiv. 14), by Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 8), by Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 15), and by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 13).

5. The kingdom of Judah possessed many advantages which secured for it a longer continuance than that of Israel. A frontier less exposed to powerful enemies, a soil less fertile, a population harder and more united, a fixed and venerated centre of administration and religion, an hereditary aristocracy in the sacerdotal caste, an army always subordinate, a succession of kings which no revolution interrupted, many of whom were wise and good, and strove successfully to promote the moral and spiritual as well as the material prosperity of their people; still more than these, the devotion of the people to the One True God, which if not always a pure and elevated sentiment, was yet a contrast to such devotion as could be inspired by the worship of the calves or of Baal; and lastly the popular reverence for and obedience to the Divine law so far as they learned it from their teachers:—to these and other secondary causes is to be attributed the fact that Judah survived her more populous and more powerful sister kingdom by 135 years; and lasted from B.C. 975 to B.C. 586.

6. The chronological succession of the kings of Judah is given in the article ISRAEL. A few difficulties of no great importance have been discovered in the statements of the ages of some of the kings. They are explained in the works cited in that article and in Keil's *Commentary on the Book of*

*Kings*. A detailed history of each king will be found under his name.

Judah acted upon three different lines of policy in succession. First, animosity against Israel: secondly, resistance, generally in alliance with Israel, to Damascus: thirdly, deference, perhaps vassalage to the Assyrian king.

(a.) The first three kings of Judah seem to have cherished the hope of re-establishing their authority over the Ten Tribes; for sixty years there was war between them and the kings of Israel. Neither the disbanding of Rehoboam's forces by the authority of Shemaiah, nor the pillage of Jerusalem by the irresistible Shishak, served to put an end to the fraternal hostility. The victory achieved by the daring Abijah brought to Judah a temporary accession of territory. Asa appears to have enlarged it still farther; and to have given so powerful a stimulus to the migration of religious Israelites to Jerusalem, that Baasha was induced to fortify Ramah with the view of checking the movement. Asa provided for the safety of his subjects from invaders by building, like Rehoboam, several fenced cities; he repelled an alarming irruption of an Ethiopian horde; he hired the armed intervention of Benhadad I., king of Damascus, against Baasha; and he discouraged idolatry and enforced the worship of the true God by severe penal laws.

(b.) Hananiah's remonstrance (2 Chr. xvi. 7) prepares us for the reversal by Jehoshaphat of the policy which Asa pursued towards Israel and Damascus. A close alliance sprang up with strange rapidity between Judah and Israel. For eighty years, till the time of Amaziah, there was no open war between them, and Damascus appears as their chief and common enemy; though it rose afterwards from its overthrow to become under Rezin the ally of Pekah against Ahaz. Jehoshaphat, active and prosperous, repelled nomad invaders from the desert, curbed the aggressive spirit of his nearer neighbours, and made his influence felt even among the Philistines and Arabians. A still more lasting benefit was conferred on his kingdom by his persevering efforts for the religious instruction of the people, and the regular administration of justice. The reign of Jehoram, the husband of Athaliah, a time of bloodshed, idolatry, and disaster, was cut short by disease. Ahaziah was slain by Jehu. Athaliah, the granddaughter of a Tyrian king, usurped the blood-stained throne of David, till the followers of the ancient religion put her to death, and crowned Jehoash the surviving scion of the royal house. His preserver, the high-priest, acquired prominent personal influence for a time, but the king fell into idolatry, and failing to withstand the power of Syria, was murdered by his own officers. The vigorous Amaziah, flushed with the recovery of Edom, provoked a war with his more powerful contemporary Jehoash the conqueror of the Syrians; and Jerusalem was entered and plundered by the Israelites. But their energies were sufficiently occupied in the task of completing the subjugation of Damascus. Under Uzziah and Jotham, Judah long enjoyed political and religious prosperity till the wanton Ahaz, surrounded by united enemies, with whom he was unable to cope, became in an evil hour the tributary and vassal of Tiglath-Pileser.

(c.) Already in the fatal grasp of Assyria, Judah was yet spared for a chequered existence of almost another century and a half after the termination of the kingdom of Israel. The effect of the repulse

of Sennacherib, of the signal religious revival under Hezekiah and under Josiah, and of the extension of their salutary influence over the long-severed territory of Israel, was apparently done away by the ignominious reign of the impious Manasseh, and the lingering decay of the whole people under the four feeble descendants of Josiah. Provoked by their treachery and imbecility, their Assyrian master drained in successive deportations all the strength of the kingdom. The consummation of the ruin came upon them in the destruction of the Temple by the hand of Nebuzardan, amid the wailings of prophets, and the taunts of heathen tribes released at length from the yoke of David.

7. The national life of the Hebrews seemed now extinct; but there was still, as there had been all along, a spiritual life hidden within the body.

It was a time of hopeless darkness to all but those Jews who had strong faith in God, with a clear and steady insight into the ways of Providence as interpreted by prophecy. The time of the division of the kingdoms was the golden age of prophecy. In each kingdom the prophetic office was subject to peculiar modifications which were required in Judah by the circumstances of the priesthood, in Israel by the existence of the House of Baal and the Altar in Bethel. If, under the shadow of the Temple, there was a depth and a grasp elsewhere unequalled, in the views of Isaiah and the prophets of Judah, if their writings touched and elevated the hearts of thinking men in studious retirement in the silent night-watches; there was also, in the few burning words and energetic deeds of the prophets of Israel, a power to tame a lawless multitude and to check the high-handed tyranny and idolatry of kings. The organization and moral influence of the priesthood were matured in the time of David; from about that time to the building of the second Temple the influence of the prophets rose and became predominant. Some historians have suspected that after the reign of Athaliah, the priesthood gradually acquired and retained excessive and unconstitutional power in Judah. The recorded facts scarcely sustain the conjecture. Had it been so, the effect of such power would have been manifest in the exorbitant wealth and luxury of the priests; and in the constant and cruel enforcement of penal laws, like those of Ass, against irreligion. But the peculiar offices of the priesthood, as witnessed in the prophetic writings, were of another kind. Ignorance of God's word, neglect of the instruction of the laity, untruthfulness, and partial judgments, are the offenses specially imputed to them, just such as might be looked for where the priesthood is an hereditary caste and irresponsible, but neither ambitious nor powerful. When the priest either, as was the case in Israel, abandoned the land, or, as in Judah, ceased to be really a teacher, ceased from spiritual communion with God, ceased from living sympathy with man, and became the mere image of an intercessor, a mechanical performer of ceremonial duties little understood or heeded by himself, then the prophet was raised up to supply some of his deficiencies, and to exercise his functions so far as was necessary. Whilst the priests sink into obscurity and almost disappear, except from the genealogical tables, the prophets come forward appealing everywhere to the conscience of individuals, in Israel as wonder-workers, calling together God's chosen few out of an idolatrous nation, and in Judah as teachers and seers,

supporting and purifying all that remained of ancient piety, explaining each mysterious dispensation of God as it was unfolded, and promulgating his gracious spiritual promises in all their extent. The part which Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophets took in preparing the Jews for their captivity, cannot indeed be fully appreciated without reviewing the succeeding efforts of Ezekiel and Daniel. But the influence which they exercised on the national mind was too important to be overlooked in a sketch however brief of the history of the kingdom of Judah. [W. T. B.]

JU'DAS ('Ιούδας), the Greek form of the Hebrew name JUDAH, occurring in the LXX. and N. T. [JUDAH.]

1. 1 Esd. ix. 23. [JUDAH, 3.]

2. The third son of Mattathias, "called Maccabæus" (1 Macc. ii. 4). [MACCABEES.]

3. The son of Calphi (Alpheus), a Jewish general under Jonathan (1 Macc. xi. 70).

4. A Jew occupying a conspicuous position at Jerusalem at the time of the mission to Aristobulus [ARISTOBULUS] and the Egyptian Jews (2 Macc. i. 10). He has been identified with an Essene, conspicuous for his prophetic gifts (Jos. Ant. xiii. 11, 2; B. J. i. 3, 5); and with Judas Maccabæus (Grimm *ad loc.*). Some again suppose that he is a person otherwise unknown.

5. A son of Simón, and brother of Joannes Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 2), murdered by Ptolemæus the usurper, either at the same time (c. 135 B.C.), with his father (1 Macc. xvi. 15 ff.), or shortly afterwards (Jos. Ant. xiii. 8, 1; cf. Grimm, *ad Macc. l. c.*).

6. The patriarch JUDAH (Matt. i. 2, 3). [B. F. W.]

7. A man residing at Damascus, in "the street which is called Straight," in whose house Saul of Tarsus lodged after his miraculous conversion (Acts ix. 11). The "Straight Street" may be with little question identified with the "Street of Bazaars," a long, wide thoroughfare, penetrating from the southern gate into the heart of the city which, as in all the Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman towns, it intersects in a straight line. The so-called "House of Judas" is still shown in an open space called "the Sheykh's Place," a few steps out of the "Street of Bazaars;" it contains a square room with a stone floor, partly walled off for a tomb, shown to Maundrell (*Early Trav.* Bohn, 494) as the "tomb of Ananias." The house is an object of religious respect to Mussulmans as well as Christians (Stanley, *S. & P.* 412; Conyb. and Hows. i. 102; Maundrell, *l. c.*; Pococke, ii. 119. [E. V.]

JU'DAS, SURNAMED BAR'SABAS ('Ιούδας ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Βαρσαβᾶς; *Judas qui cognominabatur Barsabas*), a leading member of the Apostolic church at Jerusalem (ἀρχὴ ἡγεμόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς), Acts xv. 22, and "perhaps a member of the Presbytery" (Neander, *Pl. & Tr.* i. 123), endued with the gift of prophecy (ver. 32), chosen with Silas to accompany St. Paul and St. Barnabas as delegates to the church at Antioch, to make known the decree concerning the terms of admission of the Gentile converts, and to accredit their commission and character by personal communications (ver. 27). After employing their prophetic gifts for the confirmation of the Syrian Christians in the faith, Judas went back to Jerusalem, while Silas either remained at Antioch (for the reading Acts xv. 34 is uncertain; and while some MSS., followed by the Vulgate, add *υμῶν*

'Ιούδας δὲ ἐπεστρέψεν, the best omit the verse altogether) or speedily returned thither. Nothing further is recorded of Judas.

The form of the name Barsabas = Son of Sabas, has led to several conjectures: Wolf and Grotius probably enough suppose him to have been a brother of Joseph Barsabas (Acts i. 23); while Schott (*Isagog.* §103, p. 431) takes Sabas or Zabas to be an abbreviated form of Zebedee, regards Judas as an elder brother of James and John, and attributes to him the "Epistle of Jude." Augusti, on the other hand (*Die Katholisch. Briefe, Lemgo*, 1801-8, ii. 86), advances the opinion, though with considerable hesitation, that he may be identical with the Apostle 'Ιούδας 'Ιακώβου. [E. V.]

JUDAS OF GALILEE ('Ιούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος: *Judas Galilaeanus*), the leader of a popular revolt "in the days of the taxing" (i. e. the census, under the prefecture of P. Sulp. Quirinus, A.D. 6, A. U. C. 759), referred to by Gamaliel in his speech before the Sanhedrim (Acts v. 37). According to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1), Judas was a Gaulonite of the city of Gamala, probably taking his name of Galilaean from his insurrection having had its rise in Galilee. His revolt had a theocratic character, the watchword of which was "We have no Lord nor master but God," and he boldly denounced the payment of tribute to Caesar, and all acknowledgment of any foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution, and signifying nothing short of downright slavery. His fiery eloquence and the popularity of his doctrines drew vast numbers to his standard, by many of whom he was regarded as the Messiah (*Orig. Homil. in Luc.* xxv.), and the country was for a time entirely given over to the lawless depredations of the fierce and licentious throng who had joined themselves to him; but the might of Rome proved irresistible: Judas himself perished, and his followers were "dispersed," though not entirely destroyed till the final overthrow of the city and nation.

With his fellow insurgent Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas is represented by Josephus as the founder of a fourth sect, in addition to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1, 6; *B. J.* ii. 8, §1). The only point which appears to have distinguished his followers from the Pharisees was their stubborn love of freedom, leading them to despise torments, or death for themselves or their friends, rather than call any man master.

The Gaulonites, as his followers were called, may be regarded as the doctrinal ancestors of the Zealots and Sicarii of later days, and to the influence of his tenets Josephus attributes all subsequent insurrections of the Jews, and the final destruction of the City and Temple. James and John, the sons of Judas, headed an unsuccessful insurrection in the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, A.D. 47, by whom they were taken prisoners and crucified. Twenty years later, A.D. 66, their younger brother Menahem, following his father's example, took the lead of a band of desperadoes, who, after pillaging the armoury of Herod in the fortress of Massada, near the "gardens of Engaddi," marched to Jerusalem, occupied the city, and after a desperate siege took the palace, where he immediately assumed the state of a king, and committed great enormities. As he was going up to the Temple to worship, with great pomp, Menahem was taken by the partisans of Eleazar the high-priest, by whom he was tortured and put to death Aug. 15, A.D. 66 (Wilman, *Hist. of Jews*,

ii. 152, 231; Joseph. *l. c.*; Orig. in *Matt.* T. xvii. §25). [E. V.]

JUDAS ISCARIOT ('Ιούδας 'Ισκαριώτης: *Judas Iscariotes*). He is sometimes called "the son of Simon" (John vi. 71, xiii. 2, 26), but more commonly (the three Synoptic Gospels give no other name), Iscariotes (*Matt.* x. 4; *Mark* iii. 19; *Luke* vi. 16, *et al.*). In the three lists of the Twelve there is added in each case the fact that he was the betrayer.

The name Iscariot has received many interpretations more or less conjectural.

(1) From Kerioth (*Josh.* xv. 25), in the tribe of Judah, the Heb. כְּרִיּוֹת שֵׁשֶׁן, Ish K'RIOTH, passing into 'Ισκαριώτης in the same way as שֵׁשֶׁן טוֹב—Ish Tob, a man of Tob—appears in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, §1) as 'Ισκαριώτης (Winer, *Rub.* s. v.). In connexion with this explanation may be noticed the reading of some MSS. in John vi. 71, ἀπὸ Καριώτου, and that received by Lachmann and Tischendorf, which makes the name Iscariot belong to Simon, and not, as elsewhere, to Judas only. On this hypothesis his position, among the Twelve, the rest of whom belonged to Galilee (Acts ii. 7), would be exceptional; and this has led to

(2) From Kartha in Galilee (Kartan, A. V., *Josh.* xvi. 32; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* vi. p. 321).

(3) As equivalent to 'Ισκαριώτης (Grotius on *Matt.* x. 4; Hermann, *Miscell. Groning.* iii. 598, in Winer, *Rub.*).

(4) From the date-trees (καριωίδες) in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem or Jericho (Bartolucci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* iii. 10, in Winer, *l. c.*; Gill, *Comm. on Matt.* x. 4).

(5) From מְסֻרְתָּן (= SCORTEA, Gill, *l. c.*)—a leathern apron, the name being applied to him as the bearer of the bag, and = Judas with the apron (*Lightfoot, Ilor. Heb. in Matt.* x. 4).

(6) From מְסַרְסָן, *ascari* = strangling (angina), as given after his death, and commemorating it (*Lightfoot, l. c.*), or indicating that he had been subject to a disease tending to suffocation previously (Heinsius in *Suicer. Thes. s. v. 'Ιούδας*). This is mentioned also as a meaning of the name by Origen, *Tract. in Matt.* xxxv.

Of the life of Judas, before the appearance of his name in the lists of the Apostles, we know absolutely nothing. It must be left to the sad vision of a poet (Keble, *Lyra Innocentium*, ii. 13) or the fantastic fables of an apocryphal Gospel (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. N. T. Evang. Infant.* c. 35) to portray the infancy and youth of the traitor. What that appearance implies, however, is that he had previously declared himself a disciple. He was drawn, as the others were, by the preaching of the Baptist, or his own Messianic hopes, or the "gracious words" of the new teacher, to leave his former life, and to obey the call of the Prophet of Nazareth. What baser and more selfish motives may have mingled even then, with his faith and zeal, we can only judge by reasoning backward from the sequel. Gifts of some kind there must have been, rendering the choice of such a man not strange to others, not unfit in itself, and the function which he exercised afterwards among the Twelve may indicate what they were. The position of his name, uniformly the last in the lists of the Apostles in the Synoptic Gospels, is due, it may be imagined, to the infamy which afterwards rested on his name, but, prior to that guilt, it would seem that he took his place in the group of four which always

stand last in order, as if possessing neither the love, nor the faith, nor the devotion which marked the sons of Zebedee and Jonah.

The choice was not made, we must remember, without a prevision of its issue. "Jesus knew from the beginning . . . who should betray Him" (John vi. 64); and the distinctness with which that Evangelist records the successive stages of the guilt of Judas, and his Master's discernment of it (John xii. 4, xiii. 2, 27), leaves with us the impression that he too shrank instinctively (Bengel describes it as "singularis antipathia," *Gnomon N. T.* on John vi. 64) from a nature so opposite to his own. We can hardly expect to solve the question why such a man was chosen for such an office. Either we must assume absolute foreknowledge, and then content ourselves with saying with Calvin that the judgments of God are as a great deep, and with Ullmann (*Sündlosigk. Jesu*, p. 97) that he was chosen that the Divine purpose might be accomplished through him; or else with Neander (*Leben Jesu*, §77), that there was a discernment of the latent germs of evil, such as belonged to the Son of Man, in his insight into the hearts of men (John ii. 25; Matt. ix. 4; Mark xii. 15), yet not such as to exclude emotions of sudden sorrow or anger (Mark iii. 5), or astonishment (Mark vi. 6; Luke vii. 9), admitting the thought "with men this is impossible, but not with God." Did He in the depth of that insight, and in the fulness of His compassion, seek to overcome the evil which, if not conquered, would be so fatal? It gives, at any rate, a new meaning and force to many parts of our Lord's teaching to remember that they must have been spoken in the hearing of Judas, and may have been designed to make him conscious of his danger. The warnings as to the impossibility of a service divided between God and Mammon (Matt. vi. 19-34), and the destructive power of the "cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches" (Matt. xiii. 22, 23), the pointed words that spoke of the guilt of unfaithfulness in the "unrighteous Mammon" (Luke xvi. 11), the proverb of the camel passing through the needle's eye (Mark x. 25) must have fallen on his heart as never specially for him. He was among those who asked the question, Who then can be saved? (Mark x. 26). Of him, too, we may say, that, when he sinned, he was "kicking against the pricks," letting slip his "calling and election," frustrating the purpose of his Master, in giving him so high a work, and educating him for it (comp. Chrysost. *Hom. on Matt.* xvi. xxvii., John vi.).

The germs (see Stier's *Words of Jesus, infra*) of the evil, in all likelihood, unfolded themselves gradually. The rules to which the Twelve were subject in their first journey (Matt. x. 9, 10) sheltered him from the temptation that would have been most dangerous to him. The new form of life, of which we find the first traces in Luke viii. 3, brought that temptation with it. As soon as the Twelve were recognised as a body, travelling hither and thither with their Master, receiving money and other offerings, and redistributing what they received to the poor, it became necessary that some one should act as the steward and almoner of the small society, and this fell to Judas (John xii. 6, xiii. 29), either, as having the gifts that qualified him for it, or, as we may conjecture, from his character, because he sought it, or, as some have imagined, in rotation from time to time. The Galilean or Judean peasant (we have no reason

for thinking that his station differed from that of the other Apostles) found himself entrusted with larger sums of money than before (the three hundred denarii of John xii. 5, are spoken of as a sum which he might reasonably have expected), and with this there came covetousness, unfaithfulness, embezzlement. It was impossible after this that he could feel at ease with One who asserted so clearly and sharply the laws of faithfulness, duty, unselfishness; and the words of Jesus, "Have I not chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a devil?" (John vi. 70), indicate that even then, though the greed of immediate, or the hope of larger gain, kept him from "going back," as others did (John vi. 66), hatred was taking the place of love, and leading him on to a fiendish malignity.

In what way that evil was rebuked, what discipline was applied to counteract it, has been hinted at above. The scene at Bethany (John xii. 1-9; Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9) showed how deeply the canker had eaten into his soul. The warm out-pouring of love calls forth no sympathy. He utters himself, and suggests to others, the complaint that it is a waste. Under the plea of caring for the poor he covers his own miserable theft.

The narrative of Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv. places this history in close connexion (apparently in order of time) with the fact of the betrayal. It leaves the motives of the betrayer to conjecture (comp. Neander, *Leben Jesu*, §264). The mere love of money may have been strong enough to make him clutch at the bribe offered him. He came, it may be, expecting more (Matt. xxvii. 15); he will take that. He has lost the chance of dealing with the three hundred denarii; it will be something to get the thirty shekels as his own. It may have been that he felt that his Master saw through his hidden guilt, and that he hastened on a crisis to avoid the shame of open detection. Mingled with this there may have been some feeling of vindictiveness, a vague, confused desire to show that he had power to stop the career of the teacher who had reproved him. Had the words that spoke of "the burial" of Jesus, and the lukewarmness of the people, and the conspiracies of the priests led him at last to see that the Messianic kingdom was not as the kingdoms of this world, and that his dream of power and wealth to be enjoyed in it was a delusion? (Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, v. p. 441-446.) There may have been the thought that, after all, the betrayal could do no harm, that his Master would prove his innocence, or by some supernatural manifestation effect his escape (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 886, in Winer, and Whitty on Matt. xxvii. 4). Another motive has been suggested (comp. Neander, *Leben Jesu*, l. c.; and Whately, *Essays on Dangers to Christian Faith*, discourse iii.) of an entirely different kind, altering altogether the character of the act. Not the love of money, nor revenge, nor fear, nor disappointment, but policy, a subtle plan to force on the hour of the triumph of the Messianic kingdom, the belief that for this service he would receive as high a place as Peter, or James, or John; this it was that made him the traitor. If he could place his Master in a position, from which retreat would be impossible, where he would be compelled to throw himself on the people, and be raised by

\* Awful as the words were, however, we must remember that like words were spoken of and to Peter (Matt. xvi. 23).

them to the throne of His father David, then he might look forward to being foremost and highest in that kingdom, with all his desires for wealth and power gratified to the full. Ingenious as this hypothesis is, it fails for that very reason.<sup>b</sup> It attributes to the Galilaean peasant a subtlety in forecasting political combinations, and planning stratagems accordingly, which is hardly compatible with his character and learning, hardly consistent either with the pettiness of the faults into which he had hitherto fallen. Of the other motives that have been assigned we need not care to fix on any one, as that which singly led him on. 'Crime is for the most part the result of a hundred motives rushing with bewildering fury through the mind of the criminal.

During the days that intervened between the supper at Bethany and the Paschal or quasi-Paschal gathering, he appeared to have concealed his treachery. He went with the other disciples to and fro from Bethany to Jerusalem, and looked on the acted parable of the barren and condemned tree (Mark xi. 20-24), and shared the vigils in Gethsemane (John xviii. 2). At the last Supper he is present, looking forward to the consummation of his guilt as drawing nearer every hour. All is at first as if he were still faithful. He is admitted to the feast. His feet are washed, and for him there are the fearful words, "Ye are clean, but not all." He, it may be, receives the bread and the wine which were the pledges of the new covenant.<sup>c</sup> Then come the sorrowful words which showed him that his design was known. "One of you shall betray me." Others ask, in their sorrow and confusion, "Is it I?" He too must ask the same question, lest he should seem guilty (Matt. xxvi. 25). He alone hears the answer. John only, and through him Peter, and the traitor himself, understand the meaning of the act which pointed out that he was the guilty one (John xiii. 26).<sup>d</sup> After this there comes on him that paroxysm and insanity of guilt as of one whose human soul was possessed by the Spirit of Evil—"Satan entered into him" (John xiii. 27). The words, "What thou doest, do quickly," come as a spur to drive him on. The other disciples see in them only a command which they interpret as connected with the work he had hitherto undertaken. Then he completes the sin from which even those words might have drawn him back. He knows that garden in which his Master and his companions had so often rested after the weary work of the day. He comes, accompanied by a band of

officers and servants (John xviii. 3), with the kiss which was probably the usual salutation of the disciples. The words of Jesus, calm and gentle as they were, showed that this was what embittered the treachery, and made the suffering it inflicted more acute (Luke xxii. 48).

What followed in the confusion of that night the Gospels do not record. Not many students of the N. T. will follow Heumann and Archbp. Whately (*Essays on Doubts*, i. c.) in the hypothesis that Judas was "the other disciple" that was known to the high-priest, and brought Peter in (comp. Meyer on John xviii. 15). It is probable enough, indeed, that he who had gone out with the high-priest's officers should return with them to wait the issue of the trial. Then, when it was over, came the re-action. The fever of the crime passed away. There came back on him the recollection of the sinless righteousness of the Master he had wronged (Matt. xxvii. 3). He repented, and his guilt and all that had tempted him to it became hateful.<sup>e</sup> He will get rid of the accursed thing, will transfer it back again to those who with it had lured him on to destruction. They mock and sneer at the tool whom they have used, and then there comes over him the horror of great darkness that precludes self-murder. He has owned his sin with "an exceeding bitter cry," but he dares not turn, with any hope of pardon, to the Master whom he has betrayed. He hurls the money, which the priests refused to take, into the sanctuary (*ναός*) where they were assembled. 'For him there is no longer sacrifice or propitiation.<sup>f</sup> He is "the son of perdition" (John xvii. 12). "He departed and went and hanged himself" (Matt. xxvii. 5). He went "unto his own place" (Acts i. 25).

We have in Acts i. another account of the circumstances of his death, which it is not easy to harmonise with that given by St. Matthew. There, in words which may have been spoken by St. Peter (Meyer, following the general *consensus* of interpreters), or may have been a parenthetical notice inserted by St. Luke (Calvin, Olshausen, and others), it is stated—

(1) That, instead of throwing the money into the temple, he bought (*ἐκράτω*) a field with it.

(2) That, instead of hanging himself, "falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."

(3) That for this reason, and not because the priests had bought it with the price of blood, the field was called Aceldama.

<sup>b</sup> Comp. the remarks on this hypothesis, in which Whately followed (unconsciously perhaps) in the footsteps of Paulus, in *Brach u. Gruber's Allgem. Encycl.* art. "Judas."

<sup>c</sup> The question whether Judas was a partaker of the Lord's Supper is encompassed with many difficulties, both dogmatic and harmonistic. The general consensus of patristic commentators gives an affirmative, that of modern critics a negative answer. (Comp. Meyer, *Comm. on John*, xiii. 26.)

<sup>d</sup> The combination of the narratives of the four Gospels is not without grave difficulties, for which harmonists and commentators may be consulted. We have given that which seems the most probable result.

<sup>e</sup> This passage has often been appealed to, as illustrating the difference between *μετάνοια* and *μετάνοια*. It is questionable, however, how far the N. T. writers recognise that distinction (comp. Grotius *in loc.*). Still more questionable is the notion above-referred to, that St. Matthew describes his disappoint-

ment at a result so different from that which he had reckoned on.

<sup>f</sup> It is characteristic of the wide, far-reaching sympathy of Origen, that he suggests another motive for the suicide of Judas. Despairing of pardon in this life, he would rush on into the world of the dead, and there (*συμψῆ τῇ ψυχῇ*) meet his Lord, and confess his guilt and ask for pardon (*Tract. in Matt.* xxv.: comp. also Theophanes, *Hom.* xxvii., in Sulzer, *Theol.* s. v. *τοῦδαι*).

<sup>g</sup> The words *ὅτις τόπος* in St. Peter's speech convey to our minds, probably were meant to convey to those who heard them, the impression of some dark region in Gehenna. Lightfoot and Gill (*in loc.*) quote passages from Rabbinical writers who find that meaning in the phrase, even in Gen. xxxi. 55, and Num. xxiv. 25. On the other hand it should be remembered that many interpreters reject that explanation (comp. Meyer, *in loc.*), and that one great Anglican divine (Hammond, *Comment. on N. T. in loc.*) enters a distinct protest against it.

It is, of course, easy to cut the knot, as Strauss and De Wette have done, by assuming one or both accounts to be spurious and legendary. Receiving both as authentic, we are yet led to the conclusion that the explanation is to be found in some unknown series of facts, of which we have but two fragmentary narratives. The solutions that have been suggested by commentators and harmonists are nothing more than exercises of ingenuity seeking to dovetail into each other portions of a dissected map which, for want of missing pieces, do not fit. Such as they are, it may be worth while to state the chief of them.

As to (1) it has been said that there is a kind of irony in St. Peter's words, "This was all he got." That which was bought with his money is spoken of as bought by him (Meyer *in loc.*).

As to (2) we have the explanations—

(a) That ἀπὸ γέλαρο, in Matt. xxvii. 5, includes death by some sudden spasm of suffocation (*aegina pectoris*?), such as might be caused by the overpowering misery of his remorse, and that then came the fall described in the Acts (Suicer, *Thes. s. v. ἀπὸ γέλαρο*; Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, and others). By some this has even been connected with the name Iscariot, as implying a constitutional tendency to this disease (Gill).

(b) That the work of suicide was but half-accomplished, and that, the halter breaking, he fell (from a fig-tree, in one tradition) across the road, and was mangled and crushed by the carts and waggon that passed over him. This explanation agrees, with strange and horrible exaggerations, in the narrative of Papias, quoted by Oecumenius on Acts i., and in Theophylact. on Matt. xxvii.

As to (3) we have to choose between the alternatives—

(a) That there were two Aceldamas. [ACELDAMAS.]

(b) That the potter's field which the priests had bought was the same as that in which the traitor met so terrible a death.

The life of Judas has been represented here in the only light in which it is possible for us to look on it, as a human life, and therefore as one of temptation, struggle, freedom, responsibility. If another mode of speaking of it appears in the N. T.; if words are used which imply that all happened as it had been decreed; that the guilt and the misery were parts of a Divine plan (John vi. 64, xiii. 18; Acts i. 16), we must yet remember that this is no single, exceptional instance. All human actions are dealt with in the same way. They appear at one moment separate, free, uncontrolled; at another they are links in a long chain of causes and effects, the beginning and the end of which are in the "thick darkness where God is," or determined by an inexorable necessity. No adherence to a philosophical system frees men altogether from inconsistency in their language. In proportion as their minds are religious, and not philosophical, the transitions from one to the other will be frequent, abrupt, and startling.

With the exception of the stories already mentioned, there are but few traditions that gather round the name of Judas. It appears, however, in a strange, hardly intelligible way in the history of the wilder heresies of the second century. The sect of Cainites, consistent in their inversion of all that Christians in general believed, was reported to have honoured him as the only Apostle that was

in possession of the true Gnosis, to have made him the object of their worship, and to have had a Gospel bearing his name (comp. Neander, *Church History*, ii. 153, Eng. transl.; Iren. *adv. Hæres.* i. 35; Tertull. *de Præsc.* c. 47). For the general literature connected with this subject, especially for monographs on the motive of Judas and the manner of his death, see Winer, *Rwb.* For a full treatment of the questions of the relation in which his guilt stood to the life of Christ, comp. Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, on the passages where Judas is mentioned, and in particular vol. vii. pp. 40-67, Eng. transl. [E. H. P.]

JUDE, or JU'DAS, LEBBE'US and THADDE'US (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου: *Judas Jacobbi*: A. V. "Judas the brother of James"), one of the Twelve Apostles; a member, together with his namesake "Iscariot," James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, of the last of the three sections of the Apostolic body. The name Judas only, without any distinguishing mark, occurs in the lists given by St. Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13; and in John xiv. 22 (where we find "Judas not Iscariot" among the Apostles), but the Apostle has been generally identified with "Lebbeus whose surname was Thaddeus" (Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος), Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18, though Schleiermacher (*Crit. Essay on St. Luke*, p. 93) treats with scorn any such attempt to reconcile the lists. In both the last quoted places there is considerable variety of reading; some MSS. having both in St. Matt. and St. Mark Λεββαῖος, or Θαδδαῖος alone; others introducing the name Ἰούδας or Judas Zelotes in St. Matt., where the Vulgate reads *Thaddæus* alone, which is adopted by Lachmann in his Berlin edition of 1832. This confusion is still further increased by the tradition preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13) that the true name of Thomas (the twin) was Judas (Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς), and that Thaddeus was one of the "Seventy," identified by Jerome in *Matt. x.* with "Judas Jacobi" [THADDEUS]; as well as by the theories of modern scholars, who regard the "Levi" (Λεβὶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου) of Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27, who is called "Lebes" (Λίβης) by Origen (*Cont. Cels.* l. i. § 62), as the same with Lebbeus. The safest way out of these acknowledged difficulties is to hold fast to the ordinarily received opinion that Jude, Lebbeus, and Thaddeus, were three names for the same Apostle, who is therefore said by Jerome (*in Matt. x.*) to have been "trionimus," rather than introduce confusion into the Apostolic catalogues, and render them erroneous either in excess or defect.

The interpretation of the names Lebbeus and Thaddeus is a question beset with almost equal difficulty. The former is interpreted by Jerome "heart," *corculum*, as from כּוֹר, *cor*, and Thaddeus has been erroneously supposed to have a cognate signification, *homo pectorosus*, as from the Syriac תּוֹר, *pectus* (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 235, Bengel; *Matt. x. 3*), the true signification of תּוֹר being *mamma* (Angl. *teat*), Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 5. Winer (*Rwb. s. v.*) would combine the two and interpret them as meaning *Horzenskind*. Another interpretation of Lebbeus is the young lion (*leunculus*) as from לֵבַי, *leo* (Schleusner, *s. v.*), while Lightfoot and Baumg. Crus. would

derive it from *Lebba*, a maritime town of Galilee mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 19), where, however, the ordinary reading is *Jebba*. Thaddæus appears in Syriac under the form Adai, and Michaelis admits the idea that Adai, Thaddæus, and Judas, may be different representations of the same word (iv. 370), and Wordsworth (*Gr. Test.* in Matt. x. 3) identifies Thaddæus with Judas, as both from יהודה, "to praise." Chrysostom, *De Prod. Jud.* l. i. c. 2, says that there was a "Judas Zelotes" among the disciples of our Lord, whom he identifies with the Apostle. In the midst of these uncertainties no decision can be arrived at, and all must rest on conjecture.

Much difference of opinion has also existed from the earliest times as to the right interpretation of the words Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. The generally received opinion is that there is an ellipse of the word ἀδελφός, and that the A. V. is right in translating "Judas the brother of James." This is defended by Winer (*Rob. s. v.*; *Gramm. of N. T. Diet.*, Clark's edition, i. 203), Arnaud (*Recher. Crit. sur l'Ep. de Jude*), and accepted by Burton, Alford, Tregelles, Michaelis, &c. This view has received strength from the belief that the "Epistle of Jude," the author of which expressly calls himself "brother of James," was the work of this Apostle. But if, as will be seen hereafter, the arguments in favour of a non-apostolic origin for this Epistle are such as to lead us to assign it to another author, the mode of supplying the ellipse may be considered independently; and since the dependent genitive almost universally implies the filial relation, and is so interpreted in every other case in the Apostolic catalogues, we may be allowed to follow the Peshito and Arabic versions, the Benedictine editor of Chrysostom, *Hom. XXXII.*, in Matt. x. 2, and the translation of Luther, as well as nearly all the most eminent critical authorities, and render the words "Judas the son of James," that is, either "James the son of Alphaeus," with whom he is coupled Matt. x. 3, or some otherwise unknown person.

The name of Jude only occurs once in the Gospel narrative (John xiv. 22), where we find him taking part in the last conversation with our Lord, and sharing the low temporal views of their Master's kingdom, entertained by his brother Apostles.

Nothing is certainly known of the later history of the Apostle. There may be some truth in the tradition which connects him with the foundation of the church at Edessa; though here again there is much confusion, and doubt is thrown over the account by its connexion with the worthless fiction of "Abgarus king of Edessa" (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13; Jerome, *Comment in Matt.* x.) [THADDAEUS]. Nicophorus (*H. E.* ii. 40) makes Jude die a natural death in that city after preaching in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The Syrian tradition speaks of his abode at Edessa, but adds that he went thence to Assyria, and was martyred in Phocicia on his return; while that of the west makes Persia the field of his labours and the scene of his martyrdom.

The tradition preserved by Hegesippus, which appears in Eusebius, relative to the descendants of Jude, has reference, in our opinion, to a different Jude. See next article. [E.]

#### JUDAS, THE LORD'S BROTHER.

Among the brethren of our Lord mentioned by the people of Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) occurs a "Judas," who has been sometimes identi-

fied with the Apostle of the same name; a theory which rests on the double assumption that Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου (Luke vi. 16) is to be rendered "Judas the brother of James," and that "the sons of Alphaeus" were "the brethren of our Lord," and is sufficiently refuted by the statement of St. John vii. 5, that "not even his brethren believed on Him." It has been considered with more probability that he was the writer of the Epistle which bears the name of "Jude the brother of James," to which the Syriac version incorporated with the later editions of the Peshito adds "and of James" (Origen in Matt. xiii. 55; Clem. Alex. *Adumbr.* 6; Alford, *Gk. Test.*, Matt. xiii. 55). [JUDE, EPISTLE OF; JAMES.]

Eusebius gives us an interesting tradition of Hegesippus (*H. E.* iii. 20, 33) that two grandsons of Jude, "who according to the flesh was called the Lord's brother" (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 5), were seized and carried to Rome by orders of Domitian, whose apprehensions had been excited by what he had heard of the mighty power of the kingdom of Christ; but that the Emperor having discovered by their answers to his inquiries, and the appearance of their hands, that they were poor men, supporting themselves by their labour, and having learnt the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, dismissed them in contempt, and ceased from his persecution of the church, whereupon they returned to Palestine and took a leading place in the churches, "as being at the same time confessors and of the Lord's family" (ὡς αὐτὸν δὴ μαρτυρῶντας θεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου), and lived till the time of Trajan. Nicophorus (i. 23) tells us that Jude's wife was named Mary. [E. V.]

#### JUDE, EPISTLE OF. I. Its authorship.—

The writer of this Epistle styles himself, ver. 1, "Jude the brother of James" (ἀδελφός Ἰακώβου), and has been usually identified with the Apostle Judas Lebbaeus or Thaddæus, called by St. Luke, vi. 16, Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, A. V. "Judas the brother of James." It has been seen above [JUDAS LEBBAEUS] that this mode of supplying the ellipse, though not directly contrary to the *usus loquenti*, is, to say the least, questionable, and that there are strong reasons for rendering the words "Judas the son of James;" and inasmuch as the author appears, ver. 17, to distinguish himself from the Apostles, and bases his warning rather on their authority than on his own, we may agree with eminent critics in attributing the Epistle to another author. Jerome, Tertullian, and Origen, among the ancients, and Calmet, Calvin, Hammond, Hælein, Lange, Vatablus, Arnaud, and Tregelles, among the moderns, agree in assigning it to the Apostle. Whether it were the work of an Apostle or not, it has from very early times been attributed to "the Lord's brother" of that name (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3): a view in which Origen, Jerome, and (if indeed the *Adumbrationes* be rightly assigned to him) Clemens Alexandrinus agree; which is implied in the words of Chrysostom (*Hom.* 48 in Joam.), confirmed by the epigraph of the Syriac versions, and is accepted by most modern commentators, Arnaud, Bengel, Burton, Hug, Jessien, Olshausen, Tregelles, &c. The objection that has been felt by Neander (*Pl. and Tr.* i. 392), and others, that if he had been "the Lord's brother" he would have directly styled himself so, and not merely "the brother of James," has been anticipated by the author of the "*Adumbrationes*" (Bunsen, *Analect. Antio-Nicæn.* i. 330), who says, "Jude, who wrote the Catholic

Epistle, brother of the sons of Joseph, an extremely religious man, though he was aware of his relationship to the Lord, did not call himself His brother; but what said he? 'Jude the servant of Jesus Christ' as his Lord, but 'brother of James.' We may easily believe that it was through humility, and a true sense of the altered relations between them, and Him who had been "declared to be the Son of God with power . . . by the resurrection from the dead" (cf. 2 Cor. v. 16), that both St. Jude and St. James forbore to call themselves the brethren of Jesus. The arguments concerning the authorship of the Epistle are ably summed up by Jessien (*de Authent. Ep. Jud.* Lips. 1821), and Arnaud (*Recher. Critiq. sur l'Ep. de Jude*, Strasb. 1851, translated *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.* Jul. 1859); and though it is by no means clear of difficulty, the most probable conclusion is that the author was Jude, one of the brethren of Jesus, and brother of James, not the Apostle the son of Alphaeus, but the Bishop of Jerusalem, of whose dignity and authority in the Church he avails himself to introduce his Epistle to his readers.

II. *Genuineness and canonicity.*—Although the Epistle of Jude is one of the so called *Antilegomena*, and its canonicity was questioned in the earliest ages of the Church, there never was any doubt of its genuineness among those by whom it was known. It was too unimportant to be a forgery; few portions of Holy Scripture could, with reverence be it spoken, have been more easily spared; and the question was never whether it was the work of an impostor, but whether its author was of sufficient weight to warrant its admission into the Canon.

This question was gradually decided in its favour, and the more widely it was known the more generally was it received as canonical, until it took its place without further dispute as a portion of the volume of Holy Scripture.

The state of the case as regards its reception by the Church is briefly as follows:

It is wanting in the Peshito (which of itself proves that the supposed Evangelist of Edessa could not have been its author), nor is there any trace of its use by the Asiatic Churches up to the commencement of the 4th century; but it is quoted as Apostolic by Ephrem Syrus (*Opp. Syr.* i. p. 136).

The earliest notice of the Epistle is in the famous Muratorian Fragment (circa A.D. 170) where we read "Epistola sane Judae et superscripti Johannis dicitur in Catholica" (Bunsen, *Analect. Ante-Nic.* i. 152, reads "Catholicis") "habentur."

Clement of Alexandria is the first father of the Church by whom it is recognised (*Paedag.* l. iii. c. 8, p. 259, Ed. Sylburg; *Stromat.* l. iii. c. 2, p. 431, *Adumbr.* l. c.). Eusebius also informs us (*H. E.* vi. 14) that it was among the books of Canonical Scripture, of which explanations were given in the *Hypotyposes* of Clement; and Cassiodorus (Bunsen, *Analect. Ante-Nic.* i. 330-333) gives some notes on this Epistle drawn from the same source.

Origen refers to it expressly as the work of the Lord's brother (*Comment. in Matt.* xiii. 55, 56, t. x. §17): "Jude wrote an Epistle of but few verses, yet filled with vigorous words of heavenly grace." He quotes it several times (*Homil. in Gen.* xiii.; *in Josu.* vii.; *in Ezech.* iv.; *Comment. in Matt.* t. xiii. 27, xv. 27, xvii. 30; *in Joann.* t. xiii. §37; *in Rom.* l. iii. §6, v. §1; *De*

*Princip.* l. iii. c. 2, §1), though he implies in one place the existence of doubts as to its canonicity, "if indeed the Epistle of Jude be received" (*Comment. in Matt.* xxii. 23, t. xvii. §30).

Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) distinctly classes it with the *Antilegomena*, which were nevertheless recognised by the majority of Christians; and asserts (ii. 23) that in common with the Epistle of James, it was "deemed spurious" (*σφετέραι*), though together with the other Catholic Epistles publicly read in most churches.

Of the Latin Fathers, Tertullian once expressly cites this Epistle as the work of an Apostle (*de Ilab. Mulieb.* i. 3), as does Jerome, "from whom (Enoch) the Apostle Jude in his Epistle has given a quotation" (*in Tit.* c. i. p. 708), though on the other hand he informs us that in consequence of the quotation from this apocryphal book of Enoch it is rejected by most; adding, that "it has obtained such authority from antiquity and use, that it is now reckoned among Holy Scriptures" (*Catal. Scriptur. Eccles.*). He refers to it as the work of an Apostle (*Epist. ad Paulin.* iii.).

The Epistle is also quoted by Malchian, a presbyter of Antioch, in a letter to the bishops of Alexandria and Rome (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30), and by Palladius, the friend of Chrysostom (*Chrys. Opp.* t. xiii., *Dial.* cc. 18, 20), and is contained in the Laodicean (A.D. 363), Carthaginian (397), and so-called Apostolic Catalogues, as well as in those emanating from the churches of the East and West, with the exception of the Synopsis of Chrysostom, and those of Cassiodorus and Ebed Jesu.

Various reasons might be assigned for delay in receiving this Epistle, and the doubts long prevalent respecting it. The uncertainty as to its author, and his standing in the Church; the unimportant nature of its contents, and their almost absolute identity with 2 Pet. ii.; and the supposed quotation of apocryphal books; would all tend to create a prejudice against it, which could be only overcome by time, and the gradual recognition by the leading churches of its genuineness and canonicity.

At the Reformation the doubts on the canonical authority of this Epistle were revived, and have been shared in by modern commentators. They were more or less entertained by Grotius, Luther, Calvin, Bergen, Bolten, Dahl, Michaelis, and the Magdeburg Centuriators. It has been ably defended by Jessien, *de Authentia Ep. Judae*, Lips. 1821.

III. *Time and place of writing.*—Here all is conjecture. The author being not absolutely certain, there are no external grounds for deciding the point; and the internal evidence is but small. The question of its date is connected with that of its relation to 2 Peter (see below, §vi.), and an earlier or later period has been assigned to it according as it has been considered to have been anterior or posterior to that Epistle. From the character of the errors against which it is directed, it cannot be placed very early; though there is no sufficient ground for Schleiermacher's opinion that "in the last time" (*ἐν ταῖς ἔσχαταις χρόναις*, ver. 18; cf. 1 John ii. 18, *ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν*), forbids our placing it in the Apostolic age at all. Lardner places it between A.D. 64 and 66, Davidson before A.D. 70, Credner A.D. 80, Calmet, Estius, Witaius, and Neander, after the death of all the Apostles but John, and perhaps after the fall of Jerusalem; although considerable weight is to be given to the argument of De Wette (*Einleit. in N. T.* p. 300),

that if the destruction of Jerusalem had already taken place, some warning would have been drawn from so signal an instance of God's vengeance on the "ungodly."

There are no data from which to determine the place of writing. Burton, however, is of opinion that inasmuch as the descendants of "Judas the brother of the Lord," if we identify him with the author of the Epistle, were found in Palestine, he probably "did not absent himself long from his native country," and that the Epistle was published there, since he styles himself "the brother of James," "an expression most likely to be used in a country where James was well known" (*Eccles. Hist.* i. 334).

IV. *For what readers designed.*—The readers are nowhere expressly defined. The address (ver. 1) is applicable to Christians generally, and there is nothing in the body of the Epistle to limit its reference; and though it is not improbable that the author had a particular portion of the church in view, and that the Christians of Palestine were the immediate objects of his warning, the dangers described were such as the whole Christian world was exposed to, and the adversaries the same which had everywhere to be guarded against.

V. *Its object, contents, and style.*—The object of the Epistle is plainly enough announced, ver. 3: "it was needful for me to write unto you and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith that was once delivered unto the saints;" the reason for this exhortation is given ver. 4, in the stealthy introduction of certain "ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ." The remainder of the Epistle is almost entirely occupied by a minute depiction of these adversaries of the faith—not heretical teachers (as has been sometimes supposed), which constitutes a marked distinction between this Epistle and that of St. Peter—whom in a torrent of impassioned invective he describes as stained with unnatural lusts, like "the angels that kept not their first estate" (whom he evidently identifies with the "sons of God," Gen. vi. 2), and the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah—despisers of all legitimate authority (ver. 8)—murderers like Cain—covetous like Balaam—rebellious like Korah (ver. 11)—destined from of old to be signal monuments of the Divine vengeance, which he confirms by reference to a prophecy current among the Jews, and traditionally assigned to Enoch (ver. 14, 15).

The Epistle closes by briefly reminding the readers of the oft-repeated prediction of the Apostles—among whom the writer seems not to rank himself—that the faith would be assailed by such enemies as he has depicted (ver. 17-19), exhorting them to maintain their own steadfastness in the faith (ver. 20, 21), while they earnestly sought to rescue others from the corrupt example of those licentious livers (ver. 22, 23), and commending them to the power of God in language which forcibly recalls the closing benediction of the Epistle to the Romans (ver. 24, 25; cf. Rom. xvi. 25-27).

This Epistle presents one peculiarity, which, as we learn from St. Jerome, caused its authority to be impugned in very early times—the supposed citation of apocryphal writings (ver. 9, 14, 15).

The former of these passages, containing the reference to the contest of the archangel Michael and the devil "about the body of Moses," was

supposed by Origen to have been founded on a Jewish work called the "Assumption of Moses" (*Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως*), quoted also by Oecumenius (ii. 629). Origen's words are express, "which little work the Apostle Jude has made mention of in his Epistle" (*de Princip.* iii. 2, i. p. 138); and some have sought to identify the book with the מִשְׁכַּת מֹשֶׁה, "The death of Moses,"

which is, however, proved by Michaelis (iv. 382) to be a modern composition. Attempts have also been made by Lardner, Macknight, Vitringa, and others, to interpret the passage in a mystical sense, by reference to Zech. iii. 1, 2; but the similarity is too distant to afford any weight to the idea. There is, on the whole, little question that the writer is here making use of a Jewish tradition, based on Deut. xxxiv. 6, just as facts unrecorded in Scripture are referred to by St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 8; Gal. iii. 19); by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 2, xi. 24); by St. James (v. 17), and St. Stephen (Acts vii. 22, 23, 30).

As regards the supposed quotation from the Book of Enoch, the question is not so clear whether St. Jude is making a citation from a work already in the hands of his readers—which is the opinion of Jerome (l. c.) and Tertullian (who was in consequence inclined to receive the Book of Enoch as canonical Scripture), and has been held by many modern critics—or is employing a traditional prophecy not at that time committed to writing (a theory which the words used, "Enoch prophesied saying," ἐνπροφήτευσεν . . . Ἐνώχ λέγων, seem rather to favour), but afterwards embodied in the apocryphal work already named [*ENOCH, THE BOOK OF*]. This is maintained by Tregelles (*Horae Introd.* 10th ed., iv. 621), and has been held by Cave, Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, i. 420), Lightfoot (ii. 117), Witsius, and Calvin (cf. *Jerom. Comment. in Eph.* c. v. p. 647, 8; in *Tit.* c. 1, p. 708).

The main body of the Epistle is well characterised by Alford (*Gk. Test.* iv. 147) as an impassioned invective, in the impetuous whirlwind of which the writer is hurried along, collecting example after example of Divine vengeance on the ungodly; heaping epithet upon epithet, and piling image upon image, and as it were labouring for words and images strong enough to depict the polluted character of the licentious apostates against whom he is warning the church; returning again and again to the subject, as though all language was insufficient to give an adequate idea of their profligacy, and to express his burning hatred of their perversion of the doctrines of the Gospel.

The Epistle is said by De Wette (*Einleit. in N. T.* p. 300) to be tolerably good Greek, though there are some peculiarities of diction which have led Schmid (*Einleit.* i. 314) and Bertholdt (vi. 3194) to imagine an Aramaic original.

VI. *Relation between the Epistles of Jude and 2 Peter.*—It is familiar to all that the larger portion of this Epistle (ver. 3-16) is almost identical in language and subject with a part of the Second Epistle of Peter (2 Pet. ii. 1-19). In both the heretical enemies of the Gospel are described in terms so similar as to preclude all idea of entire independence. This question is examined in the article PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

As might be expected from the comparatively unimportant character of the Epistle, critical and exegetical editions of it have not been numerous. We may specify Arnaud, *Recherches Crit. sur*

*l'Épître de Jude*, Strasb. and Par. 1851; Laurmann, *Not. Crit. et Commentar. in Ep. Jud.*, Göttingue, 1818; Scharling, *Jacob. et Jud. Ep. Cathol. comment.*, Havnæ, 1841; Stier, *On the Epistles of James and Jude*; Herder, *Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu*, Lemgo, 1775; Augusti, Welcker, Benson, and Macknight, on the Catholic Epistles. [E. V.]

**JUDGES.** The administration of justice in all early Eastern nations, as amongst the Arabs of the desert to this day, rests with the patriarchal seniors; the judges being the heads of tribes, or of chief houses in a tribe. Such from their elevated position would have the requisite leisure, would be able to make their decisions respected, and through the wider intercourse of superior station would decide with fuller experience and riper reflection. Thus in the book of Job (xxix. 7, 8, 9) the patriarchal magnate is represented as going forth "to the gate" amidst the respectful silence of elders, princes, and nobles (comp. xxxii. 9). The actual chiefs of individual tribes are mentioned on various occasions, one as late as the time of David, as preserving importance in the commonwealth (Num. vii. 2, 10, 11, xvii. 6, or 17 in Heb. text; xxiv. 18; Josh. xvii. 14; so perh. Num. xvi. 2, xxi. 18). Whether the princes of the tribes mentioned in 1 Chr. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 1, are patriarchal heads, or merely chief men appointed by the king to govern, is not strictly certain; but it would be foreign to all ancient Eastern analogy to suppose that they forfeited the judicial prerogative, until reduced and overshadowed by the monarchy, which in David's time is contrary to the tenor of history. During the oppression of Egypt the nascent people would necessarily have few questions at law to plead; and the Egyptian magistrate would take cognizance of theft, violence, and other matters of police. Yet the question put to Moses shows that "a prince" and "a judge" were connected even then in the popular idea (Ex. ii. 14; comp. Num. xvi. 13). When they emerged from this oppression into national existence, the want of a machinery of judicature began to press. The patriarchal seniors did not instantly assume the function, having probably been depressed by bondage till rendered unfit for it, not having become experienced in such matters, nor having secured the confidence of their tribesmen. Perhaps for these reasons Moses at first took the whole burden of judicature upon himself, then at the suggestion of Jethro (Ex. xviii. 14-24) instituted judges over numerically graduated sections of the people. These were chosen for their moral fitness, but from Deut. i. 15, 16, we may infer that they were taken from amongst those to whom primogeniture would have assigned it. Save in offences of public magnitude, criminal cases do not appear to have been distinguished from civil. The duty of teaching the people the knowledge of the law which pertained to the Levites, doubtless included such instruction as would assist the judgment of those who were thus to decide according to it. The Levites were thus the ultimate sources of ordinary jurisprudence, and perhaps the "teaching" aforesaid may merely mean the expounding the law as applicable to difficult cases arising in practice. Beyond this, it is not possible to indicate any division of the provinces of deciding on points of law as distinct from points of fact.

The judges mentioned as standing before Joshua in the great assemblies of the people must be understood as the successors to those chosen by Moses, and had doubtless been elected with Joshua's sanction from among the same general class of patriarchal seniors (Josh. iv. 2, 4, xii. 14, xiv. 1).

The judge was reckoned a sacred person, and secured even from verbal injuries. Seeking a decision at law is called "enquiring of God" (Ex. xviii. 15). The term "gods" is actually applied to judges (Ex. xxi. 6; comp. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6). The judge was told, "thou shalt not be afraid of the face of men, for the judgment is God's;" and thus whilst human instrumentality was indispensable, the source of justice was upheld as divine, and the purity of its administration only sank with the decline of religious feeling. In this spirit speaks Ps. lxxxii.,—a lofty charge addressed to all who judge; comp. the qualities regarded as essential at the institution of the office, Ex. xviii. 21, and the strict admonition of Deut. xvi. 18-20. But besides the sacred dignity thus given to the only royal function, which, under the Theocracy, lay in human hands, it was made popular by being vested in those who led public feeling, and its importance in the public eye appears from such passages as Ps. lxxix. 12 (comp. cxix. 23), lxxxii., cxlviii. 11; Prov. viii. 15, xxxi. 4, 5, 23. There could have been no considerable need for the legal studies and expositions of the Levites during the wanderings in the wilderness while Moses was alive to solve all questions, and while the law which they were to expound was not wholly delivered. The Levites, too, had a charge of cattle to look after in that wilderness like the rest, and seem to have acted also, being Moses' own tribe, as supports to his executive authority. But then few of the greater entanglements of property could arise before the people were settled in their possession of Canaan. Thus they were disciplined in smaller matters, and under Moses' own eye, for greater ones. When, however, the commandment, "judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates" (Deut. xvi. 18), came to be fulfilled in Canaan, there were the following sources from which those officials might be supplied:—1st, the *ex officio* judges, or their successors, as chosen by Moses; 2ndly, any surplus left of patriarchal seniors when they were taken out (as has been shown from Deut. i. 15, 16) from that class; and 3rdly, the Levites. On what principle the non-Levitical judges were chosen after Divine superintendence was interrupted at Joshua's death is not clear. A simple way would have been for the existing judges in every town, &c., to choose their own colleagues, as vacancies fell, from among the limited number of persons who, being heads of families, were competent. Generally speaking, the reputation for superior wealth, as some guarantee against facilities of corruption, would determine the choice of a judge, and, taken in connexion with personal qualities, would tend to limit the choice to probably a very few persons in practice. The supposition that judicature will always be provided for is carried through all the books of the Law (see Ex. xxi. 6, xxi. *pass.*; Lev. xix. 15; Num. xxxv. 24; Deut. i. 16, xvi. 18, xxv. 1). And all that we know of the facts of later history confirms the supposition. The Hebrews were sensitive as regards the administration of justice; nor is the free spirit

\* The expression שֹׁפְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (Num. xxv. 14) is remarkable, and seems to mean the patriarchal

senior of a subdivision of the tribe (comp. 1 Chr. ii. 38, Judg. v. 3, 15).

of their early commonwealth in anything more manifest than in the resentment which followed the venal or partial judge. The fact that justice reposed on a popular basis of administration largely contributed to keep up this spirit of independence, which is the ultimate check on all perversions of the tribunal. The popular aristocracy<sup>b</sup> of heads of tribes, sections of tribes, or families, is found to fall into two main orders of varying nomenclature, and rose from the *capite censi*, or mere citizens, upwards. The more common name for the higher order is "princes," and for the lower, "elders" (Judg. viii. 14; Ex. ii. 14; Job xxix. 7, 8, 9; Exr. x. 8). These orders were the popular element of judicature. On the other hand the Levitical body was imbued with a keen sense of allegiance to God as the Author of Law, and to the Covenant as His embodiment of it, and soon gained whatever forensic experience and erudition those simple times could yield; hence they brought to the judicial task the legal acumen and sense of general principles which complemented the ruder lay element. Thus the Hebrews really enjoyed much of the virtue of a system which allots separate provinces to judge and jury, although we cannot trace any such line of separation in their functions, save in so far as has been indicated above. To return to the first or popular branch, there is reason to think, from the general concurrence of phraseology amidst much diversity, that in every city these two ranks of "princes" and "elders"<sup>c</sup> had their analogies, and that a variable number of heads of families and groups of families, in two ranks, were popularly recognised, whether with or without any form of election, as charged with the duty of administering justice. Succoth<sup>d</sup> (Judg. vii. 14) may be taken as an example. Evidently the *ex officio* judges of Moses' choice would have left their successors when the tribe of Gad, to which Succoth pertained (Josh. xiii. 27), settled in its territory and towns: and what would be more simple than that the whole number of judges in that tribe should be allotted to its towns in proportion to their size? As such judges were mostly the headmen by genealogy, they would fall into their natural places, and symmetry would be preserved. The Levites also

<sup>b</sup> This term is used for want of a better; but as regards privileges of race, the tribe of Levi and house of Aaron were the only aristocracy, and these, by their privation as regards holding land, were an aristocracy very unlike what has usually gone by that name.

<sup>c</sup> A number of words—*עַלְוִי*, *שֹׁרֵט*, *נָגִיד*, and (especially in the book of Job) *נָרִיב*—are sometimes rendered "prince" in the A. V.: the first most nearly uniformly so, which seems designative of the passive eminence of high birth or position; the next, *שֹׁרֵט*, expresses active and official authority. Yet as the *עַלְוִי* was most likely, nay, in the earlier annals, certain, to be the *שֹׁרֵט*, we must be careful of excluding from the person called by the one title the qualities denoted by the other. Of the two remaining terms, *נָרִיב*, expressing princely qualities, approaches most nearly to *עַלְוִי*, and *נָגִיד*, expressing prominence of station, to *שֹׁרֵט*.

<sup>d</sup> The princes and elders here were together 77. The subordination in numbers, of which Ten is the base of Ex. xviii. and Deut. i. 16, strongly suggests that 70+7 were the actual components; although they are spoken of rather as regards functions of

were apportioned on the whole equally among the tribes; and if they preserved their limits, there were probably few parts of Palestine beyond a day's journey from a Levitical city.

One great hold which the priesthood had, in their jurisdiction, upon men's ordinary life was the custody in the Sanctuary of the standard weights and measures, to which, in cases of dispute, reference was doubtless made. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that in most towns sufficiently exact models of them for all ordinary questions would be kept, since to refer to the Sanctuary at Shiloh, Jerusalem, &c., in every case of dispute between dealers would be nugatory (Ex. xxx. 13; Num. iii. 47; Ezek. xlv. 12). Above all these, the high-priest in the ante-regal period was the resort in difficult cases (Deut. xvii. 12), as the chief jurist of the nation, and who would in case of need be perhaps oracularly directed; yet we hear of none acting as judge save Eli:<sup>e</sup> nor is any judicial act recorded of him; though perhaps his not restraining his sons is meant to be noticed as a failure in his judicial duties. Now the judicial authority of any such supreme tribunal must have wholly lapsed at the time of the events recorded in Judg. xix.<sup>f</sup> It is also a fact of some weight, negatively, that none of the special deliverers called Judges, was of priestly lineage, or even became as much noted as Deborah, a woman. This seems to show that any central action of the high-priest on national unity was null, and of this supremacy, had it existed in force, the judicial prerogative was the main element. Difficult cases would include cases of appeal, and we may presume that, save so far as the authority of those special deliverers made itself felt, there was no judge in the last resort from Joshua to Samuel. Indeed the current phrase of those deliverers that they "judged" Israel during their term, shows which branch of their authority was most in request, and the demand of the people for a king was, in the first instance, that he might "judge them," rather than that he might "fight their battles" (1 Sam. vii. 5, 20).

These judges were 15 in number:—1. Othniel; 2. Ehud; 3. Shamgar; 4. Deborah and Barak; 5. Gideon; 6. Abimelech; 7. Tola; 8. Jair; 9. Jephthah; 10. Ibzan; 11. Elon; 12. Abdon;

ruling generally than of judging specially, yet we need not separate the two, as is clear from Deut. i. 16. Such division of labour assuredly found little place in primitive times. No doubt these men presided "in the gate." The number of Jacob's family (with which Succoth was traditionally connected, Gen. xxxiii. 17) having been 70 on their coming down into Egypt (Gen. xli. 27), may have been the cause of this number being that of the "elders" of that place, besides the sacred character of the factor 7. See also Ex. xxiv. 9. On the other hand, at Ramah about 30 persons occupied a similar place in popular esteem (1 Sam. ix. 22: see also ver. 13, and vii. 17).

<sup>e</sup> The remark in the margin of the A. V. on 1 Sam. iv. 18 seems improper. It is as follows: "He seems to have been a judge to do justice only, and that in South-west Israel." When it was inserted, the function of the high-priest, as mentioned above, would seem to have been overlooked. That function was certainly designed to be general, not partial; though probably, as hinted above, its execution was inadequate.

<sup>f</sup> It ought not to be forgotten that in some cases of "blood" the "congregation" themselves were to "judge" (Num. xxxv. 24), and that the appeal of Judg. xx. 4-7 was thus in the regular course of constitutional law.

13. Samson; 14. Eli; 15. Samuel. Their history is related under their separate names, and some remarks upon the first thirteen, contained in the book of Judges, are made in the following article. The chronology of this period is discussed under CHRONOLOGY (p. 323).

This function of the priesthood, being, it may be presumed, in abeyance during the period of the Judges, seems to have merged in the monarchy. The kingdom of Saul suffered too severely from external foes to allow civil matters much prominence. Hence of his only two recorded judicial acts, the one (1 Sam. xi. 13) was the mere remission of a penalty popularly demanded; the other the pronouncing of a sentence (ib. xiv. 44, 45) which, if it was sincerely intended, was over-ruled in turn by the right sense of the people. In David's reign it was evidently the rule for the king to hear causes in person, and not merely be passively, or even by deputy (though this might also be included),<sup>a</sup> the "fountain of justice" to his people. For this purpose perhaps it was prospectively ordained that the king should "write him a copy of the law;" and "read therein all the days of his life" (Deut. xvii. 18, 19). The same class of cases which were reserved for Moses would probably fall to his lot; and the high-priest was of course ready to assist the monarch. This is further presumable from the fact that no officer analogous to a chief justice ever appears under the kings. It has been supposed that the subjection of all Israel to David's sway caused an influx of such cases, and that advantage was artfully taken of this by Abalom (2 Sam. xv. 1-4); but the rate at which cases were disposed of can hardly have been slower among the ten tribes after David had become their king, than it was during the previous anarchy. It is more probable that during David's uniformly successful wars wealth and population increased rapidly, and civil cases multiplied faster than the king, occupied with war, could attend to them, especially when the summary process customary in the East is considered. Perhaps the arrangements, mentioned in 1 Chr. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29 (comp. v. 32, "rulers" probably including judges), of the 6000 Levites acting as "officers and judges," and amongst them specially "Chenaniah and his sons;" with others, for the trans-Jordanic tribes, may have been made to meet the need of suitors. Solomon's character, whose reign of peace would surely be fertile in civil questions, the "wisdom to judge" was the fitting first quality (1 K. iii. 9; comp. i's. lxvii. 1-4). As a judge Solomon shines "in all his glory" (1 K. iii. 16, &c.). No criminal was too powerful for his justice, as some had been for his father's (2 Sam. iii. 39; 1 K. ii. 5, 6, 33, 34). The examples of direct royal exercise of judicial authority are 2 Sam. i. 15, iv. 9-12, where sentence is summarily executed,<sup>b</sup> and the supposed case of 2 Sam. xiv. 1-21. The denunciation of

2 Sam. xii. 5, 6, is, though not formally judicial, yet in the same spirit. Solomon similarly proceeded in the cases of Joab and Shimei (1 K. ii. 34, 46; comp. 2 K. xiv. 5, 6). It is likely that royalty in Israel was ultimately unfavourable to the local independence connected with the judicature of the "princes" and "elders" in the territory and cities of each tribe. Tendency of the monarchy was doubtless to centralise, and we read of large numbers of king's officers appointed to this and cognate duties (1 Chr. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29-32). If the general machinery of justice had been, as is reasonable to think, deranged or retarded during a period of anarchy, the Levites afforded the fittest materials for its reconstitution.<sup>c</sup> Being to some extent detached, both locally, and by special duties, exemptions, &c., from the mass of the population, they were more easily brought to the steady routine which justice requires, and, what is no less important, were, in case of neglect of duty, more at the mercy of the king (as shown in the case of the priests at Nob, 1 Sam. xxii. 17). Hence it is probable that the Levites generally superseded the local elders in the administration of justice. But subsequently, when the Levites withdrew from the kingdom of the ten tribes, judicial elders probably again filled the gap. Thus they conducted the mock trial of Naboth (1 K. xxi. 8-13). There is in 2 Chr. xix. 5, &c., a special notice of a reappointment of judges by Jehoshaphat and of a distinct court, of appeal perhaps, at Jerusalem, composed of Levitical and of lay elements. In the same place (as also in a previous one, 1 Chr. xxvi. 32) occurs a mention of "the king's matters" as a branch of jurisprudence. The rights of the prerogative having a constant tendency to encroach, and needing continual regulation, these may have grown probably into a department, somewhat like our exchequer.

One more change is noticeable in the pre-Babylonian period. The "princes" constantly appear as a powerful political body, increasing in influence and privileges, and having a fixed centre of action at Jerusalem; till, in the reign of Zedekiah, they seem to exercise some of the duties of a privy council; and especially a collective jurisdiction (2 Chr. xxviii. 21; Jer. xxvi. 10, 16). These "princes" are probably the heads of great houses<sup>d</sup> in Judah and Benjamin, whose fathers had once been the pillars of local jurisdiction; but who, through the attractions of a court, and probably also under the constant alarm of hostile invasion, became gradually residents in the capital, and formed an oligarchy, which drew to itself, amidst the growing weakness of the latter monarchy, whatever vigour was left in the state, and encroached on the sovereign attributes of justice. The employment in offices of trust and emolument would tend also in the same way, and such chief families would probably monopolise such employment. Hence the constant burden of

<sup>a</sup> See 2 Sam. xv. 3, where the text gives probably a better rendering than the margin.

<sup>b</sup> The cases of Amnon and Abalom, in which no notice was taken of either crime, though set down by Michaelis (*Law of Moses*, bk. i. art. x.) as instances of justice forborne through politic consideration of the criminal's power, seem rather to be examples of mere weakness, either of government or of personal character, in David. His own criminality with Bathsheba it is superfluous to argue, since the matter was by Divine interference removed from the cognizance of human law.

From Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, it would seem that after 50 years of age the Levites were excused from the service of the tabernacle. This was perhaps a provision meant to favour their usefulness in deciding on points of law, since the maturity of a judge has hardly begun at that age, and before it they would have been junior to their lay coadjutors.

<sup>c</sup> That some of the heads of such houses, however, retained their proper sphere, seems clear from Jer. xxvi. 17, where "elders of the land" address an "assembly of the people." Still, the occasion is not judicial.

<sup>d</sup> That some of the heads of such houses, however, retained their proper sphere, seems clear from Jer. xxvi. 17, where "elders of the land" address an "assembly of the people." Still, the occasion is not judicial.

the prophetic strain, denouncing the neglect, the perversion, the corruption, of judicial functionaries (Is. i. 17, 21, v. 7, x. 2, xxviii. 7, lvi. 1, lix. 4; Jer. ii. 8, v. 1, vii. 5, xxi. 12; Ez. xxii. 27, xlv. 8, 9; Hos. v. 10, vii. 5, 7; Amos v. 7, 15, 24, vi. 12; Hab. i. 4, &c.). Still, although far changed from its broad and simple basis in the earlier period, the administration of justice had little resembling the set and rigid system of the Sanhedrim of later times.<sup>m</sup> [See SANHEDRIM.] This last change arose from the fact that the patriarchal seniority, degenerate and corrupted as it became before the captivity, was by that event broken up, and a new basis of judicature had to be sought for.

With regard to the forms of procedure little more is known than may be gathered from the two examples, Ruth iv. 2, of a civil, and 1 K. xxi. 8-14, of a criminal character;<sup>n</sup> to which, as a specimen of royal summary jurisdiction, may be added the well-known "judgment" of Solomon. Boaz apparently empanels as it were the first ten "elders" whom he meets "in the gate," the well-known site of the Oriental court, and cites the other party by "Ho, such an one;" and the people appear to be invoked as attesting the legality of the proceeding. The whole affair bears an extemporaneous aspect, which may, however, be merely the result of the terseness of the narrative. In Job ix. 19, we have a wish expressed that a "time to plead" might be "set" (comp. the phrase of Roman law, *diem dicere*). In the case of the involuntary homicide seeking the city of refuge, he was to make out his case to the satisfaction of its elders (Josh. xx. 4), and this failing, or the congregation deciding against his claim to sanctuary there (though how its sense was to be taken does not appear), he was not put to death by act of public justice, but left to the "avenger of blood" (Deut. xix. 12). The expressions between "blood and blood," between "plea and plea" (Deut. xvii. 8), indicate a presumption of legal intricacy arising, the latter expression seeming to imply something like what we call a "cross-suit." We may infer from the scantiness, or rather almost entire absence of direction as regards forms of procedure, that the legislator was content to leave them to be provided for as the necessity for them arose, it being impossible by any jurisprudential devices to anticipate chicane. It is an interesting question how far judges were allowed to receive fees of suitors; Michaelis reasonably presumes that none were allowed or customary, and it seems, from the words of 1 Sam. xii. 3, that such transactions would have been regarded as corrupt. There is another question how far advocates were usual. There is no reason to think that until the period of Greek influence, when we meet with words based on *συμβολοποιος* and *παράκλητος*, any professed class of pleaders existed. Yet passages abound in which the pleading of the cause of those who are unable to plead their own, is spoken of as, what it indeed was, a noble act of charity; and the expression has even (which shows the popularity of the practice) become a basis of figurative allusion

(Job xvi. 21; Prov. xxii. 23, xxiii. 11, xxxi. 9; Is. i. 17; Jer. xxx. 13, l. 34, li. 36). The blessedness of such acts is forcibly dwelt upon, Job xxix. 12, 13.

There is no mention of any distinctive dress or badge as pertaining to the judicial officer. A staff or sceptre was the common badge of a ruler or prince, and this perhaps they bore (Is. xiv. 5; Am. i. 5, 8). They would perhaps, when officiating, be more than usually careful to comply with the regulations about dress laid down in Num. xv. 38, 39; Deut. xxii. 12. The use of the "white asses" (Judg. v. 10), by those who "sit in judgment," was perhaps a convenient distinctive mark for them when journeying where they would not usually be personally known.

For other matters relating to some of the forms of law, see OATHS, OFFICERS, WITNESSES. [II. II.]

**JUDGES, BOOK OF** (שְׁפָטִים; *Kpota*; *liber Judicum*). 1. *Title*.—The period of history contained in this book reaches from Joshua to Eli, and is thus more extensive than the time of the Judges. A large portion of it also makes no mention of them, though belonging to their time. But because the history of the Judges occupies by far the greater part of the narrative, and is at the same time the history of the people, the title of the whole book is derived from that portion. The book of Ruth was originally a part of this book. But about the middle of the fifth century after Christ it was placed in the Hebrew copies immediately after the Song of Solomon. In the LXX. it has preserved its original position, but as a separate book.

11. *Arrangement*.—The book at first sight may be divided into two parts—i. xvi. and xvii. xxi.

A. i. xvi.—The subdivisions are—(a) i. ii. 5, which may be considered as a first introduction, giving a summary of the results of the war carried on against the Canaanites by the several tribes on the west of Jordan after Joshua's death, and forming a continuation of Josh. xii. It is placed first, as in the most natural position. It tells us that the people did not obey the command to expel the people of the land, and contains the reproof of them by a prophet. (b) ii. 6-iii. 6.—This is a second introduction, standing in nearer relation to the following history. It informs us that the people fell into idolatry after the death of Joshua and his generation, and that they were punished for it by being unable to drive out the remnant of the inhabitants of the land, and by falling under the hand of oppressors. A parenthesis occurs (ii. 16-19) of the highest importance as giving a key to the following portion. It is a summary view of the history: the people fall into idolatry; they are then oppressed by a foreign power; upon their repentance they are delivered by a Judge, after whose death they relapse into idolatry. (c) iii. 7-xvi.—The words, "and the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord," which had been already used in ii. 11, are employed to introduce the history of the 13 Judges comprised in this book. An account of six of these,<sup>13</sup> is given at

<sup>m</sup> The Sanhedrim is, by a school of Judaism once more prevalent than now, attempted to be based on the 70 elders of Num. xi. 16, and to be traced through the O. T. history. Those 70 were chosen when judicature had been already provided for (Ex. xviii. 25), and their office was to assist Moses in the duty of

governing. But no influence of any such body is traceable in later times at any crisis of history. They seem in fact to have left no successors.

<sup>n</sup> The example of Susannah and the elders is too suspicious an authority to be cited.

greater or less length. The account of the remaining seven is very short, and merely attached to the longer narratives. These narratives are as follows:—

(1) The deliverance of Israel by Othniel, iii. 7-11. (2) The history of Ehud, and (in 31) that of Shamgar, iii. 12-31. (3) The deliverance by Deborah and Barak, iv.-v. (4) The whole passage is vi.-x. 5. The history of Gideon and his son Abimelech is contained in vi.-ix., and followed by the notice of Tola, x. 1, 2, and Jair, x. 3-5. This is the only case in which the history of a Judge is continued by that of his children. But the exception is one which illustrates the lesson taught by the whole book. Gideon's sin in making the ephod is punished by the destruction of his family by Abimelech, with the help of the men of Shechem, who in their turn become the instruments of each other's punishment. In addition to this, the short reign of Abimelech would seem to be recorded as being an unauthorised anticipation of the kingly government of later times. (5) x. 6-xii. The history of Jephthah, x. 6-xii. 7; to which is added the mention of Ibzan, xii. 8-10; Elon, 11, 12; Abdon, 13-15. (6) The history of Samson, consisting of twelve exploits, and forming three groups connected with his love of three Philistine women, xiii.-xvi. We may observe in general on this portion of the book, that it is almost entirely a history of the wars of deliverance: there are no sacerdotal allusions in it; the tribe of Judah is not alluded to after the time of Othniel; and the greater part of the Judges belong to the northern half of the kingdom.

B. xvii.-xxi.—This part has no formal connexion with the preceding, and is often called an appendix. No mention of the Judges occurs in it. It contains allusions to "the house of God," the ark, and the high-priest. The period to which the narrative relates is simply marked by the expression, "when there was no king in Israel" (xix. 1; cf. xviii. 1). It records (a) the conquest of Laish by a portion of the tribe of Dan, and the establishment there of the idolatrous worship of Jehovah already instituted by Micah in Mount Ephraim. The date of this occurrence is not marked, but it has been thought to be subsequent to the time of Deborah, as her song contains no allusion to any northern settlements of the tribe of Dan. (b) The almost total extinction of the tribe of Benjamin by the whole people of Israel, in consequence of their supporting the cause of the wicked men of Gibeah, and the means afterwards adopted for preventing its becoming complete. The date is in some degree marked by the mention of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (xx. 28), and by the proof of the unanimity still prevailing among the people.

III. *Design*.—We have already seen that there is an unity of plan in i.-xvi., the clue to which is stated in ii. 16-19. There can be little doubt of the design to enforce the view there expressed. But the words of that passage must not be pressed too closely. It is a general view, to which the facts of the history correspond in different degrees. Thus the people is contemplated as a whole; the Judges are spoken of with the reverence due to God's instruments, and the deliverances appear complete. But it would seem that the people were in no instance under exactly the same circumstances, and the Judges in some points fall short of the ideal. Thus Gideon, who in some respects is the most eminent of them, is only the head of his own tribe and has to appease the men of

Ephraim by conciliatory language in the moment of his victory over the Midianites; and he himself is the means of leading away the people from the pure worship of God. In Jephthah we find the chief of the land of Gilead only, affected to some extent by personal reasons (xi. 9): his war against the Ammonites is confined to the east side of Jordan, though its issue probably also freed the western side from their presence, and it is followed by a bloody conflict with Ephraim. Again, Samson's task was simply "to begin to deliver Israel" (xiii. 5): and the occasions which called forth his hostility to the Philistines are of a kind which place him on a different level from Deborah or Gideon. This shows that the passage in question is a general review of the collective history of Israel during the time of the Judges, the details of which, in their varying aspects, are given faithfully as the narrative proceeds.

The existence of this design may lead us to expect that we have not a complete history of the times—a fact which is clear from the book itself. We have only accounts of parts of the nation at any one time. We may easily suppose that there were other incidents of a similar nature to those recorded in xvii.-xxi. And in the history itself there are points which are obscure from want of fuller information, e. g. the reason for the silence about the tribe of Judah (see also viii. 18; ix. 26). Some suppose even that the number of the Judges is not complete; but there is no reason for this opinion. *Bedan* (1 Sam. xii. 11) is possibly the same as *Abdon*. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 477) rejects the common explanation that the word is a contracted form of *Ben-Dan*, i. e. Samson. And *Jael* (v. 6) need not be the name of an unknown Judge, or a corruption of *Jair*, as Ewald thinks, but is probably the wife of Heber. "The days of Jael" would carry the misery of Israel up to the time of the victory over Sisera, and such an expression could hardly be thought too great an honour at that time (see v. 24).

IV. *Materials*.—The author must have found certain parts of his book in a definite shape: e. g. the words of the prophet (ii. 1-3), the song of Deborah (v.), Jotham's parable (ix. 7-20: see also xiv. 14, 18, xv. 7, 16). How far these and the rest of his materials came to him already written is a matter of doubt. Stähelin (*Krit. Untersuch.* p. 106) thinks that iii. 7-xvi. present the same manner and diction throughout, and that there is no need to suppose written sources. So Hävernicks (*Einleitung*, i. 1, p. 68 sqq. 107) only recognises the use of documents in the appendix. Other critics, however, trace them throughout. Bertheau (*On Judges*, p. xlviii.-xxii.) says that the difference of the diction in the principal narratives, coupled with the fact that they are united in one plan, points to the incorporation of parts of previous histories. Thus, according to him, the author found the substance of iv. 2-24 already accompanying the song of Deborah; in vi.-ix. two distinct authorities are used—a life of Gideon, and a history of Shechem and its usurper; in the account of Jephthah a history of the tribes on the east of Jordan employed, which meets us again in different parts of the Pentateuch and Joshua; and the history of Samson is taken from a longer work on the Philistine wars. Ewald's view is similar (*Gesch.* i. 184 sqq., ii. 486 sqq.).

V. *Relation to other Books*.—(A) to Joshua.—Josh. xv.-xxi. must be compared with Judg. i. in

order to understand fully how far the several tribes failed in expelling the people of Canaan. Nothing is said in ch. i. about the tribes on the east of Jordan, which had been already mentioned (Josh. xiii. 13), nor about Levi (see Josh. xiii. 33, xxi. 1-42). The carrying on of the war by the tribes singly is explained by Josh. xiv. 28. The book begins with a reference to Joshua's death, and ii. 6-9 resumes the narrative, suspended by i.-ii. 5, with the same words as are used in concluding the history of Joshua (xiv. 28-31). In addition to this the following passages appear to be common to the two books:—compare Judg. i. 10-15, 20, 21, 27, 29, with Josh. xv. 14-19, 13, 63, xvii. 12, xvi. 10. A reference to the conquest of Laish (Judg. xviii.) occurs in Josh. xix. 47.

(B) to the books of Samuel and Kings.—We find in i. 28, 30, 33, 35, a number of towns upon which, "when Israel was strong," a tribute of bond-service was levied: this is supposed by some to refer to the time of Solomon (1 K. ix. 13-22). The conduct of Saul towards the Kenites (1 Sam. xv. 6), and that of David (1 Sam. xxx. 29), is explained by i. 16. A reference to the continuance of the Philistine wars is implied in xiii. 5. The allusion to Abimelech (2 Sam. xi. 21) is explained by ch. ix. Chapters xvii.-xxi. and the book of Ruth are more independent, but they have a general reference to the subsequent history.

The question now arises whether this book forms one link in an historical series, or whether it has a closer connexion either with those that precede or follow it. We cannot infer anything from the agreement of its view and spirit with those of the other books. But its form would lead to the conclusion that it was not an independent book originally. The history ceases with Samson, excluding Eli and Samuel; and then at this point two historical pieces are added—xvii.-xxi. and the book of Ruth, independent of the general plan and of each other. This is sufficiently explained by Ewald's supposition that the books from Judges to 2 Kings form one work. In this case the histories of Eli and Samuel, so closely united between themselves, are only deferred on account of their close connexion with the rise of the monarchy. And Judg. xvii.-xxi. is inserted both as an illustration of the sin of Israel during the time of the Judges, in which respect it agrees with i.-xvi., and as presenting a contrast with the better order prevailing in the time of the kings. Ruth follows next, as touching on the time of the Judges, and containing information about David's family history which does not occur elsewhere. The connexion of these books, however, is denied by De Wette (*Einleit.* §186) and Thénius (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. Sam.* p. xv., *König*, p. i.). Bertheau, on the other hand, thinks that one editor may be traced from Genesis to 2 Kings, whom he believes to be Ezra, in agreement with Jewish tradition.

VI. *Date*.—The only guide to the date of this book which we find in ii. 6-xvi. is the expression "unto this day," the last occurrence of which (xv. 19) implies some distance from the time of Samson. But i. 21, according to the most natural explanation, would indicate a date, for this chapter at least, previous to the taking of Jebus by David (2 Sam. v. 6-9). Again, we should at first sight suppose i. 28, 30, 33, 35, to belong to the time of the Judges; but these passages are taken by most modern critics as pointing to the time of Solomon (cf. 1 K. ix. 21). i.-xvi. may therefore have been

originally, as Ewald thinks (*Gesch.* i. 202, 3), the commencement of a larger work reaching down to above a century after Solomon (see also Davidson, *Introduction*, 649, 50). Again, the writer of the appendix lived when Shiloh was no longer a religious centre (xviii. 31); he was acquainted with the regal form of government (xvii. 6, xviii. 1). There is some doubt as to xviii. 30. It is thought by some to refer to the Philistine oppression. But it seems more probable that the Assyrian captivity is intended, in which case the writer must have lived after 721 B.C. The whole book therefore must have taken its present shape after that date. And if we adopt Ewald's view, that Judges to 2 Kings form one book, the final arrangement of the whole must have been after the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity, or B.C. 562 (2 K. xxv. 27). Bertheau's suggestion with respect to Ezra brings it still lower. But we may add, with reference to the subject of this and the two preceding sections, that, however interesting such inquiries may be, they are only of secondary importance. Few persons are fully competent to conduct them, or even to pass judgment on their discordant results. And whatever obscurity may rest upon the whole matter, there remains the one important fact that we have, through God's providence, a continuous history of the Jewish people, united throughout by the conviction of their dependence upon God and government by Him. This conviction finds its highest expression in parts of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets; but it was confirmed by the events of the history—although, at times, in a manner which gave room to Faith to use its power of perception, and allowed men in those days, as well as in these, to refuse to recognise it.

VII. *Chronology*.—The time commonly assigned to the period contained in this book is 299 years. But this number is not derived directly from it. The length of the interval between Joshua's death and the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim, and of the time during which Shamgar was Judge, is not stated. The dates which are given amount to 410 years when reckoned consecutively; and Acts xiii. 20 would show that this was the computation commonly adopted, as the 450 years seem to result from adding 40 years for Eli to the 410 of this book. But a difficulty is created by xi. 26, and in a still greater degree by 1 K. vi. 1, where the whole period from the Exodus to the building of the temple is stated at 480 years (440, LXX.). One solution questions the genuineness of the date in 1 Kings. Kennicott pronounces against it (*Diss. Gen.* 80, §3), because it is omitted by Origen when quoting the rest of the verse. And it is urged that Josephus would not have reckoned 592 years for the same period, if the present reading had existed in his time. But it is defended by Thénius (*ad loc.*), and is generally adopted, partly on account of its agreement with Egyptian chronology. Most of the systems therefore shorten the time of the Judges by reckoning the dates as inclusive or contemporary. But all these combinations are arbitrary. And this may be said of Keil's scheme, which is one of those least open to objection. He reckons the dates successively as far as Jair, but makes Jephthah and the three following Judges contemporary with the 40 years of the Philistine oppression (cf. x. 6-xiii. 1); and by compressing the period between the division of the land and Cushan-rishathaim into 10 years, and the Philistine war

to the death of Saul into 39, he arrives ultimately at the 480 years. Ewald and Bertheau have proposed ingenious but unsatisfactory explanations—differing in details, but both built upon the supposition that the whole period from the Exodus to Solomon was divided into 12 generations of 40 years; and that, for the period of the Judges, this system has become blended with the dates of another more precise reckoning. On the whole, it seems safer to give up the attempt to ascertain the chronology exactly. The successive narratives give us the history of only parts of the country, and some of the occurrences may have been contemporary (x. 7). Round numbers seem to have been used—the number 40 occurs four times; and two of the periods are without any date. On this difficult subject see also CHRONOLOGY, p. 323.

VIII. *Commentaries.*—The following list is taken from Bertheau (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. z. A. T., Das Buch der Richter u. Rut.*), to whom this article is principally indebted. (1) Rabbinical: In addition to the well-known commentaries, see R. Tanchumi Hierosol. *ad libros Vet. Test. commentarii Arabici specimen una cum annotationibus ad aliquot loca libri Judd.*, ed. Ch. Fr. Schnurrer, Tubing. 1791, 4to.; R. Tanchumi Hierosol. *Comment. in prophetas Arab. specimen* (on Judg. xiii.-xxi.), ed. Th. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1842, 8vo. (2) Christian: Victor Strigel, *Scholæ in libr. Judd.*, Lips. 1586; Serrarius, *Comment. in libros Jos. Judd., etc.*, 1609; *Critici Sacri*, tom. ii. Lond. 1680; Sebast. Schmidt, *In libr. Judd.*, Argentor. 1708, 4to.; Clerici V. T. *libri historici*, Amstelod. 1708, fol.; J. D. Michaelis, *Deutsche Uebers. des A. T. Göttingen*, 1772; Inthe, *Libri hist. Lat. vers.* 1784; *Exegct. Handb. d. A. T.*; Maurer, *Comment. gramm. crit.* pp. 128-153; Rosenmüller *Scholæ*, vol. ii. Lipsiæ, 1835; Gottl. Ludw. Studer, *das Buch der Richter grammat. und histor. erklärt*. 1835. There are many separate treatises on ch. v., a list of which is found in Bertheau, p. 80. [E. K. O.]

**JUDGMENT-HALL.** The word *Prætorium* (Πραιτώριον) is so translated five times in the A. V. of the N. T.; and in those five passages it denotes two different places.

1. In John xviii. 28, 33, xxix. 9, it is the residence which Pilate occupied when he visited Jerusalem; to which the Jews brought Jesus from the house of Caiaphas, and within which He was examined by Pilate, and scourged and mocked by the soldiers, while the Jews were waiting without in the neighbourhood of the judgment-seat (erected on the Pavement in front of the Prætorium), on which Pilate sat when he pronounced the final sentence. The Latin word *prætorium* originally signified (see Smith's *Dict. of Ant.*) the general's tent in a Roman camp (Liv. xxviii. 27, &c.); and afterwards it had, among other significations, that of the palace in which a governor of a province lived and administered justice (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4, §28, &c.). The site of Pilate's prætorium in Jerusalem has given rise to much dispute, some supposing it to be the palace of king Herod, others the tower of Antonia; but it has been shown elsewhere that the latter was probably the Prætorium, which was then and long afterwards the citadel of Jerusalem. [JERUSALEM, p. 1032a.] This is supported by the fact that at the time of the trial of Christ, Herod was in Jerusalem, doubtless inhabiting the palace of his father (Luke xxiii. 7). It appears, however, from a passage of Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 14, §8), that

the Roman governor sometimes resided in the palace, and set up his judgment-seat in front of it. Pilate certainly lived there at one time (Philo, *Leg. in Cuium*, 38, 39). Winer conjectures that the procurator, when in Jerusalem, resided with a body-guard in the palace of Herod (*Jos. B. J.* ii. 15, §5), while the Roman garrison occupied Antonia. Just in like manner, a former palace of Hiero became the prætorium, in which Verres lived in Syracuse (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5, §12).

2. In Acta xxiii. 35 Herod's judgment-hall or prætorium in Caesarea was doubtless a part of that magnificent range of buildings, the erection of which by king Herod is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 9, §6; see also *B. J.* i. 21, §5-8).

3. The word "palace," or "Caesar's court," in the A. V. of Phil. i. 13, is a translation of the same word prætorium. The statement in a later part of the same Epistle (iv. 22) would seem to connect this prætorium with the imperial palace at Rome; but no classical authority is found for so designating the palace itself. The prætorian camp, outside the northern wall of Rome, was far from the palace, and therefore unlikely to be the prætorium here mentioned. An opinion well deserving consideration has been advocated by Wieseler, and by Conybeare and Howson (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. 26), to the effect that the prætorium here mentioned was the quarter of that detachment of the Prætorian Guards which was in immediate attendance upon the emperor, and had barracks in Mount Palatine. It will be remembered that St. Paul, on his arrival at Rome (Acts xxviii. 16), was delivered by the centurion into the custody of the prætorian prefect.

4. The word *prætorium* occurs also in Matt. xxvii. 27, where it is translated "common hall," and in Mark xv. 16. In both places it denotes Pilate's residence in Jerusalem. [W. T. B.]

**JU'DITH**, 1. (יהודית; 'Ιουδῖθ, 'Ιουδελθ, 'Ιουδῆθ), "the daughter of Beeri the Hittite," and wife of Eäau (Gen. xvi. 34). [AHOLIBAMAH.]

2. The heroine of the apocryphal book which bears her name, who appears as an ideal type of piety (Jud. viii. 6), beauty (xi. 21), courage, and chastity (xvi. 22 ff.). Her supposed descent from Simeon (ix. 2), and the manner in which she refers to his cruel deed (Gen. xxiv. 25 ff.), mark the conception of the character, which evidently belongs to a period of stern and perilous conflict. The most unscrupulous daring (xiii.) is combined with zealous ritualism (xii. 1 ff.), and faith is turned to action rather than to supplication (viii. 31 ff.). Clement of Rome (*Ep.* i. 55) assigns to Judith the epithet given to Jael ('Ιουδελθ ἡ μακρά); and Jerome sees in her exploit the image of the victory of the Church over the power of evil (*Ep.* lxxix. 11, p. 508; Judith . . . in typo Ecclesias diabolum capite truncavit; cf. *Ep.* xxii. 21, p. 105).

The name is properly the feminine form of יהודי, *Judaicus* (cf. Jer. xxxvi. 14, 21). In the passage of Genesis it is generally taken as the correlative of *Judah*, i. e. "praised." [B. F. W.]

**JUDITH, THE BOOK OF**, like that of Tobit, belongs to the earliest specimens of historical fiction. The narrative of the reign of "Nebuchadnezzar king of Nineveh" (i. 1), of the campaign of Holofernes, and the deliverance of Bethulia, through the stratagem and courage of the Jewish heroine, contains too many and too serious diffi-

culties, both historical and geographical, to allow of the supposition that it is either literally true, or even carefully moulded on truth. The existence of a kingdom of Nineveh and the reign of a Nebuchadnezzar are in themselves inconsistent with a date after the Return; and an earlier date is excluded equally by internal evidence and by the impossibility of placing the events in harmonious connexion with the course of Jewish history. The latter fact is seen most clearly in the extreme varieties of opinion among those critics who have endeavoured to maintain the veracity of the story. Nebuchadnezzar has been identified with Cambyses, Xerxes, Esarhaddon, Kiniladan, Merodach Baladan, &c., without the slightest show of probability. But apart from this, the text evidently alludes to the position of the Jews after the exile when the Temple was rebuilt (v. 13, 19, iv. 3), and the hierarchical government established in place of the kingdom (xv. 8, ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ; cf. iv. 4, Sanitaria; viii. 6, προεδρῶν, προμηνίων); and after the Return the course of authentic history absolutely excludes the possibility of the occurrence of such events as the book relates. This fundamental contradiction of facts, which underlies the whole narrative, renders it superfluous to examine in detail the other objections which may be urged against it (e. g. iv. 6, Joacim; cf. 1 Chr. vi.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, §6, JOACIM).

2. The value of the book is not, however, lessened by its fictitious character. On the contrary it becomes even more valuable as exhibiting an ideal type of heroism, which was outwardly embodied in the wars of independence. The self-sacrificing faith and unscrupulous bravery of Judith were the qualities by which the champions of Jewish freedom were then enabled to overcome the power of Syria, which seemed at the time scarcely less formidable than the imaginary hosts of Holofernes. The peculiar character of the book, which is exhibited in these traits, affords the best indication of its date; for it cannot be wrong to refer its origin to the Maccabæan period, which it reflects not only in its general spirit but even in smaller traits. The impious design of Nebuchadnezzar finds a parallel in the prophetic description of Antiochus (Dan. xi. 31 ff.), and the triumphant issue of Judith's courage must be compared not with the immediate results of the invasion of Apollonius (as Bertholdt, *Eintl.* 2553 ff.), but with the victory which the author pictured to himself as the reward of faith. But while it seems certain that the book is to be referred to the second century B.C. (175-100 B.C.), the attempts which have been made to fix its date within narrower limits, either to the time of the war of Alexander Jannæus (105-4 B.C., Movers) or of Demetrius II. (129 B.C., Ewald), rest on very inaccurate data. It might seem more natural (as a mere conjecture) to refer it to an earlier time, c. 170 B.C., when Antiochus Epiphanes made his first assault upon the Temple.\*

3. In accordance with the view which has been given of the character and date of the book, it is probable that the several parts may have a distinct symbolic meaning. Some of the names can scarcely have been chosen without regard to their deriva-

tion (e. g. Achior = *Brother of Light*; Judith = *Jewess*; Bethulia = בְּתוּלִיָּה, the *virgin of Jeshorah*), and the historical difficulties of the person of Nebuchadnezzar disappear when he is regarded as the Scriptural type of worldly power. But it is, perhaps, a mere play of fancy to allegorise the whole narrative, as Grotius has done (*Profr. in Jud.*), who interprets Judith of the Jewish nation widowed of outward help, Bethulia (בְּתוּלִיָּה) of the Temple, Nebuchadnezzar of the devil, and Holofernes (ὁ λερὸς ὄφις, *lictor serpentis*) of Antiochus, his emissary; while Joacim, the high-priest, conveys, as he thinks, by his name the assurance that "God will rise up" to deliver this people.

4. Two conflicting statements have been preserved as to the original language of the book. Origen speaks of it together with Tobit as "not existing in Hebrew even among the Apocrypha" in the Hebrew collection (*Ep. ad Afric.* § οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ [οἱ Ἑβραῖοι] καὶ ἡ Ἀποκρίφους Ἑβραϊστὶ, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν), by which statement he seems to imply that the book was originally written in Greek. Jerome, on the other hand, says that "among the Hebrews the book of Judith is read among the Hagiographa [Apocrypha] . . . and being written in the Chalde language is reckoned among the histories" (*Præf. ad Jul.*). The words of Origen are, however, somewhat ambiguous, and there can be little doubt that the book was written in Palestine in the national dialect (Syro-Chaldaic), though Jahn (*Eintl.* ii. §3) and Eichhorn (*Eintl.* in d. *Apol.* 327) maintain the originality of the present Greek text, on the authority of some phrases which may be assigned very naturally to the translator or reviser.<sup>b</sup>

5. The text exists at present in two distinct recensions, the Greek (followed by the Syriac) and the Latin. The former evidently is the truer representative of the original, and it seems certain that the Latin was derived, in the main, from the Greek by a series of successive alterations. Jerome confesses that his own translation was free (*magis sensum e sensu quam verbum e verbo transferens*); and peculiarities of the language (Fritzsche, p. 122) prove that he took the old Latin as the basis of his work, though he compared it with the Chaldee text, which was in his possession. (*sola ea quae intelligentia integri in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui Latinis expressi*). The Latin text contains many curious errors, which seem to have arisen in the first instance from false hearing (Bertholdt, *Eintl.* 2574 f; e. g. x. 5, καὶ ἄρτων καθάρων. Vulg. et panes et caseum, i. e. καὶ τυροῦ, xvi. 2, οἱ εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ. Vulg. qui posuit castra sua, i. e. οἱ οὗτοι; xvi. 17, καὶ κλαύσανται ἐν ἀσπίθει. Vulg. ut urantur et sentiant); and Jerome f. marks that it had been variously corrupted and interpolated before his time. At present it is impossible to determine the authentic text. In many instances the Latin is more full than the Greek (iv. 8-15, v. 11-20, v. 22-24, vi. 15 ff., ix. 6 ff.), which however contains peculiar passages (i. 13-16, vi. 1, &c.). Even where the two texts do not differ in

\* The story of Volkenar (*Das vierte Buch Esra*, p. 6; *Theol. Jahrb.* 1856-7) that the book of Judith refers to the period of the Parthian war of Trajan, need only be noticed in passing, as it assumes the spuriousness of the first epistle of Clement (§8).

<sup>b</sup> The present Greek text offers instances of mis-translation which clearly point to an Aramaic original: e. g. iii. 9, xvi. 8, i. 8; cf. v. 15, 18 (Vahlinger, in Herzog's *Encycl.* s. v.; Fritzsche, *Eintl.* §2; De Wette, *Eintl.* §308, a.).

the details of the narrative, as is often the case (*e.g.* 1, 3 ff., iii. 9, v. 9, vi. 13, vii. 2 ff., x. 12 ff., xv. 11, xvi. 25), they yet differ in language (*e.g.* c. xv., &c.), and in names (*e.g.* viii. 1) and numbers (*e.g.* i. 2); and these variations can only be explained by going back to some still more remote source (cf. Bertholdt, *Eind.* 2568 ff.), which was probably an earlier Greek copy.\*

6. The existence of these various recensions of the book is a proof of its popularity and wide circulation, but the external evidence of its use is very scanty. Josephus was not acquainted with it, or it is likely that he would have made some use of its contents, as he did of the apocryphal additions to Esther (*Jos. Ant.* xi. 6, §1 ff.). The first reference to its contents, in Clem. Rom. (*Ep.* i. 55), and it is quoted with marked respect by Origen (*Sel. in Jerem.* 23; cf. *Hom. ix. in Jud.* i.), Hilary (*in Paul.* cxxv. 6), and Lucifer (*De non parvo.* p. 955). Jerome speaks of it as "reckoned among the Sacred Scriptures by the Synod of Nice," by which he probably means that it was quoted in the records of the Council, unless the text be corrupt. It has been wrongly inserted in the catalogue at the close of the Apostolic Canons, against the best authority (cf. Hody, *De Bibl. Text.* 646 a), but it obtained a place in the Latin Canon at an early time (cf. Hilar. *Prolog. in Ps.* 15), which it commonly maintained afterwards. [CANON.]

7. The Commentary of Fritzsche (*Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1853) is by far the best which has appeared: within a narrow compass it contains a good critical apparatus and scholarlike notes. [B. F. W.]

JUEL ('Ιουήλ: *Johel, Jessei*). 1. 1 Ed. ix. 34. [JUEL.] 2. 1 Ed. ix. 35. [JOEL, 13.]

JULIA ('Ιουλία), a Christian woman at Rome, probably the wife, or perhaps the sister, of Philologus, in connexion with whom she is saluted by St. Paul (*Rom.* xvi. 15). Origen supposes that they were master and mistress of a Christian household which included the other persons mentioned in the same verse. Some modern critics have conjectured that the name may be that of a man, Julius. [W. T. B.]

JULIUS ('Ιούλιος), the courteous centurion of "Augustus' band," to whose charge St. Paul was delivered when he was sent prisoner from Caesarea to Rome (*Acts* xxvii. 1, 3).

Augustus' band has been identified by some commentators with the Italian band (*Acts* x. 1); by others, less probably, with the body of cavalry designated Sebasteni by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 9, §2, &c.). Conybeare and Howson (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. 31) adopt in the main Wieseler's opinion, that the Augustan cohort was a detachment of the Praetorian Guards attached to the person of the Roman governor at Caesarea; and that this Julius may be the same as Julius Priscus (*Tacit. Hist.* ii. 92, iv. 11), sometime centurion, afterwards prefect of the Praetorians. [W. T. B.]

JUNIA ('Ιουνία, i.e. JUNIA), a Christian at Rome, mentioned by St. Paul as one of his kinsfolk and fellow-prisoners, of note among the Apostles, and in Christ before St. Paul (*Rom.* xvi. 7). Origen conjectures that he was possibly one of the seventy disciples. Hammond also takes

the name to be that of a man, Junias, which would be a contraction (as Winer observes) of Junilius or Junianus. Chrysostom, holding the more common, but perhaps less probable, hypothesis that the name is that of a woman, Junia, remarks on it, "How great is the devotion of this woman, that she should be counted worthy of the name of Apostle!" Nothing is known of the imprisonment to which St. Paul refers: Origen supposes that it is that bondage from which Christ makes Christians free. [W. T. B.]

JUNIPER (ἰουνίϋ, from ἰονῖϋ, "bind," *Gesen.*

p. 1317; *παμύλη, φυτόν*, 1 K. xix. 4, 5; *juniperus*). It has been already stated [CEDAR] that the oxycedrus or Phoenician juniper was the tree whose wood, called "cedar-wood," was ordered by the law to be used in ceremonial purification (*Lev.* xiv. 4; *Num.* xix. 6). The word, however, which is rendered in A. V. juniper, is beyond doubt a sort of broom, *Genista monosperma*, (i. caetam of Forskål, answering to the Arabic *Rethem*, which is also found in the desert of Sinai in the neighbourhood of the true juniper (Robinson, ii. 124). It is mentioned as affording shade to Elijah in his flight to Horeb (1 K. xix. 4, 5); and as affording material for fuel, and also, in extreme cases, for human food (*Psa.* cxx. 4; *Job* xxx. 4). It is very abundant in the desert of Sinai, and affords shade and protection, both in heat and storm, to travellers (*Virg. Georg.* ii. 434, 436). Its roots are very bitter, and would thus serve as food only in extreme cases; but it may be doubted whether

ἰουνίϋ (*Job* xxx. 4) is to be restricted to roots only, or to be taken in a wider sense of product, and thus include the fruit, which is much liked by sheep, and may thus have sometimes served for human food (*Gesen.* p. 1484). The roots are much valued by the Arabs for charcoal for the Cairo market. Thus the tree which afforded shade to Elijah may have furnished also the "coals" or ashes for baking the cake which satisfied his hunger (1 K. xiv. 6; see also *Psa.* cxx. 4, "coals of juniper"). The Rotheum is a leguminous plant, and bears a white flower. It is found also in Spain, Portugal, and Palestine. Its abundance in the Sinai desert gave a name to a station of the Israelites, Rithmah (*Num.* xxxiii. 18, 19; *Burckhardt, Syria*, pp. 483, 537; Robinson, i. 203, 205; Lord Lindsay, *Letters*, p. 183; Pliny, *H. N.* xxiv. 9, 65; Balfour, *Plants of the Bible*, p. 50; Stanley, *S. & P.* 20, 79, 521). [H. W. P.]

JUPITER (*Zeús, LXX.*). Among the chief measures which Antiochus Epiphanes took for the entire subversion of the Jewish faith was that of dedicating the Temple at Jerusalem to the service of Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2), and at the same time the rival temple on Gerizim was dedicated to Zeus Xenius (*Jupiter hospitalis*, Vulg.). The choice of the first epithet is easily intelligible. The Olympian Zeus was the national god of the Hellenic race (*Thucyd.* iii. 14), as well as the supreme ruler of the heathen world, and as such formed the true opposite to Jehovah, who had revealed Himself as the God of Abraham. The application of the second epithet, "the God of hospitality" (cf. Grimm, on 2 Macc. i. c.), is more obscure. In 2 Macc. vi. 2 it is explained by the clause, "as was the character of those who dwelt in the place," which may, however, be an ironical comment of the writer (cf. Q. Curt. i. 5, 8), and not a sincere eulogy of the

\* Of modern versions the English follows the Greek, and that of Luther the Latin text.

hospitality of the Samaritans (as Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 339 n.).

Jupiter or Zeus is mentioned in one passage of the N. T., on the occasion of St. Paul's visit to Lystra (Acts xiv. 12, 13), where the expression "Jupiter, which was before their city," means that his temple was outside the city. [B. F. W.]

**JU'SHAB-HE'SED** (יושב חסד: 'Αροβιδ, 'Αροβιδος, Cod. Alex.: *Josabhesed*), son of Zerubabel (1 Chr. iii. 20). It does not appear why the five children in this verse are separated from the three in ver. 19. Bertheau suggests that they might be by a different mother, or possibly born in Judaea after the return, whereas the three others were born at Babylon. The name of Jushab-hesod, i. e. "Loving-kindness is returned," taken in conjunction with that of his father and brothers, is a striking expression of the feelings of pious Jews at the return from captivity, and at the same time a good illustration of the nature of Jewish names. [A. C. H.]

**JUSTUS** (Ιούστος). Schoettgen (*Hor. Hebr. in Act. Ap.*) shows by quotations from Rabbinical writers that this name was not unusual among the Jews. 1. A surname of Joseph called Barsabas (Acts i. 23). [JOSEPH BAR SABAS, p. 1142.]

\* This—with one t—is the form given in Hahn's text of xv. 53; Michælls and Walton invert a dagesh, but it was apparently unknown to any of the old

2. A Christian at Corinth, with whom St. Paul lodged (Acts xviii. 7). The Syr. and Arab call him Titus, while the Vulg. combines both names Justus.

3. A surname of Jesus, a friend of St. Paul (Col. iv. 11). [JESUS, p. 1039.]

**JUT'TAH** (יֻטָּה, i. e. Jutah; also יֻטָּה in xxi. 16, יֻטָּה: 'יטא, Alex. 'Ierrā; Tarrā; omits: *Iota, Ieta*), a city in the mountain region of Judah, in the neighbourhood of Maon and Geth (Josh. xv. 55). It was allotted to the tribe of Judah (xxi. 16), but in the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. 16 the name has escaped. In the time of Eusebius it was a large village (κώμη μεγάλη), 18 miles southward of Eleutheropolis (*Onomasticon*, s. v. "Iutta"). A village called *Yutta* was visited by Robinson, close to *Main* and *Kurmul* (*B. R.* ii. 195, 628), which doubtless represents the same town.

Reland (*Pal.* 870) conjectures that Jutta was the same as *Ἰούδα*, A. V. "a city of Juda" in the country, in which Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, resided (Luke i. 39). But this, if feasible, is not at present confirmed by any positive evidence.

translators, in whose versions (with the exception of the Alex. LXX.), whatever shape the word assumed it retains a single t.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.









